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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

OFFICIAL decisions on the Protocol in Great Britain are hanging fire considerably, owing to the decision of all the Dominions, except New Zealand and the Irish Free State, that it will be impossible in the near future to discuss the matter at a round table Conference. What the next step will be does not appear to have been decided so far. Any attempt to rush a final verdict would have unfortunate results. All the omens point to a continuance of general discussions in the Press and elsewhere, with the prospect of having the whole matter thrashed out afresh at the Sixth Assembly next September. This may very well be the best thing that could happen.

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Labour and the Protocol.

AN extremely important joint meeting of the Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International (the second International) was held at Brussels at the beginning of January. Various resolutions urging ratification of I.L.O. conventions were adopted, and perhaps the most interesting discussion, apart from that on the visit of a British trade-union delegation to Russia, took place regarding the Geneva Protocol. A resolution was adopted which, "while recognising the imperfections of the Geneva Protocol," declares the instrument to mark a definite progress in the cause of the peace of the world, and urges the entire Socialist and Labour movement of all countries to concentrate its efforts

on obtaining the ratification of the Protocol and the convocation of the Disarmament Conference, since the only alternative appears to be an attempt to attain security through special treaties of assistance, which would lead to a system of opposing alliances, and increase the peril of war.

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Dr. Luther and the League.

THE new German Government will, if it lasts long enough, have to decide about applying for membership of the League. As a whole it must be reckoned less favourable to Geneva than its immediate predecessor, inasmuch as the Nationalists are directly represented in it. At the same time, Dr. Luther, Dr. Marx' successor as Chancellor, evidently desires to follow the late Government's foreign policy with few changes, and his references to the League in his opening speech to the Reichstag suggest that on the whole he is more in favour of it than not. One step already announced is the definite reversion to the eight-hour day, though that this decision was taken for internal reasons—i.e., with a view to conciliating the workers—and for no others is clear enough. At the same time, the observance or otherwise of the Washington Hours Convention by a Great Power is a matter of importance to the whole International Labour Organisation. If Germany carries out her declared intention there will be less excuse than ever for the failure of this country and France to embody the provisions of the Washington Convention in our domestic legislation.

**Germany and Article XVI.**

ONE task that will devolve on Dr. Luther will be the handling of certain negotiations already begun between Berlin and Geneva. The German Note to States represented on the Council, asking whether they were in favour of Germany's being made a permanent member of the Council, have now all been answered, and all in the affirmative. A further Note has, however, been addressed to the Secretary-General raising the question of the obligations that might fall on Germany under Article XVI of the Covenant if she joined the League. The last German Government apparently took the view that it would be dangerous for Germany in her unarmed state to give passage to League troops sent (let us say) to support Poland against an imaginary war with Russia, on the ground that if such troops were unsuccessful, and Russia advanced westward, Germany's passive participation in the operations would bring on her a Russian attack, against which she would be powerless to defend herself. The danger seems remote, and there can be no serious question of putting Germany on a different footing from other members of the League in regard to Art. XVI. (Recognition of Switzerland's historic neutrality was hardly the same thing.) In any case, it is a matter with which only Assembly can deal. The Council has nothing to do with the admission of new members.

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**A Long Rope for Opium.**

EVENTS sometimes take strange turns, and it is possible that before this issue of HEADWAY appears the Second Opium Conference at Geneva may somehow have survived the crises which have threatened to submerge it. The belief that Lord Cecil, going out as first British delegate, might have a new policy in his pocket, was justified when at the opening meeting of the adjourned Conference he unfolded the Government's offer to end opium-smoking finally fifteen years after China had sufficiently cleared herself of poppy-growing to remove the danger of smuggling into British territories. What this means is that Great Britain, having pledged herself in 1912 by the Hague Convention to the "gradual and effective" abolition of opium-smoking in all her territories, decides in 1925 on a policy which may produce abolition by about 1945 or thereabouts, though even of this there is no sort of guarantee. The argument that opium cannot be kept out of places like Singapore while it is being produced wholesale in China, undoubtedly has substance. On the other hand, it is fatally easy for dependencies depending on opium for a large part of their revenue, and concerned lest its abolition should cause some unrest among their Chinese population, to throw up their hands and declare they can do nothing till China does. All that can be said is that if the process of abolition proves as effective as it is going to be gradual, our posterity may see the complete end of the evil.

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**A Hint from Rumania.**

AN interesting note from the Rumanian Finance Minister has been received at Geneva suggesting that the League might with advantage undertake on behalf of his own and other countries in Europe

the same kind of financial operation as has proved so beneficial in the case of Austria and Hungary. The proposal opens up prospects of some importance. It is obviously something of an anomaly that the first and, apart from the Greek Refugee Scheme, the only, countries to benefit so far by the League's financial intervention have been two of the four States opposed to the Allies in the War. Many Allied States, notably Rumania, Jugo-Slavia and Poland, found it none too easy to raise needed loans on acceptable terms. The League could undoubtedly be of much assistance to them. The question, however, is whether such States would be prepared to accept anything like the kind of financial supervision which the League is exercising in the case of Austria and Hungary. It was that more than anything else which induced British and American investors to lend their money to those countries.

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**Germany and the Saar.**

CONSIDERABLE disquiet has been caused by a persistent rumour that it is the intention of the League Council at its March meeting to recommend the re-appointment of M. Rault as Chairman of the Governing Commission in the Saar for yet a sixth year. There could be no defence for such a decision. It has always been clearly understood that five years would be the extreme limit of M. Rault's tenure of this office. No criticism lies against M. Rault himself, but the whole purpose of the introduction of League government in the Saar was to ensure absolute fairness of treatment for the German population, and from the League's point of view it is essential not only to be fair, but to be seen to be fair. To retain the Chairmanship of the Commission in the hands of its one French member for five years is in itself a policy open to grave objection. To extend that period to more than five years would be to lay the League Council open to the most damaging criticism. The decision taken in December that the first Presidents of the proposed League Commissions on the disarmament of ex-enemy countries should, in the case of Germany, Austria and Hungary, all be Allies, has done much to alienate German opinion from the League. To take a false step in the Saar would still further stimulate anti-League tendencies in Germany.

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**Senator Borah and the League.**

THE fact that Senator Borah has now succeeded Mr. Lodge as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate lends considerable importance to a statement he has just made on the general question of world peace. Mr. Borah stands for a world conference to clear up economic difficulties, for the codification of international law and for a definite outlawry of war as a method for settling international disputes. What strikes one, of course, regarding the statement is that very little except inherent political preconceptions separates Senator Borah from the League of Nations. It is true that he considers even the Protocol falls short of his ideals, because, under certain circumstances, it permits war still to be waged. That is true only in the sense that the Protocol does provide for the use of collective force by the whole society of nations

against a lawbreaker who takes up arms. That, however, is what Mr. Borah appears to criticise, for he is among those who believe that submission of disputes for arbitration should be universal, but that no provision should be made for enforcing judgments. This is clearly a position which commands respect, though it may not command agreement. But when Mr. Borah says, "To my mind, the necessity will not arise for the enforcement. It lies in getting the nations to agree to submit their questions to a Court," he is really brought face to face with his own difficulty, for he does not suggest how compulsion to submit disputes can be exercised.

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**Egyptian Prospects.**

THE situation in Egypt seems normal—if anything, rather quieter than normal. The British Government is keeping itself well in the background, and there is no talk of any immediate action likely to affect the League of Nations. The condominium in the Sudan is evidently to be maintained—at any rate, for the present. No question of the possibility of a mandate for that area, therefore, arises. Opinions on the general policy and action of our own Government remain divided. Most Union members will agree with the view taken by Mr. Lowes Dickinson in his article on another page, and already anticipated in the last issue of HEADWAY, that on two points, at any rate—the amount of the indemnity and the question of the Nile water—the Government was at fault in ignoring the League. Beyond that, opinions differ, as they quite well may. The problem is complex, and perfectly loyal supporters of the League can with complete sincerity hold opposing views about it. Not to recognise that would be much less than liberal.

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**Bricks and Mortar.**

BUILDING is in the air at Geneva. As far as the new Labour Office is concerned, it is literally in the air—that is to say, its upper storeys are—and a photograph lately published in the English papers shows something very like a finished edifice. That, of course, only applies to externals. The interior is still in an elementary stage. Meanwhile, details of the competition for plans of the new Assembly Hall are being worked out at Geneva by a special committee of experts, Sir John Burnet, the well-known Glasgow architect, being the British member. There has been some criticism in a Dutch paper on the fact that the competition is to be open to citizens of States members of the League, not to the whole world. There is not much substance in the complaint. Neither Afghanistan nor Mexico will suffer much from the exclusion, and there is really no reason why United States architects should in this case be asked to compete. There should be enough talent in the 55 States composing the League to meet the comparatively modest needs of the occasion.

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**Geneva and Naples.**

A QUESTION of considerable importance to business men has arisen in connection with the valuable Ports Convention concluded at Geneva in the autumn of 1923, providing, among other things,

against "flag discrimination"—stipulating, that is to say, that all vessels of whatever nationality shall receive the same treatment in the ports of any of the signatory countries. Italy, according to Sir Kenneth Anderson, the Chairman of the Orient Steam Navigation Co., is at present exercising serious discrimination in the port of Naples in an attempt to secure the immigration traffic to Australia for Italian liners, instead of British. Italy is a signatory of the Ports Convention, and deliberate infraction on her part would be a serious matter. The question will, no doubt, be taken up by the Transit Commission at Geneva.

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**The League at Singapore.**

DEFINITE steps towards the foundation of a sub-office of the League of Nations Epidemic Commission at Singapore are now being taken, Dr. Norman White having left Geneva in the middle of January to set the office actually on its feet. The more the League can extend its activities in Asia the better. While the influence of the Labour Office has been beneficially felt in countries like India, China, Japan and Persia, it is obviously difficult to make the League as a whole a reality in Asiatic countries to the same extent as in European. In view of the importance of the health question in Far Eastern ports, the new sub-office, even if it can be for the moment little more than a clearing-house of sanitary information, should serve an extremely useful purpose. Interest is added to its creation by the fact that the money required is being found by the Rockefeller Foundation in America.

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**Ecuador Arriving.**

THE entry of Ecuador into the League appears to be impending, and, should it take place, the whole of the States of South America will be members of the League. Ecuador, it will be remembered, is in the same position as the United States, having signed the Covenant, but never ratified it. Opinion, however, has now changed, and the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Ecuador Senate appears to have approved of a proposal of its President that application for entry into the League should be made. The appointment of an Ecuador Minister at Berne, which has just been announced, is regarded as the first step in this direction. Another Latin-American State which appears to be moving slowly towards the League is Mexico, her association with the International Labour Organisation having lately been under discussion at Geneva.

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**Support from Beyond.**

IT is said that Lord Northcliffe has become a strong supporter of the League of Nations. The statement was made at a remarkable meeting held a week or two ago at the Queen's Hall to hear testimonies from various friends of the late newspaper proprietor who claimed to have established spiritualistic contact with him. To note as a matter of manifest interest the declaration regarding Lord Northcliffe and the League involves no expression of opinion either way on a subject which leaves ample room for both credulity and scepticism.

## THE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

By BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL.

FROM a purely superficial glance at the twenty-two groups or associations forming the Federation of French Societies for the League of Nations it might be believed that there is no real movement in favour of the League in this country; that a few students and a few Members of Parliament make up the whole of the public which understands anything about the League and wishes for its progress. That would be a wholly false view.

I will appear very paradoxical if I contend that the League needs in France no such support as that given by the League of Nations Union in England, because the League is no party issue, because in 1920 everybody over here believed in the League, and that our task was to make people hope a little less from it, so that they should despair the less when they discovered the League to be still weaker than they had thought, and incapable as yet of lifting the weights they would have heaped upon its shoulders.

Take France after the Treaty of Versailles. Alsace-Lorraine is returned to her. The houses, the fields, the factories are ruined, but "l'Allemagne payera." It seems that Germany is going to be so effectively disarmed as to allow France a long rest from military efforts and deadly alarms. We have some colonies entrusted to us we never had asked for. What else should we wish for? Not a Frenchman but thinks only of rebuilding Europe. France is satisfied. The League is looked up to as the instrument needed for European reconstruction. Nobody would dare lift a finger against it. Some are sceptical, but they are silenced by the voice of the whole nation.

Take France two years later. Germany has not begun paying, nor has she shown much goodwill in disarming. Poincaré comes into office. He will enforce the payment of Reparations and the accomplishment of the conditions needed for our Security. The doubts about the League have spread since the country chose the man whose methods are the furthest away from the spirit of the League. But, after all, what has the League done to justify the faith it had awakened? Perhaps it was given no chance of doing anything. Undoubtedly the Big Four objected to its butting in on their little quarrels and schemes. And M. Bourgeois had to admit when the Council met, as I believe, in July, 1920, that the Brussels Conference would not be allowed to deal with either Reparations or Inter-Allied Debts. When the promoters of the League started boycotting her, how could you expect the people to stick to her?

It needed a year and the occupation of the Ruhr to show the majority of the French people that M. Poincaré's way was not a good way, and, moreover, not France's traditional way. In January, 1923, the French Universities' Group for the League of Nations was born. Now, I put down this date because our youth is supposed to be militarist and won over to the doctrines of authority. Well, at the very moment when France was broken up in two camps—those who wanted "la manière forte" and those who wanted to call in the League—we were able to set up a non-partisan group and make it prosper. We had only to say: "Whether you believe in an international solution to this materially or morally impossible situation of France, you have no right to turn your back on our only chance of such a settlement." And men who went out to occupy the Ruhr had their names put down at our office.

Well, it came to be that our estimates of the cost of the Ruhr occupation were verified, and that everybody became wise to the fact that we exasperated German nationalism.

On the other side, the League availed itself of its chance. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which Lord Robert Cecil, now Viscount Cecil, had outlined to us when he came over to give a lecture at the Institut Océanographique, was drafted at the Fourth Session of the Geneva Assembly. It made disarmament possible without depriving us of every means of safety. The stipulation that complementary treaties would be recognised gave satisfaction to that large section of French opinion which could not believe in the ratification of so binding a treaty by States not actually exposed to invasion.

We made it our task, since we students were enabled to do more for the League than merely expecting unseen wonders of it, to explain to the French people that this was the maximum the League could do for us, that we must show some comprehension of the conditions in other countries, and help the foreign societies kindred to ours by proving ourselves a pacific country incapable of misusing the terms of the Treaty so as to throw our associates into a new conflict. The autumn of 1923 saw the beginning of an intensified propaganda.

We formed in the heart of the French Federation a smaller Committee of Action, made up of the three most powerful associations—the oldest, "l'Association Française," whose president was the rector of the Sorbonne, and became the honorary president of the Universities Group; "l'Union Fédérale des Mutilés, Anciens Combattants, Orphelins, et Veuves de Guerre," the first and foremost union of ex-servicemen to fight for the League; and our own group.

The four tracts published by the "Comité d'Action" have sold by hundreds of thousands, together with the leading articles of the *Revue de Paris*, dealing through six months exclusively with the League, and obtained by Robert Lange, the secretary and soul of our group, from the leading statesmen of every country, they enlightened French opinion as to the possibilities of the League.

It has been our permanent object not to raise foolish hopes, not to create such a state of mind as would demand that every problem should be solved by the League, but to train the people to look out for the best way, for some way, of preserving peace.

We got up a separate library at the "Faculté de Droit," and leading jurists, as well as political men, came into small commissions formed so as to give any student interested in the League and willing to write on questions relating to it every opportunity of getting information and guidance.

Our universities group had organised seventy sections by the spring of 1924. At that time it was brought into close contact with a Czecho-Slovak group, and then a British group. An International Union of universities groups sprang out of a meeting at Prague, where Germans and Americans were also present.

This assembly in Prague helped us understand the foreign ways of looking at things, and gave us much strength in France by entitling us to speak in the name of the opinion of international youth. Then came May, 1924. The League of Nations was made a platform by the Left, and when the Left won it carried us on its waves of triumph.

Our task was becoming difficult. It is up to us now to show what we can do with the League. It must be admitted that the last Assembly has not made the League very popular in France. The only way of making it unpopular is to prove it inefficient. The rumours of non-ratification of the Protocol which go about do much towards hampering our action. It must be understood that the non-ratification of the Cecil-Réquin Treaty of Mutual Assistance hit us very severely. If this is going to be repeated I do not know where we will be!

## EGYPT AND THE LEAGUE.

By G. LOWES DICKINSON.

Holding that both points of view prevailing in League circles regarding Egypt should be stated, the Editor of "Headway" has invited Mr. Lowes Dickinson to contribute the following article. The opinions expressed, of course, commit no one but the writer.

THE coup d'état of the British Government in Egypt, which was discussed by Mr. Wilson Harris in the last issue of HEADWAY, seems to deserve and require some further comment; and I am grateful for permission to offer it.

Mr. Harris says that "no one can view the record with satisfaction." I agree, but I go further; I view it with dismay. To my mind the action taken by the British Government resembles, in every important respect, that taken by the Austrians after Serajevo, or by the Italians after Corfu. True, the "legality" of our action is formally correct; and I should be the first to admit that the British are past masters in the art of making clean the outside of the platter. But when they have done that, they seem to think it does not much matter that they should be "ravaging wolves" within. For, apart from the question of legality, what is the difference between our action and that of the governments referred to? We assumed, without trial, the complicity of the Egyptian Government; having thus made ourselves both plaintiffs and judges in our own cause, we proceeded to affix a penalty; the penalty was a fine of half a million pounds, precisely the same amount as that selected by the Italians to impose upon the Greeks; and if we did not have to bombard Alexandria, that was because our strategic position was already so strong that we could seize the loot without resistance. The loot will be paid by the fellah, who is as innocent as the man in the moon; and the Egyptians, only the more resentful because they are powerless, will enter upon years of sullen conspiracy against the British power.

Most Englishmen, I suppose, will be indignant at this way of putting the case; for the English, in their own eyes, are always right. "The Egyptian Government," they will say, "really WERE responsible." How do they know? The *Daily Mail*, probably, told them so. But if, indeed, that responsibility be so evident, why did we not refer the matter for judgment to the International Court? "Oh, it was a domestic question." Was it? Of course we say so but after all we also say that Egypt is an "independent" State. I should suppose the law to be a little difficult. But, even if the case be domestic, that does not debar us from getting a judicial settlement. The fact is, simply, that we prefer to be judges in our own cause. And, incidentally, it may be remarked that that is the real, though not the legal, meaning of "sovereignty," and the reason why sovereignty is so popular. For everyone wants to be a judge in his own cause, and international affairs are the only ones left where that is possible. Lord Cecil, indeed, is reported to have said that he "did not know what article of the Covenant applied to the Egyptian situation." He must surely have forgotten Article 11, referred to by Mr. Harris; or is that ruled out, in the British view, because Egypt though "independent" is not a nation or a state? It must be very awkward to be dependent on a great Power for an answer to the question whether, at any moment, one exists or not!

I need hardly speak of our one-sided pronouncement about the Soudan. Mr. Chamberlain himself does not appear to defend it in cold blood. The essential fact about the Soudan is that it was reconquered, largely

by Egyptian troops, paid by Egypt, but trained by the British; and that while we have administered it, the Egyptians have paid for the administration. I daresay it is a good thing that we should continue to administer it. What cannot be a good thing is that we should take the opportunity of the murder of the Sirdar to settle a dispute about the Nile water in our own interest. If any other government had taken such action we should have been bursting with virtuous indignation. As we took it ourselves, we look down our noses and fall back on "legality."

"But," says Mr. Harris, "Mr. Chamberlain promised more than once to give the League Council in Rome any explanations that might be desired, but in fact none were asked for." No doubt. What happened, in all probability, were friendly conversations, somewhat of this kind: "Well, you refused to bring in the League, where your own interests were concerned. Very good. We don't mind. But remember, one good turn deserves another. Similar occasions may arise in which we shall desire to take similar action or inaction. You, of course, will keep quiet then, as we are doing now?" A wink, and the thing is agreed, and a new nail driven into the coffin of the League.

It is this that is the real moral of our action. We had the chance to show, in a matter where our passions were aroused, that we stood by the new international order, even though our feelings clamoured for the application of the ancient law of force. If we had taken that course we should have strengthened the League in a degree out of all proportion to the actual importance of the case. For almost the first time in history, the world would have seen a great Power deliberately refusing to impose its own "justice" in one of those cases commonly included under "vital interests" or "honour." For the first time, there would have been evidence that the strong, even in dealing with the weak, preferred right and truth to vengeance.

That is why the matter is of more importance than seems to be generally realised. The "respectability" of the League at present, the number of people, of all parties, who nominally accept it, obscures the real differences of view as to its function and its future. Ruling out, for the moment, those very powerful groups whose only object is to destroy the League (among whom we are pretty safe in including the great bulk of military and naval officers and the permanent officials of the War Office and the Admiralty), we have at least two views which are, in fact, radically opposed, though they may work together for a time. The one holds that the League may be a useful adjunct to deal with certain tiresome disputes of minor importance, about which nobody wants to go to war—or not yet. The other desires that the League should become so strong that it will rule out war altogether. I should be surprised if it were not the former view, rather than the latter, that is represented by the present Government.

Thus, to take another case, it is, to say the least, ironic, that it should be the British Government, rather than any others, which threatens the Protocol. There are, of course, genuine difficulties involved in its acceptance. But it is one thing to face these difficulties and to try to meet them; it is another to use them to destroy the project, and to fall back on the old anarchy of competing armaments and alliances. During the next five years that choice may have been made, and made irremediably. The importance of the Egyptian action is that it is one step on the downward course. But how quickly it may be followed by others, until no return is possible! "Facilis descensus Averni." And for how many people, even though they do not know it, that hell is the end of all their striving!

## THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.

## VI.—THE PERMANENT COURT.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

THERE is still a good deal of misunderstanding as to what the Permanent Court of International Justice is and what it does. The Court, as it may be called for short, is a definite part of the League. It was created by the League and its expenses are paid by the League. For various reasons it sits at the Hague instead of at Geneva, but it has no real resemblance to what used, loosely and inaccurately, to be called the old Hague Court. That was, in point of fact, not a Court at all, but simply a list of eminent people belonging to different countries who were ready, if anyone asked them, to form a little committee or board of arbitrators to consider a particular dispute between two nations.

The present Court is something quite different. It is very much like one of the ordinary higher British Courts, such as the Court of Appeal, or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, except that its judges are rather more numerous. There are, in point of fact, eleven judges, with four deputy-judges to fill up any occasional vacancies due to illness or some other reason. They are appointed for the long term of nine years, and can be re-elected. That means that the work of the Court is intended to be their main business in life. The Court has regular sittings, beginning each year in June, but it can be called together at short notice if special business requires it.

The judges are well, but not extravagantly, paid. They belong to eleven different nations, one of them, Dr. John Bassett Moore, of the United States, to a country not a member of the League. Long before the League was ever formed, the question of creating such a Court was discussed, but fatal difficulties always arose. In particular, the great States and the small States could not agree as to how the judges should be chosen.

When the League came into existence, the difficulty was solved in a simple but interesting way. The judges clearly would have to be appointed by the League, but would they be elected by the Council, where four Great Powers at that time held four permanent places out of eight seats, or by the Assembly, where, of course, the small States have a huge majority? Neither plan would have been likely to be accepted. The Great States would have objected to one, the small States to the other. It was, therefore, decided that the Council and the Assembly should both elect the judges, voting separately and simultaneously.

As a matter of fact when the voting took place at the Assembly of 1921, there was very little difference of opinion between Council and Assembly. Nine out of the eleven places were filled on the first vote by men whom both the Assembly and the Council wanted, and on the remaining two places as well as on the four deputy-judges agreement was very soon reached. The bench as now constituted consists of an Englishman (Lord Finlay, a former Lord Chancellor of England), a Frenchman, an Italian, a Japanese, an American, a Spaniard, a Brazilian, a Cuban, a Dutchman, a Dane and a Swiss, while the four deputy-judges are a Rumanian, a Chinese, a Jugo-Slavian and a Norwegian.

The Court has been working since its foundation much harder than was ever expected. It does not deal with every kind of dispute between nations, but only with those which can be described as of a distinctly legal character, resting, for example, on some recognised principle in international law, or some such question as the interpretation of a treaty. A great many disputes which come to the League to settle cannot be passed on to the Court, because they do not fall

within its sphere of action. The first dispute of all, for example, that concerning the claim of the Aaland Islands to be transferred from Finland to Sweden, would not have been a matter for the Court, even if the Court had existed at that time, because what was in question was nothing legal like a treaty or agreement, but whether it was reasonable on broad grounds that the alleged wishes of the population should prevail.

But not by any means all even of the cases suitable for the Court actually come before it. There is no compulsion in the matter, though many people think there should be. No nation, for example, need take its dispute to the Court unless it wants to. The mere fact that its opponent may want to is not enough. Both of them must agree freely to go there of their own accord, except in cases, which are now getting numerous, where a treaty on any subject between two or more nations contains a clause to the effect that disputes arising out of its interpretation shall be settled by the Permanent Court. In that case, of course, any nation that has signed the treaty must abide by its pledges, and when there is a dispute let the Court decide.

In addition to this, something like 20 States have, of their own accord, signed an agreement among themselves that any disputes arising between them and suitable for the Court shall be dealt with by the Court. No Great Power has as yet done this, but strong hopes were held out at the Assembly of 1924 that all Members of the League would take this most important step.

The Court has been extremely useful to the League Council in deciding for it immediately legal questions in disputes that had come to the Council to settle. The most important in many ways was a dispute between Great Britain and France in 1922. The question broadly was whether, in French Protectorates in South Africa, persons enjoying British citizenship should be liable to conscription. France said they were, Great Britain said they were not. France, moreover, argued that in such Protectorates she could do what she liked, and that the matter, therefore, did not form one of those international questions which could be properly referred to the League. After long discussions, in which France refused every kind of arbitration, Great Britain brought the matter before the League Council, under Article XV of the Covenant. France then gave way, and agreed that the question of whether the dispute was really international should be referred to the Court. It was properly argued there by the British Attorney-General and distinguished French lawyers, and a verdict was given in favour of Great Britain.

Another interesting case was one brought directly before the Court by the Allied Powers against Germany. Under the Treaty of Versailles, the Kiel Canal must be kept open to all nations both in peace and war, and Germany had prevented the passage through it of an English ship called the "Wimbledon," carrying arms for Poland, which was then at war with Soviet Russia. Germany stopped the ship, saying that the rules of neutrality compelled her to do so. This matter, too, was argued before the Court, which, by a majority (its decisions have no more to be unanimous than those of the Court of Appeal or the House of Lords in this country), gave a verdict against Germany. It is interesting to note that on this occasion a German judge sat on the bench, as it is laid down that any nation appearing in a case before the Court may have a judge of its own nationality temporarily sitting. In two other cases referred by the League Council to the Court verdicts were given in favour of Germany against Poland. Altogether the value of the Court had, by the end of 1924, been abundantly proved, and there seems some small danger that, instead of getting too little business, it may soon get too much.

## WARFARE BY POISON.

DISCUSSION of the question of warfare by poison continues to excite considerable interest among readers of HEADWAY, so much so that, unfortunately, it is impossible to print in full the letters received on the subject. Two in particular, however, call for special attention. One is from the Central Office of the Women's International League at Geneva. The W.I.L., having read previous letters in HEADWAY, has submitted them to Miss Gertrud Woker, Secretary of its Committee Against Scientific Warfare, docent and head of the Laboratory for Biological Chemistry of the University of Berne, who sends a series of comments from which the following are extracts:—

"Your correspondent wishes to prove that poison gases are 'humane' arms by pointing out that mortality caused by them is smaller than that brought about by explosive stuffs. This affirmation is based on the minimum of mortality, where protection by masks can be fully provided; but it does not take into account that in most cases such a protection is not possible.

"A gas attack on the seat of government would mean the death of thousands of innocent people, children first of all, and sickness for practically the whole generation.

"Let us see the effects of two poison gases which were used during the World War: first that of Phosgen, used by the Allies; then that of Dichloridiaethylsulfid, called 'Yellow Cross' by the Germans, Mustard gas by English and Americans.

"The effect of Phosgen on the lungs has been described in English as 'dryland drowning'; the patient is literally suffocated by the fluids of his own body.

"Dichloridiaethylsulfid is heavier than air. It gets divided into its smallest particles, and, sinking down to the soil, permeates like a fine mist houses and clothes. Anybody breathing this poisoned air or putting his foot on the soil is carrying death to his own home. The poison shows its effect after several hours only, and then it is too late to bring help. The more delicate the skin the more horrible the effects, so that children will always be the first victims of a gas attack on the civilian population.

"This is what your correspondent calls 'the most efficient and the most humane weapon the League can adopt to enforce law and order internationally.'"

On the other hand, the original writer, who is precluded, for good reasons, from signing his name, defends his thesis in a letter in which he observes:—

"The thesis of my original letter was that poison gas is, on the whole, less brutal than any of the more conventional methods of warfare. It is dangerous to prophesy the direction of future developments in gas warfare, but certainly during the Great War the tendency was away from the lethal gases and towards lachrymators, vesicants, etc., the recovery rate from which was very high indeed. Poison gas is the only weapon susceptible of limitation as to its effects upon enemy personnel. Shells and bullets cannot be so controlled as only to cause temporary disability, while a humane choice of gas can achieve this end. The difficulties at Amritsar or the Four Courts, Dublin, could have been solved without loss of life or any permanent damage whatever by the use of lachrymators, which would have dissolved the multitudes into undignified but quite harmless tears!

"Guns and high explosives have only limited peace-time application and are ruthless weapons in time of war. Their production must and can be controlled. It is slowly becoming recognised that adequate international control of the production of poison gas is impossible by reason of its widespread manufacture and use for innumerable legitimate industrial purposes. A conscientious study of the peculiar features of gas warfare tends to destroy the old feeling of loathing associated with this weapon and persuades one of its suitability as a means of enforcing international law and order under League auspices. However great our hatred for war and its weapons may be, let us avoid singling out for special opprobrium that weapon which, in fact, has shown itself to be the least harmful in results to its victims."

## LABOUR AND THE PROTOCOL.

AN extremely important discussion on the Geneva Protocol took place at the joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist International at Brussels at the beginning of January. Though the meeting was private, considerable information about it has appeared in the French Press. The French and Belgian Labour leaders, MM. Léon Jouhaux and Vandervelde in particular, strongly supported the Protocol, and there was associated with them in this attitude Herr Wels, the chief German delegate. Curiously enough, the British delegation adopted a neutral attitude, on the ground partly that the Party in this country had not yet committed itself on the Protocol, and partly that they were opposed to its adoption while the provisions of the Versailles and other treaties still remained immutable, and while Germany and Russia were still outside the League. The German delegates apparently even went so far as to express surprise at the British attitude, taking the view themselves that the Geneva Protocol was a historic act which had already made a profound impression in Germany and which the German trade unions were resolved to see ratified.

M. Jouhaux has summed up the Brussels discussions by declaring, in spite of the non-committal position of the British, that "the Geneva Protocol is henceforth supported by the unanimous opinion of organised Labour throughout the world." According to M. Vandervelde, if France and Belgium are to lose the hope of securing in the Protocol guarantees of collective security, Socialists will find it quite impossible to prevent them from falling back on special treaties of guarantee, such as a direct agreement between France and England, or a guarantee of Belgium's territorial integrity given by France and England. Both of these courses would be open to grave and obvious objection.

This reasoning appears to have prevailed, for the whole of the Continental delegations, including, it is to be noted, those of Germany and Austria, cordially supported a resolution declaring that it was the duty of all Labour and Socialist movements in all countries to endeavour to secure the ratification of the Geneva Protocol. Apart from the abstention of the British delegation, voting in favour of the resolution was unanimous.

## STANDING ALOOF.

ONLY two Union pamphlets have seen the light in January, both of them issued at twopence, and both of them consisting of full reports of recent public utterances by two prominent supporters of the League. One contains a notable speech delivered by Lord Grey of Fallodon at Croydon in support of the Geneva Protocol. The other reproduces the very striking sermon preached by the Bishop of Winchester in St. Paul's Cathedral in connection with the League of Nations' London Week in November. The case for the League can rarely have been put more forcibly from any pulpit than in the address based by Dr. Woods on the text, "In the day that thou stoodest aloof." A single quotation must suffice, and it will suffice.

"It [the League] holds the field. If its critics can produce a better scheme let them produce it. If not, let them join up; let them at least avoid the charge of treachery to humanity which flames out in this bitter jibe, 'In the day that thou stoodest aloof.'"

Both pamphlets should be particularly useful at public meetings.

## THE OPIUM FIGHT.

THE Opium Conferences resumed their chequered course at Geneva in the middle of January, and at the moment of writing the Second Conference is moving through a series of crises the outcome of which is not yet apparent. The position when delegates dispersed towards the end of December was that a Convention on opium smoking in the Far East had been framed by the First Conference and denounced in scathing terms by Bishop Brent, the American delegate. The view was widely held that the signature of this document would do more harm than good, and it was urged in various quarters that the British signature to the Convention should be withheld. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the League of Nations Union Executive Committee and sent to the Government, who did, in fact, cable to the British representative at Geneva instructing him not to sign the Convention.

The main objections to the document were that on two of the main questions before the Conference—(1) provision for the reduction of opium imports into the smoking countries, and (2) framing of some proposals for coping with the situation in China—the Convention suggested no action whatever. Its adoption would make no difference to conditions prevailing in British Far Eastern Dependencies, though it would remove some abuses in other territories.

During the prolonged Christmas adjournment endeavours were made to prevail on the Government to send out a delegate of Cabinet rank. These were successful, and it was announced that the Marquess of Salisbury would be the first British delegate. Unfortunately, a day or two before his intended departure for Geneva, Lord Salisbury met with an accident in the hunting field, and accordingly Lord Cecil, immediately on his return from America, was requested to take his brother's place. He, therefore, became the first delegate of Great Britain, accompanied by Sir Malcolm Delevingne. France, Holland and Japan all sent Ministers or Ambassadors instead of experts.

When the adjourned Second Conference opened it had meanwhile been decided that the Convention drafted by the First Conference should be signed in spite of its deficiencies. At the opening meeting of the Second Conference Lord Cecil disclosed the new British policy. It is argued by our Far East Dependencies, such as the Straits Settlements (who derive 43 per cent. of their revenue from opium), that no effective restrictions are possible so long as opium is produced on a vast scale in China and smuggled over their frontiers. Lord Cecil subsequently stated that as soon as a League Commission should have certified that opium production in China had been so far curtailed, or brought under control, as to remove the danger of smuggling, the registration of fresh opium smokers in British Dependencies should cease, and the whole consumption of opium, except for medical and scientific purposes, be brought to an end within a further fifteen years.

To this offer Mr. Stephen Porter, chief American delegate, made a bitter reply, regarding the proposals as wholly unsatisfactory, and suggesting himself that his own plan of ending smoking within ten years should be relaxed so as to make the period fifteen years. (This, of course, means fifteen years from the present time, whereas the British plan means fifteen years from some future and hypothetical date at which China shall have cleared herself of poppy.) The Chinese delegate associated himself with the American strictures and charged Great Britain with attempting to shelter herself behind the infirmities of China.

At this interesting point in the discussion it unfortunately became necessary to send the present issue of HEADWAY to the printers.

## A LEAGUE GLOSSARY.

*It has been suggested that a brief explanation of certain technical terms commonly used in League discussions and publications would be of value to readers of HEADWAY. Notes on a selection of such terms appear below.*

**Protocol.**—Strictly speaking, "A preliminary memorandum, often signed by the negotiators, used as basis for a subsequent treaty or convention." Literally, "a first sheet." Often used loosely for any international agreement.

**Ratification.**—The final act in the endorsement and adoption of a Treaty by a Government which has signed it. Signature alone does not in most cases bind a Government, but is regarded rather as an interim guarantee of intention to ratify. Ratification in some countries involves definite approval by Parliament. In Great Britain it is carried out technically merely by an act of the King. In practice, however, most important treaties are submitted for Parliamentary discussion before ratification.

**Washington Labour Conference.**—The first of the annual conferences of the International Labour Organisation, held October, 1920; resulted in the framing of several conventions, notably those providing for a 48 hour week and for regulating the employment of women and children.

**Washington Arms Conference.**—A Conference called by the President of the United States to effect a limitation of naval armaments; resulted in an agreement between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy for the reduction of their capital ship tonnage by the destruction of a number of old vessels and its limitation for a period of ten years to the figure thus reached.

**Barcelona Conference.**—The first of the General Transit Conferences called by the League; framed two conventions on transit generally and on international rivers.

**The Little Entente.**—An agreement cemented by actual treaties between the three States—Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania—which gained all or part of their territory from the late Austro-Hungarian Empire.

**The Succession States.**—A name given to the seven States possessing territory which formerly formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire—viz., Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Poland.

**The Hague Opium Convention.**—Up to the present the governing instrument in the control of the dangerous drug traffic, adopted at the Hague in 1913. Its main purpose was to secure the suppression of opium-smoking as soon as possible, and to establish rigid control over the traffic in raw and prepared opium and the manufacture from them of drugs, such as morphine. The Geneva Opium Conference of 1924-25 was called to strengthen the provisions of this Convention.

**I. L. O.**—Used variously for the International Labour Organisation or the International Labour Office.

**P. A. C.**—The Permanent Advisory Committee on Armaments established at Geneva under Article IX of the Covenant.

## FLEETING DOUBTS.

## IS THE LEAGUE PROTECTING MINORITIES?

By BLANCHE E. C. DUGDALE.

IS the League proving itself as efficient a protector of racial minorities as was hoped when the peace settlement made it guarantor of the rights of millions who were separated by political frontiers from their kinsmen in blood and religion?

The question is hard to answer. The League has received a considerable number of petitions from Minorities (exactly how many there is unfortunately no means of ascertaining), and a proportion of them have been considered by the Council, and the facts made public. Two of these have been sent on by the Council to the Permanent Court of International Justice; the judgments there given have upheld the Minority's plea, and the Government concerned has bowed to the ruling. But if this were all, the record of service would certainly be miserably small in comparison with all that remains to be done before the racial bitterness in Central and Eastern Europe can even be said to be in a fair way to subside.

It is obvious, however, that the value of the League's guarantee must not be measured by the number of times that all its powerful arbitral machinery has had to be set in motion to settle a dispute between a Minority and a Government. Indeed, one might argue the other way, and point to the scarcity of such cases as a proof that all is going well with the Minorities, or at least as well as can be expected until the nations of the new Europe have ceased to think in terms of victor and vanquished. This is a comfortable reasoning, but it does not bring us much nearer to the answer to our original question.

The fact is that it is practically impossible for most of us to get at the real truth about Minority questions. Almost everyone investigating them starts with a bias. Consciously or unconsciously we are temperamentally either "agin the Government," or unsympathetic to kickers against the pricks of constituted authority. Moreover, English people are apt to be curiously prejudiced for or against certain races who may or may not have acquired a reputation for being "sportsmen." I once listened to a conversation between two great authorities on Central European affairs on this very subject of Minority grievances. They were discussing the pros and cons of a League Commission being sent to a country which must here be nameless in the hope of bringing about a better understanding between the Government and its subjects of another race. One said the Commission should be headed by an Englishman.

"On no account!" exclaimed the other. "Those people are masters in the art of propaganda by meal and motor-car. Remember, that no Englishman who has once accepted an invitation to dinner can ever believe that his host would tell him a lie. You couldn't trust a word of his report."

We can, if we like, receive this statement in its own spirit of scepticism. But its moral remains. What evidence is there that the League, is earning the reputation of being a sure and ready helper of the oppressed Minorities?

It is disquieting to find that the testimony of people who know these regions is often that the minorities either do not know what the League can do for them, or have given up hope that it will do it. It is said that the channel of communication between them and the League is too difficult and dangerous to use. The rules governing petitions are not understood, or have never been explained, Geneva is too distant letters are opened

in the post, Governments revenge themselves on those who are caught complaining—in short, a hundred obstacles, real or imaginary, arise to hinder free action at the Minorities' end of the line.

What do we find at the League end? Here it is easier to be sure of the facts. The League does not initiate any action until a Minority grievance has been brought to its notice in the prescribed way—that is, either through a State Member of the Council, or by a signed petition sent by the Minority itself. The petition must concern matters with which the League has power to deal. That is to say, it must refer to infringements of the religious, linguistic, or civic rights guaranteed to the Minority by the peace settlements—and with those alone.

For the first two or three years after the League became responsible for these Minority rights, all petitions properly presented were obtainable in the same way as other League documents by the general public. That procedure has, however, been changed, at the request of certain Governments, who found that the petitions from their Minorities against themselves often got a publicity which was not given to their own statements of the other side of the case. Now, a petition is not made public unless and until the League Council decides to take action on it. Before that point is reached the petition is examined by a small Committee of the Council itself, which uses its discretion about bringing it forward at a full meeting.

At all stages in this process of sifting the Council has the advice and help of the Minorities Section of the League Secretariat, which has earned already the highest reputation for sympathy, knowledge and tact. If there is a weak link in the chain it certainly is not theirs. Nor, of course, would one suggest that the ultimate responsibility should be in any way shifted from the Council. But it does seem doubtful whether the sub-committee of the Council is fully equipped for its work of examining petitions. All Council Members are of necessity representatives of their Governments, often Ministers actually holding office. It is next to impossible therefore that they should be qualified to go very deeply or quite impartially into any of the questions submitted to them. It is absolutely impossible that they should get into personal contact with either the Minority or the administration involved in any complaint.

One is inclined to suspect that it is in this lack of organisation for personal contact that the weakness of the League's Minority work lies. If so, the remedy might be found in the appointment of a Minorities Commission, advisory to the Council, composed not of Government representatives, but of individuals chosen for their particular qualifications, as are the members of the League's Mandate Commission. It is possible that a body of this sort might be able to carry on the local investigations, and make representations to Minorities and Governments alike, without giving fatal offence to the susceptibilities of the latter about their sovereign rights. One could elaborate ideas whereby such a Commission might gain public confidence, as the Mandates Commission has already done.

That, however, involves questions of detail, interesting chiefly to those who are already convinced that some reform in the League's system of fulfilling its responsibilities to Minorities is called for, and who believe that a Permanent Commission is the most hopeful way of overcoming the difficulties. The suggestion is not new. The question is whether the time has not come when supporters of the League should press for its serious consideration.



GENEVA, January, 1925.

THE most important event of this month is the re-opening of the Opium Conference, which is dealt with on another page. Suffice it to say here that the fact that the British Government are sending a Cabinet Minister (particularly when that Minister happens to be Lord Cecil), the French the Minister of Colonies (M. Daladier), and the Dutch, M. Loudon (Minister at Paris), is most gratifying, for it shows that the other countries chiefly concerned in the opium question have at last realised the gravity of the issues at stake, and will be represented on a footing of equality with the Americans. The British Government, it is said, has had three Cabinet meetings to consider the matter, and consulted the Dominions and Crown Colonies concerned. Consequently, whatever result is reached or even if there is no result this time, no charge of merely trifling with the question will lie. The rest is merely a matter of educating public opinion to the connection between the immemorial abuse of opium in the Far East and the new menace of morphine, heroin, &c., in Western countries.

From the British point of view, the next most interesting event of this month has been the appointment of Dr. Riddell as "Permanent Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer for League of Nations purposes," in order to "remove the disadvantages under which Canadian delegates to League meetings have laboured owing to Canada's distance from Geneva." Dr. Riddell will, in the words of the communication received from the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, "establish and maintain as close relations as possible with the Secretariats of the League and of the International Labour Organisation, keep the Government of Canada informed in regard to matters arising from time to time within the sphere of activities of these organisations which may be of concern to them, and generally act in such matters in an advisory capacity to the Government of Canada and to Canadian delegates to League Conferences, and, should occasion require, act as the Government should determine in substitution for a Government delegate." Dr. Riddell, who will continue to reside in Geneva in pursuance of his new duties, has already been long here as an official of the International Labour Office. I understand that the Australian Government has created a special League section in their Department of External Affairs, and may follow the Canadian example in appointing a representative at Geneva. The Irish Free State has, of course, long had Mr. MacWhite stationed here. In general, the appointment of expert advisers on League matters, stationed at Geneva, is a habit becoming popular among Governments. There are some sixteen or seventeen such representatives here already, and the Yugoslav Government has just made such an appointment in the shape of M. Dutich, who is said to be the premier poet of Yugoslavia. So far, the only poet directly connected with League activities is Prince Arfa ed Dowleh of Persia, who once insisted upon reading a selection of his works (in translation) to the Assembly. We also, of course, have a poetess in Mile. Vacaresco of Rumania.

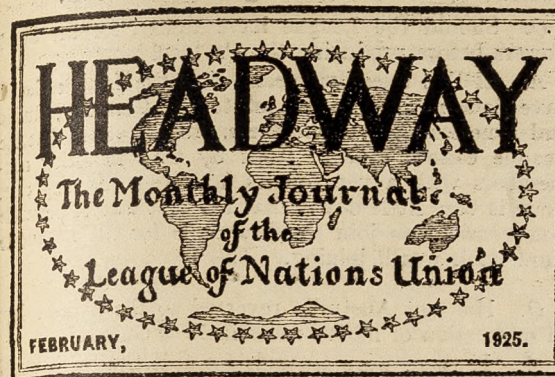
From a general League point of view the Note of the German Government on the question of admission is of most interest. I refrained from commenting on it last month, since there was as yet no evidence to hand of the views of different States Members of the League. The fundamental importance of getting Germany into the League need hardly be stressed—this should be one of the main objects of British foreign policy between now and next September. It is unfortunate that the German Government, while publishing their own two notes, the second of which commented on the replies of the Members of the Council to their first note, have not seen fit to publish these replies or allow the Governments Members of the Council to publish them. Therefore, the discussion is proceeding so far on data supplied by the German Government. It would seem essential also to have the full views of the States which Germany approached.

These States acknowledged the reasonableness of Germany's claim to a permanent seat on the Council, but declared that it was for the whole League to decide whether Germany should have any special privileges (such as exemption from the obligations incurred under Article 16) and stated their own unwillingness to grant any such conditions.

Germany, as a permanent member of the Council, could veto the application of sanctions by that body and would have to take part in deciding upon any action by the Council, since the Council must be unanimous. If Germany had the right to neutrality she would therefore, as a permanent member of the Council, have great power without any responsibility. For obvious geographic and economic reasons the application of sanctions would be seriously crippled by German neutrality. Such neutrality has been granted only in part even to Switzerland. The other ex-enemy States and neutrals, although they are not permanent members of the Council and are most of them in as bad a position geographically and militarily as Germany, have asked for no such privilege. The parties who ask for them in Germany are the Nationalists and Stresemann (popular) Parties, who are opponents of all the League stands for and are still bent on a policy of alliance with Russia for an eventual war of revenge. The military position of Germany is such that she could easily, with the help of war material supplied by the Allies, put herself in a position to repel any military danger of an invasion of German territory from the East owing to, e.g., a war between Russia and Poland, particularly as the French and the Czechoslovaks would be assisting Poland if Russia were the aggressor. In any case, the eventuality of war in East Europe is remote for political and economic reasons.

Dr. Norman White, Chief Epidemic Commissioner, has left for Singapore to arrange for the opening of the Epidemiological Intelligence Office of the League Health Organisation. Another general collective interchange will begin in England on February 9. The Malaria Sub-committee of the League Health Committee meets in March to extend its work to the Near East and Northern Africa (Eastern Europe has already, it will be remembered, been investigated). The Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law has now started work.

The Imperial War Relief Fund desires us to acknowledge the receipt of a parcel of clothing sent by X. Y. Z. in response to the appeal for Greek refugees in the November issue of HEADWAY.]



## FIVE YEARS.

SINCE the last issue of HEADWAY appeared the League of Nations has completed its fifth year of existence. General note has been taken of the fact in the Press of this country in a series of articles which indicated rather more generally than need have been the case that even those who are rightly ranked as firm friends of the League have not in all cases been at much pains to qualify themselves to write accurately regarding its activities.

Quite a number of leader-writers have been good enough to turn aside from other themes in order to bestow a little kindly patronage on the League, and observe that, though it had not yet shown itself capable of handling great issues, there were a number of secondary questions for whose settlement it was most useful indeed. That is an attitude against which an unwavering stand must be made. If it were true that the League was only fit to deal with secondary questions, it would hardly be worth supporting.

What kind of balance-sheet have we to strike at the end of five years?

The League has already proved itself well able to handle whatever business comes its way. That it is not yet what it might be no candid observer will seek to deny. To begin with, it is still incomplete. Of the 65 nations of the world, 10 are not yet members of the League, and the 10 include countries like the United States, Germany and Russia. Such countries are outside by their own choice. The utmost that can be said against the League in respect of the absence of any of them is that Germany's hesitations about applying for membership are due in part to the attitude adopted towards her, not by the League itself, but by certain individual members of the League—another evidence that the work of pacification of 1919 is still incomplete.

Those are the only serious items appearing on the debit side of the balance-sheet. Against them there is a great deal to set. The League machinery is running with singular efficiency. Apart from the central body, handling as it does matters arising out of almost every conceivable relationship between nations, the opening of the year 1925 sees the Permanent Court of International Justice firmly established at the Hague and the International Labour Organisation making steady headway with its task of levelling up conditions of labour the world over. The Labour Organisation has had Germany as a member from the first, and the Court, by dealing with disputes between such powers as Great Britain and France, has given the lie to the faint-praisers who regarded it, too, as capable of dealing only with controversies between minor States. The value of having in actual and effective operation for the first time a tribunal qualified to give a final and autho-

ritative judgment on any legal question arising between nations is hardly appreciated yet as it should be.

As for co-operation in wider fields, the League's experience has been varied, but on balance wholly encouraging. In such matters as the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary and the refugee settlement scheme in Greece it has shown itself capable of mobilising not merely international goodwill, but international talent, and thanks to the free co-operation of the foremost financial and economic authorities in Europe and outside it has carried through its task with a remarkable and universally recognised efficiency. In the spheres of health and transit, of opium reform, of the welfare of women and children, as well as in the field of economic and financial co-operation, the League has assumed a position either finally or increasingly accepted throughout the world, and it is worth noting that in many of the enterprises falling under this latter head the United States collaborates actively and officially with Geneva.

In all these matters, as in regard to the larger question of disarmament, where the League has so far had to depend for its successes on its indirect approaches to the problem, effective co-operation is only possible where the nations concerned are prepared to co-operate. The story of the opium discussions of the past two months is a rather unwelcome reminder of the interested reluctances and hesitations the League has constantly to confront. And that brings us back to what is in reality the immediate task of supporters of the League of Nations in this country—of seeing to it that so far as lies in its power, the Government of Great Britain is always in the van in pressing for the active execution of the obligations embodied in the Covenant of the League. In the main the record of this country at Geneva is good. Men like Lord Balfour and Lord Cecil, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have added prestige there to British statesmanship. Great Britain will never be under suspicion of failing to honour its engagements, and the fact that successive Governments under Liberal, Conservative and Labour Prime Ministers have all proclaimed their unreserved loyalty to the Covenant is of immense importance both within the frontiers of the British Empire and outside them.

But one thing is needed of the British Government even beyond the strict and punctual discharge of its obligations under the Covenant. It is not too much to ask that in a country where idealism is not wholly dead evidences of faith in League principles should be given even beyond the letter of the written bond. That is why many who recognised that there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to submit any part of its differences with Egypt to the League were keenly disappointed that advantage was not taken of the obvious opportunity to seek the impartial arbitrament of Geneva in regard to some at least of the points raised in the British Note. Our prestige could have only been enhanced by such an act; our material interests would not have suffered; and our apparent disregard of the League in the matter has everywhere been misunderstood or lent itself to deliberate misrepresentation.

A test question at present before Great Britain is the Geneva Protocol. Here it cannot be argued that the Government is under any kind of obligation to accept that instrument if its judgment is against it. What it is under obligation to do—and there is every reason to believe the present Government will fully honour that obligation—is to examine the situation fully and sympathetically, and if it should be decided that the Protocol cannot be accepted as it stands, to take the lead in framing other proposals designed to compass the same necessary ends. Failure to do so much would call any Government's loyalty to the League seriously in question.

## MR. BUN THE BAKER.

WE are all familiar from childhood with Mr. Bun the Baker and his floury family, but his connection with the League would not appear to be obvious at first sight. It is no good being clever about this, because it isn't what you think it is; this is not an article on night work in bakeries. Mr. and Mrs. Bun and the rest of them, after going through successive incarnations as "Characters from Shakespeare," "Quotations from the Poets," "Famous Paintings," and every other kind of educational subject, have now developed into "Pax," a game which combines amusement with instruction on the League. The idea comes from France, where the game is already on the market, and no doubt in all the homes of France in rainy holidays the children will soon be lisping in League technicalities.

The delightful brevity of Mr. Bun and his colleagues is not a feature of the new game. "Have you got Communications and Transit?" "No, but may I have the Commission for Repatriation and Settlement of Refugees?" will make it a lengthy proceeding; but after all that is what one wants when it rains. The inventor has contrived the most ingenious ways of representing in concrete form those parts of the League's machinery which seem least picturesque to the grown-up mind. "Communications and Transit" is a train, a ship and an aeroplane racing through a landscape reminiscent of Belgium; while the Financial and Economic Section is a fascinating medley of objects symbolical of food, money and raw materials. I for one should always begin by collecting "Technical Organisations," if only for the sake of the Jersey cow with a salmon apparently flying over her head labelled "Alimentation." There is plenty of information above the picture, too, to be pondered while someone is trying to remember who has not been asked for Queen Elizabeth, for she has her place as an ancestress of the League.

To inculcate in the children of France a desire to see all the world included in the League, what better way could be devised than to penalise the holder of "Nations not yet members," while giving a bonus to anyone with two families of member-states? Quite seriously, the game is an excellent means of making the League familiar to children and giving them a background for the League lessons which are coming to be more and more widely regarded as an essential part of school work. The game may be introduced into England, too, if there is sufficient demand for it.

Another way of introducing the League to the French child is a sheet of pictures illustrating, first, the need for the League and then its work. The disastrous development of the unchecked combative instinct, the substitution of arbitration for war, the secretariat, different aspects of the League's activities, are shown in a series of small pictures. A cruiser represents the cost of the League, an aeroplane the speed with which a new invention can develop (the League has only had five years; 15 years ago aeroplanes could not rise above the ground), while the last picture shows the races of the world joining hands in friendship.

## LORD CECIL IN AMERICA.

LORD CECIL'S visit to America to receive the £25,000 dollars award of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation was, by all accounts, a great success. One of the more modest of the newspaper headlines ran as follows:—

"CECIL, SURVEYING WORLD, HOLDS HIGH HOPES.

Winner of Wilson Peace Prize Finds that Temper of Europe Has Much Improved—He Believes that Another Disarmament Conference is Almost Certain to Come Within a Brief Period."

## POINTED QUESTIONS.

Q. Should the League have waited for the Great Powers before producing the Protocol?

A. If this question means that the League should have done nothing in the matter till Germany, Russia and America became members, the answer is that the League cannot stultify itself by thus investing non-members with a veto on its activities. In any case, there is very little doubt that the best way to persuade non-members to join the League is for the League to show itself worth joining.

Q. Has not Australia reverted to the darkest days of oppression of native races in New Guinea?

A. If there were grounds for this charge, it would certainly have been brought before the Mandates Commission at Geneva. The Mandates Commission takes its duties seriously and makes searching inquiry into conditions in mandated areas.

Q. Why is India a member of the League, and why is Egypt not?

A. India became an original member of the League through its signature of the Treaty of Versailles on the same footing as fully self-governing British Dominions. The British delegation stipulated for this and their claim was accepted at the Peace Conference. Egypt was not eligible for League membership down to February, 1922, because she was not an independent State. Since then she has not applied for membership. Whether she would be considered fully eligible under present conditions is not entirely certain. That point would be decided by the Assembly.

Q. Why was the League not called in to act in the Anglo-Egyptian crisis of November, 1924?

A. Because Great Britain did not see fit to refer any of the issues involved to the League, and Egypt, as a non-member, could not. Any Member State might have raised the matter under Article II of the Covenant, but none did.

Q. Why did the Secretariat officials have a private cabin from Boulogne to Folkestone on December 17?

A. Presumably because they found conditions prevailing which constituted a threat to internal peace. In any case, why not? They pay for such luxuries out of their own pockets.

Q. Does Britain's attitude of always consulting the Dominions on all League questions tend to defeat the object of the League by forming a clique inside the League?

A. There may be a little suspicion of the British Empire with its seven votes. These votes, however, are by no means always cast the same way, and, in any case, since all important decisions have to be unanimous, voting (except in such cases as the election of non-permanent members of the Council) is not of great consequence. Consultation between Great Britain and the Dominions concerns mainly those questions where Empire interests might be directly affected. For general purposes, Britain and her Dominions cannot fairly be regarded as constituting a clique within the League.

Q. Would not a Wall Street loan of £3,000,000 to Krupps menace the peace of the world?

A. Not if it were spent on the manufacture of agricultural and other machinery. Under the Treaty of Versailles, it could not be spent on the manufacture of arms except with the cognisance and approval, at present, of the Allies and, later on, of the League.

## LABOUR ACTIVITIES.

WHILE the rest of Geneva was buzzing with opium and rumours of opium, the governing body of the International Labour Office, which has often been a storm centre, was holding a quiet but effective meeting. Various Convention ratifications—the total now reaching 142—were recorded, and in accordance with its habit of keeping not merely abreast but ahead of the times, the governing body then settled down to consider the agenda for the Labour Conference of 1926. The question of hours of work for seamen was raised by the French Government representative, but the British and Belgian Government delegates were against putting it on the agenda, and a final decision was postponed till April. Two seamen's questions are, however, definitely going on—namely, (1) principles of organisation of inspection of conditions on ship board; and (2) codification of rules regarding seamen's articles of agreement. This work of codification is of particular interest, first because it is a piece of work badly needed, which can only be undertaken internationally, and secondly because it is one of the most ambitious attempts at the codification of international law yet attempted.

The simplification of the system of inspecting emigrants on ship board is also to be considered. In another part of this latter field, important progress was made in the decision to set up a standing Emigration Committee, consisting of the Chairman and two Vice-chairmen of the Governing Body, together with a number of experts to be nominated by the Governing Body in April. There are so many and so divergent interests to be considered in this matter of emigration, transit and immigration, and, to be indiscreet, so many vested interests involved, that it is a matter for considerable satisfaction that the decision to appoint a Committee has been definitely taken. Finally, the important question of what is known as the "two-reading system" was discussed at length. This is a new plan whereby a draft convention is adopted only provisionally one year, and finally and officially the second year. The object is to remove the danger that small points of drafting may prevent countries from ratifying conventions. On the other hand, the door cannot be opened to lengthy re-discussion of every clause of the Convention. Details of the decision taken by the Governing Body on this point are not yet available.

## OVERSEAS NOTES.

France.—Paul Labat (French Association for the League of Nations, Bordeaux Group) writes: "There are now more than 2,000 members of the Bordeaux Group. . . . On Armistice Day a lesson on the League was given in all the lycées and colleges of France." At Toulouse it is proposed to establish a school for L. of N. propaganda.

America.—Professor Irvine Fisher, who recently toured the United States lecturing, writes that everywhere he found keen interest in the League and the Court, and his audiences numbered usually several hundreds and sometimes several thousands. Votes at the meetings never failed to register a majority in favour of America joining the League of Nations.

Reviewing the work of the Non-Partisan Association, Mr. E. Coleby, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, writes: "We have organised in 36 States; published the *League of Nations Herald*; supplied every university, college, high school and public library with literature; conducted an organised speaking campaign;

answered numberless requests for information; forced World Court hearing on the Senate of the United States that produced a powerful impression through the country; established a League of Nations Institute at Geneva and broadcast the latest and most authentic news from the Secretariat of the League."

Australia.—A League of Nations Union Conference was held at Melbourne in December to discuss the Geneva Protocol. Delegates attended from South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania and Victoria. Special attention was directed to the position of Australia, should matters, which are regarded as solely within domestic jurisdiction, such as immigration, be brought before the League of Nations by another State. A sub-committee was appointed to draft resolutions which will be submitted to the different Councils of the Union and will be issued to the public.

Japan.—Judging from the Japanese Press, the Japanese Association for the League of Nations is at present displaying great activity. Reports have lately come through of the creation of new Branches of the Association at Kioto, Aichi, at Kobe and in the Commercial College at Yokohama. Various distinguished speakers have taken part in inaugural meetings in each case, prominent among them the President of the Association, Prince Tokuguwa, whose son is Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy in London.

Sending "Headway" Abroad.—In last month's HEADWAY an appeal was made to readers to send on HEADWAY and other L.N.U. literature to persons abroad who are interested in the League. One reply has so far been received. The Overseas Secretary is eagerly awaiting the rest. Those who are willing to take part in the scheme can assist in its working by stating what foreign languages, if any, they can read and write.

## NEWS FROM THE UNIVERSITIES.

THE Union has just issued a special pamphlet for distribution to undergraduates, emphasising the duty of University men and women to give constructive thought to international problems and the future development of the League.

On February 13, at 8 o'clock, the Hospitality Committee is to give a reception to the two thousand or more Dominion and foreign students now in London in the University Great Hall at South Kensington. Viscountess Cecil and the Vice-Chancellor will receive the guests, and Professor Gilbert Murray, Lord Willingdon and Professor Philip Baker will speak. There will be dancing from 10 o'clock until midnight.

At the reception, proposals will be made for setting up in London an International Assembly on the same lines as the very successful Assembly at Oxford.

The International Federation of Students has decided to make Geneva the centre of its activities. Premises have been acquired for a really good club there, almost facing the University, with accommodation for student offices. It is hoped to make the Club the centre of this year's Universities' League Conference in September. Professor Gilbert Murray is the President of the Club.

The subject for this year's Montague Burton Prize is "Security, Arbitration, Disarmament and the Future Generation." Essays should be from two to five thousand words, and must be received before March 31, by the President, International Universities' League of Nations' Federation, Barnett House, Broad Street, Oxford.

VARIED VOICES.

**Mr. J. R. Clynes**, at Rotary Club Luncheon, Leeds.  
 "A perfect League will be so tremendous an achievement, and will effect such a beneficent revolution in international relations that it will be worth the efforts of even a generation of time to attain.

"Workers have a special interest in making the League what it ought to be. Like other classes, we are human, and, like other classes, are liable at any time to be dragged into war by appeals to patriotism, nationality, or self-interest. The League of Nations offers us, as well as to all other classes, a safeguard against being swept off our feet by emotional appeals."

**Senator Borah**, at the Philadelphia Forum.  
 "Any plan or scheme which recognises war, either by covenant or protocol, will in the end prove fruitless. We must strive to eliminate war, and no longer recognise it, either by the League of Nations or by international law, if we are to have peace."

**Mahatma Gandhi**.  
 "If the whole of the opium traffic were stopped to-day, and the sale restricted to medical use only, I know there would be no agitation against it worth the name. Furthermore, from the moral standpoint, there is no defence of the Indian opium policy."

**Lord Cecil**, in New York.  
 "Increasingly there is a recognition of the fact that the insurance of peace demands international undertakings of some sort, and that the question is only how great a price a country is willing to pay."

**Count Apponyi**, in the *Pester Lloyd*.  
 "The objection which might be raised that the Protocol stabilises a situation which we ourselves have no interest to maintain, cannot be regarded as well founded. The Protocol contains guarantees for the rule of law as against the rule of force. The remedy lies in the change of that situation, and the circumstances for such a change will certainly not be worse if abusive power is checked."

**Mr. Branting**, the Swedish Premier, in a Swedish paper.  
 "It seems evident to me that a war of sanctions, if it can be limited by guarantees strong enough to make it respond to its real aim, will have the character of legal procedure rather than of war as we know it. . . . The force which is required has a much stronger ethical basis than in an ordinary war. . . . It is evident that the new order would mean a great advance from an ethical point of view."

**M. Max Huber**, President of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The task of the Court involves peculiar difficulties and responsibilities, and especially at the present moment when international life and justice are passing through the greatest crisis known. We have reached a critical juncture at which it is equally possible for us to do much harm or much good, and this it is which renders our responsibility particularly heavy."

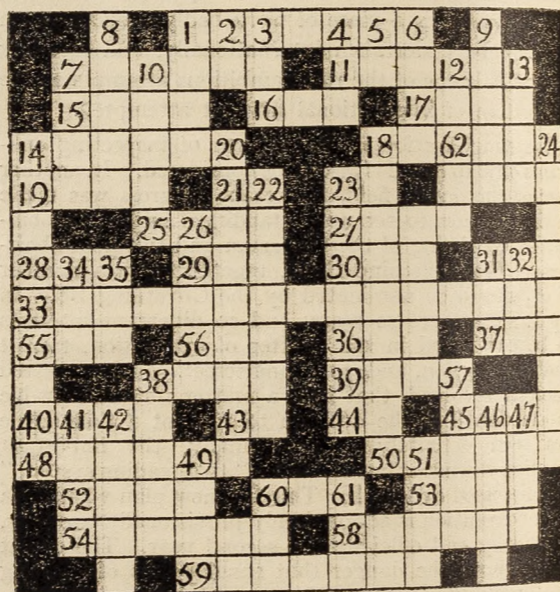
LEAGUE CROSS-WORDS.

YIELDING to the prevailing passion, HEADWAY is offering its readers the privilege of entertaining themselves with cross-word puzzles abnormally appropriate and attractive. More than that, it hopes to do the Union as well as its readers a good turn in the process. There is, in fact, believed to be money in this thing. Read on a little further and you will see.

There will be found below a puzzle specially constructed by an authority versed equally in this particular accomplishment and in knowledge of the League itself. Of such authorities there must be many among the readers of HEADWAY, and we desire to discover them. As a means to that end, two prizes are offered: one of

£2 2s., the other of £3 3s. One will be awarded to the sender of the first correct solution of the puzzle printed in this column, the other (and larger) to the sender of the best similar puzzle, composed of 15 squares each way. The puzzles will be judged by a Committee at Grosvenor Crescent, none of the habitual occupants of the building being eligible to compete. In adjudging the prize, consideration will be given to the number of words used referring to the League, its auxiliary organisations, its personnel and its work. From the decision of the judges there will be no appeal and HEADWAY reserves the right to publish any puzzles sent in.

Finally—this is the catch—every solution of this month's puzzle and every puzzle entered for the second competition must contain a postal order or stamps to the value of 1s. No one will benefit from this except the Union's funds, and they badly need it. Envelopes should be marked clearly "Cross-word Puzzle." None will be opened till February 16, and in the case of the first competition the first correct solution opened on that day will be awarded the prize. In the second competition merit alone tells.



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| <p><b>DOWN.</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Where Russian refugees went to.</li> <li>2 Name found in Genesis.</li> <li>3 Title in Abyssinia.</li> <li>4 Proverbial substitute for pots.</li> <li>5 A drink.</li> <li>6 Believe.</li> <li>7 Part of a blanket.</li> <li>8 In two days (Latin).</li> <li>9 Members of a race not yet able to stand alone.</li> <li>10 Produced in Samoa.</li> <li>12 Group.</li> <li>13 Territory administered by the League.</li> <li>14 What Europe's railways once suffered from.</li> <li>18 An epidemiological base.</li> <li>20 Member of a discontented minority.</li> <li>22 People of mandated island.</li> <li>23 The Committee that cured 14.</li> <li>24 Capital of an "A" Mandate.</li> <li>26 Meridional.</li> <li>34 Something wet.</li> <li>35 Gris Nez.</li> <li>41 What someone got out of Corfu.</li> <li>42 Shines (obsolete).</li> <li>46 Town in Cathness.</li> <li>47 Where dope is found.</li> <li>49 The Secretary-General.</li> <li>51 What Nansen gave refugees.</li> <li>57 Town in territory lost by Hun-2317.</li> <li>60 A Greek letter.</li> <li>61 The League of Savants.</li> </ol> | <p><b>ACROSS.</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 A Premier who went to Geneva.</li> <li>7 One who didn't (Christian name).</li> <li>11 What the nations should soon reduce.</li> <li>14 Person eligible for free legal assistance.</li> <li>15 A place in the Old Testament.</li> <li>16 Call of distress.</li> <li>17 A Russian name.</li> <li>18 A movement in India.</li> <li>19 A president of the Assembly.</li> <li>21 A non-member State.</li> <li>23 Pronoun reversed.</li> <li>25 Pass in land gained by Italy.</li> <li>27 An obsolete force.</li> <li>28 Commissariat.</li> <li>29 Electric unit.</li> <li>30 The League's is five years.</li> <li>31 "What we seek is the rule of law."</li> <li>33 The blue-eyed infant.</li> <li>36 Scene of a reparations conference.</li> <li>37 A harmless drink.</li> <li>38 Part of the human frame.</li> <li>39 Equal to a little.</li> <li>40 A Scotch island.</li> <li>43 A conjunction.</li> <li>44 An angle contracted and reversed.</li> <li>45 A tin name.</li> <li>48 A member of the Council.</li> <li>50 The world in stars.</li> <li>52 Abdulla or Pelad.</li> <li>53 To acquire by working.</li> <li>54 Land not yet fully irrigated.</li> <li>55 Island with a wireless station.</li> <li>56 Busy insect reversed.</li> <li>58 People under "A" mandate.</li> <li>59 Meets four times a year.</li> <li>60 For the reduction of animals.</li> <li>62 Paignol.</li> </ol> |
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GREAT SUCCESS OF PELMAN LANGUAGE COURSES.

Thousands of Readers Learning French, Spanish or German by the New Direct Method.

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 "My progress has been far more rapid than that of those here who have had tutors. I was told recently that I speak better (French) than the Doctor who has been here four years, and an English nurse who has been here 28 years." (W. 599)

A student in Siam writes:—  
 "I was fascinated by your system and by the discovery that within four days I was not only reading easy German sentences, but forming them for myself." (G. M. 180)

A student in British Honduras writes:—  
 "It has done more for me in teaching the idiomatic sense of the tongue (Spanish) than anything else could have done." (S. P. 238)

A student in Jerusalem writes:—  
 "I have already recommended the German Course to one student who has struggled for years under the old, and happily obsolete, methods, and I was able truthfully to describe your system as the only one which makes acquiring a vocabulary not merely inevitably simple, but also simply inevitable." (G. B. 122)

A student in Antwerp writes:—  
 "I recommended your course to a lady who has lived here some 15 years, and she took it up as a hobby. She told me that it had greatly enlightened her and she was surprised at the confidence it gave her to speak, read and write French which she had never felt before." (B. 137)

A student in Guernsey writes:—  
 "I like immensely your method of teaching French. It is a pleasure to read your books, and to note the way in which you present the words in their different senses. You present the grammar so cleverly that one learns it almost unconsciously. I am 55 years of age. When I began I thought it was impossible to learn, but thanks to you I am very satisfied with my progress." (D. 469)

A student in Chelsea writes:—  
 "I am very much enjoying the Course and was delighted to find, on picking up a Spanish novel the other day, that I was able to get the sense without difficulty. It is by far the best language course I have ever come across, and I am particularly impressed by the ease with which one is able to make short sentences of conversation almost at once." (S. D. 210)

A Schoolgirl's Mother writes:—  
 "My husband and I are very pleased with our daughter's progress. The great help she gets from your French Course enables her to give more time to the other school-lessons, and the last report sent home showed a great improvement in all subjects. This is very comforting to us as we are anxious she should pass the Senior Cambridge Exam." (R. 467)

A Norwegian student writes:—  
 "I have found the Pelman method of language instruction to be very interesting and effective. The Norwegian language is very different from the Spanish, and I have thorough knowledge of the English, but I have found this to be no hindrance at all, and have never failed to understand the meaning of the words at once as they occurred in the text." (S. B. 241)

A Graduate of New College, Oxford, writes:—  
 "The Course is most remarkably ingenious and deserves the highest praise. It is unique." (S. D. 115)

A Traveller writes:—  
 "I sailed for France on August 17th, Liverpool to Marseilles, visited the Riviera, spent a fortnight with French friends in the Rhone valley, and came home via Paris and Rouen. I met all kinds of people, but, thanks to your First French Course, I was always able to make myself understood." (S. 116)

A student in Birmingham writes:—  
 "I have recently made the acquaintance of a Frenchman who lives in Birmingham. Strange to relate he does not speak one word of English. He can understand me easily, and he tells me my pronunciation is wonderful. He is amazed that I possess such a knowledge of the French language." (S. 826)

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 One of the great advantages of this new Pelman method is that there is no Translation.

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## BOOKS WORTH READING.

A REMARKABLE book has been written by M. Alfred Fabre Luce. In *La Victoire* (Nouvelle Revue Française, Paris, 12 francs) he deals with the causes of the war and the failure of the peace. The subjects are not new, but for the first time views are expressed upon them by a Frenchman which are not indiscriminately pro-French. In fact, M. Luce might be a neutral or even a moderate-minded German; it is his impartial attitude that is remarkable, and also that his book has already reached a ninth edition. This in itself comes as a reminder that Paris and the Paris press, as their utterances commonly reach this country, is not the whole of France, and that other voices, even if they cry in a wilderness, can be heard. The first and larger part of the book to a considerable degree reinforces the German contention that in the Versailles Treaty she and her allies have been unjustly saddled with the whole of the war guilt. It is as yet far too early to apportion decisively the burden of responsibility; it may be doubted whether this can ever be done and whether much practical good will be gained by a decision. But it must be admitted that M. Luce has examined very carefully the actions of all the belligerents during July, 1914, and also the trend of their previous foreign policies; his evidence is fully documented and his general conclusion is that none of the Governments concerned are without blame; though he holds that more serious responsibility rests upon Russia, Serbia and Austria than is often assumed, the Government of his own country does not escape criticism. M. Luce's conclusions may not command full acceptance, but they cannot be impatiently dismissed. He is no less frank in speaking of the Peace, and his plea is to have done with humbug, to cease from equivocating phrases and to face realities. He wrote before the scheme of the Protocol displaced the Pact of Mutual Guarantee; even so he can say, "L'organisme de Genève nous apparaît comme la réponse vivante aux fautes de 1914."

Dr. L. P. Jacks is always a stimulating prophet; in this role he cannot have disappointed his audience at Yale. The lectures which he delivered there last year now appear in book-form as *Responsibility and Culture* (Yale University Press and H. Milford, 7s.). Unlike many prophets he is an optimist, and in his first chapter on The Alleged Sickness of Civilisation, it is the adjective that he emphasises. In this mood he is bold to say that "the time has not yet come to order a coffin for modern civilisation." His remarks on Labour and Leisure and on Education cannot be discussed here, but attention must be called to his last chapter on International Trusteeship. He here makes a constructive suggestion to his American audience which deserves consideration by English readers; this suggestion is for the creation of an International Court of Honour, supplementary to the League, and composed of men of "the highest talent in the judiciary, educational, fiduciary and religious field for the purpose of

The friends of Italy—and who in England is not in the number of her friends?—will welcome any light that is thrown upon the present political situation in that country. The translation of Signor Bonomi's *From Socialism to Fascism* (Hopkinson, 7s. 6d.) comes opportunely. Though the book was written more than a year ago, and much has happened in Italy since then, Signor Bonomi's position as Prime Minister for nine months during the unstable post-war period of 1921-22 enables him to make a valuable contribution to the study of contemporary politics. He has no reason to love the present régime, at whose hands his career has suffered, but he writes with calmness and almost as a detached observer of events. He shows very clearly the real danger with which Communism beset the internal fabric of the State immediately after the war, and it is in a full understanding of this danger that the reason of the immediate success of Fascism must be sought; it was the weakness of the State that gave Mussolini his opportunity. Not less admirable is the account of the several political parties, the old factions that have marked Italian history in the past seeming to be ineradicable and to be repeating themselves in subdivision at the present time. But what has Signor Bonomi to say of the future? He regards the prospect without despair; he considers Fascism to be an interlude, since the weakness of which it was the product, and which, it may be added, it continues to exemplify, is "the weakness of youth and not of age." He ends on a note of confidence; when the interlude ends "the frivolous, sceptical and self-seeking breed of politicians that had no inkling of how to promote the moral recovery of Italy will have vanished, and the ideals of democracy will have permeated the masses so thoroughly that they will never again be led astray by the glamour of dictatorship." The observant will note the significance of the four adjectives in this sentence which supply the key to much of the puzzle of Italian politics.

The present character of any country is very largely determined by the conscious or unconscious influence of its past history. Poland is a particular case in point; it is easy to criticise the attitude of its Government towards its neighbours and to decry its great ambitions, but before any judgment can be passed upon it, it is necessary to understand the circumstances which have gone to make the people of to-day. Professor Roman Dyboski has provided material for a judgment of this kind. Last year he delivered a course of lectures at King's College, London, and these are now published under the title, *Outlines of Polish History* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.). Dr. Dyboski has a perfect command of English; he writes clearly and without a suspicion of dullness. This is his least commendation, for his book fulfils the promise of its title, and he sketches in all essential detail the past thousand years of Polish national life. Few countries have suffered equal reverses of fortune. From small beginnings a succession of sovereigns raised her to the position which she reached in the seventeenth century, in many respects second to none in Europe; with a wide spread of territory, as a great trading centre, the home of arts and sciences, she stood at the zenith of her greatness. From the highest she fell to the lowest, and became the victim of a European injustice which was expressed in successive partitions and long enslavement. The treaty of Versailles marked her new birth; many of her exiles served the Allied cause, which they regarded as their own, and they reaped a reward which was greater than they had any reason to expect. If Poland's actions to-day are not always above criticism by Englishmen, it is for them to remember Poland's past; the memories of destroyed glory and cruel servitude, coupled with her complete administrative inexperience,

should fill them with wonder and understanding rather than with complaints as they observe her to-day. Polish policy is influenced by these causes, and is still dictated by fears and dangers which appear to her very real. This explains her outlook as well as her dependence on foreign alliances and her inflated army, but Professor Dyboski is wise enough to hope "that the League of Nations may become strong enough in course of time to protect the freedom of peoples against such dangers." His account of his country will lead to a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of its position.

There only remains space for a bare mention of Sir J. F. Williams' exposition of *The Geneva Protocol* (Allen & Unwin, 1s.). This is a valuable addition to the literature already published on the subject.—H. W. F.

## MONSIEUR HENRY RUFFIN LOOKS AT THE LEAGUE.

IT was the concierge at the Grand Hotel of Territet, who first inspired me with the idea of writing "Croyez-vous à la Société des Nations?" (Plon, Paris). The ex-Caliph had just arrived, freshly deposed, in Territet, and the sentiments of the concierge on hearing that M. Ruffin was hastening from the once august presence to attend the Council meeting in Geneva are eloquently expressed thus: "???" Feeling that this attitude is too common among those who have never seen the League at work, M. Ruffin set out to bring Geneva to those who cannot go there, and he does so in a series of vivid sketches brightened with that wit that is only to be found in France. No institution that cannot stand being laughed at deserves to exist, and the League comes out none the worse for a little raillery. If there was no humour to be got out of Geneva, what a deadly place it would be. M. Ruffin is not entirely flippant; behind his jokes there is always a serious effort to persuade his readers of the value of the League. Only once has he been a little unfair—in his chapter on the rescue of deported women and children from Turkey. It is a pity to give the idea that Miss Jeppe's excellent work has led to no result whatever, when a single sentence would have corrected the impression.

To the descriptive part of the book is added the result of a series of interviews in which leading Frenchmen give their opinions on the League. Perhaps this section is the most important to the serious student of international affairs. But I would recommend him to find time somehow for the whole book. An hour in bed would suffice, if such trifling is not permitted in the daytime.

## Correspondence.

## EGYPT AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I be allowed to submit two points for consideration suggested by the letter of Mr. C. E. Maurice on the above subject in your last issue? Granted that, in principle, we should show a readiness "to treat our own case as we treat the collisions of other nations," it seems to me scarcely fair to bracket our Government with the Bolshevik Government of Russia. The latter does not accept two main principles of civilisation, namely, sanctity of contract, and sanctity of human life; its conduct and relations with other States clearly indicate that it does not recognise the ordinary standards of civilised Christian communities. It is impossible to deny that the stern measures

resorted to by our Government in the case of Egypt were entirely actuated by a sincere desire to preserve peace and to preclude further criminal irruptions. The Egyptians have themselves plainly demonstrated their inability to check crimes, many of which are in all probability directed from Moscow, while there are already signs of improved conditions in Egypt as a result of our Government's firm action.

Further, as Mr. Maurice says, "Murder and conspiracy must be firmly repressed." But all the facts go to show that, in the absence of any stimulus from without, such things would never be effectively repressed by a completely autonomous Egypt. In my humble judgment, only a very credulous person could expect the League of Nations, as at present constituted and developed, to be capable of such essential repression and prevention. No amount of moral gesture would be adequate to deal with the situation! However desirable it may be eventually to recognise Egyptian independence, it would appear that this recent deplorable outbreak of lawlessness and crime is in itself enough to show how very inappropriate and ill-advised such an experiment would be at the present moment.—Yours, &c. TREVOR THORNTON-BERRY.

Lcominster.

Mr. J. E. Harper, of 49, St. George's Road, Harrogate, sends the following quotation from a leader in the "Manchester Guardian," and asks what is the authority for the statement regarding the League of Nations Union:—

"The position taken up by the Government, and which it has formally communicated to the Secretariat of the League, that under no circumstances would it admit the right of the League or of anybody else to question our absolute right to discipline the Egyptian people and Government as best to us may seem, is, we believe, as indefensible in law as it is contrary to the whole spirit of the League, and the fact that in this the Government has received the full support of the British League of Nations Union is, to our thinking, one of the most serious blows yet inflicted on the credit of the League and the obligations of the Covenant."

There is no ground for any such sweeping statement as is here made. A memorandum was sent from the League of Nations Union Headquarters to branches pointing out that while there were some questions in dispute with Egypt which clearly ought to have been referred to the League, there were others regarding which that claim could not reasonably be made. The Union has never committed itself to any general vindication of the Government's action, though it was pointed out by Prof. Gilbert Murray that so far as the strict letter of the law was concerned the Government had it on their side.

## ESPERANTO.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have just received the December HEADWAY, and would like to endorse most wholeheartedly the letter on the Esperanto movement and the international spirit from Major Edwards.

The Union might give a very useful lead by urging that all its members have at least one foreign correspondent. If the member can write in the language of his correspondent, well and good; but it is not considerate to ask the foreigner to use English. Probably the great majority of the members of both the British and foreign societies have not the opportunity to acquire a foreign language, and for these Esperanto, of which a working knowledge can be obtained in a few months, offers the possibility of foreign intercourse.—Yours, &c. C. M. CATHER.

Port Said

(Torquay group.)

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I think it is a pity that the question of Esperanto is raised again. There are several competing languages for the position of a world tongue, and the need for an impartial investigation by an independent body becomes greater and greater. Till this takes place it would be a

pity for a paper like HEADWAY to advocate any particular one.

The language that should be chosen ought to be the most perfect in every way, irrespective of anything else.

The International Auxiliary Language Association of Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A., give any information asked for.—Yours, &c.

Reading.

R. S. W. POLLARD.

**THINGS THAT MATTER.**

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

Sir,—May I suggest that, at the next and future meetings of the League of Nations Union steps should be taken to provide for a fair discussion of all the items on the Agenda in proportion to their importance.

On December 19th the whole morning session, which is the most valuable part of the day, was taken up with discussion of a single point—the vote of money for the Union's work during the year. I admit the importance of such a vote, but I cannot see that the work of the Union is helped by a long and, at times, acrimonious discussion, in which the same arguments are repeated again and again without influencing a single vote. The minority which took up most of the time was so small that I am inclined to suggest that next time we should have the voting first and the discussion afterwards.

The real business on December 19th was a discussion and decision on the Geneva Protocol. As it happened, we did not reach this point until we were too tired and too late to deal with it adequately.—Yours, &c.

Saffron Walden.

J. E. ALLEN.

**A LEAGUE AIR FORCE.**

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

Sir,—I have just finished reading a remarkable book by William McDougall, entitled "Ethics and Some Modern World Problems." The main portion of the book has no direct bearing on the League of Nations, but Appendix I, an "Outline of the one and only practicable plan for bringing about the Disarmament of Nations and the reign of International Justice," and Appendix II, on "Psychology, Disarmament and Peace," most decidedly have.

McDougall argues very convincingly that there is no reasonable hope of persuading the Powers to disarm until national security is effectively guaranteed. This, he maintains, is just where the present government of the League breaks down. Obviously this is true, and the strongest argument in favour of the Protocol is that it is a move in the direction of providing more effective "sanctions." But after reading HEADWAY, November, 1924, pp. 205 and 207, one cannot help feeling that the guarantee provided by the Protocol is still too indefinite. The liability of the various nations is purposely left undefined. One does not require an elaborate explanation of the motive for such vagueness. Even if, however, the various Governments could be induced to make perfectly definite military and naval commitments, the plan would be far from satisfactory. It would involve a slow and cumbrous procedure, and in the end there would be no absolute guarantee of success. What is needed, McDougall contends, is "a weapon which can be maintained at small expense in perfect readiness for almost instantaneous action in any part of the world; a weapon that can be wielded by a small body of trained experts in a war that can overcome the resistance of an armed nation; a weapon which no nation can develop and perfect in secret."

His plan is simple—on paper, at least. The Court of International Justice is to be equipped with a small but highly effective air-force; and the Great Powers are to establish by treaty as the prime article of International Law that no nation shall maintain an air force of its own (either for military or commercial purposes). The right to navigate the air is to be confined absolutely to the air-force of the International Authority, "under the protection of an International Authority, thus effectively armed—armed with a thunder-bolt of overwhelming power that could be launched against any State with a delay of only a few hours or days—every nation, it might fairly be hoped, would be willing and glad to divest itself of the

burden of armaments." Moreover, future possible wars would be deprived of their most awful horror.

This is McDougall's plan in barest outline. Nothing more is possible in a letter. What the present writer would like to know is whether this plan has ever been seriously considered, and whether in the event of the rejection of the Protocol, or with a view to strengthening it, the suggestion might not yet be carefully examined. Yours, &c.,

Warrenpoint, Co. Down.

J. S. RUTHERFORD.

**BUSINESS AND CHARITY.**

Mr. A. Lancaster Smith, Arcot Orchard, Sidmouth, writes regarding the work carried on by Miss Jeppe at Aleppo for Christian women and children withdrawn from Moslem surroundings, suggesting that it is extraordinary that while the League can raise a loan of £10,000,000 for Greece without the smallest difficulty, it cannot raise the £40,000 or £50,000 which Miss Jeppe considers necessary for the completion of her work.

The argument unfortunately is fallacious. The Greek Loan was subscribed by private investors in this country and elsewhere, because it was regarded as a sound financial proposition, and confidence was created by the fact that the League of Nations undertook to supervise the expenditure of the money. There is nothing to suggest that a loan for the work Miss Jeppe is carrying on could be regarded as a business proposition at all, for though a certain number of the women and children concerned may be able to become self-supporting, that would apply to nothing like the whole number. Money given for this most deserving enterprise must be regarded as charity, and, unfortunately again, the League has no surplus funds available for charity.

Money could, of course, be given, and, indeed, administered, through the League, if the Governments of the member States see fit to contribute it. Advocates of this kind of organised charity should, therefore, clearly address themselves to their own Governments; in this case, of course, to the British Government. The League, as a League, could not even adopt Mr. Lancaster Smith's secondary suggestion and guarantee a fair rate of interest on funds raised for Miss Jeppe's work. It could do that if one of the member States chose to make a proposal to that effect, if the proposal were adopted by the other member States, and if they each of them individually undertook to make the liability their own—for obviously any expenditure in which the League might be involved in such a cause as the Aleppo work would have to come out of the annual contributions made by the member States. Miss Jeppe is receiving some small support from voluntary donations, which the Imperial War Relief Fund, 26, Gordon Square, W.C.1, is willing to receive and administer.

**GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.**

(Obtainable from Messrs. Constable & Co., 12, Orange Street, W.C.2.)

THE Armaments Year Book, which has just been compiled by the Secretariat, is an enormous volume of some 800 pages; the first result of the pledge given by member States in the Covenant that they will exchange "full and frank information as regards national armaments." (17s. 6d.)

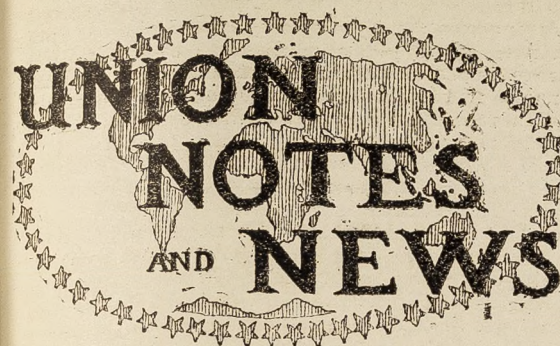
Other recent publications are:—

Council, Thirtieth Session, Minutes. 12s. 6d. net.

"Danzig: Free City of." General Report by the Secretary-General for the period April-October, 1924. C. 580. M. 197. 1924. i. 2d. net.

"Intellectual Work: Enquiry into the Conditions of." First Series: General Question, The Conditions of Life and Work of Musicians. Brochure No. 3. Vol. II. 1s. 6d. net. Second Series: Intellectual Life in the various countries. Czechoslovakia: Technical Science. Brochure No. 39. 4d. net.

"Saar Basin": General Report by the Secretary-General for the period April-October, 1924. C. 581. M. 198. 1924. i. 2d. net.



ments were given by supporters of the Union in Sacriston, and the result was a clear profit of £9 for the branch.

**Ealing and League News.**

An original feature of the work of the Ealing branch is the publication of a monthly bulletin, in which both the activities of the branch and matters of general interest connected with the League finds a place. The January Bulletin contains a short and lucid explanation of the Geneva Protocol and its relation to the Covenant, a summary of Senator Borah's article on the effectiveness of moral force, an account of the December Council Meeting of the Union, and a few words on Lord Cecil's visit to New York to receive the first award of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

**Ilford's Christmas Appeal.**

Last month we mentioned the "personal canvass" campaign organised by the Radlett branch. Ilford have adopted a similar method in sending to 30 members 30 copies of a circular letter to be delivered at the houses in their immediate neighbourhood, and followed up if necessary by a personal call. "Silent sympathy achieves nothing," the circular pointedly says. "You can join a few doors from your own home." The address of the member responsible for each set of homes circularised follows.

**A Birthday Present.**

A member of the Committee of Spital Square Central Foundation School, Junior Branch, proposed to give the League a birthday present on January 10th. As this was found to be impossible, they have sent a present of a guinea to the Union, which gratefully acknowledges it.

**News from Scotland.**

The Dundee branch chose Peace Sunday for an energetic forward movement. At their suggestion, over thirty sermons on various aspects of the League were preached on that day in Dundee and the surrounding district, and many of the preachers emphasised the necessity for individual members of the congregation to support the League by joining the Union. An appeal has since been made to the churches to become corporate members.

Downfield Study Circle, which has held monthly meetings every winter for four years, devoted its January meeting to the Permanent Court. Mr. H. J. Charlton, M.A., LL.B., gave an address on "International Law and the League." Mr. Charlton pointed out that the Court has no power to compel arbitration or to enforce its decisions, and showed how it was hoped to supplement its limited scope by the provisions of the Protocol.

The former president of the branch has resigned on becoming president of a political organisation, and his place has been taken by Mr. Richard Davidson, manager of the General Billposting Co.

The annual report of the Inverness branch bears witness to a very successful year. In the last twelve months its membership has been almost doubled, and 97 per cent. of the first year's members have renewed their subscriptions. As a result of lectures given, by special request, by members of the branch at Nairn and Elgin, new branches have been formed in both these towns. In addition to organising meetings and addresses to school children, the branch has reached a wider public by showing the Union's World Peace Film.

**League Demonstration at Brockley.**

On Saturday, December 20th, the annual Christmas Toy Service at Lewisham High Road Congregational Church, Brockley, was made the occasion for a demonstration on the League. Four children handed the minister a sword and a ploughshare, spears and a pruning-hook, and he sheathed the sword and put away the spears.

He then entered a rowing boat placed in front of the pulpit, and asked those present to imagine they were travelling across the lake to Geneva. As he read out the names of the fifty-five member-States of the League, children seated in the gallery unrolled their flags, till all fifty-five were unfurled.

**Competition at Farnham.**

The Farnham branch has offered a prize of two guineas among its members for the best motto for the League. This competition ought to produce very interesting results.

**Summer Schools.**

It may seem early to talk of summer schools, but, after all, those of us who wish to spend our holidays abroad usually have to arrange them some months ahead.

A party of employers of labour, workers' representatives and private individuals interested in world labour legislation is being organised to visit the Seventh International Labour Conference, which opens on May 10 in Geneva. Facilities for visiting the I.L.O. and Secretariat, and informal talks about the Conference agenda have been arranged. One week, together with second-class return fare, costs £10; a fortnight £13 10s.

A summer school will be held at Trinity College, Cambridge, from July 31 to August 7. Men students will be accommodated in the College, women students in rooms near by. The fee for accommodation and lectures is 4½ guineas.

The annual Geneva Summer School has now developed into the Geneva Institute of International Relations, under whose auspices a series of lectures and discussions have been arranged for the second week in August. The fee is 10 guineas inclusive. Assembly tours of a week each will leave London on Fridays, September 4, 11, 18 and 25, for an inclusive fee of 11 guineas.

Full details will be announced later.

**Sacriston Starts Well.**

A new branch has just been inaugurated at Sacriston with a meeting at which 40 members were enrolled. A novel feature of the meeting was a supper given afterwards to the audience at a charge of 9d. per head. The refresh-

**MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS.**

|               |     |     |     |     |         |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Jan. 1, 1919  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,841   |
| Jan. 1, 1920  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,000  |
| Jan. 1, 1921  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,000  |
| Jan. 1, 1922  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 150,031 |
| Jan. 1, 1923  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 239,456 |
| Jan. 1, 1924  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 333,455 |
| Jan. 1, 1925  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 432,473 |
| Jan. 17, 1925 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 436,209 |

**BRANCHES.**

On January 17, 1925, the number of Branches was 1,983, Junior Branches 202, and Corporate Members 983.

**The Kensington Assembly.**

On January 19 a Model Assembly was held in Kensington Town Hall, at which forty-six countries were represented. The Assembly devoted two sessions to a discussion on arbitration and disarmament. Mr. Henry Vivian presided over the first and Mr. C. Roden Buxton over the second session. Among the speakers were Mr. G. P. Cooch, Major J. W. Hills and Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. Dr. Leslie Burgin acted as interpreter.

On the birthday of the League another kind of mock Assembly was held at Buttershaw. Here all fifty-four countries were represented by children, and in the debate on disarmament the delegates read extracts from actual speeches at Geneva.

\* \* \* \*

**Miss Royden at West Hartlepool.**

On January 8, Miss Maude Royden addressed a crowded meeting in West Hartlepool Town Hall. Sir Wilfrid Sugden, M.P., was in the chair, and he was supported on the platform by the Mayor and Mayoress of West Hartlepool, the Mayoress of Hartlepool, every minister in the two Hartlepoons, and two representatives of each of the three political parties. Miss Royden pleaded for the use of "all the fighting instincts we have got to rid the world of poverty, crime, vice and war."

\* \* \* \*

**Recent Activities in Whitstable.**

By a special Christmas campaign the Whitstable Branch have added 100 new members, bringing their total numbers well over 400. On January 12, Mr. F. O. Tindley gave an address on "European Commerce and the League."

\* \* \* \*

**Chance Favours the Union.**

Mr. W. J. Glaisher, of Lee, found a membership application form on the floor of a railway carriage, and immediately filled it up and sent it to headquarters. The disdainful one who threw away the form in the first place has done the Union a good turn, for Mr. Glaisher has promised to get several more members.

**EDUCATIONAL.**

BOOK BOXES (20 books) available for Study Circles. Special League of Nations Section—Apply EDWARD WRIGHT & CAVENDISH BENTING LIBRARY, 15, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.

**WANTED—Women Writers!*****Earn While Learning.***

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THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,

FLEETWAY PRESS, LTD., 3-9, DANE ST., HOLBORN, W.C.

**WELSH NOTES.**

Arrangements are being made for a series of special conferences and public meetings to be held at certain centres in Carmarthenshire and Glamorganshire during January and early February. To the conferences are invited representatives of branches and of all churches for the purpose of discussing local organisation. At the public meetings the aims and activities of the League are dealt with, due attention being given to the Geneva Protocol. The president of the Welsh National Council, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Davids, will attend and address conferences and meetings at no less than twelve of the centres within the next few weeks. During the latter part of February and the month of March arrangements will be made for similar meetings throughout North Wales and the remaining counties of South Wales.

Great gratitude is due to the willing band of men and women who place their services so generously at our disposal in giving lectures on our behalf in various parts of Wales. Outstanding amongst them are Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, London; Major Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A., of the University College, Bangor; Mr. F. Llewellyn-Jones, B.A., LL.B., of Mold; and Mr. Sydney Herbert, M.A., of the University College, Aberystwyth. If space permitted, many more names could be added to this list.

It is proposed to hold the 1925 Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council during Whit week. The first day will be occupied with meetings at Aberystwyth, and the second with a demonstration and public meetings at Tregaron.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.  
SUBSCRIPTION RATES.****TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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