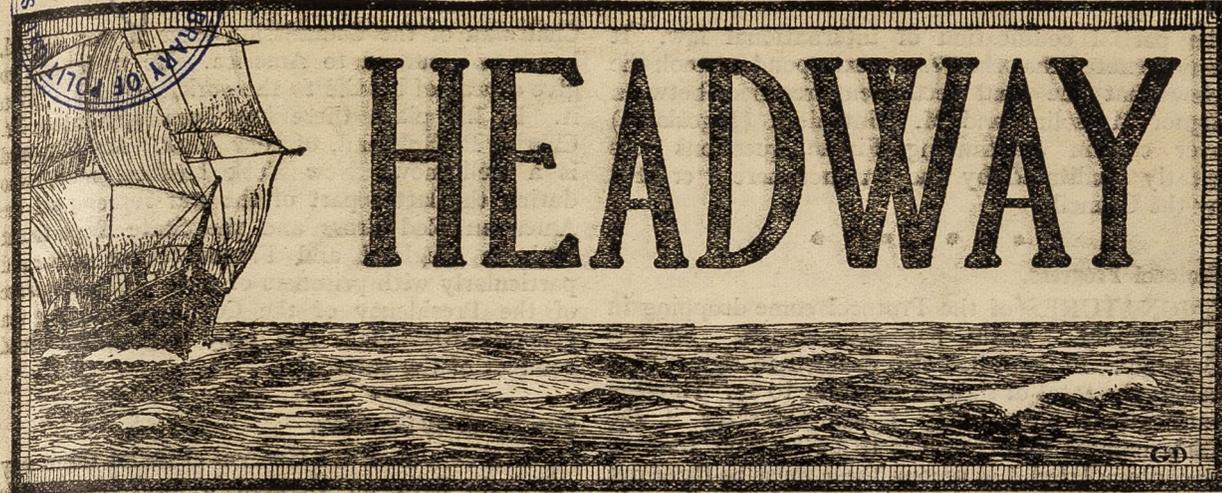


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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

A STATISTICIAN applying himself to the speeches delivered on the first day of the Foreign Office debate in the House of Commons would probably find that the League was mentioned more often than any other subject, except perhaps Russia—an instructive comment on the still recurrent declarations that the League is well dead. The debate illustrated once more the difference between even friendly commentators who have not been to Geneva and others who have. It was suggested by one speaker, for example, that the League was not a suitable body to appoint a Chairman of the Nile Water Commission, because practically every hydraulic engineer of the first rank was an American, and America is not a member of the League, and by another that a League Commission on Egyptian affairs would be composed of Scandinavian professors, and would probably take three years over its work. The Memel Commission, over which the League itself invited a distinguished American to preside, and which discharged this task with a rapidity only equalled by its thoroughness, is sufficient answer to both criticisms.

The Council at Rome.

THE regular December session of the League Council was held at Rome, largely because the December meeting in 1923 had been held at Paris, and Signor Mussolini was anxious that Italy should be honoured equally with France. It is all to the good that he should have felt that way, and it is clear that the presence of the Council at work in their midst impressed the League in a new way on the minds of the politicians and business men of Rome. The arrangement suited Mr. Austen Chamberlain very well, for it enabled him to have a valuable talk with M. Herriot at Paris, on his way through, and several equally instructive conversations with Signor Mussolini at Rome. The Council itself had no matters of the first moment before it. The Protocol was not discussed, because Mr. Chamberlain asked for a postponement, and the Egyptian question was not discussed because no one suggested discussing it. The two most important steps taken were the definite decision to hold an international conference in May for the adoption of a convention on the traffic in arms—it is important to observe that America has already declared herself disposed to accept an invitation to such a conference—and the appointment of a committee of jurists to consider

the partial codification of international law. It may be noted that the *Times* correspondent took the view that the final settlement reached between Signor Mussolini and M. Nintchitch (Jugoslavia) over certain outstanding Fiume questions was greatly facilitated by the "atmosphere" created by the Council.

* * * *

Protocol Progress.

SIGNATURES of the Protocol come dropping in gradually. Spain has now signed. So has Uruguay. Finland has also decided to sign. That brings the total of signatures so far to 17. Thirteen ratifications before May 1 are necessary if the Disarmament Conference is to be held on June 15 as contemplated, but among these must be three out of the four permanent members of the Council. So far only one permanent member—France—has signed, and none has ratified. It is increasingly clear that Great Britain has the future of the Protocol in her hands. If she signed and ratified Japan would certainly do the same, and so probably would Italy. France will no doubt ratify in any case. That would give the necessary three ratifications by permanent members and in addition Holland and the three Scandinavian countries, none of whom have so far signed, could be counted on to follow Britain's lead. This, of course, is merely a statement of fact, not an argument. This country has got to make up its own mind on its own grounds. It cannot be asked to ratify against its better judgment for the sake of getting other people to ratify.

* * * *

Money for Greece.

THE success of the Greek Loan, as everyone knows now, was phenomenal. The amount it was intended to raise in this country for carrying through the scheme for the settlement of refugees in productive industry was £7,500,000. The first reports were that applications totalling £150,000,000 had been received, but this turned out to be a considerable under-estimate. Final totals stand somewhere between 170 and 200 million. Accustomed as Austria and Hungary have made us to the success of League loans, the Greek enterprise, of course, beats all previous records out of the field. There are obviously two sides to this. It is clearly necessary to ensure the success of a loan of this kind by offering reasonably attractive terms to investors. That involves the possible danger of making the borrowing country pay more than it need have done for its money, which is what appears to have happened in this case. As things turned out, it looks as if the loan might have been floated at say, 92 or 93 instead of 88. No one, however, could have been certain of this beforehand. Indeed, the prospects of the loan some three weeks before flotation were none too bright. Altogether, therefore, there is no good ground for criticising the League's arrangements.

* * * *

AN important change, by the way, had been made in the management of the Greek Settlement Commission. Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the well-known American diplomatist, who has been

Chairman of the Commission since it was formed, has now returned to America. He undertook to give a year of his life to the work, and he has given it. In his place there has been appointed Mr. Charles P. Howland, of New York. Mr. Howland is a well-known New York business man, who during the latter part of the war represented the American Red Cross and the State Department both in England and France, being concerned particularly with prisoners of war. His acceptance of the Presidency of the Commission has given general satisfaction, and fully assures the sound conduct of the enterprise.

* * * *

The Trend in Germany.

THE results of the German elections throw very little light on Germany's probable attitude towards the League. In so far as the hopes of the Nationalists have been dashed, it seems clear that there will at least not be established in power a Government radically hostile to the League. On the other hand, there seems every likelihood of the formation of a coalition whose power to coalesce will be doubtful, and such a Government, even though it be favourable generally to entering the League, may well hesitate to raise controversial issues at a moment when any controversy may threaten its existence. Meanwhile, it would appear that Spain, alone among the ten Council members whose views upon the question of a permanent place for Germany on the League Council were sought by the German Government, has refrained from replying. Spain, of course, desires a permanent place for herself, and it has been suggested that she would not agree to any increase in the Council membership unless she herself were among the new members.

* * * *

Bread with the Milk?

THE Convention for the Prohibition of Night Baking is to come again before the next International Labour Conference. Meanwhile both employers and workers are expressing themselves on the question through their organisations. The International Master Bakers' Congress has passed resolutions maintaining that the Convention is against "the real interests of the majority of consumers," while bakers of various Continental countries declare themselves ready to accept the Convention as a minimum settlement of their claims, though they contend strongly that the close time should be eight hours instead of seven. The fact, by the way, that the Master Bakers have passed resolutions on this subject in an International Bakers' Congress seems to have some bearing on the claim that the League should not interfere in such a question, since it is not international.

* * * *

Neutral or Ally?

ONE decision taken by the Rome Council Meeting has caused a certain amount of adverse comment in some quarters, and on the face of it with justice. The Council had to decide on the composition of the military commissions which are to inspect the armaments of the ex-enemy countries when this task is entrusted to the League. They appointed for Germany a Frenchman, for Austria an Italian, for Hungary an Englishman, but for

Bulgaria a Swede. Manifestly, the whole point of transferring this responsibility from the Allied Powers themselves to the League rests on the assumption that the League will adopt an attitude of studied fairness and neutrality. It might have been supposed, therefore, that the Presidents of the Commissions would in each case have been selected from nations which took no part in the war. The mere presence of a certain number of neutrals among the Commissions does not appear adequately to meet the case.

* * * *

Ireland and the League.

THE British Government presumably had its own reasons for addressing a Note to the League regarding the registration of the Treaty concluded in December, 1921, between this country and the Irish Free State. The Foreign Secretary's letter is dated November 27, 1924, though the Treaty was actually registered as long ago as July 11, the purpose of the letter being to point out that in the view of the British Government neither the Covenant nor any Convention concluded under the auspices of the League is intended to govern relations between various parts of the British Commonwealth, and that, therefore, the terms of Article 18 of the Covenant are not applicable to the Anglo-Irish agreement in question. In the absence of special reasons, of which the public has no knowledge, such an interpretation may appear a little gratuitous, particularly as its effect must be to concentrate attention on that extremely difficult and complex question, the relations of the British Dominions to one another and to the Mother Country as members of the Empire and Members of the League. The term used in Article 18 of the Covenant is: "every treaty or international engagement," and it can, no doubt, be claimed that treaties between different parts of the Empire are not "international," even though the contracting parties are full members of the League, which Ireland at the time of the 1921 Treaty was not.

* * * *

America and the Court.

IT would appear that the association of America with the Permanent Court of International Justice would again become a matter of practical politics, Mr. Coolidge having advised that course in his Presidential message at the opening of the present session of Congress. Certain reservations, to which no objection can be taken, are attached to this proposal. Other and more serious reservations will, no doubt, be proposed, such as the complete severance of the Court from all connection with the League. There is likely to be comparatively small support for that in America and none whatever in Europe. Valuable as the moral effect of America's association with the Court would be, its importance must not be exaggerated. An American judge already sits on the bench. The only practical change would be that America would take part in the election of the judges (no full election is due until 1930) and would share in the comparatively small expenses of the Court. If she signed the well-known "optional clause" it would mean that in any class of dispute covered by that clause, she would always be prepared to go before the Court.

That would be beyond question a great advance, but it is not suggested that America is prepared to take that course yet.

* * * *

Lord Cecil's \$5,000.

THE visit of a British Cabinet Minister to America during his term of office is sufficiently unusual to invest with special interest Lord Cecil's unexpected journey to New York to receive the award of 25,000 dollars accorded him by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. The Foundation was created by Mr. Wilson's admirers to give effect to the causes to which he devoted his life, and an annual donation of money is to be made to that citizen of any country who is regarded as having done most to give application to the principles Mr. Wilson made peculiarly his own. It is a circumstance of some note that the first recipient of the Award should be an Englishman.

* * * *

Opium Reform Progress.

THE Opium Conferences at Geneva have not gone well. They have very nearly gone extremely badly, only adjournment in each case having saved them from deadlock or disaster. The First Conference, concerned with giving effect to the Hague agreements of 1912 for the abolition of smoking in the Far East drafted a convention so futile that the British Government very properly instructed its delegate not to sign it. The Second Conference, after hot contests between the American and the Indian delegates as to whether the proposals of the former should be admitted for discussion, finally adjourned over Christmas and will re-assemble on January 12. The fact has to be faced that Great Britain is withholding any full co-operation with America in this matter because (this concerns the First Conference) our Far Eastern dependencies are not prepared to abolish opium-smoking and (this concerns the Second) India—meaning the British authorities in India—is not prepared to move a step to meet the quite reasonable American proposals. The British Empire delegate, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, has by universal consent, played a difficult and thankless part admirably. He was, of course, bound by instructions from Whitehall.

* * * *

Warfare by Gas.

THE letters we publish on another page testify to the general recognition of the possibilities of gas and chemical warfare. The matter is arousing equal interest in America, where the great Edgewood Arsenal is continuing its researches into the possibilities of gases and chemicals of incredible deadliness. In that connection Sir Charles Bright, the well-known engineer and scientist, presiding at a League of Nations' Union Branch meeting, has urged that one of the things the League might do would be to bring about an international understanding that all the civilised nations of the world should abstain from the introduction of chemicals into warfare in the future. The value of such an agreement would, of course, be considerable, but the difficulty of enforcing it has frankly to be faced.

EGYPT AND THE LEAGUE.

By H. WILSON HARRIS.

FIRST as to the facts. Egypt down to 1914 had a peculiar international status, being technically under the suzerainty of Turkey, but actually under the effective control of Great Britain, which had established itself in Egypt some thirty years earlier under circumstances which have no real bearing on immediate problems. In 1914 came the war, and Egypt was declared a British Protectorate, which it remained till 1922, when the protectorate was ended and a limited independence conferred on Egypt by the voluntary act of this country.

That it was a limited—temporarily limited—independence must be emphasised. No question arises about that. Since Great Britain was free not to confer independence at all, she was clearly free to confer it with certain reservations. What she did say was that, though Egypt became for all ordinary purposes an independent sovereign State, the conditions of the protectorate must continue as regards four particular points till some new agreement was reached between Egypt and Great Britain respecting them. The four points were: (1) The Sudan; (2) Protection of foreigners in Egypt; (3) Safety of British communications, particularly the Suez Canal; and (4) Defence of Egypt.

This is old history, but it forms the necessary background to an understanding of the past six weeks' events. To give the background its last touches, it may be added that the Sudan has been governed since 1899 under an Anglo-Egyptian "condominium," or joint administration, under which, however, the Governor is nominated by Great Britain, and enjoys absolutely supreme power, so much so that he could if he chose reduce Egypt's share in the condominium to the flying of the Egyptian flag side by side with the Union Jack. In addition to that, all Egyptian goods must be admitted into the Sudan free of tax. Against these conditions Egypt, which claimed full sovereignty over the Sudan, has been in revolt ever since her own independence was conferred. An Egyptian secret society seems to have been formed to make trouble in the Sudan, and one of the results of its activities was a rising of native troops in the Sudan last summer. It may be observed in parenthesis that Britain's place in the Sudan is due to the part this country played in reconquering the Sudan after it had rebelled against Egypt's inefficient rule, and that our administration of the country has made uniformly for its prosperity and contentment.

Finally, as climax to a series of other murders of Englishmen, came the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, who was at the same time Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army and Governor-General of the Sudan, in Cairo last month. By a curious coincidence his murder took place on the day on which the British Government had addressed to the League of Nations a Note, drafted of course some time before, claiming (in connection with the possible signature of the Geneva Protocol by Egypt) that the relationship between Great Britain and Egypt was not one to be questioned or discussed by any outside body.

Immediately on the murder, which the British Government has declined to regard as an isolated act, a Note was addressed to Egypt demanding (1) a full apology, (2) an indemnity of £500,000, (3) search for and punishment of the criminals, (4) prohibition of public demonstrations, (5) the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan. It was also announced that the irrigation area in the Sudan might be enlarged to an unlimited extent, an act which Egyptians thought (without

foundation) might deprive Egypt, which is lower down the river, of water she needed.

How were these demands met? Zaghlul would have been wise to say at once that he would pay whatever indemnity the Permanent Court of International Justice might determine. Instead of that he paid the money at once. That particular point was thus disposed of. He also accepted the demands as to payment and apology. Nothing therefore arises here. As to Egyptian troops in the Sudan, they were ordered out by the Acting Sirdar, who, as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, had full authority to take such a step. Nothing therefore really remained but the prohibition of popular demonstrations, and a further demand, not mentioned above, regarding the steps Egypt was required to take in connection with the protection of foreigners. On these the Egyptian Government refused satisfaction. As a measure of pressure, a guard of British Marines was posted in the Alexandria custom-houses. Zaghlul then resigned. Ziwari Pasha was invited by King Fuad to form a Cabinet, and Parliament was prorogued for a month. Ziwari formed his Cabinet successfully, and acceded to the outstanding British demands. Since then normal conditions have prevailed in Egypt and the Sudan.

No one can view that record with satisfaction. The point of moment here in regard to it is whether the League should have been invoked and, if so, at what point and in what connection. It would, of course, have had to be invoked by this country, for Egypt is not a member of the League—unless, indeed, the question were raised by some third party under Article XI of the Covenant. The Government made it clear from the first that it regarded relations with Egypt, so far as they concerned the reserved questions, as a domestic matter and not within the League's jurisdiction. Lord Cecil, speaking at a public dinner, said he did not know what Article of the Covenant applied to the Egyptian situation. Mr. Chamberlain promised more than once to give the League Council at Rome any explanations that might be desired, but, in fact, none were asked for.

It is much easier to declare broadly that this was a case for the League than to say what precise points should have been submitted to it. Certainly the amount of the indemnity should have been. As for the demand regarding the Nile water, its inclusion in the Note is an amazing ineptitude, as even apologists for the Government are compelled to admit. Now that it has been raised, the League's arbitrament clearly ought to be sought. If, moreover, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan is to be ended—which is less likely now than it seemed at first—then the demand widely voiced in this country that there should be substituted not British annexation, but some kind of League mandate, is thoroughly sound. Then there is the suggestion advanced by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher in the House of Commons that the League should be associated with the arrangements for the protection of foreigners in Egypt. And, finally, it is clear that if there be any question as to what Egypt's rights are and are not under the British declaration which gave her independence, that should be decided by the Permanent Court.

There is here material for a sound programme of settlement with the aid of the League, and it is satisfactory to note that the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs received with a good deal of favour Mr. Fisher's suggestion regarding the Nile water and the protection of foreigners. On the whole, there seems more to be said for concentrating on some such constructive plan than for contending a little vaguely that "the whole Egyptian question" ought to have been referred to the League when Sir Lee Stack was murdered.

GOOD WORK IN GREECE.

By Sir ARTHUR SALTER, K.C.B.

[The successful flotation of the Greek Reconstruction Loan of £12,000,000 in London and New York lends added value to this article from the pen of the Director of the Financial and Economic Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, who was primarily responsible for this latest of the League's reconstruction enterprises. The work Sir Arthur describes has been carried out with money advanced temporarily by the Bank of England and the Bank of Greece. The new loan will finance the completion of the whole undertaking.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

I HAVE just returned from a visit to Greece and Crete, where I have been examining the work of settling the Greek Refugees, for whose destiny the League of Nations, in conjunction with the Greek Government, has made itself responsible. The first and most striking of the impressions I have brought away is of Greece's remarkable power of absorption. Before the visitor reaches Greece he is inclined to think of the refugees as simply a burden on an already exhausted country. A very short survey of the situation on the spot shows that this is less than half the story. The settlers once established will not merely cease to be a burden upon Greece, they promise to be one of the main elements of her future prosperity. They are actually extending her productive area, for, apart from the settlement on large areas of cultivated land vacated by Greeks returning to Asia Minor under the exchange of population scheme, the refugees are being settled successfully on large areas hitherto imperfectly cultivated, or indeed not cultivated at all.

The returning Greeks will bring increased prosperity to the country to which they have come. While I was in Crete, for example, I received a visit from the Prefect of Candia. I expected to find him asking me to use my influence on the Commission to stop the inflow of refugees into his area. Far from it. He had come to ask whether I could arrange for two or three hundred families of fishermen of Halianases or elsewhere to be sent to Crete. He said the Cretans, though islanders, were not fishermen. The little fishing that had been done had been done by Turks, who had now left, and the island, and particularly Candia, was badly in need of fish.

Take again the remarkable case of Athens. Here, in a sense, you see the refugees' problem at its worst. Refugees unable or unwilling to work upon the land have flocked into the capital. No fewer than 150,000 refugees have been quartered upon Athens since the great retreat began. Such an addition to any English town of the same size would obviously have meant an enormous addition to the unemployed list. But in Athens practically the whole of this immense number, with the exception of some widowed women and orphan children, are somehow or other managing to support, feed and clothe themselves, receiving no assistance except in the matter of shelter.

The main work of the Settlement Commission consists in allotting portions of land, from the million and a half acres provided for the purpose by the Greek Government, to families and settlements of refugees, in providing them with houses and the minimum of capital (ploughs, animals, seed) required to start them. There are indeed considerable establishments in industrial centres, of which Athens is the most important. But the great bulk are being placed on the land; nearly 90 per cent. will be in Macedonia, but the work of establishment extends from Eastern Thrace down through the whole of Greece over the islands to Crete in the south.

Around Athens there are four substantial settlements under the control of the Settlement Commission. The suburb of Kokynia, for example, now houses some 34,000 refugees. It has been built partly by the Greek Government, and partly by the Commission, on what was previously bare and barren land. The cost of the housing accommodation per family has only been about £50, and yet the appearance of the settlement is very different from that of an urban slum. It is rather like a small and modest garden city. The houses are well designed and pleasing to the eye. The red tiled roofs, green shutters, white walls, a small tree outside each building, and sometimes a small garden; the long, regular but not monotonous rows of detached or semi-detached houses all show a care for the amenities as well as the bare necessities of human existence.

This is the refugee problem at its best. On the other hand, there are, of course, the women and children whose husbands or fathers have been killed, those who have not yet had land allotted them or been able to find work, those for whom houses have not yet been provided. The Commission has itself built some 9,000 houses, and is rapidly proceeding with another 10,000 under a single contract. The Greek Government has built others, and a large number of vacated Turkish houses have been repaired and occupied by refugees, but the inrush of newcomers was, of course, more rapid than any possible building. While the new houses are being put up, every kind of temporary arrangement has had to be made. In Athens schools and theatres have been requisitioned for a long time. In Crete I saw Turkish mosques divided up for the use of 15 or 20 families each. Each family would have its small space of floor, divided from the rest by no more than a wooden rack, with blankets and boxes. Even in these conditions those I saw were scrupulously neat and clean.

The refugees who are being settled on the land cultivate tobacco, whose production has been very largely increased, olives, vine and cereals. It is hoped that next year a great bulk of them will be already completely self-supporting. The bulk of those who were first established would already be so now but for the misfortune of a year of specially severe drought.

If space permitted it would be interesting to describe a number of the particular scenes which greet the visitor. I remember, I think, most vividly streams of peasants returning from the fields in Crete at sunset, often speaking Turkish among themselves and wearing the dress of Asia Minor, which is very clearly distinguishable from the picturesque and vivid national costume of the Cretan peasant. One picture is particularly clear in my mind: a small settlement by the sea on the bay of Eleusis looking across to Salamis. Here a village community from Asia Minor had come *en bloc*, chosen their own site and obtained it from the Refugee Settlement Commission, and built their own houses with stone locally quarried in the clearing of a forest. Here they would support themselves with every prospect of success, partly by fishing and partly by their skill in carpet-making.

I do not wish to stress too much the more favourable features of what is necessarily for the time a tragic affair. The Greek Government and the Commission, with the means at their disposal have done their best, and a very remarkable best, but the money hitherto available before the issue of the long term loan has been insufficient, and in any case time is wanted for so large a task. In the meantime hardship on a large scale has been inevitable, and there must be much suffering again during the ensuing winter.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.

V.—THE ARMAMENTS PROBLEM.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

THE League ever since it started has been trying to get armaments reduced. That was its business under the Covenant. Article 8 talks about cutting down national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and Article 9 provides for the creation of an Expert Committee of naval and military officers, who would shew the League how to do it. It was soon decided, however, that though soldiers and sailors were very useful advisers on such a question, there were other kinds of people who had their value too. Consequently another and larger committee was formed, which, besides soldiers and sailors, included business men and politicians and employers and workers, all of whom have really more interest than soldiers or sailors in getting armies and navies cut down.

Now, it stands to reason that nations are not going to disarm one by one. The State that took the lead in that would leave itself half defenceless in face of neighbours which had not yet disarmed. It was, therefore, taken for granted that any disarmament scheme to be any use at all must be general, providing, that is to say, for something like a simultaneous reduction of armaments on the part of all or nearly all States.

The first proposal made with a view to securing that was a little too simple. It occurred to a British representative on the larger of the two committees of the League just mentioned that the Treaty of Versailles, in fixing 100,000 men as a sufficient number of soldiers for Germany, had set up a standard which could quite easily be applied to any other nation. If 100,000 is enough for Germany, the argument ran, 90,000 is enough for France, with a smaller area and population, and 60,000 enough for some other State, and 30,000 enough for yet another. That looked very admirable on paper, but unfortunately before the scheme was considered at all, almost every State mentioned in the plan began protesting that it was being allowed an army hopelessly too small.

That scheme, therefore, dropped, and not much progress was made till the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments (or T.M.C.), as the larger of the two committees was called, worked out the agreement called the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, in the preparation of which Lord Cecil took a prominent part. The theory of the Treaty was comparatively simple. No nation, it was argued, will disarm unless other nations disarm too, nor will any nation disarm if it thinks that by doing so it is being left defenceless against enemies. How can that difficulty be met? It can be met by a general agreement among all the States that if any one of them is attacked all the rest will come to its help. It can, in other words, give up part of its own army because it knows other armies will be there to help it in time of need.

That was the principle of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and to make sure that nations actually did disarm it was laid down that no State could require its friends to come to its help unless it had first cut its armaments down to a level the League Council approved. In the end the Treaty of Mutual Assistance went by the board. Some Governments, like the French, strongly favoured it. Others, like the British, disapproved of it altogether, and in July, 1924, a Note, signed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, settled its fate, for it was obvious that if Great Britain stood aside, the measure could not be carried through.

The attack on armaments then took a different turn. The new theory was that so long as the League permitted any wars at all, States would maintain armies to

fight the wars with. Consequently, the attempt was made in the Geneva Protocol, framed at the Fifth Assembly in September, 1924, to get rid of war altogether. That was to be done by laying it down that no State should be entitled to make war on another, and that when two nations had a dispute, it must be settled by some peaceful means. That arrangement was to be enforced by an agreement that anyone who broke it should become a common enemy, to be treated as such by the other members of the League. All this was to lead up to a reduction of armaments, for an essential part of the Protocol scheme was that as soon as a reasonable number of States had agreed to it in principle a World Conference on Disarmament should be held, and it was only when this conference had worked out some practical scheme that the Protocol provisions would actually take effect.

What the end of the Protocol will be no one yet knows, for the British Government and many other Governments have so far not decided whether to adopt it or not. If it is not adopted, one more direct attempt at the reduction of armaments will have failed. But let it be remembered that the League's indirect attempts are succeeding all the time. Those indirect attempts take the form (1) of the provision of some other way than war, that is to say, a ruling by the International Court or by a board of arbitrators or by the Council of the League, for settling disputes between nations, and (2) the creation of a habit of co-operation not only in political matters but in industrial and economic and humanitarian and many others, which is gradually developing a new spirit among the nations. This may be a slow method, but it is a sure one, and it is certain that if it were not at work, armaments to-day would be even larger than they are.

SOME USEFUL PAMPHLETS.

LAST month's Union publications are a particularly useful lot. Three of the four deal specifically with the Geneva Protocol, the fourth being a pamphlet (price 2d.) by Mr. J. R. M. Butler, of Trinity College, Cambridge, on "The Origin and Functions of the League." Mr. Butler was the writer of the article on this subject in the six-volume History of the Peace Conference, and his pamphlet gives a useful and convenient survey of the League and its work in far shorter compass.

The Protocol pamphlets consist primarily of a most valuable essay on "The Covenant and the Protocol," by Sir Frederick Pollock, the distinguished jurist. Sir Frederick writes with the highest legal authority; that goes without saying; but he writes also with remarkable simplicity and lucidity, and to read his pamphlet is to get at once an adequate idea of the contents of the Protocol and of its importance in the field of international relations. With Sir Frederick's essay there is bound up the text both of the Covenant and of the Protocol (price 6d.). A short explanation of the Protocol, together with a similar explanation of the Covenant, appears in another pamphlet (4d.) as a preface to the texts of the two documents, which are printed together for the good reason that the Protocol in its present form is hardly intelligible to anyone who has not a copy of the Covenant at hand to consult. Finally, for the further lucidation of the Protocol, there has been prepared by a Committee of the Union a pamphlet entitled "Some Questions on the Geneva Protocol" (price 3d.). This is precisely what its name would imply—a series of questions such as are already being commonly asked about the Protocol, together with considered replies to them all.

THE OPIUM STRUGGLE.

THERE have been two Opium Conferences sitting at Geneva: one since November 3, the other since November 17. The first, in which China, France, Great Britain, Holland, India, Japan, Portugal and Siam took part, produced a Convention which one of its principal authors—the British representative—has just refused to sign, on instructions from his Government. The other, including the participants in the First Conference, as well as the United States, Germany and some 30 other nations, has just adjourned until January 12. That will enable the delegates to the Second Conference to get into touch with their Governments and get fresh instructions.

It took the countries of the world some eight years (1906-1914) to draft and partially ratify a Convention intended (a) to help China stamp out the production of opium within her borders, (b) gradually and effectively to suppress the smoking of opium everywhere, (c) to control the export, import and manufacture of opium and coca and their derivatives. The resulting instrument—the Hague Opium Convention of 1912—did not come into force until 1920, and then only owing to the efforts of the League. Through the League most nations of the world have been persuaded to adhere to the Convention, and an attempt has been made to gather information as to its working in practice and the methods of rendering effective its provisions.

At the initiative of America, the present Opium Conferences have been held in order, on the one hand, to conclude a Convention implementing Chapter II. of the Hague Convention as to the gradual and effective suppression of opium smoking, and, on the other, to reduce production for export to the amounts necessary for medical and scientific purposes. The Americans have tried to get all nations to accept the principle that production should be restricted to this purpose, with reservations by countries such as India and Persia, who, for one reason or another, feel it necessary to produce larger quantities of opium for domestic purposes.

The States with vested interests in opium-smoking insisted upon holding the First Conference separately, and produced a Convention which the American delegate accurately described as an attempt to contract out of the obligations secured under the Hague Convention; they propose to make opium smoking a State monopoly with a system of selling-licences on commission still largely in force, and do not even discuss reduction of the amount of prepared opium to be imported. These same States, who were represented by the same delegates at the Second Conference, tried very hard to prevent the whole subject being discussed at this conference, and, indeed, the second Conference broke down on this point.

Now it is clear that no one can expect an alien Government such as the British to employ "prohibitionist" tactics in India, native States and all. It is equally clear that so long as Persia and Turkey grow and export opium and China remains in her present condition there will be a great excess of opium grown in the world, and a great deal smuggled and smoked in the Far East, whatever India does. On the other hand, so long as India goes on exporting opium to be smoked in Far Eastern colonies, and so long as we make no serious effort to reduce imports of prepared opium into the Straits Settlements, Singapore (where 43 per cent. of the revenue is derived from opium smoking), Hong Kong, &c., no one will believe in our sincerity when we profess a desire to put an end to this evil or to help China, Persia and Turkey to do their share.

The Americans have sent over a strong and numerous delegation, headed by the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives, and

armed with plenipotentiary powers. To them the whole question is a matter of the first importance, both in itself, from the point of view of Anglo-American relations, and from the point of view of co-operating with other nations through the League. To match them there is one Civil servant for Great Britain and two for India. The absence of any British delegate of Ministerial status is marked.

THE LEAGUE AND THE SCHOOL.

By GWILYM DAVIES;

SO far, nineteen replies have been received at Geneva to the request made by the Secretary-General as to the attitude of the States members of the League to the resolution of the Fourth Assembly urging that instruction should be given in the schools on the aims and objects of the League of Nations. The Federal Government of Austria, for instance, has decided to include articles on the aims of the League and the terms of the Covenant in the official publications of the Ministry of Public Education for the use of teachers of all grades. Courses on history, Constitutional law and, where necessary, on geography must include instruction on the League. No textbook will be authorised unless it contains suitable references to the League.

The Government of Denmark states that it has invited the competent authorities to inform the management of high schools that in courses of contemporary history the pupils should be instructed in the existence and aims of the League.

The Polish Government has decided to introduce special teaching on the League of Nations in the middle schools and in the Normal Colleges.

The Roumanian Government is taking steps to ensure the introduction into contemporary history textbooks of a chapter on the League of Nations, and once a year a lesson on the League of Nations will be given in all primary schools.

The Italian Government replies that the competent ministers will be communicated with in order to ensure the application of the terms of the resolution in Italian schools.

The Indian Government has circulated the resolution to local Governments and administrations, and inquires whether information suitable for distribution to educational institutions could be supplied by the League.

The Canadian Government communicates a request from the Provincial Government of British Columbia for copies of the Covenant of the League to be distributed among the teachers of the province.

The reply of the Government of Czecho-Slovakia is very thoroughgoing. It contains an account of the laws passed for the introduction in primary and higher primary schools of courses on "civic instruction and education" which include instruction on the international efforts made towards world-peace and reconciliation of the peoples.

The French Government states that the League of Nations is included in the programme of civic instruction in the higher primary schools. Outside these programmes, Ministerial circulars to the rectors of academies have on several occasions, particularly at the time of the commemoration of the anniversary of the Armistice, laid down that the work accomplished by the League should be explained to the children. The Ministry of Education is at present studying more parochial methods of acquainting young people with the documents relating to the League of Nations, particularly by placing them in school libraries.

IN THE HOUSE!

December 9.—KING'S SPEECH.

"I follow with deep interest the important deliberations of the League of Nations. My Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has proceeded to Rome to act as British representative at the meeting of its Council. He is taking the opportunity of this journey to meet the Prime Ministers of France and Italy.

"My Government have not yet had time to study, in consultation with the Governments of the Dominions, the Protocol for the pacific settlement of disputes drawn up at the last Assembly of the League of Nations with the attention which its character demands. They have already begun to examine this weighty question."

December 9.—MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

"It is of the greatest importance that the British Government in every way possible should show that it is not only interested in the League of Nations, but that it is important to be represented on the League of Nations and on its Assembly by the most powerful and representative and authoritative men it has got."

December 9.—MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

"As far as I can see, there are only two ways to get a satisfactory settlement. One is an agreement with the Egyptian people themselves. That undoubtedly would be the best. The second would be some sort of impartial adjudication, either through the League of Nations or otherwise, which would constitute a basis for a settlement."

December 9.—MR. MORGAN JONES.

"I should like to ask the Prime Minister how he reconciles his statement concerning the view of the Government in regard to the League of Nations with this new move to start again upon the Singapore policy."

December 15.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN, to Captain Wedgwood Benn.

No reference was made to Egypt at the League Council meetings. It is not the policy of the Government to submit issues involving Egypt to the League.

December 15.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN, to Commander Bellairs.

The Government will not overlook the possibility of the adoption of the Geneva Protocol affecting the position of the United States, with special reference to the possible enforcement of economic blockades.

December 15.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

"I cannot doubt that it is desirable that in so far as other responsibilities make it possible the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should be naturally and ordinarily the recognised representative of His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Council of the League."

December 17.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Trevelyan Thomson):

His Majesty's Government are anxious to do everything in their power to suppress the opium traffic, but there are serious practical difficulties of which account has to be taken. The situation created by certain proposals put forward at the Geneva Conference is now under consideration.

(Some of the entries in this column are summaries and not verbatim quotations of the answers given by the Ministers concerned.)

A WORD ON THE U.P.U.

WHO was Dr. von Stephan? And why is Germany putting him on her stamps? Both questions, naturally enough, will find a readier answer in Berlin than in London, for Germany has been remembering a notable event which Great Britain has largely forgotten. But since the Universal Postal Union, which

von Stephan founded, gained new notoriety five years ago by being taken as model, for financial purposes by the League, and since so early and so successful an instance of international co-operation has a special interest for all who care for the principles of the League, a word on von Stephan may be appropriate here before the jubilee of his Union is forgotten like its founder.

It was actually in October, 1874, that the U.P.U. was founded at Berne by representatives of 22 States.

It was, in fact, one of the earliest experiments in international administration, and those who are discouraged by the apathy of public opinion in general towards the League may find some consolation in the fact that a step which would seem so obviously to the advantage of all the nations as the establishment of an international postal régime was held up for some time by the reluctance of governments to jeopardise their national interests, even after the earlier system was generally regarded as intolerable. For sixty years before the Convention of 1874, postal charges were regulated by separate agreements, in each of which the parties were chiefly concerned to raise the rate against the foreigner. Every country charged as high a postal rate as it dared. Payment was exacted in the country



of origin and in the country of destination, and if the letter passed through a third country on its way, a separate transit charge was imposed; and as there are several routes from almost any country to any other, the cost of sending a letter might vary indefinitely. The height of absurdity was reached when an American business man found that a letter to Australia would cost him 5 cents, 33 cents, 45 cents, 60 cents, or 1 dollar 2 cents per ½ oz., according to the route by which it was sent.

In 1868 Dr. von Stephan, the Director-General of Posts in the North German Confederation, who had just introduced unification of postal administration throughout Germany, proposed a similar unification for the whole world. The scheme met with strong opposition, and it was not till 1874 that the Swiss Government, at the suggestion of Germany, summoned a Postal Congress to meet at Berne. The outcome of this Congress was the General Postal Union, which became four years later the Universal Postal Union. Practically every State in the world now adheres to it.

THE ROME COUNCIL.

THE thirty-second session of the League Council was held at Rome in the second week of December. This, of course, is the last meeting of the fifth year of the League's existence, so that the Council has met on an average about six times a year.

The chairman this time was Senor Mello Franco, the Brazilian representative. The chief personal interest attached to the meetings lay in the fact that they were attended by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who is the first British Foreign Minister to take part in a Council sitting since Lord Curzon attended the first meeting ever held, in the Quai d'Orsay on January 16, 1920. A notable absentee, on the other hand, from the Rome meeting was M. Branting, the Swedish Prime Minister, who unfortunately developed an attack of influenza just as he was on the point of starting for Italy.

The business, as things turned out, was for the most part of a routine character, for the task which might have made this the most important Council Meeting yet held, namely, the taking of the far-reaching decisions regarding the Geneva Protocol, was postponed at the request of the British delegate. The reasons Mr. Chamberlain gave are well known, namely, the urgent necessity of discussing the matter fully with the Dominions before any conclusions are reached, and all his colleagues at the Council—who included Dr. Benes, M. Briand, Signor Salandra and M. Hymans—while they regretted the necessary delay, expressed full appreciation of Mr. Chamberlain's position.

The work of the Council, moreover, was to some extent overshadowed by the private conversations Mr. Chamberlain had with M. Herriot on his way through Paris and Signor Mussolini at Rome. The business, nevertheless, was in reality quite important, as the League's routine business always is. One of the principal decisions was that a Conference—which the United States will attend—on the Traffic in Arms should be called in May, 1925, for the purpose of drafting a Convention on this question on lines already laid down by the League's Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission.

One or two decisions were also taken in pursuance of resolutions of the last Assembly, notably the appointment of a Committee of Jurists to study the possibility of codifying some aspects of international law, and another regarding the further examination of Senator Circolo's scheme for an international fund for the relief of populations overtaken by sudden disaster. An interesting report on the work of the Health Organisation was presented by Viscount Ishii, who made mention particularly of the decision to establish a sub-office of the Health Organisation at Singapore, to call a Conference of representatives of the health services of Far Eastern Governments (financed by the Rockefeller Foundation) and to pursue further its investigations into sleeping-sickness in Africa.

Discussions of far-reaching importance took place also regarding the conditions under which the League will in due course take over responsibility for supervising the armaments of the ex-enemy countries. It was decided that the chairman of the Commissions dealing with Germany, Austria and Hungary should all be Allied nationals, but some slight concession was made to the neutrality which the League professes to represent by giving the chairmanship of the Bulgarian Commission to Sweden. Mr. Chamberlain raised the question of whether various decisions taken regarding the general question of ex-enemy armaments would or would not require a unanimous vote of the Council. It was agreed that members of the Commissions might be appointed by a majority vote, but other aspects of the question were postponed till the March meeting of the Council. This, together with decisions of second-

ary order on subjects like the Saar and Danzig and Greco-Turkish differences on the exchange of populations made up the activities of what may be described as a distinctly successful routine meeting.

POINTED QUESTIONS.

(A selection from questions addressed either to HEADWAY or to the Union's Intelligence Department.)

Q. Are the low rates paid to Hungarian Civil Servants due to the League's Hungarian Re-construction Scheme?

A. No. The League scheme required the reduction in the number of Civil Servants, but provided for proper increases of salary for those remaining.

Q. Can the Irish Free State, if dissatisfied with the findings of the Boundary Commission, appeal to the League for a plebiscite?

A. Two questions are involved here: (1) the general position of the Dominions under the Covenant, and (2) the special circumstances of this particular case. With regard to the second point, it is doubtful whether, the Free State having accepted the creation of the Boundary Commission and participated in its work, the League would be willing to consider an appeal against the Commission's findings. In any case the Free State could not appeal specifically for a plebiscite, as that would be dictating the method by which the League should give its decision. As to the first point, the question of whether a Dominion, as a full member of the League, can appeal to Geneva in a dispute with another Dominion or with Great Britain, has never been put to the test and, therefore, never definitely decided. Competent authorities have given it as their opinion that relationships within the Empire are matters of domestic jurisdiction.

Q. Is the League in the hands of Socialists?

A. If there is a suggestion here that there are unseen socialistic influences undermining the League, it might equally well be contended that the League is in the hands of cannibals, and it might be as difficult to prove that it is not. The real answer is that the League is in the hands of the governments which compose it, and that in not more than two or three of the fifty-five governments composing the League is there a Socialist administration in power at the present time.

Q. Is not Article 16 a danger to Britain?

A. The penalties specified in Article 16 might well be a danger to Britain if Britain were a Covenant-breaker, and therefore had them directed against her. They were always intended to be a danger in such a case. If Great Britain, on the other hand, is one of the powers to whom it would fall to exercise these "sanctions" against a breaker of League pledges, that would undoubtedly place serious responsibilities on us, but it is hard to see how they would constitute a danger.

Q. Are L. of N. Societies of any value?

A. If it is true that, in President Wilson's words, "what we stand for is government resting on consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind," it is clear that the "organised opinion of mankind" must be educated. The facts about what the League is doing must be brought to the knowledge of the man in the street and presented in language he can understand. League of Nations Societies in thirty or more countries exist to perform this work, and it is certain that so far, at any rate, as Great Britain is concerned, the national support of the League would never have been anything like what it is without the efforts of the Union, with its 1,900 Branches and 400,000 members.



GENEVA, December 15, 1924.

THE chief events affecting the League this month—with the exception of the Opium Conference, which is dealt with on another page—have not taken place at Geneva, and have been only indirectly connected with the League.

The first of these events was the Egyptian crisis. The somewhat hasty parallels drawn abroad between this and Italian action in Corfu, as well as the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia in 1914, are well known, as is also the technical defence of the British Government that its action fell within the four "reserved points," and that on these points the relations between Great Britain and Egypt were those of the British Government to a British Protectorate, that is, were matters of domestic concern.

The most disquieting thing about the whole crisis was the spirit in which it was met by a large part of British opinion. Apart from the *Morning Post*, and what we may call the Yahoo press, whose attitude to the League is well known, we have, e.g., the *Daily Telegraph* exclaiming in truculent ecstasy that "it would be impossible for us to have a better representative in Egypt at this moment than the man who but seven years ago swept away the forces of Turkey in Palestine as the dust before the wind. Lord Allenby stands for the strength by which, and by which alone, we have the right to control our Asiatic Dominions."

The general impression is not of what might be called a spirit of conciliation and co-operation; one rather sees a picture of the British lion cavorting with joy at a whiff of carrion, after pretending for some years that he preferred dog-biscuit and milk.

This impression is deepened by the terms of the British Note to the Secretary-General, declaring that "since the Covenant of the League of Nations came into force his Majesty's Government have consistently taken the view that neither it nor any conventions concluded under the auspices of the League are intended to govern the relations *inter se* of the various parts of the British Commonwealth." This declaration is made in a letter stating that in the view of his Majesty's Government the Anglo-Irish Convention (registered by the Irish Free State) cannot be registered with the Secretariat. There is no evidence that this view has, in fact, been held by previous British Governments. On the face of it, it looks like an attempt to undermine the international status of the Dominions and diminish their League membership, to reverse the decisions of the last Imperial Conference (where the right of the Dominions to conduct their international relations independently was recognised, subject to the voluntary agreement of all parts of the Commonwealth to consult each other before taking any action that might affect the Commonwealth), and to pre-empt the results of the Imperial Conference that is to discuss the coordination of Empire foreign policy.

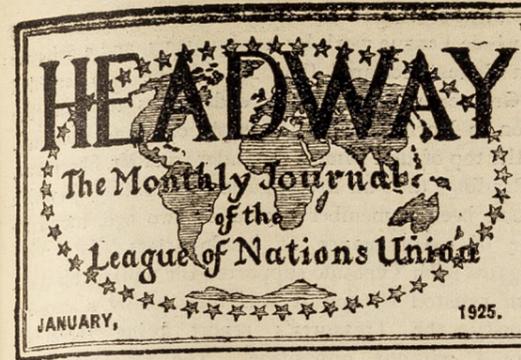
If, e.g., the Irish Free State now brings a dispute with Great Britain before the Council, Great Britain will presumably plead that this is a matter of domestic jurisdiction, and the point will then be referred to the Court, which will have to decide the extra-

ordinarily complex and difficult question of the international status of the Dominions. It must be remembered that the Dominions are in the League under their own names, but Great Britain figures as the "British Empire." Just what this means no one has yet discovered. Altogether the problem would seem to be one that might have been left to settle itself in time, so far as Commonwealth relations are concerned. As it is, the political effects of this Note on the Irish Free State, on the Nationalist Government in South Africa, and probably on Canada are likely to be unfortunate. The impression in foreign countries is, of course, still worse—the old cry of six votes to one is being raised again, not only in the United States, but in France and other countries members of the League. It is asked whether the Dominions are full members of the League or not, and if not, why they should have separate votes.

Lastly, we have Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Rome, where he is believed to have been considerably impressed by the authority and effectiveness of the Council as an international diplomatic instrument, and to have taken pains to show the goodwill of himself and his Government toward the League. Unfortunately it must be recorded that this impression was to some extent dissipated by the atmosphere of fear and suspicion created by the Egyptian incident, the Note on the Anglo-Irish Convention, the insistence on the fact that Mr. Chamberlain spoke for the whole Empire, by the rumours of bargains giving the French the presidency of the Investigation Committee in Germany, as well as a free hand in the Rhineland and in Morocco, in exchange for a British free hand in Egypt and the Near East; further rumours about bargains on similar lines with Mussolini; and a general belief that the new Government was determined to take a nationalist and Imperialist line in foreign policy, and to proceed by a series of separatist arrangements outside the League instead of international controls through the League. An Anglo-French alliance instead of the Protocol is spoken of in this connexion, although it must be recorded that Mr. Chamberlain was apparently impressed by the determination of most of the members of the Council to stick to the Protocol and insist upon a League policy to solve the question of security.

A conspicuous exception was the attitude of Italy. Signor Mussolini went out of his way to vent his scorn in the Senate on the "lyrical and mystic atmosphere" of the Fifth Assembly, and it is becoming fairly plain that the only thing that will make Fascist Italy sign an agreement to settle all disputes peacefully and give up war as an instrument of national policy is the united opinion of all other governments. At present the Fascists are using the attitude of the new British Government to bolster up their own hostility to what the Protocol stands for, and this policy is being adopted by Nationalist and reactionary parties in most of the countries of Europe. It is impossible to escape the conviction that our new Government is attempting to apply a pre-war mentality to post-war problems, and that the result must be either a change of mentality or an aggravation of the problems.

Meanwhile, the number of signatures to the Protocol has risen to 16, Spain taking the occasion of the Council meeting to sign. The other signatories are now Albania, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chili, Czecho-Slovakia (ratified), Estonia, France, Greece, Latvia, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Spain, Uruguay. Finland is to sign shortly, and there is a growing movement in the Scandinavian countries and Holland to sign or at least to make some demonstration showing the desire of these countries that the Protocol should go through. Japan, too, will sign the moment Great Britain does.



THE PROTOCOL'S CRITICS.

"I SHOULD like to know," said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons, in reference to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's discussions at Rome, "what he said about the Protocol. Is his observation limited to this, 'I have nothing to say'?" "Yes," replied Mr. Austen Chamberlain. That is not quite the whole story, for Mr. Chamberlain had already explained that, though he had said nothing to other people about the Protocol, other people had said a great deal to him. If the other people in question were, as was no doubt the case, persons like M. Briand and Dr. Benes, the Foreign Secretary can hardly have failed to have gained a good deal of illumination.

Meanwhile we are to assume that the Government has as yet no settled policy about the Protocol. There is no reason to complain of that. The plea that the Dominions have to be consulted is perfectly genuine, and all that need be said on that point is that it is to be hoped the Dominions will be allowed to make up their own minds on a question their own intelligence is fully capable of grasping in all its bearings, and not be pushed forward as stalking horses by politicians in this country who for temperamental or other reasons are against the ratification of the Protocol.

In the meantime, discussion of the Protocol continues and the proposals it embodies are regarded as practical politics to an extent the Treaty of Mutual Assistance never was. That, on the whole, is natural, for the Protocol was, so far as this country was concerned, the act of a Government, while the Treaty was the act of individuals, the Government of the day holding studiously aloof. And while the ultimate fate of the Protocol is still uncertain, there is no question that its mere formulation and the new turn it has given to men's ideas represent an advance in themselves.

Not all the criticism directed against the Protocol is intelligent; that would be too much to expect. Some of it is malignant, some stupid, and some based on ignorance or misunderstanding not merely of the Protocol itself, but equally, or even more so, of the Covenant. So sober and responsible an organ as "The Round Table" seems to be in some need of clarifying its ideas when it argues in one place that ratification of the Protocol is out of the question because it might involve this country automatically in a state of war, a step which should be taken only by the free decision of Parliament, and in another page of the same article contends that members of the League should, under Article XVI of the Covenant, "be ready and prepared to insist by effective action that no nation shall resort to war without a period of delay."

We have italicised certain words in this quotation because they make it clear that a "loyal and effective" recognition of our obligations under the Covenant might

as easily involve us in a state of war as any provisions in the Protocol. It may be admitted at once that on the surface the contraction of general obligations that may tie the hands of a future Parliament is open to some objection. The answer, of course, is that every treaty with a foreign country ties the hands of future Parliaments to the extent that they cannot take action in contravention of it. Three Parliaments in this country have gone since the Washington agreements were signed in 1922. All of them, as well as the fourth now in session, are precluded from deciding on the building of new battleships. Their hands are bound tight by the Washington Treaty. International agreements would be possible on no other terms.

But there is a little more to be said than that. There are some matters in which no Parliament ought to bind its successors. In many cases changing circumstances create wholly new conditions, to which old decisions are not applicable. Questions of broad principle, however, do not fall into that category. This country was bound for seventy years and more to defend the neutrality of Belgium. The actual circumstances might change. At one moment it would be a question of defending her against France, at another against Germany. But on the general principle the country was united and no complaint was ever heard that a decision of the '30's was tying later Parliaments' hands.

It is exactly the same with the Geneva Protocol. What is involved is a question of principle. Details of application are open to the fullest discussion. Probably enough, a great deal in the document as it now stands will be altered. But the principle we are asked to endorse is clear and far-reaching. It is that in all cases differences between nations shall be settled on the basis not of force, but of law—using the latter word with all due reserves. It is perfectly true that in the last resort a dispute will have to go before arbitrators who (like our own highest Courts of Appeal, the Supreme Court of the United States and practically every tribunal of note) may give their ruling by a majority vote. It is true, equally, that arbitrators are not infallible. We may recognise all that, yet find sufficient answer to it in the bold submission made recently by Professor Gilbert Murray before the British Institute of International Affairs that "arbitration is always better than the spinning of a coin, and the spinning of a coin is always better than war."

It is on that kind of question that the main decision must be taken. "The Round Table" insists that nations have "vital interests" which cannot be submitted to the final judgment of an arbitral court. That is an old and insidious argument—insidious because the greater the interest a man has at stake the less dispassionate a judge will be in his own cause. To label the interest "vital" and declare that no one has a right to pronounce on it but oneself runs as much counter to the spirit of the Covenant of the Protocol.

Nevertheless we are moving. We have, indeed, moved considerably. The upshot of "The Round Table's" study is that, though we cannot accept the Protocol as it stands and certainly must not reject it out and out, we must apply ourselves with new resolve to applying and enforcing the wise provisions of the Covenant regarding disputes. If that is the firstfruits of the Protocol, it has not been drafted in vain. For the later and fuller harvest we can wait with reasonable patience.

THE UNION IN COUNCIL.

THE Caxton Hall was filled "to capacity," as the dramatic critics say, for the half-yearly meeting of the League of Nations Union Council on December 19. The main business might be described as being of solid importance, in that it consisted of reviewing the finances of the year, and a little liveliness was imparted to the proceedings, in anticipation at any rate, by the presence on the agenda of two resolutions designed to check what is commonly known as "headquarters," and sometimes as Grosvenor Crescent, from any profligate tendencies. As a slight incentive to economy, the Tyne District Council suggested that the Union's budget should be reduced forthwith from £30,000 to £20,000, while Westminster, as an appropriate comment on the fact that the Council was meeting almost in the shadow of the historic abbey and the historic school which bear the name of the borough coeval with London City, desired to abolish at one fell stroke both education and religion so far as the Union's headquarters is concerned.

This latter assault was driven home with no great vigour. The resolution was formally proposed without a speech and seconded (as it turned out) by mistake, but sufficiently to enable it to be put to the meeting, by which it was decisively rejected. The Tyneside proposal—an improved model of the motions in the House of Commons directed towards reducing Ministers' salaries by £100—gave rise to much more prolonged discussion. It came after the presentation of the Union's accounts by Lord Queenborough, the Treasurer, supported by Sir John Mann. The most satisfactory feature of the statement was the fact that for the first six months of 1924 the Union was supported almost entirely by members' subscriptions and branch contributions. For the second half of the year some reliance had to be placed on large donations, but these were forthcoming, and the Union had just succeeded in paying its way. The Treasurer was able to declare the Union's finances in a healthier state than ever before, and urged that if a consistent endeavour were made to get £1 members wherever possible, instead of being content to add new adherents at 1s. a head, all anxiety would soon be removed—provided always that the Council continued to vote its £20,000. The budget presented for 1925 showed the same total as in 1924—£30,000, of which £20,000 was spent at headquarters and the rest on work away from London.

The Tyneside motion came as an amendment. It was moved by Sir William Noble of Newcastle, and seconded by Mr. Macdonald for the Liverpool District Council. Both speakers disclaimed any desire to criticise the head office, but both emphasised the difficulty of raising locally funds sufficient for the local work and a heavy contribution to headquarters' expenses in addition. Some criticisms were offered on minor points; it was suggested that a cut of 33½ per cent. could be effected without any loss of efficiency, and the co-ordination of several departments under a single head was advocated.

Then came the other side. Prebendary Rudolf met the Tyneside suggestion by declaring amid applause that the British League of Nations Union was the recognised model for League of Nations Societies in every country, and that a profoundly unfortunate impression would be created if it had to be announced that the Union, instead of enlarging the scope of its work with an increasing membership, was actually contracting it. Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., spoke with the

highest appreciation of the direction and lead given to the whole League work by headquarters, and a delegate from Belfast declared that but for the help accorded by Grosvenor Crescent the endeavours to plant the Union in Northern Ireland simply could not continue. On the top of that came a reminder from Mr. Sherborne, of Reading, that an investigation committee, of which he had been a member a year or two ago, found no trace of extravagance at headquarters. Two more delegates from Tyneside supported the motion, Sir John Mann resisted it, and it was rejected by a decisive majority, the Treasurer's report being thereupon adopted without opposition. The expenditure for 1925 is therefore £30,000, and the Council vote £20,000.

At this point ensued a not unwelcome interruption, in the shape of a lunch organised in accordance with precedent by the Westminster Branch, at the Belgravia Hotel. Not much time was available for more speeches, but the Marquess of Salisbury, in an admirable little address, expressed his pleasure at being there to welcome delegates, not merely as president of the Westminster Branch, but as a member of the Government. For him peace was the supreme concern, and the League of Nations the one means of attaining it.

Then back to work, if it can be called work to listen to an authoritative and quietly persuasive review of world affairs by Prof. Gilbert Murray. Not everyone in all the branches had agreed with the Executive about Egypt or about the Protocol, but no one could have it in him to object to the way Prof. Murray treated either subject. Two resolutions on the Protocol already sent to the Government by the Executive were approved. Various other resolutions aimed at reducing the burden of branch treasurers were referred to the Executive with instructions to submit a report at the next Council meeting.

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE.

Down to December 10, 1924, the Union had received £12,000 out of the total of £20,000 which represents the Council's vote for the year. It is satisfactory to record that at that date 137 branches had paid their quota in full, and of these rather over a dozen sent more than double the sum allotted. If the Union is not to be put to the expense and anxiety of bank overdrafts, it is essential that branches and districts that have still to remit should do so as soon as possible.

IRELAND AND THE LEAGUE.

The letter sent by the British Government to Geneva, laying it down (in connection with the registration with the League by the Irish Free State of the treaty of December 6, 1921, which gave the Free State its present status) that the relations of the members of the British Commonwealth *inter se* are not governed by the Covenant, is made the subject of a strong public protest by the officers of the League of Nations' Society of Ireland. The president of the society, Senator Douglas, and his colleagues point out in a statement addressed to the Federation of League of Nations' Societies that Ireland took an entirely proper course, and that if she had not taken it, and had failed to register the treaty, she might reasonably have been accused of something like a repudiation of the Covenant. Senator Douglas, in a personal letter to the *Irish Times*, makes the further point that the British Government has chosen to lay down a doctrine from which Ireland at any rate strongly dissents without any discussion with the Dominions themselves.

NATIONS THAT WORK.

By K. ST. J. KENNEDY.

ONE of the many little unsolved problems to which the Treaty of Versailles gives rise springs from Article 393, prescribing the composition of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. The Treaty requires the 12 Government seats (as apart from the 6 Employers' and the 6 Workers') to be distributed as follows:—8 to the 8 States "of chief industrial importance" and 4 to States elected by the other Government delegates at every third Conference.

It sounds so simple. And everyone knows that what was intended was to include the eight chief States as they were recognised at the time of the Peace Conference. In the Conference all States are equal, and therefore there was thought to be a danger that the Great Powers—those most concerned and acquainted with industrial problems—might be out-voted by States where industry scarcely existed. To prevent that absurdity, the Great Powers were to have a predominance in the 12 Government seats on the Governing Body, because it draws up the agenda of the Conference.

In practice, the danger seems not to have materialised. But the phrase "chief industrial importance" was too seductive. India and various other States demanded inclusion. They pointed to the size of their populations, the extent of their territories, the volume of their trade. A Joint Committee of the League and the I.L.O. was set up to propose factors by which to measure "industrial importance." They laboured long and hard, and produced a series of such factors as total of population, and (to balance that properly) proportion of population engaged in industry; length of railways, and (to balance that) length of railways in proportion to extent of territories; imports and exports—and so on.

It was all very imposing, and seemed to be getting somewhere. Then the Indian Government produced a memorandum almost unique amongst official papers inasmuch as it gave signs of a real sense of humour. It pointed out that it would be possible in the garden of the League Secretariat at Geneva to construct a model State which by the factors (such as the proportion of workers to population) involved would be the State of first industrial importance in the world. Lord Chelmsford put the case of India before the Council with great skill and force, and India won her seat, someone being pushed off one end of the bench as she established herself at the other.

But it seemed the matter could not rest there. At any time any State could claim to have surpassed some other in industrial importance. Moreover, there was a strong demand to increase the size of the Governing Body (just as of the Council of the League) in order that representation might be given to other States. It was not a question of national pride, but of genuine interest.

Finally, an Amendment of Article 393 was drafted to increase the size of the Governing Body to 32. It was not, however, found possible to agree upon any alternative formula to "chief industrial importance," but it was thought that the increase of elected members from 4 to 8 would mean that the question would not again become pressing. It was, moreover, provided that of the 16 Governments represented, 6 shall be non-European.

The term of office of the Governing Body finishes at the end of this year, but the members have to be elected by the Conference, which this year is to meet in May.

It remains to be seen whether by that time the Amendment will have been ratified—for Article 422 requires amendments (adopted by a two-thirds majority of the Conference) to be ratified, before they take effect, by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League and by three-fourths of the Member States. If the Amendment has not been so ratified, presumably the elections will be carried out on the existing basis which has already been found to be unsatisfactory. Perhaps we shall find China, complete with a Dawes' plan for her economic restoration, claiming a seat as of right.

A small difficulty sometimes gives a great deal of trouble, and in unexpected directions. Will this be the case here?

Can any bright supporter of the League evolve factors for measuring industrial importance which will give a really strong Governing Body and at the same time prevent Indian or other wizards from creating a new Wonder of the World in the confines of the Hotel National at Geneva?

WHAT THE UNION THINKS.

THE League of Nations Executive at recent meetings has passed the following resolutions:—

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

"That speakers and organisers of meetings be asked to advocate resolutions urging the Government to ratify the Geneva Protocol, subject to such reservations, conditions or amendments as, after consulting the British Dominions, the Government may consider necessary and be able to persuade the other members of the League to accept."

WOMEN AND LABOUR.

"That the Executive Committee accept the principles of the I.L.O., including that of the protection of women and children in industry, and consider it part of their duty to educate public opinion in regard to the work of the I.L.O."

"That Union speakers should be asked when speaking upon the I.L.O. Conventions to point out the divergency of the points of view amongst women, and that as far as possible literature on the I.L.O. should also make mention of this fact."

THE OPIUM EVIL.

"That this Committee, viewing with grave concern the failure of the Convention drafted by the First Opium Conference at Geneva to make any effective provision for the reduction of the import of opium into those British Dependencies and other territories in the Far East where smoking still continues, or to fulfil its avowed purpose of giving effective application to Part II of the Hague Convention of 1912, respectfully urges His Majesty's Government to withhold its signature from the Convention in question and to instruct the British delegate at the Second Opium Conference, now in session, to support the proposal for a progressive annual reduction of the import of all opium not required for strictly medical and scientific purposes."

What will no doubt be the standard work on the Protocol, a volume from the pen of Professor P. J. Baker, is now in the Press, and should be published before the end of January.

SHALL WE RATIFY?

By LOTHIAN SMALL.

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations has been in timely communication with the new Government in regard to those International Labour Conventions which have not yet been ratified by Great Britain. At the urgent request of its Labour Advisory Committee this was done early enough to give a hope that the Government's attitude to these Conventions might be foreshadowed in the King's Speech.

The sequel was not entirely disappointing, for in that speech occurs the promise: "Bills will be laid before you to give effect to three International Conventions dealing with Wages in the case of shipwreck and with medical examination and stoke-hold employment of young seamen." That is to say, three out of the five conventions which the Executive Committee commended to the Government's favourable consideration are promised Government support. Readers of HEADWAY will wish to know the full extent of the Executive Committee's recommendation.

It pointed out that before the dissolution of Parliament three Bills to ratify five International Labour Conventions were before the House of Commons. The Conventions in question were:—

- (1) Unemployment Indemnity (shipwreck) (adopted by International Labour Conference in 1920).
- (2) Minimum age of employment of Trimmers and Stokers (adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1921).
- (3) Medical examination of Young Persons at sea (adopted by the International Labour Conference, 1921).
- (4) Use of White Lead in Painting (adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1921).
- (5) Hours of Work in Industry (adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1919).

The promise of the King's Speech covers only the first three of these Conventions, and about the ratification of these there was never any serious question.

The White Lead Convention and the Hours Convention represent problems at very different stages of solution. In most industrial countries the workers in the highly organised industries already have an eight-hour day by agreement—even in Germany only the political argument from Reparations recently succeeded in securing an extension in certain industries from the legal eight hours to ten. But the White Lead controversy is at a stage which recalls the old fights against white phosphorus when the vested interests and the workers were in hostile camps. In that light the words of the Executive Committee memorandum will be understood:—

"As regards the White Lead Convention, a Bill to ratify had been read a second time in the House of Commons. Whilst it is realised that the issue in this case is more controversial it is hoped that His Majesty's Government will give the most careful and sympathetic consideration to the provisions of the Convention, and that it may see its way to introduce a Bill on the subject.

"As regards the Hours of Work Convention, it is unnecessary to remind His Majesty's Government of the history of the question or of the declarations of British intentions to ratify made internationally during the past year at the International Labour Conference and at the meetings of the Governing Body. That the great industrial States have a mutual interest in ratifying the Convention in order to prevent unfair competition based on longer hours

seems to have been recognised at the meeting of the Labour Ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium at Berne in September. It is most strongly urged that the Convention offers a means of safe-guarding British commerce against unfair competition, and that in view of the international credit of Great Britain, His Majesty's Government should at the earliest opportunity introduce legislation embodying the principle of an eight-hour day and 48-hour week in such a manner as to make ratification of the Hours of Work Convention possible.

"A Bill which would make ratification of this Convention possible had been read a first time in the House of Commons before the dissolution of Parliament."

The Battle-arena now is public opinion.

BOOKS WORTH READING.

SIGNOR NITTI has put forth a third volume upon the post-war state of Europe. **They make a Desert** (Dent & Sons, ros. 6d.) is another variation on the same theme as was heard in his "Peaceless Europe" and "Decadence of Europe." The ex-Prime Minister's hand has not lost its strength, and he once more strikes his notes with the impetuous fury of his Italian blood. France, under the leadership of M. Poincaré, is assailed in pungent terms as his latest example of a militarist Imperialism; Germany is regarded with a sympathetic pity; the League of Nations has failed hopelessly of its original purpose, while Great Britain stands out as the one country of Europe which is pursuing a policy of disarmament and peace—the praise and admiration which he showers upon this country and his clearly expressed opinion that the fortunes of Italy and England lie along the same path may be the more welcomed since there are few who speak well of us to-day in Europe, but it could be wished that Signor Nitti had been able to deliver a less "trenchant indictment" (to quote the phrase on the publisher's jacket) of the policy of France and to show less hostility and contempt for the League. His very vehemence raises doubts as to the strength of a case which needs the support of so much violent language, and a greater restraint would have carried more conviction. Still, that is Signor Nitti's way when his feelings are aroused, and it must be remembered that if there is another side to the case—as there manifestly is—he writes with peculiar knowledge of the political circumstances of the past few years. It is probably well, therefore, that his warnings should be uttered and that they should be carefully considered. The points upon which he fixes his attention are the enormous armaments of certain Continental nations, particularly those of France, the determined attempts, as it appears to him, to disintegrate and destroy Germany, and the hidden hand of the iron-masters in directing the policy of France. He lays a heavy moral responsibility upon the United States for having helped to create the situation imposed upon Europe by the Treaty of Versailles and then declined to take any part in solving the problems which were largely the result of their action. He charges the League with injustice in its decision in regard to the partition of Upper Silesia and with an unfair bias in its administration of the Saar Valley. Now in all this there is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth, but it does not appear that the best way to meet the present troubles of Europe is by a wholesale denunciation of the League. Signor Nitti has entirely overlooked the credit side of the League's account; he does not stop to consider whether

THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

By ANTHONY SOMERS.

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

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

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

How to Learn Languages.

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

Consider, for example, this question with which the book (which, by the way, can be obtained free of charge) opens.

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language of which you do not know a syllable—say, Spanish or German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of language instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I shall be greatly surprised if it doesn't revolutionise the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

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

Grammatical Difficulties Overcome.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables one to read, write and speak French, Spanish or German without bothering one's head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening one's memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign

words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses, he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

Thousands of letters have been received from men and women who have learnt French, Spanish or German by the new Pelman method. Here are a few of them:—

MONTHS EQUAL YEARS.

"I have managed, during the past few months, to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school." (C. 146)

EIGHT MONTHS EQUAL EIGHT YEARS.

"This is the easiest and quickest way of learning foreign languages. I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of EIGHT MONTHS I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in EIGHT YEARS at school." (S.K. 119)

FOUR MONTHS EQUAL FOUR YEARS.

"I am delighted with the progress I have made. I have learned more French this last FOUR MONTHS than I did before in FOUR YEARS. I enjoyed the Course thoroughly." (W. 149)

RESULT OF EIGHT WEEKS' STUDY.

"I was invited lately to meet a Spanish lady . . . she was filled with genuine surprise and admiration at the amount I had learnt in EIGHT WEEKS. I do most of it in omnibuses and at meals." (S.H. 219)

FRENCH LEARNT IN SIX MONTHS.

"After several years' drudgery at school I found myself with scarcely any knowledge of the French language, and certainly without any ability to use the language. I realise now that the method was wrong.

"After about SIX MONTHS' study by the Pelman method I find I have practically mastered the language." (B. 143)

SPANISH IN SIX MONTHS.

"I am very satisfied with the progress I have made. I can read and speak with ease, though it is LESS THAN SIX MONTHS since I began to study Spanish. All the lessons have interested me very much." (S.M. 181)

ASTONISHING PROGRESS.

"I am more than satisfied with the progress I have made—I am astonished! It would have taken me AS MANY YEARS to learn by any ordinary system as much as I have learnt in SIX MONTHS by yours." (P. 145)

ONE-THIRD THE USUAL TIME.

"I have learnt more and better French in the last FOUR MONTHS than previously I had learnt in THRICE THAT PERIOD." (M. 241)

The Pelman method of learning French, Spanish or German by correspondence is fully explained in three little books (one for each language), and I strongly advise those who are interested to write for a free copy of one of these books to-day.



Everyone who wishes to learn FRENCH, SPANISH or GERMAN without difficulty or drudgery should post this coupon to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book desired will be forwarded by return, gratis and post free.

—COUPON.—

To the PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE,
112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street,
London, W.C.1.

Please send me a free copy of "HOW TO LEARN FRENCH"—"HOW TO LEARN GERMAN"—"HOW TO LEARN SPANISH" (cross out two of these), together with full particulars of the New Pelman Method of learning languages.

NAME

ADDRESS

the League's proposals are not the best remedy for the menace of militarism, and whether his sympathy for Germany may not best find its satisfaction in Germany's membership of the League. The truest friends of the League see its imperfections the most clearly, but they try to mend them, and not to end the League; Signor Nitti is not among those friends, and his protestations are too much those of a disappointed politician. He is sincere in his beliefs, but he is only capable of seeing one side of his subject; in spite of the peace, Europe is not all desert.

It is possible to be so preoccupied with the dangers which are close at hand as to be blind to those which are not less imminent at the other side of the world. Geographical remoteness no longer exists, and an ostrichlike unconcern for the racial problems of the Far East is to-day unpardonable. The last excuse for unconcern is taken away by Mr. Stephen King-Hall's **Western Civilisation and the Far East** (Methuen, 18s.). He has undertaken the colossal task of displaying the modern development of China and Japan in particular reference to its effect upon international politics and world stability, and he has produced a volume which is essentially straightforward and readable, and which calls for the most careful respect. It is impossible to give an adequate review of its contents in the space of a few lines, and attention can only be drawn to certain outstanding conclusions. Mr. King-Hall is especially valuable in noting the gradual change which is taking place in the direction of the policies of Japan. Until the period of the Great War Japan had been guided by the principle that "might is right" and that that principle must be followed with the utmost speed; an extreme bureaucracy was in full control, and public opinion was non-existent; she was "a perfect example of an autocracy masquerading as a democracy." But to-day ideas are changing, and the ruling powers in Japan are being forced away from the dead-ends

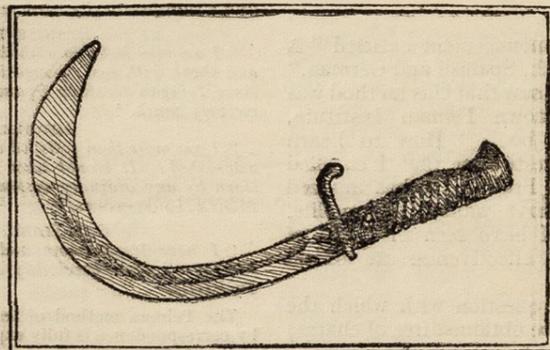
of a narrow nationalism, not less by the currents of world opinion than by the consequences of the industrial developments of the country. Unlike Signor Nitti, Mr. King-Hall gives full value to the influence which is being exerted by the ideals and principles of the League of Nations. The change of orientation is taking place slowly and with difficulty, but surely, and the reader must go to the book itself for the detailed symptoms of the change and its significance. The chapters on Socialism and Labour in Japan and on the immigration question are of particular importance, and the former contains information which cannot easily be found elsewhere. Mr. King-Hall deals at length with the present situation in China, and in each country he notes with apprehension the lack of moral principles to direct their future. For all that, he confesses himself an idealist and an optimist, and the concluding words of an altogether noteworthy book are capable of a wide application. "The distressing condition of the world to-day," he says, "convincing me that the only remedy lies in an idealism which strains the limits of practicability to their utmost. This is no time for half-measures. In war, all nations took great risk to achieve what was called 'victory.' . . . If these risks could be taken in war, when they were said to be justified by the fact that national existences were at stake, cannot something also be risked for the sake of achieving an enduring

peace? The stake is the same; the penalty of failure is becoming ever more frightful."

A special word of welcome must be given to the small study book on **International Affairs**, published by the National Adult School Union (30, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. 1s.). Its four authors, Norman Angell, J. Fairgrieve, Delisle Burns, and Currie Martin, have produced exactly what is needed for discussion groups or for personal study. Principles and facts are clearly set forth in due proportion, while questions and a bibliography complete the apparatus for a thorough understanding of the subject. H. W. F.

"OKEH."

In last month's HEADWAY it was predicted that Mr. Josephus Daniels' *Life of Woodrow Wilson* would not be the last volume written on the subject. The prediction is confirmed by the appearance of **The True Story of Woodrow Wilson**, by David Lawrence (Hurst & Blackett, 18s.). Mr. Lawrence speaks with the authority, not of a politician, but of a member for many years of that band of journalists from whose constant attendance a President of the United States is not allowed to escape even on his honeymoon. He writes with understanding of a character whose complexities made it difficult to appreciate. Wilson was a man who must always be either hated or loved. By Mr. Lawrence he was clearly loved; but this story of his life is free from the extreme partisanship which has characterised so many accounts of him. Mr. Lawrence is not afraid to admit that Wilson could make mistakes, nor concerned to defend his every action. Where defence is called for it is based always on the arguments of Wilson himself, which show a man influenced solely by what he thought to be just. Expediency for him did not exist; that was why he



BAYONET INTO SICKLE—A PALESTINIAN PEASANT'S HANDWORK.

always found it difficult to compromise. Wilson's critics are apt to forget that the task of the President of the United States, even in normal times, is one which, as Mr. Lawrence says, "is slowly outgrowing the mental capacity and physical energy of a single human being." The years when Wilson held the post were the most troubled in the world's history, and in steering his country through them he had no precedent to guide him. Mr. Lawrence's verdict—and it will surely be that of history—is summed up in the phrase which, with characteristic love of accuracy, he insisted in spelling in the unaccustomed manner prescribed by the dictionary—"Woodrow Wilson, Okeh." L. P. M.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

The Search: The Adult School Lesson Handbook for 1925 (30, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1, 1s. 3d.).

Making the Tariff in the United States, by T. W. Page (McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 12s. 6d.).

The Proconsul, by Seaward Beddow (30, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1, 8d.).

The Principles of Comparative Sociology, by N. Petrescu, Ph.D. (Watts & Co., 7s. 6d.).

Correspondence.

WARFARE BY POISON.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—My knowledge of poison gases is infinitesimal, and I write to seek instruction, not to offer it. The thesis of your correspondent "£1 Member L.N.U." in your current issue surprised me. It seems to me that he gives his case away in such sentences as "any particular gas can only function in a special physiological way. . . . Many of these gases can produce their full effect without permanent injury to their victims." I note that it is only many of these gases, not all. Apart from this he apparently assumes that warfare by poison will never be anything more than what it was in the last war. I should have thought that gas warfare was in its infancy, that given the use of gas in future wars, those gases would be most favoured which had the most severe and permanent effects—the object of their use being to demoralise the enemy by terror. If the League sets the seal of its approval on warfare by poison, it will in my opinion be asking for the development of the science of poisoning by gas. The League's "police force" would, of course, use only chlorine or some gas without permanently harmful effects. But what may not the "outlaw state" consider itself entitled to use? Chlorine will be the thin end of the wedge, and as soon as the League uses it against one refractory state, I shall be prepared to see other timorous governments secretly manufacturing large supplies of other gases—gases calculated to kill. My contention is that a "gas raid on the seat of government" in an outlaw state would only be effective the first time it was tried. Governments would soon discover a way of dealing with the menace. I think it will take many more arguments than those of "£1 Member" to convince many of your readers that in approving warfare by poison the League of Nations would not be touching pitch.—Yours, &c., Oxford. A. W. VALLANCE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The argument of "£1 Member," that the terrible after effects of poison gas are an exploded myth because chlorine (of necessity in extremely diluted form) is being used for the cure of certain lung troubles is really extraordinary—as extraordinary as misleading. The most charitable conclusion is that he is ignorant of the subject about which he writes. It would be just as reasonable to argue that because strychnine in minute doses is used for injection in some cases of disease, it is an exploded myth that it is a fatal poison in larger doses.

The permanently damaged lung in the one case and the distorted corpse in the other are the true evidence.—Yours, &c., Tunbridge Wells. A. SEARL, F.C.S.

EGYPT AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—There is much discussion just now on the question as to whether we ought to submit our dispute with Egypt to the arbitration of the League of Nations. May I suggest two or three reasons in favour of that course? At the time of our unfortunate collision with the Egyptians, which came to a head in the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, we made it distinctly understood that our occupation of Egypt was to be only temporary; and both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury showed an evident desire for evacuation. Under recent Ministries, we have shown an intention of recognising Egyptian independence. Surely then we cannot treat our relations with them as we could treat our relations with the Colonies or even (by a strained interpretation) with India, as a "domestic question."

And, secondly, is it not more consistent with our real dignity that we should be willing to treat our own case as we treat the collisions between other nations and those who may accidentally be, in some measure, dependent on them? The Bolshevik Government in Russia claims to treat as a "domestic question" their relations with Georgia, whose independence they and we recognised; an independence which they have ruthlessly trampled out. I suppose that if they had succeeded in their designs on

AMONG CHRISTIAN REFUGEES.

A TWO MONTHS' TOUR.

BY AN EYE WITNESS FROM LONDON.

I HAVE recently returned to England from Salonica, Athens, Constantinople and other places in those parts, and have brought back with me a number of photographs. Possibly some day these photographs will be lost. As far as I am concerned that would make no difference; the scenes are indelibly printed on my mind. In a certain sense I wish I could forget: if that were possible my mind would be more at ease. In another sense I shrink from forgetfulness, because the things I have seen ought to be remembered—and remedied.

My visit was no mere conventional tour. I have been behind the scenes and within a month or two have learned, at first hand, more about misery, hunger, thirst, rags, dirt, murder and barbarity than my reading has taught me, at second hand, during the whole of my life. I have been living among Armenian refugees, and to do that is to become familiar with sorrow and acquainted with grief.

The Armenian nation is being exterminated as rapidly as Islam fanaticism and Turkish cruelty can wipe it out. Those who escape butchery and flee for their lives have to face hardships unimaginable.

They run, they walk, they stagger, mile after mile, mile after mile, until many of them would welcome death as a termination of all their sufferings. If they are fortunate enough to be able to get on board a refugee ship they are but little better off, for they can only get on to cargo vessels, quite unsuitable for passengers, where they are herded together like cattle and where common decency is impossible.

But while their physical suffering is great, their mental agony is greater. Here is an old man, gaunt, haggard, feeble as a child. His daughters have been torn away from his side. Where are they now? Well, there are some things which may not be described in print. He wishes that they had been killed outright, at once, rather than have met the fate that fell to their lot. And this old man is but one of thousands; his daughters units among tens of thousands.

Among this awful mass of human suffering a few brave missionaries are spending their lives, striving by day and by night to afford relief, to bind up the broken-hearted, to bring a smile, however faint and fleeting, into eyes so often scorched with tears. These missionaries are sticking to their self-appointed task, facing all its hardships, fleeing from place to place with their lives in their hands. They are refugees themselves, although they are not Armenians.

I have come back to London filled with the profoundest admiration for all that is being done by this splendid company of men and women whose hearts have been fired with pity and whose lives are being dedicated to this great work. If Christians in England want to strengthen their hands and cheer their spirits, they can do so by sending their gifts to the Rev. S. W. Gentle-Cackett, the Secretary of the Armenian Massacre Relief Fund, 358, Strand, London. He is anxious to send out further much-needed grants-in-aid.—ADVT.

WANTED—Women Writers!

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Esthonia their conquest there would have led them to claim their position in that unfortunate country as a "domestic question." In short, any act of aggression on a smaller nation may lead to this extraordinary claim.

I should like to keep quite distinct from this appeal the question of the application for a "mandate" for administering the Sudan. This may be a wise or unwise proceeding. But the appeal of Egypt to the League stands on quite a different footing.

Above all, do not let us lose our heads in consequence of Lord Allenby's terrible revelations. Murder and conspiracy must be sternly repressed; but the evils that follow from punishing a whole nation for the sins of an insane clique are what we have realised so fully since the war, that we should be on our special guard against repeating our recent errors.—Yours, &c.,

Hampstead.

C. E. MAURICE.

GLASGOW AND ABERDEEN.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The students of Glasgow University last year elected the Earl of Birkenhead as their Lord Rector. This year the students of Aberdeen have elected Lord Cecil to the same position.

Lord Birkenhead has delivered his address. We wait till next spring for what Lord Cecil has to say.

Lord Birkenhead said the large claims made on behalf of the League of Nations were "frankly fantastic," and that "its framers had forgotten human nature as absurdly as they had neglected history."

He showed that the world had been always full of violence, and that its graves would continue to receive its millions of silent unprotesting slain, as in the past.

In summing up his historical survey he advised the Glasgow students to have stout hearts and sharp swords, as to the possessors of these only did the world offer its glittering prizes.

This appeal to history at such a time and place is curious. For Glasgow in the Gaelic tongue means "The Dear Green Spot."

When St. Mungo arrived at this enchanting glade on the clear banks of the Clyde he gave the place this motto: "Let Glasgow flourish by the Preaching of the Word."

This motto the city preserved till struck by the full blast of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century. Then all was changed by the smoke of great furnaces. The city fathers also as modern practical men became ashamed of the ancient motto, so they cut it down to, "Let Glasgow Flourish."

Glasgow indeed has flourished exceedingly, its glittering prizes going to those with sharp swords, while the vanquished have been driven into slums with apparently no exits. Here they must wait till each one's turn comes to enter the place of uncomplaining silence.

What will be the nature of Lord Cecil's address to the students of Aberdeen University?

Will he side with the dead St. Mungo, or with the live Lord Birkenhead?—Yours, &c.,

St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe.

A. L. CALDWELL.

LINKS OVERSEAS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I understand that already over 500 members of the League of Nations Union are posting on their copies of HEADWAY to men and women, and Societies, &c., in many parts of the world, who wish to be kept in touch with League news.

Voluntary League of Nations Societies are developing in most countries, and I venture to suggest that some, and possibly several, of our own L.N.U. members may like to come into more direct personal touch with those who are also interested in the League of Nations—in the Overseas Dominions, in the United States, on the Continent and elsewhere—and not only send them our news, but ask for theirs back in return. In this way mutual understanding and goodwill will be encouraged, and we shall be able to help one another to go forward in what is a world-wide movement, resting upon informed and sympathetic public opinion in all lands.

To this end, I suggest the following definite lines of development:—

(1) A constant increase of individuals, who will send on their HEADWAY (and any other suitable and recent L.N.U. literature they can spare) to those overseas known personally to our members, or to names supplied through HEADWAY.

(2) Wherever possible, these individuals also should write to one another and exchange League of Nations news.

(3) Correspondents should share with their respective Branches the news received in the letters and papers exchanged.

(4) Correspondents and Branches should encourage other correspondents to take part in this scheme, thus reaching those who might become interested, as well as those who already believe in the League.—Yours, &c.

GRACE MITCHELL,

Member of the L.N.U. Overseas Committee.

December 10, 1924.

[Any offer to take part in the scheme or other correspondence relating to it should be addressed to the Overseas Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.—Ed.]

BERTRAM W. MILLS' International Olympia Circus AND Fun Fair.

Daily at 2.30 and 7.30 until Jan. 21.

Circus Seats (including Free Admission to Fun Fair), reserved 10/6 to 3/6; unreserved, 2/4; from Olympia Box Office (Riverside 2729) or Agencies.

FUN FAIR only (noon till 11 p.m.) 1/2

All prices include tax.



excellent form of propaganda. On November 26, 27 and 28, Kilmarnock produced one written by the chairman of the branch and performed by his congregation. It represented six weeks' hard work, and was received with the appreciation it deserved by a crowded audience at each performance.

And a New Play.

An entirely new line in League of Nations plays comes from Worthing, where "Bringing it Home to Mr. Chibley," by Herbert Bloye, O.B.E., was produced on December 2.

Election Candidates in Westmorland.

At the recent General Election, Westmorland was contested for the first time since 1910. The local branch seized the opportunity to bring both candidates together on the same platform to give their views on the League. The non-party character of the Union was emphasised by the fact that the meeting was held on a Sunday, when no political meetings were taking place. Both candidates spoke in favour of the League, and urged their hearers to undertake active work for it by joining the Union.

The League at Wembley.

No, this has nothing to do with the British Empire Exhibition. Wembley was on the map before the Exhibition was thought of. They have three flourishing Junior branches of the Union, which held a most successful joint meeting on November 10. Its most original feature was the presentation of prizes won in a League Song Competition, in which the judge's report concluded with some verses modelled on "The Walrus and the Carpenter." This was followed by the performance of "An English Family Abroad," a play illustrating conditions in Europe in 1922, and the rescue of Austria by the League.

Another Thriving Junior Branch

Is at Camberwell, where a meeting of over five hundred girls and teachers representing the ten elementary, central and secondary schools of the district, was held on Armistice Day in the Mary Datchelor School, and addressed by the headmistress, Miss M. D. Brock Litt.D.

Armistice Week Results.

The backwash of the Armistice Week campaigns organised by several branches is still being felt in the enrolment of numbers of new members. Even now complete returns cannot be given, as recruits continue to come in. Nottingham, in particular, has done great things. The branch opened a recruiting booth in the Market Square, and announced its intention of roping in a thousand new members in the course of the week. The thousand were found so quickly that they raised their objective to two thousand. Up to date they have succeeded in increasing their membership by over three thousand. The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the General Committee of the branch:—

"That the Committee desire to place on record its deep sense of gratitude to Miss A. H. Tynan, Regional Representative of the East Midlands district, for her untiring zeal during their 'Armistice Week' effort, which resulted in an addition of close upon 3,000 new members to the register, an achievement which is principally attributable to Miss Tynan's work and numerous activities.

"That a copy of this resolution be sent to the General Secretary of the Union."

The Tyne District Council's programme involved the addition of 10,000 members to their roll, and their campaign was most energetic. Among its features were special services in Newcastle Cathedral, one of which was broadcast; an Armistice service at Durham, where the Lord Bishop of Lichfield preached the sermon; and a large number of meetings, which culminated in a huge demonstration in the Palace Theatre, Newcastle, at which Lord Grey was the principal speaker.

The branches of the London Regional Federation continue to send in satisfactory reports of the result of their big push. Some branch reports have not yet been received, so that the total increase of membership cannot yet be stated, but up to date it is estimated at round about three thousand. The highest number of new members made by a single branch was 320.

Bromley branch have brought their membership to well over a thousand by a propaganda campaign, culminating in a meeting in the evening of Armistice Day at which 178 new members joined. The branch issued a very effective leaflet with a photograph of the local War Memorial over the question "What are we doing to secure what they died for?" on the front page, and an application for membership form on the back.

Many other branches must have made equally successful efforts which Headquarters have been unable to record, simply because reports have not been sent in. Branches are urged to let us know of their activities; they are always of interest to readers of HEADWAY.

A Winter Pageant.

Pageants, which of old could flourish only in the summer, are now becoming perennial, and make an

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
Dec. 13, 1924	...	...	...	...	424,187

BRANCHES.

On December 13 the number of Branches was 1,963, Junior Branches 200, and Corporate Members 958.

A World Peace Film.

Darlington branch were able to show the Union's World Peace Film at the local cinema during the week, when the Stoll film "Reveille" was being shown. The latter film shows unemployment consequent on the war, and, in conjunction with the Union's film describing the alternative to war, it made a very profound impression in Darlington.

A Union Speaker in Ireland.

Captain A. E. W. Thomas, Overseas Secretary of the Union, visited Northern Ireland in November, and addressed a number of meetings. On November 18 Captain Thomas spoke on the humanitarian work of the League, at the Belfast Council of Social Welfare. On November 19 he spoke at a public meeting in Belfast, at which the Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University took the chair, and on the 20th he addressed a smaller meeting at Coleraine.

How to Increase Membership.

Radlett Branch have adopted a novel method of obtaining new members. The Branch Secretary obtained a copy of the Parliamentary Register, and ticked off the name of every present member. He then sent the register to a keen supporter, and asked him to write his initials against the names of any non-members whom he knew personally, and was willing to canvass. By repeating this process about a dozen times he secured

that from 50 to 100 non-members should be tackled by their personal friends.

Geography and the League.

This is the subject of a lecture to be given by Professor H. J. Fleure, as part of the Conference of Educational Associations at University College, Gower Street, on Thursday, January 8, at 11.30. Dr. C. W. Kimmins will take the chair.

Forward Push at Hastings.

Hastings and St. Leonards Branch report a successful mass meeting held on November 20, in the Gaiety Theatre, Hastings, when the chair was taken by Colonel F. G. Langham, C.M.G. The speakers were the Bishop of Hereford and Mrs. C. D. Corbett Fisher. Over 50 new members joined on the spot.

St. Albans' Loss.

St. Albans' Branch have lost an energetic Secretary in Mrs. C. B. Peake, who has retired after holding the position since the Branch was formed four years ago. At a meeting held on December 11 the Branch presented her with a silver salver suitably inscribed. The Union has not lost Mrs. Peake, who is still working for us.

Hull and the Protocol.

The programmes distributed at the Hull mass meeting on December 7 contained a short explanation of the Protocol. The importance of making its provisions clear to the public is so great that this idea might well be copied by other Branches.

WELSH NOTES.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Davids delivered an inspiring address to a large audience at Llandinam on Friday, December 5, on "The Geneva Protocol."

Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., has addressed further conferences of teachers at Neath, Aberdare and Porth.

During the week-end November 29—December 1 last, through the kindness of the Misses Davies, Llandinam, a sub-committee of the Advisory Education Committee met, at Gregynog Hall, representatives of the Elementary Teachers of nine Welsh Counties. The direct and indirect teaching of the principles of the League were discussed fully, and a series of "Suggestions" were drafted, which are to be embodied in a pamphlet.

The Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood has kindly consented to address a public meeting at Cardiff on the evening of Friday, January 16, 1925. The Lord Mayor of Cardiff will preside.

Corporate Members.

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

ASHFORD (Derbyshire)—Parochial Church Council. BATLEY—Co-operative Society. Educational Department. BEDFORD—The Bunyan Meeting; St. Martin's Church. BIRMINGHAM—The Cathedral Church; Camp Hill Presbyterian Church of England; Heather Road Mission Senior Boys' Class. BOURNEMOUTH—Westbourne Sisterhood. BOWDON—Trinity Presbyterian Church of England. BRADFORD—Presbyterian Church of England; Low Moor Primitive Methodist Church; Westgate, Toller Lane United Methodist Church; Wesley Place Congregational Church. BRIDGWATER—Congregational Church. BRIGHTON—Co-operative Society. CAMBERLEY—Parochial Church Council. CARLISLE—Presbyterian Church of England. CHALFORD—Tabernacle. CHATHAM—St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of England. COLNE—Colne and District Co-operative Society. DEAL—Wesleyan Church. EASTBOURNE—Y.M.C.A. Branch. EDINBURGH—Lothian Road U.F. Church Brotherhood and Sisterhood. FARNWORTH-WITH-KEARSLEY—Parochial Church Council. FARNWORTH—Queen Street P.M. Sunday School; Wesley Chapel. FINCHLEY—Presbyterian Church. FROME—Zion Congregational Church. HALESWORTH—Congregational Church. HARTFORD—Trinity Presbyterian Church.

HAVANT—Congregational Church. HAWICK—Liberal Club; Y.M.C.A. LEIGHTON BUZZARD—Men's Meeting. LIVERPOOL—Wellington U.M. Church. LINCOLN—National Council of Women. LONDON—Brixton Synagogue; Central Synagogue, Portland Street; Hampstead, Trinity Presbyterian Church; Highgate, St. Andrew's Church, Whitehall Place; King's Cross, Charlotte Street Mission; Putney Presbyterian Church Women's Guild; Upper Norwood, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of England; Stepney, East London Synagogue; Streatham, Trinity Presbyterian Church. MANCHESTER—Dixon Green Congregational Church; Lumb Baptist Church. MARGATE—Baptist Church C.E. Society; Congregational Church, Y.P.S.C.E. NOTTINGHAM—Mechanics' Institute. NORMANTON—Walker Street Liberal Club. NORTHWOOD—St. John's Presbyterian Church. OLDHAM—Derker Congregational Church. PORTSEA—St. Mary's Parochial Church Council. PORTSMOUTH—Christ Church, Kent Road; Ruri-Decanal Conference. READING—Cumberland Street P.M. Church; The Staff of Leighton, Park School; St. Bartholomew's Church; Wilton House School. REETH—Congregational Church. ROTHWELL—Labour Party. ST. PETERS-IN-TANET—Parochial Church Council. SHREWSBURY—St. Nicholas Presbyterian Church of England. STOCKPORT—Heaton Chapel; St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of England. STOCKTON-ON-TEES—Brotherhood. SUNDERLAND—St. Peter's Presbyterian Church. TORQUAY—Tormohun Parish. TOTTENHAM—St. Katharine's College. WALLINGTON—Brotherhood. WATFORD—Paddock Road Free Church. WEMBLEY—Branch of Women's Co-operative Guild. WEST HAM—Wood Grange Wesleyan Methodist Church. WESTON-SUPER-MARE—Branch of U.K.C.T.A. WHITCHURCH (Salop)—Castle Hill P.M. Church. WITNEY—Branch of the C.E.M.S. WOOD GREEN—St. James' Presbyterian Church of England. WORTLEY—Upper and Lower Wortley Liberal Club. YEADON—St. John's Parochial Church Council.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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