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# HEADWAY

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Vol. IX. No. 2 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union.] February, 1927 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.] Price Threepence

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**T**HOUGH the League of Nations International Economic Conference takes place in May, it still remains true that the great task before the League is disarmament. As this issue of HEADWAY goes to press the lengthy report of the military (including naval and air) sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission is issued. One conspicuous passage in it sets forth the views of the British experts, which come far too near to suggesting that special circumstances make it impossible for Great Britain to reduce her army, and special circumstances make it impossible for Great Britain to reduce her navy, but that the general reduction of air forces (in which Great Britain is still behindhand in the race) is eminently to be desired. That is not precisely what the statement comes to, but citizens of other countries might be forgiven for reading it in substantially that sense. It certainly cannot be said to mark any effective progress towards a reduction of armaments. That being so, it is well to remember that these views are simply the views of experts, not of the Government which the experts serve. The broad political decisions for or against a reduction policy will have to be taken next month at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission (technically known as the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference), at which Great Britain will be represented by a Cabinet Minister, Lord Cecil. At that meeting it is hoped to put definitely on paper the draft of an actual Disarmament Convention, which will then go to the Governments of the world for their consideration.

### The Personal Touch

**A** STRIKING tribute to League of Nations methods comes, a little unexpectedly, from South Africa. No question has aroused more anxiety among the States of the British Empire than the grave differences which have arisen between two of them, India and South Africa, over the treatment of Asiatics by the Union Government. After long negotiations, with feeling rising in both countries, an Indian delegation travelled to South Africa to discuss the whole question round a table. The conversations took place in December and January, and resulted in a complete agreement, the terms of which have not yet been disclosed. The point of interest is that South African papers declare with emphasis that what has been achieved was at once made possible by the round-table method, and would never have been made possible in any other way. The League of Nations has, of course, no monopoly of round-table methods; but since Geneva is the centre of all others where that way of conducting business has been made traditional, proofs of its success in other fields go some way to confirm the wisdom of the League's decision.

### Politics and Prejudice

**S**OME words used by Mr. Elihu Root, by common consent the wisest of America's elder statesmen, in acknowledging receipt of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation's award for 1926, give an authoritative explanation of America's attitude towards the League. Mr. Root, in expressing

regret that the United States had not joined the League, said: "We have allowed prejudice to misrepresent the true heart of the American people, and the repercussions of our domestic strife seem to have prevented the realisation of some of our noblest impulses." The Woodrow Wilson award of 25,000 dollars (£5,000) is made on the late President's birthday, December 28th, every year to some chosen recipient in recognition of "meritorious services in the cause of world peace through international justice." Lord Cecil was the first recipient, in 1925. The decision that Mr. Root should receive the second award, in 1926, is a recognition of the part played by the former Secretary of State in the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

### Poland at Sea

POLAND, with its few odd miles of seaboard of its own, is hard at work developing a mercantile fleet and a navy. Poland's main port of ingress and egress is, of course, Danzig; but since Danzig belongs not to Poland, but to itself (subject to various Polish rights over it), the secondary port of Gdynia, to the west of Danzig, and at the end of the so-called "Polish Corridor" in Pomerellia, is being developed with some vigour. Early last month three merchant vessels, the nucleus of Poland's merchant fleet, were solemnly dedicated amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm. One or two more ships are on their way from France for Poland, and another three are building for her at Danzig. There can be no kind of objection to Poland's equipping herself with a merchant marine, or to her developing the Port of Gdynia (which was nothing but a sandy beach to begin with) if she thinks it will pay her; but it is regrettable to find Polish papers arguing already that now the country has merchant ships she must expand her navy to protect them. That is an unwelcome doctrine at a moment when the reduction of armaments is being urged on the ground that the League can provide sufficient security. But it is, perhaps, a little delicate for an Englishman to try and persuade a Pole that merchant vessels do not need men-of-war to protect them. The argument might come better from, say, a Swiss.

### Turkey at the Hague

TURKEY is likely to appear shortly as a litigant before the Permanent Court of International Justice, an agreement having happily been reached between the Governments at Angora and at Paris to submit to the Court their dispute about the treatment by the Turks of an officer of the French steamship "Lotus." The "Lotus" collided with a Turkish vessel and sank it in the Aegean (outside Turkish waters). On reaching Constantinople the commander of the "Lotus" was arrested and thrown into prison, and subsequently charged with responsibility for the accident, which involved considerable loss of life. The commanders of both vessels were found guilty, and the French officer was sentenced to 80 days imprisonment. He was, however, released (he had spent 41 days in prison awaiting trial), and the sentence will not be served pending the appeal to the Permanent Court, to which both France and Turkey have agreed. Turkey will be

entitled to appoint a judge of her own to sit on the bench while the case is being heard, which will probably not, however, be till the ordinary session of the Court in June.

### For Business Men

THOSE who complain, as some critics imperfectly posted in the facts do, that the League is an idealistic and unpractical body, would do well to study the principal leading article in the *Financial Times* of January 17, headed "A New Financial Engine: The League's Triumph." The article is devoted to an exposition of the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Schemes, and pays to the League of Nations compliments such as its most ardent supporters would almost hesitate to frame. If space permitted the whole article would be quoted here. As it is the following extracts must suffice:—

The best financial opinion of the City of London has undergone a definite change in regard to the League of Nations as a financial power pure and simple. So much so that we are not at all sure that among the great early triumphs of the League its success as an international financial mediator, investigator, adviser and dragoon will not stand highest of all in the esteem of our compatriots. Nor is the change in City opinion by any means due only to the fact that there has been no misfortune in regard to any of the loans which the League has fathered. On the contrary, it is due to the realisation that the League has exercised knowledge, care, skill and judgment of a high order, having at its command acknowledged experts in all the matters financial upon which it is called to pronounce.

Such is the dispassionate judgment of a paper whose one concern is with sound finance and with sound finance alone.

### The League and Alcohol

A CONFERENCE, having, of course, no official connection at all with the League of Nations, has just been held at Geneva to consider what action the League might usefully take in regard to the use and abuse of alcohol. The question is to be inscribed on the agenda of the next Assembly as the result of a resolution carried at the last Assembly, on the proposal of Poland, Sweden and Finland, which put in a joint memorandum on the subject. The drink problem, in one form or another, already directly concerns the League. The Mandates Commission, for example, has to consider the effects of liquor on native races; the Women & Children Committee the relation between alcoholism and prostitution; and the Child Welfare Committee the protection of children from the evils of alcohol. But it is suggested that there are broader and more specifically international aspects of the problem, and that the League ought to deal with them. There is, for example, the suggestion, which recent events off the American coast have made very pertinent, of international action against liquor smuggling. There is the extension to uncivilised areas other than mandate territories of measures to prevent liquor abuse among natives. There is possibly the question of friction between countries which export wine and countries which restrict or prohibit its importation. And there is the much larger question of an investigation on an international scale of the social effects of the liquor traffic. All this ought to provide material for some very interesting discussions next September.

### Slaves and their Future

TWO Governments, the British and the Abyssinian, have been giving proof in recent weeks of their resolve to honour the Slavery Convention they signed at Geneva in the course of the last Assembly. In Burma, a British dependency, the Government is exerting unrelaxing efforts to root out the slavery which still persists in various remote valleys, where white men hardly ever penetrate. The "Times" recently published the account of a British official expedition which visited one of these valleys to tell the slaves in friendly but emphatic tones that slavery of all kinds must absolutely cease. In another field Great Britain is co-operating with Abyssinia for the benefit of freed slaves in the latter country. A school for the education of these ex-slaves, and also, it would appear, of poor children, is to be opened in Addis Ababa, the Abyssinian capital, and the British Foreign Office has asked the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society if it can assist the school financially. The Society has accordingly promised to raise, if possible, an initial sum of £250 and an annual grant of £100. The Empress of Abyssinia and the Regent, Ras Tafari, have both contributed towards the school's expenses, the Government of Abyssinia has guaranteed the proper administration of the funds, and the British Minister is to have a seat on the committee responsible for the organisation of the school.

### Lithuanian Troubles

ONE of the most disturbing facts in Europe is the consistent incompetence of successive Lithuanian administrations. That makes Lithuania a real danger-point in Europe. To insist on maintaining a so-called "state of war" with Poland is the kind of folly which injures Lithuania herself as much as Poland, but perhaps inflicts the maximum of injury on the German inhabitants of the port of Memel, whose constitution was drawn up under the auspices of the League in 1924. Memel is a port close to the mouth of the River Niemen, and its main prosperity has depended on timber floated down the Niemen from forests which are now Polish. But since the Vilna trouble the Lithuanians have adopted measures in that part of the Niemen flowing through their own territory which have had the result of killing the timber trade, and consequently half-killing Memel. In addition to that, the Lithuanian Government, which came into being as the result of a revolution in December, has dissolved or suspended the Memel Parliament because it exercised its lawful right of withholding confidence from a Directorate appointed indirectly by Lithuania. Under the Memel Constitution, either the existing Parliament must sit out its term or else a new one be elected. If that is not done, it is to be hoped some Allied Power will use its right, under the Memel Convention, to bring the whole situation before the League Council in March.

### The League and the 'Flu

THE League of Nations Health Section has made the departure of broadcasting information about the incidence of influenza in different countries, a tribute alike to the seriousness of the

epidemic and to the enterprise of the Health Section. Official information was provided by Germany, Belgium, the U.S.A., Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and other countries. Much of it was interesting, and may also have been important, though that is a matter on which the Public Health organs in the various countries can judge better than the ordinary layman. There may be something in the comment that it is just as well, on the whole, not to be told that an influenza wave is coming your way, as the agitation of mind which the intelligence may provoke is calculated to do more harm than the opportunity thus given of taking precautions in advance will do good.

### Co-operators' Move

POWERFUL support for the Disarmament movement is ensured by the action of the Co-operative Union in forwarding to local co-operative societies all over the Kingdom resolutions in favour of reduction of armaments carried at the last annual Co-operative Congress and the last Congress of the English Women's Co-operative Guild. The local societies are urged to support this movement in three ways: (1) By calling meetings for the discussion of disarmament; (2) by approaching the Members of Parliament for the locality; (3) by becoming associated with the League of Nations Union. As there are computed to be some 5,000,000 members of co-operative societies in Great Britain, their enlistment in this cause is of manifest importance.

### This Month's "Headway"

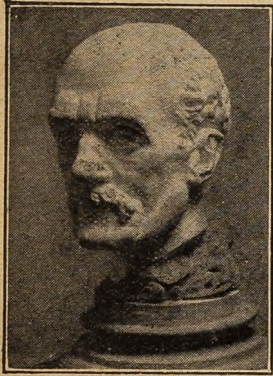
CERTAIN changes in the make-up of HEADWAY this month will, we hope, commend themselves to the majority of our readers. To please everyone is impossible, and will be so long as humanity continues to be constituted of sets of human beings with diametrically opposite tastes. But it will be a disappointment if, at any rate, a majority of the readers of HEADWAY do not appreciate changes which mean more room for news about the League's activities and more room for news about the League of Nations Union's activities, as well as for the reproduction of portraits and other photographs. About the separation effected in this and subsequent issues between the affairs of the League and those of the Union there may be room for two opinions, but there is undoubtedly a demand in this country—a demand which ought to be met, and if possible stimulated—for a paper which will keep its readers posted in League of Nations questions and make no profession to do anything else. Members of the general public who want that will be able to get HEADWAY without the four-page supplement devoted specially to the educational and other activities of the League of Nations Union. So, of course, will any members of the Union who may so desire. The distinction in form between the two parts of the paper corresponds to a distinction in substance. The League of Nations is one thing, the League of Nations Union is another. The two organisations are wholly separate, but closely related. There could obviously not be a Union without the League. There could, we venture to claim, not be so good a League without the Union.

## CHANGING AMERICA? THE PROPOSED ANGLO-SAXON ALLIANCE

By Prof. GILBERT MURRAY

[Prof. Murray, who returned to England early last month after filling the Chair of Poetry at Harvard during the Michaelmas term, is in a position to speak with special authority on current tendencies in the United States.]

FEW mortals, excepting, perhaps, Freud in his more lurid moments, would dare to probe the mental processes of the great commercial newspaper proprietor, of whom Mr. Hearst is the supreme type; but probably one would be safe in supposing that when such a potentate announces a formal change of policy in all his papers he believes that a similar change is taking place in public opinion. And that lends a good deal of interest to Mr. Hearst's pronouncement in favour of Anglo-American co-operation to preserve the peace of the world.



Prof. G. Murray

It is a complete change of front. The Hearst papers were the great organs of anti-British propaganda in the United States. Quite a few years ago, when one of the very best American historians brought out a textbook of American history for schools, he was rash enough in describing the Battle of Bunker's Hill to use the phrase "British pluck." It was too much. The Hearst Press would not allow any such truckling to the ancestral tyrant to pollute the pages of an American school history, and set itself vigorously and successfully to destroying the book. And such instances could be multiplied. Why, then this change?

### Back in the Nordics

I think it possibly has two causes. In the first place, the anti-foreign feeling, always strong in the American masses, has been of late years directed more and more against the swarms of "dagoes" and "hunkies," who have been crowding into the States from southern and eastern Europe, and even from the near east. They do not want America to become a land of Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Russians, with a dash of the negro to assimilate them. They dread the example of certain parts of South America. "Dutchies," such as Germans and Scandinavians, are not so bad. As for Scotch, Irish and English, really in the circumstances they are almost welcome. The sentimental traditional hatred of the English tyrant has been swamped by the active and present dislike of the real alien.

Besides, the traditional jealousy has begun owing to obvious reasons to die down, and England is being promoted in the popular mind from the status of a baffled tyrant to that of a poor—but honest—relation. An Irish leader in Massachusetts actually said to a friend of mine not long ago, "We must not stand by and see England destroyed." A few years earlier there would have been no negative in that sentence.

So far this is a most welcome sign. The feeling that Americans and English are of common blood, and largely of the same outlook on the world, has always been stronger here than in America; the feeling of irritation and antagonism, normal between adult males of the same family, has been much stronger there. And this change of feeling, if it lasts and grows, will be warmly reciprocated in England.

### Right and Wrong Pacts

But the plan itself is another matter. An alliance between the British Empire and the United States for

the purpose of controlling the rest of the world by their joint strength, naval, military and economic, would be an enterprise of mad ambition only equalled by that of the late German Emperor. Such an alliance would provoke, and I fear we must say rightly provoke, a counter-alliance to hold the balance against it, and there we should be on the broad highway towards another world war. Mr. Hearst, of course, scrupulously avoids the word alliance. So much is due to the shade of George Washington. But he advocates "a compact (1) to prevent the parties to the agreement making war on themselves (*sic*), and (2) to protect anyone and all of the parties from the warlike aggression of others." That is exactly what is called a Defensive Military Alliance.

The time for such compacts is past. The League of Nations has shown a better method than that of alliances. It is not an alliance, but a new way of living. The members of the League are not pledged to defend one another as such; they are pledged never to resort to war without seeking peaceful settlement first, and also pledged to defend a victim of war against the aggressor. The victim might be a non-member; but if it applied under Article XVII the League must defend it, even if the aggressor were a member. This undertaking may, in the present state of the world, come against obstacles which prevent its practical fulfilment; but it remains the only right kind of pact, and an alliance definitely the wrong one.

### Outlawing War

A much more promising movement from the League point of view, whatever its political prospects may be, is the new push for the outlawry of war. The *Christian Century*, of Chicago, devotes its Christmas number to this crusade, and publishes a resolution to be moved in the Senate by Mr. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and a draft treaty, based on the resolution, drawn up by Mr. Levinson. A number of enthusiastic articles are published in support of the scheme. The resolution is a somewhat long and involved document, but the main idea is that "war between nations should be made a public crime under the law of nations" (though this is not to affect the right of self-defence); and that "a code of international law based upon the outlawing of war should be created and adopted," and then an International Court with the fullest powers created to administer it.

The language needs a good deal of interpretation for British readers, but when interpreted seems to come to something very like the general principles of the Protocol. To say "all war is a crime, but self-defence is not," seems much the same as to say "Aggressive war is a crime, but armed protection of the peace is not." And the "code of international law" which is to be drawn up will probably prove to be in reality not what we call a code at all, but a treaty not much longer than the Covenant. However, we in Europe can, for the present, only be benevolent spectators of this movement. If by any chance the Senate passed Mr. Borah's resolution, and if thereafter the State Department seriously proposed a treaty like Mr. Levinson's, then indeed the world would sit up and pay attention.

[The photograph on this page is of the bust of Prof. Gilbert Murray, executed by the well-known Serbian sculptor Sava, by whose kind permission it is here reproduced.]

## A TERRIBLE TITLE

### "The International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation"

By the Hon. Mrs. ALFRED LYTTTELTON

[Dame Edith Lyttelton, as British delegate-substitute to the League of Nations Assemblies of 1923 and 1926, was a member of Commission V of the Assembly, which dealt with Intellectual Co-operation and similar questions.]

THE very title of this activity of the League of Nations seems to irritate people. What is intellectual co-operation? they ask suspiciously, even when it is pronounced in English, and if expanded to



Dame Edith Lyttelton

"L'Institut International de Co-operation Intellectuelle" their suspicion deepens. When they realise that the French Government has not only supported the work of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, but has founded and endowed an International Institute, and given it a magnificent set of offices and lecture rooms in the Palais Royale, at Paris, they feel suddenly that this is a purely French concern—that it is an astute method of French propaganda under the cloak of Internationalism, and that Anglo-Saxons had better keep clear of these rather dubious exploitations of intellectual interests.

I confess that when I was a Substitute Delegate to the Assembly in 1923 I was frankly amused rather than impressed by the intellectual scrambling that went on. Every country within the League claimed for its own culture and achievements of the mind a pre-eminent position, and demanded special representation on the Committee. But the ideas behind the schemes always appealed specially to the French delegates; they had a vision of a realm of pure reason where considerations of material power and national ambitions could obtain, and where a real fraternity of literature, art, philosophy and science might exist. And being a logical people they have put these ideas into visible form in the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Last September when I was again a Substitute Delegate I was impressed by the reports submitted by the Institute and especially by that of the Sub-Committee of experts on the instruction of children and youth in the aims and objects of the League, of which Professor Gilbert Murray was chairman, as a British delegate I brought in a resolution calling the attention of the Assembly to its recommendations, and I determined that on my way home I would stop in Paris for a night or two and see the French offices. It is probably a fair criticism, and one often made, that the Institute has had almost too many ideas, and perhaps has forced the pace too much over some of them. Nevertheless it is refreshing to feel enthusiasm and vitality in all the different sections, and the ardour with which immense questions are being tackled, such as the unification of the laws of copyright; or the interchange throughout the world of art treasures in museums, may make the prudent organiser smile, or even shiver, but will certainly stimulate practical enthusiasts.

The Institute is subsidised by the French Government. Nevertheless it badly needs further support. The Polish Government, and I believe the Czecho-Slovak Government, now grant a subsidy, and a contribution is promised from a German source. It is to be hoped that Great Britain will some day be able to assist in one or other of these ways. We have not appointed

a National Delegate to the Institute, nor have we the working and effective national Committee of Intellectual Co-operation which has been formed in 30 other countries, by people highly distinguished in various branches of intellectual activity. England is merely represented by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, which acts as correspondent in this country.

The League of Nations Union might well take up the matter and try to rouse opinion through the country about Great Britain's sluggish attitude towards this very important effort. There is, I am glad to say, to be a Conference this year of Local Educational Authorities summoned by the Board of Education, to consider the best methods of putting the resolution about the teaching of children into practice. A great deal has already been done in the schools, and in this matter of the Conference we shall not lag behind other countries. Although we may be called almost pioneers in the work of instructing children and youth in the aims of the League of Nations, I feel that the Conference may mark a definite turn in our attitude to the Committee of the League and the International Institute in Paris.

It is a fine idea, this of bringing the peoples of the world into close co-operation in the works and hopes and visions of the mind. While going the round of the various sections I saw an invention newly brought from Belgium which seemed a very good symbol of what the Institute is trying to do. A small metal column stood on a table topped by a kind of cylinder in which a lamp was burning. A little roll of photographic films, costing a few pennies, was put into the lamp, and at once a magnified reproduction of an ancient piece of decorated leather was thrown, either on the wall or on a sheet of white paper on the writing table. The original treasure belongs to a Brussels Museum. Think what it would mean, if in the future, for a few pennies you could buy a film containing photographs of rare embroideries, prints, MSS, and thereafter be able to study them at your leisure in your own study for any length of time. Just as the wireless waves bring sounds to us, and television may bring actions, so will these little lamps bring into our houses delicate artistic treasures which most of us have never seen, and never will.

I have in my imagination a poor scholar, say, in Edinburgh, who knows there is a famous early manuscript in a certain monastery in Syria. He longs and longs in my dream to finger and study it, but he can never afford the time or the money to travel to Syria, and then perhaps attain to only even a few hours in company with the MSS. It is quite possible that before so very long that scholar may be able to buy the little lamp, bend over his own table and study manuscripts for as long as he likes.

The lamp is only one form of co-operation out of many in science, in law, in literature, in ideas generally. The aim is no less than a pooling of all the intellectual activities of man both in the past and the present. It would be difficult to over-estimate the development possible in all directions, if the best minds could be brought into contact on any subject they had in common. The past of each nation should enrich the present of all other nations, and their work in the future go forward side by side.

Let us co-operate—let us also, metaphorically speaking, contribute material for the little lamps.

## PUBLICITY AND THE LEAGUE IS AN ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN NEEDED?

By ETHEL M. WOOD

[Mrs. Wood, who is a Director of a well-known firm of Advertising Agents, is a daughter of the late Quintin Hogg, founder of the Polytechnic, and a sister of Sir Douglas Hogg, the Attorney-General.]

IN the "Spectator" of January 1st there appeared a very interesting article on the question of Publicity and the League of Nations. The problem is treated internationally, and in my opinion it does not as yet, and will not for many a long year, lend itself to this method. It must be remembered that the League comprises member nations in many differing stages of national, industrial, intellectual and moral development. The admission of Mr. Murray Allison, the writer of the "Spectator" article, that his estimates might prove to be 50 per cent. or even 75 per cent. out, is surely only another way of saying that the League is not ripe for the type of propaganda he outlines. You cannot "sell" the League as you can personal or household necessities or luxuries, and if a column a day were devoted to League affairs in all papers the people who most require instruction would no more read it than the majority of women read the City news, or the majority of men the fashion articles.

It is as impossible to inculcate the ideals of the League purely through the medium of publicity in the commercial sense as it is to teach religion in such a way, and for much the same reasons. Undoubtedly the status of the Churches would profit by a campaign of advertisement; for, in the parlance of salesmanship, "attention would be arrested and interest aroused"; but unless there were constant live evidence of the power of the principles advocated all around the "arrested aroused" persons the actual harvest of results would be poor.

### Begin at the Bottom

The spirit and the flesh, the higher and lower instincts of humanity, will always be at war, and knowledge of facts alone has, unfortunately, proved a somewhat futile weapon when cupidity, selfishness or other very general characteristics are involved. A dispassionate survey of the past in the worlds of history, politics or fashion will soon establish this distressing assertion.

The best method of promoting the League is, I believe, not from the top downwards, but from the bottom upwards; not from the centre outwards, but from the fringes inwards. Decentralisation is absolutely essential to vitalise the dead weight of facts and figures, and to individualise those huge national and international problems in such a way as to make the ordinary citizen everywhere realise that his little contribution of faith and support are of value.

Bodies similar to the League of Nations Union at present exist in only a few of the member countries of the League. The first step is to develop them on a comparable basis in every country, and there is everywhere a sufficient band of enthusiasts to achieve this, with sympathetic guidance and help. To such organisations belongs the real task of educational propaganda in each country, and the more individualised and localised it can be the better.

### More Popular Appeal

Let us turn to our own country for more specific scrutiny of what is required. The headquarters of the Union ought, I think, to produce a great deal more popular and less academic literature than it does at present. There is so much in the work of the League that lends itself to very secular treatment, and many of the Union's speakers not only appreciate this helpful factor fully, but use it freely. Indeed, a great deal of

propaganda could be accomplished almost without mentioning the League, and, since the old Adam is quick to become restive under the discipline of organised morality, there is much to be said for avoiding the least taint of didactics.

After all, it really does not matter whether people know the constitution, jargon or procedure of the League, provided they come to accept it as a definite necessity of modern international life and champion it as an ally.

Again, the meetings on behalf of the League are most frequently held in chapels and mission halls. I should like to hear of them taking place in pubs and dance halls, and in such a guise that the frequenters of both would enjoy them. At present, whenever the Union is at all skittish, it always seems to be with the ulterior motive of abstracting cash from one's pocket!

At present there are only 580,000 people in this country actively supporting the Union by membership—far, far less than can be claimed by the principal trade unions or the co-operative societies. Such a state of affairs can only be remedied by organised intelligent local propaganda based on careful psychological study of each area.

I should naturally always welcome the help of the press, and the editorial columns will undoubtedly carry more and more League matter as the interest of the public in such matter is evinced; but I am personally convinced that the advertisement columns of the press should be regarded rather as a means of making known the various activities of the local organisations than as a definite means of awakening public enthusiasm. The choice of papers analysed in the "Spectator" article is a somewhat curious one. Periodicals with a less sectionalised circulation would have provided a better basis for argument.

### Peaceful Penetration

The League is really an attempt to express internationally the ideals of Christianity, and it has got patiently and quietly to pursue the same peaceful penetration of individual, national and international consciousness as any other ethical code. British credit in every sense of the word stood higher at the time of the General Strike than it had for many a long day past, merely because the British people then displayed certain qualities which the whole world recognised as dependable and admirable. In the same way I think the League never gained the respect of more people, or strengthened the loyalty of its adherents more thoroughly, than by its behaviour in connection with the Italo-Greek clash over Corfu in 1923. Why? Surely because, in the face of sneers and gibes, it stood firm in its allegiance to Principle, and had the courage and the vision to put peace before personal prestige.

There is no short cut to the best achievements of which man is capable, and when the gauntlet is flung in the face of the devil we may be perfectly sure we are in for a struggle, whether it be a personal, a national or a world-wide challenge.

No advertiser would launch a great scheme of publicity until he was well assured that his product itself and his organisation for production, distribution and selling were in a position to take the fullest advantage of its results. One day the League may be in a position to declare itself ready to do this, but not at present.

## THE LEAGUE IN 1927 CONDITIONS AND TASKS IN THE COMING YEAR

AN article on the League in 1927 ought properly to appear in January rather than February. But not much is lost by the delay, for the League, like other human institutions, takes a little time to settle down after the distractions of Christmas, and no activity of great importance is fixed for the first month of the year. There was indeed a sitting in the middle of January of a useful little committee on the evils of double taxation and the best way to avoid them; and in the last week of the month the Opium Committee met. But for the most part the solid work of the year is still to come.

Sometimes the coming twelve months at Geneva look like being quiet. Sometimes they look like being lively. This year there is certainly not much sign of quietness. Apart from the possibility of the unforeseen—that is to say, some political development which may call suddenly and unexpectedly for League action—arrangements already made promise to ensure the League the busiest and most important year it has so far experienced. It starts that year with Germany as a member of the League itself and of the Council, and with yet a fifth of Germany's immediate neighbours (the other four are Holland, Belgium, France and Czechoslovakia) sitting beside her at the Council-table.

### The Doubtful East

The possibility that a dispute between the German and Polish Governments over a question of schools in Upper Silesia may come before the Council at its next meeting may be of more importance than appears, for there is unfortunately a good deal of evidence that relations between Germany and Poland are far from what they might be, and the belief of Sir Austen Chamberlain and others that the best cure for the ills of Eastern Europe would be to have Germany and Poland sitting side by side in the League Council may soon be put to the test. There are other complications that may at any moment demand the attention of the League in the same region. Lithuania's relations with Poland over the retention of the town of Vilna by the latter remain as tense as ever, and a dispute seems blowing up between Lithuania and Germany over conditions in the port of Memel, of which the population is mainly German, while the sovereignty over the port is Lithuanian. And beyond Lithuania there is Soviet Russia, which has hitherto appeared to be provoking the Lithuanian Government against the League, but which is now at loggerheads with the new administration in Lithuania on account of the latter's hostility to Communists.

That is an example of the explosive material still lying about in Europe, and the League may have to rush in with its extinguishers at any moment. Other examples will present themselves readily enough to the mind. The most obvious—in Asia this time, not in Europe—is China. There is nothing, so far as can be seen, that the League can do about that at present, but a turn of the wheel might easily raise a Chinese problem at Geneva.

But all these are developments that may or may not take place. Other events at Geneva in 1927 are more definitely fixed. Unless all expectations are gravely disappointed this will be pre-eminently the Disarmament year. The actual conference can hardly be held till after December, but the stage at which it will have become quite clear whether the conference is to fail or to succeed ought to have been reached before next autumn passes into winter. This month, February, a small sub-committee of three, Lord Cecil,

M. de Brouckère, of Belgium, and M. Titulesco, of Rumania, is to meet in London to work out a tentative plan of action for the League when it has to take some definite and immediate steps to prevent a war. This, of course, is not disarmament, but it is a definite part of the disarmament problem, for if the League can act promptly enough and effectively enough to prevent war from breaking out nations will feel it so much the less necessary to maintain large armies to defend themselves against possible attack.

### A Disarmament Treaty

The study of the prevention of war, therefore, has a manifest importance. But the real crisis of the disarmament discussions will come in March, when the Preparatory Commission meets to digest the mass of material laid before it by the various expert committees which advise it, and to prepare the actual text of a Disarmament Treaty or Convention. The fact that this task is to be taken in hand at a meeting which begins in the middle of next month shows that the League has got a good deal further with its preparatory work than most people realise. But to reach the crisis is a very different matter from surmounting it. No one imagines that it will be a simple matter for the Preparatory Commission to get the draft of a Disarmament Treaty framed—the technical difficulties themselves are enormous, even assuming universal goodwill in every quarter—or that there will not be long and anxious negotiations in store before the Governments principally concerned—(those of Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Japan, with Russia hovering uncertain and disturbing in the background)—are prepared so far to approve the draft as to let it go forward to the general Disarmament Conference as basis, in an amended or unamended form, for the final agreement. From March onwards till the last hour of the year disarmament is likely to be the League's prime preoccupation.

### Those Tariff Walls

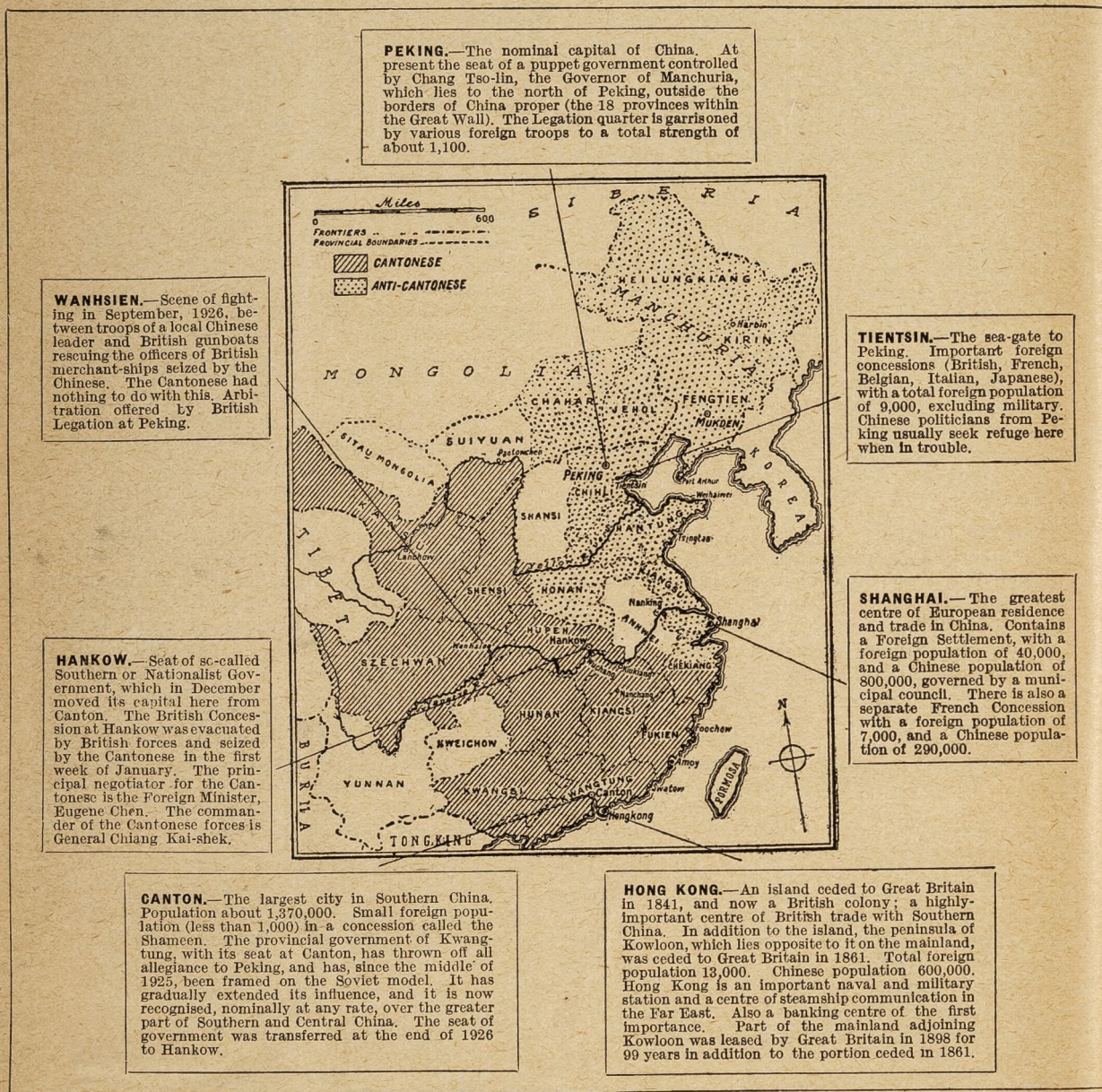
If it were not for that 1927 would be destined to be remembered as the year of the Economic Conference. Preparations for that are less extensive than they have to be for a Disarmament Conference, and they have consequently moved a good deal faster. The actual conference is called for the first week in May, and great things are expected of it. That does not mean great decisions, for decisions in the shape of definite agreements between States are not being aimed at. What the Conference's conclusions, if it reaches any, will amount to will be a series of declarations on right methods and wrong methods in the economic relations between nations, declarations which will serve as guide to any nation that desires to frame its national policy on sound lines. If, for example, the Conference should, as it very well may, denounce emphatically the folly of Europe's tariff walls, that is bound to create a tendency on the part of governments throughout Europe to lower those walls by agreement with one another rather than to pile them higher.

The Economic and the Disarmament Conferences are considerable ventures on the part of the League, because failure in one sphere or both might do as much to weaken it as success would to give it new strength. The loss must be risked unless the chance of the gain is to be thrown away. By facing up to these two great problems the League looks like making 1927 memorable in its annals.

# THE TROUBLE IN CHINA

## SOME LIGHT ON KEY-PLACES AND KEY-PROBLEMS

The map and notes printed below will, it is hoped, make clear some of the essential points in the Chinese situation as dealt with in daily messages in the Press. An article on the position of the League in relation to China appears on the opposite page.



**A**MONG the questions figuring in any discussion of China's present aims are the following:—

**Extra territoriality.**—The name given to the right enjoyed by most foreign Powers whereby all charges brought against foreigners by Chinese are tried not in the ordinary Chinese court or under Chinese law, but in a special court in which a consul of the country to which the foreigner belongs is judge, and the law is the law of that country.

**Tariff Revision.**—China is compelled by a series of treaties contracted with different foreign Powers to limit her import duties to a figure which was, down to a few years ago, a nominal 5 per cent. of the value of the imported article, but which, in point of fact, worked out at a good deal less. As a result of agreements reached at the Washington Conference in 1922, China was permitted to increase the duties to a real 5 per cent., and to add a still further 2½ per cent. on certain

conditions. A British Memorandum of last December proposed that the Powers should allow China to levy this extra 2½ per cent. *unconditionally*. China claims full freedom to levy what tariffs she pleases.

**Treaty Ports.**—Altogether 49 sea and river ports in China have been declared open to foreign trade by treaties concluded at different times between China and various foreign Powers. China has since thrown open certain other ports voluntarily.

**Concessions.**—Limited areas adjoining a number of Chinese cities have been made over to foreigners on lease for purposes of trade and residence. These concessions are administered by their foreign inhabitants, not by the Chinese. The bulk of the population in the concession is Chinese.

*Note.*—The position shown in the map, which we reproduce by courtesy of the "Manchester Guardian," was that existing in the middle of January.

# CAN THE LEAGUE HELP CHINA?

## GENEVA PERSONALITIES

### I.—THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

**I**T is natural that the question which forms the heading of this article should be asked by everyone interested in the League of Nations or in the destinies of China itself.

Can the League help China? The League undoubtedly could help China if China desired help from that quarter, and if—most important of all—there were a single China with which negotiations could be carried on. These "ifs" must be borne in mind by those who argue, reasonably enough at first sight, that something must be wrong somewhere if what is happening in China can go on happening and the League remain idle and apparently indifferent.

The League, in actual fact, is by no means indifferent. But before the League endeavours to take a hand in China it must be clear that it can take a hand with advantage. Intervention attempted in the face of Chinese opposition would almost certainly do more harm than good. And even if the Peking Government, which still represents China diplomatically, not only at Geneva, but at London and Paris and Tokyo and elsewhere, did desire an appeal to the League, of which there is no indication at all, what effect might that be expected to have on the Canton Government, with its anti-foreign complex?

Technically there would be no special difficulties about League action. The most obvious course, if Peking desired it, would be to make use of Article XIX of the Covenant, under which—

"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

This Article might almost seem framed on purpose to fit the case of a China complaining against obsolete and "unequal" treaties. And though it is true that the Assembly does not meet till September, if there were really reason to believe that action under this Article would lead to harmonious agreement the prospect would be important enough to justify the summoning of a special skeleton Assembly to deal with the matter. But action without the United States would be useless, and there is grave reason to doubt whether the United States would consent to co-operate with the League in such a case as this.

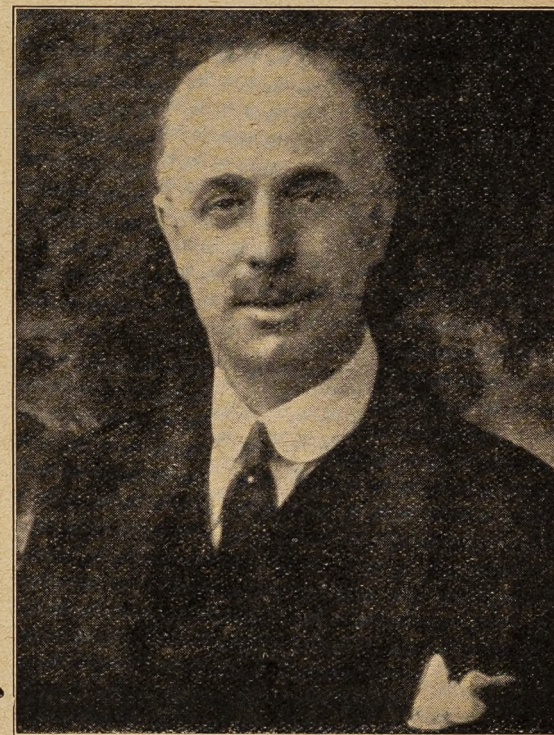
Another obvious method of initiating League action would be for some State to raise the whole question of conditions in China under Article XI of the Covenant as a "war or threat of war," or as a "circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." The question of China's civil war does not arise under this Article. That is her own affair. But after the Hankow trouble there unquestionably exists in China a circumstance which threatens international peace.

Any State, therefore, could raise the Chinese problem under Article XI and ask for an immediate meeting of the Council to discuss the matter. But what would be the use of calling a representative of the shadow Government of Peking to discuss conditions created by the action of the Government of Canton? And what sign is there that Canton would look on the League as anything but a combination of hostile foreign Powers?

In connection with finance and transit, and no doubt in other fields as well, the technical organisations of the League could be of enormous service to China and the opportunity for making use of them may yet arise. But at the moment no road for League action stands open.

**N**O one will dispute the right of Sir Eric Drummond to the foremost place in a gallery of League of Nations personalities, for no man living has done more to make the League what it is.

Few people knew anything of the first Secretary-General when his name appeared—to the surprise of the world, for the secret had been well kept—in the second annexe to the Covenant on the day that document was approved by the Paris Peace Conference in April, 1919. For down to that moment Drummond had been a Foreign Office official, and one of those officials who catch the public eye less than most of their colleagues, since his whole career was spent in London, and none of it at an Embassy abroad. But his responsibilities were great, for for two years and more before the war he was lent as private secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and then served two Foreign Ministers, Lord Grey and Lord Balfour, in the same capacity.



Sir Eric Drummond

The misgivings—and they were many—about the appointment of a diplomat pure and simple to Geneva have been dissipated completely long since. Sir Eric Drummond has succeeded in some mysterious way in acquiring all the virtues of diplomacy and avoiding all its vices. He is discreet without ever being tortuous; he is genial without ever being insincere; he is decisive without ever being dogmatic; he is scrupulously fair, and of a courtesy which knows no kind of discrimination of persons.

When, a few weeks ago, Sir Eric's retirement from Geneva was rumoured, a London paper, in denying the report, remarked justly that if the Secretary-General ever harboured any such intention the representatives of 55 States would rise up in immediate and unanimous protest. Fortunately, Sir Eric, alone of Secretariat officials, holds an appointment without a time-limit. At the age of 50 he is in the prime of his vigour. The worst that may befall him is to become Earl of Perth, which would happen if the present holder of that title died. But even an Earl could remain Secretary-General.

## A CITIZEN ARMY SHOULD THE SWISS MODEL BE FOLLOWED?

By WILLIAM MARTIN

[It has been suggested informally in the course of Disarmament conversations at Geneva that the goal, so far as land armaments are concerned, is the reduction of national armies to the standard prevailing in Switzerland. Without necessarily endorsing that view, HEADWAY has thought it useful to obtain an article explaining how Swiss military service is organised. The writer, M. William Martin, Foreign Editor of the "Journal de Genève," is one of the ablest journalists dealing with International Affairs.]

THE people of Switzerland looks on the army as a school of civic training necessary to the smooth working of democracy. In the eyes of the average Swiss, a man can only be a good citizen after he has undergone army discipline. That is why it is the aim of the Swiss people to enlist the maximum number of soldiers, even if that makes it necessary to keep them for only a brief period with the colours.

In point of fact, Swiss citizens are liable to compulsory service from the age of 20 to the age of 48. Every soldier must go through a recruit's training, the duration of which is for infantry and engineers 65 days, for the artillery and fortress troops 75 days, and for cavalry 90 days. He must, in addition, have passed through seven training courses, each lasting from 11 to 14 days, before the age of 32. Further than that, every soldier must present himself once a year for an equipment inspection, and also carry out a compulsory musketry course once a year. Between the ages of 32 and 40 soldiers must undergo two further training courses, and continue to present themselves annually for their kit inspection and compulsory musketry course. From 40 to 48 the only obligation is the annual inspection.

### Service or Tax

There exist in Switzerland no professional soldiers except the officer-instructors to the number of 235, and the permanent fortress guards to the number of 225. It is only in the upper ranks of the army, from the Divisional Commandant downwards, that military service becomes a profession, carrying with it a fixed salary. For all other grades, including that of Brigadier-General, pay is forthcoming only during the brief periods of active service.

In spite of the principle that every man must be incorporated in the army, it is impossible to admit no exceptions to this rule. A certain number of men must be excused on the ground of physical incapacity or for financial reasons, and the recruiting commissions are liberal in their consideration of claims of this kind. Actually no more than about 60 per cent. of the recruits in Switzerland are really enlisted, but the principle of compulsory service is maintained by the existence of the military tax. Every man who does not carry out his military duties, whatever the reason may be, and even if it is a question simply of a temporary exemption for a year, pays a military tax consisting of a fixed sum of six francs (about 5s.), and a variable tax, according to the property and income of the man himself or his parents. The military tax is high, and in most cases men prefer the service to the payment of the tax.

### Rifle and Horse

The great difficulty about an army of this character is not, as might be supposed, the actual training. Given the average standard of public education in Switzerland, experience shows that it is possible for brief periods of intensive training to turn out soldiers fit for their work. Moreover, the compulsory musketry-course and the popularity of shooting among the Swiss, and the development of sports clubs of all kinds, provide a sufficient physical training, quite outside the periods of service.

It is elsewhere that the great difficulty lies. It con-

sists in the rapid mobilisation of an army of this kind. The Swiss army, being needed solely for frontier protection, must be capable of immediate mobilisation on the first threat of war. This rapidity of mobilisation is assured by the fact that each man owns his own equipment, and keeps it in his own house, rifle included. In the cavalry the soldier owns his horse, which the Government sells him for half its value. Annual inspections of kit and of horses guarantee their maintenance in good condition. That is the characteristic feature of the Swiss military system. Each man has always in his own keeping his rifle and all his equipment.

### A Costly System

It is obvious that a system of this kind could only be applied in a comparatively small number of countries. It assumes, (1) so far as concerns training, recruits of a high intellectual standard, and (2) in the matter of arms, a country completely free from political disturbance. It is thanks to the civic spirit of the Swiss people and to its long experience of democracy that every man can safely be entrusted with a rifle, in spite of the fact that ammunition can be procured without difficulty. In a country, or in a period, subject to revolutionary tendencies, such a system might present the gravest dangers.

This system, with all its advantages, is not without certain drawbacks, the chief of these being its relatively high cost. Since the Government pays for every soldier's equipment, the expenses under this head are considerable. Moreover, the pay and the maintenance of the soldiers is relatively costly. The Federal military budget totals 85,000,000 francs (£3,400,000), or 28 per cent. of the budget total. (It has to be remembered in considering this figure that Switzerland is a Confederation, and that the Federal budget, which includes all military costs, covers, on the other hand, only a small part of the general expenses, so that the proportion of 28 per cent. appears much higher than it actually is.) The Swiss people thinks the cost not too great to pay for the possession of an army inspired by a true national spirit, and at the same time devoid of any spirit of aggression.

### Special Conditions ?

It must, however, be admitted that, though, speaking generally, the Swiss people is extremely proud of its army, a twofold opposition movement has made itself felt in the course of recent years. The Socialist Party, on the one hand, considering the military expenses to be excessive, demands a substantial reduction in the budget, and has generally refused to vote it in Parliament in the form presented. Another movement, more idealistic in nature and basing itself on examples from Great Britain and Scandinavia, calls for the organisation of a civic service permitting men precluded on conscientious grounds from the profession of arms to render to their country in another form the service they owe it. But this movement, which has aroused strong opposition, has not so far assumed any substantial importance.

Whether the Swiss military system would be applicable in countries living under a different political regime, with different historical traditions and with a less efficient educational system, is a little doubtful.

# HEADWAY

FEBRUARY

1927

## ADVERTISING THE LEAGUE

IN another column a very competent writer discusses the suggestion recently put forward in an article in the *Spectator* that the League of Nations and its work should, if by any means the necessary funds could be raised, be brought home to the man in the street through the advertisement columns of the Press of all countries.

The proposal is manifestly interesting; and when the *Spectator* succeeds in getting a former Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, to express himself on the subject, it cannot be dismissed as no more than a bright little idea. Nor will anyone who ever casts a glance over the advertisement columns of the papers be under any temptation to under-rate the effects of this form of publicity. By judicious advertisement one advertising genius—British incidentally—is said to have taught the United States to drink Indian tea, to the great advantage of our Eastern dependency. In this country the creation of the Baron de Beef and his versatile colleagues is almost literally forcing mustard down the throats and into the pores of the British people. On a rather higher level (if Latin-American politics are really on a higher level than mustard or tea), the President of Mexico has thought it worth while to buy advertisement space in last month's American magazines for an exposition of his policy and aims.

Great, therefore, are the uses of advertisement; but great, equally, are its limitations. It is, to begin with, much more effective for exhortation than for instruction. When a great French newspaper, at a time of wheat shortage, started a "Don't Waste Bread" campaign, and drove that slogan into its readers' minds daily, the result, no doubt, was a reluctant consumption of odd ends and stale remnants that would otherwise have gone into the refuse-box. If, therefore, you have some definite and simple message to proclaim, and can proclaim it in a few terse and arresting sentences, then the advertisement columns of the Press are beyond question an invaluable medium.

But whether, and how far, the League of Nations lends itself to ordinary advertisement treatment is another matter; and it is to be noted that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the statement already referred to, confines himself to the guarded observation that "if by applying to it the art of advertisement we can solve the problem of how to make the League of Nations an effective reality in popular psychology, we shall have done a great deal." There is a world of prudence in that "if." But by giving the project a conditional, instead of an unqualified, endorsement, the ex-Premier in no way rules it out. He leaves open the question of whether the thing can be done, but he is satisfied that if it can be it should be.

What is needed before all things is to distinguish between the practicable and the impracticable. And in justice to the originator of the advertisement suggestion, it should be made clear that for him the function of the advertisement in this connection was simply to arouse sufficient interest or curiosity in the minds of readers of papers to impel them to insist that the papers should give all League activities proper space and proper prominence in their news columns. It is by no means impossible that up to a point that could be done. But it certainly will not be done by any expedient so ele-

mentary as simply urging the public to "Support the League of Nations." That kind of plain exhortation will not serve in this case. What is essential if you want the uninterested outsider to support the League is, first of all, to tell him why; and, secondly, to tell him how.

And that should not be at all impossible—again within limits. What the League really needs is the support of men and women who are following its activities intelligently, understanding them themselves, and able to explain them with tolerable lucidity to others. Tabloid advertisements in daily papers will not go very far towards creating that kind of League supporter. To achieve that result something quite different is necessary—for example (since talk of advertisement leads naturally to self-advertisement) a steady course of HEADWAY. But advertising can be a beginning, even though it cannot be an end as well. It can, as the writer of the *Spectator* article suggests, inspire a desire for further knowledge. Suppose, for instance, to take a purely random illustration, the readers of most of the London daily papers saw a half double column devoted one morning to the searching question: "Who is Zeligowsky?" followed by the injunction: "Watch this space to-morrow," they would probably wake up the next day markedly receptive to a little summary of the main facts about Vilna.

Again, the question: "Why Did Jeremiah Smith Go Home?" similarly displayed, would provoke a limitless range of speculations and suspicions (most of them, happily, groundless), leading naturally and advantageously to a subsequent explanation of what Mr. Smith went to Hungary to do, and why his presence there was needed no longer. This, no doubt, may be condemned as a descent to the baser forms of the advertising art. Perhaps it may be, though there is nothing necessarily base about the framing of a question calculated to provoke curiosity regarding its answer. But there is no doubt room equally, in spite of the claim made above that the laudatory advertisement is more effective than the educational, for the advertisement that conveys in a few lines some idea of the League's main achievements, or some reasons why it can justly claim the support of Englishmen. The advertisements of the Empire Marketing Board and of some of the gas companies are not bad examples of what can be done in this field.

The proposal to advertise the League of Nations therefore calls for careful consideration. That even the elementary facts about the League are unfamiliar to the mass of the people of this country is unfortunately still true. It is astonishing to discover, for instance, how many well-informed persons believe that China is not a League member. It would, no doubt, be easy to convey gradually through the advertisements of the Press these basic facts in some such form as they are given month by month on the back page of HEADWAY. But it is doubtful what advantage there would be in that. Men and women are not converted to the League of Nations by being told that there are 14 members of the Council or 11 judges on the bench of the Permanent Court, desirable though it is that those who do already believe in the League should be acquainted with such facts.

But succinct descriptions of individual achievements of the League—the stopping of the Greco-Bulgarian war; the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary; the Refugee Settlement Schemes—or a brief, arresting account of the way the Foreign Ministers of Europe now gather regularly four times a year at Geneva, or an equally terse summary of agreements, like the Slavery Convention, reached under the League's auspices, could find a place with advantage in the advertisement columns of the daily Press. One little necessity, of course, has to be borne in mind—a millionaire to finance the operation. To such a one, if by chance he exists, these modest reflections are respectfully commended.

## BOOKS ON THE LEAGUE

### WHAT TO READ AND WHY TO READ IT

By G. E. SEARIGHT, *Librarian, League of Nations Union*

THERE are a few indispensable books whose titles come to the mind at once when considering the English literature on the League. Such is Fanshawe's **Reconstruction**, not a book to be read through at a sitting, but indispensable for reference, as it deals in detail with every aspect of the League's work. Sir Geoffrey Butler's **Handbook to the League** is very useful on the historical and legal side, with a chronological table of the League's activities among its appendices. Shorter books are: Wilson Harris, **What the League of Nations Is**; and Baker, **The League of Nations at Work**. The latter is possibly more readable, giving, as it does, greater space to picturesque detail, but it does not cover the ground nearly as completely as the book by Wilson Harris, which is certainly the best short work on the League, and could be used with advantage by study circles.

Rappard's **International Relations as Viewed from Geneva**, originally given as lectures before the Institute of Politics, in Williamstown, presupposes some familiarity with the League's work, but is most interesting in its treatment. "The League is not a wall which limits the horizon. It is comparable, rather, to a prism in which the politics of the nations are reflected." The author divides the League into three sections, a League to execute the Peace Treaties, a League to promote international co-operation, and a League to outlaw war, and estimates the value and future of each.

**The Evolution of World Peace**, edited by F. S. Marvin, and York's **Leagues of Nations, Ancient, Mediæval and Modern**, show the antiquity of the League ideal and the various attempts at federation in the past. **The Evolution of World Peace** is a collection of lectures at the Unity Schools, Woodbrooke, in 1920, by F. S. Marvin, A. Toynbee, G. P. Gooch, F. Whelen and H. G. Wells, among others.

Woolf's **International Government**, first published in 1916, deals with the more recent attempts at international agreement by conferences, unions and bureaux, showing how the widespread international relations of trade, labour, science and social reform could and should lead up to one international Government.

The most complete handbook to the International Labour Organisation is G. N. Barnes's **History of the International Labour Office**, covering, as it does, the origins, constitution and work achieved up to date, and written by one who has been closely associated with the Organisation from its beginning.

A much slighter book is Oliver's **World Industrial Parliament**, which only deals at all in detail with the 1921 Conference and the Persian carpet weavers. Excellent larger books, not absolutely up to date now, are **International Social Progress**, by G. A. Johnston; and **Labour as an International Problem**, which consists of eight essays by different authorities, including E. J. Solano, G. N. Barnes, A. Fontaine, A. Thomas, and E. Vandervelde.

Manley O. Hudson is a prolific and authoritative writer on the Permanent Court of International Justice. Some of his writings from American journals have been collected, as **The Permanent Court and the Question of American Participation**, and form an excellent book on the Court. There is another good book on the same subject, also by a lawyer, A. Fachiri, while a useful handbook giving the bare facts is Wheeler-

Bennett's **Information on the Permanent Court**, with its annual supplement.

On the subject of the reduction of armaments, Baker's **Disarmament** is indispensable, for it covers the whole ground most thoroughly. A short pamphlet has just been published by the same author, dealing with the progress made in the reduction of armaments since the publication of his book in the spring of 1926. A useful companion volume is Wheeler-Bennett's **Information on the Reduction in Armaments**, tracing the various stages since and including the Versailles Treaty and reprinting many relevant documents.

Many speakers and students must have heaved a sigh of relief when **Mandates**, by F. White, appeared, for, as well as being the only English book on the subject, it covers the ground most thoroughly and refreshingly. The constitution of the system and the differences of the Mandates are explained, but greater stress is laid upon the actual conditions in the mandated areas, and the working of the system, than on the legal aspects, which seem to interest so many French writers.

Books for children are always a difficulty, and there are probably only three at present which can properly be placed in this section. Two are by Mrs. Innes, **How the League of Nations Works** and **The Story of the League**, the latter describing attempts at former Leagues, and the former completing the story with the achievements of the actual League. H. Spaul's **The Fight for Peace** deals with League work in Poland, Albania, Japan and other places, told in the form of stories about children, for children. Two other books by the same author might find a place here, as they are written for older boys and girls, **Women Peace-makers** and **Champions of Peace**. These books are also valuable as accurate biographies of such adherents of the League as Nansen, Lord Cecil, Woodrow Wilson, Dame Rachel Crowdy, Mme. Curie, and Fru Karen Jeppe, among others. It is well to remember, too, that Wilson Harris's **What the League of Nations Is** and Baker's **League of Nations at Work** are suitable for older boys and girls.

A most interesting book recently issued by the League itself is **The Greek Refugee Settlement**, which is both comprehensive and readable, with many illustrations.

The best book on the opium traffic is probably the one by Gavit called simply **Opium**, while accurate information on slavery can be found in J. H. Harris's **Slavery or "Sacred Trust"?** giving the history of the subject, including its connection with the Mandate system.

On the making of books on the League in all languages there is no end; the books mentioned here are just a few of the more useful in English.

#### DETAILS OF BOOKS REFERRED TO ABOVE

- BAKER, P. J. N. **Disarmament**. 1926. (Hogarth Press.) 12s. 6d.; **The League of Nations at work**. 1926. (Nisbet.) 3s. 6d.
- BARNES, Rt. Hon. G. N. **History of the International Labour Office**. 1926. (Williams & Norgate.) 3s. 6d.
- BENNETT, J. W. **WHEELER**. **Information on the Permanent Court of International Justice**. 1924. (Association for International Understanding.) 1s. 3d.; **The World Court in 1925** (Supplement to above). 6d.; **Information on the reduction of armaments**. 1925. (Allen & Unwin.) 10s. 6d.

- BUTLER, Sir GEOFFREY. **Handbook to the League of Nations**. 2nd ed. 1925. (Longmans.) 10s. 6d.
- FACHIRI, A. P. **The Permanent Court of International Justice**. 1925. (Oxford University Press.) 15s.
- FANSHAWE, M. **Reconstruction**. 1925. (Allen & Unwin.) 5s.
- GAUIT, J. P. **Opium**. 1925. (Routledge.) 12s. 6d.
- HARRIS, H. WILSON. **What the League of Nations is**. 2nd ed. 1927. (Allen & Unwin.) 2s. 6d.
- HARRIS, J. H. **Slavery or "Sacred Trust"?** 1926. (Williams & Norgate.) 5s.
- HUDSON, M. O. **The Permanent Court of International Justice and the question of American participation**. 1925. (Oxford University Press.) 17s.
- INNES, K. E. **How the League of Nations works**. 1926. (Hogarth Press.) 1s. 6d.; **The Story of the League of Nations**. 1925. (Hogarth Press.) 1s. 6d.
- JOHNSTON, G. A. **International Social progress**. 1924. (Allen & Unwin.) 10s. 6d.
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS. **The Greek Refugee Settlement**. 1926. (Constable.) 2s. 6d.
- MARVIN, F. S. (Ed.). **The Evolution of World Peace**. 1921. (Oxford University Press.) 9s. 6d.
- OLIVER, E. M. **The World's Industrial Parliament**. 1925. (Allen & Unwin.) 2s.
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## PANAMA'S CHALLENGE

PANAMA is an extremely small State, but action it has recently taken raises an exceedingly large principle. In 1919 Panama, as an original member of the League of Nations, signed a Covenant containing an Article (XII) which reads:—

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.

At the end of 1926 Panama saw fit to sign a treaty with the United States containing an Article (II), by which Panama agrees "to consider herself in a state of war in case of any war in which the United States may be a belligerent."

Those two undertakings are palpably irreconcilable, unless indeed an unreal distinction is to be drawn between the "resort to war" of the Covenant and the "consider herself in a state of war" of the Panama-U.S.A. treaty. It is quite impossible for the League to allow the action of the Panama Government to pass unchallenged, unless indeed the Parliament of that country declines to ratify the agreement, as seems not unlikely at the moment of writing.

What gives the incident its importance is a much larger issue concealed in the background. Acting partly under an almost unlimited extension of the Monroe Doctrine and partly under pressure from various financial and commercial interests, the Government of the United States is interfering more and more with the domestic and foreign policy of the Latin-American States lying between herself and South America. Up to a point that is not a question with which States on this side of the Atlantic need concern themselves.

But if it appears, as it is beginning to do, that the United States Government has no scruples about "persuading" small republics who are League members to break the League Covenant, a much more serious problem emerges, for the solution of which a great deal of anxious consideration will be needed.

## GERMANS AT GENEVA

THOUGH Germany entered the League of Nations in September her full collaboration in League activities was only developed in January, when a number of Germans appointed to posts in the Secretariat at Geneva began their work.

Chief among these, of course, is the new Assistant Secretary-General, Herr Dufour-Feronce, who had for seven years previously been Counsellor of the German Embassy in London. In addition to that Dr. Barandon, who has also been well known in London in connection with the Anglo-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal here, is joining the Legal Section of the Secretariat this month, and M. von Renthe-Finke is already at work in the Political Section. There has for some months been a German member of the Health Section, and Germans will take up posts in the Information and Disarmament Sections immediately.



Another important appointment which took effect last month was the installation of M. Sugimura as Assistant Secretary-General (in succession to Dr. Nitobe) and Director of the Political Section (in succession to M. Paul Mantoux). M. Sugimura, unlike Herr Dufour, is already well known at Geneva, for he has for some time been the head of the Japanese Government's League of Nations' service in Europe, and has regularly attended the Assembly and other League conferences with the Japanese delegation. It is of interest to observe that so weighty a German paper as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* expresses strong approval of the action of the Secretary-General in deliberately appointing a non-European as head of a section likely to be engaged mainly in dealing with disputes between European nations.

## LABOUR CONDITIONS AND WARS\*

### HOW INDUSTRIAL IMPROVEMENT MAKES FOR PEACE

By BERTRAM PICKARD

THE "unrest" that is produced by "the existence of conditions of labour involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people" may have the effect of imperilling the peace and harmony of the world in a variety of ways, some of which may be termed direct, others indirect.

#### "Unrest" Leading Directly to War

(1) The clearest case, perhaps, in the first category is where bad conditions lead to social revolution, thus producing almost inevitably a dangerous international situation. It is only necessary to note the progress of the French and Russian revolutions. Despite certain differences, there are many similarities. At first the release of dynamic and dynamitic ideas, which, combined with lawlessness, produce a situation of ferment. Then the tendency to propagate the new gospel by guile or force, with the inevitable reaction in neighbouring countries. After the French Revolution—war. After the Russian Revolution—war on a small scale (Denikin, Wrangel, etc.), and the threat of war on a great scale, probably only stemmed by prevalent war-weariness.

(2) A second case, sufficiently direct to merit the term, is when bad conditions, in part due to over-population, produce an intense pressure towards emigration. When this pressure is resisted war results, as in the case of the Russo-Japanese war. Recent legislation in the United States has created difficulties which might easily become a danger to peace with Japan and Italy. Some will say this is purely a population question. On the other hand, some economists believe that much can be done in the home countries, wherever they may be, to raise conditions of labour by scientific organisation of the home production and market, thus removing the pressure and the danger at the same time.

(3) A third example is where peoples of one civilisation suffer hardship under an industrial system for which another civilisation is responsible. China, India and Africa offer good examples of what is meant.

Although it is true that conditions in the foreign settlement in Shanghai are probably no worse than elsewhere in China, nevertheless the grave international situation following the Shanghai shootings in May, 1925, arose in the first place from trouble over conditions of labour in a Japanese-owned factory.

Again, whilst opinions differ as to what measure of prosperity was enjoyed in India before the British occupation, it nevertheless remains true that the widespread poverty in India to-day is attributed in part by many Indian leaders of thought, including Mr. Gandhi, to the industrialisation of India, for which Great Britain is held responsible. There can be no question that the existing "hardship and privation" is a powerful factor in promoting a spirit of rebellion, and rebellion in India on a large scale would most certainly "endanger the peace of the world."

Once again, we may be far from the danger of concerted revolt by the black races in Africa against the white races, yet competent authorities urge the infinite danger

\* The following article was awarded the prize offered in the November HEADWAY for the best essay on "the existence of conditions of labour involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people, produces unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled."

of the present policy in South Africa, and elsewhere, which aims at circumscribing the conditions of labour of the coloured man in such a way as to prevent his free development. In the words of General Smuts:—

We, a handful of whites, are ring-fencing ourselves, first, with an inner ring of black hatred, and beyond that with a ring of hatred of the whole of Asia. While only a few Asiatics are affected by this Bill [the Colour Bar Bill], the inclusion of their name will win us the hatred of hundreds of millions of Asiatics from the north of Asia to the south.

#### Some Indirect Causes

Perhaps the foregoing dangers were chiefly in the minds of those who drafted the preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. But there remain certain indirect perils, which are linked so closely with low conditions of labour that it is right to include mention of them.

They are of two kinds: (1) Dangers following unequal competition; and (2) dangers following the necessity to export.

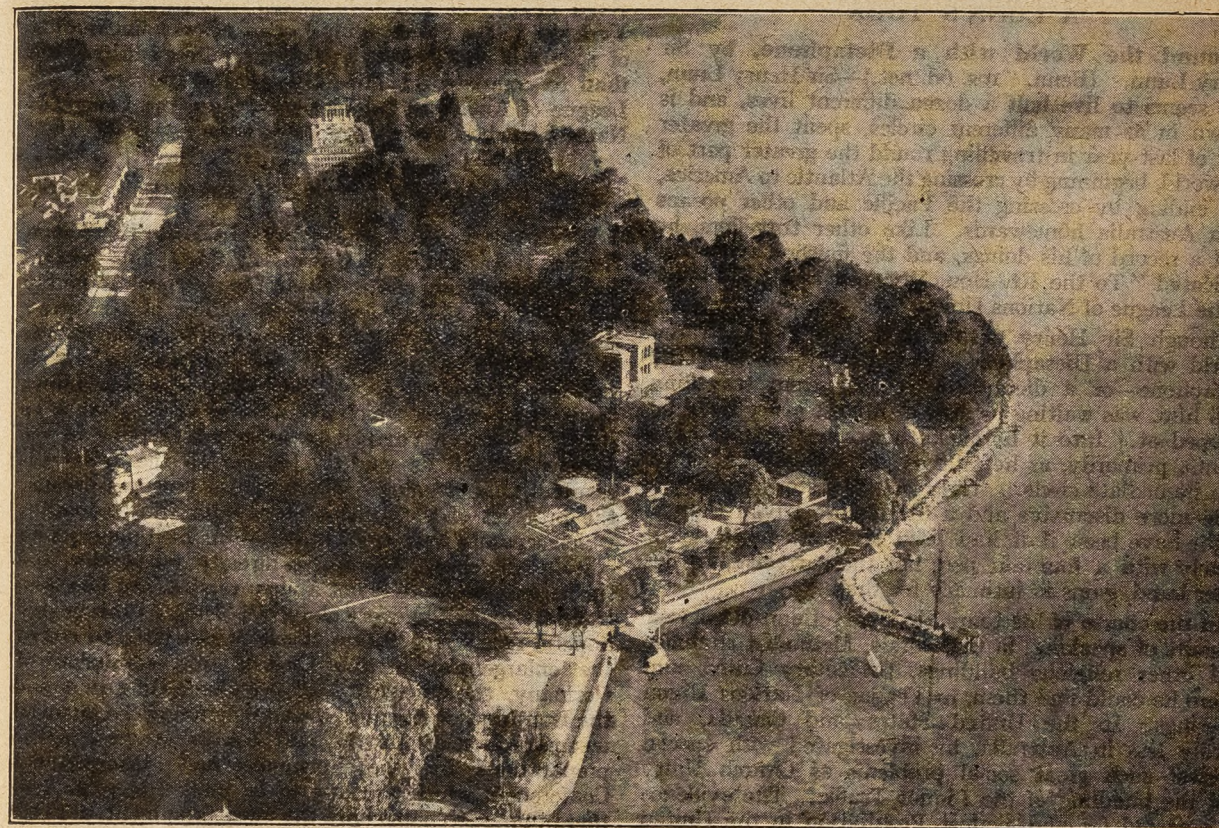
Why has so much stress been laid upon the Eight Hours Convention? Perhaps chiefly because of the desire of organised labour to raise its standard of life. But also because of the desire, shared by employers and employed, to equalise conditions in different parts of the world, and so to prevent unfair competition, leading to tariff war and much friction and exasperation. "Dumping" has always been a source of trouble, but "dumping" often has its roots in exploited labour.

Perhaps still more indirect are the dangers arising from the necessity to find markets. Nevertheless, one of the outstanding features of the present day is the feverish competition for overseas trade and the failure to develop the home market. The United States, and particularly some American business men (e.g., Henry Ford), are experimenting with another policy—i.e., that of high salaries and short hours; or, in other words, better conditions of labour. The opposite policy is palpably doomed to failure, since the ability to produce so far exceeds the present opportunity to consume. To remove the ruthless struggle (politico-economic) for outlets for goods, attention should be directed towards stimulating demand elsewhere. This is clearly a question of improving one of the most important conditions of labour—i.e., wages and salaries, or whatever else one may like to style the workers' share in the product of industry.

### GERMANY DISARMED

THE withdrawal of the Allied Commission of Control of German Armaments on the last day of last month is proof that, apart from two or three minor questions which still remain to be settled either by agreement or by arbitration, the disarmament of Germany is complete. The question now arises of seeing that it remains complete, that, in other words, there is no subsequent increase of armaments in violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. That task devolves on the League of Nations, which, from February 1, becomes the sole body responsible for this duty, but there will be no actual investigation by the League except when some country brings before the Council a definite charge against Germany of violating her Disarmament pledges.

## THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME



The competition for the new League Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings closed in January, and plans by architects of almost every country in the world are now on their way to Geneva for adjudication. The picture above is an aerial photograph of the site acquired for the new buildings. Those who know Geneva will recognise in the immediate foreground the Parc de Mon Repos, in the left-hand top corner the road from Geneva to Lausanne, and just to the right of this the new International Labour Office building, whose grounds the new Secretariat and Assembly Hall will adjoin.

### THE BULGARIAN SETTLERS

THE last issue of HEADWAY contained a full account of the work already begun under the auspices of the League of Nations in connection with the settlement of Bulgarian refugees. One of the new villages inaugurated under the scheme has been named Atolovo, after the Duke of Atholl, President of the Council of the Save the Children Fund, which has been at work for a considerable time, doing what could be done by private charity to improve the lot of the refugees.

On this point Sir Frederick Holiday, a member of the Council of the Save the Children Fund, writes to HEADWAY:—

"The article on the Bulgarian Refugees in your last issue suggests that there is great scope for institutions like the Save the Children Fund in this connection. As a member of the Council of that Fund, may I point out that for well over 18 months it has been doing what it can for these unfortunate people, and that through it British charity has given the League of Nations a useful lead in tackling the very difficult problem of refugee settlement. The village of Atolovo, which has been constructed by the Fund near Straldja, in Eastern Bulgaria, with the co-operation of the Government and the aid of generous grants from the Imperial War Relief Fund and the Buxton family, was formally opened by the King of Bulgaria in

November last in the presence of the Prime Minister, the League of Nations Commissioners and other distinguished persons. It houses 90 refugee families, some 450 individuals, and, with the necessary modifications and economies that experience has suggested, and a system of mass production should facilitate, will serve as a model for the future settlements to be built under the auspices of the League.

"The feeding of thousands of refugees in Greece (nearly 30 million rations were issued), pending settlement (on the lines indicated in your article), and the construction of this model village in Bulgaria, are two tasks on which the supporters of the Fund may, I think, legitimately congratulate themselves; and not the least element in their satisfaction should be the consciousness that, on the one hand, they have thus furthered the beneficent activities of the League of Nations and, on the other, have earned for Great Britain the warmest gratitude of the countries concerned."

If you are willing to send your copy of "HEADWAY" to an interested person abroad, please notify Headquarters.



## BOOKS WORTH READING

## A LUNN'S TOUR

**Round the World with a Dictaphone**, by Sir Henry Lunn. (Benn. 10s. 6d. net.)—Sir Henry Lunn, who seems to live half a dozen different lives, and is known in as many different circles, spent the greater part of last year in travelling round the greater part of the world, beginning by crossing the Atlantic to America, and ending by crossing the Pacific and other oceans from Australia homewards. Like other travellers, he kept a record of his doings, and the finished volume is dedicated "To the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil, President of the League of Nations Union."

Though Sir Henry entitles his book "Round the World with a Dictaphone," it would appear that the dictaphone—or a dictaphone—so far from travelling with him, was waiting for him at almost every hotel he stopped at. Into it he spoke his record of the day's events, primarily, as he tells us, for the interest of his own immediate circle. The result is a story perhaps a little more discursive and a little more trivial than it might have been if it had been set down more deliberately with a fountain pen, but the narrative, on the other hand, gains in intimacy for that.

In the course of his tours Sir Henry Lunn did a vast amount of speaking, in Cathedrals, Methodist churches and other religious buildings, to Rotary Clubs, and where he could find them, to League of Nations Union meetings. In the United States and Canada, and hardly less in Australia, he investigated with special interest such great social problems as Church Unity and the handling of the Liquor Traffic. The evidence he amassed for and against Prohibition in the United States is of considerable value, and shows how evenly balanced on that subject the best opinion still is. Incidentally, Sir Henry brings out the significant fact that the vast financial interests of the bootleggers are all cast in favour of Prohibition, because on its maintenance depends the smuggling industry, which is ten times more lucrative than any legitimate trade in liquor could be.

In none of the countries Sir Henry visited does the League of Nations cause seem to be as prosperous as it should be, but no doubt his visit and his speeches have done something to give the local supporters of the League a new incentive. Incidentally, the writer in his wanderings has picked up a number of good stories. One or two of them he confesses he has heard before—and so, it may be added, has the reviewer—but there is a sufficient absence of fustiness about the Canadian Pullman attendant who observed: "I guess we are only twenty minutes late if you count to-day's time, but this is yesterday's train." And about the devout Methodist who prayed for his Minister, "O Lord, who preservest man and beast, take care of Thy servant and his wife." And about the American who went up to an Archbishop and said: "Where in hell have I seen you before?" To which the prelate replied, with unruffled urbanity: "I think you have the advantage of me. What particular part of hell do you come from?"

Over one anecdote Sir Henry makes a curious slip. He tells how when the former Prime Minister of Australia was being photographed, the operator apologised for detaining him, and added: "I want to do you justice, Mr. Prime Minister." "It is not justice I want," said Sam Hughes, "but mercy." So Sir Henry Lunn; but obviously "Sam" should be "Billy," Sam Hughes was in the Canada that Sir Henry had by that time left behind.

The writer does well to print as an appendix to his volume the George Washington Lecture which he deli-

vered before the Sulgrave Manor Institution in New York on "The Philadelphia Constitutional Convention of 1787 and its Lessons." Nothing is more instructive than to compare the difficulties of the framers of the League of American Colonies with those the League of Nations has had and will yet have to face.—H. W. H.

## A RECORD OF PROGRESS

**What the League of Nations Is.** By H. Wilson Harris, M.A. (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d.)—This second and revised edition of Mr. Wilson Harris's book is doubly welcome, and the modesty of the editor of HEADWAY shall not hinder its reviewer from adding to the chorus of praise which greeted its first appearance. It is welcome because it shows that there is a continuous demand for a book which gives, as no other gives in so small a space, a completely informed account of the League and all its works. Interest in the League is assuredly not flagging. But it is also welcome because the progress of the League, even with the 20 months which separate the two editions, has in itself made a new edition necessary. The first is already out of date, and the second therefore is not a mere reprint, but has been carefully revised in every chapter. This is a thoroughly hopeful fact. Mr. Wilson Harris is now able to record the enlargement of the Council, the admission of Germany, the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian and the Iraq frontier disputes, the completion of the financial reconstruction of Austria, and definite progress in the preparations for the Economic and Disarmament Conferences which are due to be held this year. All these things, to name only the most prominent, are new milestones on the path to the peaceful settlement of Europe; each of them must be pondered if their full meaning is to be grasped. Nor, as Mr. Wilson Harris points out, is the price paid extravagant; Great Britain's share of the League's budget for the current year is £101,000—no large sum when it is set against the £250,000 for the annual upkeep of a single battleship. It only remains to hope that the demand for the second edition of this book and the continued growth of the League's importance will soon call for a third edition.—H. W. F.

## ENTERPRISE IN WALES

**International Education in the Schools of Wales and Monmouthshire** (Welsh League of Nations Union, Cardiff; price 3d.)—This booklet by Rev. Gwilym Davies, surveys the progress made in the spread of an international outlook in the schools of Wales and Monmouthshire during the years 1922-26. The Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council, which is thoroughly representative of all educational organisations in Wales, have applied themselves with zeal and enthusiasm to the task of creating in schools the atmosphere of international sympathy which is the supreme need of the twentieth century. They hope to see that every child in Wales leaves school with a knowledge of the essential facts about the League of Nations and its powers to promote increased co-operation among peoples and prevent war. The booklet is an inspiring record of achievement. If these efforts can be emulated in other countries, the outlook for the future will be most hopeful.

Prof. P. J. Baker will broadcast on "Foreign Affairs and How They Affect Us" on Tuesday evenings from 7.25 to 7.45 p.m., beginning on January 18 and ending on February 22.

## THE GIFT OF TONGUES

By ANTHONY SOMERS

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

It has sometimes been said that 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. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

## How to Learn Languages.

Some time ago I saw an announcement entitled: "A New Method of Learning French, Spanish, Italian and German." Of course, I read it, and when I saw that this method was being taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, I wrote for their book on the subject, and this so interested me that I enrolled for the Course in FRENCH, and, 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, Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of language instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I am not surprised to hear that it is revolutionising the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

The Pelman Language Courses are based upon an original, yet perfectly sound, principle, and one of their most

striking features is the fact that they are written entirely in the particular language (French, Spanish, Italian or German) concerned. There is not an English word in any of them. Even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word, you can study these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake, and without "looking up" any words in a French-English, Spanish-English, Italian-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, Italian, or German without bothering one's head with complex grammatical rules or burdening one's memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses, he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

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

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

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

"I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods. The results obtained are amazing." (G. P. 136)

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

"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)

"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)

"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." (S. M. 181)

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

The Pelman method of learning French, Spanish, Italian and German by correspondence is fully explained in four 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, ITALIAN or GERMAN without difficulty or drudgery should post this coupon to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book desired will be forwarded by return, gratis and post free.

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(cross out three of these)

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## READERS' VIEWS

## AMERICA AND THE COURT

SIR.—Mr. Loewenthal's letter in the January HEADWAY seems to show that the question of the American reservations to the Court of International Justice—now, of course, a thing of the past—and above all the implications of the fifth reservation, were never properly understood. Put very briefly, the issue (which was certainly rather obscure) was this: If it should be established in the future that a unanimous vote of the League Council is necessary before the Court can be requested to give an advisory opinion, then no one could object to the United States possessing a veto which would have been similar to that of every member of the Council. But if it should ever be ruled that a majority decision only in the Council was sufficient for a case to be referred to the Court—and this is the opinion which most jurists apparently hold—then the United States' position under the fifth reservation would have been legally superior to that of any member of the Council.

The point at issue, therefore, really was whether the United States should possess the same rights as any member of the Council or whether she should be able to check the development of the judicial settlement of international disputes by objecting, for example, to the reference to the Court of a dispute between Chile and Persia on the grounds that it might create a precedent unfavourable to the United States. The pro-Court senators and advocates in the United States insisted that their country was only claiming equality with Council members, but when the League jurists took them at their word the Coolidge administration hurriedly dropped the whole matter. In the circumstances it seems as well that they should have done so. Mr. Loewenthal's letter can only mean that, for the sake of "general opinion," he would like to see the United States in a position to hold up the whole development of the system by which international disputes are settled judicially.—Yours, etc.,

Arosa, Switzerland, BROUGHTON TWAMLEY.  
January 14.

## ON ACCURACY

SIR.—With reference to page 20 of the December issue of HEADWAY: Is it not a fact that Spain is not withdrawing from the International Labour Organisation? Is it not a fact that the second of the three component parts of the League is not the International Labour Office, but the International Labour Organisation? Is it not a fact that both the General Conference and the Governing Body have a special and interesting composition, different from that of the Assembly and the Council? Has the International Labour Organisation any Commissions, similar to the League Commissions shown in your diagram? You mention that the League has a separate section to deal with "social work"; has the I.L.O. Office any separate sections dealing with different social problems? Is it not a fact that down to December, 1926, the Conference had adopted quite different totals of Conventions and Recommendations from those which are stated by HEADWAY? Does the statement that these Conventions, etc., were "on conditions of labour in different countries" mean that one Convention deals with one country, another with another?

In fact, is it more important to reiterate that the I.L.O. is located at Geneva than to give a little more (and more accurate) information about the I.L.O.? Is there not room here for a change "calculated to increase HEADWAY's popularity and usefulness"?

We business men appreciate facts, and facts briefly stated, but it is best that they should be accurate.—Yours, etc.,

53, Spencer Street, E.C.1. R. C. MACGREGOR.

[Our correspondent, who rightly lays stress on accuracy, appears to be referring to the January, not the December, issue of HEADWAY. "Organisation" should have been used instead of "Office." The total of conventions given was not up to date; the correct figures are on this month's page. The rest of our correspondent's questions are beside the point, as the I.L.O. has not yet been dealt with specifically on the back page of HEADWAY. It will be in due course.—ED., HEADWAY.]

## WOLVES IN THE FOLD

SIR.—It has often been said that the worst opponents of the peace movement are not those to be found outside the circle of the League of Nations' well-wishers. I recalled this warning when reading the December issue of the English edition of *The World's Health*, the organ of the International Red Cross movement, which is, I believe, directly allied to the League of Nations. In its review columns I read the following:—

"Peace literature is almost invariably nauseating, and *Books of Goodwill*, as the title of a series, has a sinister ring about it, suggestive of the tract and of the cant of the professional pacifist.

"It is a pity that the American National Council for the Prevention of War (a name which, again, tends to arouse the antagonism of the ordinary combative human being) should have thus handicapped the series of volumes which it is issuing for children and for those adults who, in the home and in the school, are occupied in forming children's minds and habits of thought," etc.

The review is signed "L. E. de G."

That language so inconsistent with League of Nations principles should be possible in an avowed organ of humanitarianism is, to my mind, profoundly deplorable, and I think it should be pilloried.—Yours, etc.,  
Headington, Oxford. W. H. DAWSON

[There is no working connection or alliance between the League and the Red Cross.—ED., HEADWAY.]

## WAR AGAINST AGGRESSORS

SIR.—Since, then, we as members of the L.N.U. are morally obliged to support war if "inevitable," except for propaganda in the ideals of peace, of what use is the L.N.U.?

The League would function well without it, and stave the same small quarrels.

After all, the League is really a glorified "Treaty," involving thousands of pounds to upkeep annually, in order to prolong peace for who knows how short a period? I know there is the social side of the League's activities, but I am speaking of it as a "Peace League."

I foresee the L.N.U. eventually being converted from "Pacifist" to "Warmonger," and following all its peace propaganda—endorse the horrors of war. It has no option, unless it changes its policy.

There is only one possible method of securing permanent peace—a solid international organisation of the masses pledged to peace.

I mistook the L.N.U. for such, and I think there are thousands like me, for at the Croydon annual meeting last November the question was raised, and no answer was forthcoming.

Were other branches similarly ignorant? I think so.—Yours, etc.,  
A. E. CATCHPOLE.

"Beech Corner," Park Lane, Croydon.

January 4.

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## FIXING EASTER

SIR.—In your January number, p. 15, you state that the discussions at Geneva revealed the fact that there was no religious objection to a fixed Easter, though the Vatican was anxious to lay the question before an Ecumenical Conference. The reply of the Holy See, printed on pp. 85-86 of the Report of the League's Committee on the Reform of the Calendar, tells a different story. It admits that there is no dogmatic objection, but states that "The Holy See does not consider that there is sufficient reason for changing, in regard to the fixing of ecclesiastical feast-days, notably that of Easter, what has been the perpetual usage of the Church, handed down by immemorial traditions and sanctioned by councils from early times." It expresses no anxiety to lay the question before an Ecumenical Council, but refuses to consider the question except on the advice of such a Council—a very different matter.—Yours, etc.,

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

6, Blackhall Road, Oxford.  
January 16.

[The exact statement of the Reform of the Calendar Committee was that its investigations showed "that no fundamental objections would be raised by any supreme religious authority."—ED., HEADWAY.]

## ADVERTISING AND DISARMAMENT

SIR.—A good deal of discussion is taking place in different quarters in the Press as to the desirability of doing what is called "advertising the League." Exactly how that is to be done I have not so far understood, but it would obviously be practicable, and might be of value, to secure publicity for the salient facts bearing on some reform the League is endeavouring to carry through, or some question on which simultaneous action by different nations is desired. The obvious case at the moment is disarmament. Why should the L.N.U. raise a special fund to pay for newspaper advertisements, giving in brief and telling form facts about the present cost of armaments, about any agreements already reached for the limitation of armaments, about the pledges this country has already taken in the matter of disarmament, and so forth? I should be prepared to make my own small contribution to such a fund.—Yours, etc.,  
JAMES R. BENTON.  
London, S.E.

## A LOSS TO THE LEAGUE

AS we go to press we learn that Signor Attolico, Assistant Secretary-General of the League of Nations, has been appointed Italian Ambassador in Brazil. The loss to Geneva will be serious. Signor Attolico has been a member of the Secretariat from the first, and succeeded Signor Anzilotti (now a Judge of the Permanent Court) as Assistant Secretary-General in 1922. He has had special charge of the personnel of the Secretariat, and at the same time has, of course, acted as a semi-official intermediary between Geneva and Rome.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Building of Europe." J. S. Hoyland. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.).

"Going East." Lillian E. Cox. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.).

"The Race Problem of S. Africa." Rev. W. A. Cotton. (Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d.).

"Faith and Friendship." (Student Christian Movement 6d.).

"The Pupils' Europe Atlas." (Evans Bros., 1s.).

"A Little Book of Loneliness." (Philip Allan & Co., 4s. 6d.).

"The International Labour Organisation and Women's Work." (I.L.O., 1d.).

"A Junior Reader in Economic Geography." V. C. Spary. (2s.).

## FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

### WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

\* \* \* \*

The main organs of the League are—

- (1) **The Assembly**, meeting annually in September, and consisting of not more than three delegates from each of the States members of the League.
- (2) **The Council**, meeting four or more times a year, and consisting of one delegate each from fourteen different States, five States (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) being permanently represented, while the other nine States are elected from time to time by the Assembly.
- (3) **The Secretariat**, the international civil service by which the League is served.

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

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

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

\* \* \* \*

#### THE PERMANENT COURT

The constitution of a Permanent Court of International Justice was approved at the First Assembly of the League in 1920; the judges of the Court were appointed at the Second Assembly in 1921; and the Court held its first sitting in 1922.

There are **11 judges and 4 deputy-judges**, of the following nationalities: British, American (United States), French, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Brazilian, Cuban, Dutch, Danish, Swiss, Rumanian, Chinese, Jugoslavian, Norwegian.

The judges are not appointed by Governments but elected by the Council and Assembly of the League, acting jointly. They hold office for nine years and are paid out of League funds. The British member of the bench is Viscount Finlay, a former Lord Chancellor.

The Court sits in the Peace Palace at The Hague. **Hearings are public and verdicts are publicly declared.** The Court deals particularly with cases involving questions of fact or the interpretation of a treaty or the assessment of damages when a wrong has been committed by one State against another.

In addition to hearing cases which two (or more) States agree to submit to it the Court gives "advisory opinions" at the request of the League Council. Down to January, 1927, it had decided **7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions**, among the States concerned being the Allies and Germany; Germany and Poland; Great Britain and France; Albania and Jugoslavia; Great Britain and Turkey; Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Many international treaties lay it down that any dispute arising out of the treaty shall be decided, failing any other settlement, by the Court.

\* \* \* \*

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

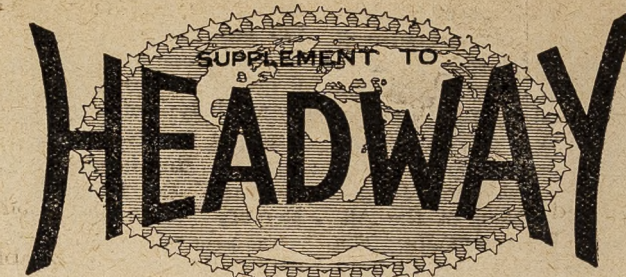
The **General Conference**, meeting annually.

The **Governing Body**, meeting quarterly or oftener.

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

In the nine sessions of the International Labour Conference held up to the present 24 conventions and 27 "recommendations" on conditions of labour in different countries have been adopted.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



FEBRUARY, 1927

### OURSELVES

**T**HE *Supplement to "Headway"* makes its bow to eighty thousand members of the League of Nations Union. It offers them new means of communication with one another and with the Union's headquarters. It hopes to foster the growth of corporate spirit; of interest in our Union as well as in the League; of experience in the delicate and difficult task to which, as members of the Union, we have set our hand. Undoubtedly delicate and difficult; but quite certainly a great work, perhaps the greatest of all that are open to the men and women of to-day. Our job is to make the League known to the British people, so that the British Government (whatever its party complexion), backed by public opinion, may take the lead at Geneva. So long as the man in the street does not know how the League works or what it has done, the League cannot be expected to accomplish its end. At all events, the British Government can do little to help when it has so little public opinion behind it.

Our task, then, is to lift the impenetrable fog that enfolds the League and its doings. Let in the daylight. Make the facts known. But learn from one another's experience how that may best be done.

In the pages of this *Supplement* such experience will be recorded. Branch Secretaries and other members of the Union are invited to tell us of their successful methods, and also of ways to avoid. These notes, together with news of branches and headquarters, and sometimes a picture, will occupy the last three pages of the *Supplement*. The first page will treat of the immediate outlook for the Union and its members, of new openings and opportunities, of urgent needs, and of the tasks that lie ahead. And there is to be a short article on some novel aspects of the Union's work.

### THE UNION IN A COUNTRY VILLAGE

BY A BRANCH SECRETARY.

**O**UR village is in the Fen country, and has a population of about 400, most of whom are on the land. The progress of the work of the L.N.U. here may well serve as an indication of the way in which that work is making headway in the byways of the country, or as an incentive to other branches to similar activity. A year ago the Baptist minister entered into communication with Head Office relative to the formation of a branch. Not satisfied with the corporate membership idea, he approached the rector of the parish, who has already done much in the village to foster the spirit of unity among the two Communion.

A parish meeting was called for the first Thursday in December, 1925, when the nature of the work of the L.N.U. was explained to a fairly large company. It was agreed to form a branch for the village, and the rector was appointed chairman, whilst the Baptist minister took office as secretary. As a result of the meeting about 20 people joined as members. From that time the branch has grown steadily until to-day, just twelve months since its inception, it numbers 114 members—i.e., over one-fourth of the population.

Last winter we held regular monthly meetings of the membership, at which the secretary usually gave, first, a short digest of the literature received from headquarters during the preceding month; and followed this with an address on some aspect of the work of the League. In this way the members—the majority of whom were *rs.* subscribers—were made to feel that they were in touch with things that were happening at Geneva, and were really concerned in them. At the branch meetings opportunity was given for discussion and questions, and as month succeeded month the membership became more and more an "instructed" membership. One evening was given to the consideration of the Locarno Agreements and the Geneva Protocol; another was the occasion of an address based on the L.N.U. pamphlet, "The Unity of Civilisation."

One great element in the rapid growth of our branch has been the missionary activity of the members themselves. From the first meeting, the secretary impressed members with the fact that they must, as individuals, feel responsible for getting other people to join the branch and attend its meetings to learn about the League, and they have responded nobly.

There have been other elements that have helped the branch forward. Among them may be mentioned the fact that the secretary, being minister of a Baptist church, has, about once a quarter, taken some aspect of the work of the League as the subject for an address at a Sunday service, and these addresses have usually appeared in full in the county paper the next week.

### The Union's Opportunity

"It is vitally important that there should be in this country a great and instructed public opinion in favour of Disarmament, and not merely in favour, but burningly in favour—so burningly as to set the Continent of Europe alight. I need hardly emphasise the duty and the opportunity of the League of Nations Union in this matter." These words, used by Lord Cecil in an interview published in HEADWAY a short time ago, sum up succinctly the special responsibility of the Union during the next few months, when the League will really get to grips with the problem of the All-round Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. The Preparatory Disarmament Commission is due to meet in March in order to draw up a draft scheme; this scheme will immediately be submitted to the various Governments, who will then have to determine their attitude towards it. A lead given by a Great Power will make all the difference—just as it did at Washington. Britain can and ought to give such a lead at Geneva. But she can only do this if, as Lord Cecil says, British public opinion will endorse such action. That is why the Executive Committee of the Union is urging every branch to form at once Study and Discussion Groups on Armaments; the difficult nature of the problem demands that there shall be in every part of the country a number of well-informed people qualified to spread the facts and meet objections.

For the assistance of such groups the following material has been prepared, and is available upon application to headquarters. No. 205, "Syllabus on Disarmament"; No. 204, "Disarmament: Notes on Recent Progress with Regard to Their Reduction and Limitation," by Professor Baker (price 2d.); No. 206, "On the Verge of Disarmament." Nos. 204 and 205 are supplied free for the use of Discussion and Study Groups. No. 206—which is suitable for more general use—is supplied free for distribution at meetings on Disarmament.

### Our Membership

The total number of those who have joined the League of Nations Union, after deducting those who are known to have died or resigned, on December 31st, 1926, was 587,224. From January 1st to December 31st, 1926, nearly 83,000 new members were enrolled, being, as the following table shows, nearly five hundred more than in 1925, but about 18,000 less than in 1924:—

	1924	1925	1926
New members enrolled ...	100,263	82,329	82,837
Died or resigned ...	1,240	2,497	8,123
Net increase ...	99,023	79,832	74,714
Renewal subscriptions			
paid ...	142,255	173,140	197,153
Total paid ...	242,518	255,469	279,990

To have done so well in 1926, the year which has seen a six months' stoppage in the coal trade and a general—or very nearly general—strike, speaks volumes for the energy and devotion of branch and district officers and members generally.

The great increase in the number of cancelled memberships last year is not due to dissatisfaction with the Union and its work, far from it. It simply means that the overhauling of branch registers, which was commenced in earnest in 1925, was continued and intensified last year. Had the same principle of cutting out "dead wood" been applied in earlier years as carefully as it was last year, the inevitable wastage would have been registered year by year. As it is, much of the wastage of several years had to be registered in one period of twelve months.

The payment of their subscriptions by 279,990 people in one year constitutes a record, but there is room for improvement, inasmuch as of the quarter of a million

or more members who paid their subscriptions in 1925, and who were due for renewal in 1926, less than 200,000 did so. This means that 50,000—20 per cent.—of those who paid in 1925 have allowed themselves to fall into arrears in 1926. The prolonged disturbance in the industrial life of the country accounts for much, if not all, of this; but how much will only be shown by an analysis of county membership returns.

### Angling for Members

Under the heading "Winter Fishing in Border Country" the following appeared in the "Berwick Mercury" of December 25th, 1926:—

The local Press has recently given evidence of proposals for the formation of an Angling Association for the protection of the attractive and beneficial sport of trout fishing, but we may remind our readers that another set of anglers are actively engaged throughout our district in their valuable and profitable pursuit. Weather conditions do not affect the activity of these anglers, and it is reported that there are plenty of fish yet available. Of these fish there are three distinguishable classes, although there are numerous intermediate sizes, which in some cases blend the classes together.

The first class consists of a number of elderly fish, lying in more or less undisturbed waters and deep holes. A few of them appear to be branded with a legend running something like this—"Human nature never changes." The fish in this class are the most wily and difficult to catch. Scanned closely, their eyes have a knowing look, which very often arises from the fact that in their younger days they ran considerable risk in certain directions, and one or two of them bear traces of ugly gashes—painful reminders of past experience. The average weight of these fish is one pound, and their capture usually results in a marked increase of energy amongst the anglers and a feeling of exhilaration on the part of the captor. These are very valuable fish indeed.

The second class consists of what might be termed average fish. They offer excellent sport, and the result of their capture is that "Headway" is made.

The third class is a smaller fish, but still considered by the anglers to be very valuable. They are very numerous and abound everywhere in the local streams—active, hearty fellows.

In regard to all three classes, the capture of the fish is considered, on reliable authority, to be good for both captor and captured, and the sport generally has received, and is receiving, the approbation of Governments past and present—and, in fact, the approbation of all people with clear brains and good hearts.

To drop the parallel, the "Angling Association" is the local band of collectors, acting under the Berwick Branch of the League of Nations Union, and they are in search of three classes of subscribers to help on this all-important work.

### A Conference on Wages

An unprecedented number of applications for tickets has been received for the Conference on Minimum Wages and Methods of Conciliation and Arbitration in Industrial Disputes, which the Union is organising from February 1st to 4th at the London School of Economics. Delegates of Employers' Organisations, Trades Unions, Joint Industrial Councils, Trade Boards and innumerable other political and semi-political organisations are coming from all over the country, and at the time of writing the number of tickets issued exceeds 800. To the speakers mentioned in our last issue must be added the names of Mrs. Wintringham, Captain H. Macmillan, M.P., Mr. Humbert Wolfe (Principal Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Labour), Professor F. Hall, Mr. E. L. Poulton (member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., General Secretary National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives), Mr. H. T. Forman (Chairman, Association of Joint Industrial Councils and Interim Reconstruction Committees).

The afternoon session of Tuesday, which will discuss Other Methods of Fixing Minimum Wages, will be truly an international afternoon, for the speakers will be Madame Duchêne (Office Français du Travail à Domicile), Fraulein Dr. Margarete Wolff (Gewertverein der Heimarbeiterinnen), Herr Dr. K. Sitzler (Ministry of Labour, Berlin), and Mr. J. H. Richardson, of the I.L.O., Geneva, who will speak on the methods in operation in New Zealand.

On the evening of the first day the Viscountess Grey of Falloden is giving a reception at the Hotel Cecil in

order to meet the delegates to the Conference. It is hoped that at this reception the Minister of Labour, Lord Grey of Falloden and a prominent Labour leader will speak.

### Dr. Norwood's Mission

Every friend of the League of Nations cause in this country will rejoice to hear that Dr. Norwood is now fully restored to health, and at the New Year was able to resume his great peace crusade on behalf of the Union. The beginning of January found him in the North, addressing huge audiences in the Tyneside District, where his special qualities as a "straight-from-the-shoulder" speaker were enormously appreciated.

Dr. Norwood's meeting on January 10, the birthday of the League, at the Central Hall, Westminster, was an unqualified success, and deserves special mention, because it was in the nature of an experiment. Advertised as a meeting for business men and women it began, for their convenience, at the unusual hour of 6.15 p.m. The response exceeded all expectations, and before 5 o'clock a queue of people was waiting for admission to the hall. It was obvious that the audience had been drawn from the Government offices and business houses in the neighbourhood. A particularly strong contingent came from the L.C.C. offices at the County Hall. Dr. Norwood was given an enthusiastic hearing, and the immediate results of the meeting were a substantial collection and many new members for the Union. Readers will be interested to know that up to the end of 1926 Dr. Norwood's mission had succeeded in harvesting over 10,000 new members.

In February Dr. Norwood has speaking engagements in Scotland and the West Midlands.

### Whose Fault?

A letter has been received at Headquarters from the honorary secretary of one of the more remote Branches of the Union, suggesting a possible explanation why a large number of the 2,000 Branches of the Union are left unrepresented at the meetings of the Council. It is that honorary secretaries, who remind their committees that a Council Meeting is about to take place and that delegates ought to be appointed, are so afraid that if they notify them they will themselves be appointed that, whether from modesty or overwork, they suppress the notice of the meeting. Greater responsibility, therefore, rests upon members of the committee to look out for the notices of the Council Meetings in HEADWAY, and to see that their Branch sends a delegate.

### Suggestions for Holidays

If you are already thinking about holiday plans, do not forget that (1) the Union is organising a trip to the U.S.A. at Easter; (2) an attractive programme has been drawn up for the Union's party that is leaving London on May 28 for a week's visit to the International Labour Organisation Conference at Geneva; (3) the Geneva Institute of International Relations will be held for two weeks, from August 5. Full particulars of these tours can be obtained upon application from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Also as in past years a party will visit Geneva for the first week of the Assembly, conducted by Mrs. Innes. The Tour is in co-operation with the Union, but particulars can be obtained direct from Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

### When to Listen In

The Union has arranged for the following addresses to be broadcast on 2LO: February 9, Mr. W. T. Layton, "The Economic Conference"; April 13, Dame Rachel Crowdy, "The Humanitarian Work of the League."

### A Festival of Youth

The London Regional Federation is promoting a gigantic festival at the Crystal Palace, on June 18. A

special appeal will be made not only to the youth of the L.N.U. movement, but to all other organisations which exist for the welfare of young people. The programme includes a choir of 3,000 (junior and adult), a Great Pageant of Nations (about 2,000 performers), National Dances, Inter-Choir Competitions, and a massed gathering in the Centre Transept. The whole of London will be represented, many country branches, and it is hoped to have certain detachments from abroad. The assistance of everyone is required immediately by the Hon. Organising Director, at the Festival Headquarters, Crystal Palace, S.E.19, from whom all further information may be obtained.

### Education in Essex

"Before the close of a child's school career, without party or sectarian colour or bias, instruct him or her, in class, respecting a citizen's duties and responsibilities to the immediate District, to the Country and to the Empire at large, in which connection the objects and aims of the League of Nations should be brought under review. (Extract from Regulations 1925 of Essex Education Committee.)"

### How to Help

If you, as an individual member, want to help the Union, why not try to enrol some new members? In order to supplement the arguments of people who are willing to help in this way headquarters has arranged to supply Branches with copies of the illustrated pamphlet "Organising Peace." Ask your Branch secretary about it.

### League Sunday for the Boys' Brigade

The object of the Boys' Brigade is "The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys," and, believing that the League of Nations is a practical expression of such an aim, the Brigade Executive instituted six years ago "B.B. League of Nations Sunday," which takes place every year on the first Sunday of February. The Boys' Brigade now numbers nearly 100,000 officers and boys, and on this Sunday each year the Bible class, held by nearly every B.B. Company, is devoted to the aims and objects of the League. In this way sympathy and admiration for its work is being developed among these boys at their most impressionable age. An official Bible Class Syllabus is issued each year, and helpful notes appear from time to time in the official magazine for the brigade—*The Boys' Brigade Gazette*.

### More Facts

Recent publications issued by the Union include: "The League" (No. 203, 3d.), an address by Sir Austen Chamberlain on the occasion of his installation as Lord Rector of Glasgow University. "After Eight Years" (No. 207, 1d.), a speech delivered by Viscount Grey on Armistice Day, 1926. "Health" (No. 174, 3d.), a revised and up-to-date edition of the pamphlet describing the work of the Health Organisation of the League.

Particulars of the new pamphlets dealing with disarmament are given in another column.

### A Model Assembly

A Model Assembly organised by the Fellowship Branch will be held in the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, Victoria, S.W.1, on February 24 at 7.30. The resolution tabled for discussion is: "That this Assembly urges the Government to press forward with the reduction of such armaments as are not needed for police purposes." Admission is free.

### Last Year's Council's Vote

Towards the end of last year an appeal was issued from Headquarters urging those Branches and Districts which had not completed their quotas towards the Council's Vote for 1926 to make a special effort to do so within the next few weeks, so that the Union might open the New Year without a heavy bank overdraft.

In order to give a little extra time in which to pay the Council's Vote account was kept open until the end of January. The following list of the Branches and Districts which have, up to the time of going to press, paid the whole of their assessments since the January HEADWAY was published shows the splendid response the Headquarters' appeal received: Ambleside, Ayton, Barnt Green (Birmingham), Bedford, Bideford, Bingley, Bishopston, Berwick, Berkhamsted, Bishop Auckland, Bromley, Branksome, Broadstairs, Bridlington, Budleigh Salterton, Burnham-on-Sea, Buttershaw, Camberley, Chandlers Ford, Checkendon, Coldingham, Coldstream, Cottingham, Crosshills, Cupar, Dalbeattie, Desborough, Dundee, Epping, East Scotland District, Farnham, Fleet, Gomersal, Galashiels, Harrogate, Haddenham, Harehill Lane (Leeds), Hull Training College, Hereford, Kingswood, Leatherhead, Laindon, Launceston, Lye Wesleyan Church, Lyme Regis, Melksham, Newbury, Nether Chapel (Sheffield), Niton, Oxford, Penn and Tylers Green, Perth, Pitlochry, Portland, Ross, Runcorn, St. Andrews, Salisbury, Scotby, Stourport, Sutton Coldfield District, Swanage, Scarborough, Twyford (1925 and 1926), Todmorden, Taunton, Thornaby-on-Tees, West Wight, Woolton (Beds), Westgate (Toller Lane Baptist Church), Weybridge, Weston Rhyn, Wimborne, Wolverton.

#### New Corporate Members and Associates

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

ABINGDON: Trinity Wesleyan Church. ARMLEY: Armley Liberal Club. BARNESLEY: National Union of Teachers. BATLEY: Hick Lane Wesleyan Church; Hanover Street P.M.E. Sisterhood. BAXCHURCH: St. Andrew's Church. BRADFORD: The People's Church, Kirkgate; St. Margaret's Church, Frizinghall. BRISTOL: Bristol Venture Club. BURTON-ON-TRENT: St. Chad's Church. CAMBRIDGE: Hebrew Society. CATERHAM: St. Peter and St. Paul, Chaldon. DARLINGTON: Bondgate Wesleyan Methodist Church. DERBY: Branch of Women Citizens' Association. DUNDEE: Lodge of the Theosophical Society. FLACKWELL HEATH: Parish Church. GRIMSBY: Arlington Street Wesleyan Church. HATHERN: Men's Adult School. HERNE BAY: Congregational Church. HOVE: Parish Church. LEICESTER: King Richard Road Wesleyan Methodist Church. LONDON: Central Telephone Exchange (G.P.O. South); Holborn Telephone Exchange; Paddington Telephone Exchange. MANCHESTER: St. Matthew's Social Club, Ardwick. NEWCASTLE: Brunswick Wesleyan Church; East Newcastle Women's Liberal Association. NORTHAMPTON: Women's Liberal Association. OAKWORTH: Wesleyan Church and Sunday School. RADCLIFFE: Close Wesleyan Church. ROCHDALE: Castlemere Wesleyan Chapel. ROTHWELL: Congregational Men's Class. ST. ALBANS: Hatfield Road Wesleyan Church. SAFFRON WALDEN: High Street Baptist Church. SHERBORNE: Wesleyan Church. SINGAPORE: St. Andrew's Church. STOCKPORT: Tiviot Dale Wesleyan Chapel. TOPSHAM: Wesleyan Methodist Church. WIDNES: Chamber of Commerce. WORKSOP: Wesley Church.

The following have been admitted to corporate associatship since the previous list was published:—

Women's Institutes at BOWSDEN, INKBERROW, TILMANSTONE, WATER ORTON, WEST HEATH, WOOTTON. DUNDEE: Victoria Street Girls' Auxiliary. ROTHERFIELD: Wesley Guild. WILLESDEN: Women's Adult School.

#### Welsh Notes

Dr. Norwood brought his Welsh tour to an end with meetings in the month of January at Newtown and Llandudno. He has addressed meetings at Llangollen, Wrexham, Barmouth, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Pontypool, Abertillery, Barry, Cardiff, Pontypridd, Aberdare, Tonypandy, Bridgend, Maesteg, Briton Ferry, Neath, Llanelly, Pontardawe, Morriston and Newport. At most of these centres conferences were held. In many places Dr. Norwood was given a civic reception, and in all he was met by crowded audiences. The Welsh National Council is also indebted to the Rev. Dr. W. C. Poole, of Christ Church, Westminster, for visiting the Rhondda Valley where a great demonstration took place.

The series of Teachers' Conferences has been resumed by Professor C. K. Webster, who has addressed in various localities the larger portion of Welsh teachers on "The Teaching of World Citizenship."

#### OVERSEAS NOTES

##### Australia

A record number of members attended the luncheon of the South Australian League of Nations Union, at Adelaide, when the speaker was the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., a member of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation.

##### Canada

As a result of an appeal made by the Toronto Branch of the Canadian League of Nations Society to the Board of Education, with reference to League talks in the schools on Armistice Day, the Board passed a resolution that each teacher should speak to the pupils immediately after the two minutes' silence.

League of Nations Study Classes are being organised in the Universities of Toronto and McGill, and arrangements are being made for everyone who joins the class to become a member of the League of Nations Society in Canada, and, in the case of the Toronto University group, be linked up with the local branch.

##### India

The Central Committee of the Indian League of Nations Union have issued an appeal for funds in order to establish an Indian League of Nations Union, with a central office, and to secure the services of a whole-time organising officer, who will have to do a considerable amount of travelling, to organise branches, and to popularise the work of the Union throughout India.

##### U.S.A.

The subject for the Dabney Prize Competition for 1927 and the World Essay Contest will be: "The Power of the League of Nations to maintain World Peace and to forward Humanitarian Welfare." The Dabney prizes of \$300 and \$150 are open to the Colleges and Universities throughout the world.

The American Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, at its recent congress at Pittsburgh, adopted a comprehensive and progressive programme, the substance of which is as follows: "We believe that world organisation is necessary as a substitute for the war system. In addition to the Court of International Justice we recognise the League of Nations as such an organisation. We rejoice that its great services in the fields of humanitarian and other endeavours have enlisted the co-operation of our country. We believe this country should study the ways and means by which we can co-operate more effectively in the activities of the League of Nations for World Peace, and we also respectfully urge that the League of Nations give due consideration and modify its structure and Covenant so as to leave the United States no valid excuse for remaining outside the League." In determining the methods by which this programme should be carried out, it was decided, among other things, "to authorise a delegation to the White House on behalf of the World Court."

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

Applications to Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Telegrams: Frenat Knights, London.

Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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