



Vol. VI. No. 8

Published by the  
[League of Nations Union.]

August, 1924.

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission  
by the Canadian Magazine Post.]

Price Threepence

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT .. .. .	141	THE ARMAMENT DEADLOCK .. .. .	151
AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE. By Calvin G. Wilson..	144	THE I.L.O. CONFERENCE .. .. .	152
BALKAN UNREST AND THE FUTURE. By A. G. Macdonell .. .. .	145	ASSEMBLY DELEGATES.. .. .	152
THE LYONS CONFERENCE .. .. .	146	BRITAIN AND THE T.M.A. .. .. .	153
IN THE HOUSE .. .. .	147	MANDATES IN ACTION .. .. .	153
QUESTIONS ANSWERED.. .. .	147	AN EX-SERVICE MAN'S FAITH.. .. .	154
GENEVA LETTER .. .. .	148	PAYING OUR WAY .. .. .	154
THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS.. .. .	149	THE UNIVERSITIES MOVING .. .. .	155
VARIED VOICES.. .. .	149	CORRESPONDENCE .. .. .	155
THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.—III. By Clinton Fiennes .. .. .	150	BOOKS WORTH READING .. .. .	156
		GENEVA PUBLICATIONS .. .. .	157
		OVERSEAS NEWS .. .. .	157
		UNION NOTES AND NEWS .. .. .	158

MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE Allied conversations in London, while they do not directly concern the League of Nations, will at any rate, if successful, remove some of the more serious obstacles which stand in the way of the League's efficient execution of its task. At the Third Assembly, nearly two years ago, a resolution was passed urging that the whole question of Reparations and security should be referred to the League, if certain discussions then impending resulted in failure. They did so result, but the matter was not referred to Geneva. Whether the world would have been better off by this time if that course had been followed must remain a matter of opinion. The London conversations are, of course, limited technically to the application of the Dawes Report, and at the time of writing it appears as if the security issue is not to be touched on at present. But it cannot long be evaded, particularly in view of the rejection by the British Government of the principles of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. In view, on the other hand, of the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons that he considers that security must be effected through the medium of the League of Nations, there would appear to be some possibility at any rate that the coming Assembly will find itself with this large question on its hands.

WHERE the London Conference appears to affect the League closely, though indirectly, is in its bearing on Germany's possible application for membership. Broadly speaking, it is to be assumed that if the Conference fails Germany will consider it unpropitious to apply for membership this September; whereas if general agreement on the application of the Dawes Report is attained, there would seem to be every reason why the German Government should seek League membership forthwith. So far as can be gathered opinion in Germany itself is becoming steadily more favourable to the League, and a notable interview has been given by the Chancellor, Dr. Marx, to the German press, designed quite openly to dispel the impression that Germany was hesitant about applying. Dr. Marx declared that he had always been the friend of a real League, and that he only stipulated that Germany must on entry be accorded a position compatible with her dignity. This seems to denote some advance on the part of the German Chancellor, who, within the past twelve months, has publicly used very critical language regarding Geneva. Incidentally, the German Chancellor quoted an American opinion to the effect that Germany's entry into the League might have a decisively favourable effect on American opinion. This is clearly a point of some substance. Fortunately there is no reason to believe that when once the Dawes Report is adopted

serious objections would be raised from any quarter either to Germany's admission or to granting her a permanent place on the Council.

\* \* \* \*

THE British reply to the League's request for observations on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance is discussed fully on another page. At the time of writing the text of the French reply is not available, though it is understood to have been despatched to Geneva. There have also been received at the League Secretariat during July replies from Canada and the United States. The latter is notable for its friendly tone, which is now to be observed in any document transmitted from the State Department at Washington to Geneva. The United States of course could not under present conditions contemplate adhering to the Treaty, no matter with what reserves, but the Secretary of State observes that America recognises to the full the importance of the disarmament problem, earnestly hopes that other countries will follow her lead in reducing their armaments, and declares that America will follow with keen and sympathetic interest all their efforts in that direction. Canada, as might be expected from her consistent hostility to Article X. of the Covenant, is against the Treaty, largely because, though technically her obligations may be limited to the American continent, morally they might involve supporting Great Britain in a European quarrel. That, it may be remarked, is a problem that concerns the British Empire more than the League, and it will have to be faced sooner or later by the Dominions as a whole unless Great Britain is to be forced back into an isolation more complete than America's.

\* \* \* \*

ONE rather unusual step taken by the League Council at its June meeting was the decision to circulate to States members of the Council copies of a "Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security," prepared by a rather influential American Committee which included Generals Bliss and Harbord, Dr. J. T. Shotwell and Dr. David Hunter Miller. The avowed object of the committee was to embody the main principles of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance in a document which might commend itself to American opinion as the Geneva draft could not hope to do. The main features of the scheme are the prominence it gives to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is to decide in each case whether an act of aggression has been committed, and it is laid down that a Power which refuses to accept the jurisdiction of the Court or comply with its ruling shall *ipso facto* be deemed the aggressor. The sanctions prescribed are exclusively economic, but there is an elastic provision to the effect that "in the matter of measures of force to be taken, each signatory shall consult its own interests and obligations." The disarmament section of the treaty is fully worked out, and includes provision for the establishment of a Permanent Advisory Conference which shall meet not less than once every three years to review the armaments of the different States with a view to securing their progressive reduction. It is to be observed that the American committee fully countenances supple-

mentary agreements. Security is obtained under the general agreement by the undertaking of all signatories to combine against a State declining to submit to the Court. The law-abiding State that consents to have its quarrel adjudicated will therefore always be protected. Something more is likely to be heard of this plan during the Assembly discussions in September.

\* \* \* \*

THE Hungarian loan achieved an immediate success when the greater part of it was offered for subscription in London in the first week of July. As in the case of the Austrian loan last year, the lists had to be closed a couple of hours after they were opened, and even then the applications were so numerous that the larger subscribers could only be allotted 40 per cent. of the amounts they asked for. On this result three comments may be made. In the first place, it was achieved in spite of the fact that, unlike Austria, Hungary had no Allied Powers behind her to guarantee the loan in case of her default. In the second place, it is clear that the decision (forced on the League by the Reparation Commission) to make provision for strictly limited reparation payments by Hungary during part of the loan period has had no deterrent effect on lenders. And, thirdly, the market value of League control as a guarantee of sound finance has once more been conspicuously demonstrated. That is of good omen for the Greek loan which it is hoped to raise in the autumn. The Hungarian revenues pledged as security for the loan are producing an income far above what is needed for interest and sinking fund, and the Hungarian Government is loyally carrying out its part in the agreement.

\* \* \* \*

THE outstanding feature of the annual conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Lyons at the beginning of July was the temperature. It was appreciably higher than at Vienna the year before, and the amount of hard work put in under the circumstances was remarkable. There were not quite the number of new faces one would have hoped to see, and illness and other causes kept a number of well-known figures away. Japan had a distinguished representative in Mr. Inouye, a former Finance Minister, while Mr. Wang Chung-hui, who headed the Chinese delegation, is a former Prime Minister, and at present a Deputy Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Count Bernstorff headed the German delegation, and M. Jean Hennessy, a Deputy, the French. Two new societies, the Irish (Free State) and the Canadian, were admitted to membership of the Federation, and a rather difficult question, arising out of the application of a number of rival Italian societies, was happily settled by the delegates of the societies in question agreeing to meet and federate and apply next year as a single unit. The dominating personality at the conference, so far as oratory went, was M. Dantes Bellegarde, the gifted Haitian advocate, who made so great an impression at Geneva at the Second Assembly. His case (against the American Government, which is temporarily occupying Haiti) was not convincing, but his manner

of handling it was masterly. The League of Nations Union sent twenty accredited delegates to Lyons, and a number of Union members attended in addition as spectators. The contacts established or renewed between League supporters of different nationalities were as valuable as any actual business transacted.

\* \* \* \*

THE Canadian Government has sent to Geneva a comment on the appeal which the Indian Chief Deskaheh addressed to the League last year in respect of alleged infringements by that Government of rights conferred on the Six Tribes by Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Chief Deskaheh himself is a picturesque figure, and his case against Canada has been received with a good deal of sympathy by audiences he has addressed in this and other countries. The audiences, of course, have not heard the Canadian Government's side of the story, but in any event it is clear that the League of Nations cannot deal with the matter. It has to take things as it finds them. If, when it was brought into existence in 1920, it had been charged with going back centuries into history to probe every complaint any State or section within a State saw fit to bring before it, the last would have been heard of it before 1921 dawned. The League's task is with the future, not with the past. The Six Tribes to-day enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy within their limited reserve—they appear to have parted with a good deal of their land by voluntary sale—but they are not immune from the criminal and other laws of Canada, and they manifestly cannot claim the status of an independent sovereign State, and approach the League of Nations as such. Whether they have a just grievance against the Canadian Government is a matter to be examined on its merits, but it is not a question the League can be expected to discuss.

\* \* \* \*

THE announcement of the names of the British delegates to the League Assembly has been received with interest but without excitement. Even the prospect that the Prime Minister will for a few days head the delegation does not give it the prestige conferred by Lord Balfour in 1920, 1921 and 1922, and Lord Cecil in 1923. Lord Parmoor will, by the time the Assembly meets, have attended two Council meetings and part of a third, so that, though he has not as yet been at an Assembly, he has acquired some working knowledge of League affairs. The Home Secretary is entirely new to Geneva, and his office brings him little in contact with League affairs, except in connection with one or two of its humanitarian activities. But Mr. Henderson has always been one of the strongest supporters of the League both in theory and practice, and it is essential that the delegation should include a figure prominent on the industrial as well as the political side of the Labour movement. In adding Prof. Gilbert Murray as third delegate the Prime Minister has shewn his capacity to rise above mere party considerations, and he has materially strengthened his delegation by including in it one of the sanest and best-informed authorities in the country on foreign affairs. As for Mr. MacDonald himself, his decision to attend some part

of the Assembly, with which he made a brief acquaintance last year, is altogether welcome, particularly as it now seems certain that he will go to Geneva in his proper capacity as head of the British delegation, and not merely to intervene on the platform with one general speech, followed by a rapid disappearance.

\* \* \* \*

THE time-worn question of the relations between the League of Nations and the Conference of Ambassadors has been raised again once or twice lately in questions in the House of Commons. In a reply to General Spears early in July, the Prime Minister produced a formidable catalogue of the questions dealt with by the Ambassadors at its three sittings in May. To judge from the number of the subjects treated, most of them must have got pretty scanty attention. None of the questions dealt with were of much importance, and the Prime Minister, defending the Conference as a useful body for clearing up various small matters arising from the various peace treaties, said that no great question of an independent character had been referred to the Ambassadors, and implied that none would be. Asked whether all the work of the Conference could not with advantage be done by the League, Mr. MacDonald answered that when the Conference was wound up the League could no doubt take over what was left. It must be admitted that most of the items on the lengthy list read by the Prime Minister are no affair of the League's, and so long as the Ambassadors are kept strictly to this kind of work there is something to be said for letting them wind it up.

\* \* \* \*

A CORRESPONDENT suggests that the account of the Union Council meeting in the last number of HEADWAY did not lay sufficient stress on the changes it was proposed to make in the Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. To dispel any misunderstanding on the point, it may be well to quote the effective passage in the Council's resolution in full:—

The Council, after welcoming the Prime Minister's announcement that the Government policy regarding the Draft Treaty would be formulated before September, "hopes that the Government's policy may be formulated in full consultation with the Dominions, and may include the approval of the principles of the Draft Treaty, subject to such amendments in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Covenant as they may be able to secure."

\* \* \* \*

A CERTAIN pathetic interest attaches to the following brief letter received by the Secretary of the L.N.U. less than a week after the news of Mr. G. L. Mallory's death on Mount Everest was announced:—

DEAR SIR,—I have received your appeal for the League of Nations, sent to my husband, George Mallory. I know he would have wished me to send something, so from him I send one donation of £10.—Yours truly,

RUTH LEIGH MALLORY.

## AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE.

BY CALVIN G. WILSON.

IT is by this time a commonplace to remark that the main trouble about the League in America is that it has become irretrievably a question of party politics. That fact, however, has to be faced at the outset of any discussion on the subject. The word "irretrievably" is perhaps a little too strong. One may hope still that as the old controversies of 1919 get more distant, and knowledge of what the League is and has done becomes more general, whatever division of opinion there may be about America's association with Geneva will be on something other than party lines. At present, however, the Republicans are more or less committed to oppose the League, and the Democrats more or less committed to support it, though even this does not mean that a Democratic administration would think it possible or expedient to enter the League immediately as it is. The League plank in the new Democratic platform stipulates for a referendum before entry.

It is difficult, of course, for Europeans to make full allowance for the American attitude. The United States is far more absorbed in its own affairs than any European country. That, after all, is not surprising. The size of the country and its population count for a great deal. It takes as long to go from New York to San Francisco as from New York to Liverpool or Southampton, and the whole range of territory from Atlantic to Pacific is America. There is more than enough there to occupy all the thought and interest of the average citizen of the United States. The United States, moreover, which the foreigner thinks of as a single political entity, is to the American what its name implies, a collection of forty-eight different States united for certain purposes, but each maintaining a large degree of autonomy, and for the most part self-governing in respect of just those activities which most affect the life of the ordinary citizen. The politics the average American understands are not Federal politics, reaching out into the distant field of foreign relations. What matters primarily to him is town politics and still more State politics. A fight for the State governorship often arouses warmer feelings than the fight for the Presidency of the United States, and the man for whom political life is an ambition can find full satisfaction in party conflicts of his State Legislature. That is, at any rate, a partial explanation of what seems to be the tendency of the United States to isolation.

But there is another factor to which equal importance attaches. America is peopled largely, indeed predominantly, by men and women, or the sons and daughters of men and women, who have left Europe for America more because they wanted to leave Europe than because they wanted to come to America. They were the fugitives of the revolutionary movements of 1848 or other years. They were Poles and Lithuanians and Finns, and citizens of divers other nations, who had suffered under the tyranny of an alien government, and cared only to escape from it. The vast bulk of them hated the Europe they had left as much as the Irish-American has till a year or so ago hated a British-ruled Ireland. For them the League, which stands for the closer association of America with the continent which has meant so much ill for them, is something to oppose with a certain blind instinct far more difficult to handle than honest intellectual conviction.

These, let it be conceded, are not necessarily articulate expressions of American thought. Many Americans

have never put the thing clearly to themselves. They simply feel that America goes on very well by itself, and has much more to lose than to gain by involving itself in European complications. All this the supporters of the League have to battle with, but perhaps a more serious obstacle still is the all but universal indifference and ignorance. It has been computed by a sound judge of public opinion that not more than 15 per cent. of the people know or care anything about the League at all, and that of these 10 per cent. are in favour and some 5 per cent. against. There is room for some encouragement in these figures if they can be accepted. But a country only 10 per cent. in favour of the League is a long way yet from sending official representatives to Geneva. At the same time, it is clear that America must move steadily towards the League rather than away from it. Whether she likes it or not, she must take her place in the world, and she cannot stand out of the movements that are more and more centring round Geneva. The steady and irresistible movement of even a Republican administration towards co-operation with the League in the past three or four years is well worth careful study. The policy of aloofness was attempted, but broke down hopelessly in the face of circumstances.

To-day America is co-operating officially and effectively with the League over a constantly widening field. In the first instance, she sent unofficial representatives to sit on one or two Commissions dealing with humanitarian activities alone. Then full State participation followed in a body like the Opium Commission, which has important political bearings as well as social and humanitarian. Most recently of all, the presence first of Mr. Grew and then of Mr. Hugh Gibson on the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, when it was drafting a new Convention on the Traffic in Arms, marks a signal and notable departure from the attitude originally adopted at Washington. Just how far or how fast further evolution will come depends on a good many factors, conspicuous among them, of course, the result of the November elections. That America will accept the full implications of Article 20 of the Covenant seems, in any case, unlikely, but even though the Covenant retains its present form it should not be impossible to find a formula which will make the United States a full member of the League with some reserve on this and conceivably other points.

In the meantime, public opinion is undoubtedly moving, and moving consistently, in one direction. The organised Churches, which count for far more in America than is often realised on the east of the Atlantic, may be regarded as solid for the League. In Universities, both among faculties and students, pro-League opinion is completely dominant—a fact which cannot fail to have its influence on the political situation some few years hence. On the other hand, anti-League forces in party politics and in the Press cannot be ignored. They are in no small measure responsible for the fact that America is as far as she is to-day from Geneva. At some moment or other the question of full membership of the League will have to be faced squarely, and that moment will be less distant than sometimes appears. In the meantime, the prospect is that Americans will be instructing themselves gradually in the necessary facts about the League and will be steadily shedding prejudices born largely of ignorance. That will enable the administration, be it Republican or Democratic, to participate increasingly in particular League activities.

## BALKAN UNREST AND THE FUTURE.

BY A. G. MACDONELL.

A TRAVELLER who returns from the Balkans in this year of 1924 must, I think, bring back with him a profound depression and uneasiness. The future of that turbulent and pugnacious peninsula promises, to a superficial observer, to be as turbulent and pugnacious as its past. And the reason for it is clear. The centuries of Moslem tyranny and misrule are being followed by a period of Christian tyranny and misrule, which is quickly breeding the spirit of revolt and rebellion. The top-dog is sitting firmly and hardly on the under-dog, and the under-dog wants nothing better than to reverse the rôles. At present the top-dogs are Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, the under-dogs are Bulgaria and Hungary, while Greece occupies a central position of being under-dog to the Turk and over-dog to the Bulgar. Into this small geographical area are packed such problems as the invincible belief of Hungary that Transylvania is not Roumanian; the invincible belief of Roumania that it is; Bulgaria's claim to the Dobrudja; Roumania's ditto; the Macedonian maelstrom; the Bulgar-Greek refugee trouble; the Turco-Greek refugee trouble; the frontiers in the Banat; religious intolerance; linguistic and educational disputes; and a score of others. Overshadowing all is the perennial fear of the Bolsheviks, the fear that they may launch a direct attack on Bessarabia and the well-grounded suspicion that they have already launched an indirect attack on almost the whole of the Balkans with propaganda.

The result of all these quarrels is that practically every single individual in the Balkans falls into one of two categories—either he possesses a first-class grievance, or else he is afraid that he will possess one if he doesn't look out. Those in the second category, in consequence, spend all their time looking out and sitting on those in the first category with cheerful vigour. Those in the first, on the other hand, are too often starving, expropriated, or freezing, or all three; in any case they are certainly having a very bad time, and, as almost always happens, through no fault of their own. An innocent sufferer is likely to prove more dangerous in the long run than a guilty, and these people in the Balkans are being gradually driven by desperation into the very firewood for a big bonfire. And there are gentlemen in Moscow standing ready with a box of matches. Bolshevism has been called the disease of defeat. It is more nearly the disease of despair.

The danger in the Balkans, then, is twofold. There is the danger arising from excessive nationalism and the oppressions which accompany it, and the danger from excessive internationalism in the advance of Bolshevism.

The nationalist rivalry and hatred in the Balkans lay dormant during the Turkish rule and sprang into being only when the Turk had been driven out. The attack on Bulgaria in 1912 by Greece and Serbia, followed by the ingenious seizure of the Dobrudja by Roumania, left behind a great bitterness. It was almost inevitable that Bulgaria should take arms against Serbia in the Great War in order to revenge

themselves for 1912. Hungary, of course, was dragged in as part of the creaking Austrian war-chariot. The defeat of the Central Powers left Bulgaria and Hungary at the mercy of the Roumanians and Jugo-Slavs. Bulgaria, so far from retrieving the Dobrudja and the ground lost to Serbia in 1912, lost even more territory to Greece and the new Jugo-Slavia. The promised port on the Ægean has been withheld, and a heavy reparations bill has been imposed. In addition, the minority clauses, drawn up to protect Bulgarians in Greece and Jugo-Slavia, have remained a dead letter. Neither of the two victorious States have attempted to carry out their obligations, and there is no use blinking the eye to the fact that the League of Nations has been so far powerless to enforce them. Indeed, there is an unpleasant feature of the Greek treatment of the Bulgar minority which closely affects the honour, so it seems to me, of the League itself. The Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace are being settled in Greece by means of the League of Nations Loan. There appears to be no doubt that many of these are being put into Bulgarian villages, whence the Bulgars are forcibly expelled. Thus, in effect, the League is countenancing, if not assisting, the illegal treatment of a minority and the rescue of a Greek refugee at the expense of a Bulgarian refugee. The Jugo-Slavs in Macedonia decline to recognise the existence of a minority. "Macedonia has never existed; it has always been Serbia," said a prominent Jugo-Slav the other day.

Hungary, in its turn, has lost a considerable slice of territory to Jugo-Slavia, and Transylvania to Roumania.

These are the grievances of the two under-dogs in the Balkans which have been caused by nationalist excesses.

But it should not be forgotten that these are the very two countries which have had a real Bolshevik revolution, with great difficulty overthrown. It is easy to imagine that Moscow has its eye on them as suitable ground for another attempt. Peoples who have nothing to lose by a revolution are the most likely to try the experiment. And it is a sinister and lamentable fact that in the Balkans there are nations and groups of peoples who are being driven into the state of despair in which there is no hope except in an upheaval. A few years ago they asked for their political rights; they were refused. Now they ask for three things only: To speak the language of their fathers, to teach their children in their own schools, to worship God in their own way. Those granted, they would forgo their political rights. But if these are refused much longer, who can foretell the consequences?

People in the West talk glibly of isolating the conflict this time, of confining Balkan squabbles to the Balkan Peninsula. In much the same way the West ignored the Turk until Kara Mustafa in 1683 stood before the walls of Vienna.

If the Soviet attacks Bessarabia, even the most partial admirer of the prowess of our late Roumanian allies will hardly feel confident of the outcome of such a war; if the Soviet attack is coupled with Bolshevik risings among the oppressed minorities, an Eastern army may once more stand at the walls of Vienna. I doubt if Poland will be able to supply a second Sobieski. England and France will be called in. Where will it end?

## THE LYONS CONFERENCE.

A FRENCH League of Nations Society visitor to London about the end of May was impressed by observing the buses of the Metropolis plastered with the exhortation "Let's go to Lyons." In point of fact, the objective was a resort much nearer home than the silk city on the Rhone, and the British Union was not in position to claim credit for what looked at first sight like a particularly enterprising piece of League advertising.

However, a lot of people did go to Lyons, from London, and Paris and Berlin—among them Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Col. David Davies, M.P., Sir Arthur Haworth, Sir Walter Napier, Major A. G. Church, M.P., Mr. G. N. Barnes, Mr. W. T. Layton, Dr. Maxwell Garnett—and from many other places besides. What they went for, and what they got from going, are matters that need a word or two by way of preface. The International Federation of League of Nations Societies, to give it its full and rather formidable title, has still more of possibility before it than of achievement behind it. It consists of League of Nations Societies, corresponding more or less to the L.N.U., in most of the countries of Europe and in several States in other continents as well. Thus at the Lyons meeting of the Federation societies in Japan and China, in the United States and Canada and the Argentine sent delegates, while Australia was represented by an observer.

The aim of the annual conferences is twofold, and there is sometimes a slight conflict between the purposes for which the societies come together. On the one hand, the Federation is concerned with considering the most effective methods of advancing the cause of the League of Nations in the world and of securing increased support for it in the several countries which the constituent societies represent. On the other, it tends, consciously or otherwise, to become a forum in which a variety of resolutions, political, economic and social, are brought forward with the vague idea of influencing the policies of the League or of individual governments on the points in question. Whether some more precise definition of function may not be necessary in future is matter of opinion.

But to come back to Lyons, 1924. The resolutions here, as in the past, were varied. The Haiti Society wanted to condemn America for occupation of its island. A society of Russian émigrés was anxious to raise the whole question of Bessarabia. The Lithuanians were equally anxious to raise the whole question of Vilna. A prominent Phil-Armenian Swiss was anxious to raise the whole question of Armenia. The British Union had down resolutions on the Treaty of Lausanne and other matters. In the end, after a prolonged debate over Haiti, the resolution on that question was toned down to an expression of satisfaction that America had declared her intention of evacuating the territory as soon as stable conditions were established; the Lithuanian and Bessarabian proposals were side-tracked, and the British proposal that the League should decline to undertake the obligations assigned to it under the Treaty of Lausanne unless it was satisfied that it had the means of carrying them out was adopted, with a slight amendment designed to placate Turkish susceptibilities. A Chinese resolution, calling for a more equitable territorial distribution of seats in the League Council, was also carried.

The Economic Commission, apart from one or two questions of minor importance, concentrated on the still dominant problem of reparations. At Lyons in 1924, as at Vienna in 1923, a resolution acceptable both to French and Germans was agreed on without difficulty, and its adoption was signalled by an important and interesting speech by the principal German delegate, Count Bernstorff, in the Assembly. The

attendance of the former German Ambassador at Washington had caused a little talk beforehand. Certain elements in France could not reconcile themselves to his presence on French soil, and the French delegation was in consequence less fully representative than it otherwise might have been. At the actual conference, however, there was no suggestion or suspicion of lack of harmony. Count Bernstorff accepted fully the resolution calling for the early adoption of the Dawes Report, emphasising the value of League co-operation in its execution and urging the importance in the same connection of Germany's admission to the League with a permanent seat on the Council. The German delegate was disposed to think that Germany's admission should form the coping-stone of the settlement, and not be unduly hurried forward while many matters were still in dispute. His speech as a whole, which was warmly and generally applauded, was in full accord with the British and French thesis.

Of the other questions discussed, the most important (apart from a wholesale revision of the Federation's Statutes) were those falling under the head of Education and of Minorities. Education, which embraces all the activities covered by that discredited term "propaganda," constitutes the essential duty of every League of Nations Society in every country. The series of resolutions adopted under this head represented no great advance on the work the League of Nations Union is already doing in Great Britain, but for many societies in other countries they set a standard that is still far from being reached. In particular, the lines of sound historical teaching in schools and training colleges were laid down; a decision was taken to seek the co-operation of teachers' and other organisations in securing the elimination from school books of passages calculated to foster hostility between nations; steps were taken with a view to ascertaining how far League news was being broadcast in different countries; fuller publicity for I.L.O. news in particular was advocated; and the question of establishing a Federation journal was deferred till the existing occasional bulletins should have been further developed.

The Minorities Commission had, as usual, a number of specific complaints before it. Its most important resolution was one calling for further steps for the protection of minorities along two lines—(1) by the appointment of resident League Commissioners in areas in which any special minority difficulties are apprehended, and (2) by the creation of Mixed Commissions in cases where adjacent countries have one another's nationals living within their borders under minority treaties. A protest was also made against the "numerus clausus" system, under which, in many Central European universities, only a limited number of students of a particular nationality is admitted, the decision being taken regardless of intellectual qualifications.

Finally, there was disarmament. The question was handled for Great Britain principally by Admiral Drury-Lowe, and the main business was consideration of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The amendments already adopted by the L.N.U. were moved, and almost all of them carried. The division of opinion on the whole principle of supplementary agreements was sharp, but they were approved by a narrow majority.

Altogether the Lyons Conference quite maintained the traditions of its predecessors. In some ways, particularly in the breaking of the ice effected by the presence of a German delegation on French soil, it surpassed them. Where the next conference is to be held is still undecided. The Federation Council, which meets in London in the middle of October, will settle that. A meeting in Germany is not impossible, but that depends on a good many factors over which the Federation has itself no control.

## IN THE HOUSE.

June 30.—The PRIME MINISTER (to General Spears and others):

The Ambassadors' Conference met three times during May and discussed a large number of questions arising out of the Treaties. The Conference will be strictly confined to matters arising out of the Treaty of Versailles. When it is wound up such matters can, no doubt, be dealt with by the League of Nations.

July 1.—The COLONIAL SECRETARY (to Commander Kenworthy):

It has been decided that natives of British Mandated Territories are not to be recruited for service outside the Territories. While within them they may only be recruited for police and local defence.

July 2.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Edward Wood):

I hope to attend the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September. The French Prime Minister is also going, and I hope he and I will not be the only ones.

July 2.—The PRIME MINISTER (to General Seely):

I cannot yet make a statement regarding the Treaty of Mutual Assistance as the Dominions are still being consulted. I am not confident that the effect of this Treaty would not be to increase armaments. In any event I am convinced that this method is not the only method and I doubt whether it is the best method of approaching the subject.

July 9.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. Lansbury):

The following countries have representatives permanently at Geneva: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Hungary, Irish Free State, Japan, Poland and Venezuela. Brazil recently decided to establish a permanent representative at Geneva.

July 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Edmund Harvey):

It appears impracticable to take any further steps through the League of Nations or otherwise for the welfare of Armenian women and children in Asia Minor abducted and retained in Turkish harems.

July 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Sir Walter de Frece):

It would be impossible to lay before Parliament before the Recess instructions to be given to the British representatives at the coming Assembly of the League of Nations.

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

No suggestion was made during the Paris discussions that the principal proceedings of the Inter-Allied Conference should, like those of the Council of the League of Nations, be held publicly.

July 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Lowth):

The question of adhesion to the Optional Clause of the protocol of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice is still under consideration.

July 15.—Mr. CLYNES (to Mr. Austen Chamberlain):

The text of the Government's reply to the League of Nations on the subject of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance will be laid before the House as soon as possible. There appears to be no objection to laying also communications with the Dominions on this matter.

July 16.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. John Harris):

The Council of the League of Nations has ordered that copies of a draft treaty of disarmament and security prepared by an influential American Committee should be circulated to States Members of the Council, but the draft has not yet reached His Majesty's Government.

[Many of the entries in this column are summaries, not verbatim quotations of the answers given by the Ministers concerned.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

## QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

Q. What is the origin of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance?—F. H., Golders Green.

A. The Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission, created to assist the Council of the League to carry out its duty (under Article 8 of the Covenant) to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, came to the conclusion that security and limitation must go hand in hand. The Third Assembly in 1922 unanimously adopted a resolution approving this principle and asked the Council to instruct the T.M.C. to draft a Treaty on these lines.

Q. How soon will the German Republic be allowed a permanent place on the Council of the League of Nations, instead of being classed as a minor power?—E. M. Varley (Barnet).

A. The German Republic is not at present a member of the League of Nations, never having applied for membership. The question of assigning it a permanent place on the Council has, therefore, never been decided, and it is consequently not accurate to speak of Germany being classed as a minor Power. As soon as Germany applies and is admitted a Member of the League the question of electing her to the Council, either as a permanent or non-permanent Member, will become immediate. In point of fact, an understanding on this question may possibly be arrived at even before Germany's admission to the League.

\* \* \* \* \*

Q. What are the respective jurisdictions of the Council and the Assembly? Do these overlap? Can the Assembly overrule the Council's decision? If not, why not? In cases of extreme emergency and importance would the Assembly be called specially? If not, why not?—E. H. Philcox (Dulwich Branch).

A. To define fully the respective functions of the Council and Assembly would be a considerable task. The First Assembly appointed a small committee which presented an interesting report on the subject. Broadly speaking, it is not correct to describe the Council merely as an executive of the Assembly. They are independent bodies existing side by side, and having to some extent different functions. This is illustrated by the fact that the Assembly regularly passes resolutions "requesting," not "directing," the Council to take certain steps, and as the Council almost invariably complies with the request, the system works well enough in practice. There are, however, certain matters, e.g., supervision of Mandates, which are entrusted definitely to the Council under the Covenant, and in these the Assembly has no jurisdiction, though it is always open to it to discuss any part of the work of the League. On the other hand, the Assembly alone votes the budget of the League, the Council having no voice in this matter. The admission of new Members is a matter for the Assembly alone. So is the election of non-permanent Members of the Council. Sometimes joint action is necessary. The Council and Assembly, voting separately, must agree in such matters as an increase in the number of permanent Council Members, or the election of judges to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In a case of special emergency the Assembly would be immediately summoned, and provision has been made for this in the Rules of Procedure. With regard to the "if not, why not" question in reference to the Council and Assembly, the answer briefly is that the Council was given a special position in order that some regard might be had to the alleged rights of Great Powers, who are given a slight advantage by holding permanent seats on the Council. If the Council could always be overruled by the Assembly that advantage would disappear.



GENEVA, July 17.

THIS has been a fairly crowded month, with a session of the International Court at The Hague; the investigation now being conducted by the League Malaria Commission in Russia and the Balkans; a meeting in Brussels of the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation of the Transit Committee; a meeting of the Allocation Committee in Geneva; the Tenth Session of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments; the Committee for the Co-ordination of the work of the two Commissions for the Reduction of Armaments; the First Session of the Temporary Commission on Slavery; the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Opium Conference; and the Meeting of Experts on the Exchange of Publications. Nine more Committees or Sub-Committees are meeting in the next three weeks, and at the time of writing there is an "interchange" of medical officers of health just returned from Denmark and Holland, and winding-up their period of study with the usual three-day exchange of views and study of the League organisation and methods at Geneva. This, be it noted, is the so-called "slack period." It is all this steady, cumulative routine work that grinds out results in the end, although it has little news value, so to speak, for the general public.

The session of the Temporary Mixed Commission is dealt with elsewhere in HEADWAY, so that I will confine myself to some of the other Geneva meetings. The Allocation Committee is carrying on the usual earnest investigation as to how each State Member of the League can pay as little as possible. The real trouble is that the League Budget is too small to provide for sufficient discrimination between the Great and Small Powers. The small States argue with justice that their contribution to the League constitutes a far greater proportion of their total budget than the contributions of the great States, who in any case, they say, get back more than what they spend in salaries to their nationals in League service. The Great States reply that they cannot, after all, be expected to pay more than, say, one-tenth of the total budget each (which is what Great Britain pays). The British Empire, counting seven Members of the League, pays all told a quarter of the whole Budget. Even at that, British expenditure on armaments for one year is equal to seventeen centuries (1,700 years) of Britain's contribution to the League!

The real solution would be to increase the Budget by four or five times, and so space out the contributions in a just manner, but this is a way out which does not seem to appeal to either the small or the great States.

The first session of the Expert Committee on Slavery, appointed by a Resolution of the Assembly, which itself was passed in connection with the admission of Abyssinia and the undertaking by that country to suppress the slave trade, showed a certain amount of vagueness and hesitation. This is always the way with the expert committees; the first time they meet they do not know just what they are supposed to do nor how to do it. Gradually, however, they "dig themselves in" into international life, get their teeth into solid jobs, so to speak, and generally begin to produce results, which are then carried further by the Council and Assembly.

The present Committee made a good start by a review of the whole subject, by drawing up a programme of work for the approval of the Council, and by deciding—subject again to the approval of the Council—to use as their sources of information not only official data furnished by States in response to questionnaires, but also supplementary information supplied by private persons or bodies of a trustworthy nature.

The Mandates Commission held a session which was humdrum because it dealt in concrete detail, and was unattended by any "tiffs." Happy commissions, like happy nations, have no history. Here, however, is a brief chronicle of events:—

A Progress Report was read on special questions which had arisen out of the annual reports of preceding years, such as liberty of conscience and military recruiting; questions concerning land tenure; equalisation of import duties on alcoholic liquors; the frontier between the French and British Cameroons; the extension to mandated areas of certain international conventions (health, &c.), and questions regarding loans, advances and investment of private capital.

Thus, the Commission decided that it would be against the spirit of the mandate for natives from a mandated area to be recruited for service in an armed force belonging to a neighbouring country, a detachment of which might be temporarily quartered in the mandated area, and the British Government, through its accredited representatives, informed the Commission that it had decided not to maintain its right to recruit natives who came under this heading, while maintaining its view of British sovereign rights in British or British protected territory. This view was concurred in by the representative of the French Government, M. Duchêne.

The Commission examined the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers—namely, the report on the French Cameroons and Togoland, the report on Ruanda-Urundi, the report on Western Samoa, the report on Tanganyika and the report on South-West Africa. In each case the representatives of the Governments concerned were present, in accordance with the procedure of the Commission. Sir James Allen represented New Zealand, and Mr. Hofmeyr, Administrator of S.W. Africa, represented that country when the report on the South West African mandate was discussed. The presence of Mr. Hofmeyr not only contrasted favourably—one might say almost startlingly—with the previous attitude of the Union Government, which had been a trifle "sticky" about sending in reports, replying to questions, &c., but set a very important precedent for which the Commission expressed its deep gratification to the South African Government. It laid stress on the advantages which would accrue both to the Commission and to Mandatory States if the responsible Administrators of the territories concerned could from time to time themselves attend meetings of the Commission and furnish all the detailed information desired.

It is understood that the Commission has been invited to hold its next meeting (in October) at Wembley, in order to demonstrate the interest of the British Empire in the Mandates system and its appreciation of the Commission's work.

The Canadian and British replies to the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance have just been received, and the French is understood to be on the way.

On July 4th a tablet was unveiled (are tablets unveiled?) on the front of the garden of the Palais des Nations, dedicated to President Wilson, "the founder of the League of Nations." This was an act of appreciation by the Geneva authorities, and timed to take place on American Independence Day. The corresponding strip of the Quai de Léman has been renamed "Quai Wilson."

## THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS.

AN important step in the direction of the effective control and restriction of the traffic in munitions of war was taken in the middle of July, when the League of Nations Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments adopted finally and unanimously a new Arms Traffic Convention. This Convention will now go forward to the Council and Assembly, and if approved in its main principles by those bodies will no doubt be submitted to a special conference called by the League for the purpose of securing its formal adoption and signature.

The history of the post-war endeavour to impose definite control over the armaments which large and flourishing firms in many countries are turning out freely is comparatively familiar. The whole subject was dealt with in the Arms Traffic Convention signed at St. Germain in 1919. That Convention, however, was never ratified by the United States, and as other countries could obviously not be expected to restrain their own manufacturers from exporting arms merely in order to present America with a monopoly of the whole traffic, the Convention has been practically a dead letter. When its fate became clear the League took the matter up. But its efforts were for some time frustrated through its inability to persuade the United States either to have anything to do with the old Convention or to take any part in framing a new one.

In the last eighteen months, however, the attitude of Washington has been steadily modified, and in the course of the present year the American Ministers at Berne, Mr. Joseph Grew, now Under-Secretary of State at Washington, and his successor the present Minister, Mr. Hugh Gibson, have been instructed to take part in the labours of the League Commission which has been endeavouring to evolve a new Convention. At last month's meeting of the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission Mr. Gibson at the outset made a statement which contained the following declaration: "My Government is anxious to collaborate effectively in every well-considered endeavour to control the traffic in arms and munitions. It is ready to examine duly any proposal that may be made and to accept any draft Convention which it could submit to Congress with any reasonable prospect of ratification."

In point of fact, Mr. Grew's co-operation proved most valuable, and the result of the Commission's sittings, over which Lord Cecil presided, was a Convention which there is every reason to believe will meet the wishes of the United States Government and be signed by that Government in common with those of States Members of the League. Broadly speaking, the purpose of this Convention, as of the original instrument signed at St. Germain, is to ensure that no consignments of arms are exported from any country except under licence from the Government of the country, and all Governments signing the Convention bind themselves to grant no such licence except for exportation to a properly constituted Government. The arming of insurgents and irregulars will therefore become a matter of great difficulty.

The essential feature of any such Convention is that its working shall be supervised by some central authority, and it is accordingly provided in the present draft that a central international body shall be constituted by the League Council, with which shall be registered all documents relating to licences for the export of arms and the traffic in arms. In addition, every signatory of the Convention undertakes to publish every year a report specifying the licences granted under the terms of the Convention.

Whether the Convention will go through precisely

in its present form remains to be seen, but the success of the League in reaching an agreement acceptable at any rate to the Government (as distinct so far from the Congress) of the United States is matter for satisfaction. If the Convention had been signed and adopted five years ago, the evil effects of the indiscriminate distribution of accumulated war material might have been averted.

A second Convention, by which States undertake to adopt national laws to prevent clandestine manufacture of arms, or any other form of evasion of the terms of the Arms Traffic Convention, was also approved by the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission.

## VARIED VOICES.

The Prime Minister, House of Commons, July 14.

"On one of the last occasions when I spoke here, I said that the only profitable line of thought [regarding security] so far as I could see was through the League of Nations. The Pact, if you call it such, cannot be a bilateral pact, it must be a general one. It must be a pooled security."

His Highness Prince Tafari of Abyssinia, to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, July 17.

"I profoundly regret that owing to the rare opportunities for meeting and the great distance separating us, we have not hitherto been able to establish close connection with the peoples of Europe; but now, God willing, the time is ripe for us to draw nearer and become progressively better acquainted. Our entry into the League of Nations last year is an assistance to our forming close links."

M. Herriot, Premier of France, in an interview with Mr. Norman Angell, June 26.

"You want to know on what principle we shall continue our search for security. I reply, the principle of the League of Nations. Under Articles 10, 16, 21, we propose that the Allies should make a common and mutual treaty of assistance and then, finally, when certain existing difficulties have been overcome, offer to make Germany a party to that treaty, offer to her its obligations."

General von Deimling, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 25.

"I have had occasion to discuss the general situation with members of the Council. On all sides it is wished and hoped that Germany will join the League. There will be no opposition, not even from France. Everyone is longing for peace and hopes it will come through international co-operation within the League."

Dr. Marx, Chancellor of Germany, in an interview with the *Daily Telegraph*, June 20.

"One of the chief pre-requisites to Germany's entrance into the League of Nations is the League's development into a universal institution. The Geneva League can lose its character of an alliance of victor States only when it offers to all nations equal rights to their participation. . . . The German Government, therefore, has declared that it would seek admittance only when it is assured of a permanent seat on the League Council, which was from the very beginning contemplated both for Germany and for Russia."

## THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.—III.

BY CLINTON FIENNES.

THE first sentence of the Covenant of the League of Nations explains that the League was brought into being "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." To put the matter more briefly, the League was created to teach nations and to help nations to do things together instead of doing them separately or not doing them at all.

Take, as an example of the difference the League has made, the repatriation of the prisoners of war in 1920-22. There were some 430,000 of these men scattered over Europe and Asia, from Bordeaux to Vladivostok. They were of all sorts of different nationalities, but the greater part were German or Russian. They belonged, that is to say, to countries not members of the League at all. There they were, left stranded, some of them for years, in hostile countries far from their homes. Everyone had forgotten them. There was no one to trouble about bringing them back, no one to make the arrangements, no one to find the money, no one to find the ships. It was nobody's business in particular, and even the Russian and German Governments had far more important things to think about than lost and forgotten groups of Russian and German soldiers scattered over the world. Then the League stepped in. True to its gospel of international co-operation, it—that is to say, a succession of speakers at its Assembly—persuaded a number of States to club together and find the money, persuaded Dr. Nansen to organise the whole enterprise as the League's High Commissioner, persuaded the States in which prisoners were stranded to work together to make the High Commissioner's task easy, and so enabled the whole 430,000 to be gradually (and not so very gradually either) returned to their homes at the almost incredibly low cost of round about £1 per head.

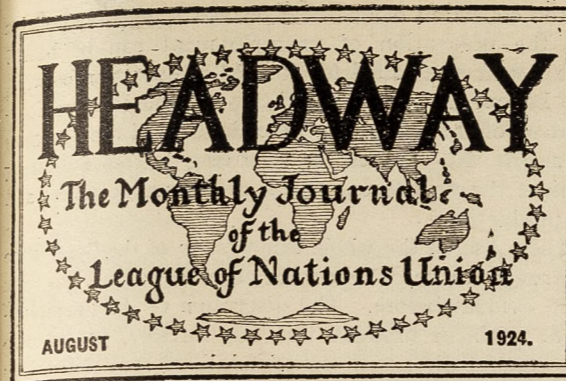
That kind of co-operation has been applied in all kinds of other fields. It was applied, in particular, in the first and second years of the League's history in a great campaign against typhus and other diseases that were raging then in Eastern Europe. The countries concerned—Russia, Poland, and others—could not cope with the danger, so the League collected money from its members and organised a sanitary service which did invaluable work not merely in the actual fight against disease, but quite as much in helping the countries affected to make the best of their own resources. The typhus campaign was not as successful as it might have been for the simple reason that the money needed was not available. A number of countries subscribed a substantial sum, but they did not subscribe enough, and as the League has no spare cash of its own the fight against plague could only be carried on a limited scale. But it serves equally well as an example of the way the League works. Dr. Nansen said he could never have carried through the repatriation of prisoners without the League behind him. Neither could he ever have done what he has in another enterprise the League entrusted to him—the settlement and repatriation of refugees—if the League had not persuaded the different countries to work together here, too, to accomplish the desired end. Some of them consented to take Russian students into their universities, others provided work or offered land, and some thirty of them agreed to recognise a "Nansen certificate" in place of a passport, for practically none of the refugees had valid passports, and none of them therefore could move across the frontiers of the country where they were. Here again what was done was made possible only through the League.

But there is a quite different class of reforms that only the League could carry out. These are cases in which no single nation can be expected to abolish some abuse unless other nations are ready to do the same. The best example of that is what is known as the traffic in arms. In Great Britain, France, America, Italy and numbers of other countries there are ordinary respectable citizens manufacturing rifles and machine-guns and aeroplanes, and other weapons of war, and selling them to anyone who wants to buy. Some of the weapons get ultimately into the hands of native tribes who want to fight one another in Africa. Some of them may go to help start a revolution in the Balkans. Some are sent to China for the little wars being waged by one military leader against another. Selling weapons of destruction is as much a recognised trade as selling butter across a counter.

After the Great War the Allied Powers tried to stop this. They drew up an agreement whereby the whole trade in arms everywhere would be strictly regulated and controlled, each Government undertaking to look after its own arms-traders. Now it is quite obvious that no one will sign an agreement like that unless everyone does. If, for example, Britain and France and Italy and other countries said they would stop their manufacturers from scattering weapons over the world, but America refused to do the same, the only effect would be that America would have the arms-trade of the world in her hands. As a matter of fact, that is exactly the difficulty that arose. All the Great Powers signed the Arms Agreement in 1919, but an agreement like this is not binding till it is ratified as well as signed. America refused to ratify it. So, in consequence, did everyone else, and the whole thing fell through. Later on, the League took the matter up, and after long and patient negotiations with America (which, of course, is not a member of the League) succeeded, in 1924, in drafting a new agreement which seemed to satisfy everyone. The agreement is not signed yet and there may be more trouble before it is. But the fact remains that this is exactly the job for the League to be attempting, for there is no other body but the League that could get the nations together and persuade them to act together in such a matter.

Just the same problem arises in the case of the opium traffic. The League is doing its utmost to end the drug evil. But opium and the drugs made from it are so easy to smuggle that you can only control the traffic by persuading every State to pass drastic laws to control the growth of the opium poppy, the export of opium from one country, the import of it into another, the manufacture of it into drugs, the sale of the drugs by a shop-keeper and the possession of the drugs by an individual. Take opium-growing, to begin with. It is a profitable enterprise, and you cannot expect one country to stop it unless others do. That is the real difficulty at the present moment. China and Persia, and Turkey and India all grow a great deal of opium. Will they all agree to stop its growth, or rather limit the growth to the small amount needed for making legitimate medicines? And if they do agree will they be able to carry out the agreement? In the present disturbed condition of China it is hard to believe that the Chinese Government will be able to control the opium farmers. And so long as China is growing opium and making money out of it, it will naturally not be easy to persuade other nations to stop it.

But here again, if anyone can succeed in getting the nations to work together, it is the League. The League is doing its best. It has been working at the problem for years, has drawn up a tentative programme of reform and has summoned an international conference for November, 1924, to draw up new agreements on opium.



## THE ARMAMENT DEADLOCK.

THE whole problem of disarmament is thrown once more into the melting-pot by the reply of the British Government to the League's request for its observations on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The reply, which is summarised in another column of this issue of HEADWAY, constitutes an uncompromising rejection of the whole principle of the Treaty. There is no question of fine shades. There is no suggestion of any amendments that would make the Treaty workable. The general Treaty is condemned on the ground that it would not fulfil its primary object of providing sufficient security to justify any nation in reducing its armaments. The partial treaties are condemned on the ground that they would lead to the old system of groupings and counter-groupings, which played so prominent a part among the ultimate causes of the world war. The machinery for putting the Treaty into operation is condemned on the ground that it is likely to prove unworkable when put to the test. The Treaty is condemned, finally, as giving too great powers to the Council which, under Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant, can only "advise or recommend," whereas under this Treaty it would be entitled to "decide."

These objections to the Draft Treaty could be discussed at almost infinite length. Practically all of them have, in fact, been exhaustively debated at Geneva, for the British Government adduces no argument which has not already been considered, and in most cases so far as possible met, by the various committees that have co-operated in the last three years to produce the instrument known as the Draft Treaty. So far as the League of Nations Union is concerned, it has never been suggested for a moment that the Treaty in its present form represents the last word in human wisdom. So far from that, the Union has itself drafted and published a number of amendments, some of which would go far to meet the very objections underlined in the British Note to Geneva. The Council of the Union, moreover, at its Annual Meeting at Wembley in June, adopted a resolution urging that the Treaty should be supported, but with such amendments, in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Covenant, as it might prove possible to get adopted.

It may be permissible here, without discussing the British reply in detail, to suggest that it misses completely the main principle on which the Treaty of Mutual Assistance is based. The British criticisms are directed almost entirely to points of military strategy, on the one hand, and of League procedure on the other. There appears to be no recognition of the broad idea—which may be sound or unsound, but is at any rate far too important to be ignored—that the security of the world may be obtained by an agreement between the nations

that all of them in case of need will make common cause against an aggressor. The real effect of such an agreement will rest, not on the question of whether the Council can reach its decision in four days, or whether there may or may not be some small friction about the disposition of forces of the chief military command, but on the grave reflection which will impress itself in advance on any would-be aggressor that in committing a breach of the peace of Europe or of the world it is deliberately, and by its own act, arraying against itself practically the whole forces of civilisation. If that agreement were solemnly contracted by the States Members of the League, it is hardly too much to predict that no Power would risk its existence by inviting a war in which it could under no circumstances be successful, and its complete defeat would be only a matter of weeks. That is the real basis of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and the British reply reveals no glimmer of appreciation of the psychological and economic factors involved in such a conception. Yet they are infinitely more important than any question of the detailed working of the machinery destined to give this conception effect.

The Government's reply, moreover, is wholly destructive. It rejects the Draft Treaty, but suggests nothing in its place, except, indeed, the old vague idea of an international conference, to which States not Members of the League should be invited. And even that conference is to be called at some unspecified moment when circumstances may appear opportune. It may be observed in this connection that international conferences to which States not Members of the League are invited are habitually summoned by the League itself. One of them is to meet to discuss the Opium question in November. This very Treaty of Mutual Assistance was sent to all nations whether Members of the League or not. Among these non-Members, America and Russia have sent their comments to Geneva, and if in due course a conference were contemplated, as no doubt it would be, to put the Treaty in its final form, every nation in the world would unquestionably be invited to it. But such a conference cannot be suddenly called out of nowhere. Every week and month makes it increasingly clear that the great problems of the world can only be solved by that prolonged and continuous discussion for which the League alone provides adequate opportunities. To project a conference dissociated from the League would be to prejudice its success almost irretrievably.

The new situation created by the British Note has now to be considered. It may conceivably be that the Prime Minister, engrossed as he necessarily has been in the pressing business of State, has not been able to give to the Treaty the personal consideration he would have desired. Opinions have changed more than once regarding the Treaty itself. The French at one time bitterly opposed it. They succeeded in securing the adoption of amendments they considered vital, and they now not only accept the Treaty, but find in it the solution of that security problem whose existence makes so deep a rift, not only between France and Germany, but between France and her Allies.

Are such second thoughts impossible for Mr. MacDonald? If the Prime Minister goes to Geneva resolved that no good word can be said for the Treaty, the effect on the whole Assembly—where consideration of the Treaty was likely to be the main business of the year—is bound to be deplorable. If even now he is ready to consider amendments along the lines he has himself so often laid down in his speeches, his personal contribution to the solution of the still insistent armament problem may yet be memorable. Leave the security problem unsolved, and not merely is the League's primary purpose frustrated, but the whole of Europe is kept poised on the edge of a volcano.

## THE I.L.O. CONFERENCE.

BY LOTHIAN SMALL.

THE links which bind together the League and its Labour Organisation were never more visibly present than at the opening of the Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference on the 16th June, 1924, in the Bâtiment Electoral at Geneva. The Council of the League then in session postponed one of its sittings in order to be present when M. Arthur Fontaine, Chairman of the Governing Body, declared the Conference opened. M. Fontaine expressed the appreciation the Conference felt of the Council's symbolic act, and there was singular fitness in the fact that it fell to M. Benes, as President of the Council of the League, to reply. For if Czecho-Slovakia has an enviable record in ratification of the International Labour Conventions, and is one of the few important industrial countries which has ratified the Hours' Convention, the credit is in large measure due to the forward-looking realism of M. Benes.

The British Government Delegate, Miss Margaret Bondfield, proposed, as Chairman of the Conference, that sturdy veteran in the fight for international peace and social justice, Hjalmar Branting; another instance of the interlocking of the League and Labour Organisation, for M. Branting, the former Prime Minister of Sweden, represented his country on the Assembly from 1920 to 1923, and still represents it on the Council.

Corresponding to the four items on the Agenda, four Commissions were set up, and, in addition, two further Commissions to carry further the work already done by the Office in regard to unemployment and protection against Anthrax.

For the adoption, in the form of Draft Conventions or Recommendations, of the results produced by the Commissions, an interesting new procedure was provisionally adopted—a procedure which corresponds to the demand that States should be given longer opportunity to consider in draft form any Conventions they will be required to submit to their Parliaments for legislation and ratification. This is a two-reading procedure, whereby when Recommendations or Conventions of the 1924 Session had secured the necessary two-thirds majority in a test vote, the Conference would thereafter decide whether a final vote should be taken at once or deferred until 1925.

Only one Recommendation was finally adopted—the "Recommendation on the Development of Facilities for the Utilisation of Workers' Spare Time." The Recommendations aim at securing these facilities by, e.g., rendering it unnecessary for workers to undertake additional paid work, by making their hours of daily leisure as continuous as possible, by better organisation of transport between work and home, and by increase of the number of healthy dwellings.

Three Draft Conventions and one Recommendation, approved by the 1924 Session, were deferred for final vote until 1925.

One Draft Convention and Recommendation aimed at securing "Equality of Treatment of Alien Workers in respect of Accident Compensation."

Two further Draft Conventions concerned respectively the "Weekly Cessation of Work in Glass Works where Tank Furnaces are Used," and with certain specified exceptions the "Prohibition of Night Work in Bakeries."

The discussion leading up to a resolution directing the Office to extend its investigation into Unemployment, registered the most important advance yet made

in the collection of evidence on which effective policies for the prevention of unemployment can be based. The Conference called for further co-operation between the Labour Office and the Economic and Finance Committees of the League in investigation of the operation of credit, with a view to removing factors militating against the regular expansion of consuming power and of production.

There was in the whole atmosphere of the Conference a stronger sense of corporate continuity than has ever been evident before. The discussion of the unemployment problem brought this out forcibly, as did also the general discussion on the state of the ratifications of previous Conventions, particularly that dealing with the eight-hour day. The threatened set-back to economic peace, nationally and internationally, resulting from Germany's suspension of its eight-hour law in November, 1923, on the pretext that longer hours must be worked if reparation payments are to be made, dominated that discussion and considerably disturbed the workers' representatives. Much encouragement, however, was derived from the statements of the French and British Government representatives, M. Justin Godart and Mr. Rhys Davies, that these Governments were on the point of ratifying the Hours' Convention.

As regards the Conference as a whole, the improved procedure, the growing sense of responsibility, and the increasing achievement of the Office and the Conference, justify a solid faith in the future of the Organisation. It steadily pursues its work of compiling information on industrial conditions throughout the world and on the attitude of governments, employers and workers, and by the method of public discussion it secures a constant increase of world agreement about these conditions, thereby inevitably raising the standard of life of the workers, and therefore of civilisation itself. At the Conference of 1924, 39 States were represented by 124 delegates and nearly 160 technical advisers. Thirty-nine of the delegations, including the British, were complete. Owing to the incompleteness of some of the others the workers' group suffered in numbers, a fact to which Mr. Poulton (Great Britain) drew pointed attention.

## ASSEMBLY DELEGATES.

THE following British and Dominion delegates have so far been appointed:—

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Prime Minister, Lord Parmoor, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Substitute.—Professor Gilbert Murray (sitting as full delegate when the Prime Minister is absent).

AUSTRALIA.—Sir L. E. Groom, the Attorney General, Mr. Charlton, Leader of the Opposition, Sir Joseph Cook, the High Commissioner in London.

INDIA.—Lord Hardinge, the Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir Muhammad Rafique.

"In short, the British reply implies the rejection of the famous Article X of the League of Nations Covenant, which binds States to lend each other armed assistance in case of aggression. While it emerges from all the deliberations that have been carried on at Geneva for four years that the question of disarmament is inseparably linked with that of guarantees, Mr. MacDonald's Government abandons the idea of guarantees to devote itself exclusively to the reduction of armaments."—*Petit Parisien*, July 19.

## BRITAIN AND THE T.M.A.

THE long-expected reply of the British Government to the League's request for its observations on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was despatched in the middle of July. It involves the complete rejection of the Treaty. Its fifteen paragraphs may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Expression of appreciation of the value of the League's investigations into the armament question.

(2) Government intensely interested in armament question, but it is vital that any scheme recommended by the League should be in all respects reliable and effective.

(3) Comparatively few nations have expressed full approval of Resolution 14 of the Third Assembly, on which the Treaty of Mutual Assistance is based.

(4) There are two lines of criticism: Are the guarantees in the Treaty adequate? Are the obligations involved such as the nations can undertake to carry out?

(5) If the Treaty is to produce a reduction of armaments, the parties to it must be absolutely confident that it will operate with certainty and effectively accomplish its purpose.

(6) Difficulty of defining aggression and doubt whether Council could decide in four days.

(7) Long delay must necessarily ensue before the forces required by the League could be brought into effective operation against an aggressor.

(8) The guarantee provided by the Treaty is so precarious that no Government would really feel justified in reducing its armaments. Moreover, the Treaty, if properly carried out, would involve an actual increase in the British naval forces.

(9) The proposed partial treaties would mean the re-appearance of the former system of alliances and counter alliances, which in the past so seriously menaced the peace of the world.

(10) Partial alliances may involve a conflict between the Council and individual States on the question of which of two belligerents is the aggressor.

(11) The Canadian Government has already replied that it could not participate in the treaty.

(12) The Treaty involves an undesirable extension of the functions of the Council, changing it from an advisory body to an executive body with very large powers.

(13) In short, the Draft Treaty contains no advantages sufficient to compensate for its manifest disadvantages.

(14) The Government cannot approve the text of the Draft Treaty. It finds, however, in the investigation devoted to this subject a proof of the desire of States Members of the League to solve the difficult question of armaments.

(15) The Government's policy is to convene a world conference on armaments when opportunity arises, this conference to include countries not yet members of the League, and to discuss all plans at present in the field, including the Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

## MANDATES IN ACTION.

THE Mandates Commission held its annual session at Geneva at the end of June, under the chairmanship of the Marquis Theodoli, but the volume of work proved so extensive that the proceedings were adjourned, and the Commission will meet again in the autumn. Sir Frederick Lugard was as usual the British member of the Commission, and Major Ormsby-Gore, M.P., attended to represent the British Government in regard to Tanganyika and other mandates held by Great Britain.

The examination of the reports sent in by the different mandatories was extremely thorough, and there can be no question that the Mandates Commission is discharging its task in a most businesslike way, so much so, indeed, that the comment has been made that it is useless for anyone who is not an actual administrator of a mandated territory, or at any rate actively concerned in the administration, to attend before the Commission, as no one else would be in a position to reply to the searching questions put by the members. Interest this year centred largely in South West Africa, particularly in view of the strictures that had been passed previously on the administration there in connection with the Bondelzwarts rebellion. The actual administrator of the territory, Mr. Hofmeyr, came to Geneva, and discussed the situation of the territory with the Commission for four whole days, the completeness of his statements making a very favourable impression.

One decision of some importance was announced by the British Government. Some comment was raised last year by the fact that though recruiting within mandate territory for military service outside the territory was forbidden by the terms of the British mandate, the British Government had held itself free to recruit natives of a mandate area in some adjacent territory, a practice which, though unobjectionable in the existing circumstances, might easily form a very dangerous precedent. Recognising this possibility, Great Britain has declared that it will abandon the practice.

An interesting discussion took place on the question of the liquor duties in British and French Togoland. These two mandate territories adjoin one another, and though the duties on liquor are in each case being imposed ostensibly in accordance with the provisions of the Liquor Treaty of St. Germain, the French are levying them in depreciated paper francs, while the British still tax on a gold basis. This means, of course, that the prices of liquor are far lower in French Togoland, and the consumption is largely increasing. Not only so, but the cheaper liquor has been pouring across the frontier into the British area in such quantities that the whole frontier had to be closed. The British representative, Major Ormsby-Gore, endeavoured to persuade his French colleague to agree to raise the level of the duties in French Togoland up to that prevailing in the British area, but no final conclusion was reached, and it is hoped that the matter will be discussed again at the adjourned meeting of the Commission.

"Teachers might exercise a great influence on the future of peace in the next generation by implanting in the children's minds an understanding of the meaning and structure of the League of Nations. I am contemplating in the autumn issuing a further memorandum to the local education authorities on this subject."—The Rt. Hon. C. P. TREVELYAN, M.P., President of the Board of Education, House of Commons, July 22, 1924.

## AN EX-SERVICE MAN'S FAITH.

THE following passages are taken from a paper on the relation of the British Legion to the League of Nations, read by Mr. J. R. Griffin, Assistant Secretary of the British Legion, at the Annual Conference of the League of Nations Council at Wembley in June:—

"Hardly had the clash of arms ceased when throughout every country that had been directly concerned we find ex-service men banding themselves together in organisations and groups of organisations.

These organisations, generally speaking, founded themselves on the broadest basis, and within a very short time anyone who had served anywhere on either side during the Great War had some organisation to which he could belong.

It took but a short time to bring into membership of these great organisations the women who in various ways were directly associated with the struggle.

The movement started in this country almost eighteen months before the signing of the Armistice. Other countries and Dominions followed, and gradually throughout the world a new force, a new power, was becoming felt in the affairs of nations.

In November of 1920, only two years after the signing of the Armistice, and before the official ending of the War, there met in Paris ex-service men representative of organisations in Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Roumania, the United States of America and Yugo-Slavia.

The Conference showed that, although of different nations speaking different tongues, with various outlooks, with widely different conceptions of life, these men had a common bond, that of practical everyday experience of War.

At this Conference the foundation stone of the Inter-allied Federation of ex-service men was laid. The Fidac, as it is called, came into being (though not completely, for since that date Poland has become a member). At the present time as regards ex-service men the Allies are grouped, the British Empire is grouped, Germany is grouped.

Almost without exception, these organisations have a dual programme. On the one hand, that arising from the first impulse—namely, a programme largely sectional in its aims, the righting of the particular wrongs of ex-service men in each country, the re-establishment of them in their nation's life. On the other hand, the wider, the nobler, the greater impulse moves them and finds expression in a programme which aims at bringing all ex-service men of every nation together under a reasonable, moderate and all-embracing constitution for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding, and a desire for Peace and Progress.

And almost without exception the national organisations throughout the world have risen in the second and more lasting part of their programme to the pledging of themselves to the support of the League of Nations.

This does not mean that their support, although being whole-hearted, is blind. They recognise, for instance, that to express the ideals of the League of Nations, machinery is very necessary, and that this machinery must be based upon the Covenant of the League. There is no doubt whatever that in the realm of Treaties and Constitutions the Covenant of the League of Nations is the greatest achievement that has ever been arrived at in the counsels of our race.

That the Covenant is perfect no one, least of all the ex-service man, is prepared to maintain, and for this reason, in addition to supporting the League of Nations and those things for which it stands, the Organisation of Ex-Service men, at any rate so far as this country is concerned, supports whole-heartedly the efforts of the League of Nations Union, which seeks to educate public

opinion to the provisions of the Covenant, its operation and the machinery which is established by it.

The Covenant, like Constitutions, will secure perfection only by development. This principle is being clearly proved in the case of the Fidac, the inter-allied organisation of ex-service men. When founded its Constitution included an article debarring organisations of ex-service men in ex-enemy countries from membership for all time. We have travelled far since that first meeting, and the outlook has, and is, still changing. The next annual meeting of the Fidac will be held in London in September of this year, and an amendment to the Constitution of far-reaching importance will be proposed. If sufficient support is forthcoming, Great Britain will move that the debarring article in the Constitution shall be deleted. If our proposition is carried—there is, of course, always the chance that it may not be—the road will then be clear, and at an opportune time, when obligations have been recognised, the German ex-service men will sit in conference as members of the same organisation as other ex-service men. Thus will the ex-service men of the world be leading the way in the breaking down of barriers which retard rather than aid the peaceful settlement of afterwar problems.

I have in a very brief outline aimed at drafting the attitude of mind existing among the ex-service community towards the question of world peace of the League of Nations.

Ex-service men are aware that the Great War through which we have passed has shaken civilisation to its very foundations. They recognise that the saving of that civilisation depends upon the absorption of those ideals for which the League stands. But while they believe in these ideals they recognise that it is not possible to bring peace and its fruit simply by believing in ideals. Machinery must exist to interpret and bring those ideals into operation in the affairs of nations. In the League we have that machinery."

## PAYING OUR WAY.

THE Union Council, which meets four times a year, braced itself last December for a great financial effort, calling on the Branches to endeavour to raise £10,000 by the end of June for the general work of the Union. This was admittedly a formidable undertaking, and it is a matter for profound satisfaction that complete success should have been so nearly reached. The actual facts are that by the beginning of July more than £9,500 had been raised. It is true that part of this sum represents arrears due in 1923, but even so the income from the Branches in the first six months of 1924 is greater than that of the whole twelve months of the preceding year.

What this means is that during the last six months the Union has been keeping its head above water unaided by large individual donations. Its expenses have been met entirely by the exertions of the Branches, essentially the proper method for a democratic and self-respecting institution to pursue. If the standard of the first half of 1924 is maintained the future of the Union within its present limits is ensured. Considering what the financial vicissitudes of the past have been that is something to be profoundly thankful for, but plenty of further progress is needed yet. Our ambitions cannot be limited to a continuance of the work on its present scale. As it is the budget is only balanced as a result of rigid economies which are in some cases effected admittedly at the cost of efficiency. If the Branches continue to contribute on their present scale and the larger personal donations on which we have relied so largely in the past are still forthcoming, some expansion of activity may soon be possible. In many directions openings present themselves. The only question is what work to tackle first.

## THE UNIVERSITIES MOVING. Correspondence

THE VATICAN AND PEACE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The great Vatican Council held in 1870 had suddenly to close when only half its labours were over, owing to political disturbances.

In spite of this, the Pope was able to issue agreed decrees of a religious nature, such as the dogma of Infallibility *ex cathedra*.

There was then no time to discuss or issue decrees on social matters with the authority of the whole Church sitting in Council.

It is generally understood that when the Ecumenical Council resumes its meeting in 1925, in a very changed world, many intolerable social and other evils will be examined and grappled with from the religious side, which is also being dealt with by the League of Nations from the secular side.

I write to ask if it is the intention of the League of Nations Union, directly or indirectly, to hold a watching brief at Rome when the Vatican Council again meets in 1925?

As there are at present more than nine millions of men being trained for war in Europe, I know of no authority equal to that of an Ecumenical Council to revise and alter the Canon of St. Augustine that it is lawful for Christian men to bear arms and fight one another at the bidding of the secular magistrates.

The authority of the Vatican Council, though in this matter not supreme, yet is of great weight, might also be exerted in proposing a framework of the Law of Nations to which all Sovereign States could subscribe.—Yours, &c.,

St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe,  
July 8th, 1924.

A. L. CALDWELL,  
Colonel.

THE GREEK REFUGEES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am dreadfully disappointed to see from the enclosed cutting that up to the present the League of Nations appears to have utterly failed to secure an international loan in aid of the unfortunate refugees. Surely after all this time something might have been done—something adequate—as no private help, however generous, can really cope with such an appalling state of affairs. I must confess that this failure on the part of the League has disappointed me very much, and I do hope that a more strenuous effort will be made to obtain international and official co-operation at once. However antagonistic national interests may be in other directions, the cause of charity and common humanity should appeal to all.—Yours, &c.

40, St. Charles Square, W.10.

MARY WAKE.

P.S.—If "in spite of the parsimony of the States members of the League, it has been possible to pay for the Secretariat buildings at Geneva"—HEADWAY, June—surely money might also be found for the homeless and starving. One would have imagined that the "last would come first"!

[Our correspondent is under a misapprehension. The International Loan was intended to defray the cost of settling refugees on the land or in industry, thus permanently relieving their necessities and making them productive citizens of the community. It must be on a business basis in order that it may be paid back in due time to the lenders. For that reason it obviously cannot be expended on ordinary charity. The loan will be raised in the autumn, if political conditions in Greece (a matter over which, after all, the League has no control) are such as to make success probable. Meanwhile the £2,000,000 lent by the Bank of England is sufficient to enable the work of settlement to be carried on. The task of supporting the refugees who are still waiting to be settled must be dealt with by private charity. There is no failure on the part of the League, and if any Government member of the League is to be reproached for not having put up money for this purpose we had better attack our own first.—ED., HEADWAY.]

A NEW note in the League campaign is being struck by the Universities, and Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League, was weighing his words when he expressed the view, at a recent banquet of the French Groupement Universitaire pour la Société des Nations, that this University activity was among the most hopeful signs of the present moment.

For some time the different branches of the League of Nations Union in this country have been working in formal co-operation with one another, and this British group has now taken its part in a larger and still-expanding international organisation. The secretary of the British group is Mr. C. W. Judd, who is at the same time Universities Secretary of the League of Nations Union. The plans for the international organisation have been worked out gradually. They were first formulated at a small gathering of representatives of different nations in April of last year. In September, during the Assembly at Geneva, the matter was carried further in informal meetings between students of eight nationalities. In April, 1924, at a conference of representatives of different Universities held at Prague, the International University Federation for the League of Nations was finally constituted. Five national groups were represented in the first instance—American, British, Czech, French and German—and Mr. Capper Johnson, of Oxford, the head of the English delegation, was elected first President of the new body, which, it may be added, received from the first cordial encouragement from President Masaryk and Dr. Benes, in whose capital the conference was meeting.

By the time the first executive of the Federation was held in Paris in July, the Danish students had joined, two Swiss sections had united and associated themselves with the movement, a Polish University Group had been revived and foundations of national university movements had been laid in Greece, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Roumania, Yugo-Slavia, Japan, and in different countries of Latin America.

The executive meeting was given an admirable and well-deserved advertisement by the banquet organised in its honour by the French group, when M. Herriot, tearing himself away for an hour from his conversation with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, addressed an audience of some 500 and declared his faith in the League as the one instrument for the salvation of the world. It may be added that here, as at the Lyons Conference a few days before, a German delegation was present and was received with the utmost cordiality.

The first public activity of the new Federation will be its Lecture School at Geneva in September. Lectures are to be given in the week beginning August 25 by M. Georges Scelle, of Dijon, on "The Juridical Basis of the League," and another course will be conducted by members of the League Secretariat on different branches of League work. Lord Cecil is to speak on disarmament. In September the Annual Congress of the Federation is to be held beginning on the 2nd, and during this period Mr. A. E. Zimmern will give a daily lecture on the work of the Assembly, which will then be in session. University men and women desiring to attend the Lecture School should write to M. Lange, Secretary of the Federation, at 88, Rue de Varennes, Paris.



## BOOKS WORTH READING.

THE International Labour Organisation has not been slow in making history, and has been fortunate in finding so able a historian as Dr. G. A. Johnston in these early days of its existence. Though Dr. Johnston disclaims any idea that his *Industrial Social Progress* (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.) is an official history, the stress must be laid rather on the adjective than on the noun; for a history, if indeed history can be written of events which are still current, is what he has produced. No man is more competent for the task than he; he has been more than a close eye-witness, for from its start he has been a planner and a builder of the organisation itself, and he brings to his survey the detached mind of a trained philosopher. For all that he is never dull, and he does not make too heavy demands on the previous knowledge of his readers. The plan of the book is straightforward and simple. In two opening chapters he draws in the background and perspective of his subject, since international social progress did not begin with Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. In the pre-war days, Conferences had met to discuss the conditions of world labour, though with almost one accord the results had disappeared with their termination; abstract propositions were put forward and debated, amounting to little more than pious aspirations to which no State ever intended to give legislative effect. To Robert Owen, more than a hundred years ago, belongs the honour of appealing to the Aix-la-Chapelle Congress of European statesmen, but though his appeal for the international regulation of industry, repeated at intervals by other pioneers, fell on deaf ears, it had become increasingly evident by 1919 that international remedies must be found for international industrial diseases, and enough had happened by way of slight success and abundant failure to justify and make inevitable the founding of the I.L.O. Apart from the greatly increased number of States which are represented in the I.L.O., an entirely new feature in the new organisation is present in the annual conferences which are held under its auspices; draft Conventions "are voted for by Government representatives on the full understanding that their Governments intend to introduce national legislation at the earliest possible moment to give effect to their provisions." How great has been the advance already made in the improvement of labour conditions Dr. Johnston makes amply clear in the accounts which he gives of the successive Conferences at Washington, Genoa and Geneva. Enthusiastic critics may urge that the Conventions which have been adopted fall very short of their ideals; that is inevitable, but, as Dr. Johnston points out, "it has to be remembered that the limit of progress in reforms of universal extent is determined in some degree, not by the most advanced country, but by the most backward." The essential unanimity of decision has only been made possible by compromise, though the good has nowhere been accepted as the obstacle, but rather as the stepping-stone, to the attainment of the best. If, for example, the Genoa Conference of 1920, which was concerned with the regulation of conditions of labour at sea, was at the moment a serious disappointment by its failure to pass the draft Convention "by a fraction of a vote," it is in no cold philosophic spirit that Dr. Johnston accepts its negative result as "in reality the best"; a vote passed by a bare majority against the will of a minority "would have been more inimical to the principle of agreement upon labour legislation than the failure of the Conference to reach a decision upon one item, however important, on its agenda." Details of the organisation of the I.L.O. are given with sufficient abundance and clearness to satisfy the most exacting inquirer, and not content with surveying the past and the present, Dr. Johnston

looks to the future. He believes that the future is full of hope for international and industrial peace through the I.L.O., both directly and indirectly, provided that in its daily work the Office is supported by public opinion. Lord Burnham is quoted as frankly reminding the Office of its duty "to educate the public as to the value of its work"; but it is equally necessary that the public shall display, by an intelligent and open mind, a willingness to be educated.

"The permanent solution of the problem of the freedom of the seas lies in international organisation, in a League of Nations for the definition and preservation of national rights upon the sea." This is the conclusion at which Professor P. B. Potter, of Wisconsin University, arrives in the last chapter of his book, *The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics* (Longmans, 10s. 6d.); he has already dealt fully with each aspect of his subject from pre-Greek days down to the period of the Great War, and his treatment of the future centres around a League, or the League, as an inevitable necessity. It is soothing to British pride to read his unqualified acceptance of the supremacy of Britain upon the seas and his tribute to the justice with which she has always used her power; the most modest reader will not be inclined to disagree. Great Britain cannot be asked to surrender the position which she has built up and which the geography of her Commonwealth makes essential to its existence. Its overturn would be no unmixed blessing and would be likely to leave the world at the mercy of other States whose power upon the land is expressed by overwhelming military force. Let us recognise the facts, says Professor Potter in substance, and let Great Britain, or, better still, Great Britain in company with the United States, be commissioned by the League to preserve the true freedom, but not the unchecked licence, of the user of the seas. Nothing less can serve all the interests involved than "Anglo-American co-operation and general international organisation for the suppression of war and the substitution thereof of international government in a League of Nations." Altogether the book is a fresh and stimulating treatment of a subject which is too often wrongly considered to be merely a matter of abstruse legal academics.

Mr. Humphrey Milford has a keen sense of the right way of promoting peace and international friendship. He has done no better thing than publish three series of books for children. The first comprises at present *Children of Other Lands* and *The Way of Friendship* (1s. 6d. each), the second *The Paths of Peace*, in two volumes (1s. 3d. each). Each of these contains a dozen or so stories of the heroes of peace through the centuries or incidents in the daily life of children of other countries. The third series is explained by its title, *Overseas Children*, and consists of six 3d. booklets with four coloured illustrations, a marvel of good and cheap production. The writers know the minds of young children and have escaped the fault of writing down to their readers. Nothing further need be said in the way of commendation than that these books will do good work on wet holidays as well as in their specific purpose of lesson books for school-time.

## BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

*The Government of France*, by Joseph Barthélemy (Allen & Unwin, 6s.). A competent translation of a standard French work on the Constitution and Government of France; of importance to all who desire to understand clearly the political ideas, parties and machinery across the Channel.

*Russian Debts and Reconstruction*, by Leo Pasvol'sky and H. G. Moulton (McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 2s. 6d.). If the American Institute of Economics,

## OVERSEAS NEWS.

VARIOUS Australian League of Nations Unions are tending to draw into closer touch, a joint meeting between them having been held a few weeks ago, when resolutions were passed dealing with the appointment of delegates to the Assembly and the advisability of setting up a committee on foreign affairs to report annually to Parliament on the administration of mandated territory. There seems some prospect that next year the Unions of the different provinces may be sufficiently federated to join the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Extremely satisfactory reports are received of Mr. Frederick Whelen's tour in Canada. He is speaking from coast to coast, some of the audiences numbering as many as 4,000. Among other gatherings, Mr. Whelen has addressed a meeting of members of both Houses of the Canadian Parliament, with the Speaker in the Chair.

One or two new branches of the Union have been formed lately in South Africa, and a good deal of fresh work has been undertaken, particularly in schools.

The American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association is co-operating with the League of Nations Union in a Lecture School on International Relations at Geneva from August 10 to 15. The Non-Partisan Association has established a bureau at Geneva to assist American visitors who desire to see the League at work.

A students' branch of the Japanese League of Nations Association has just been established and appears already to have attained considerable vigour. A meeting at Tokio University was addressed by a number of influential speakers, and a branch of the Association was also formed at Doshi University, in Kyoto, and at Waseda.

Professor Gilbert Murray, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union, has accepted an invitation to visit America in November under the auspices of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

The following books, which the Union has been asked to supply for the re-stocking of Japanese libraries destroyed by the earthquake, are reported as out of print, and therefore unobtainable through the usual channels: Charles Sarolea, "Europe and the League of Nations" (English edition); G. Lowes Dickinson, "The Future of the Covenant"; Barbusse, "Under Fire"; W. S. Davis, "Armed Peace"; Dwight Morrow, "Society of Free States"; Mathias Erzberger, "The League of Nations." If any reader has a copy which he would be willing to present it would be gratefully received. Please send, in the first place, a postcard offering the book, not the book itself.

The scheme for despatching copies of HEADWAY to League supporters in other countries is progressing, and at the present moment the demands exceed the supply. We should be glad, therefore, to hear from any other readers who would be prepared to post their copy of HEADWAY to some foreign country. A number of American League supporters would like to exchange their own copies of the *American League of Nations Herald* for copies of HEADWAY. Please address offers to the Overseas Secretary.

which has issued this small book, had paid as much regard to the financial capacity of its potential readers as its authors have paid to the financial capacity of Russia, it would have served their purpose the better. After a thorough examination of the situation, the authors conclude that with a responsible Government accepting the principles of civilised nations Russia can meet her obligations by ordinary trade methods and that the adjustment of her debts must form part of a scheme of general European reconstruction.

*Freedom and Unity*, by R. Coupland (Oxford University Press, 1s. 6d.). This lecture, delivered in India by the Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, expounds the theme that freedom, as illustrated by the history of the British Isles and Commonwealth, can only be attained by unity of service and that international co-operation is compatible with a true spirit of unity.—H. W. F.

## GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

- League of Nations Monthly Summary (Special Supplement). 6d. net.  
 League of Nations Monthly Summary No. 4. 6d. net.  
 Official Journal No. 4. 10s. net.  
 Saar Basin, 17th Periodical Report, C.198, 1924. 4d. net.  
 Report of Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. Third Session. C.184, M.73, 1924. 4d. net.  
 Standardisation of Dysentery Serum. First Report. C.177, M.49, 1924, III. 1s. 6d. net.  
 Second General Conference on Communications and Transit. C.27, M.13, 1924. (Records and Texts relating to the General Discussions of the Conference.) 1s. 9d. net.  
 Second General Conference on Communications and Transit. Records and Texts relating to the Convention and Statute on the International Regime of Railways. C.28, M.14, 1924. 3s. 6d. net.  
 Monthly Summary, 1924. No. 5. 6d. net.  
 Treaty Series, Vol. XIX. No. 4. 2s. 6d. net.  
 Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, 1924, No. 5. 1s. 6d. net.  
 Monthly Epidemiological Report, No. 66. 1s. net.  
 Monthly Epidemiological Report, No. 67. 1s. net.  
 Official Journal, 1924, No. 5. 3s. 6d. net.  
 Official Journal, 1924, No. 6. 3s. net.  
 Austria. 16th Report by the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations at Vienna. C.205, 1924. 9d. net.  
 Austria. 17th Report. C.248, 1924. 9d. net.  
 Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. Minutes of the 3rd Session. C.217, M.71, 1924. 4s. net.  
 Health Committee. Minutes of the Second Session (C.213, M.69, 1924). 1s. net.  
 Second General Conference on Communications and Transit. Maritime Ports (C.29, M.15, 1924) 3s. 6d. net.  
 Records and Texts. C.30, M.16, 1924. 3s. 6d. net.  
 [To be obtained in Great Britain from or through Messrs. Constable, 12, Orange Street, W.C.2.]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.	CONDUCTED TOURS TO	GENEVA	
	FOR THE 5th SESSION OF THE		
	LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY.		
(By arrangement with the League of Nations Union).			
LEAVING LONDON AUGUST 20TH AND EVERY FRIDAY.	11 GNS.	ALSO CONDUCTED TOURS TO VEVEY THROUGHOUT THE SEASON WITH VISITS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' BUILDING AT GENEVA	
Apply— P.T.A., LTD., 308, Regent Street, W.1. Phone: Mayfair 6160.			

## EDUCATIONAL.

GENEVA.—School for Girls, 18, Chemin Lacombe. Principals: Miss Cuthbert Potts and Mdlle. Schmidt. Thorough Study of Languages, Music, Arts, Eurythmics, Dressmaking. Special attention to health. The house is beautifully situated. Highly recommended.

# UNION NOTES AND NEWS

## Pageants and Prizes.

The pageant season has begun, and the weather has done what it should. The brilliant sunshine of the last weeks has been just what is needed for outdoor colour schemes to produce the effect which their designer had in mind. News of those who have profited by it comes in from all directions. At Blackpool Carnival, one of the two silver cups was awarded to the League of Nations car, which carried a tableau representing "the Angel of Peace." This was described, both privately and in the Press, as the most attractive and tasteful part of the whole carnival. The design was carried out in white—a tiered platform surmounted by a dome on pillars, on which was poised the Angel of Peace. On the steps of the platform sat fifty-four girls, dressed in national costumes, representing the member States, and the car was drawn by fifty-four boys bearing national flags.

A first prize was also won by Teddington and the Hamptons Branch for the decorated car which they organised for the procession in the Town Fête held in aid of the local Memorial Hospital on July 2.

At Wokingham, the Branch organised its own pageant, which has now become an annual event. Different schools were responsible for the representation of different groups of nations, and these groups included both heroes of history and personifications of the countries themselves. A lecturer remarked recently in Wokingham that "the salvation of modern British drama is to be found in the villages and small places where the people themselves carry out the performances." The members of Wokingham Branch fully bore out his statement, and their efforts were no less successful from the material than from the aesthetic point of view, as the pageant raised rather over £30.

## Yet More Summer Schools.

Geneva is to be the scene in August of a particularly interesting summer school to be organised by the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which has been since its foundation in 1912 one of the leading Continental centres for research work in child study and experimental psychology. The course, which is to be held from August 4-15, is intended to give an opportunity to teachers and others interested in child welfare to become acquainted with the more recent work of the Institut. The world-wide reputation in the realm of psychology of such names as Claparède, Piaget, Ferrière, Baudouin and Mlle. Descouèdus is in itself a guarantee of the valuable contributions to child-study which the Institut has made. It will be possible for those who take the course also to attend other lectures arranged by the University of Geneva, and a course is being given in English at the same time by the "Save the Children Fund." Visits and excursions to places of interest will also be organised.

The fee for the whole course is £11. This includes 2nd class return fare (travelling by the 2 p.m. train on August 2), hotel accommodation and fees for lectures. Any further information can be obtained from the Secretary, 4, rue

Charles Bonnet, Geneva, or from Mrs. Charles Loosli, 23, Antrim Mansions, N.W.3.

In Scotland a short "Autumn School" is to be held at Dunblane Hotel Hydropathic over the week-end October 3-6. Seven sessions will be held in all. Among the subjects discussed will be "The Social and Economic Unification of the World," "Thoughts on Diplomacy," "The Challenge of the Present World's Situation," and "The International Mind." Lieut.-Colonel G. D. Turner will speak on the Draft Treaty and on the 1924 Assembly, and reports on the Commission on Drugs and the Commission on the Traffic in Women and Children will be given.

The fee for the week-end is £1 16s., plus a registration fee of 7s. 6d., which must be sent on application and is not returnable. Application should be addressed to David Crawford, Esq., 213, West George Street, Glasgow.

## Glasgow League of Nations Fair.

The League of Nations Fair, which was held in the grounds of Queen Margaret College on June 20 and 21, more than came up to expectations. The Fair was opened on the first day by Lord Horne and on the second by Lady Aberdeen, and on both the grounds were crowded. The booths, which were named after member-States, were really representative, as the goods sold in them came in almost every case from the countries in question. They were decorated in black and white bunting, relieved by national flags and shields painted by students of the Glasgow School of Art, and the sellers were dressed in national costumes. Special congratulations are due to the stall-holders of the Ayr Branch, under the direction of Miss Campbell, of Craigie. They realised the splendid sum of £155 at one stall. The total proceeds of the Fair amounted to £2,830, exclusive of a gift of £1,000 from Sir Daniel Stevenson. Thus Glasgow has added one more to a list of really striking successes, beginning with their

phenomenal increase of membership in the autumn, and including a Flag Day, which achieved a record sum.

## Mr. J. S. Robson.

The Whitley and Monk-seaton Branch have suffered a serious loss in the death of Mr. J. S. Robson, who had been their chairman for three years and was devoted to the work of the Union. He represented the Tyne district in the General Council on more than one occasion, and in him the cause for which the Union stands has lost one of its most staunch supporters.

## League Demonstration at York.

On June 29, Mr. J. H. Harris, M.P., a member of the Union's Executive, spoke at a League of Nations Demonstration in the Market Place, York, when more than 3,000 people were present. The Demonstration was held under the auspices of the York Council of Christian Congregations and the local branch of the Union.

## Summer Indoor Meetings.

The illusion that it is impossible to hold indoor League of Nations meetings in the summer is rapidly being dispelled. A few weeks ago, for example, Dr. Garnett, addressing a meeting at Eastbourne on a brilliant evening, when the sea-front was thronged with holiday crowds, found every seat in the town hall occupied and most of the available standing ground also, by an audience content to listen to a three-quarters of an hour address and to stay on asking questions for about as long again.

## How to Catch the Children.

Parties of school children who pass the L.N.U. Pavilion at Wembley are much attracted by the little paper flags representing the Union "world in stars" badge. The time taken for a whole crowd to buy one each affords an opportunity for a short talk on the meaning of the symbol, and quite a large audience often collects to listen.

*When You Visit*

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION



*Call at the Kiosks of  
Fleetway Press, Ltd.*

THE  
SOLE CONCESSIONAIRES  
FOR ALL  
OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS  
POSTCARDS, VIEW BOOKS  
SOUVENIRS, &c.

*Warning*  
BUY ONLY THE OFFICIAL GUIDE  
ONE SHILLING.

**Sir Oliver Lodge and the "Death Ray."**

In an address at Lozells Street (Birmingham) Branch on Sunday, June 22, Sir Oliver Lodge emphasised the fallacy of supposing that inventions like the "Death Ray," if such a discovery was actually perfected, would make war impossible by increasing its horrors. "The only way to end war," he said, "is to end the will to war, and we must trust in humanity, which, after all, has a lot of good in it." He described the League as "the one actual going concern that made for the unity of the world."

**Public Opinion and the Union.**

Speaking at a meeting of Brampton Bryan Branch, Mr. Hardwick, the Branch Secretary, said that in carrying out God's purposes to humanity it was necessary as an essential part of the Christian Religion to put personal endeavour before public opinion as a reason for becoming a member of the League of Nations Union. In other words, the Union does not follow public opinion; it creates it.

**League Essay Prize.**

Mr. Robert Temperley, a member of the Newcastle branch, has offered a prize of £10 10s. to Students of the Armstrong College, Newcastle, for the best essay on the League of Nations, the essay to be written during the present vacation.

**Viscount Cecil in Aberdeen.**

It is the ambition of every Branch of the Union at one time or other to have Viscount Cecil as a speaker, and on June 25 the Aberdeen Branch realised this ambition. Lord Cecil paid a flying visit to Aberdeen and took part in three most successful engagements. He was entertained to luncheon by the Chamber of Commerce, when he delivered a telling appeal to the business men of the city on the value of the League to Commerce.

After speaking at a garden party in the afternoon, Lord Cecil addressed a large public meeting in the evening. The subject for this address was "World Peace and Disarmament," and after explaining the rather complicated Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, Lord Cecil made an impressive appeal to the people to come forward and take part in the work of the Union. He pointed out that "the best judges in France were convinced that public opinion in France was behind the League and desired its success," and emphasised the paramount importance, which the Treaty recognised, of giving to countries some security which effectively took the place of armaments.

**Big Push in Edinburgh.**

The Edinburgh and East of Scotland District Council are making a special effort during the meeting of the Assembly of the League in September to increase the membership and the funds of the district and the branches in the area. Particulars of the scheme are available, and can be obtained free on application to the Secretary of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

**WALES.**

The Welsh National Council has acquired new office premises at 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff. A generous gift of £200 from Sir Herbert Cory, Bart., J.P., has solved, to some extent, the problem of equipping these new offices.

The Secretary and Lecturer of the Welsh National Council have paid visits to Welshpool, Newtown, Machynlleth, Barmouth, Blaenau-Festiniog and Wrexham. At each centre representatives from Branches in the respective areas met them and discussions were held. Very keen interest was evident throughout. Mr. David Davies, M.P., with his usual generosity, defrayed all the expenses connected with this tour.

An enthusiastic meeting was held at Pontardulais. Excellent addresses were delivered by Miss Elined Prys and Professor T. A. Levi, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B.

The Rev. Gwilym Davies received the following telegram from the Minister of Education for Poland: "Please convey to children of Wales our heartiest thanks and wishes. Assure them that our children join in the common

effort for great ideals of League of Nations.—MINISTER, Milaszewski, Warsaw."

The following letter, dated Upsala, July 9, is from the Archbishop of Upsala: "The Swedish children and parents have read with hearty sympathy and gratitude the wonderful message that you kindly sent us last month on behalf of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which we ardently wish a Christian soul and a strong future for abolishing War and deepening Peace in men's minds and in our distressed world. Please forward in the best way to the boys and girls of your Principality our thankful and brotherly solidarity in the great and true ideal expressed in your beautiful message.—Sincerely yours, NATHAN SODERBLOM, Archbishop, Upsala."

**New Corporate Members.**

BOLDON Lodge of Durham Miners' Association. BOWDEN Congregational Church; Wesleyan Church. BRISTOL—Redfield Brotherhood. BURRADON Lodge Northumberland Miners' Association. CHELTENHAM—Highbury Congregational Church. COLCHESTER—Headgate Congregational Church. CROOK—Billy Row Primitive Methodist Church; Mount Pleasant Primitive Methodist Church; Primitive Methodist Church. GATESHEAD Primitive Methodist Church. REDLEIGH Lodge Durham Miners' Association. GLASGOW—Stevenson Memorial Church. GUILDFORD Branch of National Council of Women. HIGH WYCOMBE—Trinity Congregational Church. HOWDEN-LE-WEAR Primitive Methodist Church. KETTERING—Victoria Hall Mission. LANGLEY PARK Lodge Durham Miners' Association. LEAMINGTON Baptist Church. MANCHESTER—St. John's Men's Class, Farnworth; The Wesley Guild, Water-sheddings. NORTH SHIELDS—Preston Colliery Lodge of Northumberland Miners' Association. PORTSMOUTH and District Free Church Council. SOUTHAMPTON—St. Mary's Parochial Church Council. STOCKSFIELD-ONTYNE—Bywell Liberal Association. TOTNES Baptist Church. TRINDON GRANGE Lodge of Durham Miners' Association. WHITLEY BAY Presbyterian Church. WIDFORD Parochial Church Council. WILLINGTON—Bowden Close Primitive Methodist Church.

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

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

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

Membership, *minimum*, 1s.

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

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

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

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

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

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "Freenat, Knights, London."  
Telephone: Victoria 9780.

All communications respecting advertisements must be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1, and not to the offices of the Union.