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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ALL three political parties have within the last few weeks been turning their attention to the League of Nations. The Prime Minister referred to the question in his address to the Conservative Conference at Cardiff. The Labour Party discussed lengthy resolutions on the subject at their Blackpool meeting, and the Liberals have issued a reasoned manifesto embodying a definite programme of Government action in regard to the League. Mr. Baldwin contented himself with quoting the speech made by Dr. Nansen at the League Assembly in appreciation of the service rendered in the past and the present at Geneva by Great Britain. The Labour Party resolution called for support of "the fundamental principles of organised peace as embodied in the Geneva Protocol of 1924"; invited the League to refuse to register agreements not in accordance with the Covenant; condemned the British Government for opposing a general treaty of arbitration and security and refusing to sign the Optional Clause; and appealed to the Government to negotiate an "all-in" arbitration treaty with the United States. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in supporting the resolution, expressed his belief that the adoption of the Geneva Protocol would bring the revision of the Treaty of Versailles nearer, for in his view the Treaty could never be revised till,

either through political or some other means, the danger of war had been removed.

Work for all Parties

THE Liberal manifesto laid it down that "the complete suppression of war as a means of settling disputes between nations should be the dominant policy of every country." It emphasised the essential necessity of an immediate and stringent reduction and limitation of armaments, and declared it the duty of the British Government to take four immediate steps, (1) signature of the Optional Clause; (2) the conclusion of general or particular treaties of arbitration covering non-legal disputes; (3) the reduction of British armaments below the present level, and in particular the repudiation of all idea of naval competition with the United States; (4) active co-operation in the codification and definition of international law. The manifesto includes a passage giving unqualified support to the findings of the Economic Conference. It should be unnecessary to observe that HEADWAY knows no party politics and is only concerned to emphasise the handicap the League would suffer if support of it became the distinctive tenet of one political party in this country rather than another. For that reason the attention paid by all parties alike to the League is particularly welcome. It remains for supporters of each party to see to it that their leaders live up to their professions and when the opportunity may come to them.

Clouds in the Balkans

A GOOD deal of anxiety was felt in the early part of October over troubles arising between Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria as the result of the murder of a Jugo-Slav general by Macedonians, who are said to have received shelter, if not encouragement, in Bulgaria. The question of referring the matter to the League Council naturally arose, but wise handling of the situation by both Governments made that unnecessary. This was, in fact, clearly a case where a premature appeal to the League would have been a mistake. The existence of the League does not mean that when a pair of nations find some small difference arising between them they should immediately consider themselves incapable of settling it and turn to Geneva for help, though it is, no doubt, difficult to strike the right middle line between premature resort to the Council and the highly dangerous expedient of turning to the League when all else has failed. In any case, the League is exerting its silent influence even when States members of it settle their quarrels by themselves. There is no doubt, for example, that in this case both Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia, whose Foreign Ministers in each case have quite recently been at Geneva, were fully alive throughout to what was expected of them as signatories of the Covenant.

Sea-Law in War

IN two interesting special articles and a leader, the *Manchester Guardian* has raised the whole question of the law of blockade in time of war. This is, of course, far too extensive a subject to be more than mentioned in a note in HEADWAY. It requires not merely an article, but a series of articles, or a book, to do it justice, but the *Manchester Guardian* has rendered valuable service in demonstrating the bearing an international agreement on sea law in time of war may have on the whole question of naval disarmament. To mention only one point, a mass of false deductions has been drawn from the effect of the naval blockade on Germany in the last war by speakers and writers who overlook the special circumstances arising from the fact that Germany is a State with a singularly small seaboard, and that she was surrounded by countries who were either actively hostile, or, if neutral, were so small that they could be coerced, as they were, into accepting a rationing scheme at the hands of the fleets commanding the seas. The question of whether it would or would not pay this country to adopt something like the American idea of the freedom of the seas needs to be thought out patiently and without prejudices or preconceptions. Unfortunately, at present no one seems to be giving the question much thought at all.

Ten Hours or Eight?

THE International Labour Office has published another of its useful industrial memoranda, this time on the effect of the adoption of the Eight Hours Day in France. Though the French Government is making its actual ratification of the Washington Hours Convention dependent on similar action by Great Britain, it has, in fact, adopted the Eight Hours Day on its own account—though, of

course, without any international obligation to adhere to it until the Convention is ratified. What the I.L.O. finds, taking a wide range of industries, including both the shoe manufacture and textile trades, foundries, brick and tile works, etc., is that in every case, after temporary difficulties following immediately on the reduction of hours, output quickly returned to its normal level, and in many cases the stimulus given by the organisation resulted actually in increased output. This, it is stated, was due to the introduction of more modern machinery and more effective utilisation of the technical capacities of the workers. This is valuable evidence, and though it certainly does not point to the conclusion that a six hours day would be more productive than an eight, it does, at any rate, show that an eight hours day is as productive as a ten hours or even more so.

The Vilna Nuisance

THE eternal question of Poland and Lithuania is to come before the Council of the League in December, as the result of an appeal registered by Lithuania. There is hardly a more unsatisfactory situation in Europe than that prevailing between these adjacent countries. Lithuania considers a state of war to exist between herself and Poland, and has taken that view ever since the seizure of Vilna by General Zeligowsky in 1920. As a result, no diplomatic relations exist between the two countries, and it is, therefore, impossible for disputes, great or small, arising between them to be discussed in a normal way. The Poles, of course, protest that they are only too anxious to establish proper relations, but it is open to their opponents to retort that, having seized by force what she wanted, Poland is, naturally, ready to let bygones be bygones. Whether the League can do much so long as this state of mind continues may be doubted. The only hope is that the two countries may be sick by this time of the existing situation and be ready to clean the sheet with the Council's assistance and start their life as neighbours afresh.

War on the Coiners

A COMMITTEE on counterfeiting currency has just been sitting at Geneva, and a convention has been drawn up which, it is hoped, may be adopted at some subsequent international conference, or signed by delegates at the next Assembly. There is more in the subject than appears. Action against coiners who produce bad shillings or forged Treasury notes can, of course, be taken by the police of the country concerned, provided the operations are carried on within the country. If the forgers take the precaution of doing their work abroad, the matter is not so simple. In actual fact, the appointment of this committee and the whole discussion of the question arises from the Hungarian "forged banknotes case" in Hungary, where the notes were French notes and were passed off outside Hungary. Proceedings, it is true, were taken against the culprits, but French opinion was not satisfied with the severity of the sentences imposed. The aim of the new convention is to strengthen and simplify procedure on the lines of international co-operation, and to ensure the infliction by all countries of sufficiently severe

penalties on any of their nationals found guilty of this crime. It is proposed, further, that the banks shall be called into frequent consultation, as it is usually banknotes that form the subject of the forger's activity.

Britain Postpones

IT is difficult to understand, and still more difficult to justify, the action of the British Government in insisting that the question of native labour should not be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference till 1929. No one else appeared to desire so long a postponement, and the reason given, namely, that the programme for 1928 was likely to be overcharged, will not bear investigation, for, in point of fact, the 1928 agenda consists only of two questions, one of which has been fairly fully discussed already. The question of native labour is one in which other Government departments beside the Ministry of Labour are concerned, and it would be interesting to know whether Mr. Amery and Mr. Ormsby Gore, for example, were in favour of the postponement, and whether, indeed, the Minister of Labour himself had given his personal attention to the matter.

Lord Cecil's Lead

LORD CECIL'S meeting at the Caxton Hall on October 21 was a complete success. The hall was filled with an audience which listened to the main speech with close attention and constant manifestations of agreement. The four resolutions Lord Cecil had to propose (printed in full on another page) were carried unanimously, but after sufficient discussion to make it clear that the audience was by no means swallowing whole something carefully prepared beforehand and pushed down its throat. On the contrary, it was obvious that the care that had been given to the framing of the resolutions had resulted in the production of a statement which represented what everyone was thinking, voiced in the kind of language that everyone wanted to use. The eleventh hour addition of a second resolution moved by the Chairman, Professor Gilbert Murray, and making it clear that the meeting desired not to attack the Government, but to support it in well-doing, was a wise precaution against possible misunderstandings.

Tariffs and Trade

IT is probably a little difficult for casual observers to understand even yet the full necessity for the recent Economic Conference and the importance of the work it was trying to do. The need for reducing tariffs is intelligible enough, but the need for simplifying and stabilising tariffs is hardly less urgent. An investigation into this latter question has produced remarkable results. Tariffs before the war used to be fixed for long periods, usually ten years, so that manufacturers in other countries knew exactly where they would stand up to the end of that period so far as despatching goods to the protected country went. It has been discovered that out of 180 post-war tariffs examined, no fewer than 153 ran for periods of not more than twelve months, and might be altered upwards or downwards at the end of that time at the will of the Government concerned. What that means,

of course, is that manufacturers desiring to send goods to the protected country have no idea at the moment they are actually making the goods what duty their product will have to pay by the time it gets to its market. A sudden increase of tax may make the whole export trade unprofitable, and throw hundreds of men out of work. That is why the Economic Conference itself, and the Committees that are carrying on its work, are devoting almost as much effort to stabilising tariffs as to bringing their level lower.

Where the Money Goes

OWING to the fact that alterations in the League's Budget were under discussion up to the last moment, the final total could not be decided till the closing day of the Assembly, and it, therefore, differs slightly from the figures quoted in the last issue of HEADWAY as having been presented to the Assembly when it met. The actual Budget total for the year 1928 is 25,333,817 gold francs, or, in English money, £1,013,252. This total is, fortunately, slightly higher than in previous years. The word "fortunately" is used advisedly, for there is clear evidence that the League is now beginning to suffer from the severity with which the budget is pruned every year. Long and difficult discussions were necessary during the Eighth Assembly, owing to the declaration of the Fourth Committee, which is primarily responsible for the Budget, that certain activities, notably the meeting of the Committee on the Codification of International Law and the establishment of a Transit Information Centre at Geneva (the latter a development which the recent Transit Conference had strongly urged), would have to be cancelled because there were no funds available. A compromise was finally reached on the first point. This is a serious matter, considering how contemptible a fraction the expenditure of the nations on organising peace at Geneva represents compared with the expenditure on preparations for war. So far as Great Britain, for example, is concerned, her annual contribution to the League budget is substantially less than one-quarter of the sum required for the annual upkeep of a single battle cruiser. The problem of finance has, in other words, become serious, for it is deplorable that while expenditure is on its present modest scale valuable activities should be curtailed for lack of funds.

The League in the Press

ATTENTION has already been drawn in HEADWAY to the enterprise of the *Spectator* in devoting a page weekly to League of Nations questions. It should be added, moreover, in justice to the *Spectator*, that the allocation of this regular page has not precluded the editor from dealing at considerable length with contemporary League topics in his own short notes. Speaking more generally, this is a welcome manifestation of an increase of interest in League affairs throughout the Press. There has certainly never been such widespread and sustained attention given to the Assembly, for example, as it has obtained in the London daily, weekly and monthly journals this year.

A DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME LORD CECIL'S LEAD TO GREAT BRITAIN

IF the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference created a widespread feeling of depression regarding the possibilities of the disarmament movement, the remarkable way in which the Eighth Assembly got to grips with the subject went far to restore some measure of optimism.

What the Assembly did, in effect, was to map out a practical programme of work for at least the next twelve months.

Concurrently with that, it devolves on League of Nations societies in different countries to map out programmes calculated to instruct the public opinion of the country on the issues involved, and to mobilise support behind their Governments for whatever steps they may be ready to take, in co-operation with other States, to execute the obligations resting on all States signatory to the Covenant, doubly on those which also signed the Treaty of Versailles, and trebly on those which signed the Treaties of Locarno.

What other societies in other countries may be doing is not yet known. In this country the League of Nations Union has already set to work. It has carefully considered its line of action and basing itself firmly on the resolutions of the Eighth Assembly, which, in their turn, are based as firmly on the Covenant to which all States members of the League are pledged, is preparing, through the organisation of meetings throughout the country addressed by speakers of every political party, to impress the Government with the fact that, in pressing actively at Geneva for a uniform and effective disarmament agreement, it will have the almost solid support of the country behind it.

Grasp What it Means

The more clearly this twofold programme, that of the Assembly itself and that of the League of Nations Union in Great Britain, is presented the better for all who speak on disarmament on public platforms or, what is equally valuable, discuss it with their friends in private. For that reason there are set out here:—

(1) The essential features of the Assembly resolution.

(2) The resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union on October 13 and by the Council of the Union on October 21.

Lord Cecil made the L.N.U. resolutions the subject of an important speech, the principal passages of which are also quoted below.

One general observation, which will apply to this and many subsequent articles, as well as to many subsequent speeches, may be desirable. The word "disarmament" is used and must inevitably be used for mere brevity and convenience to convey an idea which falls a good deal short of its literal meaning. No one is seriously talking to-day of a total abolition of armies and navies. Disarmament, as at present under discussion as a practical political measure, means the limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement on an approximately uniform scale all round, or to such level in individual cases as the general opinion of an international conference may consider reasonable.

I.—THE ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

Preamble

"The Assembly . . . being anxious to bring about the political conditions calculated to assure the success of the work of disarmament ;

"Being convinced that a principal condition of this success is that every State should be sure of not

having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations ;

"Affirming that this action should aim chiefly at forestalling or arresting any resort to war and, if need be, effectively protecting any State victim of an aggression . . .

(1) "Recommends the progressive extension of arbitration by means of special or collective agreements ;

(2) "Requests the Council to urge the Preparatory Commission to hasten the completion of its technical work and to convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work has been completed ;

(3) "Requests the Council to create without delay a new Committee consisting of representatives of States with seats on the Preparatory Commission 'to consider the measures capable of giving to all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement.'"

It is added that these measures should be sought—

(a) In action by the League "with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security" ;

(b) In the systematic preparation of machinery to be employed by the League to enable League members to perform their obligations under the Covenant ;

(c) In regional security agreements, concluded without prejudice to obligations under the Covenant, in connection with which the Council is invited to ask individual States what material assistance they would be prepared to render to support its decisions in the event of a conflict breaking out in a given region.

This resolution may be roughly summarised as a whole in the statement that it aims at carrying through as rapidly as possible an international agreement on the limitation and reduction of armaments;—at extending the practice of arbitration under the general auspices of the League; in working out methods for the loyal fulfilment by League States of their Covenant obligations; and in encouraging such agreements for mutual security (for example, Locarno) as States may feel disposed to contract, apart from their general obligations under the Covenant.

II.—THE UNION'S RESOLUTIONS

The General Council of the League of Nations Union urges the British Government:—

(1) To give effective support to the League's Preparatory Commission on Disarmament and the new Committee on Arbitration and Security.

(2) To promote the peaceful settlement of all international disputes by every means in its power, and in particular—

(a) To sign the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, if necessary with reservations called for by the special position of this country.

(b) To announce its willingness to conclude all-inclusive arbitration agreements with other States on the model to be established by the League.

(3) To co-operate wholeheartedly in carrying into effect the Assembly proposal regarding the systematic preparation of machinery to be employed by the League to enable League Members to perform their obligations under the Covenant.

(4) To consider what steps should be taken in pursuance of the Assembly declaration regarding the importance of enabling individual States to rely for their security in part on the collective action of the League, in order effectively to bring about such a reduction of national armaments as will remove the menace of war.

(5) To continue to support and enhance the prestige of the League, so that it may increasingly be

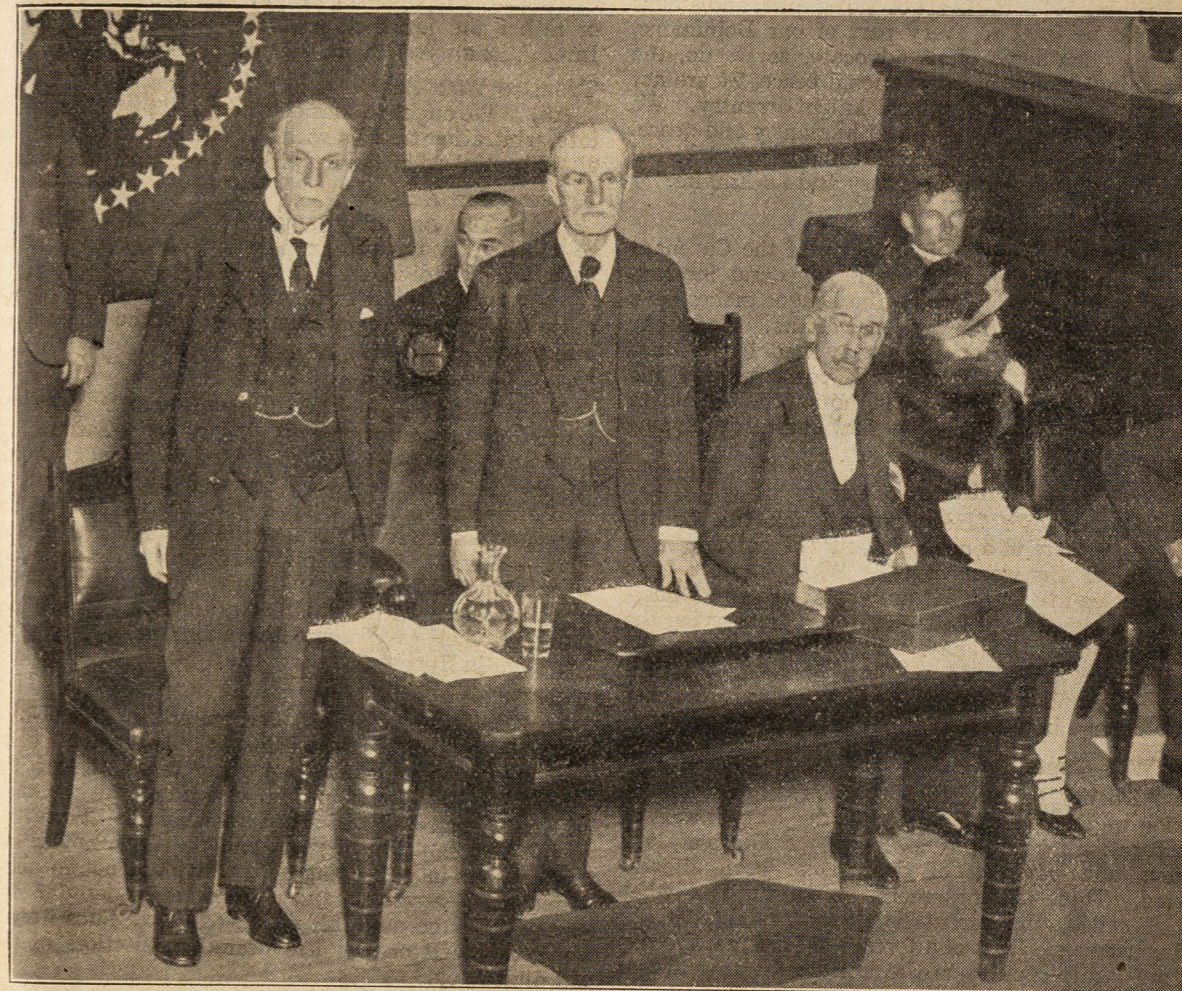
possible to report the speech in full. The following, however, are its salient points:—

Why I Resigned

(1) "I remember saying at a meeting of the Council some time ago something to the effect that if I thought I could better serve the cause of peace and the League of Nations by leaving office than by remaining, I would resign. That contingency occurred last August, and I resigned."

The Empire and the League

(2) "I observe in some utterances, both in the Press and on the platform, a certain tendency to regard disarmament as chiefly of importance to continental Europe. Sometimes, indeed, this belief is carried to such a point



Lord Cecil at the League of Nations Council Meeting. Left to Right: Lord Cecil, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Lord Queenborough. Behind Prof. Murray: Sir Henry Strakosch

recognised as the normal authority for dealing with serious international difficulties.

(6) Welcomes the resolutions passed by the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations with a view to initiating a general reduction of the armaments of all nations, an extension of the practice of arbitration and an increase of security; and notes with satisfaction the part taken by H.M. Government in bringing about the unanimous adoption of the resolutions.

III.—LORD CECIL'S SPEECH

The speech in which Lord Cecil developed the aims to be attained by the League of Nations Union and the method of their attainment was largely built round the first five resolutions, which he himself proposed. Considerations of space, unfortunately, make it im-

possible to report the speech in full. The following, however, are its salient points:—

Ourselves and Europe

(3) "It is difficult to imagine any considerable disturbance of the peace of Europe which would not affect more or less the whole Continent and ourselves as well."

Great Britain and Peace

(4) "It has long been a commonplace that peace is the greatest of British interests. That has been true in the past. It is still more true now."

What War Means to Us

(5) "Even in the late war there were periods when the dangers to our food supply were a source of the deepest possible anxiety to the Government of the day.

Nor is it only our food supplies. There are our export industries all depending on imported wool and cotton. Above all, we have created by the skill and energy of our people an immense and elaborate system of credit, on which our prosperity, and almost our life, depend. The late war gave it a great shock, from which we have not yet recovered. Another war would almost certainly destroy it."

The Heart of the Empire

(6) "We have responsibility for the good government of an immense Empire. That Empire depends utterly on the prosperity and power to live of this island. Is there anything else that can keep the Empire together? Assuredly not. Its existence as an entity depends on Great Britain. It is the heart of the Empire, and a blow to it would be fatal to every part of our Dominions. Therefore, when some of us advocate, as we do, the enormous importance of international peace, we are not guilty of a kind of international knight-errantry. We may be thinking of the interest of humanity and peace. Perhaps we are. But we are also thinking of the vital importance of peace to this country and its Empire."

Everybody's Business

(7) "Right at the very foundation of the Covenant lies this conception, that peace is a general interest. That is the great change which the League makes from the old conception of international affairs. Under the new system any quarrel which may lead to war is a matter of general interest, and, consequently, any country may, and ought to, set in motion the machinery of the League in order to prevent that quarrel developing into war."

Other People's Frontiers

(8) "People say: 'How can we ask the British people to interfere in a quarrel about the boundaries of some Central European State? What interest have they in such a matter?' My answer is: 'It is not a question of boundaries; it is a question of preserving the peace.' They may not have very much interest in the boundaries of any European State as such, but they have a profound interest in preventing war, whether it is to change boundaries, or for any other purpose."

What War Costs

(9) "Do not let us forget that out of every £ of taxation we pay fourteen shillings is due to past wars or to preparation for future wars. Eleven shillings of that, pensions and payment of debt, have been already incurred. Three shillings more, or one-third of what may be called our current liabilities, are due to the fighting services. This is a terrible burden, far greater than any other country in the world is bearing at the present time."

Now and 1913

(10) "Putting aside Russia, where accurate information is unattainable, we are the only Great European Power whose expenditure on armaments is larger than it was in 1913."

(11) "We ought to support in every way we can the efforts which are in course of being made by what is called the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations."

One Way of Agreeing

(12) "There are many people who seem to regard an international negotiation as an opportunity for this country to assert what it desires and for other nations to conform. That is not the way in which negotiated agreements can be secured."

Try Arbitration

(13) "We must do everything we can to encourage nations to settle their disputes by other than warlike

means. Of the expedients for the peaceful settlement of international disputes that have been tried, arbitration is, undoubtedly, the most successful."

Dare We Refuse?

(14) "We take an immense responsibility if we discourage international arbitration, and I should have to be overwhelmingly convinced that acceptance of arbitration was a serious danger to this country before I could agree that we ought not to accept it."

Law, Not War

(15) "Nations, like individuals, must look to law and not war as a regular way of dealing with international controversy. That is why the Union has, for a long time past, urged the signing of the Optional Clause—that is, agreeing that we will accept arbitration or rather the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in all justiciable disputes."

Treaties with All

(16) "We ought to consider the possibility of entering into arbitration treaties with various States for settling all disputes whatsoever without recourse to war."

Prepare for Action

(17) "The Assembly suggested that it is desirable to make a systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed in such cases [when a State resorts to war in violation of its pledges]. I am sure we ought to co-operate in that effort to the utmost of our power."

Trusting the League

(18) "The Assembly laid it down that the principal conditions of success in the work of disarmament were that every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments, but should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League. I believe that we ought to ask our Government to consider what steps are necessary to give full effect to this principle, for, without its establishment, I do not think we shall ever secure the abolition of aggressive war even in Europe."

Keep it So

(19) "We have always recognised in this Union that our present Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, has done much, especially in setting up the practice of Foreign Ministers to attend the meetings of the Council and Assembly, to increase the prestige of the League. We beg him and the Government not to be weary in well doing and, above all, not to allow bureaucrats at home and abroad to undermine the organs of procedure of the League by substituting agencies based on the less desirable practices of the old diplomacy."

Follow the Assembly

(20) "Put in a sentence, what we desire is to see the policy sketched in the Disarmament resolutions of the last Assembly carried out in spirit as well as in letter."

Government and People

(21) "It is our business to show the Government that in any advance in the direction of disarmament, security and arbitration, they may count on the enthusiastic support of the people of this country."

Drive it Home

(22) "We have got to convince our fellow countrymen of the vital necessity for disarmament as both the sign and the condition of permanent peace. We have got to show them that without it the danger of war will never depart from us. We have got to remind them of what a new war may mean for the existence of this country and this Empire and, indeed, for civilisation itself."

GALA DAYS IN SOFIA BULGARIA'S GRATITUDE AFTER FIFTY YEARS

By VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE

IT is often said that gratitude is one of the rarest of virtues, but a recent experience has convinced me that in one country at least this is not the case.

Some months ago I was invited by the L.N.U. to be a delegate at the Council meeting of the Federation of League of Nations Societies to be held in Sofia. Whilst I was still debating whether my plans could be so arranged as to make it possible for me to go, came letters from friends in Bulgaria, urging me to come, and further begging me to persuade my husband to accompany me. They told me that a visit from the son of Mr. Gladstone would be greatly appreciated by the Bulgarian people, who held his name in great veneration. Even so we were totally unprepared for all that was to follow.

great staircase and corridors were lined with these fine young stalwart Bulgarians. There followed a short ceremony, speeches of welcome, and thanks.

In the large room where this took place were two busts, one of King Boris, the other of Mr. Gladstone, each hung with a wreath of laurels and draped with their national flag. On the walls were paintings of Bulgarians who had won liberation from the Turkish Empire for their country; alone, above them all, presided the portrait of Mr. Gladstone. We were told that his picture hangs in every school throughout the country. He takes his place amongst their national heroes, and every child in Bulgaria, from the age of four, is taught to know and love the name of Gladstone.

In the afternoon M. Trifonoff took us to Gladstone



Outside the Gladstone School in Sofia
Lord Gladstone is on Lady Gladstone's left and the Minister of Education on her right

The first hint was at the frontier station where our train was boarded by M. Trifonoff and various officials of the town of Sofia. The Simplon-Orient express chooses the most inconvenient hours for arriving and departing from Sofia—we were due to arrive at midnight. On the platform we were greeted by the Mayor and Mayoress, the Town Council and a crowd of other people who had left their firesides on a wet night to welcome us. The Mayoress gave me a lovely bouquet, the first of many I was destined to receive during the next three crowded days. Bulgarians love flowers, and our path was literally as well as figuratively strewn with flowers all the time we were at Sofia.

The next morning at 9.45 our kind friend, M. Trifonoff, came to take us to the Gymnasium named "Gladstone." It is a handsome building, the largest school in Sofia. There, 1,000 youths between 14 years and 20, are educated. On the threshold we were received by the Minister of Education and the Headmaster. Inside the large entrance hall the students, all wearing a dark blue uniform, were ranked, and the sides of the

Street, where every house had been decorated in honour of our visit. There we were invited into Gladstone House and, with flowers strewn before us to walk on, were taken into one of the apartment flats. Here we were kindly entertained by the smiling inhabitants who presented my husband with a beautifully embroidered night-shirt and myself with attar of roses. After a light repast of rose jam—very sweet, delicate and delicious—washed down with tumblers of water, we took our departure. I was overdue at the meeting of the Council.

When work was over, and a hasty dinner, we were taken to the Opera by Monseigneur Stephane, Archbishop of Sofia, where we enjoyed a very fine performance of "Orphée." The next morning we repaired to the Town Hall where, in the presence of the Prime Minister and other members of the Government, the Mayor delivered an address and presented my husband with the Freedom of Sofia. One sentence ran thus:—"The memory of the great and grand Britisher, William E. Gladstone, who, in the most tragic days of the

history of our nation, raised up high his powerful and authoritative voice in its defence, will live for ever in the hearts of the grateful Bulgarian people." In replying, my husband spoke of the reasons which brought about Mr. Gladstone's intervention in 1877, adding that Bulgaria had brought him into the House of Commons in 1880.

Then came a large luncheon party, given in our honour by the Municipality of Sofia.

On Sunday morning we attended an impressive service in the Cathedral. It is impossible to describe the majesty of the ritual or the haunting beauty of the unaccompanied singing from the invisible choir—at times rising into great bursts of ringing triumph, then sinking again to a whisper. The crowded and reverent congregation stood throughout the service, which included a sermon from the Archbishop on the League of Nations and ended with a special blessing, delivered in French, on the delegates in their work for peace.

The events of that afternoon, our last day in Sofia, were the most surprising and moving of all. For an hour-and-a-half we stood on the balcony of our hotel whilst there marched past us what seemed to be an almost endless procession. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, bands, banners, flags, boys' schools, girls' schools, students, judges, doctors, veterans from the war of 1877-8 in uniform, refugees from Macedonia in groups from the villages where their homes used to be. A huge crowd had assembled and stretched up the cross roads which the hotel overlooked. The press of people was terrific, yet perfect order prevailed. Only two mounted police and a few on foot kept open the lane for the procession. At last it came to an end, the crowd closed in and waited. My husband raised his hand. All at once there was complete silence, then, by a spontaneous motion, every head was bared. He spoke a few sentences, interpreted as delivered, referring to the Eastern Question and his father's fight for freedom and justice in the Balkans. This was greeted with a storm of cheers.

No sooner were we back in our drawing-room when deputation after deputation arrived, bearing gifts of beautifully illuminated addresses for him, and several complete national costumes and many flowers for myself. Men and women kissed his hands and mine, and so moving were the speeches and the whole scene that many people were weeping. The amazing thing is that all this was a demonstration, touching in its simple sincerity, to honour the memory of an Englishman, who had been dead nearly 30 years, because of their gratitude for what he did for Bulgaria 50 years ago.

A huge public meeting, at which I was cheered to the echo before I spoke—it would have been the same had I been deaf and dumb and blind so long as my name was Gladstone—and a dinner with the Finance Minister ended our last thrilling day in Sofia.

The final touch was finding the Prime Minister on the platform at 7 a.m. the next morning to bid us farewell as we steamed away, accompanied, as far as the frontier, by one of the Ministers and the never-failing M. Trifonoff.

MANDATES

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations began its sittings in the last week of October. It had before it, among other matters, the reports on Iraq and Western Samoa, the latter being of particular interest owing to the complaints that have been made of the administration. The Mandatory Power for Western Samoa is New Zealand. Dr. Kastl took his seat as first German member of the Commission.

BUILDING UP LAW

IT is a dull thing to have no nationality. It can also be a very awkward and embarrassing thing. It means very often, for example, having no passport, which is a serious inconvenience to anyone desirous to cross a frontier. It may, on the other hand, be a little exciting to have two nationalities, a privilege quite a number of people about the world enjoy. A good deal of this happens as a result of particular national laws. An Englishwoman, for example, marrying an American loses her British nationality, but only acquires an American one after so many years' residence in the United States. The French have recently passed a law which will impose French nationality on a great number of individuals who also possess British or some other.

There is, in short, no uniformity in such matters, and it would, for many reasons, be a good thing if there were. But how can uniformity be attained? Only by an international convention or treaty whereby all States agree to base their nationality laws on the same principles. Whose business is it to get such a convention negotiated? Clearly the business of the League of Nations, which is far better placed for such a task than any individual government. Why then, it may be asked, does the League not set about it? The answer is that the League has decided to set about it, and a conference for the purpose of negotiating an agreement on nationality questions will, in fact, be held in 1929.

This, of course, means definite law-making. That is no new experience for the League. It has already made international law in the fields of transit and opium and white slave traffic and customs procedure and others. Its new activity, however, is a little different, and will be viewed with particular interest in North and South America, which are primarily the home of the apostles of the codification of international law. Codifying law sounds a fairly simple process—a matter of merely digging out existing laws, comparing them with one another and making a decent fair draft of the whole. In actual fact, no such process is possible, and the term "codification" is to that extent misleading. Where recognised international law exists, it exists almost always in an incomplete and disputed form, and to codify laws means, in reality, making new ones, though the new may rest often enough, in part at any rate, on the basis of old.

The League has been working on this matter for some years, and the Committee charged with the task has now decided that three questions, at any rate, are ripe for treatment by way of international conventions. One, as already stated, is nationality. The other two are territorial waters and the responsibility of States for crimes committed against foreigners on their territory. These are not precisely matters of life and death, though both of them again and again have given rise to serious international disputes, if not to war. The most notable recent example in the second category was the murder of the Italian General Tellini on Greek soil in August of 1923, followed as it was by the seizure of Corfu as a measure of reprisal. As for territorial waters, they raise what may be important questions of fishing rights, and recent discussions between Great Britain and the United States on the measures that may be taken against rum-runners present the subject in another highly important aspect.

What is perhaps most significant, however, is that the League has now definitely embarked on a process frequently urged on it from across the Atlantic, that of formulating definite and universally-accepted law which can be administered by the Permanent Court at The Hague.

DIPLOMACY OPENED TRACING THE WAR TO ITS SOURCE

"I have since heard from Baron Richthofen, who was one of Count Bulow's guests last night, that the Emperor, who kept the company waiting for nearly half an hour, was in most excellent spirits. He did not mention the war or the Naval Bill, in both of which subjects he is intensely interested, and indulged in animated conversation till some time past midnight on the education of children and the merits of Mark Twain and Bret Harte."

THIS incidental glimpse of one side of the Kaiser is taken from a highly important diplomatic despatch addressed by Sir Frank Lascelles, British Ambassador in Berlin, to Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, in the year 1900. The despatch itself is one of a series now published for the first time in two remarkable volumes just issued through H.M. Stationery Office,* and consisting of official papers bearing directly or indirectly on the origin of the war, selected from the Foreign Office records by Dr. G. P. Gooch and Major Harold Temperley.

The instruction given by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald when Foreign Secretary, and endorsed by Sir Austen Chamberlain as his successor, that these vitally important and hitherto secret documents should be given to the world is part of a process, carried on in many countries, calculated to scandalise diplomatic purists everywhere. The two editors had been given full freedom to publish whatever they desired, and the volumes now issued represent the first result of their labour. The 800 despatches embodied in these 700 foolscap printed pages cover the years 1898 to 1904, and touch on British interests in every quarter of the globe. They are mostly from British Ambassadors or Ministers in foreign capitals to the Foreign Secretary, or from the Foreign Secretary to his representatives abroad. Many of them have notes added by King Edward VII, who, though he seems to have intervened less than is commonly supposed in foreign policy, made a point of seeing all important papers and expressing his views on them. It is disclosed here, for example, that he was a warm supporter of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and one of his notes is to the effect that—

"The King considers it most essential that we should give Japan our hearty support on all occasions when it is possible to do so."

The End of Isolation

But, interesting as the details of these fascinating volumes may be, their importance lies not in the details, but in the cumulative evidence they present of tendencies which led Great Britain away from the "splendid isolation," on which she prided herself down to the latter years of the nineteenth century, into those groupings which first became arrestingly manifest in the years before 1914 and then were broadened and universalised in the post-war League of Nations. The papers make it clear that what drove Great Britain to seek friends she could count on or, at any rate, to accept friendship when it was proffered, was the clash of interests not in Europe, but in Asia and Africa.

The first move towards an understanding regarding Asia was made by Lord Salisbury when he approached the Russian Government in 1898 with a suggestion that the two countries, with a view to avoiding interference with one another, should agree that Russia should confine her commercial penetration to Northern China and Great Britain to the Yang-tse valley. The proposal, however, came to nothing on account of the

* British Documents on the Origins of the War. Two vols. 10s. 6d. net each.

friction caused by Russia's seizure of the strategic base of Port Arthur. The second set of negotiations regarding Asia produced more result. They sprang from a proposal, made this time by Japan, for a general understanding with Great Britain on the Asiatic policy of the two countries. This fact is now for the first time brought to light, as the question of which country took the initiative in regard to the Anglo-Japanese alliance has hitherto been shrouded in secrecy. It was, in point of fact, Japan, and in 1902 the agreement was concluded, the general basis of it being the preservation of the *status quo* in China and Corea and a promise that, if either Britain or Japan was involved in war with more than one other Power, its ally would come actively to its assistance. It was this provision, renewed in 1905 and again in 1910, which brought Japan into the war in 1914 at the side of Great Britain.

An Alliance with Germany

Meanwhile there was the question of European alliances. Should Great Britain come to terms with Germany or with France? During the earlier part of the period covered by these volumes, 1898 to 1904, all the trend was towards Germany. In 1898 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, was discussing with the German Chargé d'Affaires in London the possibility of a definite alliance, though practically no reference to this appears in the Foreign Office papers, since the Foreign Office took no part in the negotiations. But in 1901 new conversations took place. Which side took the first step is uncertain, as the diplomats of each country, according to the published records, ascribes the initiative to those of the other. Here, too, no result was achieved, largely because Germany wanted Great Britain to enter the Triple Alliance (Germany, France, Italy), and Lord Lansdowne replied, in a phrase which is not without its bearing on current discussions at Geneva, that he did not believe public opinion would face the prospect of entanglement in other people's quarrels. Another factor of limited, but by no means negligible, importance was the personality of the Kaiser, who, while continuously expressing the warmest friendship for Great Britain, was making himself a perpetual nuisance to British Ministers by his offers of advice as to how the Empire should be run, and, in particular, how the war in South Africa should be carried on.

In Peril of War

In the end the understanding was reached, not with Germany, but with France, and there was no country with whom an understanding was more needed. Though everyone whose memory goes back so far can recall how near we were to open war with France after the Fashoda incident of 1898, the despatches that actually passed between diplomats at this time bring home the imminence of the peril in a very vivid way. It is instructive to quote in that connection a conversation between the British Ambassador in Vienna, Sir Harold Rumbold, and the Austrian Foreign Minister, in December, 1898. The Ambassador found it necessary to observe that the position had been more critical than was generally believed. "It seemed to me," he said, "that we had been on the very verge of war, and we certainly had made formidable preparations for it. In fact, there had been a strong feeling in some quarters that, being so fully prepared, we should do well to let it come to war." It would be hard to find a more decisive argument in favour of a reduction of armaments than this frank admission of the tendency of preparations for war to lead to war.

It was not till 1903 that the first steps towards an agreement with France were taken, and up till then the feeling between the two countries continued to be strained very nearly to breaking-point. The proposal came from the French side, M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, taking advantage of a visit to London in July, 1903, to suggest a general understanding between the two nations on the many points at issue between them. Most of these concerned colonial difficulties in Nigeria, Morocco, in Egypt and Siam. They were tackled patiently one by one, and the ultimate result was a comprehensive agreement signed between the two countries in April, 1904.

The story of the last two years of last century and the first four years of this is, in a sense, old history by now, but the documents now published throw new light on it at many points, and as a whole they illuminate afresh the almost relentless trend of the Great Powers of Europe into rival groupings, bearing in them from first to last the seeds of war. What the war itself has done is to fuse the two groups in the League of Nations, and the supreme value the despatches have for Europe to-day is to emphasise the vital necessity of avo ding groups within the League.—H.W.H.

FIGHTING THE DRUG SMUGGLERS

A GRAVE view of the alarming magnitude of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs was taken by the members of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Opium, which held a special meeting at Geneva in the early part of October. The meeting had been summoned at the instance of Signor Cavazzoni, the Italian member, to consider specifically what steps could be taken to bring this illegal traffic under control. Signor Cavazzoni had various drastic proposals for national regulation to submit, but they did not in the main commend themselves to the Committee as a whole as particularly practical.

Two other proposals deserved and obtained careful attention. One was put forward by Colonel Arthur Woods, formerly Police Commissioner for the State of New York, who sits on the Committee as an assessor (i.e., not a voting member). He desired to see every factory where opium and coca leaf is manufactured into drugs brought directly under national control instead of being in the hands of private individuals operating under licence, as at present. A more far-reaching, and in some ways more interesting, scheme was submitted by the German member of the Committee, Dr. Anselmino, who thought that the traffic should be not merely nationalised, but internationalised, and who, therefore, advocated the creation of an international cartel with the League of Nations closely associated with the direction. That scheme, too, is to be considered afresh when its author has been able to elaborate it and go into further detail.

Fortunately, in spite of the prominence the illicit trade is assuming, it is not believed that it is increasing in volume, but rather that greater vigilance on the part of the national authorities is resulting in more frequent and more substantial seizures than has been the case in the past. How large these seizures can be is shown by the fact that one single consignment was found to amount in volume to four times in excess of the legal requirements of the country in question. The offer of Persia to begin in three years' time a 10 per cent. annual reduction of poppy-growing appears to have been received with only qualified appreciation, as it was felt that the proposal was not by any means commensurate with the extent of the illicit traffic in and from that country.

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

X.—SIR ARTHUR SALTER

IN the latter stages of the war, Mr. J. A. Salter, as he then was, had the reputation of being the most efficient Civil Servant in Whitehall. There may have been others of whom the same thing was said, but certainly none who deserved the tribute better.

He made his mark first of all as one of Sir Robert Morant's young men in the early days of the Insurance Commission. When the War came he was moved back to the Admiralty, where he had begun his official career, and from thence transferred to the Ministry of Shipping, where he soon obtained a position of the highest importance as Chairman of the Executive of Inter-Allied Maritime Council.

When the League of Nations Secretariat was being formed in London in 1919, Mr. Salter was secured by Sir Eric Drummond as Head of the Economic and Financial Section. Six months later, however, he

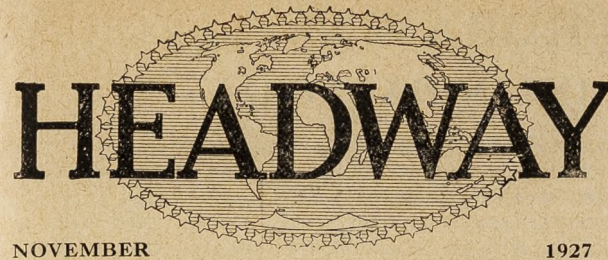


Sir Arthur Salter

was called away to take up, as Sir Arthur Salter, the post of first Secretary-General to the Reparations Commission. He remained in Paris in that capacity till 1922, when he went back to the League, by this time established at Geneva, to resume his old position, the change involving, incidentally, a considerable sacrifice of income.

As Director of the Financial and Economic Section, Sir Arthur has an astonishing record of achievements to his credit. To him, more than anyone, is due the success of the Austrian and Hungarian reconstruction schemes, the Greek and Bulgarian refugee schemes, and numbers of other lesser activities of the Financial and Economic Committees of the League, as well as one greater than any, to wit, the Economic Conference of last spring.

Unlike many financiers and economists, Sir Arthur has an admirable political mind, and there are few men whose judgments on general League policy are sounder. His influence sometimes reaches to unexpected places, and the League is always the better for it when it does.



THE PUBLIC'S PART

TWO apparently unrelated articles in this issue of HEADWAY have, in fact, an instructive bearing on one another. On one page an attempt has been made to present with whatever clearness is possible the programme the League of Nations Assembly set itself in the fields of arbitration, security and disarmament, together with the steps to be taken in this country by organised supporters of the League, with a view to ensuring the active co-operation of the British Government in the execution of the Geneva programme. A later page is devoted to some account of the diplomatic conversations and interchanges which in the early years of the present century led gradually to certain groupings of the greater States, out of which, in no small measure, the Great War sprang.

A fuller study of the diplomatic documents, to which in this latter article only the briefest reference could be made, would show how large a part, as long as five-and-twenty years ago, public opinion played in the shaping of national policies. Again and again the British Foreign Minister of the day, whether it were Lord Salisbury or Lord Lansdowne or Mr. Balfour, when he was from time to time taking temporary charge of the Foreign Office, had to tell some Foreign Minister plainly that certain pledges which he desired were out of the power of a British Minister to give, because the decisions which their fulfilment might demand were such as Parliament would need to endorse, and Parliament would be largely swayed by the attitude of public opinion when the moment for action arose. It is possible, no doubt, that the difficulty of handling public opinion is sometimes exaggerated by a Minister who desires some plausible excuse for avoiding a course of action he dislikes on other grounds. But, broadly speaking, no one will seriously dispute the dictum that neither in home nor in foreign affairs can a Government move faster than public opinion will allow it. If, therefore, action in any given matter is required, that action must be openly demanded or, at the lowest, quite definitely acquiesced in by the country as a whole.

The bearing of that conclusion on the present situation should be obvious. Certain sections of public opinion, represented most particularly by the habitual readers of this journal, are anxious for the Government to take certain definite steps forward in regard to arbitration, in regard to disarmament and in regard, perhaps, to further security agreements. The third of these points is more debatable than the other two. As Sir Austen Chamberlain pointed out at Geneva, the commitments of the Covenant are tremendous; and it is more important to recognise and accept them to the full than to extend them either by amending the Covenant or by contracting new agreements parallel with it. But about arbitration and disarmament there should be no uncertainty whatever. The precise length to which a British Government should go is matter for discussion, but quite certainly it should go further than it has.

Signature of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court is only the first of the steps the Government should take towards the ultimate goal of substituting peaceful settlement of all disputes for settlement by war.

As to arbitration on a wider scale, special conditions may no doubt require special treatment, and arbitration methods should be studied before they are finally adopted. But the acceptance of the general principle of comprehensive arbitration, and the final ruling out of war as a means of settling disputes between civilised nations, is a second step which can be properly and confidently urged without prejudging the question of machinery and methods. If France and Germany could sign an "all-in" arbitration treaty at Locarno, it is fantastic to suggest that similar action by Great Britain in relation to France or Germany, or any other State, is out of the question. It is quite true that fulfilment of the Locarno agreement was guaranteed by Great Britain's pledge to use her armed forces against either party which violated it and went to war, but the arbitration clauses of the treaty were not dependent on that guarantee. Even if they were, that would not prevent this country from entering into a similar contract, for any such agreement would, in fact, be guaranteed under the terms of the Covenant by all members of the League. Great Britain would have no need to demand more than that, if, indeed, she demanded anything in the way of guarantee at all.

As regards disarmament, there are certain things public opinion can do and certain that it cannot. It is not for the average speaker at a public meeting to prescribe what precise reduction of the national armaments the Government of the day should accept. That is, in the last resort, a matter for the Government itself, and it can only formulate its final policy after discussion with the Governments of other States, for the size of a nation's army or navy depends, in some measure at any rate, on the size of the armies or navies with which it may conceivably some day find itself in conflict. The business of public opinion, as public opinion, is different. To put the matter in a sentence, what the public of this country may properly be asked to do is so to express itself as to leave the Government of the day, of whatever party colour that Government may be, no shred of excuse for hesitating to do everything in its power to secure fulfilment of the triple disarmament pledge embodied in the Covenant, in Chapter V of the Treaty of Versailles and in the final Act of the Treaty of Locarno. It is not asked of the British Government that it should act alone. It is asked of it that it should take its part in bringing about a general and uniform reduction of armaments by agreement with other States. It is asked of it that in that matter it should not lag behind but take the lead. It is asked of it that it should not leave the shaping of policy in the hands of admirals and generals, who, eminent and invaluable though they be in their proper sphere, are the servants of the Cabinet appointed to maintain the armed forces of the country in a state of efficiency, not to decide what the size of the armed forces shall be. The peril of precipitate and unconsidered action is non-existent. All the danger, indeed, is the other way. Nothing more is asked or expected than that the Government should devote as much energy to attempting the fulfilment of its treaty pledges as it does, for example, to keeping the British Navy efficient. By insisting on that, public opinion will leave the Government without excuse for inaction.

A VEIL WITHDRAWN SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA TO-DAY

A GOOD many people have read "Mother India"* by this time. But there are still a great many more who have not. It is hard to know whether to advise them to. That the book is worth reading is beyond question. Never probably has a more appalling indictment of a country's social conditions been framed. But how far descriptions of evils which can only distress the reader, and which he sees no means to remedy, should be recommended is an open question. One thing at least is certain, that no one can begin to understand the essentials about India who has not read Miss Mayo.

The writer herself is an American lady who has already made a valuable study of the Philippines under American rule. She later decided to study India under British rule. She claims that she went there with no prejudice for or against the British Government, and the whole tenor of her book bears that statement out, though the result of her investigations is to create a warm admiration for most of what the British are doing and have done. The fact that there are 60,000 British troops in a country of 320,000,000 people is an impressive comment on the allegation that the Indian Empire is being held down by force.

The Lot of the Widow

But the writer's study of India is only incidentally political. She was too startled by what she saw around her in daily life to be tempted to spend much time on constitutions and methods of government. And what she saw she describes, in language perfectly proper in a serious work such as she has published, but less suitable for reproduction here. It is a terrible picture. Sex, cruelty, superstition, are its chief characteristics. The Indian child is nominally married at any age from three years upwards, though it is illegal for the physical marriage to take place before thirteen. The law is constantly broken, and is obviously difficult to enforce. And while the child-wife may be a girl of thirteen, the husband is not infrequently a man of forty. That means (among other evils) early widowhood, for men are not long-lived in India. And the lot of the widow is unbelievable. She is accused, for her sins are supposed to be responsible for her husband's death, she may not marry again, her head is shaven as badge of her position, she becomes the slave in her former husband's household, often worse off than when she was burned on her husband's pyre. And the number of widows in India is 27,000,000.

Why Children Die

The child-mortality reaches such figures that it is difficult to see how the race continues. The reason is clear. Girls are married long before they have strength to bring healthy children into the world, the births take place in conditions that, but for some astonishing and latent resistance to circumstances, must be fatal to both mother and child, the babies are exposed to every infection and contagion that crowded streets and the most primitive sanitary practices multiply. In these few commonplace lines may be summarised descriptions that arouse emotions in which incredulity contends with repulsion.

But the incredulity is misplaced. Indians and Anglo-Indians, particularly the latter, agree that Miss Mayo's picture is in substance accurate. Some reserves are no doubt needed. The purdah system, whereby the child-wife goes into the zenana, and virtually disappears from the world as soon as she is old enough to be taken by her husband, can by the nature of things not exist

* "Mother India," by Katherine Mayo. Cape. 10s. 6d. and 7s. 6d.

in the villages, for in villages women have to do the work of the house and the fields. And not all that is told of the excesses carried on within the privacy of temple walls is of universal application. But the child-marriage system, with the manifold evils involved in it, is all but universal. The misery of the widows is everything that Miss Mayo paints it, and the widow's lot is the same throughout India. The statement that village education is almost non-existent because no woman teacher is safe from molestation is admitted by old district officers to be true.

How Animals are Treated

Equally well-founded, according to independent and unbiassed witnesses are the stories of cruelty to animals perpetrated by a people whose religion forbids them to take the life of a cow or a sheep, but permits them to let an injured beast lie in agony in the street or a field till a lingering death puts an end to its misery. Indifference to animal life, moreover, is responsible not only for such cruelties, and others too revolting to describe, but for a steady deterioration of stock which has produced among other consequences a milk-famine in most parts of India, so scanty is the yield of the average cow. That, of course, is another factor in infant mortality.

What effect is a book like this to have? Will it wake Indians themselves into a change of outlook and practice? Will it sting the British into remedial action? One answer covers the two questions. The worst abuses are the outcome of religious superstitions, and it is a basic tenet of British administration in India to avoid interference in religious custom and practice, unless social security or stability is threatened. A highly-skilled Indian doctor, with an English training and diplomas, was asked how it was conceivable that his children should still be born under the hideous conditions under which births take place in India. "Because," he said, "the weight of superstition in my family is such that I can't withstand it." *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*; for such evils can religion be responsible.

Work for the League?

Here and there are references to the League of Nations; to its Health Organisation; to its Women and Children Committee. Is there in reality any scope for the League of Nations here? It must be doubted. There is, it is true, an attempt to raise the marriage age to something above thirteen, but if a law to that effect were carried, it would be singularly difficult to administer. Very slowly old traditions are yielding. But 92 per cent. of the population is still illiterate, not, as Miss Mayo demonstrates in two or three most interesting pages, on account of British apathy, but because the child-marriage system, the ban on the 60,000,000 "Untouchables" and the difficulties in the way of village education make any substantial educational advance impossible.

Miss Mayo has no doubt not succeeded in maintaining a precisely just proportion everywhere. The colour here and there may be laid on too thick. But when all due allowance is made for that, her book produces a sensation of almost irresistible despair in face of a crushing dead weight of stagnation and superstition. Yet, almost insensibly, India is moving. Gandhi's condemnation of almost all the worst abuses is an encouraging feature, as Rabindranath Tagore's defence of many of them is the reverse. But where the purifying wind that India needs is to come from not even Miss Mayo can suggest.

THE CASE OF THE OPTANTS HUNGARY, RUMANIA, AND THE LEAGUE

By A LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

IT is said that onlookers see most of the game. Where the game is diplomacy, even of the most modern open type, this statement is probably an exaggeration; but once the onlookers are admitted, they do at least see something of it, and if that something happens



M. Titulesco (Rumania)

to be a forensic tussle between age, in the person of Count Apponyi, and agility, as typified by M. Titulesco, the spectacle well repays a pilgrimage to Geneva.

A Hungarian optant is someone theretofore resident in Transylvania who, when by the Treaty of Trianon that territory became Rumanian, opted, i.e. chose, to uproot himself and quit, retaining Hungarian nationality. If he owned any land in Transylvania, the treaty assured him that it

would not be "liquidated." Hungary and Rumania disagree as to the extent of the protection foreseen in the choice of this curious word. Hence that stubborn old tangle, the question of the optants. (It was not easy this September, even for the onlookers, to make head or tail of some of its more technical elements.)

For Rumania, like several other European states, has lately enacted and put into effect far-reaching agrarian reforms, land being acquired by Act of Parliament for distribution among the peasantry. If a rampart against Bolshevism has thus been raised, the pocket of many a once wealthy Rumanian has suffered by the change.

And, the process not having stopped short of the land of Hungarian optants, these latter contend that it amounts to "liquidation" within the meaning of the treaty.

The same treaty further provided for a court, a mixed arbitral tribunal, to award damages against the Rumanian Government in favour of any optant who could show his property to have been liquidated in contravention of the treaty. Of the three judges on this tribunal, one was to be appointed by the Rumanian Government, one by the Hungarian, and the third, the President, a national of one of the ex-neutral countries, was to be chosen by the two Governments in agreement. In the event of a vacancy, the treaty declared that in the last resort the League Council should assist in appointing a deputy-judge.

Before that tribunal at this moment, there are claims filed by certain Hungarian optants, who, in common with so many Rumanians, are the poorer by reason of the agrarian reforms. Rumania, having objected that the tribunal was not competent to examine such cases, the tribunal in January of this year formally rejected her plea. Whereupon Rumania took direct action, by withdrawing her judge from participation in the hearing of that class of case.

Rumania, in addition, invoking Article XI of the Covenant, brought the whole matter to the notice of the Council.

Hungary contented herself with reminding the Council of its "duty" to repair the broken tribunal.

The Council, at its March session, entrusted the problem to Sir Austen Chamberlain as Rapporteur, with his Japanese and Chilean colleagues to help him.

After six months of patient but unrewarded efforts to induce a compromise without calling in the moral influences of Council publicity, the Committee of three on September 19 presented a report, the precise terms of which are well worthy of the attention of any serious student of what it is becoming fashionable to call "the jurisprudence of the Council."

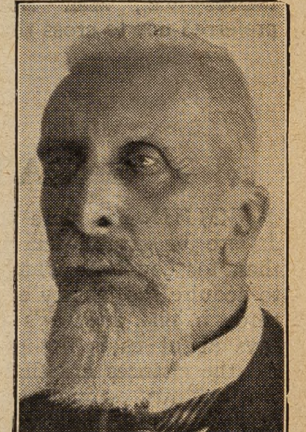
In forming an opinion on a point of law, the Council may take any one of five possible courses. Its members may trust their own unaided judgment; or they may consult the Legal Section of the Secretariat; or they may unofficially consult any other jurists whose opinion they value (as happened in this case); or they may officially constitute and consult a special committee of jurists; or they may officially consult the Permanent Court of International Justice. Even in the last of these cases the Council will remain technically free to disregard the advice it gets.

In a real difficulty there are advantages in being able to rely on an opinion of the Court. But it may take some time to obtain; and if the Council members, including the interested parties, were not united in favouring such a consultation, it is not altogether certain that the Court would respond.

As it was, a number of Europe's leading international jurists being on the spot the jurists were consulted. What they had to advise on was whether the arbitral tribunal should be set working again. Either, as Hungary contends, the Council is legally obliged, with machine-like obedience, to comply with her request and repair the broken tribunal; in which case a refusal would be an evil thing for the reputation either of the League itself or of international law. For here the Council would just as plainly have failed in its manifest duty, as in the so-called Corfu affair it would have failed had it rejected, in deference to Italy, the perfectly competent submission to it by Greece of the dispute arising out of the Yanina outrage. Or else Rumania and, it would seem, the Council's advisers, are right in considering the Council free, in its political discretion, to exercise or not to exercise its power to bring about the appointment of a deputy-judge. And any other view rather seems to involve regarding the ex-neutral States, who early in 1920 acceded to the Covenant, as having thereby in a sense made themselves parties to collateral provisions in all the peace treaties, including those not then in final form! How, in the name of sovereignty, could the Treaty of Trainon impose an absolute "duty" upon the Council?

What the Committee recommends is that the Council do request the parties to "conform" to what a representative group of jurists declare to be their obligations under the treaty. If this means anything, it means that the parties would be invited—not, that is, commanded—to adopt the jurists' interpretation of the treaty in some such way as to give new precision to the law their tribunal is to apply in dealing with the Optant's claims. World public opinion may ask itself whether this would be a reasonable request.

The Committee suggest that, if Rumania refuses to



Count Apponyi (Hungary)

"conform," the Council should comply with Hungary's demand, and repair the tribunal; that if Hungary refuses the Council should refrain from so doing; and that if both refuse the Council may as well be quit of the whole affair. As to these last three suggestions, somewhat prejudicially described by Count Apponyi as "sanctions," it is perhaps even a little doubtful if, in face of the unanimity rule, the Council, with the parties sitting as members, could in fact formally adopt any one of them. And at least two representatives—viz., MM. Stresemann and Scialoja—have preferred not to cross that river till they come to it.

AS OTHERS SEE US GREAT BRITAIN'S DISARMAMENT RECORD

NOTHING is more necessary if real co-operation is to be established within the League of Nations than for countries which meet at Geneva periodically to acquire the faculty of occasionally seeing themselves through one another's eyes. What another country says about us is not of necessity just or reasonable. All the chances are that it may be quite the reverse. But our own estimate of our own attitude may, on the other hand, be equally fallacious.

It is, therefore, worth while sometimes to compare what other people think of us with what we think of ourselves. For that reason the following passages from one of the very able leading articles published in the *Journal de Geneve* during the recent Assembly have a certain value, though to quote them does not mean endorsing the opinions expressed. The writer, a Swiss publicist known throughout Europe, and in no way suffering from an anti-British complex, is discussing what he terms "the stages of disarmament."

In that connection he writes as follows:—

"At the beginning of 1922 Lord Esher proposed a systematic plan for the reduction of armaments, allotting to each country a maximum contingent based on a definite scale. Everyone immediately exclaimed: 'That is not the method to employ. You cannot ask people to disarm unless you give them an effective guarantee of security.' That indeed is the doctrine expressed in Resolution XIV prepared by Lord Cecil and M. de Jouvenel jointly, and adopted by the Assembly of 1922.

"From that resolution sprang in 1923 the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Its aim was to admit of disarmament by setting in effective operation the Articles of the Covenant which promise every State victim of aggression the support of other members of the League. But this treaty adopted by the Fourth Assembly was rejected by the British Government.

"'What you want to organise,' that Government said, 'is not war, but peace. We cannot assume an unconditional engagement to help every other State, if we have no means of settling international disputes except by force.' A perfectly sound argument, from which there emerged the Geneva Protocol.

"The Treaty of Mutual Assistance had been rejected by Great Britain because it did not contain the principle of arbitration. The Protocol was rejected in its turn because it did contain it. 'We cannot,' said the British, 'assume an engagement so tremendous extended to the whole world, but we are ready to accept compulsory arbitration in certain disputes and mutual guarantees in a certain region.' Out of that was born the Locarno agreements.

"It was believed that it would now be possible to get seriously to work on disarmament. The Preparatory Commission thereupon attempted to

Rumania, by demonstratively welcoming the proposals of the Committee of Three, has secured a strong moral position, perhaps in the circumstances stronger even than that of Hungary in standing out for a reference of the legal aspects to the Permanent Court.

Meanwhile, with Count Apponyi lacking, as he says, the authority to accept on the spot a report which would finally extinguish the Optants' hopes of winning preferential treatment, the Council have adjourned the voting till December, when the Hungarian Government will have had time thoughtfully to survey the position.

draw up a draft treaty. The Disarmament Conference would then have only to fill up the blanks by actual figures, and the task would be completed.

"Unfortunately, Great Britain, which had found the arbitration contemplated under the Protocol of Geneva too tremendous, found general disarmament equally too tremendous. Agreement between the British Admiralty and M. Paul-Boncour was found to be impossible. The British Government thought it would be much simpler to reach results on a definite objective, Naval Disarmament, and in a limited Conference. It would be easy then to hold up this result as an example to other countries. Unhappily agreement among three was found to be as difficult as agreement among all—and still more unhappily for Great Britain, Lord Cecil declared publicly and before the assembled world that it was the Admiralty's fault. It is in these circumstances that the Eighth Assembly opened."

It must be repeated that this passage is quoted not with the purpose of endorsing the views expressed. It is inaccurate, for example, to say that Lord Cecil declared that the failure of the Naval Conference was the fault of the British Admiralty. But no one can form an accurate estimate of British policy without taking some account of the effect that policy has on other States with whom it is essential for Great Britain to co-operate. From that point of view and that alone, the leading article in the *Journal de Geneve*, which, as everyone familiar with Geneva must admit, does represent a large body of continental opinion, inspires serious reflection.

"GENEVA, 1927"

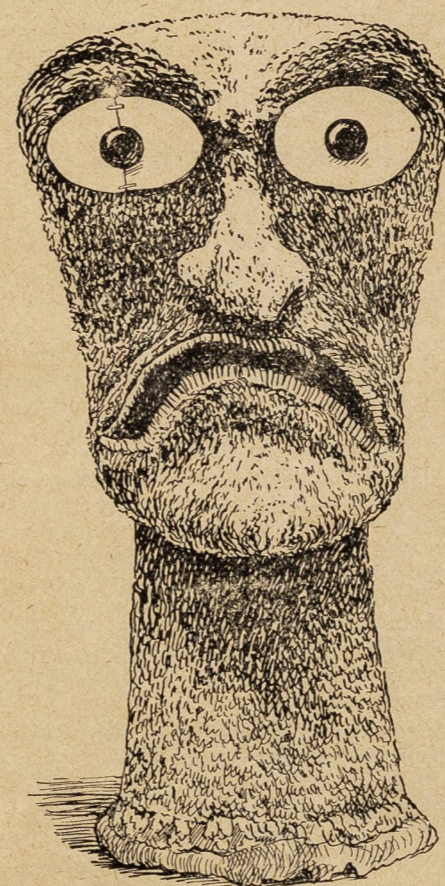
being an account of the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations, by H. Wilson Harris.

WHY the League of Nations Union continues to publish this dreary little brochure year by year it is hard to divine. It is no doubt well intentioned, and presumably some people read it, but again it is hard to divine why. It costs 9d., for which sum a great many things better worth buying could be bought. However, here it is. There are twelve chapters of it and 66 pages. It purports to tell the story of what happened at the Assembly and in its different Commissions. People interested in selling it would probably describe it as indispensable to anyone desiring to get a clear idea of what the Assembly did and was. That means just as much as advertisements usually do. The best that can be said without mendacity is that possibly one person in a hundred who reads it might discover one fact in a hundred that he did not know before. At that it can be taken or left.—H. W. H.

MAKING THE NATIVE WORK CAN FORCED LABOUR BE ABOLISHED?

IT is disappointing to learn that the Governing Body of the I.L.O. has decided at its Berlin meeting to put the question of "forced labour" upon the Agenda of the International Labour Conference for 1929, not 1928. This means that the adoption of an international agreement of some kind on the subject cannot be looked for before 1930 at the earliest.

"Forced labour" has been selected as a problem ripe for international action and urgently in need of it. If a private employer has the power to compel a native to work for him, for his benefit and without the workman's consent, how far removed is that from slavery? Compulsory labour for a private employer is forbidden in most Colonial territories in the world. Yet even in the British Empire in some cases it is obtainable by indirect methods—through high taxation, or restriction of the use of land, or as punishment of "vagrancy." Elsewhere it occurs more often and is obtained more directly;



Study of a Native Who Won't Work

for example, an official publication has stated that in Guatemala the planters have no worry about the supply of labour, since "if there is any difficulty in recruiting labour for picking, the Guatemalan officials force the labourers under threat of conscription in the army or even imprisonment."

What of the power of the Government to compel work? Few would deny it to be an evil. The present Colonial Secretary has formally condemned it. But it may be an evil removable only by gradual steps. The sort of problem to be faced is, how is it to be regulated during the transition towards abolition? What is meant by the "interests of the community?" Is a road or a railway as much a "public necessity" as the

prevention of a famine or the combating of disease? Is the labour to be paid—and at what rate? Should compulsory labour be used when voluntary labour is available? Ought a man called up for labour to be allowed to buy himself off? These are not all the problems, but an illustrative sample.

Good Work by the Experts

When the Assembly in 1924 invited the I.L.O. in so many words to go boldly ahead and tackle forced labour, the I.L.O. was able to set to work at once, thanks to its close collaboration with the Mandates Commission and the Temporary Slavery Commission since first they existed and to the fact that much material had already been collected. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. secured a number of recognised experts to guide it [they include four British members, Sir F. Lugard (Great Britain), Sir Selwyn Fremantle (India), Mr. Taberer (S. Africa) and Mr. Joynt (Malaysia)], and on their advice decided that "forced labour" came first on the programme. This summer the experts met for the first time, and voluminous reports were presented to them by the Office. The conclusions which they reached are of the utmost importance and may be summarised as follows: The Committee of experts declared its opinion

That while the regulation of forced labour was intended to prevent abuses arising under this system, the real goal to aim at was the disappearance of forced labour in all its forms.

That recourse to forced labour should only be had in certain precise conditions which were determined by the Committee.

That no Administration should authorise forced labour for the benefit of private persons or societies, and that where forced labour of this kind existed every effort should be made to put an end to it as soon as possible.

That in no case should women, children, aged or medically unfit persons be subjected to it.

That forced labour should always be remunerated except in certain cases of emergency or in regard to small local work in the villages.

That the normal working hours should not exceed eight per day or forty-eight per week.

A 60-Days' Limit

Undoubtedly the most important decision, adopted by a majority of votes, was that which stipulated that the duration of forced labour for an individual should not exceed 60 days per annum, except in cases where the natives were obliged to go long distances in order to carry out the work, when the duration could be as long as six months.

As regards compulsory cultivation of the land, the Committee considered that the only form of compulsion which should be authorised was the cultivation of the land in order to prevent famine or a dearth of foodstuffs.

The Committee adopted an "abolition" resolution, since endorsed by the Governing Body, in the following terms:—

"That, in the opinion of this Committee, all forced labour should cease at the earliest possible moment, and the Committee therefore recommends that it should be the aim of all administrations to hasten the time when forced labour of any nature shall cease to be imposed."

There is, therefore, good reason for hoping that the Conference will bring into existence an international standard for the temporary regulation of forced labour, pending its complete disappearance.

BOOKS WORTH READING

A GERMAN ON EUROPE

The European Situation. By A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. (Yale University Press.)

Mr. A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy has evidently made a careful study of what appeals to American lecture goers. His book has some fine sounding philosophical theories about Europe as an entity. It is well peppered with quotations from the Bible and Goethe, and the language is forcible and colloquial. But in printed form and as a serious contribution to history or political thought it has several defects. Firstly, the English, though it does credit to a foreigner, is unusual and in places obscure.

What, for instance, is the meaning of: "Nobody could expect the experience of two thousand years of the history of Europe to resign its task as adviser to every Government of a civilised country without a struggle?" How can we take seriously a writer who talks about Somaliland (he means Jubaland) as if it were part of South Africa.

As a German he is probably bound to try to explain away the violence of the ex-Kaiser's marginal notes in the published State documents, and even to fall into the familiar goose-step of "William II strove for peace"—a less than half-truth, the more damaging to him because he only strove when the war, which was the direct consequence of his life's work, became inevitable. More plausible is the assertion that the German Foreign Office under Holstein often held back important documents from the Imperial eye. But then we know from Ludwig for what a short time each day that eye was available.

But that part of Herr Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's work on which he seems to have lavished the most care is contained in the two chapters which he has devoted to Africa. He explains the importance of Africa by saying that Europe should, and will eventually, be forced to clear out of Asia. But "Africa," he says, "this is another matter. A place in the sun, and a spacious one to bathe our frozen old body in. . . . Surely a dangerous phrase for a German Republican to use! Then after a preliminary attack on Great Britain's position in the Sudan and a misrepresentation of the negotiations with Italy and Abyssinia, leading up to the exchange of notes over the Lake Tsana water supply, he settles down to explain by means of a rather bewildering comparison between the speeches of Mr. Ormsby Gore, Sir John Chancellor, and the Bishop of Sierra Leone, that what is needed in Africa is a new method of treating the native races based on the principles of the mandate, "putting the African first."

On the whole, the book only proves that what may be acceptable to an American audience is quite unsuitable to a European reader.—N. L.

REAL PEOPLE

Topsey Turvey. By Vernon Bartlett. (Constable. 10s.)

T. P. O'Connor, M.P., holds that this book ought to be printed in letters of gold by the League of Nations. For our part, we should be sorry to see the second edition, which is now being printed, appear in gold, as it would then be definitely beyond most people's means, but we agree with the sentiment, which is that all the world ought to read the book. And this "ought" is not used in the same sense as the "ought" in, say, the phrase: "Everybody ought to read the Treaty of Versailles." When we say that everybody ought to read "Topsey Turvey," we mean that the book is full of human stuff, stuff that can be understood and shared by everybody; and if it be part of an ordinary man's make-up—as we believe it is—to try and know himself, why, then, in

that sense, he ought to read this book, for in it there are true pictures of men and women—and of how many books can that be said with any truth?

Mr. Bartlett is essentially a humanist. We have most of us read about, and some of us have sat through lectures on, international conferences. We have heard of the resolutions passed, and their "probable effect upon public opinion." But which of us—to take one small example—has considered the international conference from the point of view of the innkeeper or the restaurant manager who has to house and feed the delegates? Most of us have heard of the Austrian loan, and of the fate of Austria; but have we seen the problem from the point of view of, say, the first violinist in the orchestra of a Viennese café, or of his sister, a struggling typist? Spun round such figures as these (who, after all, are the human material but for whom none of these problems would arise) are the comedies and tragedies of human life. If you want to know about the politics and economics of international post-war problems, read the blue books and the green books and all the other coloured books. If you want to see these problems stated in terms of men and women—read "Topsey Turvey," by Vernon Bartlett (gaily illustrated by D. Nachshen), price 10s., and not a penny too much! —J.E.

WORKING TOGETHER

Current International Co-operation. By Manley O. Hudson. (Obtainable on loan from the Library, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.)

"We people of the War," wrote the late Gertrude Bell, "can never return to complete sanity. The shock has been too great for us." That is one side of the picture, the negative one. We see the other, the positive side, in this timely book on international co-operation by an authority on international law, who has been an active member of the League Secretariat, and, as an American, has also the advantage of being able to view the League from outside. For the key to the present and the future is just this international co-operation, something which has come to stay because it is an inevitable attempt to adapt a new world-society to the far-reaching changes already introduced by the scientific thought and inventions of half a century. And it is because the League rests upon co-operation, already rooted in the past, that the author is firmly convinced of the great part it is to play in international affairs.

The book consists of four lectures, on international co-operation before the war, on the rôle of the League, the rôle of the Court in world society and on the current development of international law. It is admirably clear and full of facts, and at the end of each lecture includes a useful list of books for further reading.

The author's firm belief in the future of the League and the Court carries all the more weight because he is not afraid of plain speaking about what seem to him their present limitations. A few examples may be given. People, he says, sometimes talk about the League as if it had a definite personality; but the League is a new method of co-operation, and methods do not have attitudes, nor does a way of business formulate judgments. Again, people are apt to oversimplify international problems, and suppose the course of justice is clear and unmistakable. But experience (e.g., the Mosul case) shows that it is often necessary to try many expedients before any settlement can be reached. Prof. Hudson points out that an adequate Court will not directly obviate a resort to war; "the truth seems to be that serious international differences

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"I am extremely pleased with the (Italian) Course. I found it of the greatest possible service to me during a recent visit to Italy." (I. T. 127.)

"I have only been learning German for four months; now I can not only read it, but also speak it well." (G. M. 148.)

"I write to express my entire satisfaction with the course of instruction in French given by the Pelman Institute. Travelling in France last summer, I found the lessons of the greatest use." (P. 581.)

"I have so enjoyed my Spanish Course, and everyone agrees how well I have progressed. Every moment of my work has been pleasure." (S. H. 334.)

"I have found your system of teaching Italian so excellent that I am recommending it to people here." (I. C. 104.)

"I am delighted with the progress I have made. I think the (German) Course is splendid. . . . I have recommended your Course to my friends, as I think it is the simplest way of learning and the most delightful." (G. C. 268.)

"Having now finished your French Course, I wish to thank you for the great progress I have made. I think your lessons are excellent." (O. 236.)

"I am very pleased with what I have learnt. I wrote a long letter lately to a friend who had been learning Italian for nearly three years. She was astounded at my fluency—after my six months' Pelman." (I. G. 134.)

"I am thoroughly satisfied with my progress in Spanish. Your method of teaching enables one to learn new words, idioms, and grammar with the least possible effort. It will certainly afford me much pleasure to recommend your course to any of my friends who contemplate the study of foreign languages." (S. A. 207.)

"I am quite satisfied with the progress I have made, and should like to congratulate the Pelman Institute on their novel way of teaching languages. It is far more interesting than the old way." (T. 569.)

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cannot be pressed into legal equations." Finally, he exposes current misunderstandings about "codification" of international law, which may mean at least three things: A global re-statement of existing international law, the unification of the national laws of various countries, and wholly new international legislation. The desire for haste in these matters is unlikely to be gratified. The greatest codification effort of modern times, resulting in the German Civil Code, occupied many jurists for a generation.—M.F.

LAW FOR AMUSEMENT

The British Yearbook of International Law. (Oxford University Press, 16s. net.)—Law interests a good many people besides lawyers. That is a reflection inspired at least once a year by that invaluable annual "The British Yearbook of International Law." A good deal of it is, of course, technical, but a good deal always bears on immediate problems of the day in the relationships between nations. In this year's volume just prominence is given to questions of maritime law in time of war, in which this country has a very vital interest. Mr. H. W. Malkin, of the Foreign Office, for example, tells for the first time the story of how the British acceptance of the principle that, apart from recognised contraband of war, a neutral flag shall protect enemy goods and neutral goods shall be protected even under an enemy flag, was only conceded (by the Declaration of Paris in 1856) in return for the abolition of privateering—which the United States has never formally agreed to even now. Two other articles, by Mr. O. C. Mootham, on "The Doctrine of Continuous Voyage," and by Prof. Pearce Higgins, on "Retaliation in Naval Warfare," deal with other aspects of the same subject, and Mr. W. E. Beckett discusses the "Lotus" case, on which the Permanent Court recently gave judgment. Essentially a book to buy or borrow.—H.W.H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Self Legislated Obligations. By John Grier Hibben. (Harvard University Press. 4s. 6d. nett.)

India To-morrow. By Khub Dekhta Age. (Milford. 3s. 6d. nett.)

The World-Wide Call. By H. P. Thompson. (Student Christian Movement. 4s. nett.)

Kenya from Within. By W. McGregor Ross. (Allen and Unwin. 18s. nett.)

READERS' VIEWS

"GENTLEMEN, THE PRESIDENT"

SIR,—It has occurred to me that, when International lunches or dinners are given at Geneva, or elsewhere, in connection with the League of Nations, or societies associated therewith, it would be an appropriate and pleasant feature if the Chairman were to give, before the speeches, the toast of the President of the Assembly or possibly, if that were not in session, the President of the Council. If this became the custom it would tend to emphasise the fact that, while we all had individual loyalties to a sovereign, or to the President of a Republic, yet there was one personality who stood as a symbol of an organisation to which every Nation could give its allegiance.—Yours, etc.,

Wolverhampton, GEOFFREY LE M. MANDER.
October 4.

GIFTS TO THE LEAGUE

SIR,—The furnishing of the new League Headquarters presents a delightful opportunity to the L.N.U.

If we could get a list of the furniture required how easy it would be to provide it; for branches could,

without trouble, give according to their size; some a chair, some a table each, some a mat, an inkstand or whatnot, and the branch name could be on each gift in an appropriate manner; by this means we could have a personal interest in the actual mechanism of the League, and 3d. or 6d. per member would suffice.

Is my suggestion any good?—Yours, etc.,

Cambridge, ALFRED J. WINSHIP.
October 5.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE LEAGUE

By Prof. A. J. GRANT

(Prof. Grant, of Leeds University, is at present spending a year in New Zealand.)

DURING a stay extending over some eight months in New Zealand, one of my chief interests has been to inquire into the attitude of this most distant of the Dominions to the League and its policy. New Zealand is in every way extremely English and there is, I think, no very marked difference between feeling here and feeling at home. I have tried in vain to discover any decided opposition. I spoke once to "The Canterbury Officers Club" on the subject. We had a pleasant discussion but there was no outspoken disapproval of the League. I have encountered on several occasions the feeling that the initiative in international affairs must lie with Great Britain, and that New Zealand can but follow her lead. I have always urged that the influence of the Dominions on the policy of the mother country is now so great that it is of the utmost importance that New Zealand should express herself favourably to a courageous and thorough application of a League policy.

I have spoken on various occasions about the League and its work. There are some commonplaces which have to be repeated constantly: that the League has not set up any super-State; that the idea of the British Fleet being ordered about by a group of rival or even of enemy powers is the nightmare of people who have not read the Covenant; that the League is not an institution for interfering in every dispute and setting everything right the world over. But audiences generally are as well informed as those of the Mother Country.

The most interesting opportunity of co-operating in the work of the Dominion League of Nations Union presented itself when I was asked to take part in a deputation to the Houses of Parliament and to urge on them the desirability of forming a non-party committee, such as exists at Westminster, for watching all that concerns the League. Professor Fisher, of Dunedin, the chairman of the Union, and the Rev. Dr. Gibb were the other speakers. There were a good attendance of members and the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. J. G. Coates, was among them. It is believed that action will be taken in accordance with the suggestions of the deputation.

There is much that is encouraging in New Zealand to those who accept the League programme for the organisation of a world order; but clearly also there is a wide opening for the work of the Union.

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

THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME

THINGS seem at last to be moving in the matter of the League's new buildings. The delays have been annoying and the causes of them a little odd. It will be remembered that the League in the course of last year initiated a competition among architects of all States Members of the League, the result being the submission of 377 plans. Certain conditions were, of course, attached to the competition, the most important being that the cost of the building should be kept within the limits laid down by the vote of the Assembly, namely, 13,500,000 Swiss francs, or roughly £540,000. When the plans were examined by the jury of architects appointed for the purpose, those most meritorious were arranged in three classes of nine each, but the jury felt unable to select any single plan out of the first class as being so distinctly superior as to entitle it to the first prize. It contented itself with recording its opinion that any of the architects in the first class would, if given the commission, produce a suitable building.

More Money Wanted

The Eighth Assembly, faced with this report, found itself in something of a difficulty. Was it to initiate a new competition? Was it to ask the jury of architects to try once more to choose one candidate out of the first nine? Or was it to take what might be the more practical course of appointing a small committee of plain ordinary individuals from among Assembly delegates and commissioning them to get ahead with the job?

All these questions had to be considered by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, to which the problem was in due course referred. The Fourth Committee placed it in the hands of a sub-Committee of five, who rapidly came to the conclusion that the first thing to do was to get authority to spend more on the buildings than the Assembly had originally contemplated, since it became obvious on examination that the plans which seemed most satisfactory would, if actually executed, run into far more than 13,500,000 francs originally voted. Fortunately, no one made trouble about that. The limit is now fixed at 19,500,000 francs (£780,000), and it is calculated that by the time all the bills fall due to be paid, practically the whole of that sum will have become available if there is diverted to the building fund the surplus regularly realised each year on the League's general budget.

The Dutch and the Swiss

This proposal was approved by the Fourth Committee and presented to the Assembly on its behalf by the British delegate, Sir Edward Hilton Young, but before it was adopted an instructive little interchange of views took place. The proposal, apart from the increase in cost (and it may be observed that even now there is to be spent on the League's Assembly Hall and new Secretariat buildings less than some English provincial cities spend on the extensions of their municipal offices), provided that a new Committee of five should select from among the nine candidates placed in the first class one architect to whom the commission for the buildings should be entrusted, not necessarily on the basis of the plan he had actually submitted for the competition. The Dutch delegation, however, proved to be extremely anxious that the choice should be made not from among the first nine, but from the first twenty-seven. Sir Edward Hilton Young contested the suggestion, pointing out that it was quite illogical, because if the jury of architects could not be trusted to have picked out the best nine candidates, it could not be trusted to have picked out the best twenty-seven, and that, therefore, the choice ought to be made from the whole 377 candidates, which was manifestly impossible.

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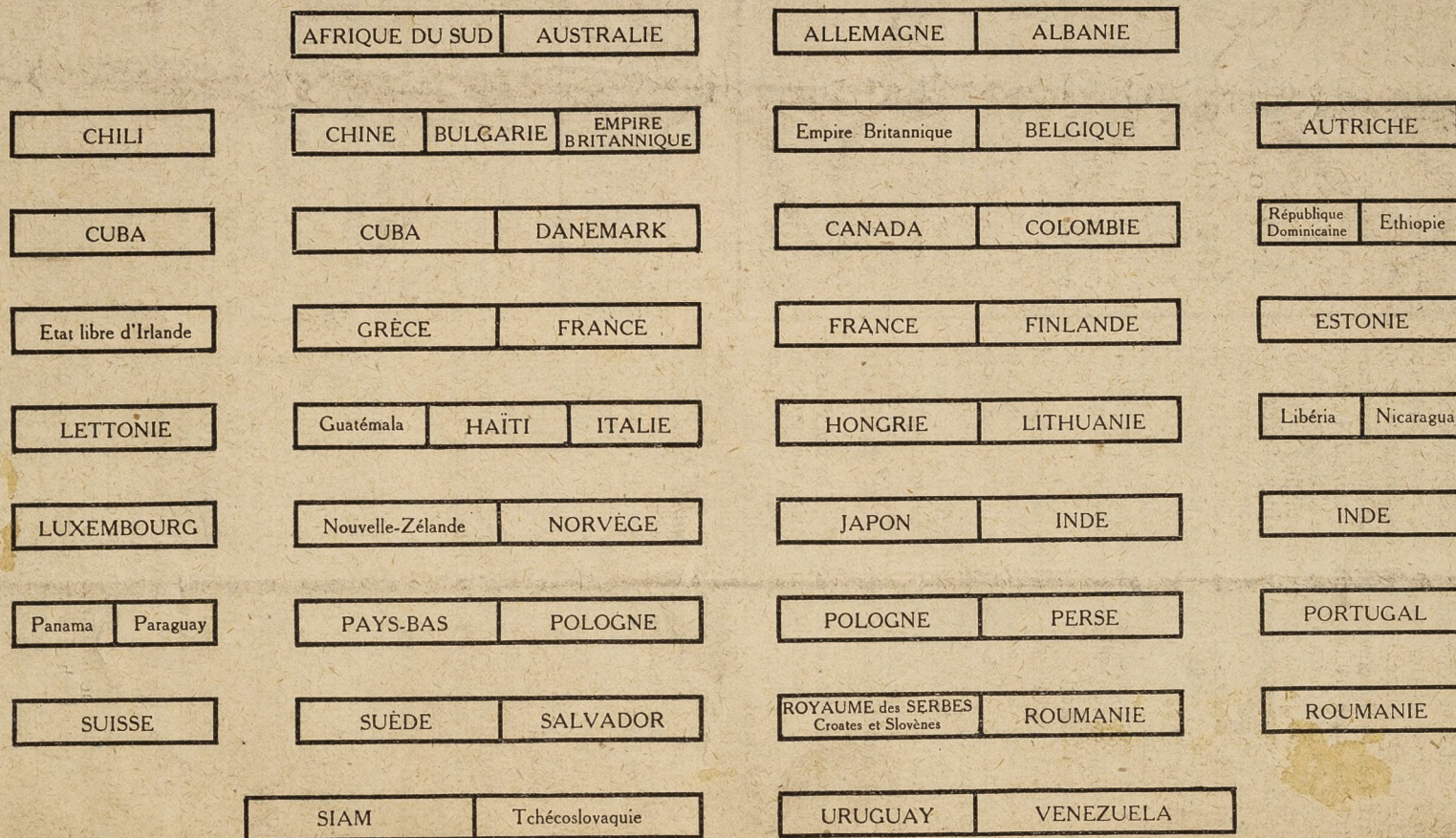
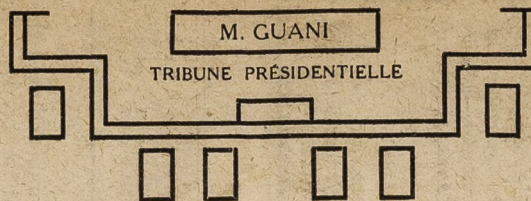
MISCELLANEOUS

SONG WITH CHORUS (dedicated to the League of Nations) "A CALL TO THE NATIONS." Words and Music by H. W. Valentine. Copies from J. H. LARWAY, 14, Wells Street, Oxford Street, London, W., and H. WRIGHT GREAVES, Exchange Arcade, Manchester, Price 2s.

M. Motta, the President of Switzerland, endorsed this contention in a vigorous speech, and the proposal, as submitted, was finally adopted. It was observed with interest by those who knew the facts that while Switzerland has a candidate in the first nine, Holland has none in the first nine, but three in the second eighteen.

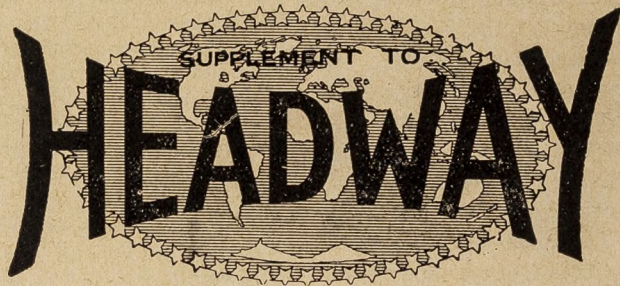
The building project, however, is likely to be more extensive than the Assembly at first contemplated, for while the meetings were in progress, there was received (as already recorded in HEADWAY) the offer of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., to present the sum of £400,000 for the erection and endowment of a research library. How much of this sum will go to the construction of the building and how much be reserved to provide an annual endowment fund remains to be considered. The decision, indeed, will probably not be taken until the leading librarians of the world have been consulted, and a study has been made of the best library buildings extant, most of which appear to be in America. The main fact, however, about the whole business is that there is no longer any need, as it was feared might be the case, to bring the building project before the Ninth Assembly before any start could be made. The Committee now appointed, of which Sir Edward Hilton Young is a member, has full authority to select an architect and approve his plans and to get the work of construction actually put in hand. Even so, it may be doubted whether the building will be sufficiently advanced for the Assembly of 1930 to be held there.

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY HALL



This Plan, representing the seating of the delegates in the Assembly Hall, is reproduced in response to many requests from readers desiring to arrange model Assemblies. The seats follow the alphabetical order of the names of the countries in French. Allemagne is, of course, Germany, and Pays-Bas is Holland; Lettonie is Latvia, Ethiopie is Abyssinia, and Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes, is Jugoslavia.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



NOVEMBER, 1927

A CALL TO ACTION

AT the close of the special meeting of the General Council on October 21, when the Council had adopted Lord Cecil's proposals for ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT to bring about "Disarmament through Security, and Security through Arbitration," and when the Council had likewise accepted Professor Gilbert Murray's proposals for ACTION BY THE UNION, Mr. Worsley convinced the Council that the indispensable condition of success was ACTION BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE UNION. In the following words, he urged the personal responsibility of every one of us to GET OUR FRIENDS TO JOIN THE UNION and to VOTE only for those Parliamentary candidates (of whatever party) who support its policy.

"This is the stage of the proceedings at which, our leaders having delivered their souls, we take charge. We, the rank and file, all of us, and each one of us—we now take charge of these proceedings. This resolution is ours; it is our declaration of faith and courage; it is our challenge to our leaders; they challenge us by their high-spirited lead; this resolution is our answer. They say to us: Here is the plan of campaign. Will you fight or are you doubtful? Shall we make terms with the God of War? We say: The difficulties are very great, but by the Grace of God we will surmount them, and we will never make terms with the God of War.

"Now I want to occupy a minute with a caution, if you will allow me to be so bold, and it is addressed largely to those who will speak for the Union—not the big speakers (I dare not caution them), but the little speakers like myself. There are, I think, two dangers in front of us. One is that we may under-emphasise the difficulties of the disarmament problem. That I think is a real and obvious danger, that we may under-emphasise the important difficulties and get into a loose habit, rather a loosely rhetorical habit, of suggesting that all these difficulties can vanish if everybody has enough goodwill. They cannot. They are real, practical difficulties which have to be tackled in a real and practical way, and I should not like speakers from the League of Nations Union to make the grave mistake of under-emphasising the difficulties.

"The other mistake is of over-emphasising them to such an extent that our courage flies away. We must realise the extraordinary nature of the dangers and their extraordinary complexity; but we must realise,

also, that with extraordinary courage they may be surmounted. Therefore may we avoid the two difficulties, so that our speakers on Disarmament have a substantial foundation of fact and rhetoric coming in at the last, if necessary.

"The expression is used in this resolution 'before it is too late,' and you will have noticed the same expression in the resolution moved by Lord Cecil. He has given you one interpretation of that expression. There is another. Can it be too late? Is it possible that Europe may be convulsed by another war that the sons of dead fathers, sacrificed on the bloody altar of war thirteen years ago, may themselves be so sacrificed? Is it possible, is it conceivable, that the forlorn figure of humanity staggering through the centuries from fear to hope, from disaster to recovery, may indeed topple over the edge of the pit into black darkness? Is it conceivable? Well we had better face the facts. It is not only conceivable, it is possible. Many years ago Lord Grey of Fallodon used these words: 'Civilisation must learn or perish.' Now Lord Grey of Fallodon is not in the habit of exaggerating. He means what he says, and he said 'Civilisation must learn or perish.' He might have said 'Civilisation must learn or suffer a quite serious set-back,' but he did not say that. He might have said 'Civilisation must learn or the consequences will be quite unpleasant, very unpleasant,' but he did not say that. He said 'Civilisation must learn or perish,' and when he said that he meant it. He was stating a fact, in so far as one can state a fact about the future.

"Now let Lord Grey's words be my concluding words. I appeal to all members of the Union who are here, north, south, east and west, to be up and doing during the next six months on behalf of this reasoned campaign for the reduction and limitation of armaments through international agreement, and I ask them to make clear their thanks to and their loyalty to their leaders, and their determination to do their part."

The following resolution was carried by acclamation:—

THE GENERAL COUNCIL,

CONFIDENT THAT NOT ONLY THE ORGANISED EFFORT OF THE UNION, BUT ALSO THE UNFLINCHING ZEAL OF ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, IS REQUIRED TO EFFECT THE NECESSARY CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE,

CALLS UPON ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNION INDIVIDUALLY TO SEIZE EVERY OPPORTUNITY OF WINNING SUPPORTERS FOR THIS POLICY.

AT HEADQUARTERS

LORD CECIL resigned from the Cabinet in order to employ all his energies in arousing public opinion to the fact that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world. The resources of the Union are being concentrated on this work, which is, after all, only the continuation of that which has passed, and, it is to be hoped, that which is to come. Public meetings, publicity, women's organisations, labour organisations and the churches are all assisting in this work. The main objective of the Union is to get rid of the institution of war and to substitute for it the peaceful settlement of disputes by arbitration. This winter we are concentrating on the work of urging the principles of arbitration through security, and security through a limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement. Preparation for this work has been largely completed and the first public effort was a special meeting of the General Council on October 21, at which Lord Cecil in a closely reasoned speech, commended to the Council four Resolutions which have by now been widely circulated. These Resolutions were carried with striking unanimity by a large and enthusiastic gathering. How individual members can help in this great work was admirably shown in the speech of Mr. Herbert Worsley which appears on the previous page. Another Resolution moved by our Chairman, and seconded by Lord Queenborough, is of great importance. It runs as follows:—

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Welcomes the resolutions passed by the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations with a view to initiating a general reduction of the armaments of all nations, an extension of the practice of arbitration and an increase of security; and notes with satisfaction the part taken by H.M. Government in bringing about unanimous adoption of the resolutions.

The next step is the great Queen's Hall meeting, which will have taken place by the time this issue of HEADWAY is published. The appearance of Mr. Lloyd George, Mrs. Philip Snowden and Mr. Duff Cooper on the same platform speaking on Disarmament, should give a considerable amount of impetus to the movement.

The arrangements for the Conference on the work of the recent international Economic Conference proceed apace. This Conference will be held in the Council Chamber, Guildhall, on December 13 and 14. There will be a welcome by the Lord Mayor of London and Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade. The first day's speakers include Sir Alan Anderson and Mr. Philip Snowden. On Wednesday Sir Arthur Salter will speak on the Commerce Committee's recommendations, with Mr. Percy MacKinnon, Chairman of Lloyds Bank, in the Chair. The last day's proceedings will take place in the Guildhall, when Sir Daniel Hall and Mr. A. V. Alexander will speak on Agriculture, with Sir Atul Chatterjee in the chair. The final afternoon will be devoted to a public meeting on Economics and World Peace in the Guildhall, at which the Lord Mayor of London will preside and leading speakers of the three political parties will take part.

Applications for tickets to attend the Conference should be sent to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Separate application should be made for tickets to attend the Public Meeting.

BULGARIAN HOSPITALITY

THE Executive Committee, the Representative Council and the Minorities Committee of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies met in Sofia from October 7 to 11. Some sixteen national societies were represented, and the level of the discussions, as well as the tone in which they were conducted, showed that the Federation has lost nothing either in vitality or in its sense of responsibility. On the Executive Committee, the League of Nations Union was represented by Sir Willoughby Dickinson and Mr. Gwilym Davies (representing Mr. David Davies), and to the Council the Union's delegates were Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Lady Gladstone and Sir Walter Napier, with Sir George Paish as technical adviser on economic matters.

The first business of the Council (which sat under the chairmanship of M. Aulard, of France) was to elect a President of the Federation for 1928. On the proposal of the British League of Nations Union, Count Bernstorff, of Germany, was unanimously elected. Count Bernstorff, however, who was communicated with by telegram, found himself reluctantly compelled to refuse the Presidency owing to his official position on the League's Preparatory Disarmament Commission. The Council therefore unanimously elected one of the Vice-Presidents, M. Dembinski, of Poland, as President for 1928.

Perhaps the most important business done by the Council was the decision to hold an Economic Conference, probably at Whitsuntide, 1928. At the invitation of the Czechoslovakian Society, the Conference will be held at Prague, and its object will be to give publicity and support to the report of the World Economic Conference, and to consider what particular measures can be taken to give effect to its resolutions. The resolutions passed by the Federation's Conference, to which it is proposed to invite representatives of other bodies, will be submitted for adoption to the XIIth Plenary Congress of the Federation, which will be meeting at The Hague probably in June.

At the instance of the League of Nations Union a discussion took place on the suppression of the Boy Scouts movement in Italy, and as a result of the discussion, the Italian delegate undertook to communicate with the headquarters of the Balilla (the body that has absorbed the Scouts) and draw their attention to the necessity of instructing the boys in the principles of international solidarity and the League of Nations.

The Minorities Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Willoughby Dickinson, discussed—not for the first time—the vexed question of the treatment of the German-speaking people in the region of the Upper Adige, and finally agreed on a resolution expressing confidence that both parties would be able to reach an agreement. The Committee also decided to draw the attention of the Council of the League to an Assembly resolution expressing the hope that States, not bound by the Minority Treaties, would nevertheless be just and tolerant to their minorities.

It remains to say a word of the wonderful reception accorded to the delegates by the Bulgarian League of Nations Society and the Bulgarian Government. The official welcome took the form of a solemn opening of the Council (addressed among others by the Prime Minister of Bulgaria) a luncheon given by the Bulgarian Society, an invitation to the opera (where a charming performance of Gluck's "Orpheus" was given in Bulgarian), a dinner given by the Prime Minister (at which the Bulgarian Foreign Minister delivered an important speech), and a service at the Alexandre Nevsky, at which special prayers were offered and a special sermon preached on the League of Nations.

Musical People in the Park

One fine Sunday the Shipley Branch organised an open-air meeting in the park. Dozens of people were in the park—but few came to listen. Next time an open-air meeting was held, adopting the suggestion of one of our supporters, they made it a community singing meeting and engaged a well-known and actively gesticulating local conductor. Results:—(a) summer weather at its best together with ensuing floods, but a large crowd; (b) fifty new members enrolled.

Branches finding difficulty in collecting good crowds for either indoor or outdoor meetings might well adopt this idea. Any kind of entertainment, musical or otherwise, will attract a crowd, and having attracted a crowd, it is not difficult to make them stay and listen to some sensible talk on the League and its work. Initiative in this respect usually reaps a rich harvest.

An Excellent Piece of Cake

Mr. F. W. Parrott, Honorary Secretary of the Kirkby Stephen Branch, has recently produced an excellent little play entitled "Disarmament, or How the Cake was Shared." This play, which contains some 22 characters, might be found suitable for Branches who are considering including a dramatic enterprise in their winter programme.

Copies at 7d. each may be obtained from Messrs. J. W. Braithwaite & Sons, Printers and Publishers, Kirkby Stephen, Penrith, or from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

The Dinner Bell

One of our regional representatives in the Midlands has come to the conclusion, in the course of his multifarious peregrinations, that more works' branches of the Union should be set up. In this respect Bournville takes the lead, and lunch-hour meetings, and meetings just after knocking-off time, are frequently arranged. The formation of many more factory branches throughout the country would prove a great stimulus to our movement. In such branches, moreover, the enrolment of new members and renewal subscriptions are an easy task if the secretary is allowed to use some small part of his working time for the purpose.

Organising lunch-hour meetings, and forming works' branches is not an easy task. But by dint of some years of perseverance much can be achieved.

A Warning

Branch Secretaries and officials of the Union, particularly in the London area, are requested to note that a man giving the name of "Williams" has recently visited the Secretary of one of our branches, purporting to be an official of the League of Nations Union.

On these grounds he has been soliciting loans of money. As he may visit other branches with the same object in view, honorary Secretaries and others are requested to beware, as this is an old confidence trick which is, unfortunately, only too common.

Magnetic Geneva

An excellent article, "The Spirit of Geneva," by the Rev. Basil Martin, M.A., appeared in a recent issue of *The Inquirer*. Mr. Martin dealt with the meetings of the Geneva Institute of International Relations in striking style, describing the Conference and the impressions it made upon its 300 members. An expression of public appreciation of the Geneva Institute of International Relations such as this is yet another illustration of the growing popularity of the Institute.

It is to be hoped that next year an even greater number will avail themselves of the valuable opportunity of attending the Institute, absorbing the League atmosphere and learning more about its machinery.

Winter Work at Hampstead

A winter course of six lectures has been arranged by the Hampstead, West Hampstead and St. John's Wood branches. Four of these lectures will deal with the international situation in France, Germany, Italy and the United States of America, with special reference to their attitude to the League of Nations; of the remaining two, one will be devoted to India and the other to the History of the League. The series started October 20, and will end on March 15, 1928. Full particulars can be obtained from Miss H. Hammond, Flat No. 3, 95, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.3. Season tickets may be obtained for this course at a cost of 5s.

The Hampstead Garden Suburb branch are following up their successful lecture course of last winter on the Attitude of Nations to World Problems, with a further course on British Empire policy and the League of Nations. There will be a series of lectures on the great problems of the Empire, introduced by famous speakers, including Norman Angell, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir George Paish, Lord Meston, Mrs. Swanwick, John H. Harris, Miss Freda White, Professor Darnley Naylor, and others.

These lectures, which commenced on October 6, will be given at Hampstead Garden Suburb Institute on alternate Thursday evenings throughout the winter.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. E. C. Elsmore, 44, Meadway, N.W.11, will be pleased to give particulars to any readers who would like to attend a complete course on special lectures. A nominal charge of 10s. 6d. is being made for the complete course.

Piccadilly to Colombo

International friendships, the threads which go to make the ropes of co-operation, are perhaps too few. Exchanges of ideas between correspondents of different nationalities are obviously of great value. Mr. F. G. Perera, of 42, Mayfield Road, Kotahera, Colombo, Ceylon, is anxious to find a young man in England who would correspond with him on general topics. This suggestion may appeal to some of our readers. Inquiries should be addressed to the Overseas Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Twenty Minutes of League

We learn that fifteen to twenty minutes of each meeting of the Stansted Adult School are being devoted to discussion and consideration of the current activities of the League. This example might well be followed by other Adult Schools.

Branch Organisation

A week-end Conference on Branch Organisation was held on October 1st-3rd at Guessem's Court, Welwyn Garden City, arranged by the Branches' Organisation Committee of the London Federation of the League of Nations Union.

Mr. G. A. Innes gave a survey of the work in the London area, and Mr. Percy Barton described in considerable detail the general organisation of the work of the North Hackney Branch.

A paper on "The Churches and the Union" was read by Mr. S. W. T. Cole, and Miss Pye, of the North Hackney Youth Section, gave an excellent address on "What our Younger Members are doing."

It was generally agreed that the Conference was both useful and enjoyable, and suggestions were made for a similar Conference next year.

An Autumn Conference

The London Sunday School Society is holding an Autumn Conference on Saturday, November 19th, at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2, at 4 p.m., when Professor Gilbert Murray will address a public meeting on The Teaching of Disarmament. At 7.30 p.m. Mr. M. L. Jacks, Headmaster of Mill Hill School, will

also deliver an address. The Rev. Walter Long will be in the chair.

Tickets are obtainable free of charge, but must be secured before November 17th from Mr. A. S. Noel, 42, Woodcott Road, E.11.

In Scotland

Interesting meetings have been held recently in Glasgow. On October 7th, on his way to speak at the Scottish Autumn School at Dunblane, Professor Gilbert Murray was entertained in Glasgow to luncheon by the Glasgow Branch of the League of Nations Union. There was a representative gathering of speakers and members of the Council.

On Monday, October 17th, Glasgow was favoured by a visit from Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations. Sir Arthur spoke at a luncheon at which over 200 were present, taking, by special request, "Trade Barriers" as his subject. Sir Arthur's speech was most enthusiastically received, and, as a result of this meeting, members from the business community of Glasgow have been recruited. In the evening Sir Arthur addressed an open meeting organised by the Royal Scottish Philosophical Society, and later broadcast a short talk on "Europe's recovery—Nine years after the war."

ODTAA

The Sheringham Branch has recently adopted the system of ward collection of subscription. The enrolment of a body of collectors led to the idea of a house-to-house canvass. And this again led to a challenge being sent to the neighbouring Cromer Branch to see which branch could obtain the most new members by means of such a canvass during the coming winter. The next D.T. is that other branches should do likewise.

London Junior Branch Meeting

A very delightful meeting of representatives of London Junior Branches was held at the Central Y.M.C.A. on October 6. Mrs. William Garnett received the delegates at 5.30 p.m., and after tea accounts were given by a number of Branches of the activities on which they are engaged, including meetings, lectures, study circles, correspondence with foreign children, essay competitions, model I.L.O. Conferences, and Assemblies, and even League Exhibitions.

Following this Captain Flint, the chairman, gave a short sketch of the arrangements in hand for the Festival of Youth, 1928, and the meeting closed with a most interesting address by Dr. Leslie Burgin.

Parish Magazines

The October issue of the Frimley Parish Magazine contained an excellent article on the work, history and activities of the League of Nations Union. It has been suggested to us that many Rectors and Vicars might well follow the example of the Rector of Frimley and print articles on the League and the Union in their magazines, especially in parishes where the Churches are Corporate Members of the Union. Parish magazines usually have a wide circulation, and it is difficult to imagine any better channel through which League of Nations Union information could be circulated.

Books and Borrowers

Although there is an ever-growing demand amongst members of the Union for books, the requests come mainly from individuals. Four hundred new borrowers have availed themselves of the lending library this year, while the total number of books issued to date is 4,700. We would emphasize the privileges to branches of borrowing 30 books at a time for three months, and to study circles of borrowing up to a dozen copies of any particular book on League activities, which they may be studying. The printed catalogue and supplement (price 6d.) is a good investment.

The Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed the Council's Vote for 1927:

Billingham, Crediton, Cromer, Cropredy, Dalby, East Hendred, Grasmere, Hindhead, Horndean, Hornsea, Hull Municipal Training College, Kempsey, Leatherhead, Letchworth, Littlehampton, Malmesbury, Malvern, Rottingdean, Sidmouth, Topsham, Torquay, Windermere, York, Allonby, Ambleside, Benson, Bentham, Dedham, Earls Colne, Felstead, Hornchurch, Kelvedon, Kirkby Stephen, Little Baddow, Longridge, Thaxted, Theydon Bois, Tiptree, Tunstall, Upminster, Wallingford, Witham, Wigton.

NOTES FROM WALES

The news of the illness of the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., President of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, caused widespread concern throughout Wales and Monmouthshire. It is good to be able to report that the Rev. Elvet Lewis is now well on the road to complete recovery.

By consent of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, and for the sixth year in succession, a Welsh Wreath will be placed on the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior on Saturday afternoon, November 5, at 2.30. The Wreath will be laid by the President of the Welsh National Council, the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A. Friends who would desire to take part in this simple ceremony of homage and respect should meet at the West Cloister Entrance to the Abbey at 2.15 p.m. The London Welsh Federation of the Union is co-operating in the arrangements for the ceremony.

A Wreath will also be laid on the North Wales War Memorial, Bangor, on Armistice Day, November 11, at 11 a.m., by Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, ex-President of the Welsh National Council.

The terms on which the special "Order of Service" issued by the Welsh Council of Music and the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union for use in Schools on Armistice Day, to which reference was made in October HEADWAY, can be supplied are as follows: Under 12 copies, 1d. each, plus postage 1d.; 12 copies and over, 1s. per dozen, post free. Quantities of 50 and over subject to a cash discount of 10 per cent., post free. Copies can be obtained on these terms from the League of Nations Union, 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff. A Welsh "Order of Service" prepared by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., has also been published and can be obtained at the same address.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

Total number of enrolments as recorded at Headquarters (less deaths and resignations):—

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Oct. 17, 1927	...	...	...	...	640,984

On October 1 there were 2,519 Branches, 475 Junior Branches, 125 Districts, 2,341 Corporate Members and 364 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

Applications to Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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