

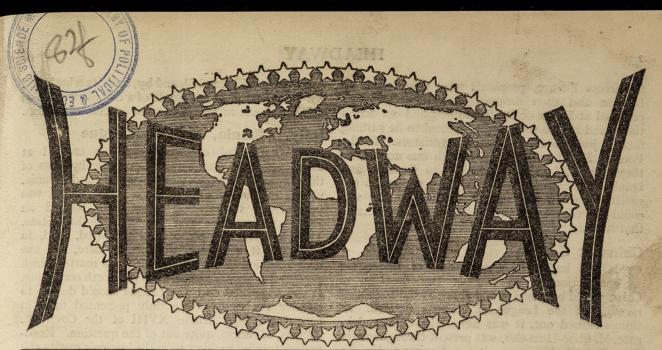
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### MATTERS OF MOMENT

HE beginning of a new calendar year always less extent, on mandate questions more recently, coincides, within 10 days, with the beginning of a new year of the existence of the League of Nations, a subject on which an article from the singularly capable pen of Dr. Benes appears on another page of this issue. A retrospect over 1926 gives substantial ground for satisfaction so far as the League of Nations is concerned. The year began well with the League still stimulated by the Council's success in bringing the Mosul negotiations to a final settlement and disposing finally of the menace of war between Bulgaria and Greece. The prospect of formidable enterprises in the future took steadily more definite shape as the Economic and the Disarmament Conferences became certainties instead of aspirations, and the progress ultimately achieved by the disarmament experts in their protracted discussions has at last led to the dawning realisation in many countries that an actual convention providing for an actual reduction of armaments is in sight. And beyond anything that has happened in the year, the entry of Germany into the Leagueand, still more than her mere entry, the extent and degree of her co-operation in League activitiesis proof of the growing influence and authority of period between the middle of June and the beginning an institution which the world, almost incredibly, of August, 1914. No conclusion impresses itself existed without till barely seven years ago. We more compellingly on the mind of any impartial may well ask ourselves the question whether public support of the League's principles and ideals in this and other countries is keeping pace with the League's own progress. In a sense it is. The discussions on

were evidence of the existence of an independent and resolute and instructed public opinion on League of Nations questions. It remains as true to-day as it ever was that it is with the men and women who form that opinion in this and other lands that the future of the League of Nations rests.

#### 1914 and 1927

A T a lunch which he gave to German journalists A at Geneva last month, on the eve of his return to Berlin, the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, observed that the World War might never have broken out if that system of personal collaboration and contact which they to-day owed to the League of Nations had existed in 1914. Similar remarks have been made before, but not, so far as we remember, in any German official quarter, and the impression made thus early by the League on the chief German delegate's mind is altogether encouraging. The force of his declaration regarding the World War is strikingly emphasised by the publication last month of the complete collection of the British diplomatic documents covering the reader of the remarkable volume in which the Foreign Office has thus unbared itself than that the tragedy of the feverish negotiations in the last week of peace was the lack of any recognised the Council elections early in the year, and, to a rallying-point. Cablegrams were flashing to and

London and then dropped because some other proposal at Berlin or St. Petersburg had cut across them, and all the time events seemed to be rushing fatally just in front of the negotiators. If the Foreign Ministers had turned with one accord, as they would of necessity to-day, to Geneva, and betaken themselves physically there to discuss the situation face to face, it is certain that the war could never have come as it did, and all but certain that it could never have come at all.

### China at Geneva

THERE had been a good deal of interesting speculation as to whether the question of China would be raised in any shape at the December meeting of the League of Nations Council. As register the treaty when duly presented to it in things turned out, it was not. The Chinese delethings turned out, it was not. The Chinese delegate, M. Chao-Hsin-chu, was present throughout the Council, and there was also at Geneva a Mr. Sia Ting, who claimed to represent the Canton Government. Mr. Chu, of course, is a nominee of Peking. Mr. Ting's purpose was to prevent Mr. Chu from taking any active part in the Council proceedings on the ground that China was really represented to day by Canton not Peking. Whether for that reason or not, Mr. Chu did remain silent. The Kuomingtang Bureau in Paris, whose representative Mr. Ting was, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General insisting that Mr. Chu had no locus standi. Of that letter, coming as it did from a private political organisation, no cognizance could be taken by the League. Still less could the League consider for a moment in any way "recognizing" the Canton Government before any of the constituent members of the League had done so themselves.

#### The League Takes Over

THE transition from the Allied control of German armaments to League supervision at the end of this month is belated but welcome. The term "League supervision" is convenient, but not strictly accurate, for it tends to suggest some permanent and constant activity on the part of the League. That is not the position. Under Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany (and under other treaties Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria) undertook to submit to whatever investigation the League Council, acting if necessary by a majority vote, should consider requisite. That investigation, however, will not be carried out at any stated intervals, and will only come into effect if some particular Power raises the question in the Council in connection with some specific charge or complaint that the Treaty provisions regarding Disarmament are being violated. In that case a Commission of Enquiry will be despatched to the country in question, and it will investigate that particular complaint and nothing else, reporting, of course, to the Council of the League. What, therefore, the League has done has been to appoint a chairman for each of the four Commissions in the four countries in which the investigation may take place, and to draw up certain rules for the conduct of any investigation. At the December Council Germany concurred in these rules, subject to certain modifications which she herself suggested. All the machinery for investigation by the League is, therefore, in exist- given Peace its first civil establishment at Geneva. In a

fro across Europe, proposals were being made in ence, but it will simply stand by, and its wheels will not move except as the result of a definite resolution by the Council in regard to some specific complaint.

#### Italy, Albania, and the League

A GOOD deal of uneasiness was created at Geneva and elsewhere in December by news of the conclusion of a treaty between Italy and Albania. which, in the opinion of some good judges, was tantamount to creating what was termed an Italian protectorate over the small Balkan State. That language is, perhaps, exaggerated, and, in any case, it need not be discussed here, but one misconception in connection with the matter which appeared to prevail rather widely is worth correcting. It was suggested that the League should decline to That is, of course, quite out of the question. Registration implies nothing as to the intrinsic merits of a treaty. The article was inserted in the Covenant merely to ensure that treaties should be known to the world, instead of existing, as in some cases they do, or did, as merely private deals between the parties. It is, therefore, laid down that unless a treaty is so registered it shall not be judicially binding on the signatories, but the actual registration is a merely mechanical process which the Secretariat must carry out as a matter of course. If France and Germany signed a treaty to annex Belgium and divide its territory between them, the Secretariat could not decline to register it.

#### P.R. in Disfavour

THE principle of proportional representation as applied to elections to the League of Nations Council had an extremely cold reception at the hands of the Council itself when the matter was brought before it in December, as the result of an Assembly resolution of last September. Statesmen like Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand provided considerable entertainment for the audience by their satirical observations on the subject, and the proposal, failing apparently to find a friend among any of the 14 members of the Council, was unanimously pushed off till the next meeting in March. Something must be done about it then, for the Assembly has definitely asked that a memorandum on the subject shall be drafted, and the Council could hardly fail to give effect to that extremely non-committal request.

#### The Nobel Prizemen

A S good a comment as any that could be desired Aon the award of the Nobel Prizes for 1925 and 1926 is to be found in the Daily Mail of December 14, in an article by Mr. J. M. N. Jeffries, the Diplomatic Correspondent of that paper, who writes thus:-

"The award of the Nobel prizes to Sir Austen Chamberlain and to M. Briand and Herr Stresemann is at once a greatly deserved tribute to them and, by a most natural quence, to the League of Nations. For it has been under the ægis of the League that the three have met and worked together for peace, and it is very doubtful whether they would ever have been able to achieve what they have done without the opportunities the League and League annexes, such as Locarno, have given them. The pre-eminent accomplishments of the League is that it has world filled with War Offices and Ministères de la Guerre and Kriegsministeriums, here at long last is a Ministry of Peace." This is a highly welcome, if slightly unfamiliar, note for the Daily Mail to strike. It may be added that the effect of the announcement of the Nobel Award, coming as it did when almost a deadlock had been reached at Geneva over the question of control of German Armaments, was psychologically admirable.

Shelving a Treaty

TT is announced that the United States Senate. when asked to ratify the "Protocol for the prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare," signed at Geneva in June, 1925, decided simply to shelve the matter, in spite of the protests of Mr. Theodore Burton, who represented his country at the Conference where the Protocol was drafted. It is not for citizens of this country to criticise the action of the Senate, but it may be observed that this illustrates one of the grave difficulties that seem bound to arise in any association of the United States with the League. Under the American Constitution the President sends representatives to an International Conference, but it is necessary for the Senate to ratify any agreements reached, and, as the Senate usually takes pleasure rather than otherwise in running counter to the wishes of the President, the result too often is a repetition of what took place in 1919 over the Peace Treaty and the Covenant itself.

#### The Union in Council

THERE were several interesting features about the winter meeting of the League of Nations Union Council. One of the most striking, but at the same time one of the most characteristic, was the presence of leading politicians of all parties at one or other of the sessions of the Council or at the luncheon organised by the Westminster Branch of the Union. Mr. Clynes presided at the latter, and among the speakers at the Council Meetings were Lord Grey and Lord Cecil, one a Liberal and the other a Conservative, while Major J. W. Hills, a leading Conservative, presided, and Sir Donald Maclean, a former Liberal Leader in the House of Commons, was to be observed in the hall. No better message could be broadcast from the Council Meeting than one voiced by Lord Cecil in the opening passages of his speech, which ran as follows .\_\_

"Your responsibility is great. It is on you that rests the making of public opinion more than on any other body of men and women in this matter. And it is in this question, as in all others, public opinion that counts. If we can develop, if we can make clear, the feeling in favour of disarmament which I am certain exists, then that feeling will easily be strong enough to sweep away the doubters and the obstacles, and carry through to its conclusion the greatest reform that could be carried out in human society."

That Questionnaire Again

THE Mandates question duly made its reappearance at the December meeting of the League Mandate areas should ever be heard in person by The Union stands for that policy.

the Commission. On the latter point the adverse views of the Mandatories were unanimous. As regards the questionnaire, there were several different shades of opinion. The British Government, through the mouth of Sir Austen Chamberlain, in September, and through a Note subsequently communicated to the Secretary-General, had criticised the questionnaire with what seemed to most people unnecessary warmth. The attitude of Belgium, France and Japan on the subject may be broadly gauged from the following extracts from their Notes :-

BELGIUM "will raise no objection to the approval by the Council of the questionnaire, as a whole, prepared by

the Mandates Commission."

France: "Although the French Government has no objection in principle to the adoption of the new questionnaire, it desires to say that it does not regard this questionnaire as necessary. It is of opinion that the old questionnaire constitutes an adequate and sufficiently elastic framework "

Japan "would venture to suggest that the questionnaire is somewhat too detailed."

In the end it was decided to refer the whole question back to the Mandates Commission for reconsideration in the light of the Mandatory Powers' views.

Dishing India

THE following significant and unsatisfactory question and answer appear in Hansard for Monday, December 6:-

Mr. CECH, WILSON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, as a result of the Government of India's decision to reduce by 10 per cent. per annum the export of opium, except for medical and scientific purposes, the imports into British Dependencies in the Far East will be proportionately reduced; and whether he can give an assurance that opium for purposes of smoking will not be imported from other sources to compensate for the reduction in the imports from India?

Mr. AMERY: No, sir. No such reduction would, in my opinion, be practicable in the present circumstances.

It is thus indicated quite explicitly by the Colonial Secretary that while the Government of India on its own initiative has decided to reduce the export of opium from India, except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, at the rate of 10 per cent. a year till it is extinguished altogether in ten years, the British Dependencies in the Far East are saying quite frankly, and with the full approval of Mr. Amery, that if they cannot get smoking opium from India they will simply go somewhere else and buy it. The question of which of these two attitudes is to prevail seems worth a Cabinet discussion and decision.

### "In the Last Resort"

A CORRESPONDENT whose letter is too long to print, writes to ask whether the policy of the League of Nations Union is to oppose all war under any circumstances whatever. The reply to that must be the same as was given by the Acting-Chairman of the Union, Major J. W. Hills, M.P., at the recent meeting of the Union Council to delegates who raised the question of the Union's policy regarding the advertisement of an organisation promoting a pledge against participation in any war of any kind. Articles 8 and 16 of the League Covenant provide for "the enforcement by common Council, Mandatory Powers having been asked to action of international obligations," even if in the submit to the Council their views on the proposed last resort that should mean co-operative action by questionnaire, and as to whether petitioners from the military forces of members of the League.

## SEVEN YEARS OF THE LEAGUE DISARMAMENT THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

By DR. EDOUARD BENES, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia

Dr. Benes, who has represented his country at all the seven regular meetings of the League of Nations Assembly and at the Extraordinary Assembly of last March, and has in addition been a member of the Council for the past four years, has had a closer and more continuous association with the work of the League than any other living statesman.

existence that brief but notable history divides itself in my mind into five periods, of which only the beginning of the fifth is in sight, for we are still living to-day in the fourth.

Those periods may most conveniently be measured by Assemblies. The first of them includes the Assemblies of 1920 and 1921—the first two ever held—and may be described naturally enough as the period of organisation. The League was realising itself. It was digging its foundations deeper. The delegates who came to Geneva in those first two years were learning to understand one another. Committees were being set us as particular tasks presented themselves that needed special study. And foremost among those pieces of organisation was the institution of the Permanent Court of International Justice. I should therefore describe the League's first two years as the period of organisation, with the Court as the main concrete achievement.

The second period covers the Third, Fourth and Fifth Assemblies of 1922, 1923 and 1924. That is really a period leading up to the Geneva Protocol, though no one knew that at the time. In 1922 the League came face to face with the problem of disarmament—the central problem before it. In that year there was as if it could be carried through by the smaller States. adopted the famous resolution of the Third Assembly, It is, and must be, primarily a question for the Great which laid stress on two necessities, disarmament and guarantees for national security, as an essential basis for disarmament. With those fundamental questions already sketched out at Geneva. I would therefore as starting-point, the specialists got to work, Lord Cecil and M. Henry de Jouvenel, with other Frenchmen, being the leading figures. The result was a first draft of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which came in a more or less finished form before the Assembly of 1923, and was approved by it without much enthusiasm.

In 1924, with the Macdonald Government in power in Great Britain, the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was rejected as the result of a British Note criticising it strongly. I myself was disposed to defend the treaty, at any rate as a basis on which something better could be built. It was, however, clearly impossible to go on with it, and in the meantime certain points emerged dimly from the British letter—viz., the emphasis laid on arbitration and demilitarised zones—which took definite shape a little later at Locarno. Mr. Macdonald himself, when he came to the Fifth Assembly, laid special stress on the part arbitration should play in international relations, and there then emerged clearly for the first time the three now familiar principles—Arbitration, Security, Disarmament. Out of those discussions there came the Geneva Protocol, which, as everyone remembers, aroused great and general enthusiasm, till it, like the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, was disposed of by the opposition of the British Government-by this time, of course, a Conservative Government.

period began. The characteristic of that period is still the Geneva Protocol; but the Protocol realised not immediately, but progressively. To begin with, the principle of arbitration, once considered so dangerous, is now accepted in a very large degree. And in the second place real and effective guarantees are set up-in a that we can enter on it with unbroken confidence.

A S I look back on the seven years that have elapsed limited sphere, it is true, but in one of the most dangerous spheres in Europe. The result of the dangerous spheres in Europe. The result of the embodiment of those two principles in the treaties of Locarno was the entry of Germany into the League, involving the end of the third period and the beginning of the fourth.

This fourth period introduces a new era in European politics. Disarmament was only possible when Germany had entered the League, for though she was herself disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles, her free and voluntary co-operation in the work of the League was needed to create a sense of security and confidence in Europe. Now the last divisions in Europe-meaning, for the moment, Europe west of Russia-have been destroyed. Germany has been rehabilitated, and very shortly the last outward signs of the distinction between Allies and enemy Powers may be expected to disappear. Not that that necessarily means real peace, for real peace is a question of minds, of psychology. But it can at any rate be said with confidence that with the appearance of Germany at Geneva the equilibrium between the Great Powers has been restored, and this fourth period, can accordingly be characterised by constructive steps towards disarmament.

It was only after Locarno that disarmament became really possible. It is no use speaking of disarmament as if it could be carried through by the smaller States. Powers. Fortunately they decided at Locarno to go forward definitely towards disarmament on the lines describe the League's fourth period as being marked by:

(I) A progressive establishment of equilibrium between the Great Powers.

(2) The adoption of progressive steps towards disarmament.

That period will end with the coming Disarmament Conference, and the character of the fifth, which succeeds it, will depend on the degree of success the Conference itself achieves. While we are justified in hoping for results of a solid value, it would be foolish to entertain illusions on the outlook. The doubt as to whether Russia will be represented at the Conference, and as to the attitude she will adopt if she is, together with other uncertain factors into which I need not enter here, make it unwise to venture on any very dogmatic predictions. It is enough to say, then, that, so far as can be seen, the Conference will be a dividing-line between the League's fourth and fifth periods.

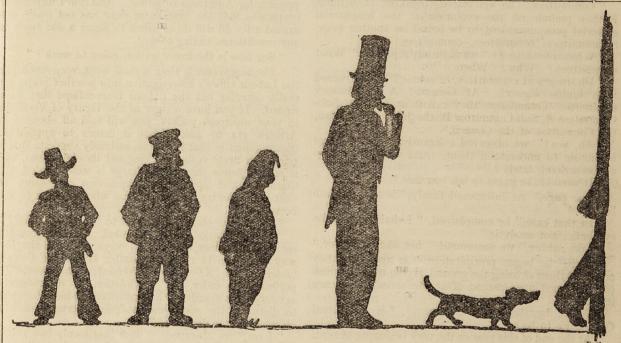
This brief analysis, of course, touches only one main line-what I have called the central problem-of the League's work. Meanwhile the League as a whole has been steadily gaining both in moral and in practical authority. The constructive work done in Austria and Hungary and Greece, and now entered on in Bulgaria, has created marked confidence in the efficiency of the Geneva machinery. At the end of seven years it is possible to look back and say with very few So the League's second period ended and its third reservations indeed that the record has been one of slow but unmistakable progress. With an enlarged Council, and Germany in occupation of one of the permanent seats, we are avowedly, as I have already said, entering on a new period, marked by new characteristics; but for my own part I am satisfied

### THE COUNCIL IN CRISES

ACURIOUS thing has happened at Geneva. Only part of the story can be told here, but that part is worth the telling. Some time last year the French, with the logic of their race, suggested that the League should give a little thought to the question of what it could do in a crisis, if it did anything at all. What the French themselves, and for that matter everyone else, had in mind was Article XVI of the Covenant, which talks at length of what are called "sanctions"boycott and blockade and, as a last resort, the movement of troops and ships and air squadrons.

processes. The members have to get the summons to the Council meeting, and then they have to get themselves to it. To avoid all delay in the first stage, the League must clearly have its own wireless receiving and transmitting station—and a powerful one—on its new site at Geneva. That has been suggested to the Council and approved in principle.

The Secretary-General, therefore, receives at Geneva, either by cable or by wireless, news of a threat of war and a request that the Council be convened. Immediately the summons to Council members is flashed out. In every capital where a Council delegate is or should be the message is picked up on receiving Accordingly, a committee began to talk about the question. And of the committee, one member, M. de wavelength. M. Picturesco may be making a political question. And of the committee, one member, M. de Brouckère, of Belgium, spoke to excellent purpose. "Don't talk about Article XVI," he implored his colleagues. "That is all about what the League can be stationary tuned to the League of Nations wavelength. M. Picturesco may be making a political speech in some distant town; Signor Cherosini may be on a Sicilian holiday; M. Kreosotis may be cruising peacefully among the Isles of Greece. All of them,



GENEVA, 1926.—NEXT, PLEASE!

do when war has broken out and, if it is anything of a and their eleven colleagues likewise, will be located business is with Article XI, which deals with the hours. prevention of a war before it breaks out, not with the suppression of one afterwards."

League is the moment when a "threat of war" is brought to its notice. What it does then, and the speed with which it does it, may make all the difference between peace and war. The bit of the Covenant that needs thinking out is not Article XVI, but one phrase in Article XI: "The League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

To that most practical question various committees and the result was laid before the League Council in December in the shape of an exceedingly interesting report presented by the Dutch Foreign Minister, Jonkheer van Karnebeeck. The report was designed to show what the League could do and should do in a crisis. What could it do? Clearly, of course, the first thing to do is to get the Council members together without a moment's delay. That involves two what they have so well begun.

war, the time for effective action may have gone. Our and called urgently to Geneva within a space of

But Council members cannot, yet, at any rate, get The delegates, in the poet's words, "stared at each other in a wild surmise," and realised that M. de Brouckère was right. The critical moment for the League is the moment when a "threat of the country trains, fast motors and aeroplanes, and the report to the Council recommends that all these possibilities should be explored by Council members individually, and that in the capitals from which they come some public service whose officials are perpetually on duty day and night should be charged with responsibility for arranging emergency transport at a moment's

A good many other general details have been thought and sub-committees have been applying their minds, out already, such as arrangements by all Governments to give absolute priority over all other telegrams to messages marked "Urgency—Nations," or something similar—this for use in cases where wireless is for some reason or other not available. All these questions need still further study and final decision, and are to get it, for the Council has sent the proposals back to the technicians, asking them to carry through to a finish

## DISARMAMENT DIALOGUES

### WHAT THEY ARE DOING AT GENEVA

by Headway's extensive staff in imparting information on the subject of disarmament to the Patagonian enquirer, whose pertinacity must be now thoroughly they never were observed. Won't the situation be very much the enquirer, whose pertinacity must be now thoroughly familiar to its readers, it has come as something of a same with armaments? relief to find the rôles reversed and the seeker after knowledge become the furnisher of it.

detriment of Headway's reputation for omnisciencethe Patagonian decided suddenly to go to Geneva and see for himself what was happening. He has been, he

hitherto was to learn.
"Committees," he ejaculated, breaking in without further prelude on the evolution of the magisterial editorial pronouncement to be found on another page, "committees, committees, committees!"

"What committees?" we naturally rejoined. "What committees? Why? Where?"

'Disarmament committees, of course!" he answered with undue vigour. "At Geneva! A Preparatory Committee (Commission they call it in French), Sub-Committee A, Sub-Committee B, the Joint Commission,

the Committee of the Council."

"Ah, yes!" we observed tolerantly. "So you are beginning to understand them. And what have they all been doing lately?'

"It would take pages to tell you that."

"One page," we interposed firmly, "is the absolute

'In that case," he complained, "I shall have to be synthetic, not analytic."

"Like rubber," we murmured, "not like chemistry." "Well," he began precipitately, "at any rate, they are all of them clearing the ground, trying to get various points agreed now instead of at the actual conference itself.

"When, by the way," we put in, "is the actual Conference to be?"

At the end of this year or the very beginning of next. That depends on how things go in the meantime.' "Well, have they, in fact, got anything agreed?"

"Not finally, of course, but practically agreed. Quite a number of things."

"Such as--?" "Such as the value of the military budgets of each country as a check on the size of the country's armies. That, of course, could never be enough by itself. It is far too easy to hide away various items of military expenditure under other heads. But if every country would send in a return of its military expenses in the shape of uniform statements under categories framed by the League, you would get a criterion which, combined with returns of men and munitions, would enable reasonably accurate comparisons to be made between country and country."

'Well, it's something, no doubt, to have agreed to

that. What more is there?"

"One thing more is the question of whether you are going to take any steps to see that countries really do keep their armies down after they have agreed to keep them down. Some people—the Americans—say you shouldn't. If a country gives its word, so they argue, that word must be believed, and it would be intolerable to have outsiders coming prying round to see if the country is really doing what it promised to do."

TN view of the amount of time and energy expended conditions for employment in factories, but did nothing

"It may be. France is all in favour of League investigation, and so are plenty of other countries. As was mentioned a month ago—a little to the If you British have any sense at all, which I doubt, you'll press for it, too, because, though it may be quite true that you will keep your own engagements in any case, you can't be in the least sure that the-well, let has seen, he has returned as eager to teach as he ever us call them the Aquitanians—will, and by offering to submit to investigation yourselves, you make it impossible for Aquitania to refuse. And don't forget that suspicions that the State next door has not really disarmed after all will do as much to foster a war spirit as any conditions existing to-day.'

"But how is the investigation going to work?"

"The suggestion is that it shall work very much like the Labour Office's investigation into whether States are really carrying out the Labour Conventions they have signed. If you have a copy of the Treaty of Versailles in your waistcoat pocket, you will find all about it in Articles 411 to 420. What it comes to applied to disarmament is that if anyone seriously suggests that a particular State is not carrying out its obligations, and it seems, prima facie, that charge is well-founded, the Council would appoint a commission of enquiry to visit the country and probe the whole matter to the

"And if the charge is proved to be well-founded?" "If the charge is well-founded, and the country concerned declines to mend its ways, then the simplest way would be to raise the matter before the Council under Article XI of the Covenant. That would be perfectly in order, for a violation of disarmament agreements is manifestly a circumstance which threatens to disturb 'the good understanding between nations on which peace depends.'"

"I see," we observed. "But that's only two points after all. Wasn't anything else discussed at all these

"Loads of things. I'm only picking two or three. A squad of experts was set down, for example, to decide whether you could really stop the manufacture of poison gases, or the rapid increase of manufacture on the eve of war.

And can you?"

"No, you can't. Not without shutting down certain lines of industry altogether. There are some gases that are made every day in turning out ordinary com-mercial products. These gases will always be there, and you could double or treble or quadruple the output very quickly. Others that needed new plant for their manufacture might take longer."

'Then there's really nothing to be done about gas?"

"There may be, though it will take more thinking out yet. One suggestion, for example, is that you should limit the normal output of individual countries by a kind of voluntary rationing arrangement—a perfectly practical proposal in these days of steel cartels and other international commercial agreements. And if you limit the normal output you limit plants, and thus make a sudden expansion of manufacture more difficult. That, as I say, is one idea. Another is a convention by which every nation binds itself to "That's all very well," we rejoined; "but do they know anything about the English factory Acts in Patagonia? The first Acts simply laid down certain chemicals, particularly in connection with aeroplanes. There may be other possibilities, too. No one of them is much use by itself, but taken together they may do a

'And out of all this a Disarmament Convention is

somehow going to emerge?"

"It is. And within the comparatively near future! According to the French delegate, Paul Boncour, the Preparatory Commission will sit down to that when it meets next March, and not get up till it's finished. That will give the Governments six months or so to think about the convention before the full conference is held to discuss and adopt it.'

'So you found it worth while, on the whole, to go to

Geneva?

'Yes, it was worth while on the whole. And people speeded up a good bit when they knew I had my eye on

Do you intend," we asked finally, "to go off home now?

"Perhaps, perhaps not," was the mysterious reply. "It's a long, long way to Patagonia. You may hear of me somewhere else yet."

### CHANGES AT GENEVA

THE League of Nations has now reached the point at which the contracts of various leading members of its Secretariat are terminating. It was decided from the first that, in order to keep the Secretariat fresh by the infusion of a certain amount of new blood from time to time, most of the high officials should have appointments running only for five or seven years, though it is possible for the appointments to be extended. Several such contracts terminate on the 10th of this month, this being the end of the seventh year of the League's existence, and, in consequence, leave has to be taken, among others, of Dr. Inazo Nitobe, an Assistant Secretary-General, of M. Paul Mantoux, Director of the League's Political Section, and of Miss Florence Wilson, the Librarian.

Dr. Nitobe has had particularly under his charge the work of the various international bureaux, and, more especially, of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, but he will be missed at Geneva even more for his personality than for the actual work it fell to him to carry out. A Japanese Quaker, married to an American wife, Dr. Nitobe, who received much of his education in the United States, is qualified to an almost unique degree to interpret the East to the West, and it is difficult to imagine that his country could have found anyone of its citizens better fitted to be its first representative on the League Secretariat. Dr. Nitobe, who was well known in this country, where he has rendered willing and often self-sacrificing service to the League of Nations Union-notably as recently as last November—is returning for a prolonged visit to Japan, but will, it is hoped, after that make his residence either in Geneva or in London.

M. Mantoux, who was once Professor of French in London, became known to the world as the principal interpreter at the Peace Conference in 1919. He was present at the most intimate and private conversations of the Council of Four, and, apart from Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau and Signor Orlando, there is probably no one living charged more fully with international secrets, and none, it may be added, to whom they could be more safely entrusted. M. Mantoux has been head of the Political Section of the League from the first, and in that capacity has been responsible for the handling of practically all the disputes that have come before the League Council for settlement. He is to remain in Geneva as head of a new Institute of International Relations about to be founded in that city, in close association with

Geneva University, of which M. Rappard, formerly head of the League Mandates' Section, is now Rector. M. Mantoux is succeeded at the head of the Political Section by a new Japanese member of the Secretariat, M. Sugimura, who will also succeed to the position of Assistant Secretary-General so far held by Dr. Nitobe. An additional Assistant Secretary-General has (as announced in the last issue of HEADWAY) been appointed in the person of Herr Albert Dufour-Feronce, Councillor of the German Embassy in London.

To Miss Florence Wilson it has fallen to lay the foundations of the Secretariat Library, and she has done that so well that the system inaugurated by her is said to be capable of being equal to any expansion that can be contemplated in the most distant future. Since the League Library can hardly fail to become in course of time the most important repository in the world of books on international affairs, Miss Wilson's achievement is one to which her successors may look back with profound gratitude.

#### "HEADWAY'S" FUTURE

FROM, and including, next month's issue, changes will be made in the production of HEADWAY calculated, it is hoped, to increase its popularity and usefulness.

Henceforward each issue will consist of 24 pages instead of 20, and be printed on paper which permits of the reproductions of photographs. Illustrations of various phases of the work of the League of Nations will consequently become a regular feature.

While the first purpose of HEADWAY in the future—as in the past—will be to describe and discuss every aspect of the League's activity, the increase in the size of the paper will make it possible to deal from time to time with questions in the field of foreign affairs outside the actual purview of the

Four pages each month, instead of between two and three, as at present, will be devoted to the work of the Union headquarters and branches. They will be of the nature of a supplement, and will, for mechanical reasons, appear under a special heading in the centre of the paper. Some thousands of copies a month, however, will be printed for sale to the general public without the inset. Union members will receive the edition containing the inset unless they specially ask for the one without it.

Among new features already introduced or contemplated is a series of articles (of which the first appears in this issue) on different activities of the League in progress at the moment, and another consisting of short sketches of notable League personalities with portraits.

The principal existing features of HEADWAY will remain unchanged, and it is hoped that in its new form the paper may make an increased appeal to League of Nations Union members and at the same time gradually build up a bookstall sale as "A Monthly Review of World Affairs."

## SAVING BULGARIAN REFUGEES

## THE LEAGUE'S NEW ENTERPRISE AT WORK

of the extensive and satisfactory progress achieved through the League of Nations in the settlement of Greek refugees. That enterprise having been successfully carried to its present stage, the League has now entered on a similar work on the territory of Greece's immediate neighbour, Bulgaria. It is, by the way, a Hungary, then Bulgaria.

scale than the Greek, but within its limits its humanito be dealt with. They are the victims of the general unsettlement in the Balkans ranging back to the wars of 1912 and 1913, and many of them have actually been to make room for Greek refugees coming back from needs, Asia Minor. A certain number of them are already in a sense settled. That is to say, in their desperation, they simply squatted on any piece of land they could find, no matter to whom it belonged, and since, under the proper system of organisation to be established, all refugees are to be settled on Government land, a good many of these unlicensed squatters will forthwith be removed to new and more suitable holdings.

Already at Work

The general working methods in Bulgaria are similar to those in Greece, with the exception that, whereas the general supervision in Greece is in the hands of a Commission of four, in Bulgaria a single Commissioner has the matter in hand. His name is M. René Charron, whose abilities were proved under Mr. Jeremiah Smith, the League Commissioner for the Hungarian Reconstruction Scheme at Budapest. The Bulgarian scheme could not be developed to its full capacity till a loan of, roughly, £3,000,000, approved like the Austrian, Hungarian and Greek loans by the League of Nations, had been floated. This was successfully done in the latter part of December; but since the latter part of December is very much too late for the autumn sowings, and it was essential that as many refugees as possible should be raising early crops next year, a temporary loan of £400,000 was successfully negotiated, of course with the support of the League, through the Bank of England. As a result of that the settlement work, instead of being about to begin, is already well begun. Not much in the way of housing has yet been done, for this advance instalment of the loan was needed rather to cover implements and draught cattle and the purchase of seed corn. But what is being done now on a comparatively limited scale is precisely what will be done for the whole body of the refugees now that the funds from the larger loan have been obtained.

All the land on which the refugees are placed is provided by the Bulgarian Government. The title deeds are handed to the settler, so that he at once becomes owner of his property, a fact of particular importance, since it appears that the Bulgarian peasant more than any other attaches sentimental as well as practical importance to ownership of his holding. The Government retains a mortgage on the land, and the refugee undertakes to make repayment over terms of years of varying length on the land, the house erected on it, the live stock and implements supplied him and the seed given him in the early years of the scheme.

N the last issue of Headway some account was given He must make one lump sum repayment for the seed, and pay for his stock and implements in five annual instalments, while the cost of the house and land will be spread over a term of years still to be fixed. None of these payments, however, will be made in the refugee's first two years.

The houses are each to accommodate a single family, significant fact that a League of Nations, formed in and to be similar in type to those already existing the first instance by the Allied Powers, and in which in the neighbourhood, so long as they meet all reasonthose Powers still exercise predominating influence, should have thus extended its assistance to three of the and sound construction. The houses, of course, will defeated enemy States successively, first Austria, then be grouped in little settlements or villages, and to some extent communal arrangements will prevail. It is not The Bulgarian scheme is conceived on a smaller possible, for example, to give every refugee a pair of eale than the Greek, but within its limits its humanitarian and political effects promise to be quite as ox each, so that two neighbours can always pair their valuable. In Bulgaria roughly 120,000 refugees have beasts and get the land of both ploughed by them. Similarly to a certain extent with tools and implements. Each settler will, so far as funds permit, be given the bare essentials, and the total supply available in any displaced from their homes on Greek territory in order village will always be fully sufficient for the communal

Farm, Town and Sea Coast

While most of the families to be settled have agricultural experience, every settlement naturally needs one or two representatives of other crafts, for example, a smith or a carpenter or a baker. There is, therefore, room for a certain limited settlement of men with other experience than agricultural. There may be some opening for others of this type in the towns. The forms of agriculture available differ considerably, and the lands available are divided into vineyards, hop gardens, rose gardens, orchards, vegetable gardens and mulberry orchards, quite apart from arable land. There are also some meadow lands available for milch cattle. These will probably be allotted very largely on a communal system. A few settlers are to be placed in fishing districts and they, of course, will be given fishing gear, instead of spades and hoes and the like. The general size of the holding will be for each family about an acre of arable land, apart from the area required for houses and from grazing land. An interesting and suggestive paragraph is inserted in the Settlement Agreement to the effect that "in cases where a family of refugees notifies its wish to adopt or has already adopted refugee orphan children, the holding assigned shall be proportionately increased."

Altogether, therefore, the Bulgarian Scheme promises a great deal, not merely for the welfare of the individual refugees, but for the political stability of Bulgaria. For nothing has done more to cause disturbances in the Balkans than the existence in different countries of homeless and penniless and discontented bands of law-

Until the work is completed much suffering must still exist, for the League enterprise is, very rightly, carried out on strictly business lines, and no portion of the loan raised can be used for ordinary charitable relief, nor even for the purpose of land, which must be provided by the Bulgarian Government. As most of the refugees are still living in tents or any kind of improvised shelter, there is great scope for the Red Cross, the "Save the Children" Fund, and similar institutions. A report presented to the League of Nations by its Commissioner mentioned that "the infant mortality, according to the statistics collected by foreign charitable organisations, reaches in certain districts the appalling figure of over 50 per cent. The position may easily become worse this winter." All the help available is, therefore, needed.

### THE DECEMBER COUNCIL

### THE LEAGUE TO SUPERVISE GERMAN ARMAMENTS

Geneva from December 6 to 11 under the chairmanship of M. Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian Foreign Minister, and attended by the Foreign Ministers of six other countries, was both interesting and important; interesting because it was the first normal meeting of the Council in its new form, and with Germany as a member; important because it had to take a final decision on the assumption by the League of responsibility for supervising German armaments, a task laid on the League by the Treaty of Versailles, in replacement of the control by the Allied Governments, which has existed up to the present time. This decision was only reached after difficult and delicate discussions, and was intimately associated with another decision equally difficult, to be taken, not by the Council, but by the Allied Powers themselves, as to the moment when those Powers would withdraw the existing control.

Three steps in all were necessary. The expert advisers of the Allies had to declare that Germany had fulfilled all her obligations under the Disarmament Clauses of the Treaty. Then the Allies would decide to withdraw their Commission of Control, and the Council would fix finally the conditions on which the supervision for which it would then be responsible should be carred out.

At Geneva in December difficulties arose about the first of these steps. Germany was admittedly carrying out some work on her eastern fortresses, and was admittedly exporting certain materials which could be used for war purposes. She claimed that under the Treaty she was entitled to do this. The Allies considered she was not, and they were, therefore, unwilling to declare that she had fulfilled her engagements. After protracted negotiations between Paris and Geneva, it was finally decided that these doubtful points should be reserved for the moment, that, subject to that, Germany's engagements should be regarded as fulfilled, and that, therefore, the Allied control should be withdrawn as from January 31. It remained only to decide definitely the methods of investigation to be followed in case of need by the League. Germany Prevails

This investigation applies equally to Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, but the most important of these is, of course, Germany. The most contentious question arising was whether the League should be entitled to keep any permanent organisation of investigation on any part of Germany's territory. It has now been decided definitely that it will not. It will merely have a list of investigating committees ready, and in case any Power makes a complaint and the League Council decides by a majority vote that it is necessary to investigate the complaint, one of these committees will be despatched to make inquiry into this particular matter, and nothing else. The general result of the Geneva discussions was that Germany's conditions were finally, in the main, admitted by the Allied Powers.

The rest of the work of the Council was of considerable interest, though no case of outstanding importance came before it. Progress, and on the whole satisfactory progress, in the matter of Disarmament was reported. and an extremely interesting discussion took place on the steps the League could and should take when faced with a threat of war. The latter question is dealt with elsewhere in this issue.

As always, the Council spent some time on questions connected with reconstruction. The Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme is going well, as readers of the December HEADWAY have discovered, and the new Bulgarian Refugee Scheme is already in operation, as jurisdiction of the Court in certain cases.

THE winter meeting of the League Council held at readers of another page of the January HEADWAY may discover. A League Commissioner is now in charge of the working of the scheme on the spot, and a loan of £3,000,000 on terms approved by the League was made in London and other centres at the end of December, and, as usual, heavily over-subscribed. Another small, but interesting, loan was authorised, this time for the Government of Esthonia. Esthonia, with much wisdom, came to the League a year or two ago to ask for expert advice on its finances. League experts visited the country and duly gave the advice, which included certain suggestions for reorganising the State bank. This necessitated a loan of about £1,000,000, and Esthonia then invited the League to consider the terms of the loan and give them its moral support. The Council did this in December, and the loan will be issued forthwith. A still further loan for Danzig, in whose welfare the League has, of course, a special interest, was also authorised, conditionally on certain financial reforms, to which Danzig has pledged itself, being first carried out.

#### Three Conferences

Three international Conferences, all of which have been under discussion for some time, were finally fixed for different dates this year. The Economic Conference, probably the most important gathering the League has ever convened, will open at Geneva on May 4, the idea that it might take place in some other country, such as Holland, receiving no support. Another Conference, for the purpose of founding an institution to be known as the International Relief Union, to give help to countries overtaken by such disasters as earthquake or flood, will begin, also at Geneva, on July 4, and the long-projected Conference to frame a convention on the control of the private manufacture of arms will take place at the end of the year on a date still to be finally fixed.

Among other questions dealt with may be mentioned particularly the now notorious Mandates Questionnaire. The different Mandatory Powers had, with one or two exceptions, sent in their views on this by the time the Council met. None of them were as adverse as those expressed by Sir Austen Chamberlain at the Council meeting in September, Belgium, indeed, declaring definitely that it "will raise no objection to approval by the Council of the questionnaire as a whole." the kindred subject of the hearing by the Mandates Commission of petitioners in person, the Mandatories, expressed uniformly adverse views. The Council itself decided without discussion to refer the two points back to the Mandates Commission to consider in the light of the replies received from the Mandatory Powers. The Norwegian move to get elections to the League Council conducted on the basis of proportional representation received a distinct setback, nearly all members of the Council disapproving it, and the question itself being put off for consideration again in March. The Council in that month will probably, though by no means certainly, take place in Berlin, under the chairmanship of the German Foreign Minister,

It may be added that during the December Council meetings one or two important signatures were set to existing conventions. France, for instance, signed the Slavery Convention of last September, and Germany the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Germany thus becomes a full member of the Court. Like Great Britain, she has not so far signed the special protocol accepting the compulsory

#### ACTIVITIES TO-DAY LEAGUE

### I.-WORK FOR THE HEALTH OF THE WORLD

HEADWAY will publish monthly in 1927 a series of articles, of which this is the first, on the work actually at the moment being carried out by the different organs of the League.

l enters on 1927 with the prospect before it of wider and fuller activity than at any past moment of its career. Apart from the general routine work of the Organisation, which is too extensive to dwell on in an article devoted primarily to the special activities of the moment, the Organisation will find itself largely engaged in the course of this year in a highly important investigation into the causes of infant mortality. Nothing on so wide a scale has ever been attempted before, and the importance of the question, not only in Oriental, but in Western countries, is shown by the fact that if the infant mortality figures in France, for example, could be reduced to the level prevailing in Denmark, it would mean a difference of 200,000 a year to the population of that country. Infant mortality, it may be explained, includes the deaths of babies from birth and at birth to the age of 12 months.

What is proposed is to arrange in a number of countries in Europe and outside it a systematic examination of every case of important mortality occurring in 1927 (or in a period of 12 months, which in some cases may begin a little later than January I) in four specially selected areas. One of these will be an urban area with a normally high, and another urban area with a normally low, rate, and the two others rural areas similarly with a normally high or low rate. Great Britain is one of the countries selected, and the areas chosen here include two large towns, one in the north and one in the south, and two very different rural areas. Every three months the investigators in the different countries will meet to compare notes, and at the end of the period there will, of course, have been acquired a vast mass of highly valuable information, the importance of which will be increased by the fact that scientific comparison between conditions in different countries will be possible. The undertaking has a special significance for the League, from the fact that six South American countries, Chile, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Paraguay and Uruguay, are to co-operate, and a conference of the representatives of those countries, together with the Medical Director, Dr. Raichman, and other members of the Health Organisation, will take place at Montevideo in 1927, this being the first League conference to be held in South America.

#### Germs across the Seas

Another piece of work now being undertaken by the Health Organisation interests South America equally. There is at present a considerable and increasing Japanese emigration to various South American countries, and it has recently been found that the immigrants are carrying, or are suspected of carrying, a certain disease from Japan, which has hitherto been unknown in Latin America. So serious was this that there was serious discussion as to stopping or limiting the immigration. Instead of this, however, it has been arranged, through the Health Organisation of the League, that an expert Brazilian parasitologist shall be sent to Japan and an eminent Japanese parasitologist to Brazil, to study the causes and the means of prevention of the disease in question, which, as may be inferred, is carried by certain parasites.

Japan is in other ways than this becoming increasingly a field for the Health Organisation's activities. Several of the most interesting of the League organisations.

THE Health Organisation of the League of Nations Japanese doctors have been brought to Europe by the Health Organisation, with special Fellowships, and a distinguished scientist from that country is about to visit Europe, under the auspices of the Health Organisation, to lecture in different countries on food values, a subject on which he is a recognised authority. It has, indeed, been realised that a great deal of the excellent research work done in Japan is being largely lost to the world because the results are published only in the Japanese language, and the Health Organisation has accordingly arranged to receive twice a year statements of the most important achievements of Japanese medical science, and will publish them in a readily accessible form.

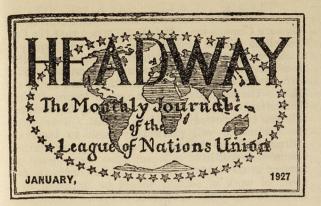
Interesting the East

From the point of view of the general influence of the League, the health work being carried out in the East is proving of considerable value in making the League, as a whole, better known in those regions. It is hoped, for example, to make the League's Bureau at Singapore the centre for extended work under the auspices of the International Office of Hygiene, in connection with the administration of the Sanitary Convention, which lays down rules of health in ships in port and on the high seas. In addition to that, an inquiry into cholera, with special reference to the advantages of vaccination by the mouth, is about to be undertaken, and it is satisfactory to observe that the Government of India is taking special interest in this and other activities of the Health Organisation so far as they affect Asia. Another service rendered by the Organisation in introducing Eastern scientists to the West is the publication it has just carried through of an important work by the eminent Chinese plague specialist, Dr. Wu Lien-teh (an old Cambridge man), on the subject he has made so largely his own.

Breaking Ground in Germany

Just as the Health Organisation is to be responsible for the first League conference to be held in Latin America, so it has arranged the first League conference to be held in Germany. This will take place early this year and will deal with ordinary vaccination against smallpox. It has been suggested in certain cases in Great Britain that the disease known as Encephalitis Lethargica is due to defective methods of vaccination, and accordingly a small conference of experts from some seven or eight European countries is to meet in Berlin to discuss the question, and in particular to endeavour to arrive at some method for standardising the lymph used.

Meanwhile, as has been said, the routine work of the Organisation, of course, continues, though it sometimes takes new forms in the light of experience. The ordinary exchange of medical officers of health, for example, is to be given a slightly new shape, by the initiation of a six weeks' course of lectures on public health at the Institut d'Hygiène in Paris, both lecturers and audience being drawn from a number of different countries. The Sleeping Sickness Inquiry at Entebbe, in Uganda, is being continued for a second six months, as it is found that the 12 months originally fixed was not sufficient to enable the best results to be obtained. Altogether the Health Organisation remains what it has always been, one of the most active as well as one



### TEA-TABLE TALK

THE December meeting of the League of Nations Council was marked, as other meetings of the Council in the recent past have been, by a good deal of private conversation between four or five leading members of the Council behind the scenes. The frequency with which such conversations occur, are reported, and become the subject of adverse criticism, makes it desirable to consider what part, if any, these private discussions may properly play at meetings of the League Assembly and Council.

It must be conceded at once that to lay it down that no such conversations should take place at all would be fantastic. The supreme merit of the League system, and the feature that distinguishes it most decisively from pre-war methods of diplomacy, is the opportunity it gives for Foreign Ministers to make personal contact with one another at regular and frequent intervals and for a definite and normal purpose, so that no one is tempted to see anything mysterious or suggestive in the fact of their common presence at the same time in the same place. And when Foreign Ministers do happen to meet one another, it would be astonishing to the point of incredibility if they refrained studiously from discussing with one another what may be supposed to be the main subject of interest in the lives of all of them, the foreign relations of their own countries. But a line of division between different kinds of conversation may perhaps be drawn. Discussions aiming at the settlement, through a friendly interchange of opinion, of differences which would otherwise have to come to the full Council for adjudication are manifestly all to the good. Again and again it has been reported to the Council, both in regard to such comparatively trivial questions as arise, let us say, between the Poles and Danzig, and as regards much more important issues involving Great Powers, that conversations initiated since the arrival of the parties in Geneva have fortunately resulted in agreements which make it unnecessary for the Council to do more in the matter than merely register and give its blessing to the results

That is one kind of conversation. The other, to which objection is often taken, and very rightly, confive of the chief delegates to the Council for the purpose of arriving at agreement on subjects which concern and, it may very well be, the whole League. Here again it would be entirely unreasonable to suggest that ally should not discuss any subject of importance that figures on the Council agenda, but when the same four or five members make a point of meeting, not once or twice, but constantly, to frame proposals or formulate endorse, a system of diplomacy is introduced which is clearly foreign to the whole purpose and idea of the League. legitimate conversations at Geneva.

If there is any value and any validity in this distinction between two classes of conversations, both perfectly familiar at Geneva, it may be worth while to apply the criterion thus arrived at to certain events which have gained notoriety at the March and December meetings of the Council. It is perfectly true that in March, when the main purpose of the extraordinary Assembly of that month was to secure the entry of Germany to the League and the allocation of a permanent seat to her, the Locarno Powers were entitled to feel that, in view of the pledges they themselves had given to Germany on their own responsibility, they occupied a rather special position at Geneva. But the question, none the less, was primarily a League question and not a Locarno question, and no one can look back with any kind of satisfaction on the methods of secrecy employed consistently through the whole of the agitated ten days of the Council's session. The matter indeed is no longer worth arguing, for both M. Briand in his Assembly speech of September and Sir Austen Chamberlain in his Glasgow Rectorial Address, some weeks later, have said frankly that the methods invoked last March ought not to be employed again.

It is, perhaps, of more profit to consider the propriety of the private conversations of December. Then the question was whether Allied military control of German armaments could be withdrawn, and whether the League system of supervision which was to replace it should be modified to meet certain objections on Germany's part. The first of these questions concerned the Allies and the Allies alone. They had their rights under the Treaty of Versailles, and the exercise of those rights was a matter in regard to which the League Council had no title, and, quite certainly, no desire to intervene. The conversations, therefore, between Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand, together sometimes with the Belgian and Italian representatives, on the one hand, and Dr. Stresemann, on the other, regarding the termination of Allied control, cannot seriously be criticised, even if those conversations took place in Geneva hotels

It may be argued that the question of the modifica-tion of the existing scheme of League control is a little different, for that obviously did concern the League Council as a whole. That is no doubt true, but here again the real issue was between the Allied Powers and Germany. The Allies were disposed to hold on to the control till the last moment unless they were satisfied with the efficacy of the League system of supervision. Germany, on the other hand, was disposed to oppose League supervision by every means in her power, unless certain features to which she objected were removed from the existing scheme. That being so, it was clearly in the interests of a general settlement that the Allies and Germany should, if possible, reach agreement among themselves. The rest of the Council could be counted on to welcome and approve with enthusiasm any decision which could commend the assent alike of the British, the French and the German Foreign Ministers.

Altogether, therefore, it does not appear that there is sists in a series of private conclaves between four or any good reason for taking exception to the private conversations of December at Geneva. A good deal more might be said about the habit various Council not merely themselves alone, but the whole Council, members are developing of making Paris a regular stopping place on their way to attend meetings of the League Council. Germans, in particular, can hardly be Council members when they meet one another inform- expected to regard that practice with enthusiasm, and they are entitled to point out that, though the normal route from London to Geneva may lie through Paris, at any rate the normal route from Warsaw does not. These Paris conversations on the eve of Council meetings doctrines which the Council as a whole is then expected to are better avoided, if only because they tend to arouse unnecessary suspicion about what are often quite

### WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS

A LABOUR correspondent writes:—
When the Coal Mines Act of 1926 was passed.

there was considerable uneasiness lest it should prevent the ratification by Great Britain of the Washington Hours Convention; but these fears were dissipated by the Minister of Labour himself, who, in a letter to the League of Nations Union, stated categorically that the Act in no way affected ratification. It seems, however, that certain district settlements relating to the mining dispute include clauses providing for a 49 hour week for surface workers. In view of this, Major Hills, M.P., the Vice-Chairman of the Union, wrote to Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, asking whether these clauses were likely to hinder ratification. The Minister's reply, dated December 10, included the following passage :-

Agreements made in the coal mining industry under the Eight Hours Act affecting hours of work would not be a barrier to ratification of the Washington Convention, but if legislation that would be involved by ratification of the Washington Convention is passed, it would, of course, be necessary for those concerned to consider how far the agreements were compatible with it.

'So much for the position in Great Britain. Of the other four nations which took part in the London Conference on the Hours Convention last March, Italy and Belgium have ratified, the latter unconditionally. The position in Germany is that the Workers' Protection Bill has now been approved by the German Federal Cabinet. It is a comprehensive measure, including provisions for the regulation of hours of work, which are intended to bring German legislation into line with the Hours Convention and make possible its ratification

In France the Bill for ratification of the Hours Convention has been before the French Senate. Article I of the Bill, which authorises ratification, was adopted, but the discussions of Article 2 and the amendments attaching conditions to the ratification were adjourned until a later sitting. It is possible that France may, reasonably enough, make her ratification conditional upon similar action by Great Britain and Germany.

So far public opinion has shown little interest in the position of this country regarding the ratification of the draft convention of the International Labour Office prohibiting the use of white lead for internal painting : but a certain stimulus has been provided by the resignation of Sir Thomas Legge from his position of Senior Medical Inspector of Factories. He explained in a letter to the Times that he has taken this action as a protest against the Government's policy on the white lead question, and, to quote his own words, "because I cannot recede from the position I took up at Geneva in 1921, when, as representing one of the delegates of the British Government, I voted for the Draft Convention prohibiting the use of white lead for internal painting of buildings with 90 other Governments, employers' and workers' delegates of 30 countries, none opposing, but one abstaining." It is not merely a coincidence that Sir Thomas Legge's resignation was made public immediately the Lead Paint (Protection Against Poisoning) Bill was passed by the House of Lords. This Bill does not prohibit the use of white lead in internal painting, but attempts to deal with the evil by regulation. Lord Desborough, who steered the Bill through the Lords, made it quite clear that the Government is utterly opposed to the policy of prohibition.

In addition to the meeting of the Governing Body (with its attendant meetings of its Standing Orders, Finance and Building Committees), a number of I.L.O. Committees will be meeting in January-namely, the Coal Enquiry Committee, the Hours of Work Committee,

the Joint Maritime Commission, and the Joint Agricultural Advisory Commission. It is to be hoped that the Coal Committee will be able to report that the inquiry is nearing completion, but whether it can do so is doubtful, since the various Governments are understood to have been slow in supplying the information asked for by the I.L.O. The proceedings of the special Hours of Work Committee, set up by the Governing Body last October, will also be followed with close interest. Presumably the Committee will particularly wish to learn the attitude of Great Britain. Finally, the Joint Maritime Commission will have to report upon the proposal put forward at the 1926 Session of the I.L. Conference that hours of work of seamen should be discussed by a special ses ion of the Conference in 1928.

#### IN THE HOUSE

November 24.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "The Governments represented at the Imperial Conference agreed not to take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court without bringing up the matter for further discussion. An Imperial Conference offers the most convenient opportunity for discussing such matters, but, no doubt, another method could be found, if necessary."

December I.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "The course to be taken by His Majesty's Government on disarmament must depend upon the recommendations made by the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference. Until that Committee has reported, H.M. Government clearly cannot commit themselves to any proposals."

December I.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "I am not at all in favour of rewriting the constitution of the League, but I think that Lord Cecil did a real service to the League when he called the attention of the last Assembly to the danger that the true purposes of the League might be overlapped by activities which did not require international cooperation and which impinged on the sovereignty of the States members."

December 6.-Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Sir William Davison): "The state of affairs in China has not been brought to the attention of the League of Nations, and H.M. Government think that at present it would not serve any useful purpose to bring it before the League. Anyhow, I think we certainly ought to await the report of our new Minister to China.

December 8 .- Mr. GODFREY LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Colonel Woodcock): "So far as I am aware, no definite scheme for payment of arrears of contributions due to the League has yet been put forward by any of the defaulting States. A part of the Chinese contribution in respect of 1922 was paid, but nothing has been received in respect of the years 1923, '24 and '25. A payment on account of the Chinese contribution for 1926 has been received. The last payments by Peru and Bolivia were in 1920 and 1923 respectively, and no further payments have since been made by these countries. The whole legal position of defaulting States is being considered by the Council of the League

December 8.-Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. Cecil Wilson): "In conformity with the obligation imposed by Article 22 of the Covenant, H.M. Government have always furnished detailed annual reports on the administration of the Mandated territories and supplied any additional information required by the Mandates Commission. There is no question of discontinuing this practice."

### THE PLANS THAT WENT WRONG

THE December meeting of the League of Nations Council was made memorable by one hitherto unchronicled episode which ought not to escape record altogether. There figured on the agenda of the Council's first meeting the entry, "Extension of Time Limit for Competition for Assembly Hall: Request of Italian Government." No one quite knew why the Italian Government should want the time limit extended. A highly competent committee of architects had fixed a period which it deemed fully sufficient. The Italian Government's motives were obscure.

Nor did anyone gain any light on either question at the first or second or third meeting of the Council. The item regularly appeared on the agenda, only to be as regularly passed over. Then it became known that the Council was deliberating day after day, in private and at length, on this critical problem. The motives of apparently will not. the request, moreover, leaked gradually out. It appears that when the conditions for the competition for the design of the League's new buildings were issued, together with elaborate specifications, and aerial and other photographs of the site were despatched from Geneva to the Italian Government (in common with other Governments) for distribution to Italian architects, they got no further than the Italian frontier. The customs officers observed with great acumen that the package bore the name of the League of Nations, and were well aware that the League of Nations is a highly suspicious institution. Accordingly they held on to the package tight, and there it sat for six weeks till something happened somewhere to secure its release.

#### Architects Without Plans

Meanwhile, of course, the sands were running, and Italian architects were left with six weeks less than anyone else to complete their designs. Hence the request for extension. The request itself caused grave exercise of mind. The architects' committee was called together, and decided by six to two that the conditions as published must stand. The Italians, nevertheless, carried the matter to the Council, and the Council promptly went into private session on it. The statesmen of the world concentrated their minds on the problem.

Signor Scialoja, for Italy, explained the situation, which he described diplomatically as an "équivoque de douane" (a slip of the customs officers), and as subjecting Italian architects to force majeure. Sir Austen Chamberlain said that, with all his profound sympathy for Italy, he felt the higher interests of the League must prevail, and the higher interests of the League required that decisions once taken should not be gone back on except for reasons of irresistible force. M. Briand pointed out that French architects might have gone to considerable expense in employing bright young men to work on the plans in order to get them finished in time, and they would lose all the benefit of that if the period were extended. Mr. Chu thought Chinese architects would like more time, too, and Viscount Ishii said the same of Japanese.

Meanwhile the legal pundits had been invoked on several vital points. Then there was the problem of whether the League had made an implied contract with the architects of the world by publishing the competition conditions to all and sundry. That brought in the Carlisle Smoke Ball case, and raised the question of whether the Carlisle Smoke Ball case ruling applied in this instance. At Carlisle, some time in the not distant past, a gentleman who invented a smoke-ball cure for influenza, was taken into court. For so convinced was he of the merits of his cure or, rather of his prevention

-that he advertised that he would pay f100 to anyone who could prove that after undergoing the treatment religiously for a fortnight he yet contracte influenza An individual came forward who claimed that he had been fortunate enough to be stricken with the disease under the required conditions, and having proved his case in court, he was awarded the froo on the ground that the advertisement was a contract of which anyone who chose could take advantage.

Had the League thus made an implied contract to all the conditions of which any architect could hold them? Some said yes, some said no; and in the end the Council had to vote. At first sight it looked a near thing, for eight members said "No" to the proposed extension, and the remaining six said "Yes." But in actual fact unanimity would have been needed to get the extension through. Signor Scialoja took his defeat in good part, observing genially that if the new building proved as stuffy as the old, the Council would only have itself to thank. So though London may have its Lido, Geneva

#### A TRIP TO AMERICA

A N interesting article on Anglo-American relations, which appeared in the December issue of The Round Table, discussed very frankly the growth in this country of a highly critical, not to say antagonistic, attitude towards the United States. The best way of dissipating misunderstanding is by personal contact, and the League of Nations Union has already done something in this direction through the Geneva Institute of International Affairs. With the co-operation of the Non-Partisan Association, the sister society in America, arrangements are made for some hundreds of Americans to attend the Institute each year.

For some time the Executive Committee of the Union has felt that it would be desirable to develop this side of our work, and it has now decided to take a further step by organising conducted tours from England to America. The scheme is still in embryo, but the proposal is that there should be at least two tours in 1927, the first leaving England at Easter. The White Star Line have offered special terms, which will enable the parties to travel on the "Majestic," or one of the other big liners, which have in the last few weeks been converted and specially fitted for the carriage of third cabin tourists. The scheme is designed to meet, so far as possible, the requirements of those who cannot take a very long holiday, and it is especially hoped that it will appeal to teachers, to whose work foreign travel is of such great importance. The complete tour will last about three weeks; ten days will be spent in America, visiting New York, Washington, Boston and Philadelphia. It is hoped that the party will be welcomed by the Non-Partisan Association, and will have opportunities of meeting some prominent Americans interested in international affairs. It is estimated that the complete trip, including ocean and rail fare and hotel accommodation, will cost about £50. Further details of the scheme will shortly be published in HEADWAY, but, meanwhile, any who would like to join the Easter tour are invited to send their names to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.I.

The Union feels that the question of Anglo-American relations is so important that it has arranged for the services of Mr. Frank Bustard, who is an experienced speaker and authority on the subject, to lecture to Branches on "America and the League." No fee is charged by the lecturer, but Branches are asked to defray his out-of-pocket expenses. Any Branches who would like to avail themselves of this offer should apply to Headquarters,

### BOOKS WORTH READING

#### THE CASE FOR THE NATIVE

Slavery or Sacred Trust, by John H. Harris (Williams & Norgate. 5s.). In little more than a hundred pages, Mr. Harris carries us through the 200 years or so required to accomplish that revolution in human thought which gives the title to his striking book.

The record given in the first chapter of our forefathers' view of their rights over their human property is not pleasant reading. Nevertheless, a generation to which Uncle Tom's Cabin" is mostly only a name will do well to remind themselves of what slavery and commerce in slaves really meant. It is easy to forget facts that we never really knew, and there are passages in the book dealing with more recent, even contemporary, history which show that forgetfulness is not safe,

The second chapter deals with the emancipators. We wish Mr. Harris could have dwelt at greater length on the stirring tale of the early campaigns of the Anti-Slavery Committee, and on the personalities of the men and women who fought them. His allusion to the "red-letter day" in 1834 when slavery was abolished by law in British Colonies makes us long to know more of what they felt in the moment of victory following on the struggle of 40 years against apathy and vested interests.

From this page onwards the book deserves and challenges close and critical reading, for it describes actual slavery as it exists to-day in Abyssinia, in China, in Portuguese Africa, and the author finds much to condemn in respect of the conditions under which native labour is hired in parts of our own Empire. Here, therefore, we are studying our own responsibilities.

The Kenya settlers come in for rather violent strictures. Mr. Harris seems a little biassed against them. It is interesting to compare the Report of the East African Commission (Stationery Office, 1925, price 3s. 6d.) with his chapter. There is no contradiction between them, but in the latter we find fairer consideration given to local circumstances. It is misleading to assume (as Mr. Harris sometimes seems to do) that land and labour laws which suit West Africa can be successfully applied immediately on the other side of the continent.

This most interesting and vivid book ends with an admirable study of the Mandate system, and an appendix which contains the Mandates' texts.—B.E.C.D.

#### THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY

The People of Ararat, by Joseph Burtt (The Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.).—For 50 years the woes of the Armenian nation have disturbed those people in Great Britain who possess tender consciences. Unfortunately, this type of conscience is rarely included in the equipment of those in authority, and this, in part, explains why the plight of the Armenians to-day is substantially no better—possibly worse—than it was in the early effort to reawaken Great Britain to its responsibilities towards the Armenians before the remnants of this nation, now scattered in Syria and Greece, completely

With the Treaty of Sèvres there was a faint hope that an Armenian national home might be established, but the combined hostility of the Soviet Government and the pusillanimity of the Great Powers foredoomed the attempt to failure. The culminating disaster was the evacuation by the Allied troops of Cilicia, where the Allies had induced upwards of 200,000 Armenian refugees to settle after the war. Left to the mercies of the Turks, panic seized the whole community, which

fled en masse. Some of the refugees went to Greece. but the greater number to Syria, where the French Mandate runs, and the one bright spot in the present position is the attempt which is being made with the co-operation of the French to settle these refugees on a self-supporting basis.

Mr. Burtt devotes a chapter to the League of Nations and Armenia. At every Assembly since 1921 strong views have been expressed on the urgent necessity for help. In 1925 Dr. Nansen, as the League's High Commissioner for Refugees, went to Erivan to investigate the position of the Armenians. In the following September he laid his report before the Assembly. But the Settlement Scheme which Dr. Nansen drew up necessitated a loan of £900,000, and the British delegates were instructed not to commit Great Britain to any financial assistance. This refusal meant the failure of the scheme, for no country would move unless Britain gave the lead. Dr. Nansen raised the matter again at the 1926 Assembly, when he made an impassioned plea on behalf of these "tormented people," but no promises of money were forthcoming.

The bald truth is that people are tired of persecuted Armenians. But it cannot be forgotten that Britain has at various times undertaken definite pledges on their behalf which have never been fulfilled, and, more than that, we have, in common with the rest of the world. stood aside while the Turks have done to death one-half of the total Armenian race. It is difficult for an Englishman to read Mr. Burtt's book with any degree of complacency.—E.D.A.

#### A LITTLE ENGLANDER?

Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy, by William Harbutt Dawson (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.). Richard Cobden's name has been so prominently connected with his agitation for Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws that his activities in other directions have been overshadowed. Yet this earlier crusade only occupied eight years of his political life, and he was occupied for a far longer period with what seemed to him to be the complement of Free Trade, the promotion of international peace. Mr. Harbutt Dawson has produced a very careful study of the aims which Cobden conceived the foreign policy of his country should pursue. Few men, then or since, have been better qualified than Cobden to give an opinion on this subject. His travels' to all the larger countries of Europe, to Turkey and North Africa and the United States had furnished him with a first-hand knowledge of their conditions, their policies and their statesmen, while his personal character and abilities were such as to earn for him the respect of political leaders who differed from him. If his confidence and optimism were not always justified by events, if his colonial policy might be described as that of a "Little Englander," there is very much in his pamphlets and speeches which has a singular applica-'fifties of the last century. Mr. Burtt's little book is an tion to the conditions of our own generation. He saw only too clearly whither the doctrine of the balance of power was leading Europe, and he inveighed against it; no one has pointed out more clearly the fatal effects of "bloated armaments"—Disraeli's own phrase —and the mischief caused by the constant interference of England in Continental affairs with which she had no direct concern; no one was a more zealous advocate of arbitration. It does not appear that any organisation such as the League of Nations was ever contemplated by him, but all the principles for which the League stands find their place in the policy of this international man, and the arguments by which he fortified them should not be forgotten to-day.-H.W.F.

#### READERS' VIEWS FIXING EASTER

SIR,-As an ardent supporter of the League of Nations I wish to make an emphatic protest against the tone of your remarks in HEADWAY, which I have just read under the title "That Elusive Easter." The suggestion seems to be that as a variety of traders and secular institutions desire a fixed Easter, the British and French Governments should promptly fix it, without waiting for any religious authority. I can imagine few steps more calculated to alienate the mass of good Christian people of the sort that make the keenest supporters of the League.

Easter is first and foremost a religious festival, the greatest day in the Christian year. To be peremptorily told to change the day of its observance by a secular authority is an outrage on religious feeling. It would encourage a totally unfounded suspicion that the League does not care for religion.

Personally, I am all in favour of the proposed reforms of the calendar, especially the fixed Easter, but the latter must be first agreed upon by all Christians, not imposed upon them by the civil power. To alter the date of Easter without the consent of the Roman Church would be to make confusion worse confounded, for Catholics of the Roman Obedience would be compelled to observe Easter as before, wherever they may A. E. SWINTON. e.—Yours, etc.,

Coldstream, N.B. December 14, 1926.

[There is no question of the secular authority acting over the head of the religious. The discussions at Geneva revealed the fact that there was no religious objection to a fixed Easter, though the Vatican was anxious to lay the question before an Œcumenical Conference. If the British and French Governments were satisfied that a large majority of their populations desired to see Easter fixed it would seem quite legitimate for them to fix it.—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### WAR AND THE COVENANT

SIR,-As a keen and enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations Union and a worker on behalf of peace, I should be glad if you would kindly explain why an advertisement in respect of the War Resistance meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on 5th inst., was refused insertion in HEADWAY. I have in the past twice written protesting against the insertion in HEADWAY of an advertisement with regard to the Military Tournament held yearly at Olympia, and was informed that, after consideration, the executive had decided to admit this advertisement. Yet an advertisement for a peace meeting is refused!

Although the organizers of the "Peace Letter" campaign may go further than the Union in their resistance to all war, it is to me difficult to understand the policy of the executive in the matter of advertisements. Surely all genuine efforts on behalf of peace should have the support (at least to the extent of admitting an advertisement in the organ of the Union) of an organization such as the League of Nations Union. Yours, etc., H. S. CHANEY.

12, Connaught Road, Stroud Green, N.4.

[The advertisement of the Military Tournament, to which the writer of this letter objected, was ultimately excluded out of deference to the views of members who took exception to it. The Peace Letter advertisement was excluded out of deference to the views of members of the Union who took exception to that. The whole quesiton of anything like the censorship" of advertisements is very difficult, and has been referred by the Union Council to the Executive for further consideration. See also the last note on page 3 of this issue.—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### FILMS OF WAR

SIR,—I read with interest Mr. Baughan's article in the December number of HEADWAY on films as peace propaganda. But there is one point in which he is, think, wrong. The film "Mons," for instance, does not show war as it is. It represents war as a heroic, smashing affair; much the same, I am afraid, as some of us thought it in 1914—until we learned differently. It does not show the awful results of shell-fire, the ghastly wounds or the unspeakable miseries of life in the field. Rather is it likely to instil into those who are too young to have had experiences in the recent catastrophe the old idea that war is glorious.

But no stage film can be expected to produce war in its raw state. This can only be done by filming the thing in actuality, which is what we all hope the League will be able to prevent. So the conclusion is, in my opinion, that the war film-I do not say the film altogether—as peace propaganda cannot be a success, or, rather, that it will do more harm than good .-A. HAMMOND. Yours, etc.,

Barnham, Sussex.

#### AMERICA AND THE COURT

SIR,—In your last HEADWAY you argue in "Congress and the Court" that the Permanent Court of International Justice may prosper without America's official collaboration. But, in the precedent edition, you print an expert's opinion about the U.S.A. reservation question, stating that America is right. If the League grants to the States the privilege of an invisible Member of Council, they certainly are in a position to decide if a matter concerning them should be submitted to the Court or not. "Proceedings" are never so grave that the States' official membership should be sacrificed to them. Our league will be definitely effective when universal, that is the general opinion, and so move if grand powers like America or Russia are concerned. To facilitate this final step it seems useful to sacrifice proceedings" to U.S.A.'s membership to the Court, and thus to encourage our friends beyond the Atlantic .-Yours, etc. LEOPOLD LOEWENTHAL.

Berlin, N.W.23, Klopstockstr. 53.

[It was never stated in HEADWAY that America was right in insisting on the right to veto advisory opinions in which she merely claimed an interest—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### "A RECORD MIGRATION"

SIR,—I fear that the interesting article on the settlement of the Greek refugees in your last issue may unintentionally give rise to the impression that the solution of this problem is complete. This, of course, is far from the case. The League of Nations Settlement Commission has calculated that at the lowest computation 8,000 families of agricultural and 20,000 of urban refugees, or over 100,000 persons in all, still remain to be settled. For this and for the extension and completion of existing "installations," a further loan of £5,000,000 is required, and steps to raise this sum are now, it is understood, under consideration. Meanwhile the settlement of any more refugees is held up.

I may further remark that in contemplating the wholly admirable work of the Commission, we are apt to forget the very important part that the Greek Government itself has played in the work of settlement. The influx of refugees began in September, 1922, and it was not until 1924 that the Commission began actively to function. In the meantime, as appears from the Commission's quarterly reports. the Greek Government had settled, partially or wholly, 72,551 families, or, roughly, 300,000 persons, nearly half the total number who have been settled up to date.—Yours, etc., Save the Children Fund,

26, Gordon Sq., W.C.I.

H. D. WATSON, Hon. Treasurer. TOTAL NUMBER OF ENROLMENTS AS RECORDED AT

HEADQUARTERS (less deaths and resignations)

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The general consensus of opinion is that the meeting of the Council of the Union, held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on December 14, was the most successful that has ever taken place. Never before have delegates who arrived late, including a Privy Councillor, been compelled to stand at the back of the hall for lack of seats. Branch and district representatives came from all parts of the United Kingdom, and the accents of Aberdeen, Yorkshire, Lancashire and the Midlands, were particularly prominent.

The speeches made by the Joint Presidents of the Union, Lord

Cecil and Lord Grey, are commented on in another page. They set the keynote of the meeting, which was undoubtedly enthusiasm for the reduction of armaments; and Lord Cecil's statement that Disarmament was no longer a dream but a practical proposition, was the signal for an outburst of applause, whose volume was a good augury for the Disarmament Campaign that the Union is launching.

Jan. 1, 1919

Jan. 1, 1920

Jan. 1, 1921

Jan. 1, 1922

Jan. 1, 1923

Jan. 1, 1924

Jan. 1, 1925

Jan. 1, 1926

Dec. 20, 1926

at so many previous Councils, was, during the last three months of 1926, filling the Chair of Poetry at Harvard University, and the Council decided to cable their greetings to him. Major Hills, who, as the Union's Vice-Chairman, has been deputising for Professor Murray, presided over the meeting, and negotiated one or two difficult corners with admirable tact. It goes without saying that every Branch and District Council does not always agree with the policy of the Executive Committee-

indeed, if they did, it would be a grave indication of lack of virility. The truth is that the constructive criticisms that the branch representatives express at Council meetings are extremely valuable as a means of helping Headquarters and the local organisations to a mutual appreciation of each others' point of

The needs of the body were successfully catered for by the Westminster Branch, which organised a luncheon for the delegates. The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes presided, and the Austrian Minister was the guest of honour, Incidentally, the Minister was an interested spectator at the afternoon session of the Council.

So far as the domestic business of the Union was concerned. the most important item on the agenda was the budget for 1927, The estimated net expenditure of headquarters was £33,000. This was adopted after a resolution from the Liverpool and Merseyside Dis rict Council had given the Chairman an opportunity to explain why the figures for 1927 showed a slight increase on that for the previous year. The Council's Vote for 1927 was fixed at £25,000, the same as in 1926. The Executive Committee was authorised to issue, subject to the usual "contracting out" clause, an appeal next Easter.

Among the resolutions adopted was one urging the Government to ratify the Traffic in Arms Convention, and this was moved appropriately enough by Mainey Williams.

moved, appropriately enough, by Major Hills, who was its author. Lady Hall was the sponsor for another resolution, passed unanimously, on the Eight Hour Day Convention. A third, advocating the acceptance by the Government of the principle of arbitration and, as a first step towards this, the signature of the Ortical Clears hereafted and when the continual contractions are the continual contractions. signature of the Optional Clause, brought Lord Parmoor to his feet to contribute an interesting speech to the discussion. Other resolutions adopted on international affairs were concerned with the admission of Germany, the Reduction of Armaments, Educa-tion and the League, the Economic Conference and Mandates. On the domestic side there were resolutions urging improved attendance at Council meetings and the formation of District

and Federal Councils of the Union. Finally, an invitation to hold the eighth annual meeting of the Council at Harrogate was

It was not, perhaps, a spectacular meeting, but its varied elements managed to consolidate themselves sufficiently to get through a very satisfactory amount of solid work.

#### Dr. Norwood's Health

Owing to the tremendous strain involved in addressing so many exceptionally large audiences, Dr. Norwood has unfortunately been suffering from throat trouble, and had to cancel his engagements for the greater part of December. When the news of his illness was reported to the Council meeting of the Union, the Council immediately sent a telegram to Dr. Norwood expressing their sympathy and good wishes for his speedy recovery. It is confidently hoped that Dr. Norwood will have sufficiently recovered to enable him to keep his New Year engagements. Amongst these is an hour's meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on January 10, at 6.15 p.m.

#### Come to Geneva

Applications are already being received for the Union's parties to Geneva in 1927. The first of these will be a visit to the International Labour Organisation Conference, and a party wil leave England on May 28 for a week, or for a longer period by arrangement. Members of the group will have opportunities of attending the Plenary Sessions of the Conference, including the debates on the Director's Annual Report, and also to its special Commissions. Experts on the staff of the International I<sub>t</sub>abour Organisation will give lectures on various aspects of the work of the Organisation. There will also be opportunities of visiting the Secretariats of both the I<sub>t</sub>eague and the I<sub>t</sub>I<sub>t</sub>O.

In August parties will leave for the Geneva Institute of

International Relations on August 5 and 6 and on the 12th and 13th. An attractive programme of lectures, discussions and excursions is being arranged for each week, and already a number of people have reserved accommodation. Fuiler particulars There was one familiar face absent from the meeting. The Union's Chairman, Professor Gilbert Murray, whose benign influence has made itself felt

3,841

60,000

150,031

230,456

333,455

432,478 512,310 **576,499** 

that for the second weel The 1926 Geneva Institute included nine members of the Nottingham Branch, and early in December a reunion dinner was held at the Mikado Café. Nottingham. All the members of this party are looking forward to a second visit to Geneva, and the Secretary of the Branch tells us that the Nottingham contingent already numbers 14.

#### World Essay Competition

The second Seabury prizes, of 50 dollars each, both in the Training College Section and the Secondary School Section, of the World Essay Contest, organised by the American School

Citizenship League, in co-operation with the League of Nations Union, have been secured by English competitors, Miss Annie McMillan, of Furzedown Training College, London, and Mr. F. C. Lewis, of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Clifton, Bristol.

Arrangements have already been made for the next essay competition. Two sets of prizes, 75 dollars, 50 dollars and 25 dollars, are offered for the best essays on the following subjects :-

(1) "The Teacher an Agent of International Goodwill." (Open to all under 21 on May 15, 1927, attending a training college in the British Isles.)

" How the Youth of the World can Promote International Goodwill." (Open to all students between 16-18 years of age on May 15, 1927, attending an educational institution in the

Essays, which must not exceed 5,000 words (length of 3,000 words is suggested), and which must be written on one side only of the paper, with a margin of at least 1 in., must reach League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, not later than May 15, 1927. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered. Essays should have the writer's name and school and home address. Principals, headmasters and headmistresses are kindly requested to encourage their students to enter.

#### Wages and Conciliation

In past years the League of Nations Union has held Conferences to discuss matters which have ultimately appeared upon the agenda of different sessions of the International Problems of industrial hygiene, unemployment in its national and international aspects, and social insurance have been ventilated on such occasions. Methods of fixing minimum wages is an item which finds a place on the agenda of the tenth I.L. Conference to be held in Geneva in June, and, in accordance with previous practice, the League of Nations Union is organising a Conference from February 1 to 4 of next year at the London School of Economics to discuss this subject, and will consider the Trade Boards system and the

## THE "DIRECT WAY" OF LEARNING LANGUAGES

### HOW TO LEARN FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH OR ITALIAN IN A FEW MONTHS BY THE NEW PELMAN METHOD

O you think that you could pick up a book written in a Foreign Language—a language of which you do not know a syllable-and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly, without once referring to a

Most people will be inclined to say that such a feat would be impossible.

Yet this is just what the new "direct way" of learning languages, as taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, now enables you to do.

The new method is a remarkable educational achievement. It is bound to modify profoundly the normal methods of learning languages. It has already been applied with great success to German, French, Spanish and Italian, and, being a scholarly method as well as an interesting one, it is winning not only widespread popular support, but the high approval of educational authorities.

#### Remarkable Letters

Hundreds of letters have been received by the Languages Department of the Pelman Institute from men and women who have learned French, German, Spanish or Italian by this direct method. Here are a few examples, which speak for themselves :-

"I feel you will be interested to know that I have obtained a remunerative post in the City, solely on the merits of my Italian.
As you know, I was absolutely ignorant of the language BEFORE I BEGAN YOUR COURSE EIGHT MONTHS AGO. My employer is not only satisfied with the way in which I am able to conduct his Italian correspondence, but he has also congratulated me on my Pronunciation. He is an Italian himself."

" As I have now finished the French Course, I should like to tell you how much I have appreciated it. The work has been a pleasure all along, and I have felt that my knowledge and facility in the language were increasing without laborious effort on my part. I am engaged now in reading Huysman's La Cathédral,' and I very much enjoy my French reading."

"I have just returned from a visit to Spain, never having previously heard Spanish spoken. It says much for the perfection of your 'Guide to Pronunciation' that I have not had to alter my ideas on pronunciation in any particular, finding everything spoken just as I had imagined. My accent was also praised, in one case by a lawyer, who should be qualified to judge, and who impressed on me that he was not flattering me." (S.W. 372.)

"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. 136.)

#### A Personal Experience

The present writer can speak with enthusiasm and conviction regarding this new method. Calling one day at the Institute he was asked whether he knew any Spanish. His reply was that, with the exception of a few words like "primavera," he was entirely unacquainted with the language. He was then handed a little book of 48 pages, printed entirely in Spanish, and asked to read it through. There was not an English word in the book, yet, to his

great amazement, he was able to read it through from cover to cover without a mistake. He was particularly astonished at this, in view of the fact that he had no ability as a linguist. He was convinced then that the Pelman method was the best method of learning a Foreign Language that had ever been devised, and he only wished that he had been taught in this way when he was at school.

The great merit of this new method is that it enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, Italian in Italian and German in German. There is no question of translating these languages into English or vice versa. You learn the language as a native of Spain, German, Italy or France learns it. In other words, you learn to think directly in the particular language in question. This makes for increased fluency, as, when speaking the tongue, you do not have to stop and think of the foreign equivalent of an English phrase, as so frequently happens when a language is learned by the old-fashioned way.

A second point is that there are no vocabularies to be learnt, parrot-fashion, by heart. You pick up the words you need by using them, and in so natural a way that they

stay in your mind without effort. A third merit—and an important one—is that when you start learning a language by this method you do not find your way barred by a barbed-wire entanglement of grammatical complexities. You learn the language straight away, and the grammatical difficulties do not exist. This makes the system most interesting, so that you continue the study until you have acquired the language.

Fourthly, there are no classes to attend. The whole of the instruction is given by correspondence, so that you can learn French, German, Italian or Spanish in your own time. The method is as simple as it is interesting, and as interesting as it is effective. General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes: "I find that the Pelman method is the best way of learning French without a teacher." And others write to say the same of the other

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HEADWAY

general question of Joint Industrial Councils. The London Conference, however, is to have wider scope in that it will also discuss the topical questions of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

An imposing programme of speakers who are experts on the An imposing programme of speakers who are experts on the different subjects under discussion has been arranged, and they include Mr. R. H. Tawney, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Mr. Charles Sitch, M.P., Professor D. H. Macgregor, Mr. E. L. Poulton, Lieut.-Colonel J. Kent (Chairman, Pottery Industrial Council), Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, Sir William Mackenzie, Mr. W. L. Hichens, Mr. Arthur Pugh, Professor Henry Clay, Sir Edwin Stockton, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes and the Master of Pallich

The final session on the morning of February 4 is being devoted to the general question of industrial relations. Lord Burnham will preside at this session, and among the speakers are Will preside at this session, and among the speakers are Professor Gilbert Murray, M. Albert Thomas (Director, I.L.O., Geneva), Mr. Charles Renold, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Mr. W. Citrine (General Council, T.U.C.) and Major J. J. Astor, M.P. Fuller particulars can be obtained from Headquarters.

#### An Armistice Echo

Following its usual custom, the Penge and Anerley Branch arranged a full programme for Armistice Week, commencing with a United Women's Meeting at the Anerley Town Hall on Monday, November 8. On Wednesday afternoon there was a meeting for the elder scholars of the elementary schools, who were invited to submit essays on the subject of the address, prizes being offered by the Committee. In the evening a Service of Intercession was held in the Salvation Army Citadel. On Armistice Day a short service followed the observance of the silence at the War Memorial, and in the evening the United Service of Remambrance and Thanksgiving was held in the Anerley Wesleyan Church. Rev. Leslie F. Church (of Streatham Wesleyan Church) gave the address. The Young Streatham Wesleyan Church) gave the address. The Young People's Meeting on Friday was held in Holy Trinity Church, the speaker being Rev. L. D. Hammond (Vicar of Dartford). All these gatherings had the support of the Penge Urban District Council, the Armistice Night service being attended by the Chairman and Councillors. The ministers of every denomination in the district combined to make the series of meetings a united expression of their sympathy with and support of the Union's

#### Miners Pay Up

In view of the severe straits to which the finances of miners' associations have been reduced as a result of the coal stoppage, we count it a great tribute to the Union's work that the Cleveland Miners' Association should have recently renewed its Corporate Membership subscription.

#### The Right Spirit

During the eighth annual pilgrimage to soldiers' graves, which took place in Armistice Week, a war orphan belonging to the Shenley Fields Homes, Birmingham, placed a wreath provided by local ex-service men on the German soldiers' graves at Lodge Hill Cemetery. As the Superintendent of the homes wrote to the Birmingham District Council of the Union, this little ceremony is likely to produce the spirit which the Union is striving to create.

#### League Radio

The Union has arranged for the following addresses to be broadcast from 2LO: January 12, Prof. Gilbert Murray, "A Year's Work of the League"; February 9, Mr. W. T. Layton, "The Economic Conference"; April 13, Dame Rachel Crowdy, "The Humanitarian Work of the League."

#### The League and the Legion

Mr. T. P. Lister, the Chairman of the British Legion, recently broadcast a most interesting talk from 2LO on the Legion's work for peace. In outlining the support given by the Legion to the League, Mr. Lister emphasised the useful results of their friendly association with the headquarters and branches of the Union. "The cordial relationship between the two organisations is indicated," he said, "by the fact that a representative of the Legion sits on the Council of the Union, and it was my pleasure to represent the Legion as a member of the national delegation of the Union at their International Conference held in this country last July." Mr. Lister's concluding words were, "The Legion stands for the League."

#### Singing for the League

The Tyne District Council has scored another great success in the organisation of an Armistice Week meeting. success in the organisation of an Armistice Week inceting. This was held at the Palace Theatre, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the afternoon of Saturday, November 14, when the principal speaker was Lord Cecil. Though the afternoon was very wet and stormy, the Palace Theatre was crowded and Lord Cecil's appearance on the platform was greeted by a cheering, enthusiastic audience that numbered over 5,000. Community singing was a feature of the meeting; for half an hour before Lord Cecil's arrival this great audience, led by a distinguished Newcastle conductor. Dr. Hutchinson, had been singing Newcastle conductor, Dr. Hutchinson, had been singing Northumbrian and other folk songs. Lord Cecil himself

suggested one of the songs that were sung during the interval for the enrolment of new members. The meeting was a magnificent success, and the greatest credit is reflected Miss Laura Ainsworth and the other officers of the Tyne District

#### Week-end School at Inverness

An interesting week-end Armistice experiment was tried at Inverness where the Branch, in conjunction with the North and North-East of Scotland District Council, organised a Weekend School. In spite of very adverse weather conditions the experiment was a remarkable success.

Striking addresses were delivered by Dr. Rolf Sohlman, of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, who spoke on "The Admission of Germany and its significance," and "Intellectual Co-operation." Dr. Barbour, of Bonskeid, delivered a memorable valedictory address on "Youth and the League," while other speakers dealt with such subjects as "The League Idea in History," "The International Labour Organisa-tion," "Mandates," and "Disarmament." Apart from the Week-end School, League addresses were given in schools and churches, and at a meeting of the Rotary Club.

#### News from Paris

The Paris Branch of the Union has been unfortunate in losing its secretary, Miss Marjorie Locket, who played such an important part in bringing the Branch into being. She will be greatly missed by her Paris friends. Happily the Branch has been able to secure Mr. A. S. Atherton Smith as Miss Locket's successor. He writes that they had a splendid meeting a few weeks ago, at which Mr. Whelen spoke on "The Seventh Assembly. Toulmin, the Director-Manager of Lloyds Bank, was in the Chair, and General Clive moved the vote of thanks. The meeting produced several new members and a substantial

#### "The Pen is Mightier : . ."

An officer of the Union writes: "We have just had a visit from the Geneva representative of a well-known firm of nib makers, who wanted to know all about the countries represented on the League and the I.L.O., so that his firm could get into touch with all the delegations and provide them with nibs suitable to their own national handwriting. He went away very interested and happy, and full of information, and the various countries we hope will be supplied with nibs from Birmingham,

#### The Union in Bethnal Green

After three years of hard work on the part of the local committee, and especially of the secretary, Councillor Miss I. V. Benoly, the Bethnal Green Branch is now firmly established, and Benoty, the Bethnal Green Branch is now firmly established, and is justly proud of its membership of over 400. From the point of view of the Union, local conditions are not promising, and it says much for the headway made by the pioneers that the first annual meeting of the Branch, held a short time ago, has been described as the finest meeting ever held in Bethnal Green. The speakers were Lord Parmoor and Mr. G. Startup. The Branch, which has its headquarters at the Oxford University Settlement, Bethnal Green, has arranged an interesting series of meetings for the winter.

#### New Books

The following books have been added recently to the library at Headquarters: "History of the Foreign Policy of the U.S.A." (Adams), "The Party of the Third Part" (Allen), "The Public (Angell), "Origin of the Next War" (Bakeless), "Lighter Side of European Chaos" (Bartlett), "Facing Europe" (Bausman), "The Little White Hag" (Beeding), "The Road to Peace" (Bernstein), "British Year Book of International Law, reace (Bernstein), British Year Book of International Law, 1926," "Slavery or Sacred Trust" (Harris), "France" (Huddleston), "World Struggle for Oil" (La Tramerye), "Greek Refugee Settlement" (League of Nations), "Young Islam on Trek" (Matthews), "The Changing East" (Spender).

#### League Pictures

A number of interesting pictures of League places and personalities is included in series 27 of "Pictures and Illustrations," in the Teacher (price 8d., post free), issued by the National Society Depository, 19, Great Peter Street, Westminster, S.W.I. They will be useful for distribution among scholars during a lesson on the League.

#### New Corporate Members and Associates

The following have been admitted to corporate membership since the last list was published :-

ABINGER: Parish Church. BEDFORD: Mill Street Baptist Church. BOLTON: Folds Road Independent Church. CHESTER: City and County School for Boys. GLOUCESTER: Southgate Congregational Church; Whitefield Presbyterian Church. GRENDON: Union Chapel. HEREFORD: Eignbrook Congregational Church. HORNSEY: Highgate Congregational Church; Highgate Hill Unitarian Church. LONDON: District Council of the Spiritualists National Union, Ltd.; Gerrard Telephone Exchange; Regent Telephone Exchange; New Road Young People's Fellowship, Battersea; Abbey Road Baptist Church Men's Own, St. John's Wood; Brixton Hill Congregational Church, Streatham; St. Luke's Church, West Holloway. LUTON: King Street Congregational Church, West Holloway. LUTON: King Street Congregational Church. MAIDSTONE: St. Luke's Church. PETER-BOROUGH: Peterborough and District Co-operative Society (Education Committee). POULTON: St. Luke's Church. PURLEY: National Union of Railwaymen. SHEFFIELD: Burngreave Road Wesleyan Church; Walkley Wesleyan Church. SOUTHEND: Southend Branch National Council of Women Church Publisher. TRICHNOLUTH: St. Lenges' Church West. of Great Britain. TEIGNMOUTH: St. James' Church, West Feigumouth. TONBRIDGE: Wesleyan Circuit. UXBRIDGE: St. Andrew's Church, WALKDEN: Primitive Methodist Church; Whittlebrooke Wesleyan Church. WARRINGTON: Elmwood Congregational Church. WOLSINGHAM: Wes-levan Methodist Church. WORCESTER: St. George's van Methodist Church. Parochial Church Council.

The following have been admitted to corporate associateship

since the previous list was published:—
Women's Institutes at Bude, Cromhall, Sands, Tewin, Wincanton. Women's Citizens Associations at Liss, Willesden. Women's Section of the Labour Party. Holloway: Archway Road Sisterhood, Hendon: Women's Club. Northampton:

#### Council's Vote for 1926

In accordance with the practice of previous years, the Executive has decided to keep the list of contributions from branches and districts open till the end of January, 1927. Branches and districts which have not as yet paid their 1926 quotas are asked to make special efforts to complete payment

before the end of this month.

Since the last list was published the following branches and districts have completed their quota to the 1926 Council's Vote: Armley, Barton-on-Humber, Barton Hill, Bathford, Beaminster, Berrow, Beaconsfield, Bexhill, Bletchley, Bratton, Byfleet, Castle Combe, Carlton (Notts), Caterham, Chesham, Chipping Norton, Cleethorpes, Coleford, Congleton, Crawley, Crediton, East Hill Congregational Church, East Grinstead, Eccleston, Exeter, Exmouth, Falmouth, Fradden, Frinton, Godalming, Gomersal, Guernsey, Guildford, Harleston, Hook Norton, Hurstpierpoint, Keynsham, Kings Lynn, Lacock, Leicester, Low Road, Moretonhampstead, Newton Abbot, Newquay, Painswick, Paignton, Redland, Rotherfield, St. Annes-on Sea, Sandbach, Seaton, Sherborne, Skeguess, Southend,

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#### OVERSEAS NOTES

Dr. George Vincent, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, spoke on the "Health of the World and the League of Nations" in Toronto, on December 2; and Sir Herbert Ames, who has recently returned to Canada from Geneva, where he has been the Financial Director of the League of Nations, has arranged with the Universities of McGill, Toronto, and Queens, to give a short course of three lectures on the League of Nations in March, 1927, as part of the regular course in International Law. The Toronto branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada have sent out 25,000 leaflets to the churches and schools, describing the aims and activities of the League, and appealing for support for the branch.

#### India

On November 2 Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, one of India's delegates to the last Assembly of the League of Nations, delivered the inaugural address to the Madras branch of the Indian League of Nations Society; H.E. the Viscount Goschen presided, and a large and distinguished audience of Europeans and Indians were present.

#### France

M. P. de Lanux (representative of the League of Nations in Paris) addressed a meeting of the Marseilles branch of the French League of Nations Society in the large hall of "La Mutualité" in November last. M. Marbou presided.

On November 10 M. F. Millot organised a meeting of the

Rouen branch of the League of Nations Society to celebrate the anniversary of the Armistice.

The annual meeting of the League of Nations Society in Ireland was held in Dublin on November 23. It was extremely well attended by a representative audience.

Professor D. A. Binchy, a member of the Irish Free State delegation at Geneva, spoke on the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations. Senator Douglas, President of the Society, was in the chair, and pointed out the necessity for propaganda work, which was of the greatest value in a country where, unfortunately, public opinion was somewhat indifferent to the activities of the League.

#### Palestine

The new Committee of the Jerusalem League of Nations Union has decided to publish a pamphlet on the activity of the League of Nations, and to foster the establishment of a League of Nations Society at Haifa. A federation of Palestine League of Nations Societies is to be formed later, in permanent contact with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in Brussels.

The Ministry of Education has issued instructions to the school directors in the Eastern Frontier districts, pointing out that the schools must conduct their activities in the interests of all citizens without distinction of religion or nationality. The Ministry condemns any attempt at compelling the children of minority nationalities to assimilate Polish language and

The school teachers, it says, must have a knowledge of the language used by the minority peoples in the particular areas, so that during the first school year they should be able to converse with the children in their native tongue. The work of "Polonisation" in the frontier countries is to be carried on, not by compulsory methods, but solely by opening up to the pupils the wealth of Polish culture and making them eager to become voluntarily acquainted with it.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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# FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

The main organs of the League are-

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

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

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

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS Permanent Court of \*The League International Labour International Justice Office Assembly Conneil Secretariat Six Committees appointed annually and in existence only while Assembly itself is sitting Separate sections for Minorities, Mandates, Social Work, etc. Permanent Ad-isory Commission on Armaments

Financial and Eco-nomic Organisation nt Man Health Committee on Intellectual Transit Organisation Children Committee Co-operation Institute of Intel-lectual Co-operation at Paris

\* Note. There is an unfortunate lack of a word to denote the League as distinct from the Permanent Court and the International Labour Office. Both of these are in reality integral parts of the whole League of Nations.

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

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with its seat at The Hague; and The International Labour Organisation, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to December, 1926, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

The International Labour Organisation exists to improve conditions of labour throughout the world. It operates through—

The General Conference, meeting annually.

The Governing Body, meeting quarterly or oftener.

The International Labour Office at Geneva (corresponding to the League Secretariat).

Down to December, 1926, the International Labour Conferences had adopted 19 conventions and 23 "recommendations" on conditions of labour in different countries.

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