



HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE Austrian enterprise is going through one of those rather difficult phases which were bound to occur from time to time, and the importance of which may be in danger of being a little unduly exaggerated by their contrast with the unchequered success that marked the early stages of the reconstruction scheme. Two causes are operating to make the situation difficult—neither of them, it is to be observed, casting any reflection on the League's conception or administration of the scheme. In the first place the Socialists, as the political opponents of the Government in power in Austria, have never been able to resist the temptation to make capital out of certain necessarily unpopular features in the scheme. No one, of course, likes the extensive dismissal of large numbers of superfluous employés, but it had to be carried out and the Government was pledged to carry it out. But rather than reduce on the scale prescribed by the League the Government, exposed all the time to the attacks of its political opponents, has preferred to go on paying salaries it cannot afford, and balance its budget by means of excessive taxation. That, as the League's High Commissioner warned the Government, could not long continue, and a Budget deficit has already made its reappearance. The other cause of difficulties is the financial situation created by wild speculation by the Vienna banks. Over that, clearly, the League could have no control, but it is affecting the whole economic situation of the country. The League Council will have

important rulings to give regarding Austria. Fortunately it has the best financial advice in Europe at its disposal.

* * * *

THE successful conclusion of the Inter-Allied Conference in London has the effect of centring public attention—the attention at any rate of that part of the public which sees a little beyond the actual moment—on Geneva. The Conference has carried through the one piece of business it had in hand, the decision on the application of the Dawes Report. It has settled nothing about the military evacuation of the Ruhr, except that it shall take place not later than twelve months hence, a decision taken not in the actual conference, but in conversations between the French, Belgian and German representatives. Neither has the conference settled anything about French security. That is natural enough. The question of French security was clearly outside its scope. But France cannot leave the question unsettled. Indeed, although it has been suggested that the main reason for France's insisting on retaining her temporary hold on the Ruhr was the desire to have something to bargain with against commercial concessions from Germany, a much more natural explanation is that the French Government is holding the Ruhr for security till she can get security by some other means. What those means are will no doubt be disclosed when M. Herriot addresses the League Assembly. It is significant that the despatch of France's Note on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was delayed till her Prime Minister returned home after the London

Conference. But can French security be discussed effectively, even at Geneva, without the Germans?

MEANWHILE the relation of the London Agreement to the League is worth observing. To the League itself, indeed, there is no actual relation at all, but the Court of International Justice, either as a full Court or in the person of its President, figures repeatedly in the documents initialled at the Foreign Office on August 16th. In the first place it is laid down regarding the settlement as a whole that "all disputes which may arise between the Allied Governments, or one of them, on the one side, and Germany on the other side, with regard to the present agreement shall, if they cannot be settled by negotiation, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice," and a similar provision is made for the settlement of any disputes between the Allies themselves regarding the agreement they alone signed without the Germans. In addition to these general provisions, where there is a question of the appointment of an arbitral commission on matters involved in the different agreements between Allies and Germans it is laid down that in the event of the two sides failing to agree as to the Commission's composition it shall be nominated by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice. These provisions are of some interest, for they emphasise what was, indeed, clear already, the value to the world of the existence of some recognised and indisputably impartial authority that can always be invoked as the last court of reference in disputes. Till lately the President of the United States or the President of the Swiss Republic were habitually mentioned in diplomatic documents when a detached and unbiased arbiter was needed. Now The Hague takes the place of Washington or Berne.

COMMENTING on the labours of the Allied Conference a day or two after its close, the *Times* very justly observed that "there is no doubt that the conclusion of the London Agreement, with the liberal provision made in it for arbitration, has reinforced what may be called 'the League of Nations' idea.'" It is satisfactory that recognition should thus be made of a fact which is sometimes a little overlooked by those who trace League influence only in so far as they see the League mentioned by name in the Conference reports. It has the further value of concentrating attention on a matter to which constructive minds are more and more turning, the further strengthening of the arbitration provisions of the Covenant—a subject on which the Scandinavian countries in particular have always held decided views. As a matter of fact, the Covenant, with its alternative provisions for arbitration, enquiry by the League Council, or reference to the Permanent Court, leaves few loopholes to be closed up, and it is by no means certain that such as are open can be closed yet. But it is well worth while considering whether they can be. If the great Powers are prepared to give a lead, it is practically certain that everyone else would follow. But the Great Powers have not yet got even as far as accepting the obligatory jurisdiction protocol of the Court of International Justice.

MR. J. W. DAVIS, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, has taken an unexpectedly pronounced line on the League of Nations. While the official Democratic platform—contrary to the advice of leaders like Mr. Newton D. Baker—rather cautiously suggested submitting the whole question to a plebiscite before any action was taken, Mr. Davis expressed himself as "serenely confident" that the American people will one day approve entry into the League, and without tying himself to the device of a plebiscite, contents himself with the general observation that a forward step cannot be taken till the common judgment of the American people is ready for such a move. In reply to his Democratic opponent's declaration, President Coolidge advocates American association with the Permanent Court of International Justice, subject to the comparatively innocuous Harding-Hughes reservation, while he lays stress on the part America is already taking in various League activities, such as opium and health. It is not for observers in this country to show undue partisanship regarding a contest which will after all be decided on many issues, of which the League of Nations is only one, and to the average American voter by no means the chief. From the point of view of the League, indeed, there may be more loss than gain in being thus flung once more into the political arena; but the attention given by both the principals to the subject shows how prominent a place the League holds in the mind of America.

AN apparently almost casual statement in a letter from M. Rakovsky to the British Government to the effect that Russia intended, or was prepared, to send an "observer" to Geneva to keep touch with the League of Nations marks a slight, but interesting, advance in the relations of the Soviet Republic with Geneva. What is meant by an observer in this connection is not quite clear. There could not well be any question of a Russian representative "sitting in" at the Council or Assembly as an American has been in the habit of doing on the Reparation Commission at Paris. It must mean rather that the Soviet Government realises the value of having on the spot at Geneva some official representative qualified to discuss with members of the Council or Secretariat League activities that concern, or might with advantage concern, Russia. It will be remembered that Russia took part officially in the League Health Conference at Warsaw in 1922, that she is officially represented on the League Health Organisation, that she took part in the Conference of Naval Experts at Rome early this year, and that she sent in a reasoned reply to the League's request for her views on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The importance of these rather scattered contacts must not be exaggerated, but the appointment of an observer, if it is actually made, suggests the probability at any rate of a closer co-operation between Russia and the League's technical organisations in the future.

THE value of a "Mixed Commission" such as is provided for in various areas by the Treaty of Lausanne, and has been established voluntarily on the Gréco-Bulgarian frontier by the two countries

concerned, is well illustrated by the handling of a dangerous little incident which took place recently in a frontier village named Tarlis. The village, like all such frontier settlements, has a hopelessly mixed population, and it was to avert, and if necessary inquire into, disputes in such areas that the Mixed Commission, consisting of one Greek, one Bulgar, and two nominees of the League, was instituted. A fracas having arisen in the marketplace of Tarlis one evening at the end of July, the Greek commandant arrested between 60 and 70 Bulgarian peasants, marched a number of them off along a difficult mountain road, and then shot down and killed 17 on the excuse that they, the escort, had been attacked by komitadjis, and the captives had tried to escape. The whole incident was investigated by the Mixed Commission at the request of the Bulgar Government, and within three weeks a report was presented, signed by all its members, including the Greek, severely censuring the action of the Greek authorities. Both the incident itself and the question of culpability are secondary matters. What is worth underlining is the importance of having on the spot an impartial and authoritative body capable of establishing rapidly the truth about incidents which, if left to the rival misrepresentations of both sides, may quickly lead to dangerous diplomatic strain.

THE action of H.M.S. *Cockchafer* at Wanhsien, according to the imperfect reports at present available, looks terribly like a breach of the Covenant and a repudiation of the pledge given to the Assembly last year by Lord Cecil, on behalf of Great Britain, during the discussion of the Corfu incident. The case was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Lansbury, but at that time Mr. Hodges, who answered on behalf of the Admiralty, had not received the written report of the officer responsible. It appears that an American, named Hawley, or Hamley, was engaged in shipping wood-oil down the river Yangtze. The Chinese say this was in breach of an agreement, the Americans deny it. In the course of a fight with Chinese oil traders Hawley was knocked into the river and drowned. How far this was an accident, how far a deliberate murder, and how far the civic authorities may have been responsible for it, are points on which no information is forthcoming.

HOWEVER, H.M.S. *Cockchafer* threatened to bombard Wanhsien unless (1) two persons were executed in reprisal for Mr. Hawley's death, and (2) the civic authorities of Wanhsien attended his funeral and "did penance" in some unspecified way. The authorities obeyed; two men were selected and executed, and there was no bombardment. Of course, judgment must be suspended until the facts are known more accurately, but we need hardly point out that it is contrary to the principles of the League of Nations that one member of the League should commit, or threaten to commit, acts of war against another without first seeking satisfaction by legal methods. The officer in command of the *Cockchafer* appears to have acted on the old principle of "reprisals," which was definitely repudiated by the British representative at last year's Assembly and has long

been condemned by the conscience of the civilised world. A statement of the case for the *Cockchafer* appears in the *Times* of August 15, expressing the views of that paper's Shanghai correspondent. It does little to allay our misgivings.

WE have received an interesting letter, unfortunately too long for insertion in extenso, from Chief Deskaheh, head of the Six Nations Indians, taking exception to a note in last month's issue of HEADWAY regarding the Indians' appeal to the League against certain alleged injustices done them at the hands of the Canadian Government. Chief Deskaheh quotes the material portions of what he terms the "Haldimand Treaty" of 1784, by which a certain tract of land is set apart for the occupation of such Indians as desire to settle there, consisting of six miles on either side of the Ouse River running into Lake Erie. It does not appear that the document is anything more than it professes to be, a grant of land for an Indian settlement in a particular locality, nor is there, at any rate in the passages quoted by Chief Deskaheh, anything to support the Indian claim to live under their own tribal laws instead of under those of the Dominion of Canada. Neither can a plain unilateral grant of land be regarded as in any way the equivalent of a formal treaty under international law. These, however, are merely obvious comments suggested by consideration of the document Chief Deskaheh quotes. There may quite possibly be a good answer to them. In any case HEADWAY has no desire to prejudice the Indians' case in any way. As was said in the August issue, the whole claim is a matter to be examined on its merits by the proper tribunal.

WHETHER that tribunal be the Supreme Court of Canada (the impartiality of a Dominion judiciary is no more to be questioned than that of a British) or the Privy Council, the position as regards the League is clear. The League is concerned with independent nations, sufficiently independent to be actual League members, or with minorities specially committed to its protection by treaty. It is manifest that the Indians fall under neither of those categories. No one could contend that the courtesy reference in the 1784 Treaty as "His Majesty's faithful Allies" overrides the fact that the Indian territory is as much part and parcel of the Dominion of Canada as the Indian reserves further south are part and parcel of the United States of America. If, moreover, it is held, as it commonly is, that even the relations between the self-governing Dominions are a matter of domestic concern to the British Empire, and therefore outside the purview of the League, it stands to reason that the relation between a small community forming part of one Dominion and the Dominion as a whole must be completely beyond the League's horizon. The League operates and must operate within the four corners of the Covenant. To give it a roving commission to enquire into any alleged grievance—however well founded—by groups of claimants in this country or that would do it infinite harm. The case of Catalonia against Spain is far stronger than that of the Indians against Canada, but the League has quite properly declined to take any cognizance whatever of the Catalonians' claims.

GERMANY AND THE T.M.A.

THE following passage from the German Government's reply to the League of Nations on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance is worth quoting textually, particularly in view of the part new arbitration proposals are understood to be likely to play in the discussions at the coming Assembly:—

"If we really wish to promote that realisation of disarmament of such essential import to the League of Nations, we must not follow the lines laid down in the new draft treaty. They are lines which neither touch nor run parallel with the principles of the Covenant, but which diverge further and further from them. Only an organic development of the Covenant can bring success, not a heterogeneous adjunct thereto. What we need is not an accumulation of treaties and agreements side by side with the Covenant, but an intensification and refinement of the Covenant itself.

"This development cannot be obtained by opposing force to force. Illegal force will only be driven from the world by opposing it with justice, whereby the force employed to meet injustice will be justified and hallowed. Forbid the forcible settlement of disputes. Forbid the attempt to obtain one's supposed rights by force altogether. Prohibit all special agreements which shelve or contravene the general treaty. Remove all hindrances left by former treaties. Side by side with the Court of International Justice for purely legal disputes create a court of arbitration for political conflicts and endow it with every guarantee for the juridical independence of its members. Decree compulsory adherence thereto as well as to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Endow both courts with the right and the duty to issue provisional injunctions *uti possidetis*, especially in reference to the ostensibly peaceful occupation of foreign territory. Appoint an organ which shall oppose the peace-breaker with the weight of the League of Nations in order to carry into effect the decree and all other decisions of the Court of Arbitration and the Court of International Justice. Above all, make disarmament obligatory upon all nations. Finally, see to it that the justified wishes of the population for an adjustment of frontiers be met by means of properly regulated legal procedure.

"Remember that development never ends, and that unless you wish it to find vent in some violent eruption, you must not make the futile attempt to curb and confine it. No, we must give it free progress along the lines of right and justice. So, and only so, will it be possible to provide the premisses for the vigorous efficacy of the League of Nations; so, and only so, to create the possibility of an energetic growth of its authority; so, and only so, to prepare the way for that universality of its membership without which it will never be able to fulfil its great task. Then Germany, too, would no longer need to hesitate whether she should, on condition of equality of rights, enter the community of nations united in the League, and to co-operate in the maintenance of peace on the basis of justice and righteousness."

While there is much here that is valuable and suggestive, it will be observed that the German Note ignores the fundamental difficulties of the situation. The gist of its proposals is contained in the two sentences, "Decree compulsory adherence thereto [*i.e.*, to a Court of Arbitration], as well as to the Court of International Justice," and "Make disarmament obligatory upon all nations." What body in the world has authority to "decree" anything for independent nations or to make anything "obligatory" for them? Certainly not the League. The truth is that progress along this road can

only be by common agreement, and there is all too little evidence that the nations are ready for such agreement yet. But discussions such as the German Note ought to prompt can do much to clear the way for a development that must inevitably come sooner or later unless the League is to fail in its mission altogether.

CONCERNING DISARMAMENT.

A MEMORIAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

A memorial signed by 124 members of all parties of the League of Nations Union Parliamentary Committee has been sent to the Prime Minister urging that at the forthcoming Assembly of the League at Geneva it may be made clear that the policy of this country has not changed in regard to the principle of the interdependence of disarmament and security which was formulated at the 1922 Assembly. Among the signatories to this memorial are the Duchess of Atholl, Mr. Edward Wood, Dr. Haden Guest, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, Mr. Walter Elliott, Mr. C. W. Bowerman, Mrs. Wintringham, Sir Ellis Hume Williams, General Seely, Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. Masterman, and Sir N. Grattan Doyle.

The text of the memorial is as follows:—
To the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister.

We, the undersigned, members of all parties in the House of Commons, beg to call your attention to the following facts in connection with the coming Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva:—

1. The most important question for the future well-being of the World is that of mutual disarmament.
2. "The reduction of national armaments" is by Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations agreed by the 54 nations who are members of the League to be an obligation definitely imposed upon that body, and this fact has hitherto been recognised by the British Government.
3. At the Third Assembly of the League of Nations in 1922 the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"In the present state of the World many Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their country."

4. The problem of disarmament and the possibility of devising a scheme to carry out the foregoing resolution will form the principal topic for discussion among the representatives of the chief powers of the World at the coming Assembly.

We fully recognise that any such proposals as those contained in the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance will demand the most searching examination at the hands of all Governments. At the same time we desire to express our anxiety lest the terms of the despatch addressed by His Majesty's Government on July 5 to the League of Nations may, however unintentionally, create the impression (a) that Great Britain does not accept the principle of the interdependence of disarmament and security which was formulated at the 1922 Assembly, and was the inspiring idea of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance; and (b) that Great Britain wishes to withdraw from the League of Nations the function of dealing with the problem of disarmament. We, therefore, hope that His Majesty's Government may be able at the forthcoming Assembly to take such action as may be appropriate to make it clear that the policy of Great Britain has not changed in these respects.

SEPTEMBER AND GENEVA.

SEPTEMBER at Geneva begins, as it were, in August. The month's activities, that is to say, were due to open in reality with the thirtieth meeting of the Council on the 29th of that month. Judging from the agenda, it promised to be an unusually important Council, the status of Irak, the Mosul frontier issue, and the question of the League's supervision of the armaments of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria being among the matters inscribed on the order of the day. Since, however, the Council meeting has not opened as these lines are being written, and will have ended before they are in the hands of readers, there is clearly little profit in dwelling on them here.

The Assembly itself, fixed by its own standing orders for the first Monday in September, thus opens this year on the 1st of the month. Its importance is usually derived partly from the nature of the questions discussed and partly from the standing of the delegates who discuss them. The Fifth Assembly will in the latter respect, at any rate, hold a different position from any of its predecessors, for never before have the Prime Ministers, or for that matter the Foreign Ministers, of any of the Great Powers seen fit to attend. This year Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Edouard Herriot are among the certainties, and Signor Mussolini is a strong probable. In addition, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium and Poland will be represented by their respective Foreign Ministers, Dr. Benes, M. Paul Hymans and Count Szrynsky respectively. Some of the lesser Powers will no doubt be equally well represented. In personnel, therefore, this year marks a considerable advance in the right direction.

The agenda is another matter. Speaking at Geneva a year or two ago, Lord Balfour ended an eloquent address by asking what man, if he had done no more than merely glance through the list of subjects included in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the League in the preceding year, could believe that if the existing League were destroyed it would ever be possible to construct another body equal to such tasks. The Secretary-General's report to-day covers a substantially wider ground than it did then, and the Fifth Assembly will be handling questions new to all the preceding four. The Fourth Assembly did, indeed, see the foundations of the Hungarian and Greek reconstruction schemes laid. It falls to the Fifth to receive the first report on their progress. The Memel settlement, too, has been dealt with and disposed of since the last Assembly rose, and it is to the Fifth Assembly that the conventions drafted and signed as a result of the Customs and Transit Conferences of last autumn will be reported.

Such reports, however, interesting though the discussions arising from them may be, are of the nature of routine. So is much also that the Assembly will have to consider, such as the working of the mandate system, the operation of the League's various technical organisations and advisory committees on economics, finance, transit, health, opium, white slave traffic, and the like. Important as many of these questions are, Prime Ministers can hardly be expected to put in time at Geneva on matters which some of their specialist colleagues can handle quite as competently. What, then, will the Prime Ministers discuss? Though no formal arrangement to that effect has been made, there seems now no doubt that the great question of the 1924 Assembly will be armaments. That comes up under a number of separate heads, three of which stand out as of conspicuous importance. There is, first of all, the proposal to call a world conference to apply the principles of the Washington agreements to States not represented at the Washington Conference. That was approved in principle a year ago, but the experts who met to plan the agenda for the Conference

could not reach agreement, and the whole matter is referred back to the Assembly. Secondly, the Assembly will have before it the text of a new Convention on the Control of the Arms Traffic, drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, with the active and cordial co-operation of a nominee of the American Government, whose hostility to the old Arms Traffic Convention of St. Germain made that well-intentioned instrument a dead letter.

Finally, and most important of all, the Assembly will have to consider the replies of the different Governments to the League's request for their views on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. As is well known, the British and various other Governments have declared more or less decisively against the Treaty, while the French and various other Governments have declared more or less decisively for it. The Treaty in its present form is pretty clearly dead, but the problems the Treaty was meant to solve are as much alive as ever. In particular, France's demand for security is far too insistent to be ignored. The French delegation is credited with the intention of putting forward specific proposals on this head at Geneva. Whether they do or not, the whole disarmament and security issue—with which is closely associated the question of the League's supervision over German armaments—is more than enough to keep the Premiers busy during the time they are in Geneva. What is doubtful, indeed, is whether they will find it possible to hold to their original intention of only remaining a few days.

IN THE HOUSE.

July 23.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mr. Lansbury):

The establishment of a special Department at the Foreign Office would not be the most satisfactory way of dealing with League of Nations work. At present questions of a general nature are dealt with by the same Department, while questions affecting individual countries are divided geographically amongst the Departments responsible for those countries.

July 28.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Lieut.-Com. Kenworthy):

The reduction of armaments is regarded by H.M.G. as one of the essential conditions of national security. It requires, however, to be prepared for by a policy which will create confidence between the nations. Any ill-timed move would do incalculable harm.

July 28.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. J. Harris):

I am not prepared to make any further statement as to the principles of disarmament to be laid before the Assembly.

July 28.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Sir L. Lyle):

Belgium, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Finland and Latvia have expressed themselves generally in favour of the Draft Treaty, though Belgium and Finland have made many suggestions for amendment. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the United States have declared themselves against it. The French Government has not declared its acceptance of the Treaty.

July 31.—Mr. CLYNES (to Mr. J. Harris):

The Government is not considering the possibility of bringing together the nations through the League of Nations to work out a scheme for policing the seas by international agreement.

July 31.—Mr. CLYNES (to Sir E. Hume Williams):

The Government has no intention of taking the problem of the reduction of armaments out of the hands of the League.

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

A LEAGUE OF SAVANTS.

WHAT THE C.I.C. IS DOING.

By GILBERT MURRAY.

THERE is no organ of the League of Nations which rouses such instinctive repulsion in the Anglo-Saxon mind as the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. It is partly the name that does it. There is something pretentious and almost insincere to northern ears in the very words.

But it is not only the name that rouses Anglo-Saxon prejudice. We do not respect, or even like, the intellect as much as the French and Germans do. We call our public places after kings and battles and ground landlords, or sometimes after Generals and Prime Ministers, not after scientists, scholars and poets. Newton, Darwin, Mill, and Tennyson are not inscribed on our street corners. We stick to George, Trafalgar, Waterloo, Portland and Pitt. The French notoriously call their streets after all sorts of savants and writers, from Charcot to André Chenier, and are quite capable of naming one from the date of Pasteur's birth or the first performance of Hernani. If we can once, by an effort of the imagination, get our minds into a state in which Sir James Frazer seems as important a man as Mr. Mallaby-Deeley, or Mr. A. E. Housman as Lord Derby, I think we shall understand better the interest, and even enthusiasm, with which certain nations regard the C.I.C.

Let us grant at once that—thanks to British economy—it has no money, and has, consequently, done almost nothing to relieve the distressed intellectuals who are its first care. Still, I believe that in many places there is something thrilling and even comforting in the thought that a Committee consisting in part of the greatest savants in the world is actually sitting and working, however fruitlessly, to help their suffering colleagues. To some obscure and impoverished man of science in Poland or Latvia would it not seem wonderful that Bergson, the great French philosopher, Mme. Curie, the discoverer of radium, Lorenz, the father and master of the great modern physicists, and Einstein, who has perhaps extended human knowledge to the very remotest and most abstruse point it has yet reached, are consulting together on his behalf and trying to find ways to help him?

Of course, until lately, there has been in most British minds another black mark against the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. It was started without any representative of German learning, and, owing to various misconceptions, has continued so until this year. The average Briton felt pretty strongly that if the state of Europe was such that it was impossible, even for purely intellectual objects, to induce French, Belgian, and German *savants* to sit at the same table, it was not much good talking about "Intellectual Co-operation" at all, and still less good founding committees which professed to practise it. Fortunately, the Council at its last meeting appointed—or reappointed—Dr. Einstein a member of the Committee, and he accepted the position. He was welcomed by the President, Professor Bergson, in an address in which courtly grace was combined with the serious appreciation of one true savant for another, and by his frankness and simplicity he made the

most favourable impression on all his colleagues. The atmosphere seemed to have cleared. The change of Government in France counted for something, a generous background taking the place of a suspicious background; the presence of Einstein and the natural good feeling of the Committee did the rest.

The spirit shown by the Committee this July was the true League of Nations spirit. The great savants are really working together *comme une famille*. And there is some prospect of larger practical results accruing, since at last, in answer to the Committee's appeals, one Government has responded with a generous gift. The French have offered an "Institut" for the use of the C.I.C. and a large contribution towards its support. The actual conditions under which this offer should be accepted by the League must be considered by the Council.

And, after all, what has the C.I.C. done and what is it trying to do? It has conducted an inquiry into the conditions of intellectual workers in many countries of Europe, using the valuable co-operation of the Labour Office. The reports hitherto published were conducted under much difficulty and vary in quality. It has also carefully thought out schemes for assisting brain workers and preventing the complete collapse of intellectual life in Eastern Europe with the very minimum expenditure of money. In the rare cases where it has had funds to dispose of, it has entrusted them to experienced hands and scrupulously avoided any favouritism.

It has done particularly good work through its Bibliographical Committee. The object is to enable scientists in all countries, especially those which suffer from poverty and remoteness, to have easier access to the work done in the great centres. This involves, where practicable, the preparation and publication of abstracts of all articles published in certain subjects, and also a development of bibliographical indices.

There is also a very simple and practical scheme for enabling librarians to keep in touch with the most interesting books published in other countries, subject by subject. There are many arrangements for organising the exchange of teachers between universities and facilitating the movements of students. There is to be an index of the universities of the World, with their teachers and courses. Dull stuff no doubt; each item duller than the last. But so is all the organising of education or research.

It is delightful to teach students; it is sometimes interesting to learn from professors. But the organising of educational machinery from time tables to curricula, from curricula to bibliography, is dull to all except the few whose business it is; dull, but indispensable, if men are to go on learning and discovering.

And it is particularly needed in the task that lies before the C.I.C. of breaking down the barriers that now divide the intellectual life of nations, of helping enemies to work together, and enabling the poor centres of learning to share the problems and researches of the rich.

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SWEDEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By A SWEDISH CORRESPONDENT.

THE idea of a League of Nations as outlined by President Wilson was greeted with enthusiasm in Sweden. It is quite natural that a small Power should follow with the utmost interest and sympathy every effort tending to the establishment of a more stable and efficient international order, not because the moral standing of the citizens of a small Power is generally higher than that of the population of great Powers, but because the interests of the less powerful state are very often bound up with the idea of a perfected League of Nations.

It was, however, with great disappointment that many sections in Sweden saw the effect given at Paris to the idea of a League. Especially, Swedish opinion generally failed to understand why the ex-enemy countries were not immediately included in the League, which, in consequence, would be unable to cope with post-war problems in the just and equitable way that the public opinion of neutral countries in general thought to be one of its most important objects. For the student of international questions it seems, in any case now, that the taking up by the League of all the difficult questions of post-war time would have been an impossibility, and would probably have brought a swift end to the League's existence. For the general public, however, the League's lack of universality and the obvious intention of the leading Powers to keep it outside the chief post-war problems seemed almost inexplicable.

The Swedish Riksdag finally, against the votes of the Conservatives, decided Sweden's adherence to the League. Since that date the Conservative party changed their policy. Chiefly through the influence of the leader of the Conservatives in the First Chamber of the Riksdag, Mr. Trygger, now Prime Minister, the party in its official activities has faithfully supported the cause of the League of Nations.

It can be stated without any exaggeration that the Governmental policy of Sweden towards the League has been inspired by an ardent wish to make the very best of it, to develop and fortify it. This policy has been absolutely irrespective of the political party in power, which is clearly illustrated by the fact that Mr. Branting has been the first delegate of Sweden to the Assembly, and its representative in the Council even when leader of "His Majesty's Opposition." I need not here enter into the stand which has been taken by Mr. Branting in many important questions before the League. I suppose his activities in this respect are rather well-known to the readers of HEADWAY. His evident honesty, experience and good-will have, I presume, made him a very useful Council member.

When one goes to consider the attitude of Swedish public opinion and of the average citizen towards the League one must bear in mind the following facts.

For more than a hundred years Sweden has enjoyed the benefits of an unbroken peace. But at the same time Sweden, being a small Power and with a rather out-of-way geographical position, has during this long peace period been almost entirely outside European and international politics, in which it played in former times such a prominent role, perhaps much more prominent than was natural with regard to its population and material resources. This peace-period has been used for a very remarkable material development, but has at the same time brought about a detachment from international politics. The one predominant feeling with regard to foreign relations which at the outset of the great war remained strong in the average Swedish mind was a fear of Russia.

Sweden's entry into the League of Nations brought about a violent change in Sweden's international posi-

tion. The former detachment from international politics became an impossibility, more evidently so after Sweden had been elected member of the Council of the League.

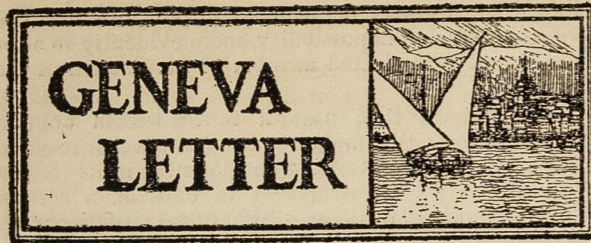
It is perhaps then natural that Swedish opinion must have some time before it can quite adapt itself to this new and rather startling development in its foreign relations. A certain simplicity in outlook, a certain difficulty to grasp intricate international situations and the feelings of nations which have been more closely connected with the great events of late years seems to me to characterise the Swedish opinion of to-day as expressed in the newspapers and elsewhere. I should perhaps like to add that Swedish opinion may be said to suffer from a certain scepticism. To a neutral mind which has watched with horror the sufferings of other nations during the late war, and which has hoped for a better order after this cataclysm, the progress seems slow, and the goodwill of other nations, whose difficulties are not easily understood, appears insignificant.

Notwithstanding the sentiments I have mentioned above, the idea of the League of Nations seems to be growing in the Swedish mind. Slowly the interest is awakened for international politics, and the development of the League is carefully and critically watched. Still much is to be desired in this respect, and the activities of the Swedish League of Nations' Union are not in any way remarkable. A certain section of the Conservative press is still openly hostile to the League, and takes every opportunity to underline the mistakes that may have been made and to misinterpret or underline certain facts in order to show that the League is only an instrument for one group of the great Powers.

In my opinion the entry of Germany will do any amount of good to shatter the distrust which in some quarters is still predominant with regard to the League, and to strengthen the still somewhat timid faith in it that is characteristic of the more general public opinion.

I should like to dwell on one more point in regard to Sweden and the League. That is the Swedish attitude towards the proposed Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. The Swedish opinion almost unanimously repudiates this treaty. It seems to the Swedish opinion that the League must grow much stronger, its power to settle all international disputes much more efficient, its ability to give justice to well-founded national claims much more developed before a country like Sweden can adhere to additional obligations like those embodied in the treaty. Sweden is afraid of being asked to guarantee the stability of some of the stipulations in the peace treaties before being absolutely convinced that means have been found to correct errors through a peaceful procedure. This attitude is not solely dictated by selfish motives. The acceptance of a treaty which would not show itself effective, that runs the risk of becoming a scrap of paper when severely tested, would in the views of the Swedish leading men be much more dangerous than beneficial. There are, of course, other objections, for instance, that which touches upon the loose connection between the treaty and disarmament, the danger of special agreements, &c., but I think the line of thought I have just indicated is the most predominant.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the Swedish Governments, whoever they may be, through interest and conviction have been and will be behind the League, while naturally hoping and working for its development and improvement, and that the average citizen is just beginning to understand that something new and valuable is being created in spite of enormous difficulties, a creation in which Sweden is perhaps destined to play a role of which no one dreamt during a long period of international detachment.



AUGUST is full of the usual rush of Committee meetings and feverish preparations for the Assembly, which this year promises to be the most interesting and helpful meeting yet held. This means, however, that the problem of accommodation for Press and public—a problem which has become more serious every year—is now simply desperate. It is absolutely essential to get on with building the new Assembly hall with plenty of accommodation, at the earliest possible moment—the League is outgrowing its present quarters.

Another problem which has come up in connection with the arrangements for the Assembly is that of "loud speakers" and broadcasting. A proposal that the former should be used in the Assembly is being earnestly discussed and an experiment may be tried with the Interparliamentary Union, which is meeting in the Reformation Hall a few days before the League Assembly. The weight of opinion, however, seems to be that loud speakers would spoil the oratorical effects of those who speak well and render unnecessarily audible those whose speeches it is a mercy to escape. The question of broadcasting is a matter in which initiative probably depends on the big radio companies, who might find it worth while making arrangements for wirelessly one or two of the most important speeches or discussions.

The unexpected visit of Prince Ras Tafari to the Secretariat at the beginning of this month is worth mentioning. Even H. G. Wells, in one of his pre-war excursions into Utopia, would never have had the idea of making the dusky Regent of Abyssinia (whose dynasty had never come to Europe through all its long history of nearly two thousand years) visit the League of Nations in Switzerland! Events that a few years ago would have seemed wildly fantastic have a way of being accepted as all in the day's work. The Regent, it is understood, will take part in the Assembly as the head of his delegation, thus adding picturesqueness to the occasion and incidentally raising difficult questions of precedence and social etiquette. His presence will no doubt give an added interest to the Assembly's proceedings on the question of slavery.

The League Opium Committee met from August 4th to 13th and examined the report of the small Committee which has been preparing the way for the two big Conferences on reducing production of opium and coca, and the gradual suppression of opium smoking. For the former Conference, which is to meet on November 7th, the Preparatory Committee has presented five different draft conventions, and the Opium Committee has grouped together and partially fused these various schemes, thus forming a basis for the Conference. The general effect of these conventions will be to

increase the efficacy of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 by strengthening it at certain points and providing measures for stopping gaps which practice has revealed in its working. As for the Conference on the gradual suppression of opium smoking, the situation is briefly that the States signatories of the Hague Convention have laid far more emphasis on "gradual" than on "suppression." The object of the Conference will be to distribute the emphasis a little more evenly. The programme of the Preparatory Committee to this effect was adopted by the Opium Committee.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held a highly successful session, of which the salient features were the return of Einstein, the scheme put up by Mr. Hagberg Wright of the London Library for an annual international list of some 600 new books chosen as standard works in their respective fields, and the offer of the French Government to finance and help set up in Paris an international bureau of Intellectual Co-operation, to act as the executive body of the League Committee. It is, of course, an excellent thing that a State Member of the League should show in this very practical way its interest in a branch of League work. But although it may seem a little ungracious to say so, there is some danger lest the French plan might result in diminishing the international character of the League's work on Intellectual Co-operation, and identifying it rather one-sidedly with the great contributions of France to science, literature and art. It is to be hoped that other States Members of the League will emulate French generosity by themselves providing funds for this work, and thus acquire the right to suggest that the seat of the proposed office should be at Geneva. It might well be placed with the various international institutions (such as the Union of International Associations, the International Bibliographical Institute, &c.), that are to be transferred from Brussels to Geneva. Surely the seat of the League ought to be so far as possible the centre of all the League's activities and of international intellectual life in general.

The Geneva Institute of International Relations, which concluded its first session on August 15th, is an encouraging step in this direction. The Institute was set up by the League of Nations Union and the American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association for the purpose of studying international relations, with a distinctly League background. At the first session, which was highly successful, the lecturers were composed almost exclusively of members of the League Secretariat. In future it is hoped to expand the Institute by bringing in distinguished men and women from both sides of the water to lecture on international subjects, by securing the co-operation of the Academy of International Law at the Hague, and by getting into touch with the International Association of University Students and various other bodies which in various parts of Europe or America have begun the practice of starting summer schools on international relations. Geneva University has a good course of lectures on these lines, incidentally. It is hoped that those who attend the Institute will be drawn from a greater and greater number of nations as time goes on and that altogether the Institute will prove a permanent and increasing factor in international life.

TRAVEL PICTURES.

A. G. MACDONELL.

ON a winter's evening some years ago I was riding across a vast dreary plain of East Europe. The ground was covered with snow, and the frost had transformed the birch trees into a fretwork of silver. The sinking sun had left a dismal chill over that dismal plain. Not a house was in sight, north, south, east, or west. No smoke from distant village rose above the gloomy forests on the horizon. There was no sound except the crunch of the horse's hoofs on the snow. A mist began to roll up from the dreary expanse of marsh along which my road skirted, and covered the rusty-brown reeds which rose from the snow and ice. The air was suddenly become chilly as the darkness fell, and the distant woods changed abruptly from pale blue to a sombre and threatening black. It was, in fact, an exceedingly gloomy spot, and my spirits did not rise when I saw that the road lay through a dark wood immediately in front of me. There was nothing to do, however, but ride on, if food, shelter and a bed were to be found that night. I pushed on, therefore, deeper and deeper into the wood. My horse, being very tired after a long day in the snow, stumbled frequently and several times collided with shrubs and undergrowth.

Suddenly, we emerged into a clearing and the moon came out at the same moment through the mist which had crept after me from the marsh. The clearing was covered with long, rank grass and in the middle stood an old sun-dial, green with the moss of years. At one side, the moonbeams shone through the gaping roof and bare rafters of a ruined house. A young birch tree grew through one of the ground floor windows, and one of the walls had fallen down. At another window appeared a bulky, mis-shapen object which later investigation showed to be a derelict grand piano.

I struck a match and examined the front door. It was all blackened with fire and the stone-work was cracked. There was an inscription over the door, roughly painted by unskilled hands, which ran

O BEATA SOLITUDO
O SOLA BEATITUDO.

I was bound to confess as I read the words that the lover of solitude had certainly achieved his object, but at the same time that I could do with a little less solitude myself. Then a horse neighed from somewhere behind the ruin, and in a moment I had ridden round and discovered a light in a tiny cottage hidden away in the wood. The journey was over. I spent the evening with the owner of the house who was also the author of the inscription. Our common languages were poor French and rather more fluent Latin. He was an old man, once a rich scholar and now a poor scholar. He kept himself alive by teaching Latin at a neighbouring University, escaping every week-end to his blessed solitude and the remnants of his library left him by six successive invasions.

When I rode away a few days later, the moon was again shining on the mist and the woods and the old sun-dial, and clearly illuminating the stretches of rusty barbed wire and the trenches and the shell-holes of six years before.

* * * * *

Before the occupation of the Ruhr an express train used to run every day from Ostend to Warsaw and another from Warsaw to Ostend. They always used to be very crowded and the competition for seats, especially between Brussels and Berlin, was painfully acute. Once I had occasion to travel from Danzig to Ostend, and joined the express at Berlin. By a crafty bit of staff work I motored out to the Schlesischer Bahnhof and secured a corner seat in a second-class carriage before the mob got in at the Friedrichstrasse.

The other five occupants of the carriage were a Russian, a Pole, an Englishman, a native from the Barbadoes and a Belgian. In the corridor almost every nationality appeared to be represented; I saw in front of our compartment door a Senegalese, an Italian, another Belgian and a Frenchman. The confusion among the luggage and the tired travellers and the passing ticket-collectors was pandemoniac. A native of some Oriental country, tall and pale and distinguished, suddenly got up from the floor of the corridor and opened our door and bowed courteously to me in my corner. Then, in perfect English, he asked me if I would look after a book of his; he was afraid it would be trodden on outside or soiled. Without waiting for an answer he handed me a small book bound in scarlet and gold with a scarlet ribbon hanging from it. As I hesitated in surprise, he continued, "It is my Koran, I have just bought it. It was printed in Constantinople." The Englishman in the other corner woke up, leant across and asked permission to look at it. Opening it at random, he began to declaim the Arabic. The native was petrified with amazement, and then addressed the Englishman in (as I afterwards discovered) Persian. The latter replied in the same language.

By this time the remainder of the compartment were thoroughly roused by this remarkable entertainment and insisted upon an explanation. The young native was an Afghan, returning from six months' study in Berlin where he was qualifying as an electrical engineer in order to instal electric light in Kabul. While in England he had lost his Koran and had had to buy another printed in England. His religion compelled him to read this copy but, as it was printed in an infidel country, forbade him to believe it. In Berlin he had bought this scarlet copy printed in a land of true believers.

The Englishman was the keeper of the Oriental Room in one of the biggest museums in England.

At the frontier the simple son of the eternal snows smuggled six new hats across by the ingenious expedient of wearing them all.

* * * * *

Every hour of the day at Cracow and every hour of the night, the clock on one of the towers of St. Mary's Church chimes and then a trumpeter blows a silvery trumpet call four times, once to each quarter of the city. Then the clock on the other tower chimes again. The office of trumpeter to the Royal City is hereditary, handed down for generations from father to son. There is a pause in the middle of the call, quite an appreciable pause. It is to remind the city of that old trumpeter who was murdered as he blew his trumpet and of his young son who took the instrument from his father's hand and finished the call.

* * * * *

It got dark in the winter at about five o'clock, and there were no lights in the train except bits of candle. In the snowy season a two-days' journey might easily expand into a two-weeks', and passengers hoarded food and light and paraffin.

There was nothing else to do in the evenings but smoke (if the tobacco supply was sufficient) and talk and sing. The Soviet Commissars travelling in the same coach led the choir in the corridor. They sang revolutionary songs and songs against Tsar and God. Towards midnight they sang old peasant songs remembered from the days when they too were Russians and not "internationals."

The foreigners were called upon to contribute their songs. As the train crept along the banks of the Volga, the Scotsmen sang "the bonnie banks of Loch Lomond"; as it neared the frontier between Europe and Asia, the Scotsmen remembered the Highland regiments going to the help of Italy in 1917, and sang "Blue bonnets over the border."

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.—IV.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

THE League of Nations is, as its name implies, simply a society, or association, or, if you like, a grand committee, of the different nations that belong to it. None of them is any the less a nation for belonging to the League. Each of them is just as free to do what it likes as it was before it joined the League, with the exception that it cannot do certain things which it agreed when it signed the Covenant not to do. It cannot, for example, go to war with another State (unless that other State first attacks it) without having first allowed the League Council, or some other board of arbitrators, or the Permanent Court of International Justice, to inquire into the quarrel, and without waiting at least another three months after the verdict of one or other of these bodies—whichever of them handles the case—has been given.

This being so the League cannot compel any State to do anything it prefers not to do, for since all important decisions have to be unanimous the moment something is proposed which a particular State does not like all that State has to do is to vote against the proposal. The result of that is that it falls to the ground. It might be supposed that this rule of unanimity would wreck the League, as anyone could block all its business at any moment. In point of fact things do not work that way at all. It is quite true that if a State made up its mind to block all business it could do it. But if a State really wanted to do that it is hard to see why it should ever have joined the League at all. The truth is that the States who do belong to the League belong to it because they believe in it, and they go to Geneva to make it work, not to prevent it from working. There must, of course, often be honest differences of opinion. When that happens what everyone tries to do is to find some common ground on which they can all unite, instead of trying to force through a resolution which part of the States represented feel they cannot accept. On this basis the League works remarkably well. Of course there have sometimes to be compromises. That is true in every human society.

The League then is simply a society, a co-operative society, of free nations. That fact is sometimes so much emphasised as to suggest that the League was nothing more than a collection of some fifty-odd independent nations without any real existence of its own. That is not strictly true to-day, and it will be less and less true as time goes on. Though most of its work consists of promoting agreements by which its separate and independent members agree as separate and independent States to do or not to do certain things (for example, to let one another's goods go through their countries without interference) the League itself, as an organised body, has certain duties entrusted to it and certain obligations resting on it. As examples may be taken its responsibility for two pieces of territory in Europe—Danzig and the Saar Valley; rather more indirect responsibility for what is known as mandated territory, consisting of former German and Turkish territory in different parts of the world; and more indirect responsibility still for "minorities" (people of a different language or race or religion, or all three, from that of the Government of the country where they live) in a good many countries in Europe.

There will be space in this article for reference only to the first class, the Saar Valley and Danzig. Both these places—the Saar Valley is a small patch of mining territory wedged in between Lorraine and Germany, and Danzig is the great port on the Baltic at the mouth of the River Vistula—were German before the war. At the Peace Conference France wanted the Saar and Poland wanted Danzig. Neither claim could

be rejected outright. The Conference decided to give France the Saar coal-mines as compensation for her own mines destroyed by the enemy. But if the territory where the mines were was still governed by the Germans they could easily make it impossible for France to get out any coal at all. For that reason the French wanted to annex the territory outright. The Conference refused that and decided as a compromise that the territory should be governed by the League of Nations for 15 years (that is, till 1935) and should then decide for itself whether it wanted to be under France, under Germany or under the League.

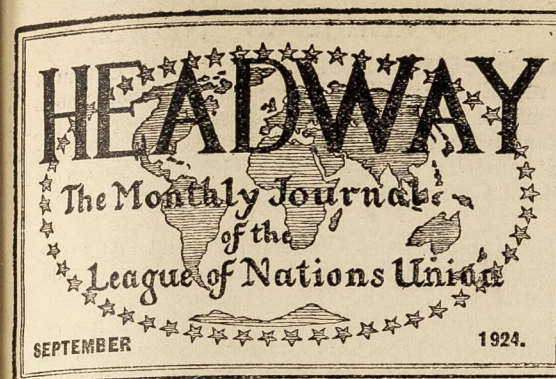
That well-meant provision has made things very hard for the League. The Germans—practically the whole of the Saar population of 700,000 is German—naturally want the vote in 1935 to go in favour of Germany. Consequently they are both against the League and against France, and make every excuse for attacking League rule up and down. Similarly the French, who naturally want the vote to go in favour of France, tend to be both against the League and against Germany, though in reality it is so certain that the Saar population will never vote for French rule that the best France can hope for is that League rule may continue.

There are many other difficulties the League has to face in the Saar, some of them the result of mistakes by its own representatives. But on the whole the system works as well as is possible under the conditions laid down in the Treaty of Versailles.

Over that Treaty the League of course had no control. It was not in existence when the treaty was signed. The treaty provided that the Saar should be ruled by a commission of five members, one of them French, one an inhabitant of the Saar territory, and the other three coming from any country except France or Germany. These three are at present a Belgian, a Spanish and a Canadian. The system set up by the treaty is, therefore, nothing like representative government. Even the commissioner who must be an inhabitant of the Saar is not to be chosen by the Saar population, but appointed, like all the other commissioners, by the League Council, who are under no obligation to consult the inhabitants at all. That, again, is the fault of the Treaty, not of the League. It is a serious fault, but broadly speaking, as has been said, the Saar territory is being justly and efficiently governed, though complaints as to the undue predominance of French influence cannot be dismissed as groundless. Matters, however, are improving in this respect.

The case of Danzig is different from that of the Saar, though the two are commonly mentioned together. The port was claimed by Poland because it is that country's only means of access to the sea. The population, however, is almost wholly German. The Peace Conference decided therefore that Danzig should belong neither to Germany nor to Poland, but be made a free and self-governing city under the protection of the League of Nations. There is no direct government of Danzig by the League as in the case of the Saar. The city manages its own affairs, but it has to allow Poland all sorts of rights in connection with the use of the harbour and the running of trains to the dock side and similar matters. That is bound to lead, in early days at any rate, to numerous controversies, and the League keeps a High Commissioner on the spot to help the two sides to agree. When he fails the dispute is carried to Geneva and the decision of the League Council is final.

Danzig and the Saar are of some importance in themselves, but of more importance as examples of two different kinds of international government, carried on in each case in the face of considerable difficulties, but in each case with sufficient success to make the model worth copying elsewhere.



TO GENEVA.

THE League of Nations Assembly is always something rather unaccountable. The agenda ought to be some guide to the importance of the meetings. Experience of four Assemblies, however, has shown that anticipations are best held in suspense. In 1920, the first year the Assembly ever met, fears that it would either end in breakdown or stultify itself by its dullness or unimportance turned out to be totally misplaced. From the first the Assembly struck a new note in the world's experience, and the Geneva atmosphere, of which so much has since been heard, was for the first time felt as a reality. Since then each year has had its characteristics. In 1921 the outstanding feature was the Upper Silesian decision—a matter which, though handled actually by the Council, roused the lively interest of the Assembly then in session. In 1922 there was the Austrian reconstruction scheme, and in 1923 Corfu.

What 1924 may have in store must remain uncertain till September has run its course. If Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot carry out their intention to be present the attendance of the men who in their respective countries combine the offices of Premier and Foreign Secretary, will be a departure that in itself forms in some sort a landmark in the League's brief history. What the purpose and effect of the Prime Ministers' presence at Geneva may be is not so far quite apparent. If it is of the nature of a formal visit, expressive of a personal interest in the League's activities, then it will undoubtedly be of value within its measure. But the importance of such ceremonial recognition can be over-estimated. A personal knowledge of how the Council and Assembly work will equip both Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot more completely for their work as Ministers of State, and even within the space of three or four days a good deal may be assimilated at Geneva.

It may yet be, moreover, that the two Prime Ministers go to Geneva to contribute as much as to observe. If that is so their presence there will have a very different value. The physical demands on their strength must of necessity be taken into account, and from the point of view of the League it is unfortunate that the Allied conversations, continuing till after the middle of August, should have left the Ministers taking part in them so little time for rest before the Assembly in September. But to emphasise that aspect of the situation would be to take an unparadoxically narrow view. The London conversations, if their harvest does in fact fulfil its early promise, will have done more than anything that has happened since the Armistice to clear obstacles from the path of the League of Nations. When Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot appear in the Assembly Hall at Geneva they will be honoured there as men who have done an inestimable service to the League. And let it be added that if Dr. Marx could be there, too, he would deserve as warm a welcome, and would receive it.

We are still permitted, it may be repeated, to assume that the British and French Prime Ministers are going to the seat of the League not merely to observe but to contribute. If it be asked what form their contribution will take, the answer can hardly be in doubt. They have, it may be believed as well as hoped, settled in large measure one of the great problems pressing with intolerable weight on Europe, that of Reparations. The kindred problem of Inter-Allied debts is not in its present phase a matter the League can with advantage be called on to handle. The third great problem of the moment, that of disarmament and security, has still to be faced effectively. The situation in this connection is, to judge by superficial appearances, discouraging. Prolonged and earnest labour has been devoted in the past two years to the elaboration of a Treaty of Mutual Assistance designed to achieve the double purpose of reducing armaments and conferring security. That Treaty has been summarily rejected by the British Government, in the name of Great Britain and the Dominions, and what Great Britain rejects can clearly never become the law of nations.

Does that mean that for the present the last word on armament reduction has been spoken? Altogether the contrary. The situation, indeed, is challenging and full of interest. The British and French Governments in this matter are at odds, for the French are as strongly in favour of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance as the British are opposed to it. M. Herriot or his representative will make it clear at Geneva why he wants the Treaty. Mr. MacDonald or his representative must make it equally clear what he wants instead. He must further make it clear whether the present British Government does or does not intend to repudiate the vote officially and deliberately given by the British delegation at the Third Assembly in 1922 that the problem of armaments and the problem of security being inseparably linked must be tackled in conjunction.

In that situation is provided the material for discussions of the first importance at the Fifth Assembly. But there is much more to be said than that. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance has been referred by the League to something like sixty governments, and the replies of Britain and France are only two out of many. Most of the nations members of the League have answered. So have most non-members, conspicuous among them the United States, Germany and Russia. Each of these States has set forth clearly its conclusions on the Treaty, with the reasons for them. Rarely, if ever, in the world's history has so great a mass of authoritative opinion on a concrete disarmament proposal been mobilised. All this material will demand the consideration of the Assembly, and must receive it. More than that, there are certain of the replies which include, as the British reply did not, definite and practicable alternative proposals. Notable among these is the German plan for the compulsory submission of all disputes to either legal decision or arbitration, war therefore continuing to exist only in those cases where the combined resources of the League have to be invoked against a State which refuses thus to submit its quarrel to impartial arbitrament, and seeks instead to impose its will by force. It may be found that the world is not yet ready for that resolute enthronement of law and justice which the League must aim at with unswerving purpose. But in the face of the German reply, the Assembly can hardly refuse to discuss the idea seriously. And that is only one of many factors which prompts the belief that in spite of the recent British Note notable advances may be registered at the Fifth Assembly in the League's renewed approach to the armament problem.

VARIED VOICES.

John W. Davis, Democratic Candidate for the U.S. Presidency, in Speech of Acceptance, August 10:—

"From the first proposal of the League I have believed that the United States should enter the League. Nothing has happened since to change my view. I perceive no basis for the fears that the United States will sacrifice its independence, imperil safety at home, or security abroad by so doing."

The Bishop of Manchester, at Blackburn, to clergy of Blackburn, Whalley and Accrington Rural Deaneries:—

"It is the plain duty of Christian people at this time to be doing everything in their power to support the League of Nations or League of Nations Union. Here is a way, and the only way commended to us by the statesmen of the time, for expressing a sense of common interest among the nations of the world."

H.R.H. Prince Tafari, Heir-Apparent of Ethiopia, message to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge on the occasion of receiving the Honorary Degree of LL.D.:—

"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 closer 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 closer links."

Sir Herbert Ames, Financial Director of the League of Nations, at New York:—

"The League is a going concern. There was a time when we thought that without the United States the League would fail. That time and that thought have gone. Should the United States never join, her absence would not kill the League or even cripple it."

Professor Albert Einstein, telegram to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency:—

"The fact alone that, although I have strongly criticised the work of the League, I have still been invited to take part again in its work on the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation, has been a further proof to me that the men who are conducting its work are concerned only with the serious questions at issue, and not with persons. I have therefore decided to take on again my work on the Commission, and thus seek to serve the cause of reconciliation among the nations."

Bishop Brent, of the United States, at Chantiqua:—

"There is no alternative. Let us stop bickering about the World Court and at last get in it. We are not giving fair play to the League. It is not failing nations, but some of the nations are failing it."

The Saar Social Democratic Party and Trade Unions, in a petition to the Government of Germany:—

"For years the political parties in the Saar have used the opportunity under the Treaty of Versailles of representing their desires and claims at Geneva. These efforts have not been entirely in vain, and all the delegations which have so far been sent from the Saar to the League of Nations have continually been forced to recognise that our complaints will be able to be represented with better success once the German Reich has its own representative in the League. The Social Democratic Party hereby urgently petitions the Government of the Reich to make the early entry of Germany into the League of Nations one of its next tasks."

OVERSEAS NEWS.

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union, who is to be one of the British Government delegates to the Assembly in September, has accepted an invitation to visit America in November under the auspices of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

The International Universities' Students' League of Nations Federation has decided to publish a quarterly bulletin in French. The Federation is thoroughly international, as its Executive Committee includes an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Czecho-Slovakian, a German and an American. Its headquarters are in Paris, at 88, Rue de Varenne, and its General Secretary is M. Robert Lange, of the Sorbonne.

The Federation has also arranged an important programme of summer meetings beginning on August 25 at Geneva University. From August 25 to 30 technical lessons on the League have been arranged to be given by such experts as Lord Cecil, M. Albert Thomas, Sir Arthur Salter, M. Rappart and others. The Conference will continue in September, when lectures are expected by some of the most prominent men whose presence is expected at the Assembly, notably Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. Herriot, Signor Mussolini, Lord Cecil, Dr. Benes, M. Albert Thomas, M. Hymans, M. Henri de Jouvenal, Baron Hayashi, M. Motta, M. Titulesco. Every morning Mr. Alfred Zimmern will lecture on the daily work of the Assembly.

Resolutions adopted by the governing bodies and national conventions of religious denominations, including the World Alliance for International Friendship, prove that the church people of America, without regard to denomination, overwhelmingly favour active participation by the United States in the work of the League and entry into the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Copies of the American Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security will shortly be available at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. The Draft Treaty was drawn up by an American Committee without official recognition by the Government, and circulated to the States Members of the League of Nations.

THE LEAGUE AND THE FILM.

At the recent session of the League's Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva, the intellectual and scientific potentialities of the cinematograph were discussed. M. Luchaire, French Inspector-General of Public Education, drew attention to the development of the cinematograph. He suggested that a great many films were seen by no fewer than 150 million persons, and pointed out that the possibilities were all the greater in that the language problem was here unimportant, whereas it was all important in the case of literature. Zoology, biology and other sciences stand to gain enormously by the development of the cinema.

As a result of M. Luchaire's report, an international catalogue of scientific films is to be prepared, and it is probable that an international cinematograph conference will be called at some future date, in the programme of which scientific, artistic and educational interests will be especially examined.

Among those present at the meeting of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were Professor Henri Bergson, Dr. Einstein, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Mme. Curie.

THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL.

By ONE WHO WILL GO AGAIN.

WE danced. That, I think, is one of the most significant things about the Union's summer school at Oxford. We came, as usual, to study great international problems: we were all a little conscious of the good we wanted to do the world: we assembled amidst the restful dignity of Oxford in vacation; but we spent our last night dancing in the common room, and those of us who couldn't wish that we still could.

At the last meeting one of our number, in thanking Headquarters for organising the school, contrasted it with the first summer school, when a little group of "cranks" came together in a small country school-room to consider their Utopian dream of a League of Nations. Well, the "cranks" of this world do not all so soon win recognition as true prophets.

In replying, Professor Gilbert Murray, one of the "prophets"—an old summer school member—reminded us that the work was not yet finished, and urged us to go on with equal faith and persuade the people of England to join in the work of the Union.

But we were, so it seemed, at the end of the first stage of a long journey, so we felt justified in looking back and in celebrating our arrival thus far before going forward once again.

On their way the few pilgrims that first set out upon the high road had been joined by a great throng, and now at Oxford we had with us for the first time a keen company of students from the Universities and Colleges at home and overseas. These were busy with plans for their British Group and anxious to gather in all the students of the world to work for the League. They may live to reach a much further stage of the journey which we make together.

There was another reason why we danced. We wanted relaxation; the lectures had been strenuous. It was no longer a question of meeting to exhort each other in the faith of a great ideal. We met now to examine historically and critically the work which the League had already achieved. Anyone who came this year wondering whether it was not, after all, just a well-meaning futility must soon have realised that the possibility of international co-operation and goodwill was no longer in doubt. It was now a question of methods rather than of principles, and the keen discussions which took place after each lecture were devoted almost entirely to elucidating the more practical side of the organisation.

M. Arthur Fontaine, French Government representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and Capt. Lothian Small told us much that we had not realised about that side of the League's work, and how the more highly organised workers of the Western World, with their standards of life and wages, were helping the workers of the new industrial countries in the East to win the right to organise themselves against exploitation and to secure higher standards of living. In so doing they would prevent our Western system from being undermined by the competition of "sweated" workers in the East. Professor Murray told us how the savants of the World had ended their quarrel over the question of intellectual co-operation with Germany by welcoming Professor Einstein to their Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, which was now working to preserve and extend the unity of knowledge and to protect the intellectual worker.

Lord Phillimore gave us a wonderfully clear outline of the many international disputes heard and impartially settled by the League's World Court of International Justice at the Hague.

Dame Edith Lyttelton aroused our admiration for all that had been and was being done to suppress the

traffic in women and children and the unhealthy use of opium and drugs, and on the last day Dr. Harold Kerr gave us a graphic description of frontier disinfecting stations, sanitary outposts along the great river highways, and all the more romantic work undertaken to meet and stop the spread of those great diseases that have ravaged Eastern Europe since the war. Equally impressive was the glimpse he gave us of the elaborately intricate system of international medical co-operation regularly carried out for the detection and suppression of disease and the research work which the League's health organisation, almost scandalously hampered for want of funds, has managed to set on foot for the purpose of discovering the causes and the cure of certain diseases about which very little is yet known.

All these told us a crowded story of practical work, so that we were impressed by the extent to which every interest of society as a whole and every group of professional or trade interests enters in some way into the ramifications of the League. As someone has said: "This is a fact that can be gathered at any time from books and pamphlets, but the lectures at the school invested it with a new clearness and significance, and this will enable us to get effectively at people who are totally uninterested in the more abstract conceptions of peace amongst the nations."

But it was not only the organisation and work of the League that we had to consider. The League machinery is established—it is human nature which must work it; that is the greatest difficulty. Professor A. J. Grant, speaking on the "League of Nations and the Teaching of History," and Professor H. J. Fleure, with "Geography and the League of Nations" as his subject, in lectures which must have been an inspiration for those whose work it is to teach these subjects, also showed us how deeply involved in the evolution of our modern world and in very climatic conditions and natural phenomena are the great instincts and traditions that influence us all. Whilst on four successive days Professor Zimmern had us at his mercy, and, by brilliantly diagnosing aloud the British characteristics that hinder us from being really international, as well as by dangling the virtues of every other race before our eyes, he provoked us to an almost dangerous rate of thinking.

Nothing could have been happier than the delightful programme of music and songs from many countries provided by Mr. John Mahler and others on the last night. Lady Mary Murray and Mr. Mahler spoke on "Music and the Fellowship of Nations," and we had with us as our guests that evening a large number of foreign students who had come from many countries to attend a vacation course in Oxford.

I am sorry that I did not hear the other lecturers, and amongst them were Dr. Maxwell Garnett on the "Aims and Work of the League of Nations Union," and Mr. J. R. M. Butler, who spoke on the "Origin and Functions of the League." I cannot even hope to hear the same lectures another year, as I understand that the Union takes a particular pride in arranging a completely different syllabus each year. But I shall hope to read them in print. There were many who felt that, if it could possibly do so, the Union should arrange to publish all the lectures given at the Summer School.

The British race is not given to oratory, but if one may judge from odd scraps of conversation in the common room, the members of this year's Summer School had no intention of keeping to themselves all that they had learned about the League. Such was the exhilarating effect of the School that one and all went from Oxford with the avowed intention of letting people hear about the work the League is doing, and they mean to do this at the street corner as well as in the pulpit and the classroom.

[An account of the Geneva Summer School is unavoidably held over until our next issue.]

Correspondence

BALKAN UNREST.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—A. G. Macdonell's article on the Balkan unrest is certainly very discouraging. But I hope that the very confusion of the affairs and the difficulty of finding a solution will afford some means for offering a suggestion for possible relief of at least two of the cases of difficulty mentioned in the article. The question of whether Transylvania is Rumanian or Hungarian naturally leads to an old student of that problem to look back, to some extent, to the times of Rakoczy or Poeskay, and to ask whether it may not be possible for the inhabitants of that unfortunate province to forget eventually whether they are Rumanians or Hungarians and to think of themselves as Transylvanians. The two great hindrances to that solution are, first, the memory of old oppression by the Magyars, still no doubt often dwelt on by the Romans, and, secondly, the bad effects produced by those other racial antagonisms which were perpetuated by the old system of the provincially autonomous period, when the Saxons and Magyars and Szeklers voted as races rather than as private citizens. But surely at a time of the resettlement of Europe this is just one of those questions which the League of Nations ought to be enabled to deal with in adjusting the claims of these conflicting races?

The other problem mentioned by Mr. Macdonell, which may possibly be solved on similar lines, is that of Macedonia. In suggesting that solution, I cannot appeal to any special knowledge of the people, such as I acquired in Transylvania some years ago, nor do I know of any data which marked a successful assertion of independence by this province; but I rely only on an opinion once expressed by Mr. Gladstone that the best solution of the quarrels of Greeks and Bulgars in that district would be the creation of an independent Macedonia. Surely this opinion ought to have weight both with Greeks and Bulgars?

It would certainly be well if some such solution were considered before, as Mr. Macdonell suggests, that enemy of order and freedom, the Bolshevik Government (?), comes down to stir up new strife among these unfortunate disputants.

C. E. MAURICE.

Hampstead.

MANDATES AND LIQUOR.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Owing to absence from home, I have not had facts to hand to enable me to write sooner, but in answer to the latter part of Mr. J. S. Dodd's enquiry in the July number as to what is happening in other mandated territories, I should like to say in Western Samoa, where New Zealand has the mandate, Sir James Allen, K.C.B., as High Commissioner for that Country, carried out the clause in Article 22 of the League Covenant, which enjoins the "prohibition of abuses, such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic," and prohibited the sale and importation of all intoxicants, both to natives and whites. In reply to a protest from the latter residents, he said it had been found impossible in the Cook Islands to carry out this law for natives only, and it was decided to include the whole population of Samoa.

Doubts were expressed by many as to the wisdom of this order, Professor Marsden, of Victoria College, Wellington, N.Z., being one of the doubters. After visiting Samoa, when the prohibition of liquor had been in force for over a year, he changed his views, and reported on his return home that results had been very satisfactory, and that many planters with whom he had conversed there had upheld it as the right thing for the islands.

As a result of the Samoan experiment, it was decided in the autumn of 1921 to carry out the same policy in the Cook Islands, where the partial law had not been found workable.

—Yours, &c.
Sutton, Surrey.

A. SCOTT.

THE LEAGUE AND FORCE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have been a hater of war and all that makes for war ever since I began to think for myself, and joined the League of Nations Union soon after it was formed, paying the 3s. 6d. per year, which I could ill afford at that time,

because I thought the League was aiming at becoming an international family, where all men of goodwill of all nations could meet, understand each other, and so prevent future "wars to end war."

Apparently, however, my impression was wrong, for I find, to my surprise, that in effect I was kicked out of the Union last week. Lord Cecil is reported in last Friday's *Daily News*, under the heading "New Armament Race," to say that "he could not understand how anyone can be a supporter of the League of Nations who rejects the use of force under all circumstances."

Sir, does the League of Nations Union stand for peace or not, because if it does, why does it not welcome into its ranks all who oppose that greatest of crimes against humanity—war?

If it does not stand for peace as the highest good, what does it exist for? It seems to me it is but a step from "we don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do!" — Yours, &c.

S. ARCHER POOLE.

[Much as all supporters of the League of Nations must appreciate Lord Cecil's great services to the League, it must not be supposed that the League of Nations Union stands or falls by an isolated sentence in a speech by Lord Cecil or anyone else. Our correspondent may rest satisfied that no one has ever thought of "kicking out of the Union" the many thousands of members who think as he does.—ED., HEADWAY.]

THE HOURS CONVENTION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Re the Hours Convention with which the International Labour Conference has busied itself in its sixth session on June 16 last, I understand the aim is to equalise the number of hours for employees in the different countries of Europe.

Now, I am told that in most bakeries in England young girls serve behind counters from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. The daughter of the house where I live leaves her home in the morning at 7.30, returns to midday dinner; but the tube journey to and from her work allows only ten minutes for the meal—no rest, no sitting down afterwards until 5 p.m.—ten minutes with interruptions for tea—work again—return home. The times of going and return vary a little one week from another, but on the average this girl does her 12 hours daily.

Men clamour for eight hours daily! Why such hard conditions for English girls in bakeries? No doubt England is considered a more "cushy country than others." Is it considered, then, that she gives only "cushy" jobs to her daughters? But do they not work longer and harder than men as a rule?

This matter wants a little looking into by the International Labour Office, or by those Directors of our L.N.U. who are in touch with the same.—Yours, &c.

F. M. M. RUSSELL.

Tufnell Park.

ASSEMBLY DELEGATES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Under "Matters of Moment" in August HEADWAY I find the following: "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."

Will you explain why? I had thought that the fact that the Prime Minister, the head of His Majesty's Government, was to go to Geneva was a great triumph—in fact, an epoch-making event.

Whether or no, it seems to me, the remark, whether regarded as an expression of L.N.U. opinion or as an interpretation of public opinion, was unnecessary and probably mischievous. It will certainly hamper those of us who are trying to remove suspicion from the minds of Labour men and women up and down the country.—Yours, &c.

(Miss) ANNIE E. LOCKING.

[There is no question of drawing personal comparisons between Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Balfour or Lord Cecil. If there had been any prospect of Mr. MacDonald's heading the British delegation throughout the period of the Assembly, as Lord Balfour and Lord Cecil did, the paragraph in question would never have been written. The comparison is between the 1924 delegation without the Prime Minister, who promises only a flying visit, and delegations of previous years.—ED., HEADWAY.]

BOOKS WORTH READING.

THE League's rehabilitation of Austrian credit and Austria's response to the guidance and stimulus of the League are commonplaces of post-war history. The story has often been told, and now, in *The Austrian Crown* (P. S. King & Son, 15s.), it is used as an illustration of monetary theory. The author, Dr. J. van Walré de Bordes, is a member of the League secretariat, who has been concerned with Austrian problems; from his experience of events, as well as from his knowledge of financial principles, he is well qualified to deal with his subject. Let it not be thought, however, that his book is only of interest to those persons who make the study of figures their business or their hobby, though the author disarmingly suggests in his foreword that this may be so. It is true that only such persons as these may be able to appreciate the value of graphs, index numbers and the like mysteries which are supplied in full quantity, but apart from this there is much which the ordinary reader can comprehend and read with pleasure, not least the admirable historical survey of the first years of the Austrian Republic; in this survey Dr. de Bordes shows himself as much a master of the description of dramatic events as he is a specialist in financial theories.

Professor A. L. P. Dennis, of Clark University, U.S.A., has attempted a difficult task and accomplished it with success in *Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia* (Dent & Sons, 15s.). The very plural of his title which he is in truth compelled to use shows the tanglesomeness of his subject. There has not been one single aim, but many pursued by the Soviet Government in its foreign relations during the short course of its existence; the lack of the experience of leadership and statesmanship in its leaders has led them to rely on experiments abroad as well as at home, and the expediency of the moment has laid them open to the charge of inconsistency from their followers but little less than from their foes. Professor Dennis, as befits a history professor, writes without obvious bias; he is content to record and interpret facts, for which ample notes to each chapter give the authorities; the utmost that he permits himself in the way of opinion or forecast is such a statement as the following: "Trade with Russia is entirely possible to-day; it is independent of recognition. When Russia is ready and willing to observe the ordinary standards of international relations recognition should follow." Nothing is more clear from what Professor Dennis says and quotes than that the early attitude of Soviet Russia towards the League has in no degree changed; either through an obstinate prejudice or a calculated ignorance she is as violently opposed to it as ever, and there is no immediate prospect that this attitude will be altered. Nevertheless, Russia cannot be ignored; her own contempt and disregard of "bourgeois" states must not be allowed to create similar feelings in the minds even of those who are most hostile to the principles and practice of her Government. Hence it is all to the good that this book has appeared, and its remarkably fair and full handling of Russia's dealings in Asia as well as in Europe make it well worth attention.

A special welcome must be given to *Women Peace-Makers* (Harrap, 2s. 6d.), by Miss Hebe Spaul, who is a member of the staff of the League of Nations Union. In a simple, straightforward and picturesque way Miss Spaul has told the stories of seven women, three of whom are British, three Scandinavian, and one Polish, all happily still living, who have served the cause of peace through the League of Nations. Details are given of their home life as well as of their public work. The seven peacemakers illustrate, whether intentionally or not, several of the different social and humanitarian operations of the League, and Miss Spaul has cleverly insinuated a good deal of general information about the working of the League itself, so that a reader who had

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never heard of it would find himself much wiser about its essential points before he reached the last page. The book is illustrated by characteristic portraits.

The Save the Children Fund has collected a vast amount of information in the course of its widespread work; this information it has now placed at the service of the public in **An International Handbook of Child Care and Protection** (Longmans, 7s. 6d.). Both the editor, Mr. Edward Fuller, and the Fund are to be congratulated on their enterprise, which is remarkably comprehensive and detailed. Even the sub-title, "A Record of State and Voluntary Effort for the Welfare of the Child, including Education, the Care of the Delinquent and Destitute Child, and Conditions of Juvenile Employment throughout the World," does not represent the whole of its contents, for the background into which the child is born is included in its scope. Not only is every British Dependency and each American State separately dealt with, but even such obscure territories as Bhutan and San Marino, Guam and Liechtenstein find their place; whole vistas of interest are opened up by the mention of health centres in every large city in Afghanistan, of education clubs in Manitoba, of overcrowding in Hong Kong, where in the city of Victoria there is an average of 31.3 persons per house, and of family customs in Nepal. The Year Book is not merely a book of reference, for a year book it is marvellously readable. A useful appendix gives particulars of the League's work for women and children, and, what is even more important, tables the countries which have given effect to the conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Office.

The League of Nations' Year Book (P. S. King & Son, 7s. 6d.) makes its fourth appearance, for the last time under the editorship of Mr. Charles Levermore, the winner of the Bok prize. It might be suggested to the new editor, for the publication will be continued next year, that the title should be altered to correspond more nearly with the contents, since the book covers much more ground than its name implies; it is really a documented summary of current universal history, in which, of course, the League is prominent. But while the proceedings of the Council of the Fourth Assembly, of the Fifth Conference of the I.L.O. and of the Permanent Court are fully reported, such matters as the Treaty of Lausanne, the Pan-American Congress, and the Ruhr Occupation take their proper place in the journal of the events of 1923. The story of the Corfu incident is told at length, and in the appendices are to be found the record of the official and unofficial co-operation of the United States with the League, and the full text of the winning plan in the Bok competition. It is obvious from this brief survey of its contents that this book meets a need which is not otherwise fulfilled, and that no L.N.U. speaker or secretary can do without it; it is all the more unfortunate therefore that it is marred by frequent mis-spellings of proper names and careless indexing.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

Mahatma Gandhi, by R. M. Gray and M. C. Parekh (Student Christian Movement, 3s.), is more than "an essay in appreciation"; it is a discriminating study of the great Indian leader, and the authors do not hesitate to point out the weak as well as the strong points in the character of their subject; they set forth clearly and with ample knowledge the difficulties of the situation of which Gandhi is the creator and the victim.

Education and International Goodwill, by Alfred Zimmern (H. Milford, 1s.). This sixth Earl Grey Memorial Lecture deserves a wide circulation, and it might well be reproduced at meetings of L.N.U. branches this winter and serve them as a useful basis of discussion.

STUDENTS OF THE EMPIRE.

BY ONE OF THEM.

THE greatest difficulty was to find a name to embrace us all: Students from Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand, Trinidad and the Western shores of Canada; Irishmen representing a union of both Free State and Ulster students, British and Dutch from South Africa and men from the great Universities of India, side by side with the students of Great Britain. We came from the far corners of the world, and there on a map in the Conference Handbook our universities were marked as a ring of lighthouses round the world. It was an awakening to see how many of those universities there were—scarcely known to each other—but widely spread over all those countries usually marked red to denote this Empire, this Commonwealth, this alliance of Free Nations or whatever it is to which we all belong. And what it is none of us ever decided. It is significant that we did not much mind.

For some of us it was a royal welcome "home," and we shall not forget the afternoon at Minchingbrooke, when, in the shadows of that historic house, Lord Balfour reminded us of the great history of our common race. For all of us, England provided a reception that will be a living memory; the Prince of Wales received us, the Government welcomed us at dinner, City Companies, Cambridge and London colleges and many private hosts made us welcome at their tables. But none of them asked us to forget the national aspirations of our own dominions.

How this Empire came to exist did not concern us, but it was surprising to discover how many and how widely divergent were the points of view about the problems confronting it to-day. On few of them could we come to any immediate agreement, but we shall go back to our own corners more determined than ever to think things out, and with a knowledge that we should not otherwise have had of "the other fellow's point of view." One of the first things to be done will be to set going the various schemes which we discussed in detail, and by which we can make it easier for the students of our universities to keep in touch and co-operate in the future, so developing between us that understanding which is the only enduring bond that can keep us together.

Looking back through the minutes of those meetings it is amazing to find how many problems were discussed in our different commissions, and on some of them we did agree about certain broad principles that should govern the future relations between our different countries.

Whatever our race or our civilisation, whatever chance of history had brought us all into association with each other, it was the future that concerned us most, and Lord Cecil in the speech with which he welcomed us brought us right up against the one problem that mattered most of all. The future, not only of our own lands, but of the world, was ours; 1914 to 1918 was behind us, whither would we lead?

Histories divide us, but the future must bring us together. With one great object in view—the peace of the world—all our differences would be solved in a willing policy of compromise, and machinery would be soon developed in keeping with that spirit in which our countries would co-operate for this great aim.

That is the vision which we saw and towards which we will work in years to come, but even now it seems we can do much, and the National Union of Students which convened the conference showed us how by forming national unions in our own countries we could meet and get to know the students of many other countries belonging to the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants (C.I.E.). Exchange visits, debating teams, tours and cheap travel facilities could be arranged, and, with a

THE UNION'S UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE.

OUR readers will remember the highly successful Conference on Unemployment in its National and International Aspects organised by the League of Nations Union and held in May, 1924. An exceedingly weighty and learned list of speakers was collected, and the results surpassed all expectations as a contribution to knowledge of the Labour affairs of the world.

The International Labour Office at Geneva has now published in its series of Studies and Reports the report of the Conference with the speeches in extenso, at the very modest price of one shilling for 223 pages of concentrated knowledge. It provides a quite remarkable fount of ideas, theories and practical information; anyone wishing to understand more about unemployment and its causes than is provided by the screams, wails and howls of a section of the press, will be wise and will save himself a vast amount of research and trouble if he consults this report. It contains speeches delivered by men and women of such diverse views and theories as Mr. E. F. Wise, Mr. Maynard Keynes, Mr. F. W. Hirst, Mrs. Wootton, Miss Bondfield, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. W. L. Hichens, and Mr. J. J. Mallon. Every shade of opinion (except that particular shade sported by the Third International) is represented, and the seeker after light can pick his own fancy. The one difficulty is that where every speaker is so learned, so lucid, so convincing, it is almost bewildering to the intellect of the average reader to decide for himself which is the counsel of perfection.

The really striking thing about the report is the extraordinary width and scope of the discussions. The Conference went down to fundamentals, and the superficial was completely ignored. The six headings alone, into which the discussions were divided, show the range of thought and idea—International Trade and Unemployment, Financial Factors, Work for the Unemployed, Unemployment Insurance, Hours and Wages, Migration.

The I.L.O. is to be congratulated on its enterprise in bringing out this Report, but, at the risk of throwing bouquets at ourselves, it is only right to quote the words of the resolution moved by Mr. W. H. Lock, of the National Union of General Workers: "That this Conference of employers, workpeople, Government administrators and social workers, expresses hearty appreciation of the work of the Labour Department of the League of Nations Union. . . ." The proof-reading of the Report is by no means perfect.

GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

Treaty Series, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-4. 12s. net.
Bulletin of the International University Information Office, 1924. No. 3. 1s. 9d. net.
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Monthly Epidemiological Report, 1924. No. 68. 1s. net.
Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, 1924. No. 6. 1s. 6d. net.

Report to the Fifth Assembly of the League on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat, and on the Measures Taken to Execute the Decisions of the Assembly. 3s. 6d. net.

The International Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balance, 1910-1923, Balance of Payments and Summary Trade Tables. 2s. 6d. net.

New Zealand champion straight from the Olympic Games as a member of our Conference, the value of international inter-varsity sports which could be managed through the C.I.E. made a special appeal.

We had many points of view, but two resolutions, almost unanimously adopted, are significant. One resolution urged that the Rhodes scholarships should be restored to Germany. There is no doubt that, when we talked of "international" co-operation, we meant it. The second resolution concerned the vexed question of Imperial Defence. It was agreed that the Imperial Forces should be defensive only, and that it should be made known to the world that they would only be used in the defence of any part of the Empire against "an act of aggression" to be defined by the League of Nations.

Some of us from the more distant places were surprised to find to what an extent the League had become the natural centre of all political and international co-operation between the nations. Those of us more directly concerned in work for the League were able to point to the League solution for many of the problems raised.

One night a group of delegates slipped away from the Conference to accept the hospitality of the British Group and to meet, at Trinity, Mr. J. R. M. Butler, who told us of the work being done by the League of Nations' Union in the universities of this country and the formation of a British Group of the University Branches of the Union.

One result of the Conference will almost certainly be the development of University Groups moulding public opinion in all the Dominions in favour of a strong League policy, and before long we shall hope to see these Groups taking their place with the British Group in the work of the International Universities' Federation for the League of Nations.

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Membership of the Union.

During the month of August, the membership of the Union reached 400,000. Another milestone on the road to the million passed.

Pageant at Letchworth.

The Letchworth Branch of the League of Nations Union organised a most successful garden festival in July. The weather, oddly enough, was perfect. From 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. a tennis tournament was played and music was provided by an orchestra throughout the whole afternoon. There were many side-shows and a good sale of literature and maps.

The chief event of the festival was a Pageant of Nations consisting of a procession of ladies wearing the flags of about forty States of the League, each one preceded by a small page carrying a banner or a card bearing the nation's name. John Calvin and Erasmus, representing Geneva and the Hague, also took part in the Pageant. In the evening, the Very Rev. Dean Robbins of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, delivered an address.

The Hon. Secretary of the Letchworth Branch, Mr. R. W. Tabor, and the members of the Branch are warmly to be congratulated.

Finchley and Finance.

The Finchley United Branches have achieved a most notable feat in collecting between them a total of £736 4s. 7d. for the central funds of the Union. There is nothing more encouraging than the way in which the Branches are shouldering their share of the Union's financial burden. Finchley has set a splendid example.

Grimsby.

The Grimsby Branch, seizing occasion by the hand, organised and ran a tent at the Lincolnshire Agricultural Show at Cleethorpes, a three-day fixture. Even if no visible results of moment accrue, it is all to the good to keep the League and the Union in the public eye in this way.

A Demonstration at Lytham.

The Lytham Branch had the audacity to hold their annual open-air meeting in the open air and were rewarded for their courage, like the Letchworth Branch, by a fine day. There was a large attendance to hear Miss Currey of Headquarters and Mr. Sydney G. Honey, of Manchester (well known to the listeners-in of 2ZY as "Uncle George"). The children of the various Sunday Schools of the town sang peace songs accompanied by the Lytham Subscription Band. The programme published by the Branch is a model for such demonstrations including, as it does, a short summary of the League's objects, an appeal to every individual, and a form of application for membership.

League of Nations Union Publications.

Among the various pamphlets recently published by the Union is included a new and revised edition of Pamphlet

No. 82, "Humanitarian Activities of the League," at the price of 9d. As this is not a new publication, there will be no general distribution of it, but a copy will be supplied free on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, to any member or Branch or District Secretary.

The speech of the Chairman of the Executive Committee to the Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Union at Wembley in June, has been printed as a 12-page pamphlet under the title "The Word and the League," price 2d.

Two Striking Achievements.

As a result of a house-to-house canvass last May, the Wilmslow and District Branch increased its membership from 320 to 750. The Wilmslow district has brought off a feat that no candidate for Parliament has ever done.

Out of a total electoral strength of 100 in his two parishes, the Rev. J. R. Palmer of Gratwich Rectory, Uttoxeter, has secured no less than 46 Members for the Union. This must be very nearly a record.

Public Meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster.

We draw the attention of our readers to the Fourth Annual International Democratic Congress for Peace, which is to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on September 17, 18 and 19. This is the Congress of an international movement that originated in France under the inspiration and leadership of M. Marc Sangnier and which is awakening the younger generation to wider international sympathies and support of the League of Nations.

On Tuesday, September 16 the British Government are giving an official reception in Lancaster House to the 150 foreign delegates and to members of British movements. The subject of the Congress will be "Peace by International Co-operation" and discussion will range over the Moral, Political and Economic fields.

On behalf of this Congress the League of Nations Union has undertaken the organisation of a public meeting in the large Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, September 18, at 8 p.m. The theme will be "The Contribution towards Peace in Different Countries." Viscount Gladstone will preside, and the speakers will be Marc Sangnier, Dr. Quiddle, George Lansbury, the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. An appeal is made to members of the Union, specially to those belonging to branches in or near London, to attend the meeting and to make it known among their friends.

Admission is free, but there are a few reserved seats at half-a-crown. Application for tickets and full information about the meeting may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, and from Miss A. Ruth Fry, Hon. Sec. London Arrangements Committee, Millbank House, 2, Wood Street, Westminster, S.W.1, from whom particulars of the full Congress arrangements may also be obtained.

More Pageant Prizes.

Last month we had the pleasure of chronicling the success of the Blackpool League of Nations Branch at the Blackpool Carnival, where they carried off two silver cups for their tableau representing the Angel of Peace. The Blackpool Branch has now been followed up by the Burnham-on-Sea Branch at the Burnham Hospital Carnival. Sixty ladies and gentlemen took part, each wearing a native costume of the country they represented, headed by Britannia sitting on her throne, and evoking general admiration. Among the list of prize winners we find, "Best gang. 1. League of Nations." We must heartily congratulate the Burnham-on-Sea Branch on their success. It is not the first time that the League of Nations or the League of Nations Union have been referred to as a "gang," but we feel certain it is the first time that the word "best"

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,931
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Aug. 20, 1924	...	...	...	...	402,592

BRANCHES.

On August 20 the number of Branches was 1,874, Junior Branches 178, and Corporate Members 829.

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has been used in this connection. The Rothermere Press usually alludes to workers for the League as the "old gang" or sometimes as "that gang."

The Tonbridge Branch of the Union took part recently in a Venetian fête. The Angel of Peace was represented on a boat on each side of which was a scroll bearing the words "The League of Nations," and the boat was draped with the flags of the Member-States of the League. The illuminations of over 350 fairy lights were reported as being among the best in the whole fête. The five continents were represented by members of the Branch, and a Herald bore a banner with the inscription, "Friends of Peace, unite, and help to abolish war." This boat was awarded the first prize, amid unanimous acclamations.

If this goes on, there will have to be a new rule of the Union, allotting to Headquarters a percentage of prizes won!

A New Departure.

The Chipping Sodbury District Council recently applied to become a Corporate Member of the Union, and the Farnworth Urban Council has followed suit. Indeed, Farnworth's subscription beat Chipping Sodbury's by a short head, and so has the honour of being the first municipal body to become a Corporate Member of the Union. This is a new and very interesting development in Corporate Membership.

League Journals.

Two or three sets of (1) League Official Journals, from 1921 on, (2) League Monthly Summaries, can be sent from Headquarters on application to the Intelligence Section. They are not quite complete. Preference in distribution will be given to clubs and libraries which would be unable to afford to buy these books, but are conscious of a demand for accurate information on League subjects. Applications should be made before September 30th.

Just Published.

WOMEN PEACE-MAKERS

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Red Slips.

In order that members may know when their HEADWAY subscriptions become renewable, a red slip calling attention to the fact is attached to the front page of HEADWAY. Renewal subscriptions should always be paid to the secretary of the Branch to which a member belongs. Subscriptions should only be sent to Headquarters if the member concerned is attached direct to Headquarters and not to a Branch.

NOTES FROM WALES.

The Welsh National Council Staff has now moved into new office premises at 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

At the show of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society held at Bridgend, on July 23rd, 24th and 25th, the Welsh National Council was represented by a stall. Much useful work was done, and a good deal of League literature was sold or distributed.

A similar stall was in evidence in close proximity to the pavilion at the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales at

Pontypool during the week August 4th-9th. Intense interest was shown in the activities of the League of Nations Union.

A number of successful Daffodil Days have been held.

Cefneithin, Carmarthenshire—July 19th.

New Quay, Cardiganshire—July 19th.

Bridgend—July 24th, the second day of the Show.

Pontypool—August 5th, the second day of the Eisteddfod.

Plans for the Autumn and Winter campaign are in course of preparation. Steps are being taken to cover every corner of the thirteen counties.

New Corporate Members.

CHINGFORD—Congregational Church. DEWSBURY—Springfield Congregational Church. DUNDEE—Women's Citizens' Association. DUNSFOLD—Parochial Church Council. EASTLEIGH—Wesleyan Church. FARLEIGH—Parish Church. HAVERHILL AND DISTRICT—Women's Liberal Association. HOWE BRIDGE—Parochial Church Council. KEIGHLEY—Oakworth Road Primitive Methodist Mission. LINCOLN AND DISTRICT—Christian Endeavour Union. LIVERPOOL—Berkeley Street Congregational Church Training Centre; The Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation. MANCHESTER—Teachers' Association (N.U.T.). NORTHAM—Parochial Church Council. NOTTINGHAM AND DISTRICT—Trades' Council. PETERBOROUGH—St. Peter's College. READING—St. John's Church. ROTHWELL—Parochial Church Council. STOCKPORT—Mount Tabor United Methodist Church. STREET—Holy Trinity Church; Meeting of Society of Friends. THORNTON—Parochial Church Council. TORQUAY—Abbey Road Congregational Church; Belgrave Congregational Church. WESTBURY-ON-TRYM—Parish Church. WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA—St. Paul's Church.

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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. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY. Neglect of this is the cause of many complaints of non-receipt of HEADWAY.

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.

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

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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.