



# HEADWAY

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**W**ITHIN a day or two of the appearance of this issue of HEADWAY Mr. Herbert Hoover will have been inaugurated as President of the United States of America. What that portends for Europe and for the League of Nations we shall not attempt to predict. The event will produce its consequences rapidly enough, and till then we must possess our souls in patience. There is at any rate some reason to hope that Mr. Hoover will be as anxious as his predecessors to see America associate herself with the Permanent Court of International Justice; and there can be little doubt as to his anxiety for the success of the international disarmament movement. Mr. Hugh Gibson, who will again represent the United States at the Preparatory Commission at Geneva on April 15, is an old friend and colleague of the new President, and will, no doubt, come with full knowledge of what is in Mr. Hoover's mind. If, as may be hoped, the freedom of the seas issue in its present form drops further into the background as the idea of the abolition of war between individual nations gains firmer hold, relations between both Whitehall and Washington and Geneva and Washington should become progressively more cordial.

### The Eastern Pact

**T**HE importance of the treaty signed between Soviet Russia and various Eastern European Powers in the second week of February, bringing the Kellogg Pact into immediate operation so far as they are concerned, is to be measured mainly in terms of time. All the countries concerned had, in fact, adhered, or were intending to adhere, to the Paris Pact, but the Pact itself does not come into force until ratified by all the fourteen Powers which signed it in August. The Russian proposal was that instead of waiting till that happened the Eastern States should, by a subsidiary treaty, bring the original Pact into operation forthwith so far as they themselves were concerned. The most interesting feature of the arrangement was that Rumania was accepted as a signatory, in spite of the bitterness which exists between her and Soviet Russia over the province of Bessarabia, which was allotted to Rumania by a treaty between her and the Allied Powers after the War. Russia still claims the province, and this week's proceedings involve no abandonment of the claim. But there is now, at any rate, a definite pledge that Russia will never seek to regain possession by war. That is clearly an advantage, so far as it goes.

### The Two That Stood Out

REPLYING to a question in the House of Commons on February 11, Mr. Locker-Lampson stated that, so far as the Government was aware, Argentina and Brazil were the only two countries in the world that had not declared their intention of adhering to the Kellogg Peace Pact. The statement is interesting, both as regards the two States which are still standing out and the remaining sixty-two, which are, apparently, to adhere. It is, perhaps, not absolutely clear what nations are regarded by the Government as nations for this purpose. Is, for example, the important area governed by the Sultan of Nejd and the King of Hejaz included? And is the neighbouring Arabian State of Yemen regarded as having separate identity for this purpose? That, perhaps, is more a matter of curiosity than importance. It is certainly striking that the only two exceptions to the universal signature of the Pact should be the two largest Latin American countries. The cause of their hesitation, no doubt, is suspicion of the predominance of the United States and the claims it sometimes makes under the Monroe Doctrine—a fact which gives point to observations made on that Doctrine in another column. No doubt, however, after consideration, and possibly discussion, Argentina and Brazil will fall in line with the rest of the world. They can hardly be prepared to remain permanently outside the great compact of peace even though it does bear the name of a United States Secretary of State.

### Indian India and the League

WE too often tend to forget the Indian India as distinct from what is commonly known as British India. Indian India consists of the States governed by ruling Princes, who are in treaty relation with Great Britain, but, except as regards foreign affairs, are virtually independent. They are always represented in the Indian delegation at the League Assembly, and it is interesting to observe that at a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, held at Delhi on February 11, the Nawab of Palanpur, who was the Indian Prince present at Geneva last September, gave a report on the Assembly, regarding which *The Times* correspondent telegraphs as follows:—

"The Nawab swept aside criticisms that the League existed for the benefit of European Powers only and that it achieved nothing but comedy. Was it not significant, he asked, that statesmen of all the leading countries of the world gathered there? He protested that the League's work must not be judged only by the resolutions passed, but that enormous good must be done by the opportunities which it afforded to leading men of different countries to meet together in social intercourse. He concluded by protesting against the unduly large share of the League's expenses which is borne by India."

It is added that the report was adopted with warm thanks, in which the Viceroy joined.

### The Future of Palestine

A NEW body called the Seventh Dominion (Palestine) Society is to be formed for purposes which are indicated by the statement that the Society is to appeal to those who see the future of Palestine as a great Jewish and British opportunity. This is a very interesting development, but the

future of Palestine, particularly its development into Dominion status, is a matter of some delicacy. Palestine is an "A" mandate, and the theory of "A" mandates is that the countries at present in that position shall evolve at a comparatively early date into full independence. It is quite possible that the inhabitants of Palestine, where it must always be remembered the Arabs outnumber the Jews by some six to one, will desire to become a British Dominion, but it is also equally possible that they will prefer to be entirely independent, as Iraq may be in the near future. It would seem that the Mandatory power is hardly entitled to influence inhabitants of the area in one way or the other and though, of course, the new body is purely unofficial the suggestion that it is anxious to work in harmony only with the minority element in Palestine, i.e., the Jewish, for a purpose which the majority, i.e., the Arab, may or may not approve, is not in every respect reassuring.

### A Famous Interpreter

EVERYONE who has ever attended a sitting of the League of Nations Assembly will learn with regret of the death of M. Camerlynck, who has from the outset been literally the right-hand man of successive Presidents of the Assembly. Sitting on the right of the President's chair, he has interpreted to the delegates and public everything the President has said, and in many cases it might reasonably be claimed that he exercised presidential functions more effectively than the actual occupant of the chair, notably when insisting in decisive tones on the "silence" for which the President himself had already appealed much more mildly and imploringly. Before he assumed his duties as Assembly interpreter (he was never on the regular League staff) M. Camerlynck had served as interpreter at almost all the Inter-Allied conferences held since the war. With him perishes a notable store of diplomatic secrets which he could be relied on never to divulge. A Frenchman, born in Algiers, he spoke English so fluently that he might properly be called bilingual.

### More Optants

AT a moment when Hungary and Rumania are trying to settle their dispute about "Optants" by direct discussion between themselves a new Optants question appears to be blowing up between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Involved as the Optants problems are, the essence of them is the question whether, in spite of treaty provisions which allow Hungarian estate owners in Czechoslovakia and Rumania to retain their landed properties in those countries, those properties may, nevertheless, be seized under a general agricultural reform scheme, designed to break up large estates for the benefit of smallholders. The Hungarian-Czechoslovak Arbitration Tribunal, like the Hungarian-Rumanian Tribunal, has declared that it is competent to hear appeals from owners who have been dispossessed under the agricultural reform scheme. Czechoslovakia has protested against this decision and has reserved the right to take what steps may seem best to get it overruled. This would appear, on the face of it, to indicate an appeal to the Permanent Court, which would be by far the best way out of the difficulty.

### M. Thomas Returns

M. ALBERT THOMAS, Director of the International Labour Office, has returned from his visit to the Far East, and was interviewed in regard to it on his arrival at Marseilles. Among other interesting observations, M. Thomas declared himself particularly impressed with the work of the Dutch Colonial authorities in Java, a subject on which we in this country are far too ill-informed. He found in Japan that organised labour was steadily gathering strength, though there was a by no means negligible Communist movement which was causing difficulties. Asked about the Yellow Peril, he scouted the idea of anything like a military invasion of Europe, but he took very seriously indeed the nationalist movements which have become so pronounced since the war. Broadly speaking, M. Thomas is convinced that so far as colonies of European Powers in Asia are concerned, the only basis for sound government and prosperity is to be found in the application of the principles of the League Covenant. "There is no better way to establish peace," he said, "than to practice justice." M. Thomas has denied in toto the charges made against him (see last month's HEADWAY) of hostility to foreign interests in China.

### The Empire and the Optional Clause

IN the debate in the Canadian House of Commons on the ratification of the Kellogg Pact the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, was asked what was the attitude of his Government regarding the signature of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Mr. King replied that the Government was in favour of signing the Clause and had communicated its views to the other Governments of the Empire, but that he would stand by the general undertaking given that no Dominion would take individual action until the matter had been discussed. This definite statement that Canada had actually proposed signature to the other Dominions and, of course, to the British Government is an important piece of news. A good deal depends, of course, on what is meant by a "discussion" with other Dominions. Canada has never been willing to take the view that that means necessarily waiting till the next Imperial Conference, and she is likely to be less disposed to take that view than ever since the Conference due this year has been postponed till 1930. What Mr. Mackenzie King now discloses explains an answer given by Sir Austen Chamberlain to a question on the same subject by Mr. Rennie Smith in the House of Commons recently. While Sir Austen was guarded in the extreme, it was noticeable that he adopted a less negative attitude than has been habitual with him regarding the Optional Clause. The reason for that appears to be supplied by Mr. Mackenzie King.

### An Awkward Role

MORE extended reference is made in another column to the various activities of the League Opium Advisory Committee at its recent meeting at Geneva. One incident, that passed comparatively unnoticed so far as the British Press is concerned, cast instructive light on the general value

of the League method. The Indian delegate, Sir John Campbell, complained of another case of illicit morphine export from Japan to India, and the Japanese delegate had to make what reply he could. The reply he did make was to the effect that he had himself made proposals to his Government for stricter control and that if reforms were not introduced he would decline to represent Japan at Geneva any longer. The inevitable effect of public discussion is that a national delegate will refuse to go on the platform and attempt to defend the manifestly indefensible. Instead of that he will do his utmost to get his country to adopt a policy which he can conscientiously defend. That has happened again and again in the history of the League, and every fresh example of it is worth quoting.

### The Fixation of Easter

THOSE who are interested in the question of the fixation of Easter will, no doubt, have observed that both Houses of Convocation of Canterbury have passed resolutions in the course of last month entirely approving of the principle of a fixed Easter. That is of some importance, because it will be remembered that a Bill fixing Easter in this country has been put on the Statute Book, on the understanding that the change will only come into operation if it is clear that it is the general wish of all sections of the population. One of the most important sections, in view of the prominence of the religious aspect of the question, is the Church of England—hence the significance attaching to the resolution adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury.

### Mutual Help

IT will be known to most readers of HEADWAY that *The Spectator* has for more than a year been regularly devoting a page in every issue to the League of Nations. *The Spectator* herein has been rendering an important and valuable piece of public service, and though it was obviously entered on in complete disinterestedness, it is reasonable to suggest that those who appreciate such action on the paper's part might indicate the same by subscribing to it—thereby, incidentally, giving themselves the opportunity of reading its League of Nations page from week to week.

### The League and China

VERY little attention has been given in the British Press to the visit of M. Avenol, the Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, to China. In any case it is too soon yet to estimate the value of M. Avenol's mission. It is worth pointing out, however, that this is practically the first case in which the League has despatched what may be termed an accredited diplomatic representative to another country. Many States Members of the League have their own diplomatic representatives stationed permanently at Geneva. China is one of them. But this type of semi-formal mission on the League's behalf is something new. No one can doubt that the circumstances abundantly justified it.

## THE MONTH IN BRIEF ROME, WASHINGTON, BERLIN, GENEVA

(In response to the requests of HEADWAY readers who desire to have before them each month a concise account of recent events, so far as they closely affect the League of Nations, it has been decided to publish, experimentally at any rate, a page in each issue devoted to summarising such events. Most of the subjects mentioned are dealt with more fully on other pages.)

THE most important world event that has taken place since the last issue of HEADWAY went to press is the compact signed between Signor Mussolini, on behalf of the Kingdom of Italy, and Cardinal Gasparri, on behalf of the Pope, on February 11, whereby the long passive warfare between Italy and the Vatican is ended. The Vatican itself, comprising a square mile or two of territory, becomes politically independent, and no longer part of Italy. The new territory is to be known as the Vatican State, and it will have its own flag and railway station. The Pope will no longer remain a voluntary prisoner, but will be free to travel, and will doubtless do so. There was at one time some suggestion that the new State might apply for membership of the League of Nations, but the Pope himself has made it clear that he has no such idea in his mind.

### America's Cruisers

In the United States the Bill providing for the construction of fifteen new 10,000-ton cruisers, five to be laid down in 1929, five in 1930 and five in 1931, has been passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President. It is, therefore, now law. In connection with this the discussion regarding international agreement on the freedom of the seas has become intensified, and Senator Capper has introduced in the Senate an important resolution providing that the President of the United States shall have power to veto the export of munitions to any country convicted of going to war in breach of its international engagements. A statement by the British Ambassador at Washington, suggesting that a renewal of definite negotiations between Great Britain and the United States on naval questions was imminent, has been explained to be merely an expression of personal opinion, and is not confirmed by the Foreign Office.

### Germany—Tanganyika

In Germany considerable suspicion has been expressed in various quarters of the proposals of the Hilton Young Commission regarding the future of East Africa, the German critics seeing in the proposal for closer working arrangements between the mandated territory of Tanganyika and the British colony and protectorate of Kenya and Uganda an attempt to annex Tanganyika to the British Empire. There appears to be little or no ground for such suspicions.

At Geneva, the most important event in the latter part of January and the beginning of February has been the meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee, and the first sitting of the new Opium Central Board. An article on this subject appears on another page. The general effect of the two meetings should be to stiffen up and make more effective the measures taken by international co-operation against traffickers in drugs.

### Law for the World

An important body that has been meeting at Geneva, though little has been heard of its deliberations, is the Committee charged with preparing the ground for the forthcoming Conference on the Codification of International Law. Codification does not mean in the main the making of new laws, but rather the attempt to discover what the existing idea and practice of different Governments is in regard to the law on certain international questions, and to standardise these in

an agreed form if there is found to be already sufficient uniformity of view on a particular question. As is known, the first subjects to be dealt with are territorial waters, nationality (including in particular the nationality of women married to foreigners), and the responsibility of a State for crimes committed against foreigners on its territory. The business of the Geneva Committee was to examine and compare the replies received to the requests sent to Governments for a statement of their views on these subjects, and to evolve from this mass of material the text of new international agreements to be adopted by the coming Conference. This, it must be emphasised, is a practical beginning of the tremendous work of codification of international law so prominent in the minds of American speakers and writers in particular.

### Minorities' Rights

An incident which may have important results was the receipt at Geneva of a definite notification from the German Government, that the German delegate, Dr. Stresemann, would at the March meeting of the League Council raise the whole question of the League's guarantee of the rights of minorities. This is a difficult and highly important question, which is likely to engage the attention of the Council for some time, though the Council can hardly do more at the March meeting than appoint a Committee to investigate the question from every angle and report later. Feeling has unfortunately been embittered by the arrest by the Polish authorities of the Deputy Ulitz, a member of the Upper Silesian Parliament, on a charge of forging passports. Dr. Ulitz is secretary of the Deutscher Volksbund, the chief German organisation in Polish Silesia.

For the rest, a large number of Committees and Sub-Committees on technical questions, several of them connected with transit, have been sitting. One in particular, which sounds even more technical than the others, is a committee of legal experts, who have been studying material collected by the League Secretariat regarding industrial and commercial agreements in force in different countries. This work is being done for the Economic Committee, and it is not clear in what it may end, but such a survey can hardly fail to lead, among other things, to a review of the relationships between capital and labour on an international scale. Such reviews, even if no definite international action results from them, have the effect of drawing the attention of countries where conditions are unsatisfactory to the experience and practice of other countries that do such things better.

## COMING EVENTS

MARCH 4.—Fifty-fourth Session of League Council.

MARCH 11.—Committee on Private Manufacture of Munitions.

MARCH 11 (probably).—Committee to consider Revision of Statutes of Permanent Court of International Justice.

APRIL 15.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

(All at Geneva.)

## THE DRUG SMUGGLERS STARTLING FIGURES OF RECENT SEIZURES

SOME startling reports on the illicit drug traffic were laid before the Opium Advisory Committee at its January-February meeting at Geneva. The meeting was important on other grounds, for it was the first to be held since the coming into force of the Geneva Convention of 1925, which is designed to strengthen, and does definitely promise to strengthen, the hands of the League in its campaign against the opium and drug evil. (The opium evil consists of opium-smoking, which prevails mainly in China and South-East Asia. The drug evil consists of the illegal manufacture of and traffic in morphine, heroin and cocaine, the first two being the manufactured products of opium, and the third the product of the coca plant.)

One or two examples of the stories told to the Advisory Committee will give some indication of what the evil is and of the likelihood of the new machinery created by the Opium Convention proving effective. One great value of the system gradually developed by the League is that Governments are now co-operating in stamping out the illicit traffic instead of working singly and separately, and reports are made to Geneva of any important seizures effected. The most striking of these reports at the last meeting had to do with the activities of a Dutch firm at Naarden in Holland. This firm had succeeded in collecting from different sources and illicitly exporting to the Far East no less than 4,000 kilograms of morphine, heroin and cocaine. What such a seizure means may be judged by the fact, mentioned at Geneva by Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, that the heroin concerned would be sufficient to supply the legitimate needs of Great Britain for twelve years.

### Smuggled to China

This illegal business had clearly gone on for some time before the Dutch police discovered it, and nearly the whole of the consignment got through, three-quarters of it going to China, which complains with some bitterness of the drug consumption thereby encouraged within its borders. It should be said for the Dutch authorities, however, that once they had got wind of the affair they probed it to its depths, and the Dutch Government communicated full details to the League's Opium Advisory Committee.

Further investigation took place, and it was found that the bulk of the supplies had been obtained in the first instance from three different firms in Switzerland, Germany and France respectively. About half had been sent to the East by sea under false declarations, as perfumery, glycerine, etc., or done up in packages with other chemicals. The other half had been sent by post. At Shanghai anyone giving a name and address, which may be true or false, can rent a post-office box with a number, and letters bearing that number will then be delivered direct into the box without any name appearing at all. As the drugs in question, heroin, morphine, etc., are extremely valuable, even in small quantities, it is worth while sending them by letter-post, and letters, under the Universal Postal Union agreement, cannot be searched. In order to get round this difficulty the Opium Committee is asking that the question shall be discussed by the Universal Postal Union. It may be added that the Dutch firm implicated is, as a result of the episode, no longer licensed to manufacture narcotic drugs at all.

### Egypt Helps

Another case that came up at Geneva shows both how international co-operation may promote the detection of illegalities and how resourceful traffickers

are in their endeavours to escape control. It was reported recently that two Japanese subjects had opened a drug factory at Constantinople, where control is notoriously much more lax than in other countries where the comparatively few known drug factories are established. Inquiry was made by the Japanese authorities at the instance of Great Britain, but they reported that the factory was apparently working quite legitimately. Soon afterwards, however, the Egyptian Government reported that they had examined at Port Said ten cases of olive oil in transit from Constantinople to Shanghai, and found that two of them contained not olive oil but heroin. Turkey has, unfortunately, not ratified the various Opium Conventions, though she is pledged under the Treaty of Lausanne to do so, and it is doubtful, therefore, whether much can be done in controlling this particular factory. There will, however, be a very rigorous scrutiny elsewhere of consignments of goods from Constantinople.

One very notable little victory won by the British delegate at Geneva resulted in a decision to publish in the Committee's report to the Council the names of any firms to which smuggled drugs were frequently traced. Four of these names, accordingly, did appear in the report of the Committee's last meeting. One is French, one German, one Swiss and one Dutch. It may be observed that the French, Swiss and German members of the Committee voted against publication, the Dutch delegate being content to abstain.

### The League's New Weapons

The coming into force of the Opium Convention is going to help the League in two ways. In the first place all the States that have signed and ratified it will be pledged to adopt the import and export certificate system. That means, very briefly, that all Governments agree to permit the export of narcotic drugs only under licence and to issue export licences only when they have received a certificate from the Government of the importing country declaring that the consignment is required for strictly proper purposes. It is obvious that if all the nations of the world signed the Convention, and all of them loyally carried out this provision, the illegal traffic would be practically stamped out. Unfortunately neither of these conditions is fulfilled yet.

The second valuable effect of the Opium Convention is to institute a Control Board, which will receive from each signatory country an estimate of its requirements in drugs for each ensuing year, and in addition quarterly statistics of drugs imported, exported and manufactured in the country. By comparing these figures it will be easy to see whether any country is receiving a quantity of drugs obviously in excess of its needs. If it is, an explanation will be asked for, and if it proves unsatisfactory the Control Board can call on all the other nations that have signed the Convention to prohibit any export at all to the offending country. It will, no doubt, take time for these arrangements to settle down to efficient operation, but the outlook is in many ways more hopeful than it has been for some time.

An important Conference on Minorities is to be held at the Caxton Hall on March 21 and 22, among the speakers being Mme. Bakker van Bosse (Holland), Professor Loewenfeld (Berlin), Dr. Wilfan (Vienna) and Professor René Brunet (Paris). Tickets (1s. each session, 3s. the whole Conference) from the Secretary, Minorities Conference, 55, Gower Street, W.C.1.

# HOW TO IMPROVE THE LEAGUE

## WHAT ASSEMBLY DELEGATES SHOULD BE AND KNOW

By COUNT MENSdorFF-POUILLY-DIETRIEChSEN

*[Count Mensdorff, who was Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in London before the War, has many times been head of the Austrian Delegation at Geneva. He has an almost unique experience of the contrasted methods of the old diplomacy and of the League of Nations, and in this article makes interesting suggestions as to the new qualifications a post-war diplomatist should possess.]*

WE often hear and read what the League should be and what the League should do, but in order to crystallise a conclusion on the question by what means the League of Nations could be improved the machinery of the League must be analysed. In doing this one discovers that the directing power of the League comes from the Member Governments—that is to say, from their delegates to the Council and to the Assembly.

The delegates are usually chosen for various political and diplomatic reasons. It has of late been more and more the custom that the heads of Governments or the Foreign Ministers should take part in the negotiations at Geneva, a practice which is certainly most desirable, making the meeting in Geneva an efficient clearing house of international political questions.

### The Ideal Delegate

It seems to me that the ideal delegate should possess special qualifications if a complete success of the League is to be attained. The representative of a Member State should be able, and if possible have enough influence at home, to obtain in his country the realisation of the resolutions passed in the Assembly and the Council. The delegate should have the will to work for the cause for which the League was created, and he should be convinced that difficulties can be overcome by international goodwill and understanding.

But power and goodwill alone cannot bring progress if they are not combined with profound knowledge of the League and comprehension of foreign countries and of international conditions. The League has grown up in the past ten years, and has developed in so many spheres, with more or less success, that in order to overcome the hindrances to organising peace it is absolutely necessary to know what happened in the past ten years in the Council and in the Assembly and what the big problems and what the hindrances have been and are.

### Looking Ahead

To this effect it would be advisable that the Governments should not only prepare their representation for the next Council meeting or Assembly but also for the future.

An effort should be made to find among the young generation some gifted personalities who might be specially trained for the work of the League, and develop the qualifications mentioned above, in order that, finally, as delegates, they may be able to exhibit knowledge and understanding of foreign countries. Most important of all, they should be able to express themselves so that the delegates of the other countries know what they mean—not the language but the significance. The negotiations regarding the Kellogg-Briand Pact are an example of this necessity.

### What the New Diplomat Needs

Then co-operation through the League will be more successful. These characteristics—power, goodwill, knowledge—ought in time to be compulsory for the delegates from all States, because the advantage therefrom will be obvious. The representatives of States at big international congresses and conferences in the past were supposed to be statesmen as well as experts in ceremonial and etiquette. The new technique of

international politics requires delegates who are statesmen as well as experts in the machinery and working of the League of Nations.

In this day of democracy the possibility is given that through the right propaganda—such as the British League of Nations Union is doing—the masses, all of whom desire peace, may elect members to Parliament who are absolutely to be relied upon to work for the rebuilding of permanent peace.

We must have confidence that the League will not only find a solution of the most difficult questions—such as disarmament and minorities—but will work persistently to remove the causes of war, which arise and always have arisen from the discontent of large sections of people who believe they are placed under conditions which seem to them to be unjust and unfair.

## ABOUT CRUISERS

THE passage of the Cruiser Bill through the American Congress has produced a new crop of arguments and statistics on both sides of the Atlantic, all designed to show that either Great Britain or the United States is on the road to superiority in some particular class of vessel. Sometimes 10,000 ton cruisers only are reckoned, sometimes the calculation is rather by guns than by tons, sometimes the very material factor of speed is taken into account.

The following are three common ways of putting the case. They are not necessarily confined only to opinion on one side of the water. None of them cover the whole ground. Each looks at the question from a different angle. Each contains a measure of truth, but taken by itself may lead to exaggeration on certain points. Yet beneath them all there probably lies a larger measure of agreement than is commonly suspected.

### A.—Cruisers with guns of 7.5 inches or more.

	Great Britain	U.S.
Built .. .. .	11	2
Building .. .. .	8	6
Authorised .. .. .	2	0
Projected .. .. .	3	15
Total .. .. .	24	23

### B.—Cruisers with displacement of 7,500 tons or more.

	Great Britain	U.S.
10,000 ton cruisers, built, building and authorised, and projected .. .. .	15	23
Other cruisers over 7,500 tons .. .. .	9	10
Total .. .. .	24	33

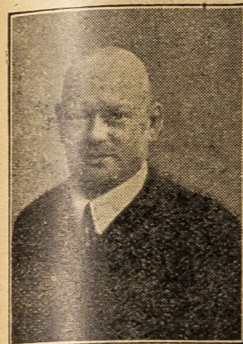
### C.—Cruisers with speed of 29 knots or more.

	Great Britain	U.S.
No. Tonnage.	No. Tonnage.	
All sizes, 3,000 to 10,000 tons, built, building or projected .. .. .	59 380,000	33 320,000

# ALIEN RACES

## ARE MINORITIES GETTING FAIR TREATMENT?

OPINIONS are said to differ as to whether Dr. Stresemann at Lugano in December banged the table to express his indignation or merely tapped it to emphasise his point. At all events there was no



Dr. Stresemann.

difference of opinion as to what that point was. The subject under discussion was minorities, particularly German minorities in Poland. M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, had been declaring that an unreal agitation against the Polish State was being worked up by a German organisation in Poland, and Dr. Stresemann, in reply, insisted, with an emphasis of either the banging or the tapping order, that the whole question of minorities and the League's relation to them must be re-examined from top to bottom.

And now Dr. Stresemann has asked that the subject of "guarantees to minorities" be placed on the agenda of this month's session of the League Council. In addition to that the Canadian delegate, Senator Dandurand, has given notice that he will at the same meeting raise the question of procedure in regard to minority matters at Geneva. The Council, therefore, will have to face the whole minority issue squarely.

### The League's Tough Job

In many ways minorities are one of the most awkward subjects the League has to handle. Nothing is said about them in the Covenant, and the League is concerned with the matter only because the Allied nations at the end of the war concluded treaties with eight different European States, whereby the latter bound themselves to give fair treatment to minorities within their borders, and the task of seeing that these undertakings were carried out was entrusted to the League.

It is not too easy for Englishmen to understand how burning an issue a minority problem in Europe is. Minorities indeed exist in Great Britain, but they are so completely contented that difficulties practically never arise. The most obvious case is that of the Welsh. They differ from the majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain in language, in race and, to some extent, in religion. But they are perfectly free to use their own language and have their children taught in it and to worship as they choose to worship. It is just because these rights are denied, or are in danger of being denied, to some millions of people on the continent of Europe that special protection for minorities has had to be devised.

### A Universal Problem

There are not more minorities in Europe than there were before the war. On the whole there are fewer. M. Briand, at the last Assembly, indeed, said the number had been reduced from 100,000,000 to 20,000,000. The former figure is probably too high, and the latter too low. At any rate, minorities, in greater or lesser numbers, exist all over Europe. There are Poles and Danes in Germany, Germans and Ruthenians and White Russians in Poland, Germans and Magyars in Czechoslovakia, Slovaks in Hungary, Magyars in Rumania—to take only a few of the more conspicuous examples. In all these countries minorities are entitled

by the treaties to speak their own language, both in public and private; to have schools provided for them in places where they form a "reasonable proportion" of the population; to worship in their own way, and not to be discriminated against in any way merely because they are a minority. If these rights are violated the aggrieved persons may appeal to the League.

In this country, with our traditional sympathy for the under-dog, we sometimes tend to assume that when a minority complains it is necessarily in the right. It often is, but by no means always. Some minorities, or, rather, some sections of some minorities, are disposed to be out all the time to oppose the Government of the country whatever it does—a habit sometimes attributed in the past to the Irish minority in the British Isles. Yet minorities are definitely citizens of their new country. Germans in Poland, for example, may be German by race, but they are now Poles by nationality and owe allegiance to Warsaw, not Berlin. They could have gone back to Germany if they chose, but having decided to stay in Poland they had necessarily to become Poles.

### Minority Islands

The question of how far, and how long, minorities are to remain separate islands in the country where they live, thereby making it hard for that country to maintain stability and cohesion, is difficult. Only good sense and good will on the part both of minority and Government can produce the proper relationship—as, for example, it exists in Switzerland, with its mixed French-speaking, German-speaking and Italian-speaking population, all of them alike Swiss. Of the new States Czechoslovakia has come nearest making a success of the problem.

How does the League discharge its duty towards minorities? The normal procedure—which Senator Dandurand evidently wants to criticise—is for a petition from a person or set of persons, claiming to have a grievance under the minority treaties, to be first examined by the Minorities Section of the Secretariat, in order to ascertain whether it conforms to the rules (on the whole, wise and good rules) framed some years ago by the Council. If it does, the petition is examined by three members of the Council to see whether there is sufficient substance in the complaint for it to be brought before the full Council. If there is, then the Council deals with it by its usual method of examination and discussion and recommendation.

### Neither Side Happy

Both sides are discontented with this procedure. Minorities think that far too many petitions are turned down by the Committee of Three, and never get to the full Council at all, while the Governments feel that the right of appeal to the League keeps minorities perpetually unsettled, and prevents them from taking their places as loyal citizens of the countries where they live. Another grievance is that only some countries,



M. Zaleski.

not all, are bound by Minority Treaties. Italy, for example, is not, and the minority in the Southern Tyrol has no right of appeal to the League.

The whole subject is ripe for re-examination, but it will have to be handled with singular tact. The proposal for the creation of a standing Minorities Commission to deal with these questions on behalf of the

Council, will no doubt be brought forward again, and there is obviously much to be said for it. Whatever is decided, two principles must be maintained. Minorities' rights must not be violated. But neither, on the other hand, must minorities be encouraged to maintain a distinct and aggressive individuality in antagonism to the State of which they are citizens.

## CONFLICTS OF LOYALTIES THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

By the REV. A. S. DUNCAN-JONES

[Mr. Duncan-Jones is Editor of the "Guardian"; Vicar of St. Paul's, Wilton Place; and Chairman of the Christian Organisation Committee of the League of Nations Union]

IT is impossible to get rid of war until you get rid of the causes of war. Of these causes the principal is the firm conviction, widely held, that there are situations in which war is inevitable, circumstances in which any other course is despicable. War would have died out long ago if it had not been hopelessly entangled with idealism. Its unchanging horror only survives because it is connected with great thoughts and high aspirations.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, though he believed the establishment of perpetual peace both vital to the happiness of the world and a practical project, was convinced that nothing could be done about it till kings had been removed from their thrones. "On ne voit point de liges fédératives s'établir autrement que par des révolutions" ("No federal leagues except through revolutions.") Since then there have been a good many revolutions and there are fewer kings. Is the prospect improved thereby? Are the modern democracies any less likely to wage war than their former masters? Only, it may safely be asserted, if there has been a revolution of the mind, only if they are ruled by different ideas.

### The War Mind

For war does not spring from economic necessity, it takes its origin in the mind. The generality of mankind has always disliked war. The ordinary man has no wish either to kill or to be killed, unless he is induced to do so by some overmastering, and at the same time, kindling, necessity. Nations would never march unless they felt that some great cause was at stake. Rousseau pointed out that when sovereigns waged war their object might be to extend their rule abroad, or to make it more absolute at home. But they were always compelled to put forward such justifications as "public good," "the welfare of the people," or "the glory of the nation," with the consequence that "the people groan when their masters speak to them of their paternal care."

### Why Do Men Fight?

The question then is, do these causes still operate? What ideas will drive people to fight to-day? Are they still open to be persuaded that the public good, the welfare of the people, or the glory of the nation do demand it? Can it still be presented in the guise of high duty? Can it still appear in the guise of the call to heroism that no man dare for shame refuse? The answer must, frankly, be made that it can. But there is a change and a change for the better. The "glory of the nation" has passed out of the category of useful appeal.\* Or rather it has changed its meaning. Its use would be critically scanned. On a long view the most significant aspect of the World War is the

\* "The upgrowing generation will be nurtured in the idea that war, except in bona-fide self defence is not a gallant adventure, but a national dishonour."—Lord Cushendun at the Ninth Assembly.

† Student Christian Movement. 48.

ground on which it was based by the governments of all countries. No doubt, both in France and in Germany, the word "glory" was used. But it was not the glory that comes from conquest. It was the glory to be won by those who save their country from the attacks of ruthless and reckless foes. Self-defence was the universal cry.

No longer can any nation be roused to wars of conquest, and what the doctors of the mind have to do is to prove that it is possible to make all nations safe while eliminating war from the range of possibility. This is a strong point in Mr. Leyton Richards' new book "The Christian Alternative to War."† He points out that a curious and contradictory position arose in which no one was an aggressor and all were fighting on the defensive! "It means that in the world of to-day war can never secure popular support unless it be represented as a method of repelling and defeating the assault of evil."

### Can War Be Stopped?

What then is the alternative? Here Mr. Richards is not quite so satisfactory. He seems almost unconsciously to despair that war can be ever eliminated and to be chiefly interested in urging Christians to recognise their duty of non-resistance once a war has commenced. The problem is really twofold. There are two distinct questions. How are we to construct a public opinion that will make war impossible? and how is the individual who takes the Sermon on the Mount seriously to behave in time of war? The former is far the more important. Once a war has begun it will in the future be more difficult than in the past to avoid taking part in it, because from the first moment the whole population will be in peril.

### Killing or Dying?

In avoiding war much may be done by bringing home the undoubted fact that every patriot in these changed conditions must regard war as always the worst alternative. But Mr. Richards is right when he says that utilitarian or practical arguments can never hope to be enough. A state of affairs in which thousands of innocent persons can be and will be wiped out in a few hours is patently wicked. War must be condemned as immoral. He is right too when he says that the Church has a most solemn responsibility. Its whole existence is based upon a fact, the fact of the Cross, that asserts that a willingness to suffer and to die is the only great idealism, the truly redemptive thing. He is right too when he points out that killing and not dying is the first duty of the soldier. He is most right when he urges the Church vigilantly to watch all that makes for war and oppose it.

There are many other suggestive things in his book. But its chief value is that it lays bare many fallacies, and brings out the need for a greater idealism and heroism on the part of the friends of peace. Unless they can beat the bellicose there, they will never win.

## A THREAT TO A MANDATE? TANGANYIKA AND EAST AFRICAN UNION

IT may be regarded as certain that the future of the Tanganyika Mandate will be discussed at the next meeting of the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission, unless indeed it is raised in the League Council. What has brought the question into some prominence, and, it may be added, into some controversy, is the alarm expressed in various quarters in Germany at the recommendations of the Commission recently despatched by the British Government to study and report on various questions arising in East Africa, particularly the possibility of closer union between certain British territories in that region.

Since one of these territories is held by Great Britain under League mandate, it is necessary to examine closely any new proposals regarding its future administration, and readers of HEADWAY in particular will desire to have the facts clearly stated. Though the Hilton Young

12,000,000 natives), which might be under some temptation to exploit the native for its own ends.

### A Supreme Official

The Commission is clear that the ultimate responsibility of the British Government for native welfare must remain. But Downing Street is a long way from Nairobi or Dar-es-Salaam, and it is, therefore, proposed to create a Governor-General who shall have authority over the three Governors of the separate areas, and shall, if necessary, be able to compel the adoption of legislation in any one of the territories. His main concern will be with the administration of the agreed native policy, but through him, and the council or councils that will advise him, a measure of customs union and transport unification between the three territories may be created.

That is very roughly the outline of the Hilton Young Commission proposals, so far as they affect the mandate area. German critics condemned the proposals the moment they were published as involving the virtual annexation of Tanganyika to the British Empire. But it would appear that these criticisms were based, as indeed the earliest of them must have been, on newspaper summaries of the Commission's report, not on its full text. An impartial study of the report itself fails to produce any evidence of an intention to tamper with the mandate. The Commissioners indeed make it clear that the one fixed point in regard to East Africa is the mandate and the conditions laid down in it. If there is to be any creation of uniform standards and uniform practices as between Tanganyika on the one hand and Kenya and Uganda on the other, the standards set and the practices prescribed must be those which the mandate embodies. In other words, instead of laying down new conditions to which Tanganyika must be made to conform, the Commissioners have taken Tanganyika conditions as starting-point and considered how best to bring the other territories into line with them.

### What the Mandate says

All that is entirely in keeping with the wording of the mandate itself, which specifically provides for unification in certain practical measures between the mandate territories and those adjacent to it. The only question that arises is whether the proposals as framed have inadvertently transgressed the mandate at any point. Probably the suggestion that needs closest scrutiny is that which contemplates the creation of a joint defence force, made up of contingents from each of the three territories. That proposal will have to be very carefully handled, for the mandate lays it down that troops can be raised in the mandate area for the defence of that area alone and for no other purpose. If, therefore, there is to be a unified force it can be used as a whole only for the defence of Tanganyika. If it is needed for the defence of Uganda or Kenya, the Tanganyika detachment must be withheld from it. And, equally, Tanganyika must only be saddled with its proper share of the expense of training and equipment. In one section of the report it would appear as though this had not been quite fully appreciated, but in another, dealing with the bearings of the whole proposal on the mandate, the line is quite definitely taken, in regard to the military question as to everything else, that the provisions of the mandate itself must be the determining factor.

### A Geneva Discussion

It is altogether to the good that the question of the Hilton Young proposals should be raised at Geneva.



"Times" map, by kind permission.

Commission (its Chairman, Sir Edward Hilton Young, has been a member of the British Delegation at two League Assemblies) was concerned with six different territories, the proposals it is necessary to discuss here affect only three—Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Kenya is a Crown Colony, Uganda is a Protectorate, and Tanganyika, which is a good deal the largest of the three, is administered, as already stated, under a League of Nations mandate.

### Safeguarding the Nation

The chief purpose of the Commission, as disclosed in its lengthy report, is to lay the foundations for an enlightened native policy throughout the region affected and possibly over a wider area. The Commissioners conceive that Great Britain holds a position of trusteeship—definitely and formally in the mandate area, but morally, in no less a degree, in Kenya and Uganda. At present the native relies for his protection on the British administration in each area. There is a Governor with a legislative council, on which the official members hold a majority, so that the Government can always, in the last resort, carry the day, and the Government's policy in larger matters is dictated by the Colonial Office in Whitehall. That means that local enactments regarding those matters which affect the native most, land, labour, education and the like, cannot be framed by the white immigrant population (30,000 against

This country has everything to gain by the opportunity that will thus be given of demonstrating its good faith in the matter. No charge whatever of bad faith seems to lie, but it is essential that Great Britain should not only be loyal, but be recognised as being loyal, to League principles in any action it contemplates or takes. It can be claimed with some justice that the adoption of the Hilton Young proposals would in many ways benefit Tanganyika as well as Kenya and Uganda, though it is no doubt true (if this is what is secretly troubling the German critics) that the adoption of the scheme outlined would make it a good deal less probable that Tanganyika would ever be restored to German administration.

## MR. CHURCHILL ON THE LEAGUE

IN the second of the extracts *The Times* has been publishing from Mr. Winston Churchill's forthcoming Memoirs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer indulges in an imaginary outline of the peace settlement as it might have been.

His views regarding the League of Nations are of some interest. He conceives of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau as agreeing that a League of Nations must be created but that it must embrace all the nations of the world, and in particular that it would be useless without Russia. Russia, therefore, is to be "enabled to choose a national assembly before whom the present issues can be laid." The enabling is to be done by Marshal Foch with an army of allied troops, consisting mainly of Americans, who will smash the Bolsheviks; after which, so Mr. Churchill apparently assumes, an old-style Government will be established.

At any rate, by this means the all-embracing League will be created, and one of its first necessities will be the preparation of plans for dealing in case of need with aggressors. "An almost universal trade and financial boycott, and total exclusion from the seas" will go far in the right direction. But the master stroke is to reserve for the use of the League alone the newer weapons of warfare, i.e., aeroplanes and gas. Individual nations may continue if they will to maintain armies and navies for what they conceive to be their defensive needs, but air war and chemical war will be the prerogative of the League alone, and with those weapons in its hands (air contingents being contributed by the different States Members of the League), it will be in a position to enforce its will against a Covenant-breaker.

These are no more than speculations, but they are speculations which have some interest and possibly some relevance still.

A second article, on the League as it is, ends with a passage which is so striking a piece of writing that it should be quoted here as it stands:

"Many minds had made their contribution to the Covenant of the League. Phillimore, Robert Cecil, Smuts and Hurst are names which for ever link the British Empire with its institution. Some errors and imperfections arose inevitably from the haste and pressure under which the Covenant was prepared. Nevertheless the base of the new building was set upon the living rock; and the mighty foundation-stone, shaped by the innumerable chisellings of merciful men the world over and swung into position by loyal and dexterous English pulleys, will bear for all time the legend, 'Well and truly laid by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America.' Who can doubt that upon and around this granite block will ultimately be built a dwelling-place and palace to which 'all the men in all the lands' will sooner or later resort in sure trust?"

## THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

IT is the turn of the Italian delegate, Signor Scialoja, to preside at this month's Council Meeting, which is the fifty-fourth of the series. With one exception, the agenda, which contains 24 items, is not of the first importance. That one exception relates to the protection of minorities, regarding which two entries have been inscribed—"Procedure applicable to Minorities Petitions" by the representative of Canada, and "The guarantee by the League of Nations of the provisions concerning the protection of minorities" by the representative of Germany. This matter is dealt with fully in a separate article in this issue of HEADWAY.

The reports of various Committees raise points of interest, notably that of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which deal among other things with the trouble in Western Samoa, resulting in the expulsion by the Administrator, Sir George Richardson, of the principal white trader on the island, Mr. O. F. Nelson. Another report of unusual interest is that of the Opium Committee (also dealt with elsewhere in this issue), and with this may be associated the appointment of the members of the Commission to be despatched to the Far East, on the proposal of the British Government, to investigate the control of opium-smoking.

A crop of minor disputes about German schools in Polish Silesia is likely to occupy considerable time without assuming any considerable importance, except in its bearing on the general relations between the two countries, and the application for a League loan for the Saar Valley will no doubt give the Financial Committee an opportunity to carry into a new field the valuable work it has already done in Austria and Hungary, Greece and elsewhere. There is also a dispute between Yugoslavia and Hungary over the arbitral tribunal dealing with disputes between the two countries.

Altogether the Council Meeting looks like being rather shorter than usual and unless some unexpected issue arises, the only question of the first importance will be regarding the League's handling of the minority problem. Regarding that it is pretty certain that no final resolutions will be taken, the obvious course being the appointment of a committee to investigate the matter further and report to the Council at a later date.

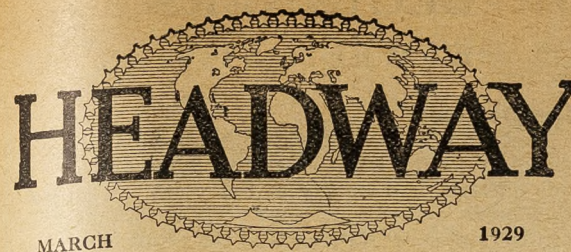
## THE "MOVE-ON" POLICY

A VERY striking passage occurred in a speech made by the Prime Minister at the British Industries Fair dinner at the Mansion House on February 18.

We are moving rapidly towards the conception of a new world-order in which the only war surviving will be a police war against some State which has taken up arms against a fellow in violation of its international pledges. It is significant that so eminent and so cautious a public figure as Mr. Baldwin should have given definite countenance to that conception in the following words:

"The significance of the British Commonwealth of Nations does not lie in the fact of so much of the map being painted red. It lies in this—and if it were to perish it would be remembered for it—that over those vast expanses of the world, with its myriad races and hundreds of faiths and tongues, there is a peace and no one dare break it. In the streets in London if two men start fighting a policeman comes up. He does not ask which is right and which is wrong, he just says, 'move on.' So it is in the British Commonwealth of Nations. If anyone within that vast expanse wants to fight he is quickly moved on, and I hope the day will come in the world at large when if two nations want to fight there will be some power which will say, 'Move on.'"

Such words from the Prime Minister cannot be dismissed as merely idle sentiment.



## AUTOMATICS

"WE live," said a company chairman at a recent meeting, "in an automatic age." Possibly in one sense we do. It may be that the habit of securing chocolate and chewing-gum and cigarettes and scent from penny-in-the-slot machines instead of across a counter is growing. But the words will bear another interpretation, which is worth pursuing a little further. An automatic age might well mean an age in which things happened of themselves without anyone going to any trouble to make them happen. To some extent no doubt, they do. When a boat merely drifts something is happening to it. It does not simply stand still, unless indeed it is becalmed in a backwater. Happenings of some kind in life never cease at all. To that extent you may call them automatic if you choose.

Now the belief in automatism has its dangers. Not so much the belief in the mere automatism of drift. Few intelligent persons would see anything to admire or approve in that. But there is a perfectly reasonable type of person who will argue quite sensibly for a certain course of action and then conclude convincingly, "If you do that the rest follows automatically." Sometimes it may. Just as often, perhaps oftener, it may not.

This automatic theory is a little in evidence just at present in connection with certain developments in the international field. The Kellogg Pact has been accepted now by 62 out of the 64 independent states of the world. Possibly by the time these lines are in print the remaining couple may have come into line equally. The so-called gap, or loophole for war, in the League Covenant has been closed. War as an instrument of national policy has been renounced by practically all the world, including the two Great Powers whose absence from the League has so gravely limited its possibilities for good.

And consequently—? And consequently war between nations is abolished for ever? If so it may be asked with much reason why countries like Great Britain and the United States are busy laying down new 10,000 ton cruisers; why even disarmed Germany is (without a breach of any treaty) constructing a vessel of the same tonnage that could blow either the British or the American cruiser out of the water; and why the best minds on both sides of the Atlantic are applying themselves to the problem of what treatment neutral ships are to receive when war at sea next breaks out between two of the States that have just promised to renounce war.

It does not look as if we could say about the Kellogg Pact, at any rate, that now this historic document has been signed the rest automatically follows. The rest does not follow automatically. If it follows at all it will be only because a great many people in a great many

countries determine deliberately that something shall happen that would not happen but for their insistence.

The first thing to determine is that our own country shall not let itself be dragged into war. In the case of Great Britain that should be relatively easy. We have sworn to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and we are not in the habit of flagrantly violating our engagements. Where vigilance is needed is in regard to the situations contemplated in the so-called British reservations to the Kellogg Note. They are not legal reservations at all and all that need be said about them is that it is the duty of every British government to do its utmost at all times to prevent relations with another country from drifting into a condition which may in the end compel us to fight in self-defence. A sudden and unheralded attack by another State is almost inconceivable to-day. Coming dangers, in this field as in others, cast their shadows before, and the moment the danger becomes apparent any country involved ought immediately to set the machinery of the League of Nations in motion. Then if it has to fight at all it will not be as an isolated unit, but as a joint agent with others of the League against a violator of the peace.

But the logical outcome of the Kellogg Pact raises problems more serious than the question of whether a nation should fight in self-defence. Should it, must it, take part in action, that may possibly be armed action, to prevent a breach of that peace which it was the purpose of the Kellogg Pact and the League Covenant alike to establish? That is where the consequences of the Kellogg Pact fail completely to follow automatically. They follow only if the peoples of every country resolve deliberately, after weighing all the factors, that they shall follow.

The meaning of the Pact is clear enough. What is not clear is what is to happen if the Pact is broken. If a strong nation in violation of its pledges attacks a weaker for its own ends who is to restrain it?

If the Kellogg Pact says nothing about that situation the League Covenant deals with it explicitly. Under the Covenant it is the business of the whole community of States to check immediately by joint action, including military action if need be, a State that violates the world's peace. The League has hitherto been faced in this connection with a grave difficulty in that several important States were not members of it. But those States have signed the Kellogg Pact and they cannot be indifferent to a violation of it.

Are, then, the nations prepared to join in stamping out the first sparks of war wherever and whenever they break out? The possibility that they are makes the declaration of war a grave risk. The certainty that they would be would make it suicide pure and simple. And who is to decide? The responsibility cannot be thrown on governments. When Sir Edward Grey was told in July, 1914, that if Great Britain pledged herself to fight, Germany would never dare to go to war, he answered truly that the government at that moment could not count on being able to carry the nation into war. A government cannot be asked to pledge itself to use the last weapon to suppress an incipient war unless it can be sure it has the people behind it. And can it—so far as this country is concerned? At this moment that is a question to ask, not to answer, for it raises serious issues that must be most seriously considered. But the time at least to raise them has come.

## THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

### III.—KEEPING THE PEACE BETWEEN STATES

SOME people would say that the League's first business is to settle disputes. That is very nearly true, but not quite. Actually its first business is to prevent war. Once it has done that—and often very swift and decisive action may be needed—the settlement of the dispute about which war was threatened, or was actually being waged, can be taken in hand more at leisure.

A rough and ready idea of what the League ought to be able to do if it is to play its proper part in the world can be conveyed by recalling what the procedure is for stopping fighting and settling disputes between individuals in a civilised State. A docker and a costermonger are found fighting vigorously in Limehouse Causeway. A policeman comes up and manages to stop them. The costermonger volubly explains that the other man

#### League Law

Now the League works very much like that, though not quite, in dealing with States that break the law. But one question is necessary at this point. What law do they break, and who made it? The law is the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the people who made it are the nations that joined in framing the Covenant or accepted it after it was framed. It is quite true that we think of the Covenant normally as a treaty, or an agreement, not a law. But all laws in a democratic country like our own are, after all, only agreements. They are rules which the people agree to draw up through their elected representatives in Parliament and by which they agree to live. Once the agreement is made, anyone who breaks it must be (a) stopped, and (b) punished (perhaps).



The Commission sent to inquire into the Greco-Bulgarian dispute arriving at the frontier.

started it by charging into him and knocking his barrow over in the gutter. The policeman observes that that's none of his business. The docker can be summoned (he probably says "summonsed") for assault before a magistrate. But if either of them starts fighting again he'll be taken to the station.

The next act happens in the courts. A summons for assault once granted, it is no use for the docker to say he will not go to court. He can go or stay away. The case will be heard just the same and judgment will be given against him (if he is proved guilty after full investigation) whether absent or present. Neither is it any good for him to say he will not pay the fine. All the resources of the State will be mobilised against him in case of need, and if he still declines payment he will pay for his law-breaking by going to prison instead.

The League Covenant contains the rules which the States have drawn up and by which they agree to live, and any State going to war in breach of the rules must be (a) stopped, and (b) punished (perhaps). If the comparison with the individual offender held good to the end, the League would stop the fighting if it had begun; either of the two States could then take the other before some Court, whether the other liked it or not; and finally, whichever of them got the verdict given against him would be compelled if need be by the whole force of the society of States to carry it out.

We have not got quite as far as that yet. Perhaps we shall some day. Meanwhile, we have got a good way. To begin with, the law—the rules, the agreement—is there. The essence of it is that no State member of the League of Nations may start a war with another

member till it has tried every possible means of peaceful settlement and tried it for a considerable period—nine months. If it does go to war suddenly it breaks the rules and has to be stopped. Two or three cases of that have happened in the history of the League. In 1921 Yugoslavia invaded Albania. In 1925 war suddenly broke out between Greece and Bulgaria. In 1928 the same thing happened in South America between Bolivia and Paraguay. In all those cases the League acted, and the fighting was at once stopped.

#### Getting It Settled

Let us assume then that the League will always be able to do what the Covenant meant it to do—prevent fighting from breaking out or stop it when once it has broken out. (That assumption is frankly not justified yet.) The next thing is to deal with the original cause of dispute and get it settled by peaceful means, instead of by war.

There are two or three ways of dealing with that. If one of the parties is accused of having done something it was forbidden to do by a treaty or by some generally recognised rule of international law, then the right body to give a decision is the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. But countries cannot be taken before that Court against their will. That is where the comparison with the docker and the costermonger and the police court breaks down. To make that comparison complete a State which was injured, or considered itself injured, by another ought to be able to sue that other before the Court, and the second State should have either to appear or to be judged and sentenced in its absence. As a matter of fact, so far only a limited number of States (17) have agreed that if ever they are involved in a dispute which falls within the Court's sphere of action they will always allow the Court to deal with it. Other States which have not signed the special agreement to this effect, called the Optional Clause, can only be taken into Court if they consent to go there in each particular case.

#### How Arbitration Works

Another way of settling disputes is to submit them to arbitration. In that case, instead of a regular bench of judges sitting in a fixed place at fixed times and hearing all kinds of cases that come along, the two States in dispute choose between themselves special arbitrators for each particular dispute alone, or they may possibly set up a panel of arbitrators which will deal with any questions between that particular pair of countries. Usually each country supplies one arbitrator and they choose between them a neutral chairman. Sometimes there are two other neutral members as well. A board of arbitrators of this kind gives a definite verdict, just like the Permanent Court.

But it may happen for one reason or another that one State, or both, refuses arbitration. Even so, under the Covenant, they still cannot go to war. They must first argue the dispute out before the League of Nations Council, both of them becoming members of the Council for the time being, unless indeed they happen to be members already. In this case the Council itself tries to give a decision. If it is unanimous (the votes of the parties to the dispute not being counted for this purpose) then the decision is binding, and the disputants cannot go to war—meaning, of course, that they cannot go to war without breaking the Covenant. If, however, the Council at the end of six months cannot reach unanimous agreement, then there is no binding verdict, and the two disputing States are free to fight if they insist on it. But they must still wait for another three months for final attempts at reconciliation to be exerted. This "cooling-off" period may be very valuable.

#### The State That Defies

That is the rough outline of League law and League practice in the matter of the settlement of disputes. But two obvious questions have to be asked about it. First of all, what happens if a State, in defiance of all Covenant promises, does go to war instead of going to the Court or to the Council or to arbitration? And, secondly, what happens if a State that has had a verdict given against it by the Court or the arbitrators or the Council refuses to carry out that verdict? The two questions are separate, and must not be confused. About the latter case, declining to carry out a verdict, the Covenant is very vague. Members of the League are indeed pledged to carry out verdicts so given, but if they fail to do so all the Covenant says is that "the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect" to the award.

Much more decisive language is used about the case of a State actually going to war in breach of its promise not to. In that case it is to be regarded as the common enemy of all the League, and all Members of the League undertake to treat it so. To begin with, they are bound automatically to stop all trade and all intercourse with it, and, what is more, to prevent even other nations which are not Members of the League from trading with it. (That is a very serious matter at the present moment, because it might mean, for example, stopping American ships from trading with some European country which had broken the Covenant, and gone to war with a neighbour.)

#### A League War

If the exercise of this peaceful economic pressure is not enough and the fighting still goes on, a weak country perhaps being attacked by a strong, then the League Council must consider military measures as well. But the League has no force of its own. All it can do, therefore, is to ask the different States that compose the League, particularly those States in the best position to help, to supply forces to protect the attacked State and to check the aggressor. It must be understood that the Council can only ask; it cannot require or compel. Obviously, for example, British ships could only be detached to join a League naval squadron if the British Government decided that loyalty to the League required it to consent to that step.

No one knows yet how these provisions for dealing with a State that had deliberately gone to war in violation of its pledges would work, for they have never yet been put in force. They correspond in the international field to the action of the community within a civilised State (acting usually simply through a policeman or two) in seeing that a breach of the peace is stopped as soon as it happens.

#### After the Kellogg Pact

That, roughly, is the position as it existed till about six months ago. But the signature of the Kellogg Pact has changed the situation to some extent—to how great an extent is not yet quite clear. All States (except two) are now pledged never to use war as an instrument of national policy. There can, therefore, not be a war between League members even in cases where the Council has been considering a dispute, and has failed to reach a unanimous conclusion about it. It seems likely, moreover, that if League States ever had to stop a pledge-breaking State from trading with anyone else, the difficulty about stopping American ships would not arise, for America would hardly insist on continuing to give support to a State that had broken not only the Covenant, but the Kellogg Pact by continuing to trade with it. On the whole, therefore, the Kellogg Pact has made the preservation of world peace through the League distinctly easier.

## THE CASE AGAINST THE LEAGUE WHY WE OUGHT TO SCRAP THE WHOLE THING

[This imaginary speech was constructed by a strong League of Nations supporter who was asked to supply for debating purposes the best case he could make against the League. HEADWAY readers might find it stimulating intellectual exercise to work out in their own minds the answers to these criticisms.]

IN rising to put the case against the League of Nations, I propose to divide my speech into two main parts. Firstly, do we want a League of Nations at all? Secondly, if we do, do we want the League we have got? Personally, I have never been able to see the need for any League. I regard its creation as a pure waste of time and money, due to the officiousness of misdirected busybodies. Actually, the League is doing nothing which could not have been done without it. Before the war, we had something which functioned every bit as effectively as the League in dealing with big disputes—it was called the Concert of the Powers, and time and again it averted wars, put pressure on nations which misbehaved themselves, and otherwise kept the world in order, with a tittle of the fuss and expense of this Council, let alone the Assembly. It was much cheaper, it met only when there was occasion, and so avoided the temptation to make work; and it was a practical body, whose decisions were guided by interest, so that it knew that its orchestra was bound to be a rowdy one, and just went ahead; whereas the Council dares not try the simplest music, for fear the bassoon should blow in the wrong place.

“For minor work of organisation, we had various *ad hoc* bodies, composed of government experts who knew their jobs, and did them and then went home. Take the Universal Postal Union. Does that work a jot less well than if it called itself the *n*th Advisory and Technical Committee, and spent a fortune printing minutes that no one wants to read? Very well then!

“As for the League’s other activities, they are simply making work and making mischief. Take the Economic Conference. A gang of free traders get together and lay down the law to the world that it has got to have free trade. What I want to know is: What happened to the protectionists at that congress? Weren’t they invited? In that case the whole Conference was a farce. Or were they gagged or shouted down? In that case, it is no better than lies. If Joey Chamberlain could have come back and given the world five minutes of sense, there wouldn’t have been any Congress. As for this messing about with disarmament, what good has it done to anyone? It hasn’t made Monaco or Andorra disarm, and only made all the nations irritated at and suspicious of their neighbours. The surest way to bring on trouble is to go talking about it all the time.

“But if we had to have a League of Nations, couldn’t we have done better than this one? I say nothing about the men who started it, although the chief of them was a Yank professor who was notoriously *gaga*; but the time it was started was so inopportune that it could never possibly have been anything but a failure. It was misshapen at birth, past mending.

“The fact is, there were two sets of influences that went to the making of the League, and each of them managed to put in something fatal. First of all, there were the idealists, who had no grip at all on realities. They set to work to build up this extraordinary tower of words, one mass of fine phrases, all about peace, without stopping to consider whether there was a single reality at the back of the words. People promised the League this and that, and then went on doing exactly as they did before. If the League is to be really effective as an instrument of international government—suppos-

ing we want one at all, which I don’t admit—it ought to have set up a sort of super-state, at least as regards the machinery of international relations and armies. Nations ought to have surrendered their armed forces to League control and trusted the League to use them wisely. I am not advocating this; but it would at least have created a super-state which rendered national armaments unnecessary. But the League did nothing of the sort. It was so terrified at its own weakness that it bound the nations to practically nothing. They don’t disarm; they go on practising secret diplomacy; they contract military alliances, like France, or go attacking their neighbours, like Italy; and then we have the humiliating spectacle of the League creeping round and pretending all this is perfectly compatible with the ‘League spirit,’ because if it didn’t the nations who know what they want would simply cut out of the League for good and all.

“And so we get a wolf in sheep’s clothing, which is far worse than a wolf undisguised. For, of course, the wolves are there. They simply flayed the poor, silly sheep, and are keeping warm in its skin. For all the fine words, it’s no use blinking it, the League is simply an instrument for preserving a *status quo* which is unjust and unnatural. It is part of the Treaty of Versailles, which everyone knows now was a mistake, and simply sowing the seeds of future wars. All the League does is to introduce futile little palliatives, and to prevent the big, sensible readjustment which we all know ought to come, and will come, because when Germany feels strong enough, she will break the League up like windstraws. Then there will be a whole lot of unnecessary wreckage as a result of having linked together things that were never meant to be connected. The French thought they could safeguard the Polish Corridor by joining it up with the mandates system and the International Waterways and the rest. Well, the only result will be that when the Polish Corridor goes, International Waterways will go too. Old diplomacy wasn’t so bad. It used, at least, to try to localise quarrels. When Abyssinia went to war with Timbuctoo, Grey and Bethmann-Hollweg would put their heads together and agree that it was no concern of ours. Now they have reversed the whole thing. We are all drawn into everyone else’s quarrels, and meanwhile the so-called peace machinery is not enough to stop a single one of those quarrels from arising.

“It might have been possible if America and Russia had come into the League from the first. But as it is, the States chiefly concerned with them simply have to take measures of their own, and they merely find themselves between two fires. Look at ourselves. If there wasn’t any League, we shouldn’t be finding ourselves bickering with America as we are.

“The Americans have been more sensible than we. They knew what they wouldn’t stand for, and they wouldn’t stand for getting embroiled in the quarrels between Albania and Estonia, and putting themselves at the beck and call of Venezuela when she is asked to arbitrate. Nor should we. We cheapened ourselves when we put ourselves on a level with all these penny-plain and twopence-coloured little countries that no one ever heard of. This idea of equality of States is pure humbug, only equalled by the provisions that

## THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I HAVE discovered a remarkable method of learning Foreign Languages, a method for which I have been looking all my life. I only wish I had known of it before; what toil, what drudgery, what disappointments I should have been saved!



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

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

### How to Learn Languages.

Some time ago I saw an announcement entitled “A New Method of Learning French, Spanish, Italian and German.” Of course, I read it, and when I saw that this method was being taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, I wrote for their book, “The Gift of Tongues,” and this so interested me that I enrolled for the Course in French. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have seen or heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

Consider, for example, this question, with which the book (which, by the way, can be obtained free of charge) opens: “Do you think you could pick up a book of 48 pages, written in a language of which you do not know a syllable—say, Spanish or Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?” Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of languages instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I am not surprised to hear that it is revolutionising the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

### Grammatical Difficulties Overcome.

The Pelman Language Courses are based upon an original yet perfectly sound principle, and one of their most striking features is the fact that they are written entirely in the particular language (French, Spanish, Italian or German) concerned. There is not an English word in any of them. Even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word you can study these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake and without “looking-up” any words in a French-English, Italian-English, Spanish-English or German-English Dictionary. This statement seems an incredible one, yet it is perfectly true, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables one to read, write and speak French, Spanish,

Italian or German without bothering one’s head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening one’s memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

Thousands of letters have been received from men and women who have learnt French, Spanish, Italian or German by the new Pelman method. 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. 146)

“This is the easiest and quickest way of learning foreign languages. 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)

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

“I am enclosing my last work sheet for correction. I cannot speak too highly of your system. I calculate that I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods; the results obtained in so short a time are amazing. With the aid of a dictionary, on account of the technical vocabulary, I now find I can master German scientific reports published in their own tongue. I cannot tell you what a help this will be in my work. The whole system is excellent.” (G.P. 135)

“I have learnt more and better French in the last four months than previously I had learnt in thrice that period.” (M. 241)

By learning languages in this way you will be able to read the leading French, German, Italian and Spanish newspapers and reviews, and thus keep in close touch with Continental opinion on subjects connected with the League of Nations.

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The new Pelman method of learning French, German, Italian and Spanish is explained in a little book entitled “The Gift of Tongues.”

There are four different editions of this book—one for each language.

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everyone has got to be unanimous before doing anything. If this meant anything, it would mean that nothing could be done at all. It is pretty wisdom to resurrect in the twentieth century the very system of the *liberum veto* which wrecked Poland 300 years ago. But it doesn't mean anything except that the big countries will bully and bribe the little ones, until we get fifty times more 'old diplomacy' than ever before, going on in the very heart of the Temple of Peace, or whatever they call it at Geneva.

"No! What we want to do is to scrap the whole thing. Let each nation look to its own interests, and I agree with the others whose interests coincide with their own. Most people's interests are peace. If there is any question which a nation thinks worth a war, it will make war in spite of all the words in the world. There is nothing easier than getting round words. Then the sensible thing for us is to keep well out of other people's wars, and if we have to have one of our own—which God forbid!—we will fight it like men, as our fathers did."

## THAT MONROE DOCTRINE

A CORRESPONDENT asks for a brief explanation of the Monroe Doctrine, which is at present so frequently under discussion. The matter is hardly one that can be discussed both briefly and adequately, but for practical purposes an outline may suffice, though there is all the difference between what the Doctrine meant when it was first proclaimed and what it may be considered to mean now.

Very briefly indeed, it may be said to mean "America for the Americans." What President Monroe said in 1823 was that the United States would not tolerate any fresh colonisation of any part of the soil of America by a European Power, and he added, as a complement to this, that America had no intention of mixing herself up in the internal affairs of European States.

From this original declaration many consequences have followed. The United States, which first of all merely opposed colonisation by European Powers, has come to oppose any intervention by European Powers in the affairs of North or South America. That means that the United States itself is left overwhelmingly the predominant partner on the twin continent, and many of the Latin American States have complained that their northern neighbour uses her power, both financial and military, ruthlessly.

That may or may not be a just charge, but it brings out the fact that the Monroe Doctrine is in no sense a policy agreed by the different American States, but merely a declaration made by one of them, whether the others liked it or not. They undoubtedly did like it at the time, for they were dreading the interference of a European Power—Spain—from which many of them had recently revolted. Whether they like it as well to-day in its subsequent applications and developments is another question. However that may be, the Doctrine in its essentials has been regularly acquiesced in by all European Powers, except on one or two rare occasions.

Owing to a misunderstanding Sir William Bull, the chairman of a meeting recently held at the House of Commons to consider the Channel Tunnel question, was represented in the last issue of HEADWAY as having deprecated the idea of putting the Tunnel ultimately into the hands of a holding company associated with the League of Nations. Sir William Bull's views, on the contrary, are that there should be two companies promoted, one English and one French, with, perhaps, a holding company associated with the League. While, therefore, Sir William may, to some extent, still have an open mind on the matter, he is very far from having declared himself against the idea of a holding company with League affiliations.

## NOTABLE PLAYS

"HEADWAY" does not and cannot habitually publish critiques of plays but, on the other hand, it cannot forbear from urging its readers on particular occasions to go and see particular plays. The production of "Journey's End" at the Savoy is such a particular occasion. "Journey's End" is a war play pure and simple. The whole of the action takes place in a dug-out near St. Quentin, and its theme is the reactions of war on types of Englishmen. Those reactions stream irresistibly across the footlights and grip the audience as powerfully as the actors themselves. Nowhere is the play marred by flag-waving on the one hand nor sentimental pacifism on the other. Death is there, though death is but a minor element in the tragedy. What matters is that all in their own way hate the thing they are doing, yet none of them, with one exception, would in the circumstances be anywhere but where they are. To those who have been through war and those who have not the play will appeal in different ways, but about the force of its appeal there can be no question.

### "THE RUMOUR"

Everybody who is interested in international affairs should make an effort to see Mr. C. K. Munro's play, "The Rumour," now running at the Court Theatre, Sloane Square. Mr. Munro is an artist, not a propagandist, and his plays are full of human and dramatic interest. On this occasion he has worked on the theme of the causes of war, and his artistic insight has enabled him to give an impressive picture of the way in which malign financial interests may play upon the ignorance and prejudices of the peoples and lure them into war. "The Rumour" made a great sensation when it was produced for a week at the Festival Theatre, Cambridge, last year. The playgoer who has the causes of war brought home to him by "The Rumour," and the nature of war instilled into him by "Journey's End," should be quick to realise the necessity for a League of Nations.

## MR. ROOT'S MISSION

IT is no small thing for a public man in his 85th year to cross the Atlantic in February and March gales to undertake a mission at Geneva. And the spirit in which Mr. Elihu Root, a former Secretary of State for the United States, has entered on his journey is a most striking thing in that he is going in the first instance purely to assist the League in revising the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. There is every reason to believe, however, that once Mr. Root had decided to come to Europe for this purpose he was entrusted by President Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg with a semi-official mission in regard to the association of the United States with the Permanent Court.

It will be remembered that the American Government did in 1926 definitely approach the League, or to be strictly accurate, the members of the Court (who are also members of the League), with proposals to this end. But the discussions which resulted in complete agreement on all other points unfortunately broke down on the rather technical question of whether the Court should be instructed to refuse to issue advisory opinions on any question in which the United States had or claimed to have an interest. Members of the League felt that this was too sweeping a demand and they very reluctantly decided that it was important to concur in it. Now, however, the United States has returned to the charge and Mr. Kellogg in an extremely conciliatory note addressed to the Governments of all countries members of the Court, expresses a confident hope that some other formula, satisfactorily safeguarding the interests of the United States, may be devised.

## BOOKS WORTH READING

### JOINING BROKEN LINKS

An Ambassador of Peace. Vol. I. By Viscount D'Abernon. (Hodder & Stoughton. 21s.)

Lord D'Abernon was in many ways an unorthodox Ambassador. He was sent to be the first occupant of the British Embassy at Berlin after the war, not because he was a trained diplomatist, but because he was not. He was a financier, and Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Prime Minister, had the vision to realise the part finance must play for years to come in the relations between Germany and the Allies. While he was at Berlin Lord D'Abernon kept a diary, whose pages were described by Lord Curzon as "a source of constant delight." The description is deserved. The casual judgments on men and things set down as the impressions of the moment are far more interesting than more mature and considered judgments. The British Ambassador was the trusted friend and adviser of a succession of post-war German statesmen, notably two Foreign Ministers, Rathenau in 1921-2, and Stresemann much later. Rathenau, he mentions, always declared he would some day be assassinated—as, in fact, he was. The advice given was always sound, and the confidence created by the relationship between the British Embassy at the Unter der Linden end of the Wilhelmstrasse and the Foreign Office, a little further down, did far more than is commonly realised to help a strained string from snapping during the early and more difficult days of the reparation controversy.

Incidentally the diaries are full of shrewd estimates of men. Of Mr. Lloyd George, "No mule is in it with L. G., once his mind is set on the unorthodox, with all the experts against him." Of Stresemann, "Unquestionably a big man, and he knows it." Of Germany, "There is an invincible tendency in the German character to complain, and their first impulse on hearing any news is to bemoan its effect on their own fate." Of Lord Curzon, "There was an air of profuse magnificence in his diction. He lisped in Gibbon, for the Gibbon came."

The second and third instalment of the diaries will be awaited with impatience.

### THE TRAGEDY OF 1812

Vivandiere. By Phœbe Fenwick Gaye. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

An attractive story of Napoleon's Moscow Campaign in 1812 and the tragic retreat. The writer traces back to the war-weariness of that day the germs of a League of Nations idea. "It was not only that the soldiers were tired of the war," she writes. "Europe was a little tired, too. Here and there, in small village halls, in the open air, in council meetings, speakers were promulgating a new idea. At least, they thought it was new; in reality it was as old as the first Peacemaker. These men held theories that there was some other way of settling disputes, more economical than warfare. They had some faint groping after a court of international justice. . . . The newspapers made great fun of them. But they were an obstinate breed, and they held their own, even if they could make nobody listen to them but their own enthusiastic supporters. Their theories still survive, and have materialised. From the firm soil of peace, collected, assimilated, improved through the years from the farthest æons of time, the League of Nations has drawn its roots, strengthening itself from year to year, putting forth fresh green leaves of promise, as steadily as the trees of spring. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. . . ."

This is an attractive theory, but is it quite history?

# How We Earned While Learning

BY 6 SUCCESSFUL WRITERS.

Hundreds of students of the Regent Institute (which has a world-wide reputation for training free-lance journalists by post) have earned money by the pen during tuition; many of them have recouped the fee several times over while taking the Course. Practically all these successful pupils were novices when they enrolled.

It is a frequent occurrence for editors to commission students to write articles. Some pupils have gained editorial appointments; others have become regular contributors. Typical reports of *earning while learning* are given below:—

#### Over £30 Earned.

I am doing fairly well. I expect to touch £50 from journalism by December, as I am now beyond £30 (after eight lessons).—L. G. L.

#### Thirty-two Acceptances.

I enclose an article for Lesson 9. . . . I have had thirteen acceptances since I wrote to you last. This makes thirty-two acceptances in all.—M. W. F.

#### Selling a Story a Week.

I am going through the aftermath of an operation—a slow, painful process. The utmost I can manage is one 600-word story for children per week. These stories I am selling, and am hoping to be strong enough by the New Year to attempt magazine work.—O. C.

#### A Busy Writer.

I now forward my ninth lesson for criticism. . . . At present I can scarcely find time to continue with your Course, as every spare minute is spent in writing articles. Some weeks I place as many as four, and it is very seldom that less than two are accepted.—W. K. R.

#### 50 Guineas for a Story.

This morning I received an offer of fifty guineas for a boys' adventure story to be published next autumn.—R. C. F.

#### Permanent and Remunerative Work.

I have secured permanent and remunerative work, besides selling every one of my exercises.—R. D. P.

## FREE BOOKLET for New Writers.

Write to-day for a copy of the Institute's prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer." This interesting booklet will be sent free and post free on application to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219E), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8. It contains much striking information, and describes the Regent method of postal tuition.

Cut this coupon out and post in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet.

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## A LEAGUE FORERUNNER

The Life of Lord Pauncefote. By R. B. Mowat. (Constable. 16s.)

Professional diplomatist though he was, and living in pre-League of Nations days though he did (he died in 1902), Lord Pauncefote must properly be regarded as a true League pioneer. By a series of odd chances he found himself constantly and prominently concerned with two sets of activities which figure largely on the League programme to-day. As negotiator on behalf of Great Britain in regard to the international régimes to be established in the Suez and Panama Canals and on the Danube and Congo, he was dealing with precisely the matters which the League Communications and Transit Organisation is handling to-day. And as British Ambassador at Washington he was largely responsible for carrying through the two important arbitration agreements between this country and the United States in regard to the Behring Sea seal fisheries and the Venezuela frontier controversy. More important still was the comprehensive arbitration agreement signed with America, but unfortunately never operative, because the Senate refused to ratify with the necessary two-thirds majority, and the creation of the Permanent Arbitration Court at The Hague, in 1899, for which Pauncefote was responsible more than any other single man. This is a great record, and we remember it too little. Many of the difficulties Pauncefote had to face are precisely those that still confront the League of Nations to-day. Mr. Mowat has rendered a valuable service in producing this readable biography.

A Woman at War. (Liverpool Daily Post.)

Twenty very short sketches by a woman Army signaller, a woman who went to serve and found perplexities, as in a talk with a corporal on "The Christian War." "Listen, from the time I get up in the morning, to the time I go to bed at night, I have only one aim in life—to kill, kill, kill. The end of my bayonet is jagged, and when I thrust it into a German boy, I am told to twist it round before pulling it out again . . . And people are calling it Christian . . . If this war can be justified from the teachings of Christ, we must look for something else to put the world right."

Emily Hobhouse. By A. Ruth Fry. (Cape. 10s. 6d.)

The Boer War, as General Smuts observes in his foreword to Miss Fry's biography, seems a long way off to-day, and probably the present generation knows nothing of the misery of the concentration camps in which the enemy women and children were established by the British authorities. Miss Hobhouse's work among the inmates of those camps made her what General Smuts calls "a great healing influence in South Africa." This biography worthily perpetuates her memory.

The Matter and Method of Modern Teaching. By Valentine Davis. (Cartwright & Rattray. 6s.)

Hints on the teaching of a diversity of subjects, including the League of Nations, to which a considerable and quite useful section is given.

Peace Hath Her Victories. By Kathleen E. Innes. (Friends' Book Centre. 1s.)

Brief and brightly-written stories of four pieces of League work—Armenian women and children, Greek refugees, opium and health.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Purpose of God in the Life of the World. (Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d.)

The Adventurers. Book III. By Helen Corke. (Milford. 2s. 6d.)

Chemistry in Daily Life. By S. Glasstone. (Methuen. 2s. 6d.)

## READERS' VIEWS

## BRITAIN AND THE PACT

SIR,—On the first page of the current issue of HEADWAY, among some brief references to the Kellogg Pact, you refer to the ratification, or possible ratification, of the Pact by both Afghanistan and Egypt, and suggest that such ratifications look like knocking the bottom out of the British reservations. If I may be permitted to say so, I entirely agree, although I would advance arguments in support of this view somewhat different to the one that you name.

In the particular case that you mention, that of Afghanistan being attacked by a third party, I would point out that the effect of the application of the British reservations might be quite material. Under the reservations, we claim, so I think, the right to intervene for the protection of the territory of Afghanistan *whether so invited by the Government of that country or not*. If this is the case, it follows that Great Britain might decide upon action in the country in question to prevent or repel the intervention of a third power, and might do this under circumstances in which, to the Afghan Government, the encroachment of the third power was preferable to our Government's intervention. The British Government might then be making use of armed forces strictly within the limits of action laid down by the British reservations, while the Government of Afghanistan, from the actual terms of the Pact, would be justified in charging Britain with waging an aggressive war. Thus, our country would, by the one act, be both breaking the Pact and acting in accordance with the reservations.—Yours faithfully,

Orchard Cottage,  
Waltham St. Lawrence.  
February 16, 1929.

## THE CHILD AND THE FILM.

SIR,—There is a great deal of difference between the influence on a child's mind of the written word and that of a picture. (As an adult even, I found "Bella Donna" far more revolting on the screen than when I read it, though the reading had prepared me for the picture of a white woman embracing an Egyptian.)

Just as a girl will read of horrible historical doings and not think of them in relation to real life, so does the child with Jack the Giant-killer or the romantic kiss of the Sleeping Beauty.

The child is said to pass rapidly through the stages from savagery which preceding generations have gone through, so as a rule he regards cruelty not as we do, imaginatively, but curiously and as part of the general scheme. He will take off the wings of a fly so as to observe it, but when told that the fly suffers as he would, he desists. He lives in some ways in a world of his own, and has many terrors, akin to those that confront the savage, which leave us unmoved.

Yet tell children that some nations have tortures too dreadful to recount and they will beg to hear them, just as older people so often crave for thrills on the stage which they could not tolerate seeing in life. Of course, there are adults who take a sadistic delight in cruelty, and there is, perhaps a strain of cruelty in all, but I think with most children and adults the motive is curiosity and desire for drama in life.—Yours faithfully,

Summerlease, Avonmouth. A READER.

## THE CENSOR AND THE CHILD

SIR,—I was interested in the article on "The Child and the Pictures" in HEADWAY of February, 1929, and agree with most of what is said, but there is one point I should like to raise, namely, that in this country it is impossible for parents to be quite sure that when they take their children to see the films, only films marked "U" will be shown. As often as not an "A" certificate film is put into the middle of the display, and most

BOUGHT AN ANNUITY  
AT AGE 66; LIVED  
TO THE AGE OF 104

Annuitants proverbially live longer. One reason is that the larger income obtained gives them comforts and attentions that tend to lengthen life, and another reason is freedom from financial anxiety. One example is given above. A lady aged 66 purchased a "Sun of Canada" Annuity in 1890 and lived to enjoy it to the ripe old age of 104. It was only a small annuity, but

SHE RECEIVED IN YEARLY PAYMENTS FROM  
THE COMPANY MORE THAN THREE TIMES  
THE PURCHASE PRICE OF THE ANNUITY

It cost her £150 and the total amount she received was £458 12s. 11d. This is not an isolated case; among "Sun of Canada" annuitants who died last year was another centenarian and eight over the age of 90.

The Sun of Canada specialises in Annuities—Immediate, Deferred, Joint and Educational—and offers unequalled advantages. Better terms are given in cases of impaired health. Government supervised assets now exceed £100,000,000.

Write, stating age and amount you could invest to:

J. F. Junkin, Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada,  
99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar  
Square, London, S.W.1.

BEGIN THE YEAR WELL  
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Electricity and its Bearing on World Peace"

By H. G. MASSINGHAM

JUST PUBLISHED BY HUTCHINSONS, LONDON  
At all Booksellers. 6d.

## Visit to The Hague and The Peace Palace

A week's holiday in Holland during the Session of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Addresses by Officials of The Hague Court and the Permanent Court. A group will leave London, Tuesday, June 18th, and return Tuesday, June 25th. Fee £9. Numbers limited. Early booking essential.

Applications to Mrs. Innes, B.A., Friends' Peace Committee,  
Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

## HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

TWO GUESTS RECEIVED in delightful Flat, near League. Glorious views; English comfort.—Miss Mitchell, 97, Rue de Lausanne, Geneva.

BRITANNY.—"Bjord House," St. Jaout de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Inclusive, £2 weekly. Winter, 30/-.

## SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

CARISBROOKE SCHOOL, Durdham Down, Bristol.—Matric. and Oxford Local Exams., Inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, LL.A. Tel. 5051 Bristol.

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. O'Leary Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 14 acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in international affairs.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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

parents would hardly wish to take their children out when the film began.

The result of this is that children very often see most unsuitable films because their parents have been unable to protect them.

There is another point I should also like to raise, namely, that though the Film Censor's Board in this country does its very best to protect children from unsuitable films, the local bodies, which have the final say as to what shall be shown, very often allow films to be exhibited which have not been passed by the Censors. I think this is a matter which is not generally understood by a great many people, and that we should do our best to make it known so that the film Censors may be supported in their work.—Yours faithfully,

112, Beaufort Street,  
Chelsea, London, S.W.3.

February 13, 1929.

["U" means for universal exhibition, "A" for adults only.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

## THE ROMANCE OF PEACE

SIR,—Could not someone—one of our best minds—write a book, a story of the world at peace? Wells has written of war in the air, others have written fantastically of the future. Why not someone—not a Shaw or a Chesterton; someone we can take in all seriousness—give us a picture of Europe without war, without even the burden of armaments? Let us see what it is we propose to bring about. We shall have security; but what shall we have left of those things which appeal to the ambitions, to the adventurous mind of youth, to the pride of race in its best sense? Let, I say, someone give us a noble picture that will catch the fancy of the man in the street, that will fire the imagination of youth, so that we can give Britain—and Europe, too,—a greatness not now victorious, but happy and glorious.—Yours, etc.,

F. B. KEALL.

## TOO STRONG

SIR,—In the current number of HEADWAY it says: "Practically every Great Power has been actually increasing its military expenditure in the past eight years. If that goes on it reduces the ratification of the Kellogg Pact to an act of shameful hypocrisy."

Is not this a mistaken inference? Under the Pact each nation must keep up its strength in order to carry out its duties, or it will be a useless member of the commonwealth of nations.

It is only nations strong and well armed that can keep the peace. "Be strong and of a good courage."—Yours, etc.,

45, Chestnut Road, W. BUCKNALL.

West Norwood, February 12, 1929.

[By no means. To carry out their duties under the Covenant—not the Pact—nations would only need large armies or navies if the State they might have to discipline in common had a large army or navy. If there were a general and drastic reduction of national armaments, which is what ought to happen, the combined forces of the law-abiding States would be far more than adequate for "the enforcement by common action of international obligations."—Ed., HEADWAY.]

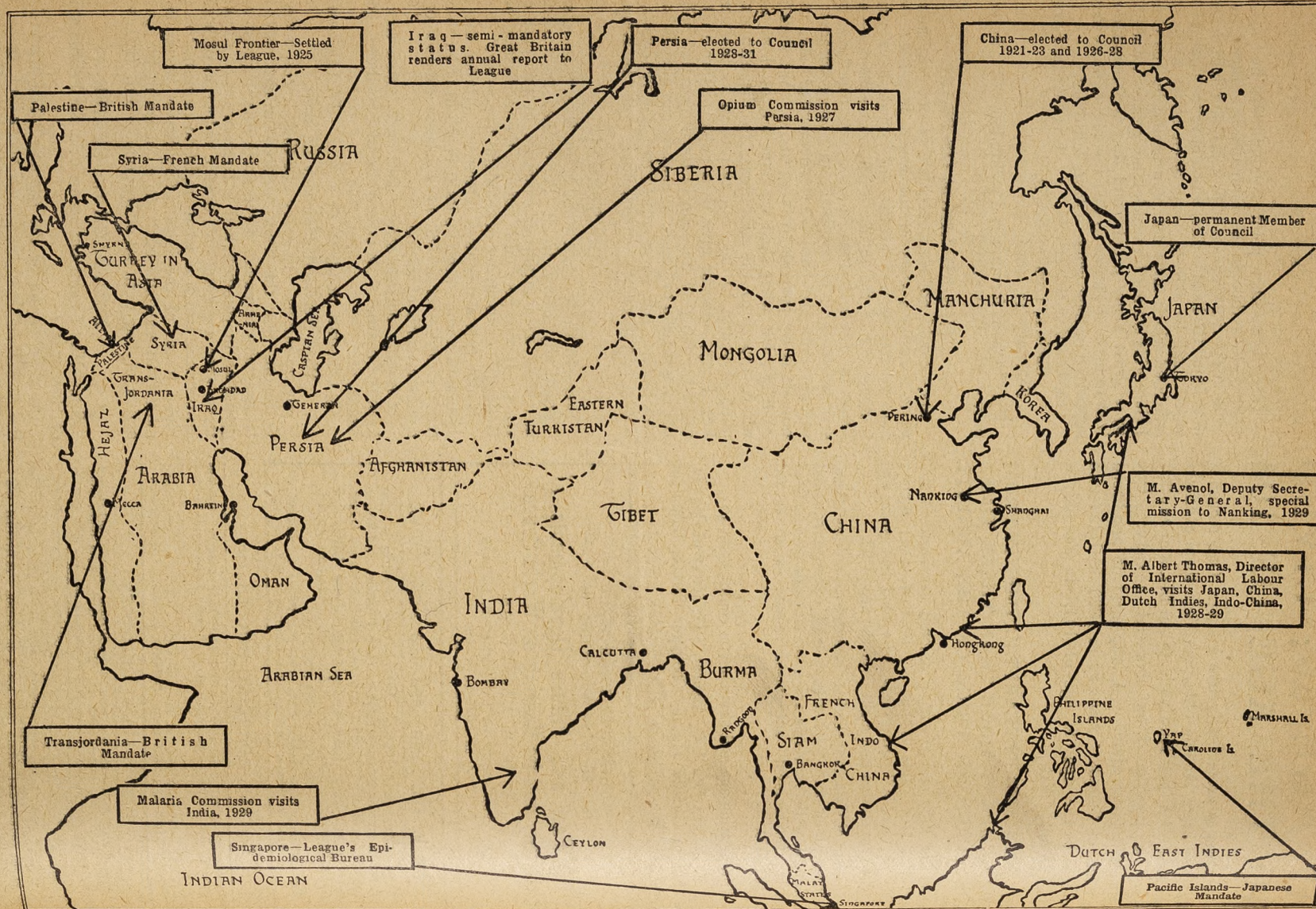
## STOPPAGE OR STRIKE

SIR,—May I point out an error in the February issue of HEADWAY?

On page 22, under the heading "Too Much Coal," reference is made to the "Coal Strike" of 1926. That stoppage was not due to a strike, but a "lock-out," and caused the general strike, a spontaneous action of sympathy on the part of organised workers toward the miners.—Yours, etc.,

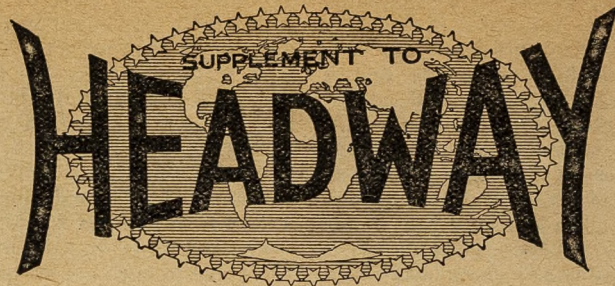
Deerholm, Normandy,  
Surrey, February 11, 1929.

# ASIA AND THE LEAGUE



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# LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MARCH 1929

## IF WINTER COMES

WITH influenza at its worst and the thermometer at its lowest in a country whose plumbing is not frost-proof, life is apt to seem hard. The trivial round and the common task furnish all, and more than, we want to ask. No wonder if Branch Secretaries and members of the League of Nations Union sometimes feel depressed by the thought of the vastly important and altogether uncommon task which they have added to the ordinary business of life.

But when the grip of winter is most icy, spring is not far off. The worst is already over, and great changes are about to happen. The future prospect makes the present well worth while; and, when the future has become the present and the present lies in the past, we shall probably be able to look back upon it with a certain satisfaction. We of the League of Nations Union, looking back upon laborious evenings and week-ends spent on the Union's business after finishing our own day's work, may surely take comfort in the words of one of our Presidents (Lord Cecil):—

I believe that the League of Nations Union has been of incalculable value to the cause of the League of Nations. It is not too much to say that without the Union the League might not have survived, and it is almost certain it would not have achieved the very remarkable success which has fallen to it.

Our other President (Lord Grey) has told us that "the necessity for the League of Nations Union increases and does not decrease as a League of Nations policy makes progress in Europe." About the success and the progress there can be no doubt. The League of Nations has proved itself to be an indispensable clearing house for all kinds of international business, doing for all the nations what each requires and none can accomplish separately. The League, with the help of its Court, has shown itself well able to declare existing international law, and to administer it, so long as it does not conflict with the wishes of any Great Power. But that is not enough—not nearly enough—to establish the reign of international law based upon international justice and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind.

The League, like the frozen earth in this northern hemisphere, begins to feel the touch of the spring. But if it is to grow and to develop as now it may, it will need all the support which the Union and its members are able to give. Of the new developments now possible, two at least are indispensable if the League is effectually to safeguard the peace of nations.

In the first place, the League must have the means, not only to administer international law as it now stands and, through the World Court, to declare existing rights, but also to amend the law and alter the rights when these conflict with justice. Thus will the League be able to remove every "legitimate" cause of war: that is of "private" war, war as an instrument of national policy. The General Council of the League of Nations

Union has already declared itself in favour of making Article 19 of the Covenant practically effective, so that the Assembly may be able to secure "the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." But such a change involves considerable apparent, though not on a long view real, sacrifices of special national interests. The unpreparedness of public opinion to acquiesce in such apparent sacrifices is the great obstacle, in this as in other respects, to making the League an effective reality. It is the business of the League of Nations Union to remove this obstacle by educating public opinion about the League; and such education must be undertaken by a non-party body lest the League become a party question. The Union is the non-party body established by Royal Charter for this purpose.

In the second place, private war must be *effectually* outlawed. Since it is now practically certain that any State which resorts to war in the future will be violating either the Pact of Paris or the League's Covenant or both, private war has already become immoral and, if it is not also illegal already, it is well on the road to become so. When that point is definitely reached, the Freedom of the Seas, as President Wilson defined it, will be an accomplished fact; belligerent rights (in private war) will have ceased to exist, and the principal issues which have divided the English-speaking world for more than a century will have disappeared.

In the immediate future and for some time, perhaps a generation, to come, the effective prevention of private war will require collective action, or police measures, by members of the League (with the help, or at least the acquiescence of the United States) against a Covenant-breaker or a Pact-breaker. The British, French, Italian, Belgian, Czecho-Slovak and Polish Governments have told the German Government (in an Annex to the Locarno Treaties) that they interpret Article 16 of the Covenant as binding each State Member of the League "to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." But it is certain that every Government will minimise this obligation so long as the idea of organised collective action is foreign to the minds of its people. It is for the League of Nations Union, and its sister societies abroad, to make this idea generally understood and to get it generally accepted.

In the long run, however, organised collective action in the shape of police measures—"force" in a word—is by no means the most effective way to prevent private war. In any civilised society it is not the power of the police force, actual or potential, that deters the average

citizen from using force for private ends. He keeps the law because his thought is that way inclined, because he has been taught to keep it, because of his loyalty to his society and its established practice. So also in the society of nations which is called the British Empire, while some measure of force is still needed (and used) to preserve world order along the wild fringes of civilisation, private war between one part of the Commonwealth and another is prevented, not so much by force, or the fear of force, as by the sentiment of a common loyalty. In the long run by far the most effective way to prevent private war—when once its only "legitimate" cause has been removed—is by education, by changing people's minds, by the cultivation of world loyalty: it was President Wilson who said that he looked forward to the time when men would be as ashamed of being disloyal to humanity as they are now ashamed of being disloyal to their own country.

The greatest problem before the League and the Union is, therefore, a problem of education. The world's teachers hold the key to world peace.

## EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

AN exceptionally successful Model Disarmament Conference was held on January 31 in North London, organised by the Crouch End, East and West Hornsey, Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church, Ferme Park, Muswell Hill and North Islington branches. A brief study of its novel and impressive features—especially those reflected in the comments of the local papers—should be particularly interesting and valuable to other branches of the Union.

The Rev. Canon F. L. Donaldson presided, and the chief delegates were: Major-General Sir G. M. Franks, Major V. Lefebure, Admiral J. D. Allen and Mr. A. G. Enock.

The main object of the Conference was to help to make international disarmament *everybody's business*, in the words of Admiral Allen. The subjects chosen were aerial and chemical disarmament, which were dealt with by General Franks and Major Lefebure respectively. Resolutions on these subjects, in the words of a local paper, were carried with enthusiasm. General Franks dealt mainly with the technical limitations contained in the Draft Convention of the Preparatory Commission. He regretted the omission from this Draft of any separate specification of the number of trained pilots in the limitation of effectives. Major Lefebure gave a brilliant dissertation on the possibilities of chemical warfare control. He said that, given a businesslike handling of the process of controlling chemical warfare preparation, it was every bit a practical proposition to carry it through to a stage satisfactory and beneficial to the peace and safety of the world. A death-dealing blow to chemical warfare research would be the abolition of the vast testing stations, where experiments on the large scale propagation of gases were carried out. Major Lefebure's speech was most optimistic and enlightening, and was, fortunately, given great prominence in the local papers, which were most interested in his statements on the destructive potentiality of chemical offensives directed to the civil population.

A local paper, reporting Mr. Enock's speech, said that: "He noticed with pleasure that the Conference that evening differed from all other peace conferences which he had attended during the past twenty-five years in that they had much more many-sided mentalities levelled on the problem." This is undoubtedly one of the outstanding advantages of a conference over the usual public meetings of which the public tend to tire.

Listening to differently presented speeches from different types of mind on different aspects of the same subject is much more enlivening and fascinating than hearing one speaker on one aspect in one manner of presentation. The many-sidedness of the treatment is not only beneficial in itself, but, above all, it provokes discussion and thought. We must act conferences, and keep on acting them till they get so ingrained in the mind of the general public that they begin, inevitably and strongly, to clamour for the real thing—namely, the much-needed World Disarmament Conference. On this account, it is very much to be hoped that other branches will consider the value of such conferences.

M. H. G.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### A Good Meeting

The Willenhall Branch held a successful public meeting in the Wesleyan Church on February 3. The meeting was considered one of the best that has ever been held in the town. Mr. S. M. Slater was in the Chair and the chief speaker was Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P. The audience numbered over 1,000 and 200 new members were enrolled. The Branch membership is now 450.

### From Felixstowe

At the annual meeting of the Felixstowe Branch held recently, it was reported that the membership stood at 387. Steady progress has been made and many good meetings held. The town has been divided into districts with a collector and distributor of literature for each. The Junior Branch shows a membership of 103 as a result of its first year's work. Mr. S. J. Hutley, the retiring Honorary Secretary, is to be heartily congratulated on his work and the new Secretary has our best wishes for the continued success and progress of the Branch.

### Well Done! Norwich

Canon Meyrick recently presided at the annual meeting of the Norwich Branch at which the Dean of Norwich delivered an interesting address on International Affairs. It was reported that the membership had increased from 950 (in 1926) to 1,260. These figures are very satisfactory, and the Branch is to be congratulated upon its work.

### At Wanstead

The Wanstead Branch has inaugurated a Women's Section to be known as the Wanstead Women's Branch. This section was recently created at a special meeting held in the Wesleyan Schoolroom, Hermon Hill. No less than 130 women attended and a keen Secretary was appointed.

### Model Assembly at Edinburgh

On January 25 the Edinburgh City and University Branches held a joint Model Assembly in the Debating Hall of the University Union. Professor Basil Williams (Canada) opened the Assembly as President of the Council. After a realistic election, Professor William Wilson (the Netherlands) took the chair as President of the Assembly. There followed an open discussion on Disarmament, introduced by a rapporteur from the Disarmament Commission. Speeches were made by the delegates (some of them nationals) of Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Chile, Latvia, Switzerland, Cuba and Panama. The interpreter was M. Tirol. Fifty-five nations were represented, and the floor and galleries of the Hall were filled with interested spectators.

Edinburgh and East of Scotland members are requested to note that Lord Cecil will address a public meeting in the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, on Friday, March 8, at 8 p.m. Tickets (reserved, 1s., and unreserved) may be obtained from the League of Nations Union office, 34, Shandwich Place, Edinburgh.

### A Second Edition

The Playlet—"Humanity Delivered"—which was written by Mr. F. W. Parrot, Hon. Secretary of the Kirkby Stephen Branch, has now entered its second edition which has been produced by the Northern Friends' Peace Board. This little play, which has been performed with success by Branches in many parts of the country, may be obtained from Headquarters, price 4d. (including postage). Another play by the same author "Disarmament or How the Cake was Shared" (price 8d., post free) is also on sale.

### From Strength to Strength

At the Annual Meeting of the St. Albans Branch it was reported that the membership of the Branch had increased during the year. In 1928 the total number of members who paid subscriptions was 1,097. The annual Dance, which was held recently in the St. Albans Town Hall, was an outstanding success. The Mayfair Six Band played for dancing, and Mr. Gordon Wells and Mr. George Leven were M.C.s. Mrs. Gordon Wells, with members of the Committee, was responsible for the catering. In the course of the evening Admiral J. D. Allen, Honorary Secretary of the Branch, gave a short and stimulating address.

### Great Glasgow Gathering

The Glasgow and West of Scotland District held its Annual Mass Demonstration in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on February 6. The speakers were Lord Cushendun, Sir Charles Hobhouse (President of the National Liberal Federation), and Mr. David N. Mackay, Labour candidate for Inverness-shire. Sir David Mason, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, presided.

In spite of the severe epidemic of influenza through which Glasgow was passing at the moment, and the very adverse weather conditions, a large and enthusiastic audience greeted the three speakers. The result was a wide spreading of local interest in the League of Nations and an increase in the Union's membership.

### Czechoslovakia

Professor Alfred Zimmern, Deputy-Director of the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, visited Prague at the end of January on business connected with the Assembly Resolution on the instruction of children and young people on the work of the League of Nations. The Assembly requested States Members of the League to submit a report of the steps which are being taken to this end, and the object of Professor Zimmern's visit was to see how the measures were being carried out in practice. He also lectured at the Ministry of Social Welfare on the "Bases of Intellectual Co-operation" and led a discussion at a student gathering on the work of the League.

Sir Clive Morrison Bell's lecture at Prague, given at the invitation of the European Economic Union on the subject of tariffs and illustrated by his well-known model of Europe's protective walls, created very considerable interest.

### Activity in France

The Minister of Education has caused the text of the Kellogg Pact to be read with comments in all the elementary schools, and has provided 25,000 copies of the text of Pact for this purpose.

On February 15, a meeting was organised by the Paris Section of the League of Nations Union, at the American Women's Club, Paris, when Sir George Paish spoke before a large audience of bankers, business men and others on the American and European Financial situation. The discussion at the end of the evening was led by the Chairman, Mr. Evelyn Toulmin.

The French Committee for Interchange between

German and French scholars has arranged 262 visits this year.

### Education and the League

The article on page i of this Supplement treats of education in its broadest sense, including the education of men and women as well as of boys and girls. But young minds are more susceptible than old to educational influences. It is, therefore, significant that among the latest publications of the League of Nations Union is a handbook for teachers—*Teachers and World Peace* (6d.)—who desire to explain the aims and work of the League of Nations in the schools, while one of the latest publications of the League is a teachers' reference book on *The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations* (9d.). All members and all branches of the Union are urged to do what they can to place these two little books in the hands of every schoolmaster and every schoolmistress.

### The International Federation

The Executive Committee and the four standing Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies met in Brussels on February 11-13. The arrangements of the thirteenth Plenary Congress which will be held at Madrid, commencing on May 20, were discussed together with other important business, which included the relations of the Federation with the European Co-operative movement, the continuation of the work begun by the Prague Economic Conference of 1928, and a prize competition for a design for a League of Nations flag.

### Germany

The German League of Nations Society celebrated its tenth anniversary on December 17. Telegrams of good wishes were received from Herr Müller, Dr. Stresemann, M. Dufour-Feronce (Geneva), and from the Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels.

### M. Albert Thomas in Japan

M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, had an enthusiastic welcome as soon as he arrived at Kobe, where he was met by a large crowd. At Tokio, M. Thomas announced the double purpose of his visit, the securing of a first-hand knowledge of the labour conditions of Japan, and a meeting with the authorities to confer upon the ratifications of the draft conventions adopted at previous Labour Conferences. The programme arranged for M. Thomas was the joint work of the League of Nations Association in Japan, and the International Labour Organisation. Prince Tokugawa, Honorary President of the League of Nations Association, made an address of welcome on behalf of the Association to M. Thomas, and spoke of the respect which the Japanese had long felt for his work. M. Thomas addressed an audience of 1,400 in the Ashai Hall, Tokio, on "The Road to Social Justice."

### From Nice

The League of Nations meeting at Nice was held on January 4 (not on December 28, as reported in the February issue of HEADWAY). Mr. H. A. Hering spoke on "The League of Nations and Disarmament," the meeting being organised by the Nice Study Circle. The Rev. George Lamb, Chaplain of the Scots Church, presided, and was largely responsible for the success of the meeting. Mrs. Dancy Hall, President of the Circle, and the Rev. Dr. McComb, Rector of the American Church, also spoke.

### Non-Partisan

The National Board of Directors of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has decided to drop the word "non-partisan," and from now onwards the Association will be officially known as the League of

Nations Association. It is satisfactory to know that the League is no longer considered as a partisan issue in America.

Representatives of the Federal Council of the Churches in America took to the White House on December 17 a memorial, signed by 1,853,333 members of some 30 denominations, expressing the earnest hope and desire that the Kellogg Pact then before the Senate might be ratified. While at the White House Bishop Macdowell transmitted to President Coolidge a copy of the Declaration of Policy of the Federal Council's commission on International Justice and Goodwill, which had been adopted at the Quadrennial Meeting at Rochester.

#### An Anglo-American Committee

A committee has recently been formed for non-party private discussions between leading men in Great Britain and America, to be called the Anglo-American Committee for International Discussion. It is intended that the number of members on each side of the Atlantic shall not exceed 50. The Committee in England will invite leading Americans visiting London to informal discussions and the American branch will similarly welcome British visitors to the States for informal and unreported conversations. In this way it is hoped that the Committee may help in strengthening a good understanding between the two nations.

#### Lecture Tours

M. de Lanux, head of the Paris Information Office of the League of Nations, and Herr Wolf von Denwall, Foreign Editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and an authority on the League, have arrived in the United States for lecture tours in the various towns of the East and Mid-West. They are touring under the auspices of the League of Nations Association.

#### A Record of Meetings

The Mid-West branch of the League of Nations Association has a record of 218 meetings held this year, with a total audience of 53,000. The branch has aimed at explaining to business men, farmers and trade unionists their self-interest involved in the League. The Massachusetts branch reports 22 meetings held during the year, as well as a radio talk. The 13 speakers who addressed the meetings reached about 2,900 persons in 19 different communities, and touched 11 types of organisation.

#### A Whitsuntide Opportunity

As already announced, the Union has been fortunate in securing for a holiday lecture course at Whitsuntide, the Cober Hill Guest House, delightfully situated on the cliffs six miles from Scarborough. The fee for a week, including lectures and accommodation, from May 18 to 25, is from £3 5s. to £3 17s. 6d., according to the accommodation required. Guests who cannot stay for the whole week are invited to enrol for the week-end, May 18 to 21, for which the fees are from £1 12s. 6d. to £2 7s. 6d.

#### Visit to International Labour Conference

The arrangements for this visit are now completed, and the party will leave London on June 1. Those who join this party are assured of a pleasant holiday combined with the best possible opportunity for studying the work of the I.L.O. Full particulars may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

#### A Meeting in Leeds

The Leeds Branches are arranging a public meeting in the Oxford Place Chapel, at which the speakers will be: The Lord Mayor of Leeds, Major J. W. Hills, M.P., Alderman Ben Turner and Mr. T. E. Harvey. The meeting will be held on March 8, and will, it is hoped, be a great success.

#### The Council's Vote

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

Alton, Badminton School, Barnstaple, Barton-on-Humber, Bassett, Bideford, Bilston, Bridlington, Brize-Norton, Cambridge Town, Chichester, Chippenham, Chipping Norton, Cleethorpes, Clevedon, Corsham, Crowthorne, Danbury, Exeter, Faringdon, Great Yarmouth, Harold Wood, Hastings, Hook Norton, Ilkley, Keynsham, Kirkby Stephen, Lakenheath, Lancaster, Leiston, Learminster, Lytham, Mere, Middlesbrough, Minhead, Needham Market, Nether Congregational Church (Sheffield), Northam, Northampton, Princes Risborough, Prospect, Purley, Reigate, Roxton Free Church, Rushden, Thundersley, Tiverton, Whitstable, Wisbech, and Witney.

#### 1929 Council's Vote paid:—

Crowthorne, Paulton, Scunthorpe, and West Cranmore.

#### Recent Union Publications

268, Minorities, 3d.; 271, The Outlawry of War (by Philip Kerr), 3d.; 273, Interim Annual Report, 1d.

#### Some Forthcoming Meetings

March	5.—Peterborough ...	... Lord Cecil.
"	7.—Berwick (Conference) ...	... Lord Iddeleigh.
"	7.—Leicester ...	... A. Duff Cooper, Esq.
"	7.—Dundee ...	... Lord Cecil.
"	7.—Woking ...	... Lord Meston.
"	8.—Leeds ...	... Major J. W. Hills.
"	8.—Edinburgh ...	... Lord Cecil.
"	13.—Birmingham (Conference)	Professor Murray; C. G. Ammon, Esq.
"	18.—Westminster ...	... Lord Iddeleigh.
"	19.—Chester ...	... H. Wickham Steed, Esq.

#### Notes from Wales

On March 11, at noon, the bronze bust of Robert Owen, by Sir Goscombe John, R.A.—the gift of the people of Wales—will be presented to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at Geneva. Mr. David Davies, M.P., has accepted the invitation to unveil the bust, which is to be placed in the library of the new building of the I.L.O.

The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Shrewsbury on Wednesday, February 20.

A number of churches in Wales and Monmouthshire have already responded to the appeal issued by the Welsh Council at Christmas for donations towards its funds. Gifts from those churches which have not yet contributed will be very gratefully received.

The Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers is to be held this year at Llandudno, in Easter week. In connection with this visit, a public meeting is being organised in the town on the evening of April 3, which will be addressed by Major W. P. Wheldon, Chairman of the Welsh Council Education Committee.

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

Jan. 1, 1919 ...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920 ...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921 ...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922 ...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923 ...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924 ...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925 ...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926 ...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927 ...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928 ...	665,022
Feb. 21, 1929 ...	751,742

On Feb. 21st, 1929, there were 2,776 Branches, 671 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,862 Corporate Members and 480 Corporate Associates.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

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

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