

# Headway

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH .. .. .	441	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
PARIS OR GENEVA? .. .. .	444	Dr. Nansen's Appeal ; Press Publicity for the	
ARMAMENTS AND SECURITY. By Maj.-Gen. Sir F. Maurice .. .. .	445	League .. .. .	454
SAFEGUARDING THE WORKER. By Lothian Small .. .. .	446	THE BOOK COUNTER :—	
ASSEMBLY ECHOES .. .. .	448	Keybook of the League of Nations ; League	
A LEAGUE FAIRY TALE .. .. .	448	Year Book ; Germany's Capacity to Pay ;	
A LETTER FROM GENEVA .. .. .	449	Russia and Peace ; Blocking New Wars ;	
THE NEW WORLD : XIV., Bulgaria. By Lady Grogan .. .. .	450	Austrian Foreign Policy ; Lord Shaftesbury .. .. .	454
A STUDENTS' LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Paul Reed .. .. .	451	FEDERATION NEWS .. .. .	456
A LONDON LETTER .. .. .	452	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
A NEW CALENDAR ? .. .. .	453	Notes and News .. .. .	456

## THE MONTH.

The League of Nations is an organisation at present of fifty-two nations whose aim is to promote international co-operation and to achieve peace and security throughout the world.

The League of Nations Union is a British organisation whose aim is to educate and make effective public opinion in support of the League of Nations.

THE Fourth Assembly finished better than it began, and the harvest in the end was fully up to standard. The last two days alone saw the acceptance by Signor Salandra of the formula asserting the full competence of the League, the admission of Abyssinia to membership, the adoption of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the approval of the Greek Refugee Settlement loan scheme, and the instruction to the Financial Commission to go forward with a Hungarian scheme when the Reparations Commission gave the word, and the election of the six non-permanent members of the Council. That is no bad yield. Most of these decisions call for separate mention, however brief. One of them, the election of Dr. Edouard Benes, an honorary vice-president of the League of Nations Union, is matter for particular satisfaction. The Czecho-Slovakian Foreign Minister has one of the best political brains in Europe, and working in co-operation with men like Lord Robert Cecil, M. Hymans and M. Branting, he should add materially both to the prestige and the efficiency of the Council. Unfortunately, his election only takes effect in January, and he will therefore not sit at the December Council meeting.

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TWO notable steps towards the salvage of Europe were taken by the League Council on the last day of its September sittings, one of them the authorisation given to the Financial Commission

to proceed with a plan for the restoration of Hungary's finances, the other the definite adoption of a Greek Refugee Settlement scheme. Behind the Hungarian decision a long history lies. Hungary, seeing what the League had done for Austria, some six months ago applied for similar assistance from Geneva. But, as in Austria's case, the assent of the Reparation Commission to a suspension of its claims had first to be obtained, and that assent was refused at the instance of the Little Entente Powers, who had their own causes of complaint against Hungary. There matters stuck till the Hungarian Prime Minister and Little Entente representatives got into direct touch at Geneva during the Assembly. Their conversations were entirely fruitful. As a result, the Little Entente itself asked the League Council to authorise the Finance Commission to go forward, and the Reparation Commission has since formally invited the League to prepare a scheme, on approval of which the reparation liens will be duly suspended. If Hungary can be saved economically, as Austria has been, the whole of Central Europe will reap the benefit.

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IN the case of Greece matters have moved faster and further. A scheme for a loan and arrangements for the actual settlement of refugees on the land have been definitely adopted, and as the Bank of England undertook to provide the first £1,000,000 of the loan as soon as the League's approval was given, the work can be pushed ahead forthwith. Greece has been swamped with something like a million refugees coming in from the East. In her impoverished condition she is wholly incapable of coping with them. On the other hand, if they can only be given a fair start, most of them will make excellent agriculturists, and actually add very



soon to the wealth of the country. Thanks to the League, that start will be given them. Greece has undertaken to make over to a Settlement Commission, of which Mr. Henry Morgenthau, formerly American Ambassador at Constantinople, has been nominated chairman by the League, some 1,200,000 acres of land, and the League will help raise a loan of four or five million pounds to build farms and stock the holdings. It remains now to keep the refugees alive till they can be made self-supporting, and in that connection pointed attention may be drawn to Dr. Nansen's appeal on another page for clothing to carry his charges in Greece through the winter. Such help, practical, essential and directly productive, it is in the power of all members of the League of Nations Union to give. Having the power, they will not lack the will.

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THE Imperial Conference discussions have added materially to the prestige and strength of the League of Nations. The Prime Minister, in his opening speech on foreign policy, said everything the warmest supporter of the League could have desired, declaring in particular, in regard to the Italian crisis, that "had the League not existed and acted as it did, a resort to arms would almost inevitably have taken place." When Lord Robert Cecil a few days later addressed the Conference at length on the recent Assembly and Council sessions, one Dominion Premier after another seized the occasion to declare his faith in the League and demand that it be made the basis of the foreign policy of the Empire. These are no empty words, for the Dominion Premiers have come to London resolved that in the foreign policy of the future Downing Street shall be linked distinctly more closely than hitherto with Ottawa and Melbourne and Cape Town and Auckland. To lay down general principles of foreign policy is not altogether easy, but the Covenant of the League of Nations meets the need. General Smuts is one of the creators of the League, Mr. Bruce knows it as a delegate to the Second Assembly, Mr. Mackenzie King supports it as warmly as his predecessor, Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Massey has practically declared himself a convert. The suggestion sometimes thoughtlessly thrown out that the British Empire is a sufficient substitute for a wider League finds no support in the Imperial Conference.

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MR. J. L. GARVIN has been telling what his headline calls the Truth About the League. Since his central thesis is what he terms the "exclusion" of Russia, a happier title might perhaps be found. The League has excluded neither Russia, nor Germany, nor America. And of all the nations still outside its borders Russia is the one which has most constantly and most vehemently proclaimed her refusal even to recognise the existence of what M. Tchitcherine habitually gives himself the pleasure of styling "the so-called League of Nations." There is no need to tell Mr. Garvin this, for he knows it well. Yet week in, week out, his copious pen goes on inditing The Truth About a League that is excluding Russia. Some day the League will have his help. While it is still incomplete, still struggling with almost insupportable burdens, still

labouring at almost insuperable obstacles, sustained by the faith and courage of men of goodwill in many lands resolutely laying brick on brick in the slow structure where even justice and enduring peace will one day reside—so long the Editor of the *Observer* will write derisively of the Half-League and the Lesser League and cast bricks instead of laying them. But when America and Russia and Germany are in, when the League is so strong that it need crave no man's aid, then Mr. Garvin will be a zealot of the zealots in its service. Well, we may be glad to have him even then. But let him read Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield meanwhile.

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IN each of the four Assemblies of the League the League of Nations Union has been represented by the Chairman of its Executive in the person first of Lord Robert Cecil, and now of Prof. Gilbert Murray. While it is of the greatest value to the Union that its chief officer should thus acquire an intimate experience of the working of the Assembly, it is a satisfaction to recognise that the Union on its side can add weight and force to the words of its Chairman on the Assembly platform. Space unfortunately forbids the quotation of more than a sentence or two from the notable and impressive speech delivered by Prof. Murray in the Assembly on reparations. But this passage at least must be reproduced:—

"I represent no Government, but I believe that my Prime Minister [General Smuts], now on the high seas, would support every word I am saying in this speech. I do, however, represent for the moment, however unworthily, a vast constituency whose support I believe to be absolutely vital for the successful continuance of the League. I speak definitely for the League of Nations in England with its 300,000 subscribing members, and its vast clientele of sympathisers beyond that number. I speak for all the League of Nations Societies, all the voluntary societies which support the League of Nations' principle throughout Europe."

So does Grosvenor Crescent impress itself at Geneva. It would impress itself with doubled or trebled force if the numbers of the Union were what they might be instead of what they are.

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THE Allied Governments have obdurately refused to adopt such scheme of settlement with Germany as the League of Nations Union and its supporters have consistently urged, and the result is the Ruhr as we see it to-day. Germany has been driven so deep into the morass that figures and methods that were thoroughly practical and sound have no longer any meaning. The League itself has been blamed for not intervening. Those who level that charge fail completely to understand the principles or constitution of the League. The case for League action is unanswerable. Even now, desperate as things are, there is far more hope in the transfer of the discussions to Geneva than in any other conceivable turn of events. But, as every reader of these columns knows well, if the League is to act in regard to the Ruhr, some member of the League must raise the question of the Ruhr before it. The British Government might have done it. It has not, and any Englishman who thinks the League should have acted must turn his attack on Westminster or Whitehall, not

Geneva. Italy might have done it. She has not, and any Italian who argues that the League is showing favouritism in seizing on Corfu when it overlooked the Ruhr should rather be demanding of his own Prime Minister why Italy failed to raise the Ruhr question before the League.

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BUT whatever Britain or Italy or any other State might have done, the fact remains that no progress worth recording can be made, inside the League or outside, so long as France deliberately blocks the path. That statement hardly needs arguing. Its truth is obvious. The case for a discussion at Geneva is that the atmosphere and methods of the League might well induce France to assent to schemes of settlement she would reject out of hand elsewhere. The discussions, however, have not got to Geneva, and no Government seems prepared to take them there. Moreover, though such action would still be better taken late than not at all, the moment for it has been allowed to pass and the League would intervene now with far less hope of success than a year ago. There seems, indeed, some prospect that if ever any settlement with Germany is reached, the League of Nations will be asked to supervise its execution in certain spheres. That may be either an opportunity or a danger. If it is a question of seeing, with the concurrence of both sides, that agreements honestly executable are honestly executed, then the League might play a valuable and conciliatory part. But any suspicion of its being used merely as an instrument for the enforcement of Allied decisions must be avoided like a murrain.

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SO Memel is to be thrown to the League at last. In close on five years the Allies have kept in their hands the strip of territory at the mouth of the Niemen, where Lithuania, if she gets it, will make her only port. A French force occupied it, the Ambassadors' Conference was responsible for its ultimate destiny. Some six months ago there came the opportunity of bringing off a deal. The temptation was irresistible. The Ambassadors had to decide the fate of Vilna. Pressure, principally French, to allot the contested town finally to Poland was strong. But what would Lithuania say? Ah, well, make over Memel to Lithuania as compensation. So it was decided. The Lithuanians had just seized Memel by force precisely as General Zeligowski had nearly three years before seized Vilna, so there was a certain poetic justice in the compromise. But Memel includes the mouth of the Niemen, down which the Poles carry on a considerable timber trade. The Ambassadors therefore found it necessary to take a good deal of the gilt off their gift by attaching to it a number of reservations in Poland's favour. To these the Lithuanians declined to agree, and the whole question having been thoroughly embroiled the League is now invited to straighten out the tangle. It may fail, but it can be counted on to come a good way nearer to succeeding than the Ambassadors.

\* \* \* \*

THE preliminary conversations between experts on the Tangier question having resulted in that illusory kind of accord known as an agreement

in principle, a further conference between plenipotentiaries is now in progress in Paris. So far only Great Britain, France and Spain are talking. Italy is rather angrily demanding admission to the conversations, and America is on the alert in the distance. Though singularly little has been allowed to leak out as to the result of the experts' discussions, it may be taken for granted that some form of internationalisation, as opposed to a mandate entrusted to Spain or any other Power, has been agreed on. This country would certainly, and rightly, accept nothing less. But if a port of the importance, strategic and commercial, of Tangier is to be internationalised, there is clearly only one body to take charge of it—the League of Nations. The British Government has been in favour of that from the first, but France and Spain, for reasons of their own, have shown no enthusiasm for such a solution, and it seems very doubtful whether it can be carried. Tangier represents a heritage of jealousy and friction and general confusion which the League may be well content to leave to others, but if the League is cut out of the plan, dangers and difficulties will remain that ought to be eliminated once for all.

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WRITING not long ago out of his experience of Russia, gained as Commissioner for Famine Relief, Dr. Nansen dwelt on the benefit that would accrue to Russia and to Europe alike if foreign industry and trade would combine to supply some of Russia's more immediate needs on credit. British business men at last realised the soundness of that contention, and trade with Russia on a new scale should be opened up by the new grain trade corporation, in which commercial, financial and shipping interests play their necessary parts on a scale hitherto not attempted in relation to post-war Russia. There is, of course, nothing in such a venture that directly concerns the League of Nations. But there is very much that concerns it indirectly. Nothing which, in the words of the Covenant, "promotes international co-operation" is alien to the League, and the new contacts established with Russia by expanding trade between her and States members of the League will, it may be hoped, have their gradual effect on relations between Moscow and Geneva.

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AS far as definite action is concerned, the Assembly discussions on Eastern Carelia marked little progress, the Assembly contenting itself with passing a resolution "noting" the intention of the Finnish Government to maintain its right to consider the clauses of the Treaty of Dorpat between Finland and Russia, relating to Eastern Carelia, "as agreements of an international order"; and requesting the Council to continue to collect information on the subject "with a view to seeking any satisfactory solution possible by subsequent events." The discussion, however, brought out the interesting fact, which had not received the attention it deserves, that a certain change has come about in the relations between Russia and the League. Russia, as a signatory Power and contracting party to the new Commission on the administration of the Straits—a Commission which is to be under the auspices of the League of Nations—can no



longer maintain her attitude of complete aloofness from the League, and there is probably a good deal of truth in the Finnish delegate's contention that sooner or later the problem of Eastern Carelia will have to be solved by the League.

\* \* \*

WORK for war-disabled men was the subject of a most interesting and valuable international conference held recently by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. The meeting was attended by experts from thirteen countries, including France and Germany. The experts unanimously agreed that it is pre-eminently the duty of the State to assume complete responsibility for the means of livelihood and welfare of those disabled during the war, and that such responsibility should be discharged by introducing legislation and otherwise devising means whereby disabled men could find employment, and so contribute to the full extent of their capacity towards national production. It was agreed that schemes of voluntary collaboration of employers did not furnish to the disabled the necessary permanent guarantees of employment to which they are entitled. Uniform legislation under the supervision of the League was strongly recommended.

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ON another page we refer to the pamphlet and new training college syllabus just issued by the Board of Education. Both point the way to a reform of history teaching in accordance with the new spirit of which the League of Nations is both the outcome and the creator. It is interesting that this action of the British Educational authority should synchronise with a resolution passed by the League Assembly, urging the Governments of all member States to arrange that the children and youth of their respective countries where such teaching is not given be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant. It will be remembered that the question of inspiring the younger generation with the ideals of the League was fully discussed at the Conference of League of Nations Societies at Vienna last June, and a permanent commission was set up to examine and report upon geographical and historical textbooks in use in schools and colleges in the various countries. Such teaching in youth has a very real bearing on the attitude of the adult towards the League and all that the League stands for. It is very much to the good that the Assembly as a whole should have given its blessing to this principle.

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A WELCOME piece of news which has just reached us from New Zealand shows that here the spirit of the Assembly resolution has been more than anticipated. The official *Education Gazette*, which goes to all teachers in New Zealand, is publishing extracts from the pamphlet on Teachers and World Peace, prepared by the British League of Nations Union for the guidance of teachers who desire to explain the principles and history of the League in schools. A striking testimony this, both to the work of the League of Nations Union and the enlightened attitude of the New Zealand Education Department.

## PARIS OR GENEVA?

WHEN the article on Italy and Greece in last month's HEADWAY was written the controversy seemed in a fair way of settlement. It has since been settled, and the settlement is an international scandal. But it is a scandal in which the League of Nations' hands, at any rate, are clean. As Prof. Gilbert Murray said from the Assembly platform, in words that have been often quoted, and will be more often quoted yet, "I thank God the League of Nations had neither part nor lot in this matter."

What is this matter? It is the award by the Ambassadors' Conference to Italy of the 50 million lire which Greece had deposited in the National Bank of Switzerland as security for whatever payment the Permanent Court of International Justice might hold it equitable for her to make to Italy, as indemnity for the murder of General Tellini and his companions. The money has been paid by Greece to Italy. It has not been paid by direction of the Permanent Court. The Permanent Court, which represents impartiality, equity and justice, was cut clean out of the picture by the Ambassadors, to enable them to give in their own persons a verdict unashamedly partial, grossly inequitable, flagrantly unjust.

The money has been paid. But it has been paid not with any reference at all to the question originally referred to the Permanent Court—Greece's responsibility for negligence before the murders. It has been paid because Greece is condemned for lack of diligence in prosecuting the inquiry into the murder and the search for the assassins, after General Tellini and his colleagues were as dead as stones. And on what evidence was the verdict passed by this self-constituted tribunal, of which one of the three judges (for everyone knows that Japan's share in the affair was no more than nominal) was actually at the same time prosecutor in the dispute? We know not. The evidence has been suppressed, resolutely, deliberately—it is not unjust to add, characteristically.

But its general character, none the less, is known. The commission of enquiry sent out to Greece by the Conference of Ambassadors consisted of four members, one British, one French, one Italian, under a Japanese president. It was allowed time for no more than the most cursory examination of the facts before the day on which the Ambassadors themselves were to come to their decision. On the basis of the knowledge acquired in that period it tendered its report. That report was in the proportion of three to one almost wholly favourable to Greece. The Italian representative on the commission gave it as his opinion that the crime had been political, though it does not appear that even he was able to produce any evidence as basis for his view. The British, French and Japanese commissioners were inclined to regard the motive as one of private vengeance, and they added that in any case Greece had been shown to be guilty of no negligence or lack of regard for the safety of the Italian commissioners beyond what was inevitable in a country under an unsettled and revolutionary government, and in a region almost unpopulated and cut up by woods and mountains, in which a hundred assassins, Greek or Albanian, could conceal themselves and escape.

On that evidence the Ambassadors without a moment's hesitation—or rather after only sufficient hesitation to allow Lord Crewe to seek instructions from his Government—decided that Greece should pay the whole of the 50 million lire to Italy. That having been done, Italy evacuated Corfu. What was the connection between the two events? Was there a corrupt and scandalous bargain, made before ever the commission of enquiry had reported at all, that Italy should get her money as price of the evacuation? To that question no answer can be returned by the common man. The evidence is withheld from him. He can only form his own conclusions. The action taken has been taken in his name, for this is a democratic country, and he can only redder with silent shame at the crime in which he has thus been made accomplice. Parliament is not sitting. It will not reassemble till the middle of November. Till then the evidence will presumably remain suppressed. Efforts will be made, as they are being made already, to treat the whole episode as closed and deprecate all investigation. But Members of Parliament will be unworthy of the mandate entrusted to them if they allow themselves to be silenced on a matter that has stained the national honour indelibly, and their constituents will do well to remind them pointedly of their duty in the interval between now and the reassembling of the Houses.

There for the moment we may leave that miserable and shameful phase of the controversy. Greece has paid her indemnity, and her exchange has gone in consequence from 240 to the £ to 300 at a moment when it is life and death to her to raise money to settle her million refugees in some productive industry. But at least, to quote once more, the League of Nations has no part or lot in the matter. More than that. Not only had the League no part in the affair, it is impossible by the nature of things that it should have. For such deals as this secrecy is essential, and the League works with the free light of day and the fresh airs of Heaven striking through its windows. For such deals as this is needed a handful of old-time diplomats thinking first of expediency and national interests; and the League, exposed though it still is and long must be in some degree to the poison of national jealousies and antagonisms, does at least meet under the perpetual shadow of the Covenant, and with dispassionate arbiters from nations unconcerned in a particular dispute to plead the claims of justice and denounce dishonouring compromise.

And here one personal word is called for. On the part played by the British representative in Paris we say nothing. The facts are obscure, and it will be for Parliament to insist on their elucidation. But at Geneva, at any rate, the British representative did his Government nothing but honour. He increased its prestige. He rallied the lesser nations round it. He succeeded, with their support, in forcing the Ambassadors to give on September 7 the thoroughly sound decision which they half recanted six days later, and cynically tore up on the 26th.

But deeply appreciative as all Englishmen must be of Lord Robert Cecil for the outstanding services at Geneva, it is no personal question as between Lord Robert and Lord Crewe that is raised now, or has to be faced in the future. Both of them were servants of their Government. It is for that Government to declare its policy, and having declared it to hold to it unswervingly. Is it to be the policy of Paris or the policy of Geneva? A League of Nations Union of 300,000 members can be a factor of indisputable weight when that decision is being made. A League of Nations Union of a million members could set the decision beyond all doubt.

## ARMAMENTS AND SECURITY.

By Maj.-Gen. Sir FREDERICK MAURICE.

THE Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance which was adopted by the Fourth Assembly for reference to the several Governments is an attempt to give effect to Article 8 of the Covenant, which recites that:—

The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

### THE MENACE OF ARMAMENTS.

During the four years of the League's existence no material progress has been made in the reduction of armaments in Europe. The problem is mainly a European problem. The standing armies of North, Central and South America, which comprise twenty States, number less than the standing army of France, and in Asia the only two armies of serious importance are those of Japan and India. In 1913 the standing armies of seventeen European nations numbered 3,747,179 men. In 1923 the territories of those seventeen nations are in the hands of twenty-six States and the standing armies of those States number 3,632,290, though the standing armies of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria have been compulsorily reduced from 894,135 men, in 1913, to 198,000 in 1923. The former figure takes account only of the territory now held by those four States and makes all allowance for reduced boundaries and population. The number of armed men now in Europe is largely due to the creation of a whole crop of new armies, and this, in turn, is due to a great extent to the feeling that the guarantees offered by the Covenant are not sufficiently precise to give security.

### SAFETY FIRST.

These years of careful investigation of the problem of armaments by the League has led to the conclusion that the first step towards disarmament must be to make the guarantee of the League more definite. This is why a treaty which aims at disarmament is called a Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

The treaty falls roughly into three parts. Articles 1-5 are designed to facilitate the application of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant to give them reality. Article 4 of the treaty, for example, makes the Council responsible for deciding, within four days of the notification of hostilities, which is the aggressor State. Article 10 of the Covenant, taken literally, obliges every member of the League in any part of the world to come to the help of any other member, and a guarantee so general is valueless. No one in his senses expects a South American State to fly to the assistance of a Balkan nation if the latter is attacked. Article 5 of the treaty limits the obligation of mutual assistance continentally, that is to say, of European States in Europe, and so on. This article also deals with such practical matters as unity of command, financial co-operation, and priority of communications and transport for military purposes.

### A DEFINITE GOVERNMENT.

Articles 6-9 are designed to make, when necessary, the general guarantee, as improved in the first five articles, still more definite. They authorise the conclusion of complementary defensive agreements between groups of powers with like problems, determining in advance the nature of assistance to be given in case of aggression.



That is to say, they authorise the preparation between the Powers concerned of complete naval, military and air plans. Article 8 further authorises the States concerned to put these plans into immediate execution, and when one or more of them is attacked. These agreements have to be submitted to the Council of the League, and to be approved by the Council before registration. When registered they become public. These clauses are those of the treaty which have been most criticised. It is said that they connote a return to the system of the Balance of Power, and that the authorisation of immediate action takes control out of the hands of the League. The answer to these criticisms is that neither France nor many of the states of Central Europe are the least likely to agree to a reduction of armaments without such precise guarantees as these clauses afford, that such agreements as are contemplated already exist in secret, and that others will certainly be formed if the League does not recognise them; that it is far better to have these agreements examined by the Council, registered, approved on the definite condition that they produce a reduction of armaments and made public than to have them made without the League's sanction and without any guarantee of reduction. Article 9 deals with the creation of demilitarised zones and the remaining articles deal mainly with disarmament. Every nation accepting the treaty has to submit a plan for the reduction of armaments proportionate to the additional security obtained by the treaty, or for the limitation of armaments already reduced. Article 18 recites that the benefits, neither of the general nor of the complementary guarantees, shall come into force until the Council has certified that the states concerned have reduced their armaments in conformity with the treaty. Any party to the treaty may, if it considers that the scale of armaments approved is being exceeded, bring the matter before the Council for its action. States not members of the League may by Article 16 adhere to the treaty with the consent of two-thirds of its signatories.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENTS.

The treaty has been subjected to a rigorous examination. The germ of the idea occurred to Lord Robert Cecil in 1921. Throughout 1922 the treaty was gradually taking shape, and in 1923 it has been examined first by a sub-committee of the League's Temporary Mixed Commission on the reduction of armaments, then by that Commission itself, while the third Commission of the Fourth Assembly devoted thirteen sessions to debates in which almost every possible argument for and against the proposals of the treaty were advanced. There was no closure, but free discussion from the preamble to the final clause and an earnest desire to achieve practical results in the reduction of armaments was shown throughout.

What is to be the outcome of all this labour and thought? Will the treaty of itself give security to troubled Europe and bring about a reduction of armaments? No. The gravest weakness of the League at the present time is the slowness of its machinery in making international legislation effective.

Throughout the recent debates at Geneva one delegate only was able to say that the treaty had been approved in principle by his Government, and to advance on behalf of his Government certain suggestions for its improvement. That delegate was Senator Lebrun, the representative of France. Lord Robert Cecil was unable to speak in the name of the British Government.

To become effective the Treaty has to be ratified by a sufficient number of Governments of States members of the League. Then those States have to make between themselves their treaties of guarantee, which have in turn to be approved by the Council of the League. Next, the parties to these treaties have

to put forward their proposals for reduction of armaments, and when these proposals have been again approved the States in question are allowed two years within which to give effect to these reductions.

Unless this cumbrous machinery is speeded up it would be optimistic to expect any material result in less than five years!

#### THE NEXT STEP.

Can the machinery be speeded up? Certainly it can. We have an invaluable precedent in the Washington Conference. That conference met on November 11, 1921. It had the immediate result of limiting competition in naval armaments, and within two years effect has been given to its chief provisions.

If a European conference for the reduction of land armaments on the lines of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was called for next spring, and was attended by plenipotentiaries with power to negotiate the necessary guarantees and to prepare plans for the reduction of armaments, we would have that reduction within three years. Such a Conference is essential, not only because the machinery of the League is too slow. A reduction of land armaments in Europe depends mainly upon two Powers—France and Russia. France favours the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and that is at present the best augury for its success; but Russia is not a member of the League, and can only be brought in by means of a general conference. It was made abundantly clear at Geneva that the great majority of the States of Central Europe really desire to reduce their armaments, if they can obtain security while doing so; and the state of Central Europe is not such as to make it desirable to leave explosive material lying about if it can be removed.

## SAFEGUARDING THE WORKER.

By LOTHIAN SMALL.

Now that effective machinery for drafting industrial legislation on an international basis has come into being in the Labour Organisation of the League of Nations, the importance of adequate administration and inspection of such legislation has become a matter of urgency, and the fifth session of the International Labour Conference, held at Geneva October 22nd-29th, 1923, is devoted to examination of the general principles for the organisation of factory inspection.

It is encouraging to see this continuously working international organisation compressing into a few years developments which in our own industrial history required as many decades, substituting intelligent control for the bad old economic fatalism and preventing the gloomiest chapter in western industrial history repeating itself on a world scale. A brief comparison with that chapter is worth while.

#### NINETY YEARS' STRUGGLE.

The first British Factory Act was passed in 1802, and the first which made provision for factory inspection in 1833. The story of the intervening period is black. The Act of 1802, called the "Health and Morals of Apprentices Act," prohibited the employment of apprentices in night-work, or for more than 12 hours a day. Yet in 1816 the Parliamentary Committee appointed at the insistence of Robert Owen, reported the employment of children three and four years of age in factories, and other children in woollen industries working as long as 16 hours (conditions paralleled in Persia until the intervention two years ago of the I.L.O.). The resultant second Factory Act of 1819 prohibited the employment of all children under nine years in cotton factories, and limited the hours of young persons

under sixteen to 12 hours a day; but in its passage through Parliament the clause of the Bill which required the appointment of paid inspectors was deleted. Consequently, notwithstanding the presence on the Statute Book of those two Factory Acts, Richard Oastler had to write letters a decade later to the "Leeds Mercury" on "Slavery in Yorkshire." The championship of his cause by Michael Sadler, M.P., and Ashley, later Lord Shaftesbury, led—via the Select Committee of 1832 and the Royal Commission of 1833—to the Third Factory Act of 1833. The importance of this Act in British industrial history—and for the present comparison with the brief but crowded history of the International Labour Legislation—is not merely that it advanced further the age for the admission of children to employment and reduced the hours during which they might work, but that "it was the first Factory Act to establish proper machinery for its own enforcement. Clause XVIII provided for the appointment of four professional inspectors. The unpaid amateur was no longer trusted."

But three decades had elapsed between the legal establishment of a certain national minimum in conditions of labour in the factory and legal provision for factory inspection.

#### I.L.O. ACHIEVEMENTS IN FOUR YEARS.

In four years the I.L.O., pooling the experience of all countries and industrial periods, has elaborated in the form of 16 Draft Labour Conventions a code of industrial legislation which secures a certain international minimum in labour conditions. These Conventions, besides providing for positive co-operation by States on such questions as Unemployment and Emigration, also impose certain agreed limitations, as, for example,

upon the age for admission of children to industrial, maritime and agricultural employment, upon the hours of work in industrial undertakings, upon the employment of women and young persons during the night, of women before and after childbirth, and upon the use of white lead in painting, all of them matters in which administration is of the very essence of the problem. Now, after only four annual sessions, the Conference is attempting to establish, and to embody in a "Recommendation," principles of factory inspection, applicable internationally.

That this subject is fundamental to the business of international Labour legislation was recognised in Part XIII of the Treaty setting up the organisation. The concluding article of the Labour Section, laying down general principles for the development of international Labour legislation, stipulates that

"each State should make provision for a system of inspection, in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed," and the last sentence of all states that, when adopted by the industrial communities, members of the League, these principles will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world if they are "safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection."

In January last the governing body of the Labour

organisation (consisting of twelve Government, six employers' and six workers' representatives—Great Britain being represented in each group) decided to give practical effect to that provision by placing on the agenda of this year's conference, "The organisation of national systems of factory inspection on uniform principles."

#### POOLING EXPERIENCE.

There has, accordingly, been issued to Governments the usual questionnaire on the answers to which, collated by the International Labour Office, a recommendation will be based; so unequal is Labour law administration among the States of the world that this year only a recommendation, and not a convention, will be framed. The questionnaire deals with—

1. The object of factory inspection.
2. The nature of the functions and powers of factory inspectors—right of entry, judicial powers, administrative powers, moral and social aspects of inspectors' duties.
3. Organisation of factory inspection.

In that connection Governments are asked whether they consider that women should be employed as factory inspectors on exactly the same conditions as men, and whether they should inspect all the establishments employing women or should be detailed to deal with particular classes of establishment.

Technical questions of that sort generally have little significance for those who are comfortably placed out of the industrial struggle. Those who would realise their great significance for the women in our industrial armies, will read with advantage Dame Adelaide Anderson's revealing book, "Women in the Factory,"\* which shows not only how the need felt by women workers for the personal

aid and understanding of women inspectors led to the appointment of these, but also what these women inspectors have contributed to the humanising of industry.

It is good to know that there is something to be proud of in the record of Britain's administration of her Factory Acts and that the workers, the world over, stand to gain by a general levelling up of the world level to Britain's.

The British delegation to the Conference includes, for the Government, Mr. H. B. Betterton, M.P., and Mr. Oswald Allen; for the employers, Colonel James Lithgow, Senior Vice-President of the Federation of Employers' Associations; and, for the workers, Mr. E. L. Poulton, Vice-President of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. Accompanying the Government and the workers' representatives respectively as technical advisors are Miss Constance Smith, His Majesty's Senior Lady Inspector of Factories, and Miss Margaret Bondfield, President of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

The British team, including its distinguished women champions of a humane life for the workers, is bound to play a useful part in the deliberations of the Conference. It carries the good wishes of the members of the League of Nations Union.

\*"Women in the Factory." By Dame Adelaide Anderson, formerly H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, Home Office. (John Murray, 7s. 6d. net.)

## An Appeal

### to Members of the League of Nations Union.

MY DEAR MEMBER,

The British Prime Minister and others who know the facts most fully tell us that the League of Nations has just averted the danger of a great war. "Had the League not existed and acted as it did, a resort to arms would almost inevitably have taken place," were Mr. Baldwin's words. And yet a great shock has been given to public confidence in the League and in the Covenant because the facts about Italy's dispute with Greece have leaked out so slowly and have been so misrepresented by a section of the English Press, as well as in Italy.

#### DOUBLING MEMBERSHIP BY ARMISTICE DAY.

Since the League, like other democratic institutions, can only work if supported by public opinion, a big effort must now be made, especially in this country. Recent events have greatly increased public confidence in the League throughout most of the smaller countries of Europe. It only remains for Britain to lead boldly and the League's prospects are bright indeed. There could be no more striking proof of British determination to make the League succeed than an overwhelming increase in the membership of our Union. Let us at least try to double it before Armistice Day. If every member will secure one new member by Sunday, 11th November, that result will be achieved. There could be no better memorial to our glorious dead in the war that was to end war.

Yours very truly,

MAXWELL GARNETT.



## ASSEMBLY ECHOES.

**President Cosgrave (Irish Free State).**

"Ireland counts on having no enemy and on harbouring no enmity in the time to come."

**M. Edwards (Chile).**

"Moral disarmament is a reality throughout the Continent of America."

**M. Motta (Switzerland).**

"Publicity is the most potent form of expression of the spirit of the League."

**The Emir Zoka-ed-Dowleh (Persia).**

"Persia entered the League to safeguard her independence and the integrity of her territory."

**M. Kristo Kalfoff (Bulgaria).**

"We accept beforehand all methods of procedure which the League of Nations may consider necessary in order to make the rights of minorities a living reality."

**M. Midhat Frasher (Albania).**

"The direct intervention of a representative appointed by the League may achieve more in two weeks than three years of effort on the part of the peoples themselves."

**Dr. Nansen (Norway).**

"The first method for relieving Austria entailed a cost of £75,000,000 sterling, with a result which was nil. The second method, the League's method, has cost nil and has resulted in the restoration of Austria."

**Prince Ranjitsinghi, Maharajah of Nawanagar (India).**

"Unless the strong nations, the big brothers, set the example of forbearance, unless they show in their own bodies a willingness to sacrifice their pride of power, then the League of Nations will be a sham."

**Viscount Ishii (Japan).**

"So long as this great unsettled dispute [reparations] weighs upon the economic life of the world and embarrasses the relations between the nations, the work of the League must necessarily be limited and enfeebled."

**M. Ador (Switzerland).**

"The League of Nations alone could elaborate a coherent plan of this kind [in Austria] which would fully meet the requirements of the situation, and the League alone could put it into force and carry it out."

**M. Zahle (Denmark).**

"The greater our confidence in the League, the stronger will be our belief in its future; and the greater the importance of realising the imperfections under which it is still labouring, the greater the necessity for remedying them."

**Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire).**

"It is our duty to see if we can inoculate the children of the world with the feeling for world-citizenship. Let us at any rate impress on them that the League is the only piece of international machinery yet devised for the attainment of the ideals of peace and brotherhood."

**M. Skirmunt (Poland).**

"I believe that if doubts are still entertained in any country as to the League's power of survival, they will vanish as soon as this great Assembly has adopted the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and thus paved the way for universal disarmament."

**Lord Robert Cecil (British Empire).**

"It is a most striking and encouraging fact that, in the short space of a fortnight, a dispute [between Greece and Italy], which was certainly both difficult and dangerous, has been settled. I am confident that without the League this successful result could not have been achieved."

**Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa).**

On Reparations.—"In the name of the ideals we profess, in the name of that common humanity which is deeper than all ideals, let us do again as we did last year on the motion of the delegate of France, let us again ask the Governments of the Great Powers either

to find a settlement of this question swiftly or else hand it over for settlement to the League of Nations."

**M. Rolin (Belgium).**

"The League of Nations is not a Power which exists apart from the peoples and the Governments, nor can it work miracles. The League of Nations is a whole composed of the delegates of Governments. It is with the people themselves that the initiative lies, and it is on the strength and collective will of the peoples that the strength and the will of the League of Nations depend."

**M. Politis (Greece).**

"I desire to express on behalf of the Greek Government my deep gratitude to the Council for the manner in which it has executed the very difficult task imposed upon it by the Covenant. I feel that the Council has acted in strict accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant. I appreciate the fact that the Council has done everything in its power to reach the satisfactory settlement which we record to-day."

**Sir Henry Strakosch (South Africa).**

"The phenomenal progress of Austria on her way of recuperation points the direction clearly. It would be criminal to throw away this precious experience, and to let the piece of machinery we have set up in the League of Nations lie idle and rust when it has already proved itself so efficient, and when the well-being and contentment of the rest of the world is at stake."

## A LEAGUE FAIRY TALE.

THE somewhat clumsy phrase "the humanitarian activities of the League" has come to be summed up in the minds of many by the one word "Nansen." Repatriation of prisoners, feeding Russia's starving millions, caring for destitute refugees—these things have taken hold of the popular imagination to an unparalleled degree. Few people, however, realise that in the town of Aleppo in Asia Minor, another Scandinavian, also working under the League, is coping with another terrific problem—the rescue of women and children deported during the war and placed in Turkish homes and harems. Under the charge of Miss Karen Jeppe, a Danish lady, a home has been established by the League in Aleppo for these women and children—practically all of whom are Armenians. The story of Miss Jeppe's work tells like a fairy-tale or a Grand Guignol drama, according to whether stress is laid upon the miraculous escapes and frequent happy restoration to their homes of these pathetic victims of war, or on the horrors of their abduction and retention in the homes of their Turkish captors.

In the case of boy captives it is frequently necessary for Miss Jeppe to buy them from their owners, for a real slave market in Armenians exists. One pound sterling buys a boy, or he can be bartered for a sack of flour! The work of rescue necessarily progresses slowly, for direct advertisement would be costly, and Miss Jeppe relies mainly upon the gradual spreading of the knowledge of her work through the neighbourhood. In the past fifteen months four hundred people have been rescued at a cost of £5 per head—a sum which includes their retention at the Home in Aleppo for not more than four months. Those who cannot be restored to their homes are taught a trade and find employment—unless they marry, a fairly frequent occurrence! But there are still some 30,000 Armenian women and children in Turkish harems. Of these Miss Jeppe estimates that 20,000 will not seek to escape, but that the remaining 10,000 will probably come to her for help. Translated into monetary terms this means that £50,000 will be required spread over the next five years. Last year the League allocated £5,500 for this year. This year, owing to economy, the sum has been reduced to £3,000. It is to be hoped that no further reductions will be made, and at the same time that voluntary help will be forthcoming. Contributions to Miss Jeppe's work may be sent to the Imperial War Relief Fund, General Buildings, Aldwych, earmarked for Miss Jeppe.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, October.

ONE significant and highly interesting result of the Corfu affair as it is related to the League, is the serious effort at last being made to discover what precisely the League is and what membership of it entails. It has dispelled many illusions and brought the subject down to rock-bottom facts. We are getting away from the era of sentimental futilities which have been responsible for so much confusion, misconception and disappointment. The cosy idea that the League is a sort of international fairy godmother is going the way of the idea of the misinformed scoffers that it is a harmless, expensive little crank show at Geneva. Those well-meaning souls who have attributed to it all the gentle qualities of benevolent old age are a little shocked and disappointed. Those who have indulged in flights of humour at this Mad Hatter show are now professing the utmost apprehension at the dangers involved in membership of it.

\* \* \* \*

This all means progress towards a clearer understanding of the Covenant, with discussion on the basis of real politics disclosing the limitations and the responsibilities. The most curious phenomenon in the discussion has been the sudden access of fear on the part of the "peace at any price" junkers. They see all sorts of unnecessary conflicts arising out of the Covenant, which is the only organised international effort to prevent conflicts, and they assume that if all the safeguards contained in the Covenant were forthwith abrogated, Great Britain's war risks would be diminished. In other words, to reduce the chances of war take away the safeguards against war. It is not a comforting proposition. No doubt the same people in 1914 would have considered the trouble between Austria and Serbia no business of England, and that England should keep aloof to avoid the possibility of being involved in a conflict. It is a surprising doctrine to be presented in relation to the Corfu affair in which England had close direct national interests. If English national policy has any meaning at the present time, it is a policy of peace in Europe. The best way to preserve peace is to use the only organised international instrument for that purpose.

The difference between war as a Member of the League and war without a League is this: In the remote contingency of war as a Member of the League it would be one in which the whole of the Members of the League would be acting together with England against a Covenant-breaker, whereas in a war without the League there would be no guarantee whatever of any combination on Britain's side except on the old and dangerous system of alliances which breed wars.

\* \* \* \*

This general overhauling of League ideas following upon the Corfu affair has almost swamped interest in the meeting of the League Assembly, and before giving one or two general indications of the nature of the Fourth Assembly, there is just one essential point in connection with Corfu which seems to be frequently overlooked. It is important because it has a direct bearing on the discussion regarding the League's responsibility for the cynical decision of the Ambassadors' Conference. It is that Greece made the unfortunate mistake of agreeing beforehand to accept any decision arrived at by the Conference of Ambassadors, so that she had no subsequent right of appeal to the League, and the League obviously could not intervene with a suggestion to Greece that she should not fulfil her undertaking. The straightforward conclusion on the whole matter from the English standpoint is not so much what the League did or failed to do, but the absurd position by which England speaks with one voice in Geneva and with another in Paris. Let the

English publicists first of all fight that out. Then the first stage of the controversy will be cleared, and it will be time to discuss the action of the League as an institution.

\* \* \* \*

The Assembly, despite much that has been said of its timidity, showed a good deal of stuffing and spoke with such candour as can rarely have been experienced in the records of diplomacy. The difficulty is that so many people will insist upon regarding the Assembly as an international parliament on the same basis as a national parliament, where nations must get up and tell each other in public what they think of each other's shortcomings in language only just within the realms of parliamentary usage! And some of these people would even be overjoyed to see occasional demonstrations by way of order papers aimed by one delegate at the head of another. But it is not an international parliament of this kind. It is an international gathering of Governments, and the Covenant of the League was surely not intended to displace the normal courtesies of international dealings. Even so, the Assembly went pretty far, and no nation could hitherto have experienced in the flesh, so to speak, such a humiliating moment as Italy went through when nation after nation, amid general applause, implicitly or explicitly condemned her conduct.

\* \* \* \*

Another general observation about the Assembly is this. Many look towards the annual meeting of all the States Members of the League as an occasion for many League accomplishments. It has not been the case at any session of the Assembly, and it is not likely to be the case in the future. Its main work is to review in detail all that has been accomplished by the Council and its subsidiary organs throughout the year and to lay down the general lines for the ensuing year, providing the financial means necessary for the tasks laid down. It may, of course, have one or two big questions before it for final action, such, for instance, as a Disarmament Treaty, but in this and in other directions, like the Austrian Reconstruction Scheme, the main work and all the detailed study and elaboration is necessarily done by the Council and the various expert bodies which assist it.

The Assembly gives the tone and temper to the League, and all the work of the year is carried out with the Assembly in mind as the ultimate reviewer. The Assembly is also the general focusing point not only—as it certainly proved to be on the Corfu affair—for international public opinion, but for the great mass of League activities. It is a pity that the general public have not the opportunity of seeing the quite remarkable mass of work and achievements presented and discussed, with directions for future action. Thus it is that the public only see in the Assembly the admission of new States, elections to the Court or to the Council, Budget debates, and other matters which do not appear very striking.

\* \* \* \*

The outstanding feature this year has been the determination of the small Powers to make the League what it was intended to be and to make themselves heard. It was obviously a little startling and disconcerting for one or two of the bigger brothers. It opened the eyes of some who were under the impression that other particular interests would be sufficient to tie some of the small Powers to the coat tails of those who would like to run international life in their own way. This spirited development may yet become the vital factor in the future, and it only needs the single-minded leadership of a great Power to crystallise it. Great Britain is the only Power at present capable of playing that rôle. She was on the way to do it at this Assembly, but her inexplicable share in the Paris business left all the small Powers deceived and dumbfounded.—C.



## THE NEW WORLD.

## XIV.—BULGARIA.

BY LADY GROGAN.

THE Kingdom of Bulgaria is in extent about one-third of the land area of Great Britain and Ireland. Towards the Danube lie fertile plains where rich crops of cereals, chiefly wheat and maize, are grown; in the centre of the country lies a district favourable for the culture of the *rosa damascena*, from which *attar* is distilled; to the south of the Balkan mountains are warm plains, where tobacco, cotton and rice are grown and the silk-worm is reared; on the southern frontier is a wild and beautiful mountain region, with forests of beech, oak and fir.

About 90 per cent. of the population are agriculturists, most of whom own the land they cultivate. The Bulgars have always been known as an industrious, thrifty and sober people; they are, if one may presume to generalise, as a rule reserved and uncomplaining; they have great tenacity of purpose and power of endurance, a great love of their homes and an ardent desire for education. In remote origin, the Bulgars are akin to the Magyars, Finns and Turks, but soon after their first settlement in the Balkans in the seventh century, they adopted the language and customs of the Slavonic tribes, who were already established there, and they may now well be considered as part of the great Slavonic family. By religion they belong to the Orthodox Church; the head of their Church is the Exarch.

If we are to understand the Bulgaria of to-day, we must glance at her past. Her history shows cycle after cycle of alternating prosperity and eclipse; again and again her ideals have been within her grasp, and then her hopes have been dashed to the ground; often she has been the author of her own misfortunes. In the Middle Ages, Bulgaria was for different periods, as Serbia was at other times, the strongest Balkan Power, but these military empires were short-lived, and the Turkish invaders of the 14th Century submerged all that remained of the independent Serbian and Bulgarian States. For 500 years the Bulgars were apparently blotted out of existence. They never, however, entirely lost their national consciousness; they retained their religion, their customs and, to a great extent, their lands. In 1767, owing to the intrigues of the Greek ecclesiastics, their last Bishopric was suppressed, and for a century they were denied the use of their Churches, their schools and even their own language.

In the first half of the 19th century the other Balkan nations regained their freedom, and, after a long struggle, the Bulgars again obtained from Turkey recognition for their national Church; but they were unable to win their political freedom unaided. Various peasant risings failed; at last the massacres at Batak

—the "Bulgarian Atrocities"—in 1876 drew the attention of Europe to their sufferings, and led to the armed intervention of Russia.

By the Treaty of San Stefano at the end of the Russo-Turkish War (March 3, 1878) the boundaries of Bulgaria were drawn so as to include almost all Bulgarian-speaking people. The treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878), however, brought the Bulgars the first of many disappointments. The Western Powers could not consent to the creation of a new Slavonic State protected by Russia. The union of the Bulgarian people was negatived, and the nation was divided into three parts—autonomous Bulgaria; Eastern Rumelia, controlled by the Porte; and Macedonia, which was to be reincorporated with Turkey. This partition of the people has been the root of most Bulgarian troubles, but the San Stefano frontiers would not have settled all Balkan difficulties.

The reign of Alexander of Battenberg saw the peaceful union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria (1885), but the Bulgars of Macedonia only met with vague promises of reforms. The fate of Macedonia supplies the clue to the present day. The Bulgars of Macedonia never acquiesced in their lot; they rose repeatedly against the Turks, and thousands of refugees fled into Bulgaria to escape from subsequent reprisals. The population of Macedonia has never been entirely Bulgarian, and there was much rival propaganda enforced by warfare of armed bands



between Bulgars, Serbs and Greeks.

It seemed a wonderful thing when in 1912 the rival Balkan Powers united in order to free Macedonia by force of arms. At the end of the First Balkan War (May 30, 1913) Turkey had lost both Thrace and Macedonia. Unfortunately trouble broke out among the Allies as to division of spoils. The Bulgars, who could not endure to see the Serbs established in the part of Macedonia which they regarded as theirs by nationality, as well as by treaty, attacked their late allies. The Second Balkan War proved disastrous for Bulgaria, and the Treaty of Bucarest (August 10, 1913) deprived her of nearly all her conquests. She was assigned the port of Dedeagach on the Aegean, but Macedonia, for which she had made great sacrifices, was partitioned between Serbia and Greece.

When the Great War broke out, it was certain that Bulgaria would side with those Powers who would promise her possession of Macedonia. The Entente offers were vague and conditional, for they could not promise territory which their allies, the Serbs, held by right of conquest; the Central Powers were in a different position, and, moreover, Ferdinand and his Ministers believed that the latter must win the war. In 1916 the Bulgars found themselves in occupation of practically all the territory they had coveted, but the tide turned, and in 1918 they lost all they had gained.

The Treaty of Neuilly (November 27, 1919) marked

the final stage of disillusionment. Bulgaria lost the Southern Dobruja and some essentially Bulgarian districts elsewhere, and lost, moreover, all immediate hope of reunion with her kinsmen in Macedonia. By Article 48 the Powers undertook "to ensure the economic outlets of Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea." This promise has not yet been redeemed. The Greeks offered a ninety-nine years' lease of a coastal area, but the Bulgars could not undertake costly construction works at a place, which could only be reached across two foreign frontiers by an internationally controlled railway.

In 1919 the Agrarian Party came into power with Stamboliiski as Premier. The keynote of his foreign policy was fulfilment of Treaty obligations and establishment of good relations with his neighbours. He was successful in obtaining the reduction of the Reparations due from Bulgaria from £90,000,000 to £22,000,000, and the economic outlook for the country showed improvement. The Agrarians, unfortunately, made no effort to gain the support of the educated classes, and much of their legislation was vindictive. The elections of April, 1923, gave them 212 out of 245 seats, but on June 9 they were overthrown by a *coup d'état*, planned by a group of bourgeois supported by Army officers. M. Tsankov, formerly a Professor of Political Economy, became Premier. Stamboliiski was killed on June 16; the change of régime was accepted by the peasants with an almost ominous calm. It is too soon to say whether the risings in September, which followed the arrest of many Communists for complicity in a widespread plot, show that the peasants were waiting till after the harvest before attempting to regain power; nor can it be said definitely how far Bolshevik propaganda is responsible for these troubles.

The crux of the situation for Bulgaria lies in the fate of her minorities under alien rule, and of the refugees whom she has to support. On the one side, there is the effort to extinguish the Bulgarian element by suppression of Churches, schools and language and by importation of colonists to Bulgarian districts; on the other, there is the determination to preserve these symbols of nationality at all costs. If the League, to whose decisions Bulgaria is ready to bow, can secure adequate supervision for these minorities, it will accomplish a task of supreme difficulty.

## A STUDENTS' LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY PAUL REED.

AT every University in this country there is an organisation of some kind which may fairly claim to be representative of the mass of undergraduates. At Oxford and Cambridge it is the Union Society; at the civic Universities it is often a Students' Representative Council on the Scottish model; in London the size of the colleges as well as their distance from one another renders a separate Union for each college necessary, but there is also a University Union growing in influence year by year.

These University Unions and Councils (with two exceptions) have combined to form a National Union of Students. This exists to promote intercourse between students in this country, but it has another function which will be of more vital interest to readers of HEADWAY. That is to represent the students internationally, and to promote their co-operation with students of foreign nations. To the necessity for some organisation for this purpose the English National Union indeed owes its genesis.

At Strasburg in 1919 there was founded on the initiative of French students an International Confederation. This body (known as the C.I.E. from its French title) soon gained the adhesion of student bodies all over Europe—with the important proviso that the Germans and their late allies were excluded.

Some English students who were present at a conference of the C.I.E. at Prague in 1920 were so impressed by the possibilities of student co-operation that on their return

they started a movement for the formation of a National Union in England which could become a member of the C.I.E. Scotland already had such a Union, and that fact played a considerable part in persuading English students of the feasibility of the idea.

By February, 1922, the National Union of Students of the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales was established and in working order. It soon had an opportunity of striking a blow for enlightened international friendship. The ex-neutral countries represented in the C.I.E. grew restive at the continued exclusion of Germany from that body, but France, Belgium and Poland declined to consider the removal of the ban. In these circumstances there met at Leipzig in April, 1922, a conference of the Headquarters Offices of various national student organisations. It was attended by representatives from most countries in Europe. In the course of the meetings there was a proposal to turn the conference, which was merely an *ad hoc* body for the consideration of technical questions, into a permanent confederation which would thus become a rival to the existing C.I.E. The English delegates saw the danger of students being thus divided into two antagonistic groups, and opposed the idea, at the same time emphasising their determination to urge on members of the C.I.E. the necessity of admitting Germany. The ex-neutrals consented to remain in the C.I.E. on this condition.

At the Hague meeting of the C.I.E. in January last the English delegates carried out their undertaking. The Constitution of the C.I.E., however, provided that new members could only be admitted at a Congress next due at Warsaw in 1924. The question as to whether the admission of Germany should be recommended to this Congress was postponed to the meeting of the Council in England in September.

The timely intervention of English students thus prevented a disastrous split in the C.I.E., and there is every hope that next year that body will become international in the fullest possible sense.

The possibilities of good that will flow from a mutual understanding and close co-operation between students are immense. A distinguished man said recently that another ten years of Rhodes scholarships would have made the war impossible. It seems a wild statement at first sight, but it is not to be lightly dismissed as such. The German students who came to Oxford to study under the Rhodes Trust were all picked men. They returned to Germany to take up responsible positions in the diplomatic and other services. Who can doubt that their residence at Oxford had broadened their outlook, and swept away those gross misconceptions of English policy which we now see played no small part in the German decision to make war? Mr. Asquith said in his recent book that but for the death of the German Ambassador, Baron Marschall, the war might have been prevented. If one man made such a difference it is not improbable that had more Germans been Rhodes scholars their influence would have been decisive.

The National Union of Students does for English students something of what the Rhodes scholarships might have done for Germans. For instance, this year a party of medical students have been sent on a tour of the principal hospitals of Europe, a party of agricultural students went to Denmark to study the methods there. Besides these and other technical tours, there have been tours of a more general nature to France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In every case the English students have been looked after by the students of the country they were visiting, and the tours have been uniformly successful. Similarly, arrangements are made for foreign students to come to this country. Besides tours there are correspondence exchanges and other services, all designed to promote that international understanding which is so lacking to-day.

The Committee for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations has lent its support to the efforts thus being made by the various National Unions and by the C.I.E. It could do no other; for the students in the Universities of the world to-day will be the diplomats, the politicians, the scientists, the journalists, the historians of the world of to-morrow. The more they know of one another the more likely the world is to be saved from the catastrophe of war.



## A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

## The Teaching of History.

I hear that certain Education Authorities, and even headmasters and mistresses, are forbidding League of Nations lectures to be given in their schools on the grounds that they are political propaganda. I remember in my own schooldays that all history teaching stopped abruptly at the year 1815. It was not considered "nice" to talk about anything that happened after Waterloo, so on arriving at that Etonian victory we were promptly referred back to 1066. But really is it not time to clear away the cobwebs of respectability with the brush of common sense? Political propaganda! Is Christianity to suffer the same disability because it is religious propaganda? Here we are making history—our prelates call it organising Christianity—and our children are to be kept in the dark! Happily, even the Government Departments know better than that. The Board of Education has just issued a pamphlet on the subject, entitled "The Teaching of History," drawn up by His Majesty's inspectors. The ideas contained in it are much the same ideas that have been put forward by the Union's Education Committee and in the Educational Conferences which the Union has organised all over the country during the past few years. Similar views were urged by the deputation from the Union on the teaching of history to the Board of Education in May, 1921, and it is significant that Mr. Fisher's introduction to the pamphlet lays special emphasis on the need of including instruction in World History as part of the historical training given in schools and colleges. This note is also sounded in the pamphlet itself, which is an admirable summary of the tendencies towards the widening of the scope of history teaching in England.

The Board of Education has also issued a new syllabus in General History for the Board's final examination of students in Training Colleges. This syllabus is a careful and detailed sketch of World History, containing reference also to the League of Nations, and teachers anxious to take the wider view will now be equipped with the necessary knowledge. Let us have no more nonsense about political propaganda, for on the League of Nations depend the life and happiness of the future generation.

## Singapore.

At its last meeting the Executive Committee of the Union decided to communicate with the Government in the following sense:—

"That, in view of the effect of the earthquake on the Japanese Fleet and Naval Establishments, this new fact be considered at the Conference on the extension of the terms of the Washington Convention, to be held at Geneva next year, and that meanwhile no further expenditure be incurred for developing a base for capital ships at Singapore."

In view of such an overwhelming disaster, questions of "policy" or "interest" seem insignificant and unworthy of the consideration of a great nation. The thing goes much deeper than that; it awakens the spirit of common humanity in each one of us. It is perhaps rare for Governments to do the really "big thing," but if ever there was a compelling occasion this is one. Will the Government take it?

## Ireland.

A League of Nations Society has been started in Ireland. It is called "Cumann Gaodhalach Comhdhala Na Naisiun." An inaugural meeting was held in Dublin, a secretary chosen (Mr. Albert le Brocquy, M.A., 4, Zion Road, Rathgar), a provisional Committee elected, and a leaflet issued explaining the aims and objects of the

Society. Their first activity is, I understand, to be a large public meeting at the end of November.

The new Society may be assured that it has a very good wish for its success from the English Union. Need it be added that this new Society is quite distinct from the League of Nations Societies in Ulster? The latter still form part of the English Union.

## Dominion Premiers.

Time does not permit us to report on the dinner given to the Dominion Premiers at the Hotel Cecil on October 25. A report will no doubt appear in next month's HEADWAY. But there is just one word I would like to say. The value of such a function, about which opinions seem to vary, is not to be underestimated. All the Dominions and colonies now have League of Nations Societies of their own and nearly all the Premiers hold at least some honorary position in their respective societies. By organising such functions as this dinner, the English Union is not merely extending courtesies to distinguished men, but it is—in an indirect way—helping to give a corporate sense to the various societies throughout the Empire. And we want that corporate sense. We do not want societies abroad, be they within or without the Empire, to think of themselves as independent bodies working for varying objects. We want them to feel part of a world-wide movement with a single object—to achieve peace by means of international co-operation. And the more we in England can do to foster that common feeling among individuals, distinguished or otherwise, from other countries, the better.

## Wales and the Ruhr Resolution.

Our admiration for Welshmen in general (as opposed to the more usual admiration for one in particular) was not diminished when we heard that 83 per cent. of the Welsh Branches sent the Ruhr resolution (which the Executive Committee passed in August) to the Government. In England, only about 23 per cent. of our Branches are known to have communicated with the Government. Welshmen do have a way of making their voices heard, don't they?

## Union's Council Meeting.

The next meeting of the Council of the Union will be held on December 13 and 14. One of the chief items which the Council will consider will be the vote of a sum of money for the use of Headquarters during the ensuing year.

The Consultative Committee, set up by the last Council Meeting, is to meet early in November and will consider—

(a) The effect upon the League and the Union of the Italian-Greek dispute.

(b) The Council's vote and the response of the Branches.

## Broadcasting for the League.

The wonderful reality of the League atmosphere has found a striking exponent in Professor Arthur J. Ireland, the well-known scholar, author and journalist, who has been speaking on the League of Nations from the London Station of the British Broadcasting Company. Professor Ireland has been closely associated with leading London newspapers for many years, and it was on behalf of one of these that he went to the Third Assembly in September, 1922. He went "prepared to be amused—and even to scoff." He came away "convinced that humanity must look to the League of Nations for its salvation." So ardent has been Professor Ireland's advocacy that he has earned the displeasure of several newspaper proprietors intent on damaging the League. But the only effect of this has been to spur him on to do more for the League.

A. E. W. T.

## A NEW CALENDAR?

SOME strange alliances are struck under the aegis of the League of Nations, none of them perhaps more interesting than the co-operation lately established between railway managers and other transit experts on the one hand, and high dignitaries of the different Christian Churches on the other. The line of approach from either side seems at first sight a little obscure. What actually happened was that the Transit Commission at Geneva, having had impressed upon it various inconveniences of the calendar as at present organised, decided in the interests of transit arrangements generally to try and get a few things changed.

A fixed Easter, in particular, was considered generally desirable, and the view was further held that some mental wear and tear would be avoided if the calendar year could be made to consist of 52 weeks exactly instead of 52 weeks and one day, or occasionally two. Here, however, Church opinion has to be seriously considered. That was realised by the transit experts, who saw, on this occasion, further beyond their immediate field of vision than experts sometimes do. They therefore approached forthwith the Pope of Rome, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Œcumenical Patriarch, asking that representatives of each of the three Churches, Roman, Anglican and Orthodox, might be appointed to meet members of the Transit Commission to see how far accommodation on the proposed reforms could be reached.

The invitation was in each case accepted, and the result was the assembling in the early part of September of one of the most interesting Committees that has ever met in a centre already noted for the interest of the gatherings there convened. As Chairman of the Committee there sat Jonkheer van Eysinga, a Dutch lawyer, who is a member of the Transit Commission, and with him met Father Gianfranceschi, designated by the Pope; Professor Eginitis who, though a layman and Director of the Observatory of Athens, was designated by His Beatitude the Œcumenical Patriarch; while the Archbishop of Canterbury, by a singularly happy choice, had sent to Geneva the Reverend T. E. R. Phillips, who is at one and the same time a parish priest, being Rector of Headley in Kent, and Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. It was stated on good authority that never before since the ecclesiastical rupture of 1453 had official representatives of Rome and the Orthodox Church sat side by side to co-operate in any task whatever.

The discussions of the Committee prospered, and before it dispersed a declaration was made that there were no insuperable difficulties whatever in the way of establishing a fixed Easter or of reforming the calendar even more extensively, though the ecclesiastical members guarded themselves reasonably enough by the reservation that no change in the calendar, particularly no decision regarding Easter, should be taken without an agreement between the various religious authorities concerned. In point of fact, the conversations revealed some divergence of view between the ecclesiastical members themselves. The Pope, it appeared, was a little uneasy about the proposal for a fixed Easter, which caused the Archbishop of Canterbury no disturbance of mind at all. The Archbishop, on the other hand, was said to be rather apprehensive about the proposal to make the year contain an exact number of weeks, as under that arrangement the Sabbath would not invariably fall on the seventh day, which, in his view, it should.

But there was never any prospect that these difficulties would prove fatal, and the Committee is to pursue its labours at a later date, being reinforced by the President of the International Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Willis H. Booth, a well-known American business

## HOW TO SPEAK FRENCH LIKE A FRENCHMAN.

## Remarkable Tribute to New Pelman Method of Learning Languages.

"I can say without any hesitation whatever that I have derived wonderful benefit from the work I have done under your guidance."

This statement occurs in the course of a letter received by the Pelman Languages Institute from one who, having taken the Pelman French Course and derived "wonderful benefit" from it, is now learning German by the same method.

"It is best," continues the writer, "to rely upon the testimony of Frenchmen themselves in this matter, and I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that on very many occasions I have been complimented by them on the facility with which I express myself in their language without any apparent realisation that I am using a 'foreign' language at all.

"Many Frenchmen have said that they find it difficult to believe that anybody could attain such a facility in carrying on a discussion in French without a prolonged residence in the country, which I certainly have never had.

"Before I worked through your Course . . . the simplest letter was a task, to be painfully worried through. But now

"I can write a letter in French with as little hesitation as I should write in English;

and not only with as little hesitation, but also with as much confidence that what I do write is correct, and is pretty much the same as a Frenchman would write in similar circumstances.

## Taken for a Frenchman.

"As evidence of this, I may mention that on more than one occasion, when we have been visited by one of our French business friends (the majority of whom have very little useful English), and I happen to have been absent, they have asked whether our French correspondent could not act as interpreter, and when they have been informed that we do not employ a Frenchman to conduct our French correspondence, they have replied:—

"But surely you have! Who is it then who writes to us?"

"A pretty little tribute to the Pelman method, I think."

## WRITE FOR FREE BOOK.

This new method has now been applied to three languages (FRENCH, SPANISH AND GERMAN) and is explained in three little books (one for each language) any one of which can be obtained free of cost by writing for it to-day. Everyone who has adopted this new method agrees that it is the simplest, most interesting and most effective of all ways of learning Foreign Languages. It enables you to learn French, German, or Spanish perfectly in about one-third the usual time.

This method enables you to read the leading German, French, and Spanish reviews, newspapers, books and Government publications, and thus to keep in close and intimate touch with Continental opinion.

Write to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1, asking for particulars of the French Course, the German Course or the Spanish Course. A copy of the book, giving you full particulars of the particular Course about which you require information, will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.



man, and a former Chairman of a Committee on the calendar appointed by the International Astronomical Union. What will result from the further meetings of the Committee it would be premature to forecast, but that some changes in the calendar will emerge can hardly now be questioned. The League of Nations may not be about to make the sun stand still, but it can at least try to do the next best thing.

X. Y. Z.

## Correspondence.

DR. NANSEN'S APPEAL.  
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I beg the courtesy of your columns to renew an appeal which I made last year on behalf of the refugees in the Near East, and to which the members of the League of Nations Union responded with marvellous generosity?

The members of the Union are no doubt familiar with the general plan of the International Loan, which has been arranged by the Council of the League for the settlement of the refugees in productive employment in Greece. I am confident that this loan, when it has been carried through, will be recognised to be a great piece of economic reconstruction for which the League is entitled to the gratitude of the whole of Europe. But it will be readily realised that before this scheme can produce its effect, before the plans of settlement in agriculture and industry can render the refugees self-supporting, there must be an interval of time—probably a year—during which they must be housed and clothed and fed.

In particular, clothing is desperately needed, owing to the conditions in which the refugees left their homes fourteen months ago. It was for this reason that I appealed to the members of the Union and to the British public in general a year ago to give to the refugees the second-hand clothing which they could spare. The appeal was successful beyond all hope. As a result, garments were distributed to more than 150,000 individuals. The clothing so provided was of essential service to the League of Nations Epidemics Commission in its campaign in Greece against epidemics, and to the directors of the League Office in Constantinople in their work for the refugees there.

There is again this year an unlimited need for such second-hand clothing, and especially for old coats, skirts, shirts, stockings, underclothes, men's and children's clothing of every description, knitting wool, warm cloth, flannel, and above all blankets.

The members of the Union will no doubt realise that help given in this way is not merely charitable assistance of the ordinary sort, which is too often merely a palliative, but is a definite contribution to the success of a great League of Nations scheme of reconstruction. It is this consideration, and the desperate need of the refugees, which have induced me to appeal once more to the generosity of the members of the Union.

The All British Relief Fund are once more lending their invaluable co-operation in this appeal, and parcels should be addressed—

Nansen's Relief Appeal,  
c/o All British Appeal,  
New Hibernia Wharf, London Bridge, S.E.  
Yours sincerely,  
FRIDTJOF NANSEN.

PRESS PUBLICITY FOR THE LEAGUE.  
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As one who has been in Italy during the whole recent Italo-Greek incident, and has just come back to England, may I suggest that one very great deficiency of the League of Nations as at present constituted, in its relations with Member States, is that which concerns publicity of its own debates and decisions. Surely the League should enjoy the right of having its own debates and decisions published in full or at least not vetoed in

any of the States signatory to the Covenant. An article to this effect, added to the existing Covenant, would be of great use. Nothing impressed me during my recent stay in Italy more than the mutilation, the distortion and the systematic contempt, of which the League proceedings have been made the object even by papers of the highest standing, which supported the cause of the League till recently. Yet full publicity accorded to such proceedings might have done something to dispel the obsession under which Italy at present labours that the League is not an impartial instrument, but merely an organ by which England and France enforce their hegemony in Europe or by which England manages to use new and small Powers as bulwarks of her influence in Europe against the legitimate free development and expansion of great Powers of which she feels jealous. It seems to me that such right of the League to see her proceedings published in full and to defend them in any Member State is not an illegitimate intrusion into the internal matters of each State. Without such full publicity, without freedom of criticism for and against, it would be simply absurd to hope for the growth of a public opinion in the world capable of preventing war. The League needs at least this amount of freedom in each of its members. Any State denying it is virtually a dead-weight or an enemy of the League itself. May I take this opportunity of expressing my full agreement with such criticism of Italian action and such upholding of the League's action as found expression in Lord Grey's letter to the *Times* on October 9, and Professor Gilbert Murray's letter to the same paper on October 11. I feel confident that though this expression of opinion by myself be quite lost in the midst of the present cumulative opinion of the Italian people in the opposite sense, it is, however, representative not only of much that cannot just now be freely and publicly said, but also of what, sooner or later, the better mind of the Italian nation as a whole will come to acknowledge as true, and in harmony with its higher self. In the long run the cause of peace and liberty cannot be severed, and no clear-cut distinction can be made between internal and external matters.

ANGELO CRESPI  
(Head of the Italian Dept., Birkbeck College; London correspondent of several Italian newspapers).

## The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,  
If you have time to read and digest all the books of which I am going to tell you this month, you will be a wiser man than last. The opening of the autumn publishing season has brought a flood of books upon my desk, and because they are so many, I can only choose among them and tell you of the best. Mr. C. B. Fry, I think claims first notice; to all his enthusiasm for games, he has added an equal enthusiasm for the League. In his *Keybook of the League of Nations* (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.) you will find an invaluable help to your work. Mr. Fry excels in diagrams and with their aid he makes all the ramifications of the League plainer than I have hitherto seen. I can picture you, after having read his book, going out into the villages, armed with a blackboard and chalk, and drawing his wonderful pyramids before entranced audiences; then they will know all that there is to be known; they will no longer confuse the Council with the Assembly, or mix both up with the Secretariat or the Commissions. But Mr. Fry does not deal exclusively with the machinery of the League; he gives a great chart summarising in a bird's-eye view all that the League has done, and

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THE CHRISTIAN REFUGEE FUND.  
THE ARMENIAN MASSACRE RELIEF.

The ...

## Near East Tragedies.

THE TERRIBLE ATTEMPT  
TO EXTERMINATE  
THE ARMENIAN NATION.

## Over Two Million Killed or Died

through Brutality, Starvation or Exposure. The Remnant scattered in the Caucasus, Syria and South-East Europe must be sheltered and fed,

## and the Orphans

over 50,000 of them cared for, clothed and taught.

## The Smyrna Catastrophe

only a preliminary to continued deportations of all Christians out of Asia Minor. Thousands in utter destitution fled to Greece, Syria, and the Islands of the Sea. 900,000 are in Greece, living in hovels, ruined warehouses, in tents, railway trucks, even in the open.

No other British Relief Fund covers so large an area nor so varied a list of Relief efforts.

Some of the ways we help the Sufferers:—

**With Food.**—Mainly to aged, infirm and children.

**Blankets and Clothing.**—New and old always acceptable.

**Hospitals.**—Disease and Sickness continually rampant among ill-fed and starving people.

**Maternity Work.**—Hundreds of Mothers' lives and their offspring have been saved.

**Milk Stations** for Infants and Invalids.

**Seed Distribution** (Also Farming Implements).—We have six centres, the Government give the ground. The Seed is loaned. Repayments each Harvest spread over three years.

**Orphans,** and their number is legion.

**Rescue Homes**—Girls stolen or sold into Turkish and Kurdish families.

**Industrial Work.**—We encourage the starting of Industrial work in each Relief centre. The girls and young women are taught lace work, embroidery weaving, rug making, etc., while the boys learn trades. All this is with one object—to make them self-supporting.

Gifts may be earmarked for any of the above objects or allocated to either of the following:—

**CHRISTIAN REFUGEE FUND,  
The ARMENIAN MASSACRE RELIEF.**

At the Office of The Bible Lands Missions Aid Society,  
S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, 358I STRAND,  
Hon. Relief Commissioner. LONDON, W.C.2.

NO SALARIES OR OFFICE EXPENSES.

he devotes a somewhat isolated chapter to the reconstruction of Austria. To a certain extent this chapter is out of proportion to the rest of the book, but if he had dealt at similar length with each accomplishment, the Union, to say nothing of your shelves, would not contain all the books he would have written. Mr. Fry has a true gift of clear exposition.

Complementing Mr. Fry from the United States comes Dr. Charles Levermore's hardy annual, *The League of Nations Third Year Book* (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 7s. 6d.). As a matter of fact, the title is misleading, for the affairs of the League are only a part of its contents; it is a record, almost in diary form, of every leading episode in world history during 1922; some we may already have forgotten, but all are worth recording if only for reference. Thus, in addition to League matters, you will find here all about the Genoa and Lausanne Conferences, the famous Cannes meeting of the Supreme Council and the fall of M. Briand, M. Dariac's secret report on the Rhineland and the first French proposals for the occupation of the Ruhr, as well as the International Conference of Women at the Hague and reconstruction measures in Russia; in fact, as his index shows, there is not much that Dr. Levermore has left out in his four hundred closely-printed pages. A most useful book of reference.

From America I have also Messrs. Moulton & McGuire's *Germany's Capacity to Pay* (McGraw & Hill, 6, Bouverie Street, E.C.4). This is the fullest and most careful examination into the subject of the title that has yet appeared; it is written without prejudice or bias, with the sole object of getting at the facts. The sources of the information have been the official figures of the German Government and many reports and documents produced by United States authorities; so far as the German trade figures are concerned, these have been checked by the corresponding trade returns of other countries and are thus entirely above suspicion. Every factor seems to have been taken into account both as regards Germany herself and the international reactions of the methods by which payments may be exacted. The whole book is a complete answer to the fantastic demands which have been made upon our late enemies; I only wish that M. Poincaré would give it close attention.

Any book from the pen of Dr. Nansen is welcome; not least is his *Russia and Peace* (G. Allen & Unwin, 5s.). This book is written, as you might expect if you knew the man, with singular modesty; there is not a word of all that he has done for Russia since the war, or of the generous devotion of his Nobel prize at the present moment to the establishment of agricultural training colonies. On the other hand, out of his great experience he writes with unbiased calm and with hope and even confidence of Russia's future. His outlook is summed up in the following sentence:—

"It appears probable to me that not only will Russia some day, and at a date not far distant, save Europe in things material, but that the sorely-needed spiritual renewal will also come from there." He does not minimise the mistakes and crimes of the Soviet Government, but he has the sense and the justice to put them in their right proportion to the past, and after a rapid summary of the present position and prospects of Russian trade and transport, finance and industry, agriculture, education and social problems, he is unhesitating in calling for the resumption by other countries of trade with Russia, for the sake of European prosperity as well as of her own.

Though it was apparently written early in 1918, Mr. H. S. Houston's *Blocking New Wars* (G. Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.) is worth reading, and it is of special interest that he anticipates Article 16 of the Covenant in urging that wars may be stopped by the use of the economic blockade. The League had not then been founded; it was still only an idea; Lord Robert Cecil was Minister



of Blockade, and his experience had already taught him the power of an economic weapon. "I am convinced," he said, "that decrees enforced by economic means is the line upon which a league of nations may hope to proceed effectively." It may be questioned whether in view of the suffering caused to the guiltless children of the Central Powers such a weapon is more humane than military operations; its effect is more widespread and of longer duration, but on that very account Governments may well pause to consider whether they are justified in inflicting on their peoples the results of a prolonged starvation.

Authoritative and accessible books on the foreign policy of other countries are none too many, and for that reason you may be glad to get a small volume on *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-18*, by Professor Pribram (G. Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.). He is reckoned as one of the ablest living Austrian historians, and he has based his narrative on original documents in the Foreign Office at Vienna. The war had as disastrous consequences for Austria as for any of the fighting countries; it brought about the entire downfall of her empire, and the problems which that catastrophe entailed are still far from their final solution. Professor Pribram by his very clear and careful survey of the policy which was pursued by the statesmen of his country, both before and during the war, helps us to understand the difficulties which face the statesmen of Europe, and from the mistakes of the past they may learn the path of wisdom and safety for the future.

At first sight the connection between the seventh and great Earl of Shaftesbury and the League of Nations may appear remote; but if you will read *Lord Shaftesbury*, by J. L. and Barbara Hammond (Constable & Co., 12s.), you will not only be interested, but I am sure you will discover a link. The authors are concerned with the part which their subject played in the industrial reform of seventy and eighty years ago. When we stand aghast at the conditions of labour in certain more backward countries to-day, which the I.L.O. is successfully attempting to remove, it is well that we should be reminded of the conditions in England little more than two generations back. We have little cause for boasting; it is convenient to forget the virtual slavery of labour in which the public acquiesced; to one man more than any other the present improvement is due; and the I.L.O. is the natural sequence of the work which he began; without such a pioneer, it would not, perhaps, be in existence.—Yours,

THE SHOPMAN.

## FEDERATION NEWS.

THE eighth meeting of the Council of the Federation of League of Nations Societies was held at The Hague, between October 8th and 10th. Representatives of some sixteen countries were present. The sessions were held in the Palace of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The chief task before the Council was the preparation of the agenda of the Eighth Plenary Assembly of the Federation to be held in Lyons (France) in June, 1924. In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the last Assembly in Vienna, the several proposals submitted to the Council were assigned to the Permanent Commissions provided for by the Assembly. These included the Commissions on Minorities, Disarmament, Economics, Propaganda and School literature and Judicial Questions. As has been the case hitherto, these Commissions will meet from time to time for the purpose of preparing the work of their corresponding Commissions in the Assembly. Considerable attention was paid by the Council on this occasion to the question of the future relations between the Federation and the Council of the League of Nations. It was felt by all the States represented that were the Federation precluded from circulating resolutions to the members of the Council of the League for information, the future efficiency of the Federation might be seriously jeopardised. It was resolved that a letter should be

addressed to the Council of the League urging that they should agree to receive the resolutions passed by the Assemblies of the Federation for information, laying particular stress on the invaluable work which the Federation had done and was doing to enlist that public support upon which the success of the League finally depended. Amongst other features of the meeting were the acceptance of the Secretary-General's report on the Federation's activities for the year 1922-23, the examination of the Federation's accounts, and the proposed appointment of an assistant secretary by the League of Nations Union to the Secretariat of the Federation at Brussels. An important resolution was also passed providing for urgency meetings of the Council and Assembly of the Federation.

The new officers appointed to conduct the affairs of the Federation for the year 1924 were as follows: *President*: M. Treub (Holland). *Vice-Presidents*: Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson (Great Britain), Count Bernstorff (Germany), M. Appell (France), M. Dembinski (Poland). *Accountants*: M. Hennessy (France), Mr. David Davies, M.P. (Great Britain). *Treasurer*: Senator Lafontaine (Belgium). W. O'MOLONY.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. NOTES AND NEWS.

### Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

Nov. 1, 1918 .. .. .	3,217
Nov. 1, 1920 .. .. .	49,858
Nov. 1, 1921 .. .. .	133,649
Nov. 1, 1922 .. .. .	212,959
Oct. 18, 1923 .. .. .	314,402

The three best counties in England and Wales, so far as membership of the Union is concerned, are:—  
Merionethshire, one member in every 17 of the population.  
Westmorland, " " " " 18 " "  
Anglesey, " " " " 18 " "

### Branches.

On Oct. 11 the number of Branches was 1,526, with 120 Junior Branches and 428 Corporate Members.

### New Corporate Members.

BERKSHIRE.—READING—Oxford Road Wesleyan Church. CUMBERLAND.—CARLISLE—Charlotte Street Congregational Church; South End Co-operative Society; COCKERMOUTH AND KESWICK Branch of the National Union of Teachers; WEST CUMBERLAND Branch of National Union of Teachers. DEVONSHIRE.—TORQUAY—Upton Vale Baptist Church; TORQUAY Teachers' Association. DORSETSHIRE.—WEYMOUTH—Independent Labour Party. CO. DURHAM.—DURHAM—East Tynedale Branch B.W.T.A.; BRANCHES OF DURHAM MINERS' ASSOCIATION—Addison Lodge, Dawdon Lodge, Dean Chapter Lodge, Hetton Lyons Branch, Roddymoor Lodge, Southmoor No. 2 Lodge, Stargate Lodge, Hedley Pit Lodge, Thornley Lodge, Towneley Lodge, Urpeth Lodge. ESSEX.—FRINTON—Free Church. GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—BRISTOL—Broad Plain Adult School Group. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—NOTTINGHAM Branch U.K. Commercial Travellers' Association. NORTHANTS.—KETTERING—Rockingham Road Wesleyan Church. LONDON.—S.E. Section U.K. Commercial Travellers' Association; Lone Guides (Willow Circle), South Norwood. NORTHUMBERLAND.—NEWCASTLE Branch U.K. Commercial Travellers' Association. SOMERSETSHIRE. WARWICKSHIRE.—FOUR OAKS Wesleyan Church. YORKSHIRE.—HULL Branch of U.K. Commercial Travellers' Association; LEEDS—Dewsbury Road Wesley Guild.

NOTE.—Emmanuel Church, Erdington, published in September HEADWAY, should be Emmanuel Church, Wyde Green.

### The Council's Vote of £15,000.

Two-thirds (i.e. £10,000), due on or before Oct. 31, 1923.  
Remaining third (£5,000), due on or before Dec. 31, 1923.  
Received to date of going to Press, £2,670.

### New Publications.

The Union has lost no time in getting out the facts of the Græco-Italian crisis, and a print of no less than sixty

thousand copies of *Italy, Greece and the League*, by Mr. Wilson Harris, has been ordered for free distribution to members of the Union. An equal number of *Did the League Fail?* by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, is also being distributed free. The former gives the history of the crisis, the latter some answers to critics. Those who did not apply for free copies before October 8, can buy the pamphlets at 2d. and 1d. each respectively. Mr. Wilson Harris's account of the Fourth Assembly will be ready shortly.

### Women in the League.

Miss Hebe Spaul, whose recent book of League stories for boys and girls has been well received, is producing a new book on Women in the League, published by Messrs. Harrap, in which she deals with Dame Rachel Crowdy, Miss Jeppe, Mrs. Betsy Kjelsberg, Miss Henni Forchhammer, Mrs. Curie, and Dame Edith Lyttelton.

### League Books.

The attention of our readers is drawn to the leaflet enclosed in this number of HEADWAY. Those who have not yet read the books referred to in the leaflet are strongly advised to do so without delay.

### Summer Schools.

At the beginning of the winter month of fogs it may seem premature to talk of Summer Schools. But it has to be remembered that the success of these schools and the numbers of those attending them largely depends upon making preparations well in advance. One of the Union's branches, indeed—Bradford—has adopted the plan of urging its members to begin to pay their subscriptions for one Summer School abroad in 1924 now to the Branch Secretary in monthly instalments of £1. While the fees chargeable for Summer Schools abroad necessarily vary slightly, the sum of £1 monthly for a year will roughly cover the expense, and it is to be hoped that members of the Union will follow the example of Bradford members, and either send their monthly instalments to the General Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, or to their Branch Secretary if he is prepared to receive the money.

Summer Schools will be organised by the Union next year at Cambridge, Geneva, and possibly Antwerp (which is sufficiently near The Hague to ensure a visit to the Permanent Court of International Justice). Tours will also be arranged to the Assembly in September.

### Enthusiastic School Branch.

The Central Foundation School, Spital Square, E., is a school of League enthusiasts. The League has a recognised place in every way in the school. The school prayers for King and Country include a petition for the League; there is a section for League work at the show of school work; a space is provided for it in the School Magazine and on the notice-board. All girls from Forms IV to VI (about 200 girls) are eligible to join the Junior Branch, and practically all do so. The "League Song," written by one of the pupils, who is now a member of the staff of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, is a great incentive to interest. One of the mistresses in charge of the School Branch writes:—

"We find that interest in the League steadies the girls' characters. Two girls in particular, since the Branch started two years ago, had their characters quite deepened and steadied through developing an enthusiasm for the League."

The School Branch is closely connected with the Stamford Hill Branch, which it helps in many ways. The girls, as part of the teaching in writing and commercial work, address and deliver over 200 envelopes for this Branch about six times a year. When the girls leave they are urged to join an outside Branch and given introductions to the local Secretary.

Last autumn term a committee of girls made up a League play entitled "An English Family Abroad," which has been acted before the whole school and before the Stamford Hill Congregational Church Young Peoples' Society.

### "Headway" and Public Libraries.

The East Cowes Branch has passed a resolution urging that all Branches having Free Libraries and Reading Rooms in their vicinity should secure the insertion of HEADWAY as a means of educating public opinion and combating the hostility to the League shown in certain sections of the press. The cost should be borne by the Branch.

A Book that every Member of the League of Nations Union should study.

## "THE MORAL BASIS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS."

THE ESSEX HALL, LECTURE, 1923.

BY THE

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H.M. Lord Privy Seal.

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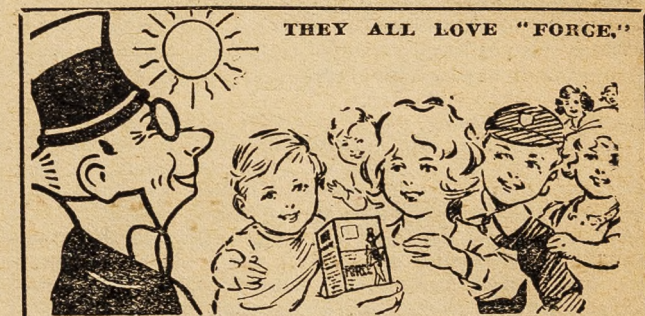
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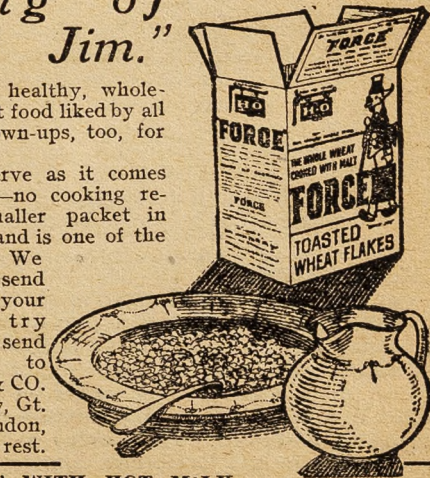
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**Increasing Membership.**

As a result of a house-to-house canvass recently undertaken the Hawkshead Branch has raised its membership to nearly 350—a good proportion for a scattered district with a small population. The Milford-on-Sea Branch recently made 70 new members at a meeting attended by about 150 people.

**A Live Syllabus.**

The Sutton Coldfield Branch has arranged an excellent series of lectures at Sutton Coldfield, Wylde Green and Four Oaks from October to February. The title of the lectures and the names of the lecturers are an index to the value of the course: "The Constitution of the League" (Professor H. G. Wood), "Christianity and the League" (Rev. F. W. I. Merlin), "Labour and the League" (Mrs. Carol Ring), "The League and Reparations" (Mr. F. S. Milligan), "Education and International Co-operation" (Mrs. Simpson), "Leagues of Nations in History" (Rev. W. L. Doughty), "The Permanent Court of International Justice" (Professor H. G. Alexander), "The Humanitarian Activities of the League" (Mrs. T. H. Ryland), "The Achievements of the League" (Professor J. H. Muirhead), "The Highway of the Nations" (Rev. Frank Cox). The letter accompanying the syllabus, and sent to all members of the Branch, pleads for a big increase in membership and a personal effort by each member.

**Sunday Schools and the League.**

The Tyne District Council is making a special effort to have an address on the League given in every Sunday School on Sunday, November 11. Other Branches, please note!

**"Headway" in Foreign Hotels.**

Visitors abroad, during the summer and winter seasons, can do very useful propaganda by leaving a copy of HEADWAY at the hotels at which they stay. English magazines are read by English and American visitors abroad far more thoroughly than at home, because of the comparative scarcity of such literature.

**Derby Appeal Fund.**

A delightful entertainment of music and court dances of Older Days at Derby resulted in £60 for the Derby and Derbyshire Special £5,000 Fund.

**Westminster Branch.**

On December 13 the Westminster Branch is giving a luncheon at the Adelaide Rooms, Trafalgar Square, for the delegates to the Council Meeting. Tickets 5s., from the hon. sec., Miss Munro, 119A, Mount Street, W.1.

An important meeting has been arranged by the Branch for November 29, at 8.15 p.m., when the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E., and Mr. Chao Hsin Chu, Chargé d'Affaires at the Chinese Legation, will speak, with Lord Charnwood in the chair.

**News in Wales.**

The winter campaign in Wałs was opened on October 5 at Welshpool, when Viscount Clive took the chair at a largely-attended public meeting, and the President of the Welsh Council and the Bishop of St. David's spoke.

On behalf of the Welsh people the Welsh Council of the League of Nations arranges annually for a wreath to be laid at the grave of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey. This year the ceremony will take place on Friday, November 9, when the wreath will be laid by Mr. David Davies, M.P., the President of the Welsh National Council.

Excellent progress is being made with the Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America. Scores of Conferences have been held and almost all the areas are now covered.

**Y.W.C.A. Exhibition.**

The Young Women's Christian Association are organising a World Exhibition of "Girl Life in Many Lands" on November 7 and 8 at the Central Hall, Westminster. The Exhibition will be opened each day from 2.30 p.m. till 9 p.m. Admission 1s. The opener on November 7 will be Mrs. Stanley Baldwin, and on November 8 the Marchioness Curzon of Kedleston. The League of Nations Union is co-operating in the Exhibition, and it is hoped that as many members as possible will visit it.

**Glenfield Demonstration**

The tiny village Branch of Glenfield, which only started work six months ago, has just organised a highly successful demonstration—parade in national costume, four tableaux representing phases of the League's work, band, &c.—which has made a profound impression on the district. The procession finished up at the Wesleyan Schools, where speeches were made by the Rhodes Scholars. In the evening the Branch arranged a dance.

**Chief Guide Joins the Union.**

As the result of a meeting at Southampton addressed by the General Secretary, the Chief Guide, Lady Baden-Powell, and a number of prominent supporters of the Girl Guide Movement have become members of the Union.

**Stimulating Waverers.**

The Tutbury Branch recently called an "emergency meeting" to have a general discussion and debate on the Ruhr, the Græco-Italian crisis, and relief for Japan. As a successful method of stimulating wavering members this is unrivalled.

**France and the Ruhr.**

The South-East Essex District Council at the end of September sent copies of the following resolution, passed by a large meeting in Rayleigh, to the Belgian and French League of Nations Societies:—

"This meeting, convinced (1) that the continued occupation of the Ruhr must ultimately mean the ruin of France, if not of Europe, and (2) that the sense of intolerable wrongs suffered is necessarily a bar to the calm judgment needed, assures, H.M. Government of its eager support if they determine to submit the question of reparations to the League of Nations."

M. Prudhommeaux, of the French Association, in his reply, states that the French Associations have already urged that this question should be referred to the League without delay. The English resolution will be given full publicity by the French Society.

**Durham Miners Support the League.**

Our list of Corporate Members this month includes a large number of Miners' Lodges in County Durham. The support of the Durham miners is a tangible result of the splendid work done by Mr. Tom Gillander, who has been untiring in his efforts to arouse enthusiasm for the League in this section of the population. In four months eight conferences of delegates from Trade Unions, Women's Guilds, Women's Sections and local Labour Parties have been held, and the numbers who attended represented about 25 per cent. of the aggregate membership.

**Wanted—a Secretary.**

The Deptford Branch is in need of a new Honorary Secretary. Will any reader volunteer? Please communicate with His Worship the Mayor of Deptford, at the Town Hall, New Cross Road, S.E.14.

**The League and the Workers.**

The following letter received by the General Secretary of the Union speaks for itself:—

"Dear Sir,—I enclose P.O. 2s. 6d., as my wife and I desire to become members of the League of Nations. I am an ex-Service man, and I heartily desire to see Peace established everywhere. May I say that as a working man working people do not understand what the League of Nations is. There are men in high places who attack the League, and what with ignorance of the real meaning of the League and reading of attacks, people jump to the conclusion that the League of Nations is merely a League of more or less impracticable notions. Have you any leaflets explaining simply just what the League is? I would try and obtain some more members.

"Yours sincerely,  
"Kensington Park. H. H. ROSSITER."

**League of Nations Diary.**

The League of Nations Union pocket diary for 1924 is now ready, and orders should be placed as soon as possible.

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AND A  
TERRIBLE WINTER**

**No Food, no Clothing, no Coal.**

The situation in Germany is becoming more critical every day and the outlook for the coming winter is extremely dark. One of our workers in Frankfurt writes, "The need here is pathetic . . . Dr. S. told us that the middle-classes were in an awful state of destitution and for many there was nothing but starvation ahead."

The Friends' centres in Berlin, Frankfurt, Nurnberg, Elberfeld and the Ruhr are carrying out, under the Friends' Council for International Service, a wide scheme of relief to the middle-classes, students, children and the aged.

The Council is also engaged in relief work in Austria.

**YOUR PROMPT HELP IS PRESSINGLY URGED.**

Money, which may be earmarked for special purposes if desired, should be sent to The Friends' Council for International Service (Room 5), Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Clothes for Germany or Austria may be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, McLean's Buildings, New Street Square, London, E.C.4.

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#### Professor Zimmern's Lectures.

A course of eight lectures will be given by Professor A. E. Zimmern (late Professor of International Politics in the University of Wales) at the London School of Economics, at 5 p.m. on Mondays and Fridays, beginning Monday, November 12th. Fee 16s.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### "The Unity of Europe."

The following lectures will be held on Thursdays at 5.30 p.m. Admission free, without ticket.

- Nov. 1.—"Germany and Europe." By G. P. Gooch, M.A., D.Litt., University College, Gower Street.  
 Nov. 8.—"Italy and Europe." By T. Sambucetti, Sec. Friends of Italy Movement, University College, Gower Street.  
 Nov. 15.—"France and Europe." By M. Emile Audra, Director of Institut Français, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.  
 Nov. 22.—"Great Britain and Europe." By F. S. Marvin, M.A., London School of Economics.  
 Nov. 29.—"Holland and Belgium and Europe." By G. N. Clark, M.A., London School of Economics.  
 Dec. 6.—"Spain and Europe." By A. R. Pastor, Director of Spanish Studies, London School of Economics.  
 Dec. 13.—"The Balkan States and Europe." By Professor Seton Watson, King's College, Strand.  
 Dec. 20.—"The League of Nations and Europe." By Professor C. K. Webster, King's College, Strand.

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#### Public Meetings.

During the month of October over 300 meetings were arranged by Headquarters. Up to the time of going to press over 200 meetings have been arranged for the month of November. Amongst them are: November 1st, London City Temple, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett; November 2nd, Maidenhead, Professor Gilbert Murray; November 2nd, Wallasey, Professor Roxby; November 5th, Sidcup, Herr Dr. Adolph Kunz; November 5th, Crewe, the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G.; November 6th, Norwich, Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, C.M.G.; November 7th, Salisbury, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Gladstone; November 7th, Derby, Major-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G.; November 9th, Birkenhead, Lt.-Col. Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M.P.; November 11th, Norwich, Professor Gilbert Murray; November 11th, Anerley, the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, G.C.M.G.; November 11th, Burton-on-Trent, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.; November 11th, Crouch End, Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, C.M.G.; November 12th, Cheltenham, the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E.; November 12th, Walkden, and November 13th, Coventry, the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes; November 14th, Bournemouth, Sir George Paish; November 16th, Wokingham, Professor Gilbert Murray; November 18th, Nuneaton, the Rt. Reverend the Bishop of Lichfield; November 18th, Fulham, Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.; November 19th, Lewes, Lady Gladstone; November 25th, Berkhamsted, H. Wilson Harris, Esq.; November 27th, Highbury, Hamilton Fyfe, Esq.; Newport, Isle of Wight, Major-Gen. the Hon. J. E. B. Seeley, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.; November 28th, Colchester, Lady Bonham Carter; November 29th, Richmond, Sir John Pratt and Lady Victor Horsley.

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#### "L'Europe Nouvelle."

A very interesting "Assembly Number" of "L'Europe Nouvelle" has been published, giving messages from the chief delegates to the Fourth Assembly, including Lord Robert Cecil, M. de Jouvenel, Signor Scialoja, M. Branting, Dr. Benes, Herr Zimmermann, Count Bethlen, Viscount

Ishii, Professor Gilbert Murray, and many others. The number is illustrated by amusing caricatures.

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#### To Branch Secretaries.

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Enquiries.

Many of our members who write to Headquarters asking for information on League subjects, send stamped addressed envelopes for reply. It would be a great help if this practice could be universally adopted.

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Particulars of the work in Wales may be obtained from the Honorary Director, League of Nations Union, Welsh Council, 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

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