



Vol. VII. No. 5 [Published by the League of Nations Union.] May, 1925. [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.] Price Threepence

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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE change of Government in France has not unnaturally produced a temporary lull in the informal conversations progressing between different European capitals on the subject of a Western European pact. Matters in fact appear at the moment of writing to have made no progress beyond the point reached when Mr. Austen Chamberlain made his statement in the House of Commons on March 24. Another obstacle to rapid progress is, naturally enough, the German Election, for if General Hindenburg should be chosen as President of the Republic (a question which will, of course, have been decided before these lines appear), the whole proposal may quite well fall to the ground. It is understood that the Allies propose to put to Germany a series of questions, or, at any rate, of observations on their own views. Until this step is taken not much progress is likely to be made. The whole question may affect the League not indirectly, but because the Allies will certainly stipulate that Germany should simultaneously with the conclusion of the pact enter the League of Nations, and there is some suggestion that on this matter she has still further conditions to make.

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France's New Cabinet.

THE change of Government in France has its bearing on the League of Nations' prospects, as every change of Government in a State playing a

prominent part in the life of the League of Nations must have. As to the personnel of the new administration, little can properly be said here, but it is to be observed that as compensation for the disappearance of a convinced supporter of the League in M. Herriot, the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs is to be filled by M. Briand, who was, at the Assembly of 1924 and at both the meetings of the Council held since that date, the principal representative of France. It is to this that M. Briand owes the advantage of having established close personal relations with Mr. Austen Chamberlain, whom he would in all likelihood never have met had it not fallen on both of them to co-operate in the work of the League. Of the other members of the French Government, the Prime Minister, M. Painlevé, is well known as a supporter of the League, and M. Caillaux, the outstanding figure of the Government at a moment when finance is the outstanding problem, dealt in his book "Où va l'Europe, où va la France," published three years ago, in an extremely suggestive way with the part the League of Nations should play in the economic reconstruction of Europe. His references to the League were uniformly sympathetic, and unless his views have changed, he must be counted on as a distinct strength to the pro-League element in French official circles. It is significant that the new Government intends to ratify the Geneva Protocol.

The Palestine Mandate.

LORD BALFOUR'S visit to Palestine, and the alarms and anxieties that attended it, have raised some misgivings in various quarters regarding the position of the League of Nations as trustee for Palestine under the Mandate system. The recent trouble arose, of course, owing to Lord Balfour's unpopularity among the Arab population of Palestine, as author of the historic pledge regarding the establishment of a Jewish national home in that country. So far as the League is concerned, it has no responsibility for the national home provision whatever. The Balfour pledge was given in November, 1917. It was repeated, with the concurrence of other Governments than the British, at the Peace Conference in 1919, and the League of Nations was requested, or directed, to accept responsibility for Palestine on these conditions. The draft mandate, submitted by the British Government to the League in 1920, and in due course approved by it, provides both in its preamble and in its second article for the establishment of a Jewish national home. Whether, therefore, the principle of such a national home be good or bad, it was, like some of the principles in other Mandates, decided on before the League of Nations came into existence at all.

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A Word for the Secretariat.

MR. PHILIP KERR, as secretary to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for something like five years, has had an almost unique experience of studying the conduct of international relations. Special weight, therefore, attaches to his appreciation in the columns of the "Observer" of the work of the League Secretariat. "The Secretariat," says Mr. Kerr, "is a unique and inspiring thing. The smoothness and efficiency with which these men and women (for women are strongly represented there), belonging to all the nations and speaking all the languages of the earth, are able to work together is quite amazing." The Secretariat, Mr. Kerr points out, introduces an entirely new element into international relations, in that it makes it possible for any Conference or Council held under the auspices of the League to enter on its work with the ground fully prepared beforehand and in possession of facts and statements the accuracy and impartiality of which is not open to question. Everyone who knows the Secretariat will recognise this tribute as just, and it is satisfactory that it should be paid by a writer invested with such authority as Mr. Kerr.

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Parliament and the I.L.O.

RENEWED endeavours were made in the debate on the International Labour Organisation in the House of Commons on the day of the Easter adjournment to persuade the Government to give a reasonable undertaking that Conventions adopted by an International Labour Conference should, in all cases, be submitted to Parliament. The actual provision in the Treaty is that such Conventions shall be laid before the "competent authority" for ratification. Technically, the competent authority for ratification in this country is the King, which means, of course, the King's advisers, the Cabinet. In other countries, it is one or both of the two Houses of Parliament. On a

strict technicality, therefore, the Government can no doubt contend that it is under no obligation to submit conventions to Parliament, and Ministers have argued further that if the Government itself has made up its mind that a convention shall not be ratified, it is mere waste of time to lay it before the House of Commons simply in order that the House of Commons may declare against it. Much more weight, on the other hand, appears to attach to the argument, which is widely endorsed by Members of Parliament from all sides of the House, that if a two-thirds majority of the 50 odd members of the Labour Organisation have agreed on a Convention, it is a matter of sufficient importance for Parliament to have a right to discuss it. The matter will certainly be pressed further.

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Emigration Avenues.

AN interesting little delegation has been dispatched by the International Labour Office to South America to explore the possibilities of settling there some, at any rate, of the Russian refugees in Europe for whose welfare the I.L.O. has accepted some measure of responsibility. It will be remembered that these unfortunate people, who find it impossible for political reasons to return to Russia, were for some time under the care of Dr. Nansen, acting as High Commissioner for the League. When, however, the problem became one of employment rather than relief the Labour Office agreed to take the matter in hand. It was remarked at a meeting of the League Council by the representative of Uruguay that South America was capable of absorbing certain types of labour, but whether the requirements of that continent will be met by these particular refugees is a little uncertain. That, indeed, is what the International Labour Office Commission has gone to discover. It has at its head Colonel Proctor, who was for some time Deputy Commissioner under Dr. Nansen in Greece, and who enjoys the distinction of having had one of the newly-built villages in Macedonia named Proctoria in his honour.

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Putting Law in Order.

THE international lawyers who have been meeting at Geneva, in accordance with the decision of the last Assembly, to consider how far it is possible to develop the codification of international law, have just held their first meeting, which was devoted rather to mapping out the work in hand than to attempting any final conclusions on any branch of the question. International Law to-day is in a curious condition. On a certain limited number of questions there is general agreement, and the views of all the nations coincide. Over another and larger part of the field there is no kind of agreement at all. In an intermediate region there is a good deal of disposition to agree, though no formal conferences to deal with the series of questions falling under this head have been held, and, therefore, no formal accord reached. What the new Committee is trying to do is to find out what questions of this description may be regarded as ripe for definite agreement. They have set about this task by appointing ten small sub-committees to consider ten different subjects in the next few months, so that when the full Committee reassembles at the end of

the year, it may be in a position to advise the League Council that some, at any rate, of these questions could be made the subject of general agreement at once. The final stage will be to call an International Conference to reach such agreements.

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Belgium, Holland and Geneva.

THE announcement that the Belgian and Dutch Governments have reached a definite agreement on the vexed question of the navigation of the Scheldt is a fresh though rather unexpected demonstration of the value of Geneva as a place of discussion. The agreement arrived at has nothing to do with the League of Nations, and the League is not associated with its execution, but a good deal towards laying the foundations for the agreement was done at Geneva in conversations between M. Hymans, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, and Dr. van Karnebeek, the Foreign Minister of Holland. It is odd that the statesmen in charge of the foreign policies of two countries living next door to one another should have had to travel to Switzerland to carry their discussions through. In point of fact they did not, of course, go to Geneva on purpose, but finding themselves in an atmosphere peculiarly favourable to discussions and agreements they, like other pairs of statesmen concerned with quite different problems, made progress which it had proved less easy to effect in their own countries.

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Business and the League.

THE action of the Lord Mayor in arranging a Mansion House meeting to be addressed by the Prime Minister and Mr. Reginald McKenna on the business side of the League of Nations' work, is an event of very considerable importance. Both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. McKenna are sufficiently experienced and sufficiently sagacious business men to be quite incapable of going voluntarily on to a platform at the Mansion House, or anywhere else, to bolster up a bad cause. They know that the League has done exceedingly sound and valuable work in the field of economics and commerce, and that the trade of this country, as all other countries, has benefited materially by its undertakings. Their presence at such a meeting as took place on April 30 (the date, of course, makes it impossible to include any report in this issue of HEADWAY) will have had the valuable effect of making a far larger public realise what they have long since realised themselves.

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Cutting Down an Army.

THE following Reuter telegram appeared in "The Times" on April 1: "Under the new law in Czecho-Slovakia for the reduction of the period of active military service, those soldiers who have completed 18 months' service will be dismissed to-day. The effective strength of the army will be reduced from 150,000 to 90,000 men by October 1 next." Such evidences of real armament reduction are still all too rare, and when a State does reduce, as Czecho-Slovakia is doing, credit should be given it for its policy. The reduction of effectives is part of an intention long entertained by Dr. Benes and his colleagues, who claim openly that they are able thus to cut down their army owing to the gradually

increasing security Czecho-Slovakia enjoys as a member of the League of Nations and a partner in the Little Entente.

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Slogans for the League.

APROMINENT advertising expert, Sir Charles Higham, has been directing not quite unmerited criticism against people who preach internationalism without knowing how to preach it. Sir Charles is evidently a believer in the League of Nations, and he insists that the world must be told about its work in short arresting paragraphs that will strike home in quarters where nine-tenths of the news now disseminated about the League makes no impression whatever. The League must be driven into men's minds whether they like it or not. That is sound enough doctrine, and there is a good deal to be learned from such suggestions. At the same time, it is fatally easy to drive something into people's minds and call it the League when it is not the League at all, or at best only some fraction of a truth about some secondary phase of the League's work. Pick out just the bright tit-bits that will tickle the public's fancy and you will create an idea of the League that may be worse than no idea at all. It is a rather odd fact that the critics who demand that League news shall be treated as the *Daily Mail* would treat it are usually precisely the people who in any other connection denounce the *Daily Mail* and all its works.

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How to use Literature.

ALL the same, there is clearly abundant room for improving League of Nations propaganda in a dozen ways. The threefold appeal, by voice, pen and picture, must be constantly sustained. About the first there is not very much difficulty. The flow of speeches continues, and though the quality of all of them is not everything it might be, they remain none the less a most important and effective agency for the education of the general public regarding the League. League literature is another and different problem, and a twofold problem, for it is a question not merely of getting the right literature, but of making the right use of it. The second part of that problem has certainly not been solved yet. A certain number of pamphlets are sold at public meetings, and occasionally a bound book or two, but the average League of Nations Union Branch does not hold half-a-dozen public meetings a year, and it is hard to resist the unwelcome conclusion that not even actual Union members, to say nothing of the general public, ever get a sight of half the pamphlets and books written largely for their benefit. There is everything to be said for arranging with some bookseller in a town or village to stock a good selection of League of Nations literature and, if possible, display it. It would be well worth a Branch's while to present a small showcase for such a purpose. Meanwhile Branches could do a great deal at small cost by occasionally presenting some book on the League not merely to the local Free Library, but to the libraries maintained by a great many secondary schools, clubs and places of worship. As for propaganda through pictures, that again is another matter, to be dealt with another time.

JAPAN AND THE LEAGUE.

By INAZO NITOBE.

Dr. Nitobe, who is Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations, has just returned from Japan, where his addresses at public meetings have had a marked effect in stimulating support for the League.

OF all the various reasons advanced for Japan's joining the League, to the Japanese themselves there is none more convincing than the fact that Japan is in it. She was in it from the beginning. If it is suggested that she gains nothing from it, a preliminary question must be asked—"Why did Japan join the Allies in the Great War, despite the great influence that German ideas had exercised on her people?" Two days after Japan declared war against Germany, I happened to call on Marquis Okuma, then Prime Minister. To my enquiry whether he did not meet with opposition from the Army people, who were considered pro-German, he replied: "But this is not a case for calculation. We are bound by alliance with Great Britain to take up the same cause whatever may betide." A very simple decision. All great and ultimate principles are simple.

A party to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, at the outbreak of the war she instantly joined the Allies. A party to the League of Nations, she will stick to its principles and decisions without questioning whether it pays her or not to continue a member.

In my recent visit to Japan I had an opportunity to ask the present Minister of Foreign Affairs whether he has any difficulty in getting the budget for the League of Nations expenses. It must be remembered that Japan bears pretty heavy financial responsibility by being in the League. Travelling expenses and telegraphic dispatches, the maintenance of offices for translation from and into two foreign languages, require a sum of money very much larger than the amount she pays for her annual allocation. To my question, Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, answered: "Neither I nor my predecessor has ever had any trouble on that score." I asked further: "Is it because the members of both Houses of the Diet so entirely approve of the object and the work of the League?" His response quite confirmed me in my surmise. He said: "I wish they were better acquainted with the activities of the League. It is not approval of the League consequent upon their knowledge of its work that makes them so ready to vote for the expenses. Their assent is moral in character. They say that the country has committed itself to it, and that therefore she must abide by all that ensues from this committal."

A legislative body is not usually famed for taking a far-reaching and idealistic view of things. Even a disinterested "moral view" of fulfilling a promise, simply because it was once made in good faith, is considered an exceptionally worthy act. How long may the Diet be expected to rest on this high level? When our people begin to study the League, and find that their country reaps little direct benefit from it, then they will raise the question—"Why should Japan be in it?" We are now coming to the period when, instead of child-like trust in the League of Nations as a world parliament and tribunal for the settlement of all international woes, a critical study is commencing among the populace. Such a study is not confined to the query "Is it a good thing?" but must include another—namely, "Of what use is it to Japan?"

I found during my sojourn at home that two grave questions had wrought havoc among the believers in the League. One was the Immigration Law

of the United States, and the other was the Singapore Base. I had to explain why the Immigration Law could not be taken up by, and, further, why America has not joined it. It seemed to me more important that our people should know that America's attitude toward the League ought not to affect our membership in it. It does not follow that because America is not a member, and because this fact makes the League less universal, that we should follow her example or lessen our ardour for its cause. My contention is to the contrary. Make use of the League and its organisations to prove our sincerity in foreign relations and our mentality in the solution of international questions, so that the suspicions of America and the suspicions of other countries as well may diminish and eventually vanish.

As to the Singapore Base, we cannot but recognise the fact that it has proved a stumbling block to many believers in the League in Japan. But so much has been written both in England and Japan on this subject that I merely mention it here as a concern deeply felt by the public.

One more doubt to clear before I close. It arises as I am writing these lines. It is concerned with the new Treaty between Japan and Soviet Russia. In the long and repeated diplomatic negotiations which took place between Russia and Japan in the last two years, the most vexed subject was that of compensation with apology by Russia to Japan for the Nikolaievsk massacre (1918). The present Premier, Viscount Kato, and his party, when they were in the Opposition, were relentless in attacking the Government for occupying Northern (Russian) Saghalien, pending the settlement of this affair. On his coming to power, this was the first question to dispose of, particularly as the said military occupation was costing 2-4,000,000 yen a year. By withdrawing the army, even if Russia did not make any compensation, the money thus saved would go a long way towards paying compensation to the families of the victims.

Now, what about this new Treaty in relation to the League? Doubt has been expressed lest Japan, by entering into diplomatic relations with Russia, intended to weaken her connection with the League. Here on the table before me lies the answer to these doubts, printed in "Le Matin," of April 8, 1925, under the signature of an eminent journalist, Jules Sauerwein. It is a declaration made by our Foreign Minister through the mouth of our Ambassador in Paris, who asserts, "I give you formal assurance that no other treaty, absolutely none, has been concluded between the two nations. There is a rumour particularly absurd and fanciful, which I wish to contradict flatly, a rumour, according to which Japan is said to have contracted an engagement incompatible with her duties to the League of Nations. Japan remains unshaken in her fidelity to the organisation for world peace which has its seat in Geneva, and to which she brings under all circumstances her most devoted collaboration."

These words, uttered in no uncertain sound, should relieve many a doubting mind abroad of dark forebodings about the Far East. They will greatly strengthen the cause of the League in Japan, giving fresh evidence of the Government's determination to adhere to the principles of the Covenant.

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE LEAGUE.

By the RIGHT HON. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.

WHAT Mr. Wilson Harris does not know about the League of Nations is not knowledge. It follows that when Mr. Harris undertakes what our French friends call "un œuvre de haute vulgarisation" on this important topic he achieves a brilliant success. He knows alike what to say and what to omit. His facts are exact, his proportions true, his judgments sound and well-informed; and so he gives us in a compact volume* all that it most imports us to know about the League, its origin, constitution and achievements. With the aid of this excellent treatise it should now at last be possible (or am I too sanguine?) for the British public to distinguish between the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union.

Having tried hard, but without success, to convict Mr. Wilson Harris of an error of fact, I am perforce driven back upon the last desperate device of the baffled reviewer, which is, as we all know, to dilate upon matters which the author, had he been writing an altogether different book for an altogether different public, might have thought fit to notice. "The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the League"—would not that have been a pretty topic? Among the fortunes I should give the pride of place to Sir Eric Drummond, the architect of the Secretariat and the chief permanent official of the League. So wide and fair-minded has he proved to be, so skilful and good-humoured in his management of affairs, so keenly alive to the broad issues of international policy, so careful to avoid even the faintest suspicion of national bias that I tremble to think how the League would have fared without him or how it will proceed when the time comes (may it be far distant!) for his withdrawal. Almost equally fortunate was the League in M. Monnet, Sir Eric's French second, who brought to his work an excellent brain coupled with a fine and dispassionate spirit. The excellent temper of the Secretariat to which Mr. Wilson Harris pays a just tribute is not a little due to the example set by these two men; and seeing how fertile and far-reaching is the influence of individual character upon institutions and how important it is that the initial impulse in working institutions should be right and true, we may account it to be among the good fortunes of the League that it should have been thus served during the opening years of its career.

Again, seeing how much the effectiveness of the League depends upon the preservation of cordial relations between Britain and France, it was also a piece of good fortune that the principal delegates of these two countries during the first three years were men who were bound the one to the other by mutual ties of trust, esteem and understanding. How many awkward corners were turned by the co-operation of M. Bourgeois and Lord Balfour! How many difficulties might have arisen had the representatives of France and Britain been entrusted to men of a narrower intelligence or a more uncertain temper!

It may also be accounted among the gifts of fortune that during the early assemblies at Geneva Lord Robert Cecil was in the loose. Representing no constituency more exacting than the congenial mind of an absent Dutchman, untrammelled by instructions from the Cabinet or by science from the Foreign Office, the South African moralist was in a position to preach the pure milk of the word to a cosmopolitan audience very much

in need of instruction as to the principles and purposes of the new and mysterious organisation in which they were involved. How skilfully were the eternal verities mingled with a keen sense of political management! How thunderous the applause of the galleries! As an interpreter of the Covenant Lord Robert, having helped to draft the document, possessed special credentials, and his commentaries, always vigorous and valuable, contributed not a little to fix the mould into which the political thought of the Assembly was conducted.

It would carry me too far to enlarge upon other pieces of international good work. The names of Branting (alas! no more), Nansen, Quinones de León, Hymans, Benes, occur to the mind—a company of statesmen trained by these assemblies to the great international outlook on affairs.

Of the misfortunes of the League none is so grave as the abstention of America, with respect to which least said soonest mended. Meanwhile all who wish to know what the League is, what it does, and how it does it, should read Mr. Wilson Harris, whose little book is not only a triumph of skilful compression but a measured tribute to an institution which has achieved much in the past and will accomplish yet more in the future for the advancement of humane causes throughout the world.

MALARIA AND REFUGEES.

THE following extract from a private letter from Salonica on the progress of the Greek refugee settlement scheme touches an aspect of that enterprise to which it is right that attention should be called. The situation regarding malaria would appear to be not quite as grave as the letter suggests, for the simple reason that the Greeks actually do manage to carry on in spite of the handicaps imposed by the ravages of this disease, which is, of course, all too familiar in Greece. It may be possible later to raise a further loan sufficient to carry out the draining of the marshes. Meanwhile war in another form against the mosquito, which carries the disease, may do a good deal to diminish its incidence. The writer of the letter, referring to the loan raised with the help of the League of Nations, observes:—

"Without financial help this impoverished country could not have succoured the vast numbers of refugees, and there would have been a great catastrophe. As it is even the lucky people who are now established in these new villages have many hardships to endure, and owing to an unprecedented drought last year, corn and hay have had to be given through the winter to keep the people and their animals alive. It is thought, however, that if the crops this year are satisfactory the villagers will be independent and in two years' time with hard work will be reasonably prosperous. Each family gets a horse and plough. Eventually these and advances for seed, &c., will be repaid. Land is given; this is fertile, but unfortunately hereabouts is in the plain which is malaria-ridden. My opinion is that there cannot be true prosperity where the workers and their children are continually being infected by the malaria carrier, the anopheles mosquito. Ignorance and poverty preclude the use of mosquito nets and screened windows and doors, which would much reduce the disease."

* "What the League of Nations Is." By H. Wilson Harris. Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. net. (Through booksellers or by post from L.N.U. post free 2/9.)

FLEETING DOUBTS.

II.—HOW THE SAAR IS GOVERNED.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

A LEADING British Statesman recently observed that the Upper Silesian settlement was the most successful enterprise to which the League of Nations had yet set its hand, and the government of the Saar Valley the worst. Whatever may be said about the first half of the dictum, the second half goes beyond the facts. At any rate, it makes far too little allowance for the handicap under which the League has laboured from the first in relation to the Saar. Even so, however, the history of Saar government in the past five years does leave room for more than one fleeting doubt, and it is as well to face the situation frankly.

Under what conditions, to begin with, did the League take over the responsibilities laid upon it in regard to the Saar by the Treaty of Versailles? In the first place the Treaty laid it down that this strategic area, extremely rich in mineral wealth and with a population of about 750,000, distributed over 700,000 acres, should be governed not directly by the Council itself, but by a Commission appointed by the League Council. All the powers previously wielded by the German Reich and the Governments of Prussia and Bavaria in the Saar were vested in the Governing Commission, not in the League Council, the Council's indirect authority consisting in the fact that it appointed the members of the Commission year by year and could, if necessary, revoke an appointment. That right can be exercised in the case of grave faults, but it leaves the Commission with an entirely free hand in all ordinary matters.

In the second place, the Commission had to build up a practically new system of administration, for the Saar territory was cut off from the main body of Germany, and most of the officials concerned in the day-to-day administration were withdrawn when the Treaty came into force. The population is mainly Catholic and is under two bishoprics, the seats of both of which lie in German territory outside the frontiers of the Saar. The most vital handicap of all lies in the fact that under the Treaty a plebiscite is to take place in 1935, when the population will choose whether to be transferred to France, to become once again a normal part of Germany, or to continue under the present form of government. The first of these alternatives they will quite certainly not choose. The third they conceivably might, because under a League Commission the Saar bears no responsibility for any share in reparations, and is, therefore, much more lightly taxed than Germany. From the German point of view, the loss of the Saar would be serious and therefore it is necessary to maintain a constant stream of propaganda, hostile to the Governing Commission, so as to destroy any possibility there might be of a vote for the continuance of Commission government being cast. The one fatal thing from the German point of view would be for the Commission to become popular.

In face of all these initial difficulties, the Commission has no discreditable record. There are, nevertheless, certain features in its administration to which criticism can and ought to be directed, and some of these reflect as much on the League Council as on the Commission. It is, to begin with, a manifest injustice to appoint the French member of the Commission its President year after year. The Commission consists of five members, of whom one must be a Frenchman, the other an inhabitant of the Saar (the Treaty expressly refrains from saying a representative of the Saar population), and three members who are neither French nor German.

The object of the system of government instituted by the Treaty being to hold the balance even in the Saar between France and Germany, there can be no real defence for thus conferring on the French the advantage of a kind of perpetual presidency of the Commission. Neither was there any better defence for certain other appointments, notably that of the Danish member who sat for four years, and who was, in fact, as French as any Frenchman, while two out of the four different Saar members who have held office have been conspicuously unfitted for the position. In most of these respects an improvement has gradually been effected. The Dane is no longer a member of the Commission, and the present Saar member is a man with a notable public record in pre-war days, who has fully justified his appointment. As for the position of the President, M. Rault (against whom personally there is little to be said), it has been publicly stated that the League Council has reached a tacit understanding that after his present term of office a President not a Frenchman shall be appointed.

One of the greatest difficulties in the Saar arises from the fact that the mines which constitute the main wealth of the area, and directly or indirectly affect the daily life of perhaps half its inhabitants, are the absolute property of the French State, the Governing Commission having no authority over them. The French are entitled to open French schools for the benefit of employees in the mines, and complaint has been made that German children were being induced to go to these schools rather than to the ordinary German schools. Here, however, the Governing Commission has at last intervened and the grounds for the complaint have been removed.

The stationing of a certain number of French troops in the area is a standing grievance. The justification pleaded is that the Commission is charged by the Treaty with maintaining order and defending property in the area, and that to raise a local gendarmerie competent to do this effectively would strain the finances of the Saar intolerably. The gendarmerie is, in fact, gradually being increased in number, and the French troops reduced, but something between 1,500 and 2,000 still remain. The Commission is at present, at the request of the League Council, endeavouring to find a way of dispensing with them altogether.

Such are the main grievances of the Saar population, whose economic position is, on the whole good and who live under an administration which, though arbitrary, for so the Treaty of Versailles made it, is efficient, and, with few exceptions, just. It is, however, these few exceptions—and among them should be mentioned a short-lived but indefensible "Defence of the Realm Decree," promulgated by the Commission during a time of industrial unrest—which have brought the League's connection with the Saar into disrepute. If the French troops are withdrawn and a new President, not a Frenchman, is appointed, the charge that even under the League French influence in the Saar is unjustly and improperly predominating will no longer lie.

[A strong indictment of the Saar administration is embodied in a recent volume by Sir Robert Donald, entitled "A Danger-Spot in Europe," Parsons, 3s. 6d. net.]

THE DECLINE OF BRITAIN.

BY A DECLINING BRITON.

[Mr. Leo Maxse, Editor of the "National Review," who denounces golf almost as bitterly as he denounces the League of Nations, is shortly to argue the merits of that ancient game with Lord Balfour in public debate.]

I HAVE recently been turning over the papers of that distinguished statesman, Lord——, whose death has been lamented by so large a circle. As is well known, towards the end of his career he had become increasingly concerned about the future of his country. He appears to have become convinced that the Augustan age of Britain had come and gone, and that she was definitely on the decline. He searched deeply and widely for the explanation of the disease which he believed he saw on every side. I had thought, from his conversation, that he had come to share the view, first put forward by that profound philosopher and pundit, Mr. Leo Maxse, that the hidden secret was the spread in England of devotion to the Scottish game of golf and to the League of Nations.

It was a great, and I must say reassuring, surprise to me to discover a letter written by my friend shortly before his demise, but never despatched, which shows beyond dispute that he had thought out the problem more deeply even than Mr. Maxse, and had come to a different conclusion. The reflections of this great and respected mind must surely be of such interest to his countrymen that I am venturing to disregard his aversion to publicity of all kinds (said to be due to an undue sensitiveness to criticism and ridicule) by making this momentous epistle available to all.

The letter reads as follows: "My dear ——, I am much obliged for your letter in which you call my attention to the diagnosis of our national ills so constantly published in the 'National Review.' I have, as a matter of fact, long been profoundly impressed by Maxse's work. I believe he is right in thinking that England is on her decline. But, odd as it may seem, I have become convinced that he has misread the symptoms, and so has mistaken the real cause. Of course, he is right about the League of Nations. How our beloved people could possibly have become addicted to this extraordinary nostrum simply beats me. When I think of the old and well-tried recipes—'The playing fields of Eton,' 'Rule Britannia,' 'Britain will fight and Britain will be right,' and so on, I simply cannot imagine why people should imagine that it will help our country to get mixed up with a lot of foreigners at Geneva. It makes me positively ill to think of the kind of people that our poor diplomatists must have to associate with to-day. I am sure that the 'National Review' is right in demanding that this association with low company should be stopped and that we should treat the foreigner in the good old way, with the end of the bayonet and the 12-inch gun.

"But on the other side, I am sure Maxse is wrong. He attributes our inner decadence to the spread of golf. Now I think that is prejudice. I believe the secret disease is lawn tennis—not real tennis, mark you, but lawn tennis. There is the point. Instead of our young men and women walking the hills and tramping the healthy sand dunes of our element the sea, they confine themselves to pottering about on lawns. Is it not obvious that that is where the parlour snake spirit is coming from which is so corrupting to the youth of our time? Consider again, lawn tennis is invariably inside wire enclosures. Our people are becoming squirrels and

performing animals, inside cages, instead of adventurous sons of the woods and seas and the open road. That's what has taken away the spirit of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Drake, not the Royal and Ancient Game of Golf.

"Of late, too, a horrible suspicion has been crossing my mind. 'The National Review' has always been the chief advocate of the German hate. Why is it also the advocate of lawn tennis? Can it be that poor Maxse has, all unconsciously, become the agent of that devilish Prussian propaganda? I have always felt that Maxse goes a little too far. It has seemed to me that if he had his way he would make us like the Germans, and not ourselves, doing the goose-step, worshipping our beloved King in a rather idolatrous manner, and putting admirals and generals and diplomatists in charge of our affairs instead of the House of Lords. Is it possible that Maxse himself has been the victim of German subtlety, that while ostensibly preaching fear and hate of Germany he has really been the unconscious agent trying to turn us into Germans, and that, with a view to our eventual defeat, he has been instilling into our youth the terrible poison of an effete game appropriately known as 'patters'?"

THE WESTERN PACT.

THE following notes have been sent to speakers, branch secretaries and others, as representing an attitude generally approved by the Union's Executive Committee on the question of the Geneva Protocol and the proposed Western Pact:—

"We welcome the prospect of a regional understanding for the preservation of peace between Great Britain, France, Germany, and (possibly) other countries interested in the frontiers of Germany.

"We believe that such an understanding may contribute in the highest degree to the permanent peace of Europe; but we consider that any such arrangement should

- (1) Be framed in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations;
- (2) Work in close harmony with the League and under its guidance;
- (3) Include a compulsory procedure for the peaceful settlement of all justiciable disputes between the parties;
- (4) Provide for the immediate entry of Germany into the League with a seat on the Council; and
- (5) Be open to other interested Powers to join.

"If these conditions are fulfilled the proposed agreement will constitute a most important step for attaining the objects of the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

"At the same time we do not think that the new arrangement will suffice as an alternative to the Protocol. We, therefore, hope that, when the Protocol is considered by the League's Sixth Assembly next September, H.M. Government—if they cannot approve the Protocol, even in an amended form, and thereby ensure its general acceptance—will make alternative proposals for reaching an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments through 'security and arbitration.' That would mean defining the sanctions of the Covenant and the occasions for their use; making provision for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes; and, finally abolishing the right of nations to resort to war."

LORD GREY ON PACTS.

LORD GREY OF FALLODON, who never speaks in public without providing thinking persons with some new food for reflection, gave a short but striking address at Lady Salisbury's reception to Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

After paying a warm tribute to Professor Gilbert Murray, as chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, and observing regarding the Geneva Protocol that "to those of us who agree that the Protocol would need some amendment and even reservation before we could ratify it, some of us think that some of the arguments used against it are exaggerated and even unfounded," Lord Grey proceeded to lay down the conditions on which he believed the British Government might go forward with the Western European Pact sketched by the Foreign Minister in the House of Commons.

"What," he asked "produces armaments between nations? Fear, fear is what produces them, and armaments as they grow produce still greater panic. Therefore, you must remove the fear before you can expect to get limitation of armaments, and you can only do that by producing security. It is true, too, that you can only get security by arrangements which would be completely comprehensive. But if you were to wait until you could get a comprehensive thing you would never make a start at all. You cannot make it a comprehensive thing to-day because you cannot get Russia into it.

"What are the two conditions for making a start? The first is that whatever start you make, whether you call it Protocol, whether you call it Covenant, or whether you call it Pact, should be inside the League of Nations, in accordance with the League of Nations, registered in it, and bringing it into harmony with the machinery of the League of Nations. The next condition should be this, that it should be something to which we should be a party and to which France and Germany would both be parties on equal terms and in which they could each find a sense of security. Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech in the House of Commons on his return from Geneva, said he was convinced that the German Government was making its proposals in good faith. Yes, to-day that may be, for Germany is helpless and disarmed, but if the opportunity passes Germany may become, with her power of organisation, potentially the strongest continental country in Europe. You cannot get a start if you are going to leave her out. If you can get Germany in with France on equal terms, then you are getting a start which will end in something comprehensive—you will begin in the right direction.

"And as regards France, it is equally true to say that the only real security for France is something which is security for Germany and for Europe, and that is equally true for ourselves. We cannot have isolation and we cannot be secure unless there is security for our great neighbours. If that is so, and if I understand the spirit of Mr. Chamberlain's speech aright, I take it from him that he thinks, with his inside knowledge, that there is such an opportunity in the direction from which a start should be made for fulfilling those conditions; then I say do not let us go off on small points; if those in power who are in a position to operate—to take practical steps—are going to take a step in the right direction, let us give them whole-hearted support.

"I would like to say," added the former Foreign Secretary, "in conclusion, with what pleasure I have heard what Mr. Chamberlain has said to-day about the League of Nations; how urgent I feel it that the influence of this country should be exercised in the direction I am trying to indicate; and how hopeful I am that the present Government, through Mr. Chamberlain, is going to use its influence in that direction."

POINTED QUESTIONS.

Q. What is the meaning of "compulsory arbitration?"

A. The term is employed rather loosely to denote different things. As used in reference to the Geneva Protocol, the meaning is clear. A nation spontaneously and of its own free will undertakes to join in establishing a system under which all disputes are settled peacefully by arbitration or conciliation. What is loosely called compulsory arbitration comes into effect if a State, having voluntarily accepted this general rule, endeavours in a particular instance to evade it and takes up arms. In that case it is compelled by its fellows to accept the arbitration which it had already declared itself willing in every case to accept. The suggestion occasionally made that there should be compulsory arbitration on such matters as the revision of existing treaties appears in reality meaningless, for no body exists with authority or power to impose such a system of compulsion even if it were desirable that it should be imposed.

* * * *

Q. Does the League in any way advocate the reducing of our defences by sea and land?

A. The Covenant definitely aims at a general reduction of armaments and, if that process is duly carried out, British armaments will clearly not be exempt. Under Article 8 it is recognised as essential that national armaments shall be reduced "to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The Council, "taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State," is to lay before the various Governments plans for such reduction. They cannot, of course, be imposed on any Government, but it is assumed that so far as the reductions proposed are just and are on a uniform scale, involving no unfairness to anyone, they will be adopted by the Governments concerned, as were the agreements reached at the Washington Labour Conferences in 1921-2.

* * * *

Q. Is the alliance with Germany to be pressed? Is her word to be trusted?

A. No arrangement properly described as an alliance with Germany has been proposed. The arrangement which is under discussion, that for a mutual guarantee pact regarding Germany's western frontiers, emanated from Germany herself, and there could, therefore, be no question of pressing it on her. As to whether Germany's word is to be trusted, that must be to a large extent a matter of individual opinion. The experience of the last five years seems, however, to have shown that pure coercion in relation to Germany has singularly unfruitful results. The Dawes scheme, on the other hand, which Germany accepted voluntarily, appears to be working reasonably well. The conclusion of any such voluntary agreements necessarily involves trusting Germany's word, though that does not preclude the possibility of having plans in reserve for dealing with the situation which might arise if that trust were found to be misplaced.

* * * *

Q.—How is it that Germany is not a member of the League of Nations automatically by virtue of the fact that in signing the Treaty of Versailles she signed the Covenant of the League?

A.—Article 1 of the Covenant laid it down that the original members of the League should be those signatories of the Treaty named in the Annex of the Covenant, together with such of the other States named in the Annex as should within two months declare their unreserved adherence to the Covenant. Germany does not fall under either of these categories.

CHECKING THE ARMS TRAFFIC.

A CONFERENCE of considerable importance opens at Geneva on May 4. Convened to give effect, after long and difficult discussions, to the decision of the League Assembly that a new Convention for the restriction of the international traffic in arms should be framed, the Conference represents the first substantial step yet taken by the League in the nature of a practical agreement making for a reduction of armaments.

What, it may properly be asked, is the arms traffic which it is desired thus to restrict? It is the system by which an ordinary private firm can produce rifles and machine guns and field guns and bombs, and sell them with very little restriction, or none at all, to any one engaged in running a little private war in any part of the world. How are Abdul Krim and the Riffs getting arms to carry on their war with Spain? How are the different factions in China keeping their civil conflict going? Where do the arms come from for the ceaseless fighting in Mexico? How did the Greeks and Turks find the wherewithal to kill each other through the long drawn-out fight of 1921/2? The answer is supplied very largely by the single term, "Arms Traffic." It is quite true that Great Britain imposes rigorous restrictions on the export of arms, but other countries which are producers on an extensive scale are notoriously lax, and in some cases impose no restrictions at all. If their manufacturers can turn an honest penny by helping to keep a war going at the other end of the world, so much the better for them.

It is to deal with this evil that the Arms Traffic Conference is meeting. About 40 States will be represented. That, of course, does not include by any means the full number of members of the League, but many such members have no arms manufacture whatever within their borders, and therefore are not directly interested. On the other hand, the United States, whose refusal to ratify the Arms Traffic Convention drafted at St. Germain in 1919 made that agreement worthless, is sending a strong delegation to this month's Conference, presided over by Mr. Theodore Burton, formerly Senator and now a Member of Congress, and one of the five members of the Debt Funding Commission. America's adhesion to any Convention is a matter of vital importance, as there are factories in the United States turning out munitions on a large scale, and unless restrictions can be applied to them, it is not much use trying to close doors elsewhere. The British delegate is to be the Earl of Onslow, Under-Secretary to the War Office, an appointment of doubtful wisdom, not on personal grounds, but because the considerations involved are really more political than military, and the War Office would have been sufficiently represented by one or two technical advisers.

A Draft Convention has already been sketched out by the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission, and this will form the main subject of discussion at the Conference. The Draft Convention begins by defining specifically what arms and munitions for the purposes of this Agreement are, three categories being drawn up: (1) Arms and implements designed exclusively for warfare, (2) arms capable of use both for military and other purposes, and (3) arms and munitions having no military value. The main object of the Convention is to secure agreement that no Government will allow the export from its territory of arms coming under the first of these categories, except to a recognised foreign Government or to a recognised manufacturer of war material in another country, on the direct authorisation of the Government of that country. Every such transaction is to be registered with a central international office, established by the League, where there will be filed complete information about other transactions anywhere involving the export of arms. The League,

in a word, proposes once more to rely on its favourite, and most effective, weapon—publicity, as a means of securing reform.

Apart from these restrictions on import, certain zones, comprising particularly the larger part of Africa and certain coastal regions of South-West Asia, are to be defined, into which the importation of arms is to be prohibited altogether by the Powers having authority there, except where the authorities concerned need them for defence against robbers or rebels, or for some other such legitimate purpose. Even so, weapons are not to be allowed to get into private hands.

IN THE HOUSE.

March 24.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Lady Astor):

It is the intention of the Government to ratify the recent Opium Conventions. The suggestion that they should be ratified before the next Assembly will be considered.

March 24.—Mr. Baldwin (to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher):

His Majesty's Government have stated that they are not opposed in principle to schemes for clarifying or strengthening the Covenant, and that they will always be prepared to examine well-considered proposals with this object.

April 1.—Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland (to Col. Woodcock):

The British Government proposes to expend a sum not exceeding £4,000 as a gift to the International Labour Office's new building.

April 1.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Mr. Ponsonby):

The question of the rectification of the frontier of Northern Syria did not come before the last meeting of the League of Nations Council.

April 1.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Mr. Lees Smith):

M. Rault has been appointed President of the Saar Valley Governing Commission for one further year. It will be for the Council of March, 1926, to decide what is then to be done.

April 2.—Sir William Joynson-Hicks (to Mr. Forrest):

The Convention concluded by the Second Opium Conference has not yet been ratified by any States. The Central Board cannot be appointed till the Convention has been ratified by ten Powers, including seven of those by whom the Board is to be appointed.

April 6.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Mr. Rennie Smith):

One battalion of French troops is to be withdrawn from the Saar Valley. The Governing Commission has, moreover, been requested to report as to how it could preserve order and safeguard property in the absence of any troops at all.

April 6.—Mr. Betterton (to Major Steel):

A State may ratify a Convention adopted by the International Labour Office with the proviso that the ratification shall not take effect until other States have also ratified, and the Government is considering what steps can be taken to secure that Conventions ratified by this country shall also be ratified by the other States chiefly affected.

April 8.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Lord Hartington):

The League Commission regarding the Mosul frontier is expected to report at the June Council meeting. The British representative at the thirtieth session of the League Council undertook to abide by the Council's decision and His Majesty's Government considers itself still bound by that pledge.

(Many of the entries in this column are summaries; not verbatim quotations of the answers given by the Ministers concerned.—Ed., HEADWAY.)



GENEVA, End of April.

THIS month has been fairly quiet—a short lull before the big arms traffic conference in May. Perhaps the outstanding event was the first meeting of the Committee for the progressive codification of international law. The very fact that so many distinguished jurists (including Professor Schücking, of Germany; ex-Attorney-General Wickersham, for the United States; M. Fromageot, for France; and Professor Brierly, of Oxford) have been brought together to co-operate permanently in this task is of immense importance, and the participants in the first meeting were satisfied with the results accomplished. These results, however, consisted only in marking out the subjects to tackle, and there must not be any illusions as to the possibility of quick accomplishments in this field. Codification of international law is in so many instances standardisation of national legislations, and this is clearly a matter that takes a long time and a lot of persuasion.

The next event of the month was the meeting on wireless summoned by the Transit organisation in order to discuss what preparatory work could be done in view of the world wireless conference that the United States propose to summon for 1927. It is considered that a European Conference should be held in 1926, as the first stage to the world conference. It is obvious that such questions as wavelengths, hours of emission and so on, require international co-ordination and agreement, unless wireless stations are to "get in each other's light."

For the rest, this month has been the League's health month. Geneva saw the ending of a "general interchange" from Great Britain, and the beginning of a new type of interchange, namely, of medical inspectors of labour, which subsequently proceeded to France, Belgium, Great Britain and Holland to study industrial hygiene. This interchange is being run by the Health Service of the International Labour Office and the Health Section of the League Secretariat in co-operation. A big Latin-American interchange started in March in Cuba, and is taking its leisurely course through the United States and Great Britain to Holland, France, Switzerland and Italy.

The Malaria Commission held a most important session, at which the final touches were put to the report on its survey on conditions in Russia, the Balkans and Italy, and preparations made for a further survey in Palestine, Syria (possibly Turkey), Sicily and Spain. Special reports on conditions in Albania and Greece, as well as the request of the Turkish Government for the appointment of an adviser on anti-malaria work were dealt with, and arrangements made for organising special courses in malariology in Paris, London and Hamburg, followed by a period of practical work in malaria districts in southern Europe and Palestine. The facilities thus afforded will, it is hoped, help considerably the health administrations concerned in this type of work.

The question of increasing the world's quinine supply has come up as an important item of the Malaria Com-

mission's work. At present some 9,500 of the world's total supply of 10,600 tons of quinine is a Dutch monopoly, and sold at something like 35 per cent. profit to the monopolists. Moreover, there has been limitation of output in order to keep up profits—this at a time when the total supply is inadequate to the world's needs—a step which is gravely hampering the Governments trying to combat malaria. Ultimately an international conference may be held to discuss the matter, with a view to encouraging the production of cinchona (the raw material of quinine) in other parts of the world, improving the manufacture of quinine, &c. At present the Malaria Commission experts are investigating the possibilities of utilising certain by-products obtained in the manufacture of quinine (so-called "secondary alkaloids"), and even the "total extract" from the cinchona bark for producing an antimalaria specific. This would greatly cheapen the manufacture of such specifics, and increase the available supply. Experiments are being conducted in a number of hospitals in different countries on uniform lines.

On April 20 the meeting of the Health Committee begins, and has a very big and important list of subjects to deal with. The Malaria Commission, it will be remembered, is merely a sub-committee of the Health Committee. There are about ten sub-committees, all doing big work. But of this more next month.

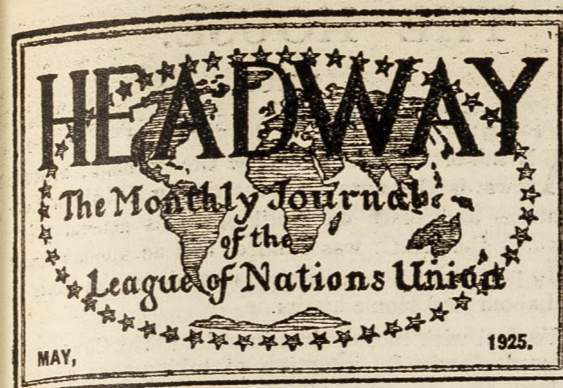
LABOUR EXCHANGE FOR INDIA.

MADRAS is the first Indian town to have a public employment exchange, says a report recently received by the International Labour Office. This is the first step taken by the Government to carry out the terms of the Washington Unemployment Convention, already ratified by India.

It will be remembered that the Convention provides for the establishment of free employment bureaux under the control of a central authority and advised by Committees of employers' and workers' representatives; for the sending to the I.L.O. of regular information as to the extent of unemployment and the measures taken to combat it in each country; and for reciprocal agreements between countries having systems of workers' unemployment insurance. Seventeen ratifications of this Convention have already been registered, including those of Denmark, Italy, India, Japan, Norway, S. Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Great Britain. In our case no drastic new legislation was necessary before ratification, as most of the provisions of the Convention were already observed in this country.

CHILD LABOUR LAW'S FATE.

IN spite of an unprecedented campaign of publicity in this country as well as in China itself, the by-law proposed by the Shanghai Child Labour Commission was not adopted at a meeting of ratepayers on April 15 through lack of the necessary quorum. The report of this Commission was important, not only because it was the first official inquiry into child-labour conditions in China, but because it gave undeniable evidence that the Chinese Government's Provisional Factory Regulations of 1921, due chiefly to representations from the I.L.O., have not yet been carried into effect. The Report proposed more modest regulations, prohibiting the employment of children under 10, limiting hours of work to twelve per day or night only, and providing for the guarding of machinery, etc., etc. It did, however, recommend the appointment of factory inspectors to carry these changes into practice.



PROTOCOL AND PACT.

A CORRESPONDENT, to whose views considerable weight attaches, takes exception elsewhere in this issue to the views expressed in this column of HEADWAY a month ago. Further reflection on what was then written does not suggest that there is anything to alter or withdraw. With regard to the Geneva Protocol, the arguments deduced by the Government, of course, call for full consideration. Some of them undoubtedly establish a case for the amendment of the Protocol; such an amendment, indeed, as everyone always recognised would be necessary. Others justify to the full the comment of Lord Grey that many of the criticisms directed against the Protocol rest on slender foundation, or no foundation at all. But these are, in a sense, details of the discussion. The essential point is that to those who held three months ago that the principles of the Protocol formed an ideal to be worked for persistently, those principles remain the ideal still. The fact that they cannot be immediately realised has no relevance at all. Even though they are never realised in their fullness, the mere fact of working for them will result in progress which, without that, would, in all likelihood, not be achieved. That applies, in particular, to the principle of universal arbitration. Mr. Austen Chamberlain has declared quite specifically that this country, and the British Empire as a whole, has interests so vital that some of them could never be referred to arbitration. As comment on that it is to be observed that France, together with a number of other countries, has declared unequivocally that she is prepared to submit every kind of dispute to arbitration or some other method of peaceful settlement. Every nation, of course, thinks its own interests more vital than any one else's, but the reflection that France is prepared to take this attitude while Great Britain is not must be to many a sobering thought.

Not much more than that need be said of the Protocol here. Nothing could be worse than that approval, or otherwise, of the Protocol should be regarded as a test of loyalty, or otherwise, to the League. The warmest and most consistent supporters of the League differ widely, and are fully entitled to differ widely, about the Protocol. The charter of the League as it stands is the Covenant. About that there is small room for difference of opinion. It is hard to see how any one who thinks little of the Covenant can think much of the League. But the Protocol is another question. While, for the most part, it merely emphasises and gives precision to the Covenant, it does at one particular point, by creating an absolutely comprehensive system of peaceful settlement, extend it; and it is open to anyone to think it a good thing or a bad thing thus to extend it. As things stand, with the Protocol, to all appearances, unrealisable at the moment (though it remains the principal subject of discussion at the next Assembly), critical, but in no sense unsympathetic, attention must

be directed to any plan which aims at achieving by stages what the Protocol aimed at achieving on a universal scale. Of such plans there are several in the field. They do not, so far as can be seen, clash with one another, and they need not in their present form constitute any obstruction to the ultimate development of some larger scheme very like the Protocol. Examples of such plans are the close regional agreements which exist between the three States—Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania—that make up the Little Entente, and the systems of arbitration treaties which are gradually being built up by States like Germany, France and Switzerland. The treaties of France with Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, and of Switzerland with Italy, are designed to remove any possibility of war, under any circumstances, between the contracting Powers; for all disputes, of any character, are to be submitted to arbitration or some other form of peaceful settlement; and the decision of the arbitrators will be final and binding. Germany's treaties with Sweden, Switzerland and Finland are on much the same lines, though in this case, as under the Covenant, a door is left open for war after a certain lapse of time, in the event of either country choosing not to accept the findings of conciliators. It is treaties of this type which Germany has proposed to conclude with Poland and any other nation on her frontiers.

To turn from arrangements actually existing to others still only in contemplation, the outstanding proposal is, of course, that for a Mutual Guarantee Pact between Britain, France and Germany, with Belgium and Italy probably adhering, for the maintenance of the present German frontier on the West. Little could be said on that subject in the last issue of HEADWAY, because at the time that issue went to press the first authoritative statement on the subject (that of Mr. Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons on March 24) had not been made. However the proposal may be scrutinised in its details, the Foreign Minister must have convinced all who heard him, or read his words, of the imperative obligation resting on the British Government to explore further the proposals Germany had framed. In the view both of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, the conclusion of such an agreement as has been outlined would establish permanent peace in what is still, rightly or wrongly, considered to be one of the danger zones of Europe. If that can, in fact, be achieved it would need considerations of quite abnormal weight to justify opposition to its achievement. Certain dangers attendant on the Western Pact do, no doubt, present themselves. It might look to many small States as something very like the first step towards a Concert of Europe consisting of Great Powers alone. It might go some way towards dividing Europe again into two camps, though an arrangement which bound Germany equally with her former enemies, could not readily lend itself to that interpretation. It might, and, perhaps, this is the greatest danger, so far assuage the anxieties of many who are to-day rightly concerned about the need of establishing security in Europe as to lead them to regard any larger arrangement on the lines of the Geneva Protocol as superfluous. For that reason a statement, published elsewhere in these pages, suggesting to branches of the League of Nations' Union certain considerations deserving attention in connection with the proposed regional understanding in the West is particularly opportune. The conclusion is, briefly, that if a regional agreement can be concluded which gives a genuine promise of establishing peace in the West, and which is so framed as to make it a first step towards something like the Protocol and not an alternative to the Protocol, then it is clearly incumbent on every convinced supporter of the League of Nations to wish well to the statesmen who are endeavouring to negotiate such a pact.

THE LEAGUE IN THE HOUSE.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN DEFINES HIS POLICY.

AS ill-luck would have it, the debate in the House of Commons on the Geneva Protocol took place on March 24, just after the last issue of HEADWAY had gone to press. The discussion was opened by Mr. Arthur Henderson, who, as Home Secretary in the Labour Government, took a prominent part in the framing of the Protocol. His speech consisted of a reasoned explanation and a strong defence of the Protocol, and the expression of an earnest hope that the Government would, in spite of everything, go to the Sixth Assembly prepared to carry on the work of the Fifth Assembly. The rest of the debate consisted of a series of speeches, many of them important, from all sides of the House, Conservatives, with the exception of Lord Hartington, condemning the Protocol; while Labour speakers, including Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, approved it with equal unanimity. Mr. Lloyd George, who came out against the Protocol, provoked a sharp controversy with the Foreign Minister by the vigour of his attack on Poland, and his speech closed with the remarkable suggestion that a Treaty of Arbitration covering even changes in the provisions of existing treaties should be drafted.

Apart from those from the Front Bench, reference should be made particularly to the speeches of Lord Hugh Cecil, who opposed the Protocol because he had so high an opinion of the Covenant, and of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, who criticised the tone of the Government's reply on the Protocol, and laid stress on the value of the Canadian note with its advocacy of the acceptance of the Universal Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Government's general policy was defined early in the debate by the Foreign Secretary, and at its close by the Prime Minister. Mr. Austen Chamberlain's objections to the Protocol were very much those embodied in the note read by him to the League of Nations' Council earlier in the month. He laid particular stress on the difficulty of carrying the Protocol through without the co-operation of the United States of America, and he emphasised the difficulties in which this country might find itself involved through the necessity laid upon it of taking part in the imposition of sanctions. The main part of his speech, however, was devoted to explaining the German proposals for a Western European pact, regarding which the public had until that time been dependent for its information on conflicting and unauthorised reports in the papers.

To Germany's offer to guarantee the Western frontier and undertake not to try and alter the Eastern frontier by force, Mr. Chamberlain attached the highest importance, and he made it clear that, though many difficulties would doubtless present themselves, the British Government proposed to explore to the utmost the avenues thus opened up.

The Prime Minister, winding up the debate, added little to what Mr. Chamberlain had said. He believed that the Pact might lead to stable peace in Western Europe, which in itself would be a considerable step forward. Replying to Lord Hartington, he indicated that the agreement might be made inclusive of other nations, but that Great Britain's guarantee would not extend beyond the Rhineland frontier, and the final words of his speech embodied the aspiration not merely to complete the pacification of the whole of Europe, but to get "the whole of Europe, including portions of it of which to-day many of us have little hope, into a united League of Nations."

I.L.O.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

AN important debate on the Government's attitude towards the unratified International Labour Conventions took place on April 9th. Its general policy towards the I.L.O. was defined, and an announcement as to particular Conventions was made by the Ministers of Labour and Home affairs.

To deal with these points in order: The Government showed clearly its intention of taking very seriously indeed the question of ratification of International Labour Conventions. The Minister of Labour stated specifically that "If a Convention is adopted at Geneva by the country it ought to be on the understanding that the Government of the country intends to ratify, and will do its very best to ratify it," and, further, that His Majesty's Government were "in the fullest accord with the aspirations expressed in Part XIII of the Treaty."

As to actual Conventions, the most controversial issues were, of course, the White Lead Convention, prohibiting the use of white lead for interior painting, and the Washington Hours of Work Convention. It will be remembered that there are two methods advocated for the prevention of white lead poisoning. One party favours protective regulations, and the other, believing that such regulations are impossible to enforce, prefers absolute prohibition of the use of white lead for interior work. A Bill for ratification of the Convention was brought before Parliament by the last Government. This Government, however, intends shortly to introduce a new Bill to regulate the use of white lead in painting, and to try the effect of such steps before imposing actual prohibition. If the present Home Minister's Bill passes into law, the Government will not, therefore, ratify the White Lead Convention. As to hours of work, a very strong plea for ratification was put forward by Mr. Tom Shaw, the late Minister of Labour, and the framer of the last Government's Hours of Work Bill, which also did not pass into law. He recalled the prominent part played by Great Britain in the framing of the Convention, which was actually altered to square with British custom, and complained that, in spite of this fact, the Governments of France, Belgium and even Germany showed more willingness to ratify than Great Britain. He was supported from the other side of the gangway by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland (Minister of Labour) declared, however, that in almost all industrial undertakings in England the forty-eight hour week had been fixed by agreement, and his Government did not consider it advisable or possible to frame a Bill which would conform to the terms of the Washington Convention. He added that administrative difficulties prevented the ratification of the Maternity Convention and the Minimum Age in Agriculture Convention, but that the three Maritime Conventions had already been presented to Parliament in the Merchant Shipping Bill. The Home Minister also made a statement as to the Government's amendments to the three Conventions to be discussed at Geneva next month (the Prohibition of Night Work in Baking, the Weekly Rest in the Glass Industry (Tank Furnace Process), and Equality of Treatment as regards Workmen's Compensation for National and Foreign Subjects).

Interesting suggestions made during the debate were the possibility of using diplomatic channels to secure simultaneous ratifications of Conventions and the importance of sending a responsible British Minister to represent the Government at the I.L. Conference,

THE PROTOCOL AND OXFORD TROUSERS.

THE end of March was a record time for Oxford tailors. On the evening of Saturday, the 28th, the city was invaded by no less than seven hundred undergraduates from all the universities of Great Britain and Ireland, and with them came immaculate young men from the Sorbonne, "would-be" diplomats complete with portfolios and morning coats, serious young Germans with close cropped curly hair, students from Warsaw anxious to know whether we, in the West, were out for another partition of Poland, and a cheerful party of delegates from universities all over the world.

By mid-day Monday there were no more genuine Oxford trouserings to be had in the City. But copies of the Protocol had sold even better, for, of the six central meetings of this first Universities' Congress convened by the National Union of Students, three, in the Oxford Union, were sessions of a Universities' League of Nations Assembly organised by the British Group (*i.e.*, the University Branches of the League of Nations Union).

Sir Arthur Salter, the economic expert of the League of Nations, presided over the opening session of this model League Assembly, and in an arresting speech emphasised the urgency of finding some solution for our international political chaos before Europe had recovered from the last war, and before the memories of its horrors had grown dim. Sir Arthur spoke from a despatch box, which faced the whole House, and which replaced, on this occasion, the two boxes which usually face each other across the table of the Oxford Union, emphasising the spirit of division rather than that sense of unity which Sir Arthur voiced. We felt ourselves mysteriously transplanted to the Salle de la Reformation in Geneva, and it is just as well that an occasional glimpse of thirty-four inches of sunset-hued cloth round the leg of some delegate on the front bench reminded us that after all this was still Oxford.

At the second session, on Tuesday evening, Lord Parmoor, who presided, was supported by Mr. F. G. G. Carr, of Cambridge, President of the National Union of Students, and Mr. K. Capper Johnson, of Oxford, President of the British Group. M. Louis Aubert, who has represented France at Geneva, and who had come over from Paris for these meetings, sat as chief French delegate, and was supported by, amongst others, M. Robert Lange, who is General Secretary of the Fédération Universitaire Internationale pour la Société des Nations. Sir Edward Grigg was chief of a British Delegation, which included presidents and past presidents of the National Union of Students, the Oxford Union Society and other University Union Societies and Student Councils. Mr. Del Re, of Italy, took the chair at the third and final session the following morning. But the time at our disposal was too short to find a detailed solution or reconcile all points of view, and, in the end, we could only shew by passing unanimously a very general resolution, that breadth of understanding was not limited to clothing.

If the final resolution, unanimously adopted, referred to the forthcoming Sixth Assembly at Geneva for further consideration problems for which we had been unable to find in a few hours a complete solution, the fact that they had been frankly voiced by representatives of so many countries gave us all a much livelier sense of their reality and importance. It was clear that the Protocol, supported by the rest of the League, was not acceptable—at any rate in its present form—to large bodies of opinion throughout the British Empire, but we agreed that the Sixth Assembly should not cease to work for the aims which the Protocol sought to achieve, and should not abandon what has already been

attempted, but go forward in search of a solution more generally acceptable to this country and the dominions. Later in the week, in the furious debate on foreign policy in the Universities' Parliament, and in many of the other meetings, such as that addressed by Mr. Wickham Steed, the League, the Protocol and League activities were again to the front.

At the close of the whole Congress Lord Cecil delivered a presidential address, which he had been too ill to make on the first day, and by the eloquence and sincerity of his appeal added still further to the affection and esteem in which he is held throughout the Universities of the world.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND THE LEAGUE.

INFORMATION of considerable interest regarding steps taken to ensure that school children in the United States acquire a good working knowledge of what the League of Nations is doing has been received by the Information Section of the League at Geneva from the Secretary of the American School Citizenship League.

This organisation, which was founded in 1908 under the name of the American School Peace League, has borne its present title since 1919. Its purpose originally, as its name implied, was to try and ensure that the principles of peace were laid before children in America as least as systematically as facts about wars; One method which has been found largely successful has been the institution of prize essay contests. The first of these competitions was held in 1909, and they have continued annually since, having been thrown open from 1920 onwards not merely to all children in the United States secondary and normal schools, but to pupils in similar schools throughout the world. From 1919 the subjects chosen have either definitely concerned the League of Nations or have been such as to necessitate a discussion of the League. Next year, apart from the regular essay contest, another prize is to be awarded for an essay on how far the League realises the ideals of world friendship and world solidarity, or on how far the first words of the Preamble of the Covenant, "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security," have been realised in practice.

This is by no means the only line along which the American School Citizenship League promotes a knowledge of the League of Nations. It is constantly, for example, being applied to for information for purposes of college and inter-college debates, and it is stated that care is always taken to bring the best publications on the League to the notice of inquirers. Some ten years ago a course on citizenship, since revised under the title "Course on Citizenship and Patriotism," was produced; This aims at developing in the first year of school life a spirit of goodwill and co-operation through the widening relationships of the child acting as a member of the home, school, town or city, state or nation, and finally as a member of the world family. The last two chapters in the book, entitled "The United States and the World," and "The World Family," lead up to a discussion of the League of Nations. It is claimed that no child who has been taught along the lines of this book, that no teacher who has used it, can easily fail to become a convinced advocate of the League of Nations. The book is in use in thousands of schools throughout the Union. It is probable that the final chapter will shortly be revised so as to include some definite and up-to-date information regarding the League.

THE WORLD AND ITS WORK.

THE Seventh International Labour Conference takes place this year on May 19, when a most representative L.N.U. delegation—Conservatives, Liberals, Labour, Employers, and Trade Unionists—will assemble at Geneva to study its work. The agenda is interesting, and raises at least one important general question. Should the I.L.O. aim at actually improving the workers' standard of living throughout the world, or should it be content merely to fix a minimum standard of labour for such conditions (hours of work, age of employment, &c.) as have the most immediate effect on international competition? The chief new topic before the Conference is, for instance, Social Insurance, and in particular Workmen's Compensation. It might well be argued that industrial insurance is a domestic concern, and that each country must be free to legislate, or not to legislate, as it pleases for the compensation of workers injured in the course of their employment.

The answer is, of course, that somebody has got to pay for the compensation, if compensation there is to be, and in most countries the employers pay a very large part of the necessary sum. It constitutes, therefore, a burden on industry, and the countries, like ourselves, with the most adequate system of compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases are the most heavily handicapped. An international agreement on the subject could alone bring up the standard of the industrially backward countries. Further, if precedent is any argument, the Conference in 1921 adopted a Convention on the same subject—Workmen's Compensation in Agriculture—and last year, at its Sixth Session it adopted provisionally a Convention providing for equal treatment for foreign and national workers as regards accident compensation. This Convention will be voted on finally in May.

The next problem is more difficult. Should the I.L.O. deal with a question like workmen's compensation by means of a Draft Convention or by a Recommendation? The present British Government, in reply to an I.L.O. questionnaire, says that social practice and legislation on the subject differ so widely in different countries that a Convention is too rigid a form of agreement. The majority of other Governments, however, are prepared to accept a Convention, and the full and interesting replies to the questionnaire show that Member States are very really interested. The I.L.O. has, therefore, drawn up two Draft Conventions, one dealing with workmen's accidents, and the other with occupational diseases. It has also proposed two Recommendations, one as to the scale of benefits to be granted, and one as to the judicial body which shall settle compensation disputes. These four measures will be discussed in May, and also a general Report on Social Insurance, which is of interest at a time when all political parties are developing their policies as to an "all-in" scheme to include unemployment and sickness insurance, old-age pensions, workmen's compensation, maternity benefits, &c.

The Directors' Annual Report on the progress of international labour legislation during 1924-25 will be, if it is like those of other years, an extraordinarily interesting survey. It also provides an opportunity for an exchange of opinion between Government, employer and worker delegates, not only on the ratification of Conventions, but also on international problems, such as world unemployment, migration, hours of work, &c. The L.N.U. party should be able to listen to most of this debate. Further items on the agenda are three Conventions (night-baking, glass-works, equal treatment as regards accident compensation) adopted provisionally last year. Various Governments have since sent in amendments to these Conventions, and they should be adopted in their final form this year.

OVERSEAS NOTES.

Canada.—The Canadian Society is launching an appeal throughout the Dominion with the object of enrolling 100,000 members, and securing a foundation fund of \$100,000.

Speaking on the Protocol at the Empire Club in Toronto, on March 26, the Hon. Newton Rowell, K.C., in outlining Germany's proposal for a treaty of mutual assurance with the Powers interested in the Rhine frontier as a substitute for the Protocol, stated that the proposal could not be accepted as a substitute for the main purposes of the Protocol, though as a step towards their realisation it might prove of real importance. In his opinion the most valuable single provision in the Protocol was that which provided for the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justiciable disputes—which acceptance Canada was prepared to consider. The Government of Canada was also prepared to consider methods of supplementing the provisions of the Covenant for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes, reserving ultimate decision in domestic issues, and without undertaking further obligations to enforce decisions in the case of other states.

The Canadian proposals, Mr. Rowell held, suggested a line of action which the British Empire could safely take, and in taking would greatly contribute to the peace and security of the world.

* * * *

Japan.—The Japanese League of Nations Society has expressed its appreciation for the books sent by members of the Executive and Overseas Committees to replace those destroyed in the great earthquake. The new books have been deposited in the Tokio Imperial University Library.

The Executive Committee of the Japanese Society has passed a resolution concerning the Geneva Protocol, and has presented it to the Japanese Foreign Minister. The resolution expresses the belief that the basic principles of the Protocol, if put into practice, would mean the beginning of the establishment of world peace; recognises that in view of the acceptance of the Japanese amendment, Japan is under special obligation to use every effort towards putting the terms of the Protocol into practice; and expresses the hope that Japanese people will support the Protocol.

* * * *

France.—The Ex-Soldiers' Federation of the Ain (4,300 members) has joined the French Association for the League of Nations. On February 19 M. Cassin gave a lecture in the Sorbonne on "French Ex-Soldiers and the League of Nations."

* * * *

Switzerland.—The list of members of the Swiss League of Nations Society in the various Cantons gives the total number as 4,331.

At a general meeting of the Swiss Society held at Neuchâtel on March 22, a resolution on the Protocol was unanimously passed by an audience of about 2,000 people.

* * * *

General.—The Union is making arrangements to send a strong delegation to the Annual Conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, which is to be held at Warsaw on July 5. Sir Willoughby Dickinson will preside at the Conference in his capacity as President of the Federation for the current year.

A BATCH OF LETTERS.

How to Learn Languages Without Tears.

By ANTHONY SOMERS.

I HAVE been reading through a batch of letters. They are from people who have learnt to read and speak French or Spanish or German by the new "direct" Pelman method which is causing such a stir in educational circles.

And really some of the results reported in these letters are marvellous.

Most of us (unless we possess a natural aptitude for languages) know what a long and wearisome task the business of learning a Foreign Language by the old-fashioned methods usually is. We remember the years we spent at school drudging at French, puzzling over the grammar, worrying over the declensions, learning long vocabularies by heart, tediously translating English sentences into French (and getting our papers back covered with blue marks!). And then, after leaving school, perhaps we went over to France on a visit. We tried to make ourselves understood. It was useless. We couldn't understand what the people said. And directly we opened our mouths everyone knew we were English.

What a waste of time that old vocabulary-cum-translation system was! Happy are those who are learning by the new Pelman method now—the method which does away with translation and the mechanical memorisation of words and enables you to learn French in French, German in German, and Spanish in Spanish.

And, liking the new method so much, they write letters such as these I have been reading. Here are a few of them:—

"I have managed during the past few months to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school."—(C. 416.)

"After several years' drudgery at school I found myself with scarcely any knowledge of the French language, and certainly without any ability to use the language. After about six months' study by the Pelman method I find I have practically mastered the language."—(B. 143.)

"I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of eight months I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in eight years at school."—(S.K. 119.)

"A Spanish lady . . . was filled with genuine surprise and admiration at the amount I had learnt in eight weeks. I do most of it in omnibuses and at meals."—(S.H. 219.)

"I have learnt more French this last four months than I did before in four years. I enjoyed the Course thoroughly."—(W. 149.)

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

"I am more than satisfied—I am astonished! It would have taken me as many years to learn by any ordinary system as much as I have learnt in months by yours."—(P. 145.)

These letters have not been sought for in any way. Men and women have taken up one or other of the Pelman Language Courses and they have been so delighted with the results that they have sat down and written to the Pelman Languages Institute to say how pleased they are. And I could quote hundreds more if I had room.

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BOOKS WORTH READING.

IMPATIENCE at the continued absence of the United States from the League is apt to do injustice to the large body of persons in that country who are doing their utmost in the way that seems best to them to influence public opinion in its favour, and in particular in favour of the World Court. In this latter respect their efforts seem likely to meet with success in the not too distant future. If this happy result is attained it will be due to the work of men like Professor Manley O. Hudson, of Harvard University, who adds to his qualifications as a professor of international law, personal experience as a member of the legal section of the Secretariat of the League, while the Statute of the Court was being drafted in 1920, and while the judges were being elected in 1921 and 1923. For the past three years Professor Hudson has been writing and speaking without remission on his subject, and some of his addresses and articles are now available for a wider public; they appear in book form under the title *The Permanent Court of International Justice and the Question of American Participation* (H. Milford, 17s.). In a reprint of this kind a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable, but apart from that the book is a valuable contribution to League literature. The British reader will naturally turn with most interest to the papers dealing with the second part of the title. Mr. Hudson points out in these that such a Court as this has been a permanent feature of American foreign policy during the last half century, that "the new Court is not merely a private court of the members of the League of Nations" and that it "does not derive its existence from the Covenant of the League." Thus in the first round he disarms those critics who oppose the participation of America in the Court because they are relentlessly opposed to her participation in the League. He then scores a second hit by stating that Americans, in the persons of American national group in the Hague Court, may now nominate candidates for the position of judges, though they did not avail themselves of this opportunity in 1921, and that under Article 31 of the Statute the United States has the right to nominate a judge to sit in any case in which it is concerned either as plaintiff or as defendant. He follows up his advantage by reminding his fellow-countrymen that the Court stands open to-day to the United States to hear any case which it may choose to bring forward and that in any action which it may thus bring it need make no payment for the general expenses of the Court, beyond those which it actually incurs in pleading its own case. The real stumbling block, of course, is that the United States has no voice in the election of the panel of judges. It is unthinkable, as Mr. Hudson admits, that the method of election should be altered to suit the scruples of the United States, but he sees no difficulty in making some arrangement by which his country might take part in the next election of the judges by the Assembly and the Council "when those bodies act, not under any provision of the Covenant, but as electoral bodies named in Article 4 of the Statute of the Court"; in the meantime, Mr. J. Basset Moore will continue worthily to represent the United States. The scheme may savour of a legal quibble, but it is at least a possible way out of the present difficult situation. The last word, however, will be said by the United States Senate and, if Mr. Hobson and those who think with him can convert the opposition in that august body, they will have done a great thing; unfortunately, the Senate is not always open to the force of arguments, and prejudice may outweigh conviction.

A sketch map in Mr. J. A. Williamson's *Europe Overseas* (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.) shows the whole of the world, with the exception of China, Japan and a small group of Middle East territories, to be either

settled or controlled by people of European stock. This is a striking fact, and with whatever feelings it may be received, the history of its development needs to be recorded not only for the student, but also for the general reader. Mr. Williamson has produced a summary of this history with a thoroughness which appears to leave no important aspect of past European expansion unnoticed and with a clearness of expression which the fewness of his pages makes the more remarkable; he has almost succeeded in putting the quart measure into the pint pot. The story begins with the overseas enterprises of Spain and Portugal; it proceeds with their displacement by England, France and Holland, and as the author reminds us the last chapter is not yet written. Overseas expansion, whether it has taken the form of the earlier trading factories for the sake of commercial advantage or that of colonial settlement from a mother country, has been almost invariably followed by war or by the exploitation of the backward races of the world, sometimes by both. For each of these evils the League of Nations, though it is hardly mentioned in this book, provides the obvious remedy. It does not seem to occur to Mr. Williamson that the League may also help to answer the menacing questions which he raises in his concluding pages and which may remove their menace. If it is true that "Europeans, in Africa and Australia alike, live under the threat of a catastrophe, from the constantly expanding populations of the black and yellow races, if European power, as he believes, is on the wane in Asia, if there are seeds of danger in the negro movement, the solutions of all these difficulties must be sought in the expansion of the League and its authority.—H. W. F.

WHAT ZIONISM IS.

The opening of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem has drawn new attention to the Zionist movement, and Mr. Leonard Stein's book *Zionism* (Benn. 6s.) comes opportunely with its brief account of that movement's history and its real objects.

Zionism, as Mr. Stein points out, has not meant exactly the same thing at all times and to all its supporters. To some it means a longing to return and live in the ancient home of the Jews; to others a desire for some symbol of the Jewish nation in a piece of land, be it ever so small, which the scattered children of the Dispersion can call their own; to others it aims at something less concrete still—a centre of Jewish culture from which Jews can make their contribution, by right and not on sufferance, to the intellectual life of the world. And it is in this last sense that the Zionists of to-day are developing their Jewish National Home in Palestine.

But the Jewish settlers in Palestine have justified their presence there in material things too. What was a derelict waste is being transformed under their hands into a land once more flowing with milk and honey. Swamps are drained, roads built, the Jordan converted into power, and all kinds of agricultural work pushed forward, in places by groups of youthful idealists who have settled in communist villages where each member has to do his share of the general labour. This and the resurrection of Hebrew as a spoken language are two of the most interesting features of the Palestine of to-day.

The Zionist movement has a particular importance in relation to the League because the supposed inconsistency between the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine has prevented such difficulties to the administration of the Mandate.

Mr. Stein discusses the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate itself, and shows that, in both, the interests of the Arab population are strictly safeguarded.

The Story of the League of Nations.—By Kathleen E. Innes, B.A. (Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.). In this short account of the origins and work of the League Mrs. Innes has overcome with considerable success the difficulty of presenting abstract ideas in simple language. The descriptive chapters on the League's work are well calculated to interest children, though it is a pity that they form so small a proportion of the whole. The forerunners of the League take up rather more space than their importance warrants. For its particular purpose, however, the volume may be warmly commended.

READERS' VIEWS.

PROTOCOL AND PACT.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—None of your readers will challenge the right of HEADWAY to take any line that is compatible with the principles of the Covenant, and if you choose to nail your colours to the mast of the submerged, or at least waterlogged, Protocol, no one can complain. But I think your April issue conveys a false impression in one or two respects.

(1) "If Great Britain is against it," you say in your leading article, "the whole of Europe, with the possible exception of Italy . . . is attached to the Protocol to a degree hitherto hardly realised in this country." I can only speak, for the most part, from hearsay, but it strikes me as a wild exaggeration to represent the views of some Statesmen recently at Geneva and some journalists as the unanimous opinion of the peoples of Europe, most among whom have probably no more idea of what the Protocol means than has the average Englishman.

(2) In the same paragraph you say that our country contends that war must not be abolished. That is unworthy of HEADWAY. If any British Government thought that the Protocol or anything else would abolish war, it would be only too thankful to adopt it.

(3) On page 65, I understand Professor Murray to say that "we" (the Union) "believe in the Protocol especially." No doubt "Union" is a slip for "Executive Committee," but I think it is an unfortunate one. Many keen members of the Union believe the Protocol to be inopportune and dangerous.

(4) Both on your front page and in your leading article you refuse to discuss the proposed Anglo-Franco-German pact on the ground that the suggestion is too nebulous. It has at least its feet on the terra-firma of the Rhineland. One could wish that you showed greater appreciation of the immense promise of such an agreement, which, if carried through, would be a real practical beginning of reconciliation. At any rate, so far as this country and this Parliament are concerned, the House of Commons debate of March 24—especially the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Hugh Cecil, Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Baldwin—showed that the Protocol in its present form is dead, whereas the idea of the pact is very much alive, and, with all respect to the author of your leading article, now holds the stage.—Yours, &c.,

April 13. J. R. M. BUTLER.

[Mr. Butler's letter calls for the following brief observations:—

(1) It is no doubt impossible to speak dogmatically as to the opinion of Europe regarding the Protocol, but it is reasonable to assume that where there has not been a change of Government in the meantime, the countries whose accredited representatives approved the Protocol in principle last September approve it in principle to-day.

(2) The reference to "the rôle thrust on our country of contending that war must not be abolished because there are cases in which Great Britain could not submit to arbitration and would insist on fighting" appears to be strictly in accordance with the facts, as a speech made by Mr. Chamberlain after the Editorial article in HEADWAY was written pretty clearly implies.

(3) The reason why the proposed Anglo-Franco-German pact was described as nebulous is that at the time the article was written it was nebulous. Mr. Austen Chamberlain could give no clear account of it to the House of Commons. The only basis for discussion was Press reports

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varying in degrees of vagueness and often conflicting. The House of Commons debate of March 24 (after the last issue of HEADWAY had gone to Press) has clarified the situation a good deal.

(4) The Protocol may be "waterlogged, submerged or dead" in the sense in which every proposed reform always has been when first it was laid before the world. The Protocol may be good or bad and it may never come to fruition, but there is nothing very damning about the fact that it has failed to command universal assent in six months.—ED. HEADWAY.]

GERMANY'S WAR GUILT.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Following on the favourable review in your February number of a book by a Frenchman, no doubt a personal adversary of M. Poincaré, who attempts to modify the generally accepted view of Germany's War Guilt, I see that your March issue continues in the same line by drawing attention to Count Montgelas' book, "The Case for the Central Powers." It is to be presumed that HEADWAY stands for international morality. Yet these two reviews allow one to infer that you would be prepared not only to forgive, but also to forget, the greatest international crime in modern history. It is difficult to see how any amount of quibbling on the subject of "General European responsibility," so dear to Germany and her apologists, can wipe out from men's memories the following facts (not to speak of the many others that might be quoted):—

(1) That Germany violated her plighted word by invading Belgium.

(2) That Germany refused to entertain Sir Edward Grey's suggestion of a conference between the Powers interested in the crisis of July, 1914.

(3) That in spite of the French troops having been withdrawn ten kilometres behind their own frontier in order to avoid incidents, the German Army invaded French territory before the declaration of war and killed a French soldier, the first victim of the war on the Western front.

(4) That on the admission of Baron von Schön, the German Ambassador in Paris, the German declaration of war on France was founded on a falsehood, which the same ambassador knew at the time to be a falsehood, viz., the pretended bombardment of Nuremberg by French airmen.

If the "Protocol for the Settlement of International Disputes" had existed in 1914, I imagine that Germany would at once have been branded as the "Aggressor," if only on the strength of the first two facts quoted. I see no reason for our judgment of 1914 events being less severe than would be our judgment of similar events in 1925.

It is greatly to be hoped that the Allied Governments will soon take up a strong attitude in the question of the "Schuldfrage."—Yours, &c.,

St. Gervais, March 22.

W. STRATHEY.

[The opinions of a reviewer do not of necessity reflect the editorial views of HEADWAY.—ED.]

THE O.T.C. AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

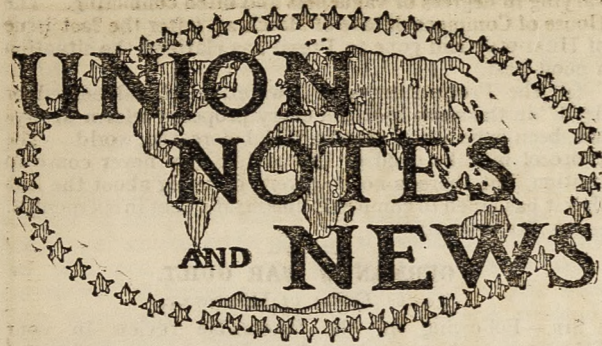
SIR,—The fact that London University (among others) attempts to reconcile a recent recrudescence of militarist activity with support of the League merely shows that even educated minds are divided into compartments, one for religion, one for desires, &c. When, by the grace of God, the ideas of one compartment leak into another, the reason is stirred or the conscience pricked, and special pleading is the result—e.g., that military training is not for war but exercise. To this it is sufficient answer to point out that O.T.C.s, &c., are by the Peace Treaty forbidden in Germany and in mandated territory as militarist.

It is not for the L.N.U. to oppose all military training and national defence on pacifist grounds. But military training among the young inevitably suggests that war is rather glorious, and that the rifle rather than the League is, as a matter of course, the natural and manly means of national defence which cuts at the roots of L.N.U. propaganda.

If the sole object of O.T.C.s is discipline and exercise, why not some instrument even more obsolete than the rifle—e.g., Indian clubs?—Yours, &c.,

Jordans Village.

H. W. BLIGH.



A Call at No. 10.

It was, as Mrs. Stanley Baldwin said, "most necessary that we should not be behind Paris and Prague in the warmth of the welcome extended to them"—the delegates to the Executive Committee of the International Universities' League of Nations Federation. So when they arrived in England on March 26 they were entertained to tea at 10, Downing Street, and next day were received by the Vice-Chancellor of London University, entertained to lunch by the Principal of King's College, and to tea at the House of Parliament by Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck. Mrs. Oliver Brett held a reception in their honour, and Lady Gladstone and her Hospitality Committee received them at the Union and arranged for their entertainment and hospitality in London. In Oxford there was a dinner at Queen's College and a visit to Braughton Castle. Progress was made with the organisation of the Federation, and final plans were approved for this year's International Universities' Conference to be held at Geneva in September. The arrangements will be similar to those of last year, but this year, there will be special cheap fares for parties attending the Summer School, and members will have the use of the new International Students' Club in Geneva. Further details next month.

Getting the League Across.

When all is said and done, meetings will probably remain the most effective way of presenting the League to the general public, but, unfortunately, L.N.U. meetings are still apt to be attended by the converted alone. A very much wider use of the method of debate would probably bring in a great many people from the "other side," and Headquarters will gladly co-operate in finding good opponents to the League. Another successful way of gaining new ground is a series of meetings in the halls of other societies. Political societies, women's societies, trade union and co-operative societies, &c. &c., if approached early enough in the year would often devote one meeting in their autumn programme to the League, and the Union has, in this case, merely to provide a speaker instead of a room and an audience as well. A further problem is to give in the short time at one's disposal anything like a comprehensive account of even the Covenant of the League. Branch Secretaries might try distributing to every member of the audience a copy of the Covenant, the Protocol, or whatever document is being discussed. It has been found that, by this means, people are able to follow a lecture point by point, and to ask intelligent questions. When offered the copies for sale at the end of the meeting most of the audience have been interested enough to want to buy. A series of two or three meetings of different sorts, e.g., a lantern lecture, a Mock Assembly, and a descriptive address on the same subject, will often give a Branch a more thorough hold on any given question.

As to literature, the £1 member may complain that he has too much, but the 1s. and 3s. 6d. member may quite often find it hard to get any pamphlet he needs. Some

Branches have made successful arrangements with local booksellers to supply pamphlets or to hold an exhibition of League literature in return for a list of L.N.U. members who may be circularised. This is another good way of interesting others besides the actual members of the Branch.

The experiment of circulating to every 1s. and 3s. 6d. member the quarterly News Sheet has very often kept up interest and led to a higher percentage of renewed subscriptions. A special pamphlet giving the Covenant, a short account of the work of the League, and of that of the Union might be prepared for presentation to new members with their receipt, if a sufficient demand were made. Headquarters would be very glad to have further suggestions from Branches as to the problem of getting the League across.

A Year's Work of the L.N.U.

The Annual Report of the League of Nations Union has just been published, and members will once more be surprised at the variety and interest of the enterprises in which they are co-operating. Under such diverse headings as "Education," "Labour," and "The Churches"—to choose three only at random—the ways in which the Union spreads knowledge of the League are described, and readers will learn, perhaps for the first time, of such varied schemes as the organisation of Summer Schools at Geneva and the collection of books to replace Japanese libraries destroyed by the earthquake. Those are, of course, but a small part of the big volume of work which the Union now performs, but they are nevertheless interesting to people who, by their annual subscriptions, are helping to keep up the organisation which makes such educational activities possible.

The League of Nations Union is the means whereby in this country the League gets that "organised support of public opinion" which is the breath of life to it. The quotation is from President Wilson. If he were still alive we cannot doubt that he would recognise that the British League of Nations Union is serving the League exactly as it requires to be served. There is one aspect of its service that needs particular emphasis at present, and will need it more and more as the League gains power and becomes concerned with every burning question of international politics. We refer to the successful efforts of the Union to keep the League of Nations from becoming a subject of party controversy in Great Britain. There can be no doubt that the Union is chiefly responsible for the fact that even in the heat of Parliamentary elections the opposing candidates appear together on a League of Nations Union platform to proclaim that their respective parties are united in supporting the League.

Our speakers are urged to keep this non-party point of view continually before themselves and their audiences and to explain the importance of preserving it. It has been effectively done so far by acknowledging and emphasising every word and act of loyalty to the League from whatever Government or political party it may come.

The Council's Vote.

At the time of going to press £2,506 had been received towards the 1925 Council's Vote. In addition to those mentioned last month, the following Branches have now completed their 1924 quotas:—Louth, Leeds (Trinity), Bracknell, Cowley, Faringdon, Knebworth, Harold Wood.

The following are particularly to be congratulated on having already paid their 1925 quotas in full:—Coggleshall, Hanging Heaton, Exford, Swanland.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS.	
Jan. 1, 1919	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	432,478
April 23, 1925	457,942

BRANCHES.	
On April 23, 1925, the number of Branches was 2,045, Junior Branches 223, and Corporate Members 1,099.	

ROYAL TOURNAMENT OLYMPIA

MAY 28th to JUNE 13th

Twice Daily, 2.30 and 8 p.m.

The 1925 Pageant

The PAGEANT is always an important item, and this year promises to be an immense draw. The Tournament Authorities are now preparing as a special feature for this year a wonderful Pageant of The Royal Artillery. There has never been a Pageant in previous years which will come up to the magnificence of this particular one. In order to cope with the number of Horses, Mules, Elephants, etc., the entire annexe will be set aside for marshalling the troops and animals prior to entering the arena for this GRAND HISTORICAL DISPLAY.

Make a Note of the Date and
BOOK EARLY

Increase in Corporate Members.

The increase in the Union's Corporate Membership in the last month is analysed as follows:—Churches and religious organisations—Presbyterian, 6; Wesleyan, 5; Church of England, 4; Baptist, 3; Congregational, 3; Methodist, 2; Unitarian, 1; other denominations, 5. Non-religious organisations—Trades and Labour Councils, Miners' Lodges, Adult Schools, &c., 7.

Membership Records.

Glasgow Branch has enrolled no less than 2,000 members during the past year, and its panel of 30 speakers have addressed 300 meetings during that time.

Ilford, on the other hand, though a smaller Branch, has set out to beat its own membership record every year. This aim has been successfully accomplished, and the number of recruits for 1924 is by far the highest yet reached. Such achievements, if emulated by all the Union's 2,000 Branches, would secure a membership of over two and a-half millions.

Another record is that of Ferme Park, which has secured a 92 per cent. renewal of members' subscriptions during the past year.

Become an Expert!

Particulars of the Cambridge Summer School and the Geneva Institute of International Affairs appeared in our last issue. At both Cambridge and Geneva the Union has been fortunate in securing a galaxy of expert lecturers, and a very pleasant and instructive holiday is assured to those who are fortunate enough to attend. Several Branches are arranging to send small contingents to these schools, and are, in some cases, paying the expenses of one member for the visit. This is certainly a sound investment to make, as it is most valuable to have in the Branch at least one or two experts with some first-hand knowledge of the organisation and work of the League.

Geneva in Watford and Purley.

"Model Assemblies" are not in themselves a new experiment at this stage of the Union's history, but the success and originality of the recent Assemblies organised by the Watford and Purley Branches should stimulate many new developments of this sort. The difficulty in these cases has usually been the choice of speakers able not only to express their own point of view on the motion under discussion, but also the official attitude of the country they are representing—a more difficult and important matter! Purley solved this problem by staging an actual repetition of parts of the famous debates on Disarmament and the Protocol which took place at the last Assembly inviting different members to summarise the text of speeches made on that occasion. M. Motta, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. Stanning, M. Herriot, the Maharajah of Bikaner, M. de Mello Franco, and Mrs. Swanwick were thus represented. The room was set out as an exact replica of the Assembly Hall at Geneva, as shown in an attractive programme and diagram issued to the audience, which mustered some 500 strong. Such a representation of a really historic discussion is perhaps the most instructive and interesting form of Model Assembly described in these pages.

Spread the News Sheet.

Mr. H. T. Weeks, Hon. Secretary of the Tunbridge Wells Branch, has been sending to 30 personal friends scattered in different parts of the world, the Union's Quarterly News Sheet. This small paper has been much appreciated. It is not only easy reading, but costs only 7½d. per 25 copies, and can be sent in a business envelope for 4d. This way of spreading League news should be within reach of considerably more people than the monthly copy of HEADWAY.

League Log Books.

An interesting scheme originated by the South Westmorland District Council is the distribution of log books to seventeen local elementary schools where the pupils have been asked to keep a record of any bit of League news

they can get hold of. The quarterly news sheet and other literature is supplied, and through the generosity of some members, each school has been presented with a copy of Miss Spaul's "The Fight for Peace."

The Union in Wales.

Wales has just reached the end of a strenuous campaign of 11 conferences and 14 public meetings addressed by the Bishop of St. David's, President of the Welsh National Council. As the result, 18 new District Committees have been formed, and in one case a District Committee has secured 12 new Branches.

The Annual Conference is to be held at Aberystwyth and Tregaron on June 1-3, and it is hoped that all Welsh Branches will make a special effort to send representatives.

Assembly Tours.

Parties leave London on Friday, September 4, and the two following weeks if numbers justify. The fee (£11 11s.) includes return ticket, with second-class travel on the Continent, reservation of seats, transit across Paris on the outward journey, and six days' excellent accommodation in Geneva, comprising full board and conveyance of luggage to hotel. Meals taken on the journey must be paid for by the traveller.

Arrangements for the parties are being made in close co-operation with the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, and facilities will be given for studying the work of both departments. Visits to the Assembly and International Labour Organisation have been arranged. Further particulars may be had from Headquarters, or direct from the Organiser, Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, *minimum*, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire 5s.).

Membership, HEADWAY, and all pamphlets issued, *minimum*, £1. Membership, *minimum*, 1s.

The above minimum subscriptions do not provide sufficient funds to carry on the work of the League of Nations Union, either in the Branches or at Headquarters. Members are therefore asked to make their subscriptions as much larger than these minima as they can afford.

A "corporate member" pays £1 a year and promises to endeavour to secure that every member of the Church or Club or Institute or Branch of a Society shall become an individual member of the Union, and in return receives a copy of HEADWAY, the monthly journal of the Union, together with the various pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.

All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment, and become renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription was paid.

Applications to join the Union should be made to the Secretary of a local Branch or to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "League of Nations Union" and crossed Midland Bank.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas. Also see that your Public Library has one.

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.
Telegrams: "Freenat, Knights, London."
Telephone: Victoria 9780.

All communications respecting advertisements must be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1, and not to the offices of the Union.