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## MATTERS OF MOMENT.

BOTH the German and French elections have taken place since the last issue of HEADWAY appeared, and the results are now generally known. It cannot be pretended that the result of the polling in Germany is what might have been wished, though in view of the history of the last eighteen months nothing substantially different could have been expected. There is still reason to hope that when the final decision for or against the Experts' reports has to be taken the opponents of the reports will shrink from the idea of wrecking their country's prospects by voting against them. In France the election surprise has given much satisfaction to supporters of the League of Nations, who foresee a disposition on the part of the new Government of the Left to make much greater use of the League than M. Poincaré and his colleagues have been in the habit of doing.

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IT appears probable that M. de Jouvenel, one of the strongest League supporters in France, will lose his place in the Cabinet, as none of the former Ministers are likely to appear under the new régime, but there will no doubt be compensations, not least of them the known devotion of M. Herriot and other leaders of the Left to the League, and all that it stands for. The elections themselves provided opportunity for a most valuable display of activity by the Federation of French League of Nations' Associations. A questionnaire, brief but to the

point, was put to all candidates for the Chamber, which consisted of the following two questions: (1) Do you pledge yourself, if you are elected, to urge by every means in Parliament that the foreign policy of France shall be based on the League of Nations? (2) Do you agree to include this pledge in your election address? Some fourteen societies, all working directly or indirectly for the League, associated themselves with this questionnaire.

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THE visit of the King and Queen of Rumania to the League Secretariat is the first such evidence of personal interest in the League on the part of reigning sovereigns, though the King and Queen of Jugo-Slavia propose to follow suit. King Ferdinand further pledged his support of the League in public declarations on his arrival in London, and he gave practical proof of the sincerity of his words by promising the Secretary-General, before he left Geneva, 25 wagon-loads of grain for the succour of the plague-stricken districts of Albania. These are welcome manifestations, and no one will seek to underestimate their value. But it is not necessarily ungracious to add that one further token of loyalty to the League on the part of Rumania would be welcome—an enhanced zeal in the execution of the Minority Treaties to which she is a party. The Government at Bucharest has no easy task in controlling administration in the more distant regions of the considerable country it rules, and it is precisely in those more distant regions that minority difficulties may be expected, and are in fact encountered. It argues no lack of appreciation of King

Ferdinand's words and deeds to underline the fact that the minority problems in Rumania are causing considerable anxiety in many quarters.

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**T**HREE appears to be a revival in America of the suggestion that the United States should enter a World Court of Justice divorced altogether from the League. The proposal may serve to feed newspaper discussions on the other side of the Atlantic. It is hardly worth arguing about on this. America's association with the present Court would be altogether welcome, and there would be small difficulty about effecting it with the reservations desired by President Harding. But why Americans, or anyone else, should suppose that when over fifty nations—nearly twenty of them American, by the way—have created a World Court, which has already more than justified the hopes of its founders, they should be willing to scrap it in favour of another which would gain American support at the cost of its League connection is not easy to conceive. The accompanying suggestion, also American, that the codification of International Law should be taken in hand by some international conference is interesting, but of doubtful value. For one thing, it is matter for much argument what there is to codify. For another, codification might easily mean petrifaction of something live and developing. For a third, the creation of the League and the method it is initiating of systematic treaty-making by *ad hoc* conferences is substantially changing the nature of International Law as it has so far existed. So, for a fourth, is the series of judgments being given by the Permanent Court. Sound development is in progress as it is, and codification will not help it.

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**N**EW developments in the Saar since the appointments of the new members of the Governing Commission in March continues to be satisfactory. Among definite changes made or projected may be mentioned the raising of this year's new gendarmerie quota from the 200 authorised at the March Council meeting to 400—an improvement due to better financial conditions. In addition—and in some ways more important—the picketing decree, which has been so much criticised, is now completely withdrawn, and for it is being substituted an ordinance almost, if not quite, identical with the law of picketing prevailing in this country. A third satisfactory move is the formal appointment as Chairman of the Consultative Council of a candidate chosen by the Assembly itself. What may in the long run prove more significant is that the three German-speaking members of the Governing Commission, the Major Stephens, Don Espinosa de los Monteros and Herr Kossmann, are coming into contact informally in a new way. The attendance of all three Ministers at a recent cattle-show, though not an event of momentous importance, was in its way a landmark in the history of the Commission. Welcome as these developments are it must never be forgotten that the more successful the Commission is the more possible it becomes that in the 1935 plebiscite the populace may vote for its continuance, and the more essential is it therefore for every patriotic German to discredit the Commission by all means at its command.

THE floating of the League of Nations loan for Hungary, or rather of the Hungarian loan under League auspices, is now imminent, and the rumour of it has been enough to keep the exchange almost as stable as Austria's became when the League first decided to take its finances in hand. Money is none too easy to raise just at present, and expectations as to the loan's success may not be fully satisfied, but Hungary has at any rate shown that she deserves to be helped. She has raised money internally for her own Bank of Issue and for the temporary loan needed to bridge the gulf till the external help becomes available. The security for the new loan is excellent, and the League Commissioner, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, and his assistants should inspire complete confidence in the money market. The three or four men—British, French and American—enlisted to assist the High Commissioner constitute as capable a staff as could well have been chosen. Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime Minister, who has handled his end of the negotiations with ability and discretion, is justified in believing that his country has now definitely turned the corner.

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**A** CRITICAL stage in the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme development was safely passed at the beginning of May, when Mr. Henry Morgenthau visited London and succeeded in negotiating a further loan of a million pounds with the Bank of England. This will enable the work that is now going forward to be carried on unimpeded until the autumn, when there is every hope that the major loan of some six to eight million pounds can be successfully floated. Any difficulty that has arisen regarding this has been due in no way to the League of Nations, but to the unsettled political conditions in Greece. It had been hoped that the transition from monarchy to republic would be made in time for confidence to have been restored and the loan floated in the spring of this year. As it is, the postponement to the autumn will do no particular harm, seeing that the million pounds now promised by the Bank of England is sufficient for immediate needs.

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**T**HE announcement that despite the parsimony of the States members of the League in regard to the League's budget it has been possible to pay off the last instalment due on the Secretariat buildings at Geneva is eminently satisfactory, and it has its bearing on a further question of moment. There was general disappointment last year when it was decided to postpone for twelve months at least the erection of the new Assembly Hall for which land has been given by the Swiss authorities. There should be no further delay, and the British representative at the Assembly ought to press for an immediate start with the work. Nothing could be more inconvenient or undignified than the concert-hall in which the Assembly has now perforce to be held. It is on the opposite side of the Lake from the Secretariat, and to everyone except the taxi-drivers and motor-boat owners of Geneva the dispersion of delegates and officials causes a prodigal waste of energy and time. The erection of the Assembly Hall, and the office accommodation that

will be associated with it, in the actual grounds in which the Secretariat building now stands will make possible a concentration of work that should at the same time enhance the dignity and increase the efficiency of the League.

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**T**HE Memel business is finally settled at last. It was, of course, settled in effect at the last meeting of the League of Nations Council in March, when the representatives of all the Allied Powers, as well as the Prime Minister of Lithuania, declared in the names of their Governments that they accepted the convention Mr. Norman Davis and his colleagues had drawn up. Since then the Conference of Ambassadors, intervening on grounds that have never been clearly explained, has been vindicating its own dignity by revising the League's handiwork and making alterations about as substantial as are represented by the change of the word "on" to "upon." Attempts were, it is believed, made in certain quarters to effect changes of substance; but if they were they failed, and the convention went finally to Kovno for signature in practically its original form. News of signature by the Lithuanian Government comes to hand at the moment of writing this, and if ratifications follow with reasonable expedition the various bodies to be set up under the convention should be actually at work before long.

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**A** N attempt is made in an article printed on another page to do something to meet the needs of the numerous readers of HEADWAY who complain that too much knowledge of League affairs is assumed in its readers, and who ask for occasional articles, at any rate, that will begin at the beginning and assume nothing. The request is reasonable enough, but one difficulty in complying with it arises. The League of Nations' Union, fortunately, consists of members at all stages in their League education. Some have followed every step the League has taken from the day of its birth. Others, while sincere believers in the League idea, have little or no knowledge of what the League has actually done and is doing. It is a little difficult to cater for the latter without constantly serving up old news to the former; or for the former without going well beyond range of the latter. It is hoped at any rate that the series, "The League for Beginners," which opens in this issue, will do something to supply what is wanted. The first article is necessarily rather general. Explanations of more specific activities will follow.

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**T**HE highly important meeting of the Opium Preparatory Committee held at Geneva at the beginning of May appears to have ended inconclusively, seeing that it is adjourned until June 9th, two days before the Council itself meets at Geneva. There is no disguising the fact that the prospects for the main Conferences in November are critical. At the same time, it is satisfactory to add that they are hopeful. Everything depends so far as the Opium question itself is concerned, and a great deal depends as regards a much wider field, on the possibility or otherwise of establishing full co-operation

between the British and American delegates on the Opium Preparatory Committee. If an agreed programme can be presented by Sir Malcolm Delvingne and Mr. Edward Neville based, as any such programme must be, on the restriction of the world's production of poppy and coca-leaf to the level of the world's ascertained needs for medical and scientific purposes, then half the battle will have been won. At the adjourned meeting of the Committee on June 9th some decision one way or another will have to be taken. There is fortunately good reason to believe that so far relations between the British and American members of the Committee have been entirely harmonious.

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**T**HE Health work of the League continues to be one of the most interesting of its activities. At present the Health Organisation is attacking as a side line the question of the world shortage of quinine. At present only 600 tons are manufactured annually and the spread of malaria in south-eastern Europe in recent years has made that quantity inadequate. There is some prospect of an international conference to discuss the problem of increasing the world production of quinine. Meantime the whole malaria situation is being exhaustively investigated, and figures as reliable as conditions permit are being prepared. In Persia, to take one country alone, in addition to epidemics of malaria and typhus, cholera, plague, relapsing fever, smallpox and typhoid are frequent. This is particularly serious since a number of pilgrim routes cross Persian territory, and the diseases therefore spread rapidly. Persia has very wisely appealed to the League's Health Organisation for help. The Health Committee has recommended that the Health Organisation's Far Eastern sub-office be located at Singapore.

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**A** VERY interesting journalistic experiment has been inaugurated by the Amsterdam *Telegraaf*, which has arranged for a running series of articles on international problems, and the League of Nations in particular, by writers representing respectively Great Britain, America, France and Germany. Lord Cecil takes general responsibility for the British articles, and M. Henry de Jouvenel for the French. The American and German are at present being arranged. Articles from each country appear in turn, and are definitely related to one another, each writer having his predecessor's contribution before him when he prepares his own. Pending the advent of the German and American Lord Cecil and M. de Jouvenel are already hard at it.

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**R**EADERS of HEADWAY who want facts or explanations on any matter connected with the League ought not to hesitate to write in and ask. The Union exists to supply such requirements. It maintains a well-equipped Intelligence Section for the purpose. Seeing that what one member wants to know a great many others in all likelihood want to know, too, it seems desirable to include a question-and-answer column as a regular feature in HEADWAY. This will begin in the next number if the questions received justify it. Letters or postcards relating to this column should be addressed to the Editor of HEADWAY, and marked "Query."

## RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE.

By MICHAEL FAREMAN.

DURING the last few years, as everyone will admit, Russia has changed in many ways; but her attitude of aloofness or even downright unfriendliness, towards the League of Nations remains unaltered. During my recent visit to Moscow in March of this year I tried to elicit from members of the Soviet Government the reasons for this aloofness and the conditions, political and psychological, on which they might be tempted to co-operate with the League. From those enquiries and from conversations with persons who are in a position to interpret the minds and moods of the Russian people, I gather that, while they reject the League to-day as unhesitatingly as they did a few years ago, they are now persuaded that some measure of co-operation between nations is essential to the peace of the world. The grotesque simplicity with which the Revolutionary leaders envisaged the prospect of settling, not only Russian, but the world's affairs, is disappearing; to-day even the most doctrinaire among the Bolsheviks recognise the complexity of these problems and the futility of the simple solutions.

In Government circles opinion seems to be divided. On the one hand a majority is resolutely opposed to Russia's joining the League; but a minority countenances such a proposal in the belief that Russia would be diminishing its national importance by remaining in a position of isolation, more especially as, once a member of the League, she would be bound to make her influence widely felt. The opposition of their more orthodox brethren they try to meet by the argument that, after all, the League of Nations is no more naturally repugnant to Communist sentiment than the average bourgeois Parliament to which the Communist parties are now sending representatives.

The reasons for Soviet Russia's dissatisfaction with the League have never been very obscure; but the *résumé* of them as they were lately detailed to me at Moscow may perhaps not be without interest. Although in their Press and on the platform the Bolsheviks make the most of what they call their opposition to the League "on principle," the first and the most determined reason of their dislike of the League is connected with its origin. To members of the Soviet Government the League is suspect as the product of the Treaty of Versailles. According to them, the chief aim of the League is to act as an instrument for securing the decisions of the Treaty.

In upholding the ideal of the League, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan are, in their opinion simply giving a sort of sanction to their own victory. The League, as now constructed, they regard as bearing all the stigmata of a peace of indemnities and annexations. As long as the League is based on a guarantee of the territorial changes effected by the various peace treaties (including the Treaty of Riga with Poland and the Paris Treaty with Rumania, by which the Allies recognised the annexation of Bessarabia), the nations which suffered from these annexations cannot be expected to submit to such a self-denying ordinance as to join it. To be compelled by misfortune of war to

cede territory is one thing; solemnly to sanction such a surrender for all time in an Assembly of the nations of the world is a very different thing.

This argument, which I have tried to relieve from all the passion and pathos with which it is always presented, is the basic argument against Russia's joining the League. With this reason are clearly connected two other reasons. One is concerned with the constitution of the Council of the League, on which Russians consider the Allies have an undue preponderance. But apart from the suspicion felt by Russians for the war origin of the League and for what they consider to be the anti-democratic mode of filling the seats on the Council, they heartily dislike the prospect of the League employing coercion as a means of carrying out its mission, the prevention of war. In their opinion, the stage of readiness for a federation of the world at which the nations have arrived does not at present go beyond a belief in the necessity for building up of a sense of international solidarity. They believe that the first attempt of the League to employ coercion in the form, say, of a blockade, will lead not to a confirmation, but to a destruction of its authority. They realise that, just as in Russia itself there are problems which can only be settled by negotiations and co-operation, and in the solution of which they would repel any attempt to use coercion, so there are problems in which other nations are concerned in the settlement of which it would be calamitous for Russia to countenance the notion of coercion.

In their opinion a co-operation of nations based exclusively on moral authority is likely to prove in the end much more powerful than one which relies ultimately on coercion. They point out that since the coercion of a big nation is practically impossible, the League as now constituted is bound to degenerate into an institution for coercing only the small and weak nations. Whereas a co-operation of nations on a basis of morality and mutual understanding gives equal chances of fair play to all nations, whether weak or strong.

Yet, despite their theoretical and emotional hostility to the League, Russians are more and more coming to believe that it is performing some very useful work in the sphere of international co-operation. The decision of the Soviet Government to participate in many of the various international conferences established by the League has undoubtedly produced in Russia a very favourable impression as showing that the isolation of the country is coming to an end, and that the Russian Government is working for this object by manifesting a readiness to co-operate with other nations in matters of immediate public benefit. It has, in fact, made so great an impression on the public that I am inclined to think that it may in its turn influence policy.

Kamenev, Chicherin and other leaders have assured me quite frankly that so long as co-operation with the League is not regarded as involving subscription to the spirit of its war origin and its undemocratic organisation, they are quite willing to participate in its international activities. I believe that they are now even considering a more permanent co-operation with the League, and would, if approached, be disposed, like the United States, to regard favourably the appointment to the Council of the League of an official observer of their own.

## REVISING THE TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

**A**N important League of Nations' Union Committee, numbering among its members Lord Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray, Major Hills and Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., has for some time been at work on a revised draft of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The Treaty has been under discussion by Branches of the Union and under examination and criticism in the public Press for some months now, and it is with such comments and criticisms before it that the Committee has approached its task.

The basis of its work was a preliminary revision undertaken by Lord Cecil, which has now been further modified in Committee discussions. It should be clearly understood that the resultant text has at present no status except as an expression of the views of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations' Union, which gave general approval to the new draft at its meeting on May 15th. It is hoped, however, that the text will be of value to the British Government in its consideration of the Treaty, and may serve as a basis for possible proposals to be brought forward at the League Assembly next September. For that reason it is much to be desired that Branches of the Union which have already considered the Treaty in its original form should give special attention to the changes now proposed. The text will be circulated to Branches, and it is only necessary here to dwell on the principal changes projected.

The first and, perhaps, the most important of these is in Article I. It has been felt that difficult though the definition of "aggression or aggressive war" is, an attempt to define it or, at any rate, indicate its nature, must be made. Accordingly, the first paragraph of the article is now made to refer to aggressive war "as hereinafter defined," and the second paragraph is expanded into a new Article I(a), in which the task of definition is undertaken. Aggressive war, it is laid down, shall mean a war decided to be such by the League Council in the light of the following considerations:—

(a) War in violation of the provisions of Articles XII, XIII or XV of the Covenant, or war pursued by any State after the Council has requested that the question in dispute be referred to arbitration, judicial settlement or enquiry, is to be regarded as aggressive war.

(b) Occupation of neutral or demilitarised zones established under subsequent Articles of the Treaty, or invasion by land or air, or attack on shipping, or bombardment or blockade of coasts, is presumptive evidence of aggressive war.

This, it should be pointed out, is a summary of the provisions of Article I(a). Space precludes quotation of the full text.

Article III, again, is substantially modified. In the first place, the provision for the delimitation of neutral zones is brought forward into this Article from the original Article IX, it being now provided that if the Council decides there is reasonable ground for thinking that a menace of aggression has arisen it shall take all the necessary measures to remove the menace, such measures including the establishment of a neutral zone between the States involved. It is further provided that in deciding whether a menace exists the Council may require any question or dispute between the States concerned to be referred for settlement or enquiry as provided by Articles XII to XV of the Covenant, and may itself refer any such questions to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.

In Article IV an attempt has been made to meet the criticism that four days may be too brief a period to

enable the Council to take all the decisions involved in a complicated issue, and that in the Treaty as it now stands there is no direction as to what is to happen if such a decision has not been reached by the end of the four days. It must be remembered that the period runs from the moment when the Secretary-General is first informed of the outbreak of hostilities, and that the Members of the Council will have to be summoned from different parts of Europe. It is now laid down that if a decision within four days is impossible, the Council may by a two-thirds majority of those voting prolong the period to a date to be determined by a similar majority, the reason for such prolongation being publicly stated. A reference to the delimiting of neutral zones by the Council as a precautionary measure is introduced into this Article also.

In Article V a clause has been inserted to meet a valid criticism directed against the original Treaty in several quarters. Under sub-section (c) it is now indicated that the Council may determine the forces which each State furnishing assistance shall place at its disposal, "provided that in no case shall a demand for assistance be made upon any State which would involve the increase of the military, naval or air forces of that State." This, of course, refers to the General Treaty. The arrangements States may voluntarily enter into under complementary treaties are a matter for themselves alone. As a further safeguard against undue compulsion by the Council on any State in the matter of the contribution of armed assistance, it is made still clearer in the new version than in the old that no State shall be required to furnish assistance under this Article unless it has been invited as an interested State to the meetings of the Council at which the question has been discussed. That means that it would have a veto on any particular decision.

In Article VI the original provision that complementary agreements "may be negotiated and concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations" is strengthened into a statement that "it is desirable that such agreements should, where the High Contracting Parties interested consent, be negotiated and concluded under the auspices of the League."

Article VIII has been largely redrafted in order to emphasise the fact that complementary agreements are under all circumstances subsidiary to the General Treaty, the second paragraph of the redrafted Article in particular laying it down that:—

"Whatever steps may have been taken under the above emergency provision (the immediate application of a complementary agreement) the other terms of this Treaty shall remain in full force and effect, and in particular it shall be the duty of the Council of the League to decide, in accordance with Article IV, which of the High Contracting Parties has been the object of aggressive war, and whether it is entitled to claim the assistance provided under this Treaty."

Article X introduces the Permanent Court of International Justice as assessor, in case of need, of the damages and war costs to be paid by the aggressor State, the principle being still maintained that, subject to the Court's ruling, all such costs should be borne by the aggressor, and that these should be a first charge on its resources.

The new version of Article XI aims at emphasising more decisively than the original text the importance of reduction and limitation of armaments as the underlying motive of the whole Treaty. The procedure laid down in the Article is, however, not affected.

In Article XIV an important change has been made. The original text stipulated that nothing in the Treaty should affect rights and obligations resulting from the various peace treaties, or from treaties or agreements already registered with the League and published by it

at the date when the Treaty should come into force. The important proviso is now added that "no such Treaty or agreement shall be considered a complementary agreement under this Treaty unless it complies or is altered so as to comply with the provisions of Articles VI, VII and VIII of this Treaty." This, it will be observed, is an important safeguard, as it brings under the examination of the Council the various regional agreements already existing in Europe and elsewhere.

Finally, a change has been made in Article XVIII regarding the conditions under which the Treaty shall come into force. Originally the Treaty was to become operative in Europe when ratified by five States, of which three should be permanent Members of the Council. The condition now laid down is ratification by five European States, of which three shall be permanently represented on the Council and one shall be either Germany or Russia. The General Treaty, that is to say, is not to have effect until either Russia or Germany have adhered to it.

As has been said, the revised draft of the Treaty has at present no authority beyond what is imparted by the names of the men who have produced it. It is laid before members of the League of Nations Union, and all who concern themselves over the vital problems of armaments and security, for their examination and constructive criticism. Whether the British Government has fully decided its policy regarding the Treaty is not known. It will, presumably, give some consideration to the changes now proposed. The whole future of the Treaty, if future it is to have, will be decided in the discussions of the Fifth Assembly at Geneva in September.

## VARIED VOICES.

**The Prime Minister** (May Day Message).

"My fervent hope is that by another May Day the League of Nations may become an all-embracing Parliament of the Peoples, and I venture to think that nothing could more fittingly mark that great achievement than that the first law of the League should by common consent set aside May Day in every land as a Festival Day of World Friendship."

**Lord Grey**, in the *Review of Reviews*.

"As far as Great Britain is concerned, I believe that, short of a direct attack upon British territory, the British people would only fight in support of the Covenant of the League."

**King Ferdinand of Roumania**, at the League Secretariat, May 9.

"Roumania is specially attached to the work of peace, solidarity and concord which is the object of the League of Nations. . . . Roumania will always be ready to support the League in assuring in the world the triumph of the ideals of humanity and justice which the League pursues."—*The Times*, May 10.

**Dr. Marx**, Chancellor of Germany, to *Chicago Daily News* (Interview).

"The League as such, in practice, does not endanger the freedom of will, the independence, the security of any nation. . . . Peoples are not ready for world-feudalism. . . . The League of Nations, as I understand it, would enthroner reason, justice and peace, not by the crude and ineffectual instrumentality of compulsion, but by a peace-breeding voluntarism based upon international understanding and desire."

"The German Republic will join as soon as it may be permitted to join consistently with what it conceives to be its rightful position among the nations. . . . We should want a permanent place on the Council, for we are not a minor Power."—*The Times*, May 8.

**George V**, to Roumanian King and Queen, at State Banquet, May 12.

"The shadow of war has lifted; and our two countries, as whole-hearted members of the League of Nations, are united in endeavouring, through its instrumentality, to preserve concord and mutual confidence among the peoples of the world."—*The Times*, May 13.

## THE MYSTERY OF ART. XVI.

**T**HE oftener one reads the Covenant the more one makes mistakes about it," a particularly well-informed authority on League matters observed lately. That possibly accounts for some part of the astonishing misconceptions prevalent regarding Article XVI of the Covenant. Those misconceptions—to put the matter briefly—consist in the apparently almost universal belief that the Article, as amended by the Assembly of 1921, no longer contains any reference to the use of armed force.

For that belief there is not the smallest foundation. The first paragraph of the Article, dealing with the procedure for financial and economic boycott, was considerably expanded by resolution of the Second Assembly, being, in fact, developed from one paragraph into four. But neither the original second paragraph nor the original third and fourth were changed in any way, and the paragraph which stood second in the old version and stands fifth in the new, accordingly reads still:

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League."

The amendments to Article XVI have not received enough ratifications to bring them into force, so that mistakes about them are not vital, but misunderstanding on this particular point has vitiated a great many sound arguments adduced from time to time in almost authoritative quarters. For the original mistake the draftsmen at Geneva must bear a good deal of blame, for their presentation of the amendments, as embodied in the minutes of the Assembly, is so ambiguous that even now it is almost impossible to be quite certain whether the four paragraphs approved in 1921 were to take the place of the whole Article or only of its original first paragraph. The latter is the fact, but the edition of the Covenant issued by the League of Nations Union has unfortunately given the other impression by its use of the words "Art. XVI as amended reads . . ." instead of "The first paragraph of Art. XVI as amended reads . . ."

Whether this error in a Union document is responsible for the confusion that has almost universally prevailed is matter for speculation, but it is interesting to observe that the winner of the Bok Prize in America got his 50,000 dollars on the strength of a paper in which there figured prominently the contention that all reference to armed force had been excised from Article XVI as now amended. ("The Second Assembly," he wrote, "adopted a radically amended form of Article XVI, from which was removed all reference to the possibility of employing military force.") The authoritative six-volume "History of the Peace Conference of Paris" in an appendix to its sixth volume (p. 594) quotes the amendment to Article XVI as though it took the place of the whole of the original article instead of the first paragraph only.

One way and another, therefore, misunderstandings have been as widely disseminated as they well could be. Lest anyone should still be in doubt it may be mentioned that a final and decisive ruling on the matter has been given at Geneva in response to a request from the Union,

## THE LYONS CONFERENCE.

**T**HE annual Assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Associations is to be held at Lyons from June 29 to July 3. Several of the Commissions associated with the Conference are meeting also at Lyons in the two or three days preceding the opening of the Assembly. There seems every probability that practically all the societies associated with the Federation will be represented, including the American League of Nations Non-partisan Association, which has recently joined, and the Canadian and Irish Societies, which have decided to apply for membership, and whose admission is, of course, certain. The League of Nations Union is sending out its full quota of 20 delegates, which will include in all probability Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Major Hills, Vice-Chairman, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Major David Davies, M.P., Sir Frederick Maurice, Admiral Drury Lowe, and others.

The Union has inscribed on the agenda of the Federation a number of resolutions:—

(1) Welcoming the reports of the Reparation Commission's Expert Committees, and suggesting that, since the League machinery affords the best means of securing complete and final settlement of reparations and kindred problems, it is more necessary than ever that Germany should become a member of the League with a permanent seat on the Council.

(2) Urging that before the League accepts the obligations outlined in the Treaty of Lausanne in the matter of protecting minorities in the interior of Turkey, it should satisfy itself that it has adequate means for carrying out such obligations.

(3) Expressing the opinion that the League should be invited by the Allied Powers and Germany to investigate the fulfilment by Germany of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and if it is decided that these obligations have been adequately discharged, the League should for the future be the supervising authority, as provided for in Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles.

(4) Urging the universal adoption of the principle that the import and export of opium, except for medicinal and scientific purposes, should be completely prohibited.

Arrangements are being made by the Union for any members, other than delegates, who desire to visit the Conference, to accompany the official party. The cost for attendance at the Conference alone, together with an excursion on Thursday, July 3, the day after the Assembly ends, to Aix-les-Bains and the Lac de Bourget will be about £14. Some of the party, however, may wish to remain a few extra days instead of returning to England after the Aix-les-Bains excursion. For those who desire it, a tour has been arranged by motor coach from Aix-les-Bains to Geneva along one of the finest sections of the Route des Alpes, staying Thursday night at Annecy and Friday night in the neighbourhood of Chamonix. This would enable delegates to leave Geneva for England on Saturday night. The additional cost of making this tour instead of returning to London from Lyons on Thursday night should not exceed £5 5s. (meals *en route* excepted). All travelling and hotel accommodation, both for the Conference and for the tour, will, of course, be arranged by the Union.

Those desiring to be enrolled for the Conference alone, or the Conference and the tour, should send in their names to the Overseas Secretary not later than June 14, together with cheques for £14, in the case of a visit to the Conference alone, and an additional 5 guineas for the subsequent tour. These rates cover second-class railway, with first class on boat, and all necessary hotel expenses.

## CORFU ECHOES.

**A**CORRESPONDENT (Mr. G. F. Bridges, of Gerrard's Cross) writes regarding the reception by the League Council of the findings of the Jurists appointed to consider the questions of competence raised as a result of the Corfu discussions of last September.

The salient passages in the letter, which considerations of space make it impossible to quote in full, are as follows:—

"The approval by the Council of the League of the findings of the Jurists' Committee in the matter of the Corfu incident ought not to be allowed to pass without protest. The fourth of those findings was 'coercive measures, not intended to constitute acts of war, may or may not be consistent with the provisions of Articles 12 to 15 of the Covenant. The Council may recommend the withdrawal of the measures.' 'Coercive measures,' let it be clearly understood, are held to include killing. This is evident from the plucky, but useless, protest of M. Guani, of Uruguay. What the Council of the League then says is: 'If a strong power has a grievance against a weak power, and cannot get redress, it is under no obligation to refer the dispute to arbitration; it may shoot at once and shoot to kill; it may go on killing till we tell it to stop, and then we will say whether it was right or wrong.'

"Whether this is contrary to the *letter* of the Covenant must be left to lawyers to argue; what is quite evident to the plain man is that it is absolutely opposed to its *spirit*. The fundamental principle of the Covenant, we have always understood, is that no nation shall strike a blow at any other nation with which it has a quarrel till the matter in dispute has been subjected to arbitration. If the Powers are not agreed upon this principle, what is there that they are agreed upon?"

It is clear that the writer of this letter has entirely misconceived the purport of the Jurists' reply. Their declaration on the question of coercive measures drew a distinction not between the powers involved in the dispute—they may be weak or strong—but between the varying natures of the measures that might be taken. It is manifest, for example, that coercive measures such as various forms of financial pressure or the detention of shipping are not of necessity violations of the Covenant. On the other hand, it is equally manifest to the common man that such an action as the bombardment of Corfu does constitute a violation of it.

The Jurists' position was that it was impossible to detail all the conceivable measures falling under this head and label one set of them as clearly inconsistent with the Covenant and the others as not inconsistent. What they did was to lay it down that in future it is for the Council itself to decide immediately whether it should call for the maintenance or withdrawal of such measures. The fact that this ruling should have been reached with the approval of the Italian member of the Jurists' Committee, and endorsed by the Council with the approval of the Italian representative on that body, is a great advance, for it means that in future the Council, faced with such an act as the bombardment or occupation of Corfu, can itself take immediate steps in the matter, without listening to any arguments about past international practice. That question had to be settled and the Jurists have settled it.

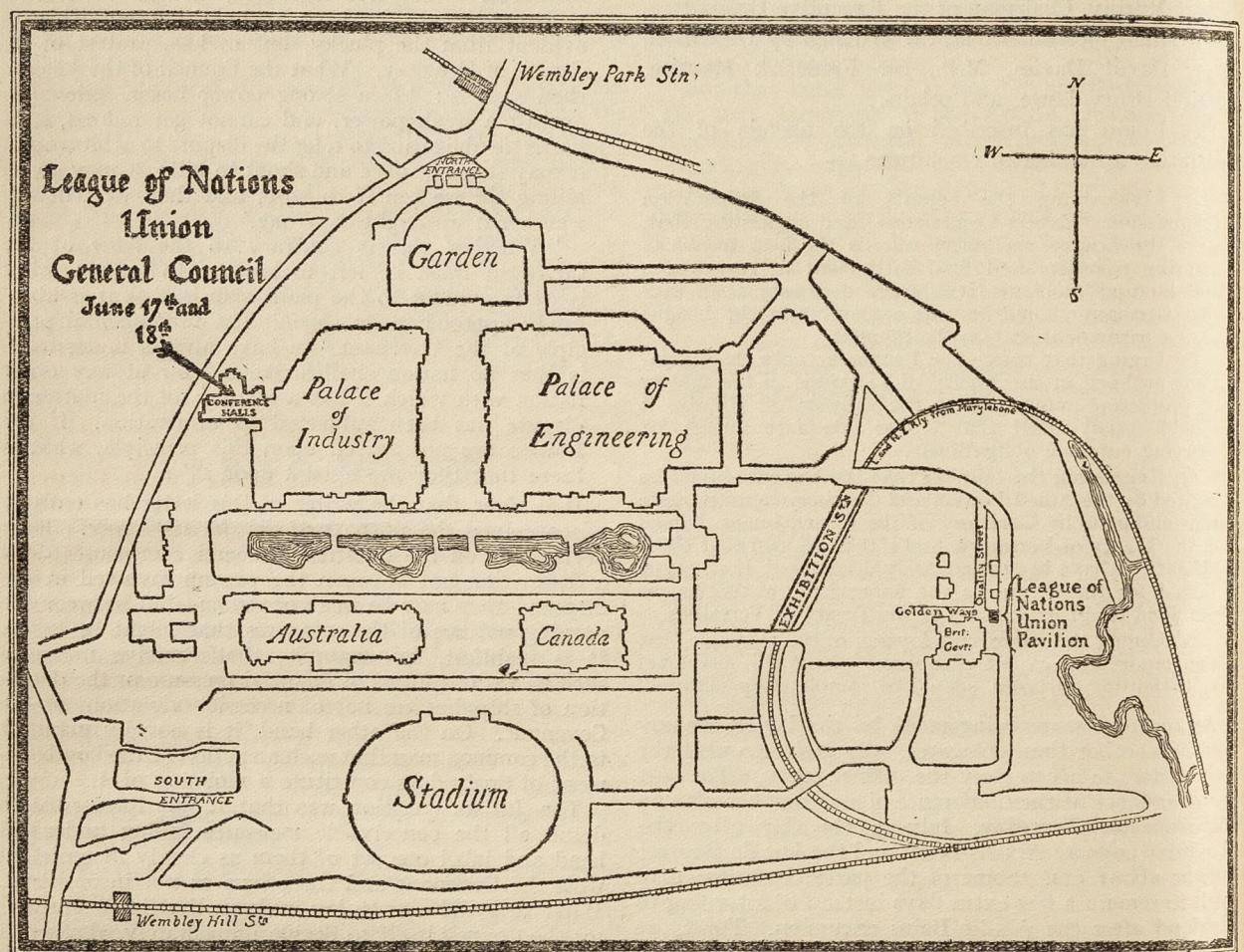
What has been gained, therefore, is the unanimous declaration of the Jurists and the League Council that for the future there is a body existing in the world, i.e., the Council itself, which is entitled under the Covenant to declare definitely whether such actions are justifiable and may be maintained, or unjustifiable and must be abandoned. That is a safeguard unknown till the League came into being.

## THE L.N.U. AT WEMBLEY.

THE British Empire Exhibition may not attract the thirty million people expected; but it will certainly be visited by more millions than has any other Exhibition in history. Moreover, the recruiting ground of the Exhibition is the whole British Commonwealth of Nations, which is not inaccurately described as a League within the League. It is obviously desirable that something should be done at Wembley to disseminate information about the League itself. This task the League of Nations Union has undertaken. A small pavilion has been erected at the corner of Quality

The drawing on this page shows how to get to the L.N.U. Pavilion and to the Conference Halls, where the annual meeting of the General Council will be held on June 17th and 18th. To reach the former, the best way is from Marylebone by the L. & N.E. Railway. The Exhibition Station on this line is barely 300 yards from the Union's Pavilion. To reach the Conference Hall direct, it is better to go from Baker Street by the Metropolitan Railway to Wembley Park Station.

The General Council of the Union is meeting at Wembley during League of Nations Week. Monday, the 16th, will be Children's Day, and Miss Muriel Currey will give a Children's Lantern Lecture in Conference Hall



HOW TO GET THERE.

Street and the Golden Ways, near the British Government Building. The staff in attendance at the Union's Pavilion has already done useful work in answering questions and in selling literature to a daily increasing number of callers. Besides the pamphlets of the Union, the League, and the International Labour Organisation, there are on sale, postage-stamps of League Member-States, books on international affairs, British Legion Albums, L.N.U. souvenir matches, and various emblems of interest. The walls of the pavilion are lined with autographed portraits of leaders of the League of Nations movement.

No. 2 at 2.30. Tuesday and Wednesday will be taken up with the sessions of the General Council. On Thursday afternoon there will be open meetings with short addresses by Professor Gilbert Murray, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale, and one other speaker. On Friday there will be sectional conferences of Branch delegates on departments of the Union's work; and on Saturday a final general session at which the conclusions of the sectional conferences will be reported and discussed. London Branches are trying to arrange a suitable social programme for the week.



GENEVA, May 17.

TWO suggestions have come from the United States during the past month, bearing closely upon the work of the League. They are Senator Lodge's proposals for a New World Court, and President Coolidge's hint of a new International Armaments Conference summoned by America.

Senator Lodge's effort is the less important of the two, for it seems fair to regard it as introduced largely for political effect in America.

What, however, is a little surprising is that, although competent observers in America regard it as having little chance of success, there have not been wanting people in England who, in an excessive alacrity to embrace without a moment's thoughtful consideration everything that comes from America, are quite ready to fall in with a scheme which virtually suggests scrapping the present Court and starting all over again to establish another on almost precisely the same lines. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that for 54 States content with the present machinery to indulge the refined political susceptibilities of certain parties in one other State by pulling down a house to build an almost exact replica—with the addition of only blemishes—would not be an altogether dignified proceeding.

So far as one can see by the fairly extensive summaries of the plan, the only differences of importance are that the British Dominions would be allowed no voice in the selection of judges, and that, by the careful protection of America's position, it would be nearly impossible for any State to get juridical redress, or at any rate to have any certainty of the chance of getting it, from America through a Court so contrived; the Senate could block it every time. To say that it would not be no assurance.

\* \* \* \*

The author has not found it possible to discover any real alternative to the League method for the election of judges, so he proposes to set up the same kind of thing, changing its name to "an Electoral Commission." This Commission will consist of two bodies on the same principles as the Council and the Assembly—namely, a general committee composed of representatives of all the signatory Powers (which would be a substitute for the Assembly), and a sub-committee composed of America, Britain, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of five of the other signatory Powers, which Powers would be elected by the signatory Powers. This would be the substitute for the Council, with the exception that in the Council the small Powers have six representatives instead of Mr. Lodge's plan for five. As the French say, "This is not serious."

President Coolidge's observations foreshadowing the possibility of America summoning an international conference on disarmament demands more attention. The importance of the moral aid of America in this direction is not to be disputed, but disarmament is not exclusively a humanitarian and is certainly not a sentimental matter. It is deep rooted in the hard facts of international politics. It cannot be separated from politics, and it cannot be solved apart from politics.

If America calls an international conference on land disarmament, or on submarines and aircraft, she will be entering into European politics. She cannot avoid it, and, what is more, no reasonably minded person on this side of the Atlantic would wish her to avoid it. Reduction of armaments can only go hand-in-hand with political peace and a sense of security, and the best security is a solid foundation of peace. Before that is attained there is political work to be done, and if reduction of armaments is obtained in any degree before that there must be some guarantees of security.

America has nothing to bargain with on land armaments, she has not a great deal to offer on aircraft or submarines that seriously affects the general European aspect of the problem. What else has she to offer except some kind of share in a general guarantee or some linking-up of the question with, for example, international debts? On either of these two grounds she could come along with overwhelming force, but without them it is difficult to see how she can effectively change the circumstances.

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The European States, great or small, will not reduce their forces on the strength of fine gestures, and if the League has achieved little or nothing during four years of steady and continuous application to the problem to bring about a reduction, it has at least shown what are the hard facts to be faced and what are the needs that have to be satisfied before real progress is made. Logically speaking, America's greatest contribution to disarmament would be a general participation in the political affairs of the world. It would be unwise for America to think, or for English people to be deceived into thinking, that what four years of steady effort have failed to accomplish in the League will be accomplished at a single stroke by the initiative of one country disposed to regard disarmament as an isolated problem. This is not to imply that American interest and leadership should be underrated, but merely to apply a little commonsense to the question, so as not to be led away by fine hopes or to be filled on this side of the Atlantic with too gloomy a sense of self-depreciation.

\* \* \* \*

This is again an active League month. There have been meetings in Geneva of the Economic Committee of Experts to consider the draft proposals on certain aspects of unfair competition, such as false trade marks, etc.; of statisticians endeavouring to get some order and method into the ways of recording national statistics; and of another batch of medical officers participating in the League interchange courses. Sub-committees of the Intellectual Co-operation Commission have made some interesting progress at Brussels; the Health Committee, the Permanent Advisory Commission on Armaments and the Transit Sub-Committee on the Reform of the Calendar have met in Paris; experts from the technical services of the Secretariat—Health, Transit, Traffic in Women and Children—are, with the President of the Council, participating in the Emigration Conference summoned by the Italian Government in Rome. The Hungarian Reconstruction Scheme makes solid progress, and the external loan negotiations are already being started. The Secretary-General continues his important practice of paying official visits to various Governments in the League by his journey to the Scandinavian countries. So the work continues month by month in every kind of field. The Ambassadors Conference even has completed its two months' effort to get some commas right in the Memel Convention, which it has at last signed.

An announcement on the League of Nations from the new Prime Minister of France analogous to that made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on his accession to power, and we shall be getting on.—C.

## THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.—I.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

THE first thing that concerns beginners in the study of the League is the beginning of the League itself.

It began in actual fact on January 10, 1920, when the Treaty of Versailles, of which it forms an essential part, came into actual force. Before that a start had been made with collecting a staff. The British Government provided money for the purpose. The Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, who had been appointed at the Paris Peace Conference in April, 1919, was at work in offices in London, which remained the headquarters of the League till the whole organisation was transferred to Geneva in October, 1920, a little before the opening of the First Assembly.

Of what did the League then consist? It consisted, first of all, of those States, all of them, of course, Allied Powers, who had taken part in the war, who had signed the Treaty of Versailles or the Treaty of St. Germain (with Austria) and had ratified one or other of those Treaties. There were one or two States, most notably the United States of America, which signed the Covenant, but never ratified the Treaties, and therefore never became members of the League. Two other such States were Ecuador and the Hedjaz. The second set of members of the League consisted of States neutral in the war, who signed the Covenant quite apart from the Peace Treaties. Between Allies and neutrals the League thus consisted of 142 States by the time the First Assembly was held at Geneva in December, 1920. For the sake of completeness, it may be added that six more States were admitted during the First Assembly, three during the Second Assembly, one during the Third Assembly, and two during the Fourth, the total membership reaching 54 by September, 1923.

What did the League stand for on the day of its birth? Its real purpose is explained in the Preamble to the Covenant, where it is stated that the States that signed the Covenant did so "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." To put the matter in simpler language, what the States agreed to do was to work together and to prevent war. Working together is an object in itself, and preventing war is another object equally important in itself. But that is not the whole story. So long as people are working together they obviously cannot be fighting one another. Working together, in other words, is the best of means for preventing war and preserving peace.

But the Preamble says a little more than this. It tries to explain how nations can best work together and prevent war. They can do it, first of all, by promising not to go to war. They can do it, secondly, by ending all secret arrangements, by putting all their cards on the table and acting openly and honourably towards one another. They can do it, thirdly, by agreeing to follow a rule of law between one another, just as citizens of any civilised State observe the law of the land in their dealings with each other. They can do it, fourthly, by acting justly to one another and standing honestly by all treaties they have made with one another. And all these things the States that signed the Covenant of the League of Nations solemnly pledge themselves to do.

That is why there can be nothing in the nature of party politics about the League. People in this country who work for the League are simply working to make any British Government do what every British Government is solemnly pledged to do by treaty,

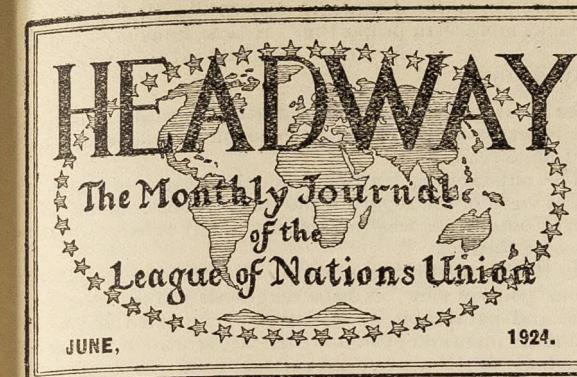
So the League of Nations began. All its work was laid down for it in the 26 Articles of the Covenant. As a means of carrying out that work it had three organs—its Assembly, its Council and its Secretariat. It is fairly accurate, though not quite, to compare them to what exists in a single country like Great Britain. The League Assembly, to which every State belonging to the League sends representatives, corresponds roughly to our Parliament. The Council, which is a smaller body of ten members meeting oftener—for the Assembly meets only once a year—is something like our Cabinet. The Secretariat at Geneva is rather like our Foreign Office, which is full of a number of skilled officials who are helping to carry out the decisions of Parliament, writing letters or telegrams all the time to foreign countries and receiving letters and telegrams back from them.

That is just what the Secretariat at Geneva is doing. The full Assembly meets in September and takes various decisions to which all its members agree. That is to say they undertake that the Governments they represent—Great Britain, France, Japan, China, Greece and the rest—will all act in a certain way about a special subject—for example, about the steps they take to protect women and children. That means that the Secretariat with its officials, all divided up into departments at Geneva, has to be perpetually in correspondence with the different countries about what has been agreed. Its officials (who are themselves of more than 30 different nationalities) write to find out whether the countries are really acting as they said they would. The countries themselves are always writing for information and advice. Legal questions about what a particular paragraph in a particular agreement means have got to be answered, information on all sorts of subjects has to be collected and put in order, so that when the Assembly of the League or the Council of the League, or some special committee of the Council or Assembly, starts its work, it may have before it from the beginning all the facts and all the information it can possibly want.

That is what the Secretariat is for. It is doing, as has been said, in relation to all the States belonging to the League, very much the sort of work that the Foreign Office or any other Government office, like the Ministry of Health or the Board of Trade, is doing in our own country. As more and more work is given over to the League to do, the Secretariat will get more and more busy, and gradually will have to be increased in numbers.

And more and more work is, in fact, being given to the League, for a very good reason. In the past, if this country wanted to make a general agreement with other countries on some special question, for example, on simplifying all the worrying customs formalities which annoy the traveller and hinder the trader at every frontier, it would have to start separate negotiations with some 50 or 60 other States, and, though it might come to agreement with a few of them very quickly, with others it would have to argue for months and perhaps never reach agreement at all. Now that the League is in existence all that is changed. The League calls a conference on a particular subject. All the States are invited to it. They all send representatives expert in the subject, and with authority to sign agreements. They hammer the whole thing out for four or five weeks, and in the end the whole lot of them usually sign. As a high authority put it lately: "As much is done that way in a month as might have taken 40 or 50 years on the old basis." That explains easily enough why more and more work is being given to the League.

So much for the League's purpose and the machinery it works with. In further articles something will be said of the special problems the League has had to handle and the way it has dealt with them,



### "WHITEWASHING."

LEAGUE of Nations Union speakers and writers are frequently accused of giving a one-sided picture of the League; of belauding its successes and ignoring its failures; of representing it as a divinely-ordained institution where ordinary human beings move and act on a higher plane than ordinary human beings anywhere else; of generally departing so far from cold fact as to create grave misgivings in the audiences they address or the readers to whom they appeal. That there is substance in that criticism is not to be denied. Enthusiasm is a virtue, but when it goes so far as to distort judgments there is much more to be said against it than for it. And some of us, it had better be admitted, do tend on occasion to be enthusiastic overmuch.

But let us pursue this question a little further, for it is on every ground worth pursuing. The average League speaker, it is only just to remember, is in nine cases out of ten addressing audiences consisting in greater or lesser degree of persons whose interest in the League it is necessary to win by convincing them that the League is a practical institution with practical achievements to its credit. It is to give an opportunity of convincing them of that that the meeting has been convened. It is in order to hear what the League has really done that most of them have taken the trouble to attend. It is neither to be expected nor desired that a speaker with half an hour or little more to present his case, and to present it in the circumstances indicated, should devote himself to a scrupulous endeavour to give equal prominence to successes and failures and religiously strike a balance between the two.

There are undoubtedly occasions for doing that. Branch meetings of members, in particular, are not charged primarily with the duty of making converts. For them it is entirely proper to examine what the League is doing in a spirit of candid if sympathetic criticism. If, moreover, a speaker at a public meeting is dealing with one particular field of the League's work, like the Austrian Reconstruction Scheme, or the Saar Valley administration, or the Upper Silesia decision, he is under an obligation of honour to speak as frankly of what he considers to be the League's shortcomings as of what he considers to be its successes. But to demand that speeches or articles designed to explain what the League has done to justify itself should be devoted equally to discussing what the League has not done or has done wrong is to ask a good deal more than is reasonable.

A further point arises here. Why, it is sometimes asked, do we hear so little from League speakers about the Corfu affair, or the so-called "scandal of the Saar," or the "Vilna failure," or the "refusal" of the League to intervene in the Ruhr?—the implication being that these subjects are ignored because they represent League

failures which League speakers are anxious to avoid or gloss over. There may sometimes be an element of truth in that, but the real reason is that in each of these cases the full story—without which no fair judgment either way can be formed—takes so long in the telling that it is useless to attempt it in a general address that must cover a variety of subjects. Take Corfu, as an example. The most vital factors in that involved controversy were incidents or considerations of which the casual reader of the papers never takes account, if indeed, he ever heard of them. A speaker handling the subject has to emphasise them all, and it will take him the best part of a normal speech to do it. Having five or six other matters of equal importance to touch on before he sits down he may be pardoned for leaving this one aside.

But with all this the charge of whitewashing the League must be taken seriously. If we cannot, because it is no part of our business, discuss League activities with that judicial detachment which belongs rightly to the historian in his study, if we are justified in bringing to our task the enthusiast of the evangelist and the crusader, zeal can never be allowed to outrun sincerity. There can be no deliberate evasion or misrepresentation of unpalatable facts. There ought, indeed, to be no temptation to any such vice. The League is not perfect, and its defenders are never called on to suggest that it is. If it can be demonstrated, as it unquestionably can, that as a mere conception the League is a marked advance on any organisation of its kind that has so far functioned in the international sphere, that its achievements bear at least as close a relation to its aims as those of any other political institution, and that it is month by month proving the possibility of realising fruitfully practical co-operation between nations, then a claim quite high enough to compel the support of every good citizen of every State has been advanced.

Moreover, even the failures whose existence we are prepared to recognise amount when they are examined to very little, and almost all of them can be explained by shortcomings on the part of some individual State whose defection lowers the whole standard of League accomplishment. In the case of the Vilna dispute the League no doubt ought ideally to have found means of turning General Zeligovsky out of Vilna the moment he had seized the city. But who would have been found at that moment to supply troops and transport them to Lithuania for the purpose? The Vilna episode, moreover, took place when the League was less than nine months old, and its authority had yet to be established before the world. It was less than two months old when it had to make the first appointments to the Saar Valley Governing Commission, and the unfortunate choice then made has been responsible for many unwelcome turns of events in that area down to the date of the new appointments of last March.

A good deal more might be said on that, but to multiply examples is needless. If we accept at the outset two axioms regarding the League—one, that it can only advance gradually to its full power and authority, and, two, that a composite body cannot in reason be expected constantly to travel at the pace of its most progressive member—we shall find little to apologise for in the League's record. But that little must be admitted frankly when it arises. What can be explained should be explained, but not speciously explained away to make a case. There is, in short, no real difficulty in defending the League and replying fairly to unfounded criticisms without incurring a suspicion of "whitewashing."

## Correspondence

## PROGRESS IN ITALY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

From SIR FRANCIS VANE, of Hutton.

SIR.—It may interest the readers of HEADWAY to learn of certain collateral progress which has been made in disseminating the principles of international co-operation and dependence in Northern Italy. It fell to my lot as a founder of boy scouting in this country, during the last year to make official visits to between 40 and 50 Boy Scout centres, and thereby to be not only in close touch with the youth of the country, but to be in direct personal intercourse with their priests and with the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. Perhaps it has not been sufficiently realised that the Boy Scout movement is a strong young reinforcement of all those beneficent activities which the League stands for. For example, the central principle of Boy Scouting is that a scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other scout, and, taking into consideration that there are tens of thousands of these young adventurers in every civilised land, all pledged to this law, it will be easily seen how great a cumulative effect they must have in the future. For the movement stands for patriotism without racial prejudice, and it is the latter which is the poison in the blood which makes for war. Apart, however, from this, it should be remembered that all the beneficent energy of the League, its work in relieving suffering, in helping the weak, &c.—all these are strengthened and encouraged in Boy Scout training.

Reverting, however, to the work which is being done here in Italy, and of which I can speak from personal experience, it appears to me that no method of propaganda for League principle can be more effectively made than as is being done here. The clergy, as is natural, are among the most enthusiastic supporters of international goodwill, the boys and their parents are as keenly interested as any I have seen, and the Cardinal and Bishops have all expressed to me their desire to forward our efforts in every possible way.

That being so, and being impressed with the encouragement I everywhere received, I got into communication with our own ecclesiastical authorities, and especially with that good friend of our work, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The replies which I received were of so hopeful a nature that it seemed worth while to pursue the matter, and I arranged for a conference with the Cardinal Patriarch of Venice, and showed him the correspondence. The object was to urge the Vatican to take the initiative in calling together the representatives of all the Christian Churches, with the purpose of discovering a method by which the Churches could act together with the purpose of preventing, or at least delaying, war. I found his Eminence entirely in accord with the project, and he asked me to have the correspondence copied, and promised to forward it, with his own letter of approval, to Cardinal Gasparri for the ear of His Holiness.

So the matter rests, and as I hope good comes of it, and such a Council is convened, the moral support which the Churches can bring to the League work will be incalculable—but they must work together, and not separately, to help achieve Peace on Earth and Goodwill!—Yours, &c.,

FRANCIS FLETCHER VANE, of Hutton.

Hotel Ritz, Meran, Italy.

April 27, 1924.

## IRRITATION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—There are some features, not of the League, but of the L.N.U., which repel rather than attract. One is the suave ignoring of criticism. Another is the astounding lack of any sense of proportion, such as is shown by the opening words of this month's HEADWAY, viz.: “The outstanding feature (no less!) of the report of the Reparations Commission's Expert Committees was the absence of

any reference to the League of Nations.” (Italics mine.) This lacks more than proportion; it lacks humour.—Yours, &c.

A SOMEWHAT IRRITATED MEMBER.

May 3, 1924.

[The Irritated Member is almost too easily irritated. In its fullest form the sentence to which he takes exception would have read :

“The outstanding feature, from the League of Nations' point of view, of the report of the Reparations Commission's Expert Committees was the absence of any reference to the League of Nations.”

But if the qualifying sentence, “from the League of Nations' point of view,” is to be religiously worked into every article and paragraph in HEADWAY, “Irritated Member” will find its inclusion even more irritating than its omission. The whole of HEADWAY is written from the League of Nations' point of view.—ED., HEADWAY.]

## “THE MAN FROM JUBALAND.”

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—I received your copy of HEADWAY this morning, and have already read it through with much interest, as I always do. But why spoil your number by an article like “The Man from Jubaland”? It is just that very spirit of patronage in superior derision which you are trying to combat, isn't it? You are the League of Nations Union, and every nationality is entitled to your consideration, even the dustiest and most far away member ought to be sure of being taken seriously by you, and of not running the risk of being misunderstood or made copy of. If the man actually came to you, why hurt his feelings by allowing him to read such patronising stuff in THE HEADWAY and if he is only a peg for an article, why not take the opportunity to write a first-class article, showing how the League of Nations understands the position and importance of even the smallest nation or State? Is it likely that a man who has been through Balliol will emphasize his admiration by a circular motion of the palms of the hands on that part of his person, etc., etc. (It is too cheap to repeat.) The ironical remarks about wives within limits, and the unfortunate circumstances which preclude the provision of speakers for Kasanguri, and whether the League of Nations Union Canteen was fully licensed are all remarks at the man's expense, and therefore out of place in an article in HEADWAY.—Yours, &c.,

INTERNATIONAL.

[Our correspondent altogether underestimates the infinite possibilities of Balliol men.—ED., HEADWAY.]

## THE UNION COUNCIL.

THE experiment is being made this year of holding the annual meeting of the General Council of the Union at Wembley. The meetings will take place in Conference Hall No. 2, on June 17th and 18th. The business is inevitably for the most part of a routine character, but at the time of writing the last date for receiving resolutions from branches had not been reached, so that the ground covered may be wider than appears at the moment. Two or three amendments to the rules regarding the status and rights of corporate members should provoke a discussion of some interest. The Council meetings fall in a week which sees considerable Union activity at Wembley. The programme is not yet complete, but the following outline gives a fair indication of the nature of the engagements:—

June 16.—Children's Day. Mr. Gould's Demonstration, 2.30.

June 17.—11 to 1, 3 to 5.30. General Council.

(NOTE.—At the beginning of one of the sessions of the General Council Mr. J. R. Griffin, of the British Legion, is to read a short paper on the co-operation of ex-service men in the cause of peace.)

June 19.—Open Sessions. 3 to 4.30, Sir F. Maurice, Professor Gilbert Murray. Short addresses. 4.30 to 6.

## IN THE HOUSE.

May 5.—The COLONIAL SECRETARY (to Commander Kenworthy):

Regulations dealing with the liquor traffic in British Colonies and Protectorates in tropical Africa are the same as those in force in the mandated territories.

May 5.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Commander Kenworthy):

There is no British representative on the sub-committee of the League of Nations Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission meeting in Prague to consider the private traffic in arms. In any case no questions of instructions will arise as members of the Temporary Mixed Commission do not represent Governments, but act in an individual capacity.

May 7.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. Pethick-Lawrence):

The question of appointing a British Consul for the Saar Valley is under consideration.

May 7.—The COLONIAL SECRETARY (to Mr. Leif Jones):

Article 22 of the Covenant does not provide for the prohibition of alcoholic liquor in mandated territories, but for prohibition of “abuses such as the liquor traffic”—i.e., of the traffic in cheap distilled liquors commonly known as “Trade Spirits.”

May 8.—The COLONIAL SECRETARY (to the Duchess of Atholl):

The smoking of opium is permitted in the following British Colonies and Dependencies: Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, the Malay States, North Borneo, Sarawak, Ceylon and Wei-hai-wei. In most of these lands there are Government monopolies to control the manufacture and sale.

May 12.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. John Harris):

The question of adherence to the Compulsory Jurisdiction clause of the Protocol of the International Court of Justice is receiving careful consideration.

May 12.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Fisher):

The Saar Governing Commission have decided to increase by 400 the numbers to be added this year to the Saar Gendarmerie bringing the total to 755. “His Majesty's Government welcomes any increase in the number of the Gendarmerie and, in consequence, a corresponding prospect of reduction in the number of foreign troops at present stationed in the district.”

May 12.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Colonel Pownall):

The Government was not convinced of the advantage of the scheme proposed to the League of Nations for the creation of an International Organisation of mutual aid for assistance of peoples stricken by calamities.

May 13.—The COLONIAL SECRETARY (to Sir William Mitchell-Thomson):

The International Labour Convention on the use of white lead will, if ratified by this country, bind the Crown Colonies and Protectorates.

May 14.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. John Harris):

Reports have been called for on measures taken to secure the suppression of slavery and on the results of such measures at the request of the League of Nations.

May 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. John Harris):

The Government intends to transmit to Geneva its views on the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee in time for them to be laid before the next Assembly.

May 19.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. John Harris):

No promise of immediate discussion of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee in the House of Commons can be made. Other sections of the House can call for a debate if desired.

\* This item does not include £1,602 8s. 10d. received during the month of January, 1924, under the following Resolution of the General Council Meeting on December 13th, 1923:

“Branches who cannot complete payment of their quotas of the Council's Vote for 1923 by December 31st, 1923, be allowed until January 31st, 1924, and urged to complete payment by that date.”

## BOOKS WORTH READING:

THE sixth I.L.O. Conference meets this month and Mr. E. B. Behrens' **The International Labour Office** (Leonard Parsons. 7s. 6d.) appears opportunely. Mr. Behrens has provided the first authoritative account of the administration of the I.L.O. and discusses some of the problems which arise out of its work. It is well that the attention of the general public should be thus called to the enormous importance of the subject both on account of its direct value to economics, industry and human welfare, and also of the part it plays in world stability and peace. Some such constructive organisation as the I.L.O. was as inevitable after the war as the League of Nations itself; its inevitability provides the assurance of its success. That success, as readers of this book will find, is already considerable and beyond expectation; "it has already won its spurs," says Mr. Harold Laski in his foreword; "its conferences have shown that the problem of language can be overcome, and that something akin to a common mind can be developed at least on matters of principle. Its expert reports have shown that men of the most alien experiences can pool them to make that common body of facts from which all fruitful discussion must start." Mr. Behrens justifies all that Mr. Laski sums up. For the information of the general reader he explains the constitution, the functions and the internal administration of the I.L.O. itself, and an equally explicit chapter is devoted to its finance. This latter subject is not without its difficulties, many of which arise from the fact that the I.L.O. derives its final authority in this respect from the Assembly of the League; its budget forms part of the League's budget, and however much care and economy are taken with its financial arrangements—and neither of these could be exercised more particularly—it is always possible that its work may be crippled by the action of any group of countries in the Assembly. It is to be hoped that such a situation as this may never arise, for, as Mr. Behrens emphasises, "The future of the League, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation are inseparably linked. The playing of one off against the other, or the failure of one of them, cannot but bring all international organisations into popular discredit."

The three chapters devoted to the Conferences of the I.L.O. are of special interest at the present moment, and it is made clear how immense an amount of preliminary work is necessary to ensure fruitful results from each Conference. If exception is sometimes taken that these results are comparatively small, Mr. Behrens has no difficulty in pointing out that this criticism has no substantial foundation in fact, and that no blame rests upon the I.L.O. itself on this account. The circumstances in which the government of each member country is carried on makes it impossible that an unlimited number of industrial conventions should be ratified; the time at the disposal of parliaments is not unlimited; moreover, the period of the I.L.O.'s existence has been one of continued political and economic upheaval during which some governments have not unnaturally hesitated to bind themselves for ten years by formal international treaties. Nevertheless, the fact that "only four years after the first International Labour Conference the total measures for the ratification of conventions and recommendations amounted to over five hundred" is altogether satisfactory; great advance has been made in the most backward countries, and beyond any actual social legislation it is undoubted that a new public opinion has been created upon the conditions in which industry should be carried on. By its very existence, by forming a centre for industrial research—and how vast and necessary is this research Mr. Behrens describes—not

least by the devotion and harmonious working of its staff, recruited from nearly thirty countries, the I.L.O. deserves the gratitude of all those who have the welfare of mankind at heart, and to this should be added gratitude to Mr. Behrens for his present work.

The administration of the Saar Basin has been a test of the League's capacity and sincerity; the experiment could only give rise to controversy. Not unwise, therefore, has Dr. W. R. Bisschop chosen the title of **The Saar Controversy** (Sweet and Maxwell. 7s. 6d.) for his essay, which Lord Phillimore describes as "a valuable contribution towards the materials for a final decision." Dr. Bisschop sets out the legal, historical and economic facts of the situation; he does not hide his own opinion that the members of the Governing Commission have been unequal to their task, that they have not put into practice the ideals of the League, Justice, Liberty and Self-determination, and that these ideals have been wrecked by "national bias and political prejudice." Since Dr. Bisschop wrote the members of the Commission have been changed, and it may be hoped that the present Commission will learn from the mistakes of its predecessors how to solve in the League's spirit of justice and reconciliation what he admits to be "one of the most difficult problems in the world's history."

No one is better fitted to write a popular account of race relations than Mr. Basil Mathews. In **The Clash of Colour** (United Council for Missionary Education, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s.) he deals vividly with one of the most urgent problems which vex the world of to-day and to-morrow. Hardly a corner in the globe is left unvisited, and each is seen to interact upon the other. India, Africa and the lands bordering upon the Pacific present in turn their own phase of the problem. How can the clash of which the feelings provoked by the difference of the colour of the skin is the outward sign be avoided? That is Mr. Mathews' theme. He sees the danger to be expressed in the will to dominate and in the will to isolated self-determination. When for a moment he leaves his living parables and instances aside, he sums up plainly his hope and his remedy. "A new leadership for a new world of inter-racial peace is being and can increasingly be created by an education that has at its heart the ideal of world-brotherhood." The remedy may appear humdrum, and is not heroic, but heroics will never save the world. The future depends upon the students of to-day and upon their teachers, and in the movements of the student-world Mr. Mathews sees hope. The book should have a large circulation, and its six chapters could easily be adapted for use by a study circle.

Everything from Mr. G. P. Gooch's pen deserves attention; his Creighton lecture for 1923, **Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914** (Longmans, 2s. 6d.) is worthy of his reputation, and provides a most valuable background and explanation of the events of the following years. As a detached observer he tells the story of a "moving and passionate drama," and gives a clear view of the conflicting and persistent policies pursued by the two countries under notice. But the period with which he is concerned is only an episode in a longer story, and his concluding moral therefore serves his readers as a warning and a stimulus for their action. "The Franco-German feud, which began centuries before Bismarck, and involves not only Alsace-Lorraine but the control of the Rhineland, is likely to continue till both nations, weary of their costly struggles, seek and find security in a world-wide League of Peace." No other hope of peace is suggested, for none is possible.

M. Poincaré's enemies declare that upon him has fallen the mantle of the Kaiser as the troubler of Europe. Mr. Sisley Huddleston in **Poincaré: A Biographical Portrait** (T. Fisher Unwin, 7s. 6d.) does not share their view, and only seeks to paint the mentality of the man

without taking sides. His subject is presented in a series of sixteen sketches, and comes well out of the ordeal. If M. Poincaré is shown to be the slave of his limitations and his speeches, he is also given a strong testimonial for honesty and uprightness. Mr. Huddleston writes cleverly, but at times he is slipshod, and on page 40 from his own data he has made a curious mistake about M. Poincaré's age in 1893.

## BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

**The Empire at War, Vol. II.** Edited by Sir Charles Lucas (Humphrey Milford, 25s.). This volume carries on the story of what the Dominions and other parts of the Empire did in the Great War, and deals with the contributions made by Canada, Newfoundland, the West Indies and the Falkland Islands. The several sections are written by local authorities. Well supplied with maps and illustrations.

**Reports of the Expert Committees appointed by the Reparations Commission.** (H.M. Stationery Office, 3s.)

**The United States of Europe.** By Sir Max Waechter. (The Terrace House, Richmond, Surrey, 2d.) The author holds that war can only be made impossible by an economic federation of European States; an intriguing proposal, which commanded itself to Edward VII and President Harding, but practical details are lacking.

**A Study of the World's Y.W.C.A.** (34, Baker Street, W.1, 2s. 6d.) An historical sketch of thirty years' international activity by a body which includes representatives of thirty countries, linked by a common faith; its aid has been invoked by the League of Nations.

H. W. F.

## THE SIXTH I.L.O. CONFERENCE.

THE sixth Conference, which will be held in Geneva, will open on June 16, 1924. The items on the agenda, which have been adopted by the Governing Body, are as follows:—

1. Development of facilities for the utilisation of workers' leisure.
2. Equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.
3. Weekly suspension of work for 24 hours in glass-manufacturing processes where tank furnaces are used.

## 4. Night work in bakeries.

The Conference will also deal with various questions affecting the general work of the International Labour Organisation, including:—

Procedure for the amendment of Conventions; the report of the Advisory Committee on Anthrax; the report of the Director on the activity of the International Labour Office in 1923 and on the measures taken by the different States to give effect to decisions of previous sessions of the Conference; a report on unemployment; and a report on the standard of living in countries with a severely depreciated currency.

There will also be the usual important discussion of the report of the Director of the I.L.O. on the work of the past year.

In the article on plebiscites by Mr. F. B. Bourdillon in last month's HEADWAY, the paragraph referring to "areas where (as in Upper Silesia) the civil parish had been taken as the unit" should have read, "areas where (as in East Prussia)," &c.

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REGD. 99

## 35/- "Mattamac" Featherweight Stormproof

A "Mattamac" is identical in appearance with the usual five-guinea Weatherproof. In utility, also, it equals its much-more-costly competitor. It wears as long, weighs one-third, and is absolutely waterproof. Though light and compact-folding, it is Wind and Chill proof as well as Wet proof. You can use a "Mattamac" additionally as a light Overcoat for Driving, Motoring, Shopping, etc. Don't risk disappointment with an imitation. Get the genuine "Mattamac" Stormproof which is labelled "Mattamac" beneath the Coat-hanger for your protection.

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35/-



This is a faithful drawing of his hand and "Mattamac," and the illustrations beneath are, in each case, direct drawings from Photographs of stock "Mattamac" Stormproofs. Thrown over the arm, the 19-oz. "Mattamac" is almost weightless. It can be carried easily over the arm, or put into your pocket when the sun shines. In the Holiday Suit it takes up very little room.

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PEARSON BROTHERS

## THE GREY BOOKS.

THE League of Nations Publications Department has done admirable service in producing its series of 3d. grey booklets, the first few of which are already familiar. Strictly official as such publications must be, the Geneva booklets in no way conflict with the rather more popular publications of the League of Nations Union. There is one class of readers which prefers to get down at once to official facts and figures, another which likes matter presented in rather more popular form. Even the latter will find it no great strain on their resources to equip themselves for the sake of completeness with the Geneva booklets also, for the price of each of them is only 3d. They may be obtained from Messrs. Constable & Co., 10-12, Orange Street, London, W.C.2, the League's official agent in Great Britain, or from the League of Nations Union Publication Department. A full list of the booklets so far issued is as follows:—

- The Health Organisation of the League of Nations.
- Financial Administration.
- The Permanent Court of International Justice.
- The Financial Reconstruction of Austria.
- The League of Nations and Reduction of Armaments.
- The League of Nations and Minorities.
- The League of Nations: Its Constitution and Organisation.
- The Covenant of the League of Nations.
- Work of the Financial and Economic Organisation.
- Social and Humanitarian Work.
- Saar Basin and Free City of Danzig.
- Communications and Transit.
- The League of Nations and Intellectual Co-operation.

## GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

THE following is a list of the principal recent publications of the League of Nations. They may all be obtained from Messrs. Constable & Co., 10 and 12, Orange Street, W.C.2, the official agents for Great Britain:—

Bulletin of the International University Information Office, January-April, 1924, 3s. 6d. net.

Austria, 13th and 14th Reports (each), 1s. net.

Economic Committee: Report of Council of 11th Session, C.90, M.33, 2d. net.

League of Nations Official Journal, 5th Year, No. 3, (Containing information in regard to Refugee questions. Memel, the Sixteenth Report of the Saar Governing Commission, the Reduction of Armaments, the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner-General for Austria, the Traffic in Women and Children, Opium Traffic, &c.), 2s. 6d. net.

Monthly Summary, Vol. IV., No. 3, April 15th, 6d. net.

Minutes of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Committees of the Fourth Assembly, various prices.

Conference on Customs Formalities, Vol. I., 6s. 6d. net; Vol. II., 3s. 6d. net.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Minutes of 3rd Session, C.3, M.3, 2s.

Summary of Annual Report for 1922 received from Governments relating to Traffic in Women and Children, C.164, M.40, 6d. net.

Reports of High Commission for Refugees. Extract No. 25, Official Journal, 6d. net.

Treaty Series, Vol. VIII., Nos. 1-3. (Including the Rapallo Agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia, April, 1923; German-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, 1922; Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation between Switzerland and Germany, 1921; Agreement between Italy and Jugo-Slavia for regulation of fishing in the Adriatic, 1921, &c.), 12s. net.

## OVERSEAS NEWS.

Mr. Frederick Whelen sailed on May 23rd for a six weeks' speaking tour in Canada on the invitation of the Canadian League of Nations Society.

The Paris Branch has been addressed by the Bishop of Kensington, chairman of the Union's Religions and Ethics Sub-Committee, on the spiritual side of the League's work.

The American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has approved the formation of a committee in London to act as liaison between the British and American societies and to advise the American Association particularly in matters concerning the Federation of League of Nations Associations. In the same connection Mr. W. H. Buckler, a member of the American delegation at the Peace Conference and now living at Oxford, has been invited by the American Association to act as its representative in Europe. He is expected to attend the Lyons Conference as delegate of the Non-Partisan Association.

Headquarters have received from Miss M. Wilson an offer to present to some foreign University or University professors the publications of the Chemical Society for the last ten years. There must be many scientists in Germany and Central Europe who are cut off by a depreciated currency and high cost of living from the documents they require, and this offer is in the spirit of the recommendations to help them which have been made by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Anyone who knows of persons to whom these publications would be acceptable is asked to communicate with Miss Wilson at Lyncroft, the Avenue, Braintree.

The annual Methodist Conference of South Australia, which met recently, unanimously decided to affiliate with the South Australian League of Nations Union, and to try to set up a sub-branch in every church.

## FILENE PEACE PRIZE.

It is worth reminding members of the League of Nations Union of the opportunity to do a little constructive and lucrative thinking provided by the offer of prizes amounting to £2,000 (one prize of £1,000, and others totalling a further £1,000) by Mr. E. A. Filene for the best answer to the question, "How can peace and prosperity be restored in Great Britain and Europe through international co-operation." There are still close on four weeks to run before the date (June 28) by which all plans have to be received. Full details as to conditions cannot be given here (they have already appeared once in HEADWAY), but they are obtainable by anyone sending a stamped addressed envelope to Dr. Mansbridge, 13, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.2, and marking his letter "Competition."

## THE FAMINE IN ALBANIA.

Details of relief work in Albania, for which purpose the League of Nations is raising £15,000, is contained in the first report issued by Professor Pittard, who has the work in hand. Maize has been distributed in limited quantities to the inhabitants of Scutari, but lack of funds has prevented the extension of relief work. The report concludes with an appeal for a definite settlement scheme, which has added force in the light of the success which has so far attended the Greek settlement scheme.

Every member of the League of Nations Union should also be a member of the UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION "HARMONY," world-wide organisation to promote mutual friendship and international relations of all kinds, to facilitate the acquisition of all objects (stamps, coins, view-cards, &c.), sought for by collectors, to assist members travelling abroad, &c., &c. Official Organ: *The International Review*, a beautiful magazine, published in eight languages, free to members! Special reduced fees for members of the League of Nations Union. Annual fee, 2s. 6d. (instead of 4s.) ; life membership, £1 (instead of £2).

Do not miss this opportunity and join at once. We have already thousands of members in all countries and on all islands throughout the world, who are eager to make friends with you! Send postal order, cheque or banknote to headquarters, Vienna I, Postamt 9 (Hofburg), Austria; or to our British Secretary, A. F. SPIEGELHALTER, 19, Station Road, Kensal Rise, Willesden, London, N.W.10.—Advt.



## Mr. MacDonald and the Union.

The Prime Minister has agreed to become Honorary President of the new Branch which has just been formed at Elgin. The Secretary of the Branch has received the following letter from Downing Street:—

"Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 24th inst., informing the Prime Minister of the formation of an Elgin Branch of the League of Nations Union, has been received. It will afford him very great pleasure to become your first Honorary President."

\* \* \* \*

## Visit the League with the Union.

During the meeting of the Fifth Assembly of the League, in September next, parties specially conducted by officers of the Union will leave London for Geneva every Friday morning, beginning with Friday, August 29th.

Price, £1 11s. for second class return ticket and six days' full board at Geneva. Extensions to Chamonix, Vevey, Zermatt, &c.

To book places, and for further particulars, apply League of Nations Union Department, Polytechnic Touring Association, 309, Regent Street, W.1. Early application is advisable.

\* \* \* \*

## Oxford Activity.

An interesting report of an energetic year comes from the Oxford Branch. Altogether 209 meetings of various kinds have been held in the last twelve months. This splendid total includes, in addition to the four large meetings, three of which were addressed by Professor Gilbert Murray and one by Lord Hugh Cecil, addresses in Sunday schools and at war memorials on Armistice Day, village meetings, talks to women's institutes and various clubs, schools, societies and guilds, and lectures in college halls. The Branch co-operated in one of the meetings which were arranged in various centres in November by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at which a Frenchman, a German, and an Englishman all spoke from the same platform. Unfortunately the German speaker was prevented by illness from attending the Oxford meeting. The League film, "World Peace," was shown for three days at the George Street Cinema, and by the kindness of the managers a special free exhibition was given. It was also shown, by means of a portable cinema, in thirty-eight neighbouring villages, and in most cases the exhibition was accompanied by a short talk on the League. A company of L.N.U. Players has been formed, which gives performances in the villages in support of Branch funds.

\* \* \* \*

On May 17, the number of Branches was 1,766. Junior Branches 166 and Corporate Members 722.

## MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	...	333,455
May 17, 1924	...	...	...	...	...	381,940

## BRANCHES.

On May 17, the number of Branches was 1,766. Junior Branches 166 and Corporate Members 722.

## A League Sunday.

In accordance with a resolution of the Scottish Churches League of Nations Council, an effort was made to have November 4 observed throughout Scotland as League of Nations Sunday. About 400 ministers in the district were asked to arrange for special League of Nations sermons and addresses to Sunday schools, Bible classes, &c., and a number of League leaflets were sent in every case on which it was suggested that the addresses should be based. It is uncertain how far the result of this effort was satisfactory, but the very full information and explicit suggestions sent out reflect great credit on the District Council.

\* \* \* \*

## A Live Branch.

The main Branch of Upper Clapton and Stamford Hill is in an exceedingly flourishing state. Largely owing to the efforts of its indefatigable secretary, Mr. P. S. Taviner, its membership in just over three years has reached 1,835.

\* \* \* \*

## A Successful Study Circle.

The "Study Circle" method of frequent meetings of not too large groups, which discuss in detail different branches of the League's work, is a much more effective way of spreading real knowledge of the League than that of addresses to large assemblies, where, for the sake of the entirely ignorant, speakers have always to go over much the same ground. An encouraging account of its success comes from the Savings Bank Department, which has held fortnightly meetings throughout the winter, at each of which a speaker from Headquarters gives an informal talk. The account arrives with a request that HEADWAY should record the gratitude of the Branch. Headquarters would like to reply that they could wish there were many other Branches with an equally live and intelligent interest.

**Stamford Hill Junior Branch.**

Stamford Hill Central Foundation Girls' School have a Junior Branch so flourishing that, for reasons of space, it is necessary to limit membership to girls in the Fourth Form and upwards. Interest is shown even lower down in the school, and children constantly ask permission to join before they reach the Fourth Form. Children of six have been heard discussing the League, and that with undisguised contempt for those who do not know what it is. The Junior Branch forms an excellent preparation for work in support of the Union, and the girls are very active when they leave in collecting new members and in trying to get new Branches started.

**Corporate Members.**

The great value of Corporate Members to the League of Nations Movement is emphasised by the Ealing and Leyton Branches.

"In recruiting new members," says Ealing's annual report, "collecting renewals of subscriptions, and in keeping in personal touch with existing members, the work of the Executive is considerably lightened by the help of corporate bodies."

**League Week at Hull.**

Fully 4,000 new members were enrolled in Hull as a result of the special League week which was held towards the end of last year. Nearly half of this number were recruited from among the employees of Messrs. Ricketts. We hope that other branches will follow the lead of the Hull branch in canvassing the support of members of large industrial organisations.

**Lord Cecil at Petersfield.**

Lord Cecil addressed a crowded meeting, under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne, at Petersfield Corn Exchange, on April 10. In the course of an interesting survey of the League's work, he stated as an indication of the advance of the League idea abroad that in Italy directions had been given that instruction on the League was to be part of every child's school programme, and that three members of the new Government in France were to his personal knowledge red-hot supporters of the League. He concluded with an earnest appeal not to risk the future of the League by slackness or apathy.

**Wireless and the Union.**

An original method of collecting a League of Nations meeting is reported from Barnsley, where a Mass Demonstration was arranged in connection with the relaying by wireless of the King's Speech at the opening of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Immediately on the close of the Wembley Wireless Programme, the meeting sang Kipling's recessional, and in three brief speeches by Alderman Jones, Councillor H. M. Walker, and Councillor W. Ross, a resolution was moved signifying the whole-hearted support of Barnsley to the League of Nations. The connection between the British Empire Exhibition and the League is closer than it might seem at first sight, for the statements of all the Dominion Premiers at the Imperial Conference show how highly the Empire values the League.

**SUMMER SCHOOLS!**

Write for Illustrated Programme of L.N.U.  
Summer Schools at Geneva and Oxford.  
Early application should be made to the  
Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

**Helpful Hints.**

Two hints are received which may be useful to members of country branches anxious to raise money.

A member writes: "In this village some of my neighbours are much given to borrowing my tools. I propose in future to charge 1d. each time and put it in the (L.N.U.) collecting box."

And another: "It may interest you to hear that we made £2 12s. last Saturday morning by the sale of garden daffodils from several private gardens near here, and also wild ones. We would have sold double the quantity if we could have got them. The result is that two of our members who have shops have promised to sell flowers once a week for our Branch funds, if those owning private gardens will provide them."

**Red Reminder Slips.**

The recent practice adopted by Headquarters of affixing red slips on the last copy of HEADWAY—to which a subscriber is entitled as a reminder of the fact that his subscription has fallen due—has proved very effective, and we have received many letters from subscribers stating how useful this reminder is.

**A Loss to the Union.**

The League has lost one of its most ardent and steadfast supporters in the late Mr. G. P. Nowers, who died at Bournemouth on Easter Eve, April 19. Mr. Nowers, who was formerly Headmaster of Edgbaston Preparatory School, was one of the first members of the L.N.U. (Hastemere Branch), and worked for the cause devotedly in spite of failing health and even illness.

**NORTHERN IRELAND.**

The first Branch of the League of Nations Union in Ireland was formed in 1921 at Warrenpoint, Co. Down.

The second was at Lurgan. The third was the Belfast Branch, which to-day numbers 540 members. The inaugural meeting of the Branch was held on January 27, 1923, and the official certificate of Incorporation was signed by Lord Cecil on April 24, 1923, almost exactly one year ago. The Branch has arranged seventeen public meetings in connection with various organisations, and speakers have been sent far and wide in Northern Ireland on the League cause. The visit of Lord Cecil in April, 1924, was the outcome of the great interest shown in the work of the Branch by the President, the Rt. Hon. Hugh O'Neill. Mr. A. R. Rhys Pryce has been secretary since last June. Branches also exist at Bushmills, Co. Antrim, and Coleraine, and others are contemplated at Newry, Ballymoney, Ballymena, Lisburn, and Londonderry. 1,900 people were present, and 154 new members were enrolled.

The formation of a Provincial Council is under consideration for Northern Ireland. There is no doubt that a measure of local autonomy will make for more efficient and intensive cultivation of the very promising field for League propaganda which Northern Ireland contains.

**WALES.**

Under the guidance of a Committee, which consists of most of the leading educationalists in Wales, educational work is being steadily pursued and it is doubtful whether there is any country in the world where the League of Nations has had as great a hold upon the schools. At its last meeting on Saturday, May 10, the Federation resolved to place on record its appreciation of the memorandum on the teaching of the League issued by the Board of Education. And it is noteworthy that the Central Welsh Board has recently added the "World History" scheme of the Committee to its list of subjects.

The annual conference of the Welsh National Council will be held in Whit-week at Llandrindod Wells and Branches all over Wales and Monmouthshire will be represented. Amongst the meetings and conferences which will be held are the following:

Tuesday, June 10.—2.30 p.m., Public conference "The Progress of the Movement on the Continent of Europe." Chairman, Mr. Dudley T. Howe, Barry. Speakers: Professor Theodore Ruysen (of the University of Bordeaux), Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; Mr. David Davies, M.P. (Chairman of the Overseas Committee, League of Nations Union).

Tuesday, June 10.—8 p.m., Public meeting. Chairman, Miss Emily Matthews, J.P., Amlwch. Speakers: Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, Miss Elined Prys (members of the delegation from the Women of Wales to the Women of America).

Wednesday, June 11.—10.15 a.m., The annual meeting

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