

THE BRITISH POLITICS CR

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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

Germany and the Protocol.

ONE obviously important factor in connection with the future of the Geneva Protocol is the attitude of Germany. Regarding that, it must be borne in mind that the Protocol embodies very largely the valuable constructive suggestions made by the German Government in their official observations on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. It is, therefore, of particular interest to find that the Chancellor, Dr. Luther, in his first important speech to the Reichstag, made the following reference to the Protocol:—

"M. Herriot put forward as an ultimate objective a world pact, which had already been sketched in the Geneva Protocol last autumn. Such a world pact appeals to me also as an ultimate objective. Whether it lies within the reach of immediate attainment seems to me uncertain."

It will be recalled that the German delegation at the International Labour and Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam, through the mouth of its spokesman, Herr Wels, declared in language of unexpected emphasis for the ratification of the Protocol.

* * * *

Australia's Attitude.

ATTENTION should be drawn to a valuable article contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* of February 2 by Mr. H. Duncan Hall, the author

of one of the best books that has yet appeared on the constitutional relationships of the British Empire. Mr. Hall, himself an Australian, writes from Australia as follows:—

"The outstanding fact is that there is no decisive opinion in Australia on the Protocol. Sensational headlines in a section of the Press and alarmist statements by an eminent politician with an axe to grind created considerable uneasiness in the early stages of the discussion. But the arrival in the last fortnight of full information from Geneva, including the final text of the Protocol, and reassuring statements by responsible persons based on a study of these data have done much to check apprehension. Already one can say with some confidence that the current is setting towards ratification."

It seems, indeed, increasingly clear that, as may be expected, the first alarms of the Dominions in regard to the Protocol are diminishing steadily as the terms of the agreement are being more fully understood. Notable support comes from Sir Robert Borden, the former Conservative Prime Minister of Canada, who declared, at a meeting of the Canadian League of Nations Society, that he gave his general support to the Protocol, and was convinced in particular that nothing in the amendments proposed by Japan in any way threatened the control of each State over matters of purely domestic concern. It is noteworthy also that a New Zealand meeting, at which Sir Francis Bell quite justly argued that the Protocol should be subjected to some amendment before ratification, carried unanimously a resolution urging that the Protocol be ratified.

The Danzig Letter Boxes.

THE affair of the Danzig letter boxes is by no means the comedy it looks. It is one of those small incidents which reveal once more the difficulties the League has to face in holding the balance between two such essentially antagonistic elements as are represented by the Government of Poland and the Free City of Danzig. What happened briefly was that one night in January ten letter boxes of the ordinary Polish pattern were fixed up in different parts of Danzig for the transmission of letters to Poland. Great indignation was created by their appearance, and in the course of the next night all ten of them were painted by persons unknown with the German national colours. There followed charges, representations, demands for apologies, appeals to the High Commissioner. What has to be decided is whether Poland was entitled, under existing treaties, to put up the letter boxes. If so, she has, of course, just reason to complain of the treatment they received. But it is just this question that is in doubt, and that, like so many disputes, now comes to the League Council. There appears to be a stronger and stronger case for the appointment of some sub-Committee of the Council to deal with administrative questions like Danzig and the Saar, on which the Council as a whole is called on to waste far too much time.

U.S.A. and the Court.

THE announcement that the American Senate is likely to take no further action this year in the matter of America's proposed association with the Permanent Court of International Justice calls for a word of explanation. The present session of the Congress expires on March 4, and as business becomes congested at the end of any session it is always possible for a handful of opponents of a measure to secure its postponement by putting duly obstructive motions, either open or disguised. It may be observed that the "Morning Post" correspondent, in referring to the adoption of these tactics in regard to the World Court, states that this action on the part of a few "isolationists" runs deliberately counter to the great mass of American public opinion, which stands definitely for America's association with the Court. After adjourning on March 4, Congress will not assemble in ordinary session till December, so that no action regarding the Court is possible for another nine months, for though the President is summoning Congress in special session, as his predecessors have not infrequently done, this is only to deal with one or two particular pieces of business, among which the Court is not likely to be included.

Backing for Borrowers.

A REMARK worth quoting appears in the special Financial Supplement of the "New Statesman" for February, where a writer who deals with the "investor's outlook" remarks that "it is a more or less open secret that the dozen or so people who control Britain's monetary and financial policy have agreed not to issue any more foreign loans on our market other than those brought out

under the auspices of the League of Nations (the recognition of the League by these Powers is much more important than recognition by political Governments)." Whatever the precise truth of the statement contained in this paragraph, it is matter of common knowledge that League approval of a financial scheme, particularly if linked with League supervision of the administration of the scheme, is a tangible asset of great value in the money markets, not only of this, but of many other countries. Thanks largely to the ability of the League Financial Committee and of Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Financial Section of the Secretariat, the League has abundantly justified the confidence the financiers thus repose in it. The loan just contracted by the Free City of Danzig in London is another example of the financial value of the League's backing.

The Habits of Conferences.

AN interesting observation was made by Sir Peter Rylands, Chairman of the Federation of British Industries, at a recent meeting of the Institution of Welding Engineers. "Many," said Sir Peter, "doubt the wisdom of international conferences, a method favoured by certain politicians. Each nation brings to the Conference table its own point of view, and nations either become more bitterly divided or adopt a makeshift." To some extent such an observation is a truism. Nations which bring different points of view to a Conference must obviously either split or find some middle way which will unite them all. That cannot be achieved without sacrifice from all sides. What can with justice be claimed of League conferences as distinguished from others—the observation has frequently been made by persons going out for the first time, even to purely technical conferences held under the League's auspices—is that delegates do go there animated by a sincere desire to reach agreement, and not merely in a resolve to defend their own point of view at all costs. So much at least has been gained by the pledge the nations have taken to bind themselves together to "promote international co-operation."

Doubts about the Saar.

IT is a matter for very serious regret that, as stated in the last issue of HEADWAY, Mr. Austen Chamberlain should have agreed in advance with the French Government to approve the appointment of M. Rault for a sixth year as Chairman of the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley. It should not be forgotten that as long ago as 1922, a report adopted by the League Council on the motion of Dr. Wellington Koo laid it down that in order to obtain continuity in the Saar Administration the members of the Governing Commission should in normal circumstances retain their places for five years. The obvious implication was that at the end of five years there should be a change in the personnel of the Commission. A change in the Chairmanship is much more important, particularly when the Chairman happens to be a Frenchman, and the purpose of the Commission is to hold an even balance between France and

Germany. No one, indeed, desires to see M. Rault removed from the Commission, but his retention as President for a sixth year is clearly a grave mistake. If Mr. Chamberlain has given an engagement from which he cannot depart it is, at any rate, most essential that a definite understanding should be reached at the March Council that at the end of M. Rault's sixth year the Chairmanship shall pass definitely to some other member of the Commission.

Manxmen and Geneva.

IT is cheering to find the Isle of Man well in the picture on League of Nations affairs. The following paragraph is taken from the *Isle of Man Examiner* :—

In the Legislative Council on Tuesday, consent was given to a Bill which confirms a protocol signed by the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1923, with regard to arbitration in disputes between nationals of the signing nations. The Attorney-General remarked that the Bill was hardly likely to affect inhabitants of the Isle of Man, for transactions between Manx folk and foreigners were rare; but the Isle of Man had always maintained its independence, and it was better to go to the trouble of examining and passing this Bill, and other Bills which would come in due course from the proceedings of the League of Nations, even if they were not needed by our own insular circumstances.

Geneva is obviously getting more ratifications for its agreements than it knows.

Austria's Problems.

ECONOMIC stagnation, collapse of commerce and banking, high cost of living, dismissal of 100,000 civil servants; schools, railways and roads in a shocking state of disrepair; intensification of class antagonism—all this is associated with the Zimmermann-Seipel-Ramek era ushered in by the League of Nations.—This quotation from a recent speech by Herr Seitz, the Mayor of Vienna, throws considerable light on the difficulties the Austrian reconstruction scheme has of late been encountering. There are, and must always be, limits to the League's power for good in such a case as Austria's. It can produce a plan which will enable a country to help itself if it is ready to do so. If, on the other hand, the case is made the subject of internal political controversies and opposed by the party out of office largely because it is being administered by the party in office, then obviously full success can neither be attained nor expected. Provided the League plan is worked loyally by Austria as a whole, it is fully capable, so far as can be seen, of realising the hopes originally placed in it. It is fair to add that wild speculation by the Vienna banks, and still more the tariff barriers still maintained by Austria's immediate neighbours, are responsible for no small part of the present troubles.

America and Disarmament.

THE renewed suggestion that President Coolidge still contemplates summoning another Conference on the Reduction of Armaments has a manifestly important relation to the disarmament discussions taking place in connection with the League. There seems little prospect that America will take active steps till she sees a little more

clearly what the destinies of the Geneva Protocol are likely to be. At any rate, the outlook for such a Conference, if it follows at all the lines of the Washington discussion in 1921-22, would seem to be none too bright. The League may not have got far with its disarmament proposals, but it was, at any rate, on sound ground when it laid it down in the well-known resolution of the Third Assembly in 1922 that security and disarmament are inseparable issues. A conference which concerned itself simply with disarmament without applying itself seriously to the problem of security would be almost foredoomed to failure.

Reforming the Calendar.

THE Sub-Committee of the League Transit Commission on the Reform of the Calendar has again been sitting at Geneva to consider further the views of various ecclesiastical authorities on the subject. These authorities appear to be by no means agreed. There seems, indeed, to be more support for the proposal for a fixed Easter than for the suggestion that the year should always consist of an exact number of weeks, an arrangement which would, of course, involve the inclusion of one, or occasionally two, "blank days" every year. The representative of the Jews, who have now appeared for the first time, take strong exception to the "blank days" proposal as they regard it as essential that the Sabbath should always fall on the seventh day, which it would not do if once the appointed order were interfered with by the introduction of the "blank day." The Archbishop of Canterbury's representative had made the same objection at an earlier sitting of the Sub-Committee, though with less emphasis. It is not generally expected that any decisive step can be taken till after the next Ecumenical Congress of the Roman Catholic Church, whose views on the question are clearly of much importance.

An Unfair Attack.

LETTERS having appeared in a number of papers from a Mr. Lancaster Smith, attacking the League of Nations on the ground that while it was spending considerable sums on administrative expenses, it was not in a position to vote £50,000 for work among women and children in the Far East, the following reply from Professor Gilbert Murray, which appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of February 12, is worth reproducing :—

SIR,—Mr. Lancaster Smith attacks the League of Nations on the ground that it is spending certain sums on necessary offices at Geneva and for the salaries of necessary officials, but is unable to guarantee or give a sum of £50,000 "for the rescue of five to ten thousand women and children enslaved in the region of Aleppo."

This suggestion is entirely unfair and misleading. It would be just as pertinent, indeed more pertinent, for Mr. Smith to attack the British Government for spending certain sums on offices in Whitehall and for the salaries of officials, and yet being unable or unwilling to devote money to the relief of the women and children in whom he is very creditably interested. Rightly or wrongly, the nations which subscribe the League funds subscribe them for administrative expenses, and not for charitable purposes.

If Mr. Lancaster Smith desires to see this practice changed he should prevail on the British Government to take the initiative in the matter.

GILBERT MURRAY (Chairman).
League of Nations Union.

THE PROFESSOR AND THE BRITISH FASCISTA.

By L. P. MAIR.

HE really was a very exquisite young man. He did not wear a black shirt, but the lapel of his coat was decorated with a small black figure, with the right hand raised in the Fascist salute. From the crown of his sleek head to the soles of his shoes he was redolent of aristocracy.

"But why, sir," he asked the Professor, "should the League get mixed up with these revolutionary Communist affairs? Surely that must discredit it in the eyes of everyone but Russia."

The Professor opened his eyes in genuine astonishment. After a moment, however, he saw light. "Good gracious me!" he said, "you must be thinking of the International Labour Organisation."

"Yes," admitted the British Fascista. "That was what I meant."

"But there is nothing revolutionary about that. It's most constitutional."

"Why, surely, it's just the latest development of the Third International. It's one of their clever dodges to pave the way for the World Revolution, isn't it? Hitching their wagon to the world in stars."

"Why, no," said the Professor. "That wasn't its origin at all. Its lineage is highly respectable, and its right to exist comes from exactly the same source as the League's, namely, the Treaty of Versailles."

"Extraordinary!" said the British Fascista. "Then what does it do? It's a Labour Organisation, isn't it? And organised labour is simply Trade Unionism."

"It depends from what aspect labour is organised. You are thinking of organising its fighting strength, a method which used to be the only way of securing justice for the worker." The young man began an impatient movement. But respect for constituted authority is, in theory, one of the first duties of the Fascisti, and as this one had not yet gone down from Oxford, all his theories were still unscathed by contact with facts. He merely looked a question, and the Professor hastened to score his point.

"The last century," he said, "saw the growth of industrialism and the struggle of the worker to win a reasonable standard of living from the employer. He had to fight in the beginning for rights which you would be the last to refuse to any human being." The Fascista grunted. "The purpose of the International Labour Organisation is to secure those rights to the more backward nations without the need of a struggle; to level up East and West."

"But from the practical point of view, sir, what good does it do us?"

"It's highly necessary for us. If our employers want to give fair conditions, reasonable working hours, weekly rest, protection from accidents—if they want to spend money in building hygienic factories—are they to suffer by competition with a foreign country which thinks human welfare is a commodity in which it can economise? It's a parallel case with the League—just as 'disarmament to be effective must be general and simultaneous.' I know you agree with me there."

"It certainly must if we've got to have it."

"Well, so must labour reforms, or indeed any other reform. What you've just seen in the Opium Conference, the action of one set of countries depending on the state of affairs in another set, is just the same as

what happens over the eight-hour day. Without a universal agreement you can't move. And just because there are so many labour problems, we have to have a special organisation to deal only with them."

There was a knock on the door. Round its edge appeared the embodiment of contradiction to the British Fascista. His black hair was in reality no longer, but its innocence of Anzora and of the crinkled wave with which nature had dowered the other made it appear shaggy out of all proportion to its actual quantity. His eyes were blue, and shining with ideals; his collar soft, and also blue; his tie, unfortunately for the æsthetic effect, red.

"Come in, Smolsky," said the Professor. "You arrive at the psychological moment. I'm trying to convince Waring of the value of the International Labour Organisation."

"International Labour Organisation!" cried the new arrival. "It's the biggest sham in the history of the class struggle—one of the capitalists' most ingenious devices to keep labour perpetually in chains." He sat down dangerously on the table, and looked fierce.

"My dear fellow," replied Professor Nemo, "you surprise me! What's your grievance?"

"Grievance! The whole method by which it's run. It perpetuates the capitalist system."

"You'd rather wait then, and abolish the capitalist system before you do anything for the workers?"

"I shouldn't say that." Smolsky avoided Waring's ironical glance. "But, good heavens, man, what have they done for the worker? How many Conventions is it they've passed? Seventeen? And only 141 ratifications altogether?"

"That leaves out of account, of course, the countries which, although they don't ratify, carry out the main provisions of the Conventions."

"Yes, and what half-measures they are, after all, anyway! Look at India! Children of twelve working in factories—ten hours the normal working day! You call that reforming labour conditions!"

"It is a reform when you compare it with the conditions that went before it. You can't change India into an occidental country in one blow. I doubt if even a revolution could do it. Given a system based on a twelve-hour day, no restriction on child labour, you have to allow a certain amount of time before it can come into line. This introduction of the ten-hour day and the fact that children under twelve may not now be employed are really substantial advances."

"Why do they give the Governments two votes at the Conferences? What's that if not a bare-faced scheme to do the worker down?"

"In the last resort," the Professor answered, "the Government have to carry out the decisions reached by the Conference. That is a reason at least for their representation. And though theoretically your deduction of the consequence might seem sound, actually that is not what happens. In more than half the votes that have been taken, Government, workers and employers have voted together, and in the rest the Government delegates have been twice as often with the workers as—"

His voice, which had been growing more and more apprehensive, stopped short, as the ink-pot went over. In a whirlwind of apologies—for he was good at heart—Smolsky looked for blotting-paper in unlikely places, while the Professor produced some. Waring slipped away. He liked order.

THE ADVENTURE OF NINA.

A little story of how things actually get done—even though rather slowly.

* * *

February 1, 1924.—Union speaker addressing an audience at Plymouth describes Dr. Nansen's work among Russian refugees, and in particular the invention of the "identity certificate" to take the place of passports.

February 4.—A member of the audience writes to Grosvenor Crescent: "A friend of mine, a naval officer, while on duty in Russia, married the daughter of a Russian priest. The lady was a University graduate, and was practising as a doctor when the Bolshevik régime of religious persecution broke out. Her father and mother and young sister fled for their lives to Persia, where they are still living. My friend wishes to get her sister in safety to England. It would first be necessary to get two passports, one for the girl and one for her mother to the nearest port, and a further passport to enable the child to reach this country. I have tried in many ways, but without success. Do you think the League could help?"

February 13.—Letter from the L.N.U. to Secretary of the Nansen High Commission at Geneva: "My dear —,—Can your great organisation stand the test of a real job of work? The situation is this" (full particulars appended).

February 19.—Letter from Geneva to Grosvenor Crescent: "I shall be extremely obliged if you could obtain further details of the family Gankevitch at Enzeli, and whether the family which is willing to take care of the child is willing to advance the necessary sum for travelling expenses. On receipt of this further information I will immediately get into touch with the Persian delegation."

February 26.—Required particulars forwarded.

March 31.—L.N.U. to Home Office: ". . . it will, I imagine, be necessary to obtain a permit for the child to land, and I write, therefore, to ask that such a permit may be granted."

April 17.—Home Office to L.N.U.: "With reference to your letter of 31.3.24 I have to say that Nina Gankevitch should apply to the nearest British Consul in Persia, to whom a communication is being sent authorising the grant of the necessary visa."

May 26.—Geneva to Grosvenor Crescent: "With reference to our correspondence regarding the transfer of Nina Gankevitch from Persia to England, I have to inform you that the High Commissioner has written to the Prince Mirza Roza Khan Arfa-ed-Dowleh, First Persian delegate to the League, asking him to obtain from his Government two identity certificates or two Persian passports for Nina Gankevitch and her mother."

June 16.—Prince Arfa-ed-Dowleh to the High Commissioner: "I have not failed to forward your letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs requesting them to facilitate the journey of Mlle. Nina Gankevitch and her mother to Basra. Accept, M. the High Commissioner, the assurance of my highest consideration."

August 15.—Plymouth to L.N.U.: "The following telegram received from Persia: 'Going Teheran 19th, Commission passport.—NINA.'"

August, 1924 to January, 1925.—Much silence.

January 22, 1925.—Plymouth to L.N.U.: "It gives me much pleasure in writing to say that my wife's sister, Miss Nina Gankevitch, has arrived safely in England. Will you please accept our most grateful thanks and to the L.N.U. for your untiring efforts in bringing this case to a very successful issue. My only regret is that the young lady is unable to write to you personally to thank you, but I doubt if her thoughts can be expressed on paper at this moment."

THE MARCH COUNCIL.

THE Council of the League at its March meeting, which opens on the 9th, and over which Mr. Austen Chamberlain will preside, has on its agenda an unusual number of subjects of importance. Chief among them, of course, is the Geneva Protocol. Everything, however, will depend on the statement Mr. Chamberlain is able to make, and all the indications are that he will be in a position to say nothing definite at all. No decisions have yet been reached in Whitehall for the good reason, among others, that the Dominions have not yet declared themselves finally on the subject. Whether, in spite of that, the Council will desire to discuss the general position at some length is, of course, doubtful, but it is difficult to see how any definite action can be taken in view of the inevitable attitude of our own Government.

A matter coming next in order of importance is the discussion of the whole question of the investigations the League is undertaking into the armaments of the ex-enemy countries. The Presidents of the Commission have already been appointed; the French General Desticker being placed at the head of the Commission for Germany, an Italian at the head of that for Austria, an Englishman, General Kirke, for the Hungarian Commission and a Swede, for the Bulgarian. There are now many important questions of procedure to decide, some of which may involve action which, since it goes beyond the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, would certainly arouse some indignation in Germany. It will fall to the Council also on this occasion to settle the question raised at the Rome meeting in December as to whether the Council in considering action arising out of any alleged defaults on the part of the ex-enemy countries must be unanimous or could decide by a majority.

Danzig is responsible for no fewer than nine items of the agenda; much the most important of them being what is now generally known as the "letter-box controversy" arising out of the right claimed by Poland and contested by Danzig for the former to put up a number of letter-boxes for the benefit of her own nationals in the Free City. The Polish Foreign Minister, Count Szarynsky, will be present to defend his country's contentions.

Reports from the Austrian, Hungarian and Greek Commissioners will, as usual, be presented. So will a full statement regarding the decisions of the protracted Opium Conferences which have just ended, and in another field those of the Committee on the private manufacture of arms which sat in the middle of February. The re-appointment of the Saar Valley Governing Commission, discussed in another column of HEADWAY, will be considered and a statement of some interest regarding the development of the local gendarmerie is expected. Then there will be the Greco-Turkish dispute about the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and the Greek representatives will broach another delicate question by their explanation of why the Greek Government has declined to ratify the Protocol, signed last September in common with Bulgaria, regarding the mutual protection of one another's minorities.

Among a number of other items on the lengthy agenda two only can be mentioned: the German Government's letter regarding the terms of Germany's entry into the League, and the report on the erection of a Conference Hall. With regard to this latter a question of departing from the original plan may arise.

PROFESSOR BAKER ON THE PROTOCOL. WHAT THE GENEVA AGREEMENT REALLY MEANS.

By J. R. M. BUTLER.

The Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. By Professor P. J. Noel Baker. P. S. King & Son. 9s. net.

The electors to the Cassel Chair of International Relations in the University of London deserve high commendation for appointing Mr. Philip Baker to a position from which, unhampered by official reticence, he can give the world the benefit of his unique experience. As a member of the League of Nations Section of the Foreign Office Delegation at Paris, he attended all the meetings at which the Covenant was hammered out; as secretary successively to Sir Eric Drummond and Lord Robert Cecil, he has enjoyed the closest view of the development of the institutions then created; he has won distinction alike in international law and in international athletics, and is, indeed, from every point of view a perfect specimen of the international man. No one in the world is better qualified to expound the Geneva Protocol in principle and detail, and the book he has just published, with its valuable appendices, is indispensable to a proper study of the subject.

Professor Baker writes as an enthusiastic supporter of the Protocol, and it is characteristic that, whereas he declares on his first page that his purpose is not to defend but to explain, he candidly admits in his final chapter that he has attempted "to state the case for the Protocol as it stands." But while he has little but good to say of the document itself, he finds a number of points to criticise in the able Report of MM. Politis and Bénès, which was prepared, he says, with amazing speed in the last few days of last year's Assembly, and might, if too blindly accepted, "become a positive danger." He gives several instances of a tendency on the part of the Report to make explanatory statements hardly warranted by the wording of the Protocol. The report alleges, for instance, that the Council and Assembly may "authorise a State to undertake war 'to enforce an arbitral or judicial decision given in its favour' against a State which refuses to carry the decision out, but which does not accompany its refusal by resort to war. This opinion is probably right," says Professor Baker, "but if so, it is a departure from the general principle of the Protocol." Professor Baker finds the Report also in error in declaring that the Council cannot even consider disputes which aim at the revision of treaties, or cases when a threat of war follows a decision by the Council or by arbitrators. The "plain and indisputable meaning" of Article 11 of the Covenant "is that in every situation, from whatever source a threat of war may come, whatever the nature of any dispute that may have taken place, the Council has always, in all circumstances, the right and duty of intervention to preserve the peace."

Professor Baker shows clearly that much of the objection levelled at the Protocol is really applicable to the Covenant. Ignorance of the Covenant is responsible for much of the misrepresentation—as in the *Observer* of February 15—to which the Protocol is subject. The obligation on all members of the League to "preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity" of other members, and to "contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League" is imposed not by the Protocol, but by the Covenant. Dealing with the suggestion that what is really wanted is not to tighten up these obligations, but to loosen them, by making the sanctions of Article 16 merely optional, Professor Baker takes the view that Great Britain could not honourably propose such an

alteration, and shows that an obligation quite as strong as that of Article 16 was originally proposed in 1918 by the Phillimore Committee, of which Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Cecil Hurst were members.

Thus disposing of the opinion that the Covenant goes too far, Mr. Baker argues that it does not go far enough. "Must the Covenant, emasculated by tendentious and violently disputed interpretations, remain for an indefinite time the last word of human wisdom in international affairs?" Few supporters of the League would think so, yet many may doubt whether the Covenant stands already condemned after less than six years of life, in which it has proved itself, as Mr. Baker admits, a work of genius. The only fault which he has to find with it is that all attempts to secure disarmament under Article 8 have so far failed, and are likely to fail unless the right of making war, as allowed under the Covenant in the last resort, is further restricted. "The Protocol, therefore, if it were to be successful, had to go further than the Covenant had done." Professor Baker accordingly justifies the Protocol's provision for compulsory arbitration and the abolition of the right of war. He argues that "arbitration" in the Protocol must be given its technical meaning in international law: "The settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice, and on the basis of respect for law." In other words, the arbitrators must follow legal rules wherever possible, and the risk of arbitrary decisions is minimised. Recognising the objections to compulsory arbitration in the case of non-justiciable disputes, Professor Baker proceeds to meet them in great detail and with considerable ingenuity. Perhaps he is here, as elsewhere, in danger of proving too much. For if, as he argues, compulsory arbitration is likely to be very rarely resorted to, it may be replied that in that case it is not worth while introducing a provision which excites such vehement opposition.

The writer deals no less fully and persuasively with the thorny "domestic jurisdiction" question, with the effect on British security of the obligation not to mobilise during the course of a dispute, with the definition and determination of aggression—in which he falls foul of Professor Shotwell's interpretation—and the whole question of sanctions. "The only change made by the Protocol in respect of sanctions lies in the extension of the obligations of the Covenant concerning the cases in which their application may be required. Under the Protocol the obligation arises in every case of war; and this extension would, of course, be a most serious addition to the burden which sanctions must involve, if it added to the occasions when they were in fact applied. But will it add to these occasions? That is the vital question." Professor Baker thinks not, and he may be right; but to us he seems mistaken if he supposes that the nations of the British Commonwealth will accept so wide a responsibility. An international man must have the defects of his qualities, and Professor Baker appears to look at these questions from the point of view rather of Geneva than of Westminster or Melbourne. "We shall be found in our place," wrote Castlereagh in 1820, "when actual danger menaces the system of Europe; but this country cannot, and will not, act upon abstract and speculative principles of precaution." The acceptance of the Covenant of the League has made these words no longer wholly applicable, but they still contain much truth.

"PLEASURES AND PALACES."

FOR months the I.L.O. has pursued its way in comparative obscurity. Its work was of interest, it was even of vital importance, but it must be owned it left the public fancy cold. But fame, if long delayed, seems to have come with dramatic suddenness, and to readers of the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News* the Organisation is no longer presented as three rather mysterious initials, but as "Labour's Palace," "Geneva's White Elephant," a "factory for hot air" and a "masterpiece of pompous ineffectuality." Beneath these sonorous titles there is but one refrain—"British taxpayers foot the bill!" The I.L.O., we learn, has built itself a costly and luxurious palace in which to house its "horde of bureaucrats," all over-paid, all Socialists, of course—is it not a "Labour" Office?—and all engaged in a mysterious process known as "costly trifling." And for this the British taxpayer groans. Readers of HEADWAY and Union speakers may like some additional facts on so topical a subject.

First of all, the building now occupied by the I.L.O. was condemned in 1921 as unsuitable and extravagant, both by its own Governing Body on which Great Britain is represented, and by the Financial Supervisory Committee of the League, to which we also send a delegate. The new building, when in use, will mean an immediate annual saving of £5,000 on rent and other expenses, besides the advantages of suitable premises, proximity to the League secretariat, etc. The total cost of the building, erected on a site given by the Swiss Government, is £120,000, or roughly one-third of the sum to be spent by the British Government during 1925 on the upkeep alone of her public buildings. Great Britain's share of this sum is to be £11,000 (9.4 per cent. of the whole), and no fresh demands are to be made upon any member Government to meet the cost of building, as sufficient savings have been accumulated for the purpose. The Office should be ready for occupation this year. It suggests, even from the Press photographs, a barrack rather than a palace, and is constructed mainly of concrete and plaster, with the utmost regard to economy.

As to the total cost of the Organisation (£280,000—of which Great Britain pays about £28,000), any sum is, of course, extravagant if spent on a worthless institution. But the attempt to raise the standard of labour conditions in the "backward" countries, and so to reduce the unfairness of their competition with the more advanced industrial States, is worth a good deal more than £28,000 to Great Britain. India's ratification of the Hours of Work Convention, and the raising of the age of employment of children from 9 to 12, Japan's ratification of various conventions (*vide* "Four Years' Work of the I.L.O."), and the beginning of a system of labour legislation and factory inspection in China, Persia, are a great step forward in this direction.

The adoption of seventeen draft conventions protecting workers in industry, at sea, and in agriculture, has also meant more to Great Britain than her annual contribution to the I.L.O., for it is obviously the most advanced country that has the most to gain from international labour legislation levelling up conditions elsewhere. Finally, if only as a centre of international industrial research, the I.L.O. would have more than justified the money spent on it. It is significant that Great Britain is one of the countries which has made the greatest use of the Office as a source of accurate information on labour conditions all over the world.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that readers of the *Daily Mail* will take the opportunity of testing the information supplied to them by joining the League of Nations. Union delegation to Geneva during the seventh session of the International Labour Conference. They can thus pass their own judgment on the Organisation.

IN THE HOUSE.

February 10.—Mr. Betterton (to Mr. W. C. Robinson): I cannot as yet make any statement regarding legislation to give effect to the Washington Convention on hours of labour.

February 11.—Mr. R. McNeill (to Sir Harry Brittain): His Majesty's Government are not aware of any desire among the members of the League to move the seat of the League from Geneva, and they are certainly not prepared to make such a suggestion.

February 11.—Mr. Guinness (to Sir Frederick Wise): It would not serve any useful purpose to set up a committee on double taxation till the report of the League of Nations' Committee on this subject has been fully considered.

February 12.—Mr. Amery (to Captain Gee):

I cannot give a definite reply to the question as to whether the self-governing Dominions have ratified or refused to ratify the Geneva Protocol.

February 12.—Mr. Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Fisher):

The Polish Diet has criticised a decision recently taken by the High Commissioner of Danzig, which will be the subject of an appeal to the Council at its coming Session in March. There is no question of the authority of the League being challenged.

February 12.—Mr. Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Fisher):

I am not aware of a declaration by the Foreign Minister of Poland to the effect that the policy of peaceful collaboration between Danzig and Poland has failed, and that Poland must now adopt other measures.

February 12.—Mr. Austen Chamberlain (to Colonel Wedgwood):

No negotiations for a separate pact with any country have been entered upon by H.M. Government. They are earnestly engaged in the consideration of the great question raised by the Protocol of Geneva. Whatever their decision in respect of that Protocol, or on any questions arising out of it, His Majesty's Government would not think of committing this country to the Protocol itself, or to any fresh obligation of a comparable character, without the assent of Parliament.

February 12.—Duchess of Atholl (to Mr. R. Richardson):

The President of the Board of Education cannot yet state when the Memorandum on the League of Nations prepared by the Board is to be issued.

February 16.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Sir Frederick Wise):

Regarding the Note which the German Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the League on December 12, I do not understand that Note to be in any sense a statement of the terms upon which Germany would be prepared to apply for membership of the League, but rather the formulation of certain apprehensions, more particularly concerning the application of Article 16 of the Covenant, which unqualified membership might entail upon Germany in the special circumstances in which she is situated.

February 18.—Mr. Chamberlain (to Sir A. Sinclair):

I cannot comply with the suggestion that, seeing that the Presidency of the Saar Valley Governing Commission has so far been held by the French member for five years, the British representative at the next League Council should endeavour to secure that the office be now allocated to another member of the Commission. In selecting a President personal qualifications must necessarily play a determining part.

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

THE OPIUM SETTLEMENT. PROGRESS IN SPITE OF MANY OBSTACLES.

THE Opium Conferences at Geneva, which opened at the beginning of November, had not finished until well after the middle of February. It is true that there was one long adjournment over Christmas, but the duration of the discussions is sufficient indication of the difficulty of reaching agreement. As it was, both the American and Chinese Delegations withdrew altogether from the Conferences in the first week of February. Such a decision might well have meant disaster to the whole move for the suppression of the drug traffic. Fortunately, it meant nothing of the sort. The Conference carried on, and without American assistance reached agreements which should do much to diminish one class, at any rate, of the evils of illicit drug trade.

Ministers Arrive.

To understand just what did happen at Geneva the situation needs to be studied from the moment when the Conference resumed after the Christmas adjournment, this time with Lord Cecil as chief British representative. France similarly sent M. Daladier, her Minister for the Colonies, and Holland was represented for the first time by a diplomat instead of merely a technical expert. The American demand had always been that those countries which still permitted smoking in their Far Eastern territories should undertake to stop it finally within a period of ten years. The Americans extended that period first to fifteen years, and then to eighteen years. To that the countries concerned, notably Great Britain, France and Holland, replied that it was useless to attempt to suppress opium imports into the countries in question so long as the countries where opium is grown—in particular China—were producing it in such quantities that it was being smuggled freely into every territory in Eastern Asia. The offer therefore made by Lord Cecil on the authority of the British Government was that as soon as China had once more effectively suppressed opium growing, or, at any rate, so far suppressed it as to remove the smuggling danger, British Dependencies in the Far East would immediately begin to suppress smoking. With that attitude the French and Dutch representatives identified themselves.

America's Departure.

To this proposal the Chinese Delegation replied that Western Powers were trying to shelter themselves behind China's present weakness, and America protested that the British proposals left it absolutely uncertain when smoking in British Dependencies would end. The real trouble with Mr. Porter, the chief American delegate, was that he had, before he left America, persuaded the American Congress to give him instructions which prohibited him from making any substantial compromise with the delegates of countries taking a different view from his own. M. Loudon, the Dutch delegate, criticised rather severely the attitude of the American representative, pointing out that no conference could reach agreement if delegates came to it resolved in advance to make on concession whatever. The upshot of the whole business was that America left the Conference, and China followed suit, apparently for no other reason than because it seemed proper to follow suit. There were, however, no other secessions, and the Conference duly completed its work.

The Results.

The agreements reached may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Producing countries agree to reduce their production within five years to such a level as to make the

danger of smuggling out of their territories negligible. (This agreement will be of small value unless China both signs it and carries it out.)

(2) Countries where smoking is still permitted agree to tighten up the restrictions in various respects by the prohibition of re-export of prepared opium, and by the elimination so far as possible of private interest in sales.

(3) Smoking countries undertake to abolish smoking within fifteen years from the date on which producing countries shall be declared by a League Commission to have so far controlled production as to remove the danger of smuggling.

(4) A new and important system of international control over manufactured drugs is established by a Central Board under the League of Nations. Under this system all countries will state what their requirements are for medical and scientific purposes only. All factories will be licensed and make full returns of their output. All trade between different countries will be conducted on the basis of import and export certificates, and every transaction be reported to the Central Board at Geneva, which will thus have sufficiently complete information to enable it to discover at once if more drugs are being sent to a particular country than the country has stated it requires for legitimate purposes.

New Machinery.

Of these agreements the last is by far the most important. To have reduced production everywhere to the level of the world's "legitimate" (*i.e.*, medical and scientific needs) would, of course, have been ideal, but in view of the existing political conditions in the chief producing countries—China, Persia and Turkey—that is clearly impossible. But so far as Europe and America are concerned, it is the manufactured drug that constitutes the evil, and that can be fairly effectually controlled by such an agreement as has now been reached. The new Central Board will have no power over any individual nation, but it can rely with some confidence, like many other League organisations, on the inherent power of publicity. The statistics it will possess will enable it at once to call the attention of the Government of any country to any excessive, or apparently excessive, consumption of drugs in that country, and such representation, if may reasonably be presumed, will be more effective than the endeavour to hold the country down to the strict letter of some written bond. Altogether, thanks largely to Lord Cecil, the Opium Conferences have ended much better than at one time seemed likely, and it may be claimed that distinct progress towards the suppression of the drug evil has been made.

POISON GAS AGAIN.

THE report on Chemical Warfare, presented by the Temporary Mixed Commission to the 1924 Assembly, has now been published by the Union in the form of a pamphlet. The pamphlet is called "Chemical Warfare" (3d.), and has an introduction by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.

Another pamphlet which has appeared this month is "The Labour Covenant Explained." This pamphlet explains just how the I.L.O. works, and defines all those technicalities of procedure which are so apt to be a stumbling-block,

FAIR PLAY FOR THE PROTOCOL.

DISCUSSION of the Protocol in the daily press in Great Britain continues unabated. That is all to the good. The mere fact of discussion in the press, on the platform, and even in quite small gatherings, of the far-reaching issues raised by the Protocol, serves to clarify thought, and may well find the way to some solution other than the Protocol, if the Protocol itself is not adopted.

But if the papers, to which the public naturally looks for accurate information, are themselves under misconceptions as to the meaning of the Protocol, the effect on discussion may be disastrous. Two such cases present themselves almost simultaneously. In the middle of February the "Times," discussing the Protocol in a leading article, stated definitely that "a particular stumbling-block for the Dominions is the Japanese amendment introduced into the Protocol at the last moment, by which it was made possible to bring questions of domestic jurisdiction before the League." There is, of course, no shadow of foundation for this statement. Years before the Protocol was ever dreamed of, it was possible to bring questions of domestic jurisdiction before the League under Article 11 of the Covenant, and the Protocol itself made no shadow of difference regarding the position. That was explained in the clearest language possible by Sir Cecil Hurst, as spokesman for the British delegation at Geneva.

The ground for the misconception no doubt is that when the Council is sitting under Article 15 of the Covenant to give what may be a decisive judicial ruling on a dispute, it cannot deal with questions affecting domestic jurisdiction. That remains the case under the Protocol. The procedure under Article 11 is quite different. In that case the Council discusses a threat against peace or the good understanding between nations merely in order to mediate or conciliate. It can give no ruling and can impose no settlement, and it can deal in that way with questions of domestic jurisdiction as well as any others.

But more seriously misleading, though no doubt unintentionally so, was a summary of the Protocol printed under the name of Mr. J. L. Garvin in the "Observer" of February 15th. This, unfortunately, must have come into the hands of thousands of readers who have never seen the actual text of the Protocol, though it can be purchased for 1d. Here it is stated, as a summary of Article 5 of the Protocol, that "the Hague Court may overrule or the League may otherwise challenge the contention of any State that a matter in dispute is solely within that State's domestic jurisdiction." It would be difficult to infer from this paraphrase that the whole point of Article 5 is to rule out questions of domestic jurisdiction altogether so far as formal arbitration processes are concerned, and that the only reason for a reference to the Hague Court is that it would be clearly out of the question to allow any State to shuffle out of its obligations by putting up a groundless claim that the matter in dispute concerned its domestic jurisdiction.

Again, in reference to Article 10, Mr. Garvin's paraphrase contains (in brackets) the statement: "For instance, on the question of Asiatic migration, the United States or Australia or South Africa might be presumed to be an aggressor if they had repelled the interference of the League in that issue, while Japan

or China (or in the future, India), having invoked the League, would be non-aggressors in any event." This entirely misrepresents the situation. Neither the United States nor Australia nor South Africa could possibly be presumed to be an aggressor unless they had deliberately started hostilities themselves over a matter in which, so long as they sat still, they would have the whole world at their back, because it was a question of domestic jurisdiction.

The statement in Article 10 that "no State shall be deemed an aggressor if it has previously submitted to the League any question which either State has maintained to be solely within its domestic jurisdiction," does not for a moment mean that a State like Japan or China taking up arms over a question of immigration could not be declared an aggressor. It could be and would be. All the Article lays down is that if such a country has taken every step in its power to get a peaceful settlement through the League (*i.e.*, by raising the matter under Article 11), it shall not be *automatically deemed* to be an aggressor without any reference to what action its opponent may possibly have taken.

A third point calling for comment is that Mr. Garvin states under Article 16 that "the Monroe Doctrine respected by Article 21 of the Covenant is ignored by Article 16 of the Protocol." Yet half a dozen lines further down he correctly paraphrases Article 19 in the words: "The Covenant shall hold good except as expressly modified by the Protocol." There is nothing in the Protocol which expressly modifies the Monroe Doctrine reference in the Covenant, and that reference may be presumed to hold good.

Much might be said about the comments with which Mr. Garvin follows this summary. That, however, is quite a different matter. The serious point is that what professes to be a paraphrase of the whole document, article by article, is in certain important particulars an inaccurate paraphrase.

M.P.s AND THE LEAGUE

THE League of Nations Parliamentary Committee has begun the new session extremely well. Well over 330 members of the House of Commons have already joined the Committee, and new names are still being received. When it is considered that the whole membership of the House is 615, and that Ministers, the majority of whom are sympathetic to the League, regard themselves as precluded by their office from joining the League Committee, there is every reason to regard the progress made as satisfactory in the extreme.

Sir Ellis Hume-Williams is again Chairman of the Committee, which has as Vice-Chairmen Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence; the Hon. Secretaries being the Marquess of Hartington and Mr. Hugh Dalton. All parties in the House are thus represented, and the Executive Committee consists, in addition to officers of two members of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties.

The opening meeting, held in the middle of February, in a Committee Room which comfortably accommodates over 100, was so overcrowded that a number of members were unable to gain admission at all. Professor Gilbert Murray attended to give an outline of the Geneva Protocol, and questions followed in such numbers that it was decided to resume the discussion of the Protocol at the next meeting a fortnight later, with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as chief speaker.



GENEVA, February, 1925.

THE League is having one of its intensive periods just now, for apart from outstanding discussions on the Protocol and the German admission, extremely important business is being, or has been, transacted within the last few weeks on a variety of subjects, the most important of which have been opium, the organisation of the right of investigation into the armaments of ex-enemy countries, financial questions in Austria, Hungary, Danzig and Esthonia, and the preliminary consideration by the Co-ordination Committee of the private manufacture of arms. All these things are leading up to an important Council session at the beginning of March, where no doubt we shall hear something of Britain's views on the Protocol, and where at least two political questions of some delicacy and seriousness—namely the Danzig letter-box dispute with Poland and the Greek dispute with Turkey over the expulsion of the Patriarch—will be under consideration.

Germany's Application.

The Council will also probably have something to say about the letter addressed to the League by Germany. It is evident that Germany's request for a permanent seat on the Council will be granted if she is admitted to the League; it is also evident that her desire virtually to contract out of Article 16 will not be granted. The individual reply sent to Germany by Sweden, certainly the most independent State Member of the League, puts the case against Germany's request with some cogency, and there is no likelihood of other States in the League going further than Sweden. The problem which faces the Council is to send such a reply to Germany as to enable her conveniently to drop her suggestion in time for a plain, straightforward application at the Assembly. The Protocol and Germany's relation to the League are sufficiently large subjects to make the Assembly one of vital importance.

Arms Investigations.

A matter of more immediate seriousness is that of the final form to be given to the League's plan to carry out its investigation in ex-enemy countries. There have been some dangerous developments in this respect, and the Permanent Advisory Commission on Armaments, to which various aspects of the matter were referred by the Council for advice, has been sitting in Geneva in the most complete secrecy—the form in which the more questionable part of League work is usually done. Some bad mistakes have already been made by the Council itself over this subject and its further consideration of it on the basis of the report, whatever it may be, of the P.A.C., should be closely followed. There is even danger, if local press reports are to be credited, of a strong movement in certain directions which would have the effect of continuing permanently, under the League, some form of control of the Rhineland. There are apparently many who still have to learn the first elements of a League of Nations.

The Opium Argument.

So far as opium is concerned, the Conference has been quite one of the strangest that has taken place within the history of the League. The American Delegation, with ultimate aims which most reasonable

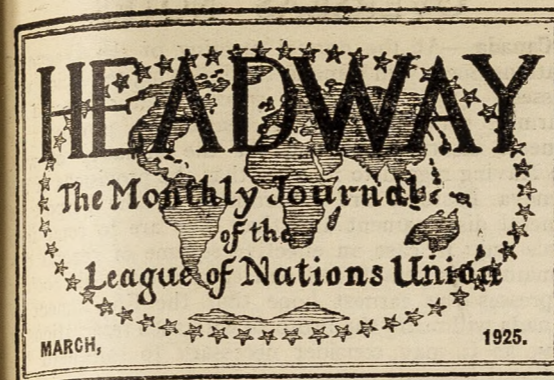
people would approve, comes with a set programme, and with instructions in the form of a law passed by the Senate to accept nothing but the programme. It was thus completely unable to do anything but accept concessions and completely fettered in face of any real difficulty against the international adoption of its plan. The actual circumstances in producing countries make it impossible for the American plan to be accepted, and instead of doing what is possible in the present state of affairs, the American Delegation had nothing left to do but withdraw. It is obvious that no international negotiations can possibly be carried on on this basis. The Chinese Delegation boldly placed itself alongside America, stuck to her throughout, and withdrew from the Conference in her company. It was a rather too patent escape from a very awkward position, so patent as to become sheer comedy in view of the fact that China is at the heart of the whole problem, producing as she does more opium than any other country, and in her present political condition being absolutely incapable of any kind of organised administrative control.

Hungary and Austria.

There was an interesting session of the Financial Committee which gave some sharp reminders to Austria regarding unfulfilled portions of the reconstruction scheme, and which appreciated highly the excellent start made in Hungary. The Council will have the conclusions of the Committee before it, including observations on the Hungarian request for the use of some part of the loan for economic development, as apart from financial stabilisation. So far as Austria is concerned, the Council might do well to insist with a little more determination than has hitherto been the case that Austria's neighbours should face the economic facts by a greater readiness to come to some better economic and trade relations with Austria.

Sounder Finance.

There was also a question of a loan to be in some way fathered by the League for public works and harbour development in Danzig, and some preliminary considerations were offered to the Esthonian Government at its own request upon the credit policy adopted in that country. This is one more instance of a Government anxious to follow sound financial principles coming to the Financial Committee of the League for support and guidance. A matter of somewhat more technical concern was the Committee's declaration on the advisability of an early return to the gold standard or gold exchange standard. This was a repetition of resolutions previously passed both at Brussels and Genoa, but it has more point at the present moment in view of the great progress which has been made towards currency stabilisation in Europe. The number of returns to stability attained in the last two years is remarkable, including (in addition to England and America) Sweden, Finland, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, and even Yugoslavia, and to a great extent, from the budget point of view, France and Belgium. The whole problem is now whether stabilised countries shall go back to pre-war parity or stabilise on the present level. Some countries have adopted new parities, and others, such as France and Italy, have not yet decided which way they will go. Czechoslovakia is to stabilise at the present level within six months. The Committee's expression of opinion in favour of the early return to the gold standard or gold exchange standard as the best road to the economic recovery of the world comes, therefore, at an appropriate moment, and was, in fact, made on the same day as Mr. Churchill's statement in Parliament.—C.



OUR OWN BUSINESS.

OUR own business is what other people constantly tell us to mind. That is a common enough experience in private life. It is not a rare experience in public life. It is an experience from which bodies like the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union are in their respective spheres by no means immune. The British, or some other, Government tells the League in the scrupulously polite language of diplomacy to keep strictly within its own prescribed groove. The British Press or British politicians, in language much less studiously courteous, suggest that the League of Nations Union would be a much more useful body than it is if it refrained from interfering in matters that do not concern it.

Such criticisms are not to be hastily dismissed. There may occasionally be something in them. In an existence, moreover, in which human energies are limited the League will probably find quite enough to do in discharging those tasks which devolve on it under the Covenant, or are laid on it by the general consent of the nations, and the Union has quite enough to do as things are in promoting general support for the League and a general understanding of what it has done and is doing. To go deliberately beyond that would be (apart from other objections) to dissipate energy at a moment when a great deal more concentration is still needed.

To say so much is to take the first step towards some definition of the League of Nations Union's proper activities. It moves and operates primarily, though perhaps not quite exclusively, within the field the League itself covers. To go outside that field may, on rare occasions, be necessary and justifiable, but such excursions, when proposed, should be viewed with a great deal of initial suspicion. That point may be left for a moment, for if the Union's limits are coincident with the League's limits, the first step is clearly to decide what the League's limits are.

To discuss that matter exhaustively here is out of the question, but one or two points on which misconception sometimes exists may be touched on. At the root of everything is the fact that the League is concerned only with the relationships of nations with one another, not with the internal affairs of any single nation, and concerned with the relationships between nations only within the limits set by the Covenant. The States joining the League agreed to co-operate for those purposes and on those conditions alone. The field may be, and is being, gradually widened by new agreements, like those embodied under the League's auspices in such conventions as have been negotiated in the past three years on the White Slave Traffic, Railways, Customs Formalities or Opium. There are, moreover, certain special exceptions, like those represented by the Minority treaties, to the rule that the

League has no concern with the internal affairs of any nation. But broadly speaking the rule stands.

The acceptance of that principle gives us partial, but by no means complete, guidance. Certain cases are clear, others, on the margin, are doubtful. Catalonia, for instance, an integral part of Spain, claims her independence and has appealed to the League for help. The League can have no concern with such a question (except in certain conceivable circumstances, which do not at present exist, under Article XI of the Covenant), and it is equally, and for that reason, not a matter for the Union. But take another, and a much larger, problem. There appeared at one time a reasonable prospect that the League of Nations might play a valuable part in the solution of the intractable problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts. A resolution was actually adopted on the subject by the Third Assembly. So long as that prospect remained it was obviously necessary and proper for the Union to apply itself to the study of the problem with a view to educating and directing public opinion and to some extent influencing the Government to a particular course of action through the League. As things are, however, reparations have been disposed of, unless all confident hopes are disappointed, by the adoption of the Dawes Report, and Allied debts (which could never with much propriety have been referred to the League except as part and parcel of a general reparation settlement) are in process of being settled by direct agreement. If they are actually settled—it matters relatively little now—one more disturbing element in Europe will be removed and the path of the League will be that much the smoother. Meanwhile the Union as a Union has no direct concern with the matter.

Such a question as the Singapore base is much more perplexing. It represents one of those marginal cases regarding which a decision is always difficult, and all that can be laid down in the way of a general rule is that the Union when in doubt should stick to its own last. On a strict interpretation the position is clear. The Singapore extension—a simple question of naval dispositions—in itself can in no way concern the League; and it therefore does not directly concern the Union. But does it indirectly concern them? Is there any ground for speaking of a violation of the League's spirit, a matter which clearly justifies discussion by the Union? That question is not to be answered here. HEADWAY has no title to frame a policy for the Union, nor does this article represent any official view on a question on which the Union Executive has not pronounced. But this much may perhaps be said. When a problem has become a matter of sharp party controversy, the Union, which depends for its influence largely on its success in maintaining a strictly non-party character, should show a little more than ordinary reluctance to take it up. If in spite of that reluctance it feels it essential to go forward, the odds are that it is right in so doing. It is always a natural, and not an inherently improper, temptation to opponents of a step taken by the Government of the day to try and swing into the field against it some great non-party organisation with its special weight and prestige. It may be right in some circumstances for the organisation to be so swung. But it will usually be at serious cost to itself and may mean the loss of some of its strongest supporters.

And meanwhile there is the sobering reflection that the Union's own work, about the strict relevancy of which no question can arise, is still far beyond its power. This country is not yet one-tenth educated in the elementary facts about the League. That in itself is a very nearly decisive reason for concentrating resolutely on our immediate task.

POINTED QUESTIONS.

Q. (a) Has Great Britain a representative on the Permanent Court? (b) Why is America represented by a Judge on the International Court of Justice, although she is not a member of the League of Nations?

A. These two questions from different sources may be answered together. Neither Great Britain nor America, as such, is represented on the Permanent Court. The judges, that is to say, are not nominated by the Governments of countries. They are chosen by the Council and Assembly of the League for their personal qualities. Out of the eleven judges (there are also four deputy judges) one, Lord Finlay, a former Lord Chancellor, is British, and one, Dr. John Bassett Moore, an American. The fact that America is not a member of the League is no bar to the appointment of an American judge.

Q. What is the attitude of the League towards opium?

A. The general attitude of the League was indicated in resolutions adopted by the Third and Fourth Assemblies laying down the principle that as soon as practicable the world's production of opium should be reduced to the level of the world's medical and scientific needs, and that the manufacture, import and export of and trade in the manufactured products of opium should be strictly controlled at every point. Conventions embodying these principles so far as it was possible to obtain international agreement regarding their application, were signed at Geneva in February, 1925.

Q. If there was a Communist rising in all countries on a scale that threatened the world's peace, would the League have power to take action?

A. This is a nice point. A Communist rising in an individual country clearly does not concern the League. On the other hand, risings in all countries on a scale that threatened world peace would presumably create a situation of which the League must take cognisance under Article II, which, under such circumstances, leaves it to the Council to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

Q. Has the League done anything to promote disarmament?

A. This question can hardly be answered in a paragraph. The League's resolution on the limitation of armament expenditure has no doubt had some effect in limiting armaments, and the general tradition of co-operation created by the League has had more. The signature of the Arms Traffic Convention which is expected in May will reduce the evil of the Arms Traffic in various undeveloped regions of the world. The larger problem of general disarmament would have been solved in part at least if the Treaty of Mutual Assistance had been adopted. Progress in the immediate future depends on the fate of the Geneva Protocol, which contains provisions for the summoning of a general disarmament conference.

Q. Did the Bryan Treaties all contain clauses providing for the reference of all disputes to a joint committee?

A. These treaties between America and some 30 other countries provided that all disputes between the parties should in the last resort be referred to a permanent international commission, and that war should not be declared until the report of such commission had been issued.

OVERSEAS NOTES.

Canada.—At the annual meeting of the League of Nations Society in Canada the following resolution was passed: (1) This Society places itself on record as warmly supporting every reasonable proposal for general disarmament and for the outlawry of war. (2) Having regard to its view that the provisions of the Geneva Protocol are subordinate to the purpose of general disarmament and that they are to come into force only in case an effective scheme of general disarmament is established and carried out, this Society expresses the earnest hope that the Government of Canada will ratify the Protocol with such reservations, if any, as it may consider necessary to safeguard the national interest.

Germany.—The German League of Nations Society has issued a statement calling upon German public opinion to insist on the co-operation of Germany in overcoming the ill-feeling left by the war by means of membership of the League of Nations.

Federation.—The Executive Committee of the Federation met at Brussels on February 12. At the invitation of the Polish Society, the next Plenary Congress of the Federation is to be held in Poland, probably at Warsaw, at the end of June or the beginning of July.

Headquarters will be glad to know of any people in the Colonies and Dominions who would like to receive HEADWAY from members in Great Britain. Similarly, if any members in this country know of any friends abroad who would like to receive HEADWAY from members in England, they should send their names and addresses to Headquarters.

AN ASSEMBLY FOR LONDON.

LONDON is truly an international federation of students within the bigger world of Federation. On February 13 a thousand of them drawn from nearly fifty different institutions in London, great Colleges of the University, Hospitals and Federal Schools, Theological Colleges, the School of Oriental Studies and the Inns of Court, came together as guests of the Union's Hospitality Committee in the Great Hall of the University. Altogether fifty countries were represented.

Professor Murray appealed to them to prepare themselves for the opportunities they would have to be leaders of public opinion in their own countries all over the world; Lord Willingdon thought that such gatherings would do much to remove all those difficulties, both international and between the various races of our own Empire, which were really based upon nothing more than a failure to understand one another; Professor Baker, on behalf of the University Branch, outlined a proposal for setting up in London a permanent International Assembly somewhat on the lines of the very successful Oxford International Assembly, and Mr. Parkes, of the Student Christian Movement, one of the founders of the Assembly at Oxford, warmly supported the proposal, which was unanimously approved.

The first Assembly is to be held on February 27 and will discuss the problems of Disarmament and Security. It is hoped that representatives of nearly fifty centres will take part, and an organising committee will be elected to draft the constitution of the Assembly.

Easter Vacation.—Notice of the Universities' Congress at Oxford, to commence on March 28, are now available in every University Union. "The British Group" (i.e., the University Branches of the L.N.U.), are organising two meetings of an International Assembly at the Congress, and it is hoped to draw up a joint Universities' Report on Disarmament, Arbitration and Security, with special reference to the Protocol,

BOOKS WORTH READING.

It is a commonplace to say that peace and goodwill can only be built in an atmosphere of international understanding. The lack of knowledge of others' modes of thought and the inability to see any other side of a problem than that which is nearest are responsible for most of the prejudice that believes that one's own country is always in the right and the foreigner always in the wrong. Two books have lately been published which, if they are read as widely as they deserve, will help to remove the dangers that are always likely to arise from this attitude of self-confident ignorance. One of these is Mr. Elihu Root's *Men and Policies* (H. Milford, 21s.). There are very few occasional addresses, articles or official documents, which will stand the ordeal of republication; those of Mr. Elihu Root are an exception to the rule. What he said and what he wrote, whether it was in commemoration of some of the greatest of his countrymen, or at meetings to organise his nation for war or peace, or in the discussions at which the fabric of the Permanent Court of International Justice was wrought, bear the marks of a man who is not only one of the world's greatest international lawyers, but who, as a past Secretary of State, is practised in the handling of international affairs. Perhaps the most valuable contribution in the book is that part which is devoted to a careful examination of the implications of certain articles in the Covenant, and in particular of Article X, as they appear to an American statesman. That article seemed to Mr. Root to be an unessential part of the League's work and likely to force the United States into an agreement to preserve the territorial *status quo* of Europe in 1919 which in after years his people would be unwilling to keep; he would doubtless make the same objection to the Protocol as it now stands. He felt himself more keenly alive to the real obligations of the Covenant and to the realities of the European situation as it might develop in the future than Mr. Wilson and the statesmen of other countries. At all events, we have here his opinion honestly expressed, and full value must be given to his arguments in any judgment that is passed upon the abstention of the United States from the League. Another subject upon which Mr. Root speaks with wise emphasis and upon which there can be no controversy is the need for popular education in foreign affairs. So far as the L.N.U. is doing this work, it would have Mr. Root's heartiest commendation.

A second book calls for equal attention, since it is no less necessary to have a German view of pre-war events than it is to have an American opinion upon post-war incidents. This is now available in an English translation of *The Case for the Central Powers* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.). The author, Count Max Montgelas, is well equipped to present a general view of German thought on the subject, and whether his defence of his country against the charges of sole responsibility for the war is accepted or no, it must be admitted that he writes without passion and without undue partiality. He has had access to all the official records which are available and his statements are fully documented. His defence lies not only in a detailed account of the diplomatic exchanges of July, 1914, and the mobilisation orders of the several countries concerned, but in the events of the seven preceding years. The value of the book does not depend so much on the accuracy or otherwise of the record as on the fact that it is a genuine and honest expression of the belief held by a German of more than ordinary intelligence. In that belief he may be wrong, but neither he nor the majority of Germans, who agree with him, are likely to be converted to any contrary opinion. That is the real difficulty of the present moment of which very little account is taken. But, apart from this, two conclusions can be drawn from this book, the danger of secret

alliances and understandings, and the essential need that time should be given for arbitration before nations mobilise for war; Count Max Montgelas unconsciously gives testimony in support of those provisions of the Covenant which deal with these matters.

Dr. J. W. Horrocks' *Short History of Mercantilism* (Methuen, 7s. 6d.) should be studied by all who look beneath the surface for the causes of war and peace. He traces the history of mercantilism, or the system of national economic protection, from its earliest appearance to its strength in modern European countries, from its decline in England to its recrudescence in the shape of Tariff Reform, Colonial Preference and the Safeguarding of Industries. Dr. Horrocks rightly lays stress upon the little-noticed economic work of the League and believes that it might do even more by checking the erection of national economic barriers and by promoting co-operative effort for the satisfaction of the world's needs. He opens out a train of most fruitful thought upon the subject.

It is clear enough to most persons that the world is suffering from a sore complaint, but a popular and accurate diagnosis of the disease and prescription for its treatment have been lacking. Miss H. T. Jacka supplies this need; in *The Road to Christendom* (Student Christian Movement, 2s. 6d.) she examines the symptoms as a skilful physician, the scars which have been left by the war and the deeper-seated sores which appear in the forms of the struggle for existence, industrial warfare, the rivalries of country, race and class. Nor does she isolate the individual details of her diagnosis; she sees that they are all inter-related in a world which is really one, and whose members are equally dependent on each other. She does not, however, shake her head at a situation which she has probed, as though the patient were incurable. Her remedy, in which she has an infectious confidence, is the application of a new Christendom to every part of world life, and she ends her stimulating book with the recommendation that the remedy can be most effectively given to the growing generation. In an appendix there are full instructions for forming junior branches of the L.N.U., and well-chosen questions adapt the book for use by discussion groups. It is altogether one of the most useful which the S.C.M. has issued in its popular series.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

Ireland and the League of Nations, by Bolton C. Waller (Talbot Press, Dublin, 1s.). Though the winner of the first Filene prize addresses himself to Irishmen in particular, most of his small book can be used with advantage in this country; it contains an admirably clear and convincing account of the League and its work. Incidentally, we learn of the "Cumann Gaodhalch Comdhála na Naisiun," i.e., the Irish L.N.U.

The Dominion of Sea and Air, by E. S. Rankin (Century Co., New York). The value of Miss Rankin's general conclusions may be gathered from her assertion that the League was established in order to enforce the Treaty of Versailles.

Information on the Permanent Court of International Justice (Association for International Understanding, Sentinel House, Southampton Row, W.C., 1s. 3d.). Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has here compiled a useful handbook which gives a full record of the constitution of the Court, its judgments and advisory opinions, and most of the essential information about it with which members of the L.N.U. as well as public speakers ought to make themselves acquainted.

English Political Institutions, by J. A. R. Marriott (Clarendon Press, 5s.)

Forces of the Spirit, by Frank Lenwood (Student Christian Movement, 2s. 6d.)

War and Peace, by Innes Logan, M.A. (Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge, 1s.) H. W. F.

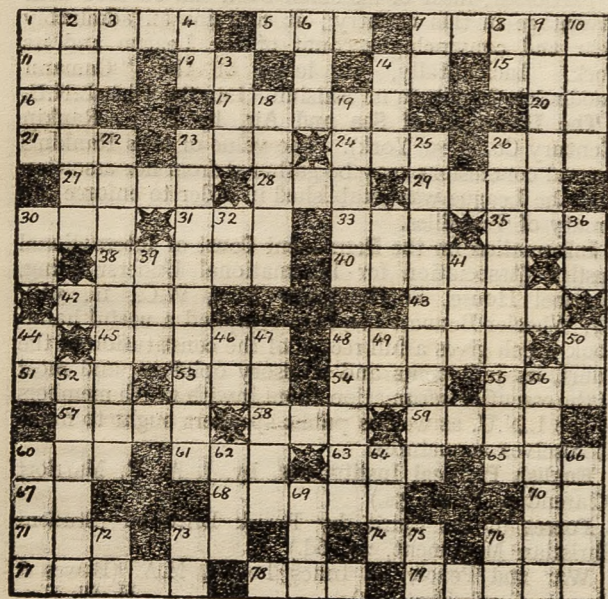
GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

- [Obtainable from Messrs. Constable & Co., 12, Orange Street, W.C.2.]
- "Model Convention for the Health Supervision of Traffic over Navigable Waterways." 3d.
 - "Frontier between Turkey and Iraq." 4d.
 - "Iraq: Decision of the Council, &c." 2d.
 - "Organisation with a View to the Exercise of the Right of Investigation, &c." 2d.
 - "International Committee on International Co-operation." 1d.
 - "Report of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses." 1d.
 - "Greek Refugees: 4th Quarterly Report on the Operations of the Refugee Settlement Commission." 4d.
 - (1) "International Convention relating to the Simplification of Customs Formalities"; (2) "Protocol to the International Convention." 1s. 3d.
 - "Second Opium Conference: Parts I and II." 2s. 6d.

CROSS-WORD PUZZLES.

SOMETHING, it must be recorded with regret, went wrong with the Cross-Word Puzzle in last month's HEADWAY, the author of it, contrary to general expectation, proving to be more expert in regard to the League of Nations than to Cross-Word Puzzles. All that happened was that one number got into the wrong square, but that might easily have misled a competitor whose solution was in all other respects correct. Curiously enough, that did not happen. No correct solutions were received, but the mistakes were in every instance in parts of the puzzle unrelated to the misnumbered square. If a solution correct except in regard to this square had been received, the prize would have been awarded to its sender. As this was not the case, every solution being incorrect in some other respect, the prize is not awarded. Competitors are, however, encouraged to a further attempt in the form of a solution of the puzzle printed below. This is itself the winning effort in the second competition for the construction of such puzzles. The author is Mr. J. A. Herriot, of Berwick-on-Tweed, to whom a prize of three guineas has been awarded. To the sender of the first correct solution opened a prize of two guineas will be awarded. All solutions must be in by March 17, when the envelopes will be opened. They must be marked "Crossword Puzzle." Every solution must be accompanied by the sum of one shilling in postal order or stamps. Correct solutions of this and last month's puzzle will be published in the April HEADWAY.

RED CROSS AND STARS.



READERS' VIEWS.

EGYPT AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I believe it is usual when writing letters to the papers to confine oneself to a single subject. I wonder if you will permit me to depart from this practice, and make two suggestions on different matters that affect the League, and ask a question on a third.

(1) I will begin with the question. It appears from the January and February numbers of HEADWAY that both "Z" and Mr. Lowes Dickinson believe that the British Government have contended that the Egyptian question was a domestic issue; I was not quite sure that they did contend that, but, whether they did or not, the idea that such contention might be technically correct seems to be worth examining. Egypt, it will be agreed, I think, was never part of the British Empire; it was (or is) only a Protectorate. Now the question I want to ask is this, Am I right in believing that the Permanent Court of International Justice, in the case of conscription in Tunis, upheld the British view that, as Tunis was a French Protectorate, not a possession, the issue was not a purely domestic one? I have no copy of the full judgment (or opinion) to refer to, and possibly this is an unfair summary of it; but I should like to know. For if it was so, the bearing on the present case seems obvious.

(2) Like Mrs. Dugdale, I have had—well, rather more than "fleeing doubts" as to the League methods of dealing with minority petitions. I hope the L.N.U. will continue to watch this question carefully. I recognise that there is a case against publishing the full text of all petitions that are received; but I suggest that this objection would not apply to the publication of a bare list of petitions received. One frequently hears that such-and-such a minority has appealed to the League. Probably in many cases this is idle rumour. If we knew what petitions had been received, and whether they were in due form, we could check the accuracy of these reports. Of course, we still should not know what was being done about them. That may be inevitable.

(Continued on page 56.)

DOWN.

- Of what insects do the Secretaries remind you?
- Fence with stakes.
- London postal area.
- Adverb.
- Town in Durham.
- River in Switzerland.
- Part of de Jouvenel's name.
- Deviations from the truth.
- Under League control.
- Town in Illinois.
- Twice.
- What the League does with problems.
- Language used at 1923 Assembly.
- A Premier at 1924 Assembly.
- A Dutch representative at Fifth Assembly.
- A member State which paid up its debts.
- Sent by members to Geneva.
- Delegation which sat at Table One.
- And (Latin).
- Town in Judae (mandated).
- Hail.
- Collection of animals.
- Eleventh word in Article 10 of the Covenant.
- Name of first letter of surname of L.N.U. Chairman.
- Ancient English Assemblies.
- What some members want to do with 5.
- Both (abb.).
- River in Tibet.
- Nationality of a Vice-President of a Fifth Assembly Commission.
- Proposed Japanese amendment to Protocol.
- Blood line (Irish) and Christian name of prominent League official.
- What to go on the League.
- Affirmative.
- Name of representative on Council (Christian).
- Member of League and of British Empire (abb.).
- Interjection.
- Same as 80.
- Conference just closed at Geneva (abb.).
- Prefix signifying out of.

ACROSS.

- Represents his country at Geneva.
- An indefinite article.
- Where a statue to Peace was erected.
- Uncle (obs.).
- Colour (heraldry).
- Loch in Argyll.
- Important date.
- Covered with silver (abb.).
- Represents Japan on Council.
- Egyptian sun god.
- An uncle whose help the League wants.
- A well-known Chinaman.
- Honour given to artists (abb.).
- Scott (obs.).
- Melted matter.
- Law (Fr.).
- River near Cologne.
- Not sweet.
- Scorch (slang).
- Sink.
- Druggists' degree (abb.).
- Class of Mandate.
- Thirteenth century poet who would have supported League.
- LHT (Scott.).
- Benevolence.
- Small pots.
- Hebrew instrument.
- New Zealand harbour (reversed).
- Reparation Conference met here.
- Same as 11.
- A French month.
- Japanese brew.
- Greek vase.
- Night before Assembly meets.
- What refugees were in.
- Before League existed.
- Title (abb.).
- Town in Spain.
- Impair the Constitution.
- American island (abb.).
- Private.
- Half a fare well.
- Liberty of going out (Scott.).
- A favourite mode of beating.
- Thus.
- French crown.
- A member of the League.
- A member of Permanent Court of 13.
- A legend at Geneva.

BANISHING BABEL.

"Truth" Examines the New Pelman "Direct" Method of Learning Foreign Languages.

A REMARKABLE REPORT.

A REMARKABLE report on the best way of learning Foreign Languages has just been issued by Truth. More people are learning Foreign Languages to-day than ever before in the history of the country. The value—socially, commercially and politically—of a knowledge of French, German or Spanish is at last being widely realised. And very great interest is being taken at the present time in the new "direct" method of learning foreign tongues as contrasted with the "translation" methods hitherto in vogue.

Realising the importance of this awakened interest in Foreign Languages, the Special Commissioner of the well-known journal Truth recently visited the famous Pelman Languages Institute at 281, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1, and made an exhaustive study of the methods of teaching French, German and Spanish employed there.

The result of this investigation has been embodied in an important report which was published in the form of a supplement to the issue of Truth dated January 21st, 1925.

Old-Fashioned Methods Condemned.

Speaking of the old-fashioned method of teaching Foreign Languages, Truth roundly condemns the text-books formerly in use. What do we find in them? asks Truth, and answers the question as follows:—

"A dull, uninteresting compilation of foreign words with their English equivalents, a terrifying array of grammatical rules, and the oddest collection of sentences conceivable, by way of translation exercises—'Hast thou seen the cat of my aunt? No, but the son of the neighbour has a fine pen,' and so on, *ad nauseam*."

"By these old methods the unfortunate student has had to memorise laboriously a vocabulary vastly in excess of his needs, to struggle with a bewildering variety of grammatical rules which, in the early stages at least, are quite unnecessary to his progress, and to translate and retranslate stilted and frequently inane remarks which no person valuing his reputation as a sane citizen would dare to introduce into ordinary conversation."

"Is it to be wondered that so many English men and women have given up in despair such a dispiriting task? Or that the British people have become notorious for their ignorance of foreign tongues?"

The New Pelman Method.

But what of the new Pelman method? Here Truth has a very different story to tell, as will be seen by the following extract from its Commissioner's Report:—

"The Pelman system of mind training has been so widely recognised as the most up-to-date and scientific of its kind, that something of exceptional merit was to be expected of a method of language instruction with which the name of Pelman is associated. It can be said at once that that expectation was not disappointed."

"The Pelman Languages Institute presents to the English student who knows not a single syllable of any foreign tongue a book written entirely in French, or German, or Spanish, and enables him to read it through with complete understanding, without once referring to a dictionary. Such a statement sounds incredible. It savours of the miraculous. But the keen language student, and still more the student discouraged by the difficulties of old-fashioned methods, will rejoice to find that it is no over-statement of fact."

How is this possible? Only by following a new method. This, says Truth:—

"is the direct method of associating foreign words with ideas, rather than with their English equivalents. This enables the student to express an idea directly in the desired tongue instead of putting the idea into English and then translating. . . . The old method of translation was found to be too clumsy and generally unsatisfactory, and was consigned to the scrap-heap. In its place we find the student, through the direct association of ideas, learning foreign languages much along the same lines as he learned his native speech, though much more rapidly, thanks to the skill with which the up-to-date mind-training specialist has been able to adapt Nature's methods for the young to the requirements of the fully developed intellect of the adult."

"The Pelman system is actually a gradual and natural absorption of knowledge, an entertaining progression from inarticulateness to fluency through a well-planned scheme which reveals new words as they are needed, systematically and attractively. No more than one new word is introduced at one time in any sentence, and each new idea is treated so

thoroughly as to ensure its being both understood and memorised before proceeding to the next. The meanings of common nouns are pictorially suggested; and the names of abstract things are introduced into the text in so subtle a manner and used in so many different combinations that their meaning is also unmistakable."

Fluency with Facility.

One of the gravest disadvantages of the old-fashioned "translation" method was that those who learnt a Foreign Language in this way found it difficult to express themselves fluently. The student "being compelled to express his thoughts in two languages consecutively, stumbles haltingly over the task."

But, says Truth:—

"The modern 'direct' method adopted by the Pelman Languages Institute is fundamentally different. From the first the student is free from the translation hindrance. He learns naturally and easily to express his thoughts directly in the foreign tongue, and for this reason his speech is fluent and idiomatic."

"He can learn, moreover, at odd moments, in the Tube, on the bus, in the restaurant, for Pelman's little blue books slip easily into the pocket, and the plain cloth cover with which they are provided not only protects them from damage and wear, but effectively conceals their character from prying eyes. This, though, perhaps, a point of minor importance, is a concession for which hyper-sensitive persons, who prefer not to be detected 'swotting languages' in public, are duly grateful. Such considerations as these encourage them to devote every spare minute to the study of what soon proves to be a no less fascinating, though appreciably more profitable pastime than the ubiquitous cross-word puzzles. In consequence, it is hardly surprising to find that the Pelman Language student's progress is frequently very much more rapid than that of those still using the strictly orthodox systems of the bad old days, and that as a result he has more time available to devote to other studies, which is, of course, a consideration of no little value, especially in the case of prospective examination candidates."

Personal Tuition.

Although the Pelman method of learning French, Spanish and German is taught entirely through the post, each student receives personal tuition. As Truth remarks:—

"Despite its simplicity, the Pelman Languages course is very thorough, and leaves little to chance. If any loophole remains where the student may possibly go wrong, or be mystified at any point, he is speedily set right through his work-sheet, his mistakes being corrected with helpful annotations, and his difficulties elucidated by one of the skilled tutors employed for this highly important work. In short, he enjoys the inestimable advantage of personal tuition, which must specially commend itself to those who have failed to learn languages through class work. By this means his personal interest, application, and intelligence, govern his rate of progress, his own particular difficulties being explicitly dealt with at length."

"One hopes," says Truth in conclusion, "that full advantage may be taken of this unique opportunity of gaining fluency with facility in one or more of these languages, for the result must affect appreciably our national, as well as individual, prosperity."

The new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in three little books (one for each language).



You can have a free copy of any one of these books by writing for it to-day (using the coupon printed below) to the Pelman Languages Institute, 281, Bloomsbury

Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. State which one of the books you want, and a copy will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.

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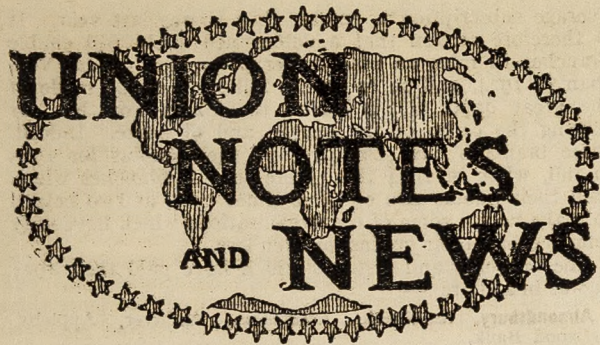
Please send me, gratis and post free, a copy of

- "HOW TO LEARN FRENCH,"
 - "HOW TO LEARN SPANISH,"
 - "HOW TO LEARN GERMAN,"
- (Strike out two of these)

together with full particulars of the New Pelman Method of Learning Foreign Languages without using English.

NAME

ADDRESS



See the I.L.O. at Work

The seventh International Labour Conference of the League of Nations opens in Geneva on May 19, 1925.

A League of Nations Union delegation, consisting of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations and private individuals, will leave London on Thursday morning, May 21. Its members will have opportunities to study this world industrial parliament at work, to visit the Secretariat of the League and the International Labour Office, where talks on their work and on the Conference Agenda will take place, and to take part in excursions on the Lake.

Terms, including second-class travel (Newhaven-Dieppe route) and first-class accommodation in Geneva, are:—

- One week, expiring May 29 £10 0 0
- Two weeks, expiring June 3 13 10 0

A second party, leaving London on Thursday, May 28, for one or two weeks' stay in Geneva, will be arranged if a sufficient number of applications are received.

Forms of application (which should be made as early as possible and before April 6), a note on the Seventh Conference Agenda and further information, may be had from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Lady Grey's Reception.

On January 28 Lord and Lady Grey of Fallodon gave a reception to the Union in the Hotel Cecil. Invitations were sent to members of the General Council and Headquarters Committees of the Union, chairman or presidents and secretaries of branches, members of the Government and Diplomatic Corps and the Headquarters staff. Mr. Austen Chamberlain was unfortunately prevented by illness, and Lord Cecil by the Opium Conference, from being present. Speeches were made by Lord Grey and the Prime Minister. Mr. Baldwin said: "I hold that we have, in the present state of the world, to cling to the ideal of the League, and do all in our power to make it an effective reality."

Prizes at Reading.

Reading gave a birthday party for the League on January 10, with a magnificent cake presented by Messrs. Huntly & Palmer. The principal feature of the party was a presentation of prizes won in the essay competition organised during Reading's "League Week." The competition was divided into two groups, and the subjects were carefully chosen to make real thought necessary. In the senior division they were: (a) "What is the Aim of the League of Nations?" or (b) "How does the present League of Nations differ from previous efforts of the kind?" The subjects for juniors were: (a) "What has the League of Nations done and what is it doing now," and (b) "What is the League of Nations and what part can boys and girls play in assisting its purpose?" The fiction sent in by the unsuccessful was no less interesting than the facts presented by the successful. It was stated, for instance,

that the League was organising the opium traffic, and that it "is trying to suppress sanitation in Russia, which is a potent cause of disease." On the other hand, a future citizen of Reading declares that "in future it will be the mark of an uneducated man or woman not to know what the League of Nations is doing." That's the spirit.

The essay competition was by no means the only successful feature of the Reading Week, which resulted in over a thousand new members.

Teddington, too.

The Thames seems to breathe inspiration in the setting of essay subjects. Teddington holds a competition yearly, and in 1924 secured a thousand entrants. The subjects are graded in three classes, and last year were as follows: Grade I (under 12), "What is the League of Nations? Why was it formed and what work has it done?" Grade II (12-14), 1, "In the event of a disagreement between nations, should it be thought out or fought out? Why?" 2, "State in your own words the substance of three of the most important articles of the Covenant." Grade III (14-16), 1, "What is the Covenant? What provision does it make for preventing and settling disputes between nations?" 2, "State what you know regarding the activities of the League of Nations, referring particularly to its humanitarian work." Copies of the whole scheme may be obtained from headquarters.

To Teachers.

A conference on "Education and Peace" will be held at the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, on Saturday, March 14. There will be three sessions, at 11, 2.15 and 5.15. Miss Maude Royden will take the chair, and the speakers will be Dr. E. Saywell, of the Tavistock Clinic; Professor Graham Wallas, Miss K. D. Courtney, Mr. Frank Linwood, Mr. Hugh Martin, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Dr. G. P. Gooch and Dr. Costley White. Tickets (1s. for the whole day or 6d. for a single session) can be obtained from the Education Conference Secretary, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.

"Clothes and the Woman."

Two performances of a comedy bearing the above title were given in the Sutton Coldfield Town Hall under the direction of Mrs. Clayton Morris. The Mayor of Sutton, Mr. W. T. Harrison, J.P., spoke at each performance on the work of the League and the Union. The orchestra generously gave their services, and the Commissioner of Customs and Excise granted exemption from entertainments tax. The performances resulted in a net profit of £53.

News from Harrogate.

A crowded meeting was held at the Winter Gardens, Harrogate, on January 23. Lord Cecil had intended to speak, but as at that date and for some time afterwards he "saw no prospect of ever leaving Geneva," his place was taken at short notice by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. Mr. Clynes' address was most enthusiastically received. A pleasant decorative effect was produced by Boy Scouts and Girl Guides carrying flags and scarves of the fifty-five nations.

Another of Harrogate's activities is a study circle, which meets once a month, and is at present studying the Geneva Protocol.

The Church and the League.

In the Diocesan Leaflet for February the Bishop of St. Albans makes a strong appeal to the people of his diocese

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	432,478
Feb. 19, 1925	...	...	...	442,841

BRANCHES.

On February 19, 1925, the number of Branches was 2,006, Junior Branches 207, and Corporate Members 1,038.

200 pp.; cloth, 7s. 6d. net, by post 8s.

THE PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGY

By N. PETRESCU, Ph.D.

The aim of this thoughtful sociological work is to demonstrate that all differentiations (epochal, local, and national) in society should be interpreted from the viewpoint of the social process by which they are produced. The author, in grappling with this important problem, endeavours to show the relation between foreign nations and peoples. Ethnical differences are only gradual modes of manifestation of the same substratum found throughout the human race.

"An industrious treatise . . . The book has a worthy and lofty aim."—The Literary Guide.

London: WATTS & CO., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY TOUR

A small party will leave London, Friday, Sept. 4th, for one week in Geneva during the League of Nations Assembly.

VISITS to Assembly, International Labour Office, lectures, etc.

INCLUSIVE FEE, London—London, £11 11 0.

EXTENSION to Montreux or Chamonix, one week, £5 5 0 inclusive.

Apply early to Mrs. INNES, B.A., International Study Group, 29, High Oak Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

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to support the League by founding branches of the Union "The idea on which the League is based is bagged straight from the Christian conception of the human race."

Torquay's Activities.

On Saturday, February 7, the Mayor of Torquay held a reception in the new Town Hall for members of the branch. About 700 guests were present. The reception was followed by a public meeting, at which Professor E. J. Patterson, of University College, Exeter, spoke on the Geneva Protocol. The member for the Torquay Division was on the platform, and about 800 people were present. A very representative gathering. A resolution supporting the general principles of the Protocol was carried unanimously and forwarded to the Prime Minister.

Branches in Conference.

In a number of areas in the West Midland and the South conferences of branch representatives and secretaries have been held, at which they have been enabled to meet Professor Gilbert Murray or Dr. Maxwell Garnett. The Protocol and other international problems, as well as local Union matters, have been discussed in meetings generally lasting a day, and both headquarters and branches have found these conferences an excellent way of getting into touch and exchanging views and suggestions.

Thinking Ahead.

A number of branches have already begun to make their arrangements for next Armistice Week; none too early in these days when speakers are so busy. In particular, Manchester has secured Lord Grey and Margate Miss Maude Royden.

Progress at Reigate.

The annual report of the Reigate and Redhill Branch shows an increase of membership from 960 to 1,105. Among the year's activities were an Armistice Day meeting, at which Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale spoke to a large audience on "Our Debt to the Fallen"; two performances by the girls of the county school of a League of Nations play, "King Let-'em and King Try-it-on"; a lantern lecture arranged by the Redhill Wesley Guild; and a special church service.

Church Branches Lead the Way.

The Trinity Presbyterian Branch, Ramsey, Isle of Man, and the Peverill Wesley Guild Branch, Plymouth, have both paid the whole of their 1925 Council's Vote quotas in full. We hope that their members, and especially their committees, are sleeping more soundly than those of any other branches in the country. Their promptness certainly merits it.

Armed Force or Not?

An interesting debate was organised by the Guildford Branch on the motion "That it is regrettable that the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Geneva Protocol should by implication authorise the use of armed force under certain circumstances in connection with the settlement of international disputes." The motion was proposed by Mr. Carl Heath and Mr. Joseph King, and opposed by the Rev. A. E. N. Simms and Mr. Stopford Brooke. After a discussion, in which most speakers were in favour of the motion, it was lost by a fair majority.

An Output of the Union.

A personal canvass of the town of Stromness has resulted in an addition of 95 members to the branch, and over 20 more recruits are expected. As the total adult population of the town is not more than 600, the proportion of Union members is now 1 in 4—better than many larger branches can show.

The League in a Prison.

Mr. Tom Gillinder, Travelling Secretary of the Union's Labour Department, gave an address on the League in

the Walton Gaol, Liverpool. His audience were keenly interested. The most striking suggestion made in the discussion was that the League should make it possible to take international libel actions against any Press that wilfully inflames public opinion in one country against another.

* * * *

WELSH NOTES.

All those connected with the work of the League of Nations Union will hear with joy that Mr. David Davies, M.P., to whose able leadership and great generosity the Welsh National Council and the cause of World Peace everywhere are so deeply indebted, is making good progress towards recovery after his recent illness.

The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Shrewsbury on Tuesday, January 27, 1925. In the absence of Mr. David Davies, M.P., the chair was taken by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, President of the Council. A letter, addressed to the members of the Executive Committee, had been received from the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., the Honorary Director of the Welsh National Council, who is undergoing medical treatment abroad, as a result of a breakdown in health. The Committee was delighted to hear that the Honorary Director's health is improving.

The appointment of a Travelling Organiser for the North Wales area will be made at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

The cause of the World Peace has lost a staunch friend through the death of the Rev. Dr. J. Puleston-Jones, of Llanfaircaereinion.

The series of conferences and public meetings, conducted by our active President, the Lord Bishop of St. David's, in Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire, have been particularly successful. Large audiences have listened to his Lordship's inspiring addresses at the public meetings, while the conferences, which have throughout been especially well attended, have been of a most encouraging nature. The results of these conferences and public meetings are already becoming evident.

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PROTOCOL BOOKS AND A PLAY.

The four lectures on the Protocol, organised by the Women's International League, and given by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Mr. W. Arnold-Foster, Professor Philip Noel Baker and Mr. C. Delisle Burns, have been published in the form of a pamphlet. Copies (price 9d.) can be obtained from Headquarters.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin are about to publish a book by Mr. Roth Williams entitled "The League, the Protocol and the Empire." Mr. Roth Williams is already well known to readers of HEADWAY through his book on the League, which is the best short description of its activities yet published. He knows the League in and out, and his attractive style makes its most difficult aspects interesting.

"The Sacred Fire," a morality play for the League of Nations, in one act, by Amice Lee (Amice Macdonell), is on sale (price 1s.) at Headquarters. The play is written for nine principal characters and a chorus, who need not be more than two in number. Their part is to give a modern meaning to the scenes in the primeval forest. The play takes about half an hour to act, and needs no scenery and very few properties. The music is that of well-known tunes.

* * * *

Corporate Members.

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the publication of the December HEADWAY:—

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

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

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