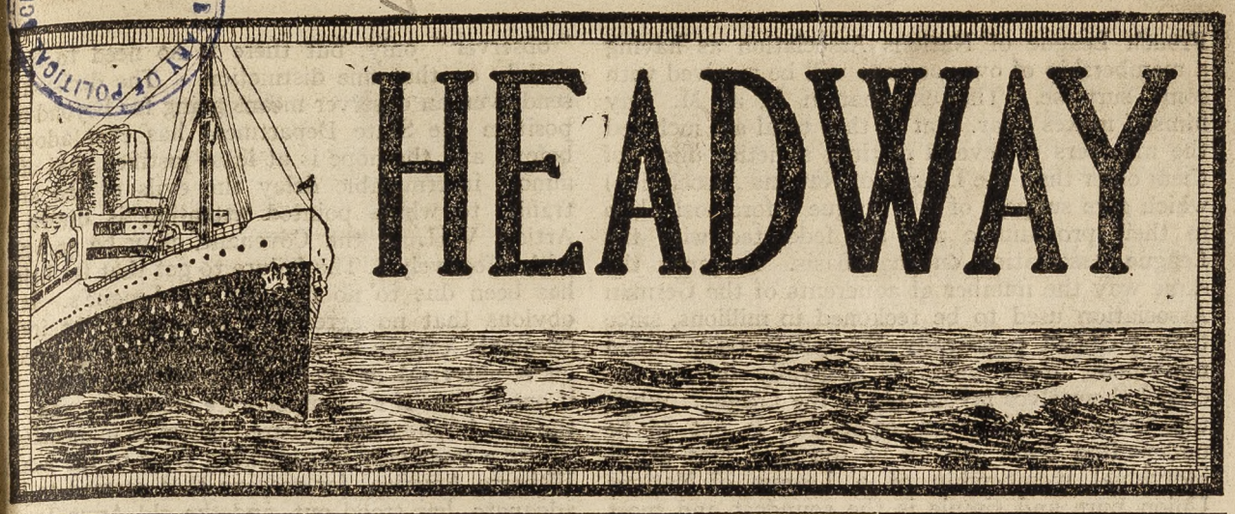

HEADWAY

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CONTENTS.

MATTERS OF MOMENT.

IT is to the near future that we must still look for the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's undertakings. In one direction he has already justified his words. There has been a good deal of rather loose talk about an international conference to put the world straight generally, though such a project, even as General Smuts originally put it forward, bristled with difficulties which might well have proved fatal if matters had ever reached the point of actual experiment. Mr. MacDonald is evidently so conscious of that that he has met the persistent rumours of the imminence of such a conference by the definite declaration that he believes the League way is the right way and that, at all events, is the way he means to try first. Meanwhile there is everything to be said for the advice Lord Grey has more than once given publicly, that Ambassadors and Ministers of foreign Powers should have it constantly impressed on them in the course of their routine calls at the Foreign Office that harmonious co-operation with this country depends largely on the acceptance of this country's views as to what signature of the League Covenant involves. If that is done in Downing Street and British deplomatic representatives abroad are definitely instructed to adopt the same attitude, a really substantial advance will have been made.

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WHEREVER the new Government may fail, it certainly does not fall short in declarations of faith in the League of Nations. While there has not been much opportunity of putting the matter to the test so far, there is no reason to doubt Ministers' sincerity. While previous Cabinets have professed, and in the main given reasonable evidence of their belief in the League, this particular administration undoubtedly contains more members known in the past as sound League men than any of its predecessors. Some of them, it is true, have criticised Geneva and its works out of a rather excessive impatience, but they are now brought face to face with realities and nothing better could be wished than that they should exert themselves in all directions to extract from the League what they think it should be capable of producing. An answer the Prime Minister has given in the House of Commons suggests that he has taken one useful step in the League's interest. Replying to Mr. J. H. Harris, Mr. MacDonald made it clear that he is resolved that for the future the Ambassadors' Conference shall confine itself strictly to whatever special duties devolve on it in connection with the execution of the 1919 and 1920 treaties, and under no circumstances be allowed to undertake work for which the League is better fitted. While the British Government cannot decide the fate of the Ambassadors' Conference single handed, it can practically achieve its purpose by instructing the British Ambassador when and when not to sit on it.

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THE extremely interesting article by M. Marcel Ray on another page of this issue gives a picture which may perhaps appear at first sight unduly optimistic of the position of the League of Nations in French opinion. In particular, mention of the

French League of Nations Association as having a membership of over 200,000 will be received with some surprise. The explanation is, as M. Ray himself makes clear, that in that total are included the members of several distinct societies (most of them older than the League of Nations Association) which give support of the League a foremost place in their programme and are federated with the League Association on that basis. In much the same way the number of adherents of the German Association used to be reckoned in millions, since they included practically the whole trade union movement, trade unionists generally having declared themselves favourable to the League. While the value of this mass-permeation is not to be under-rated there can be no question that direct individual membership of a League of Nations Union pure and simple is the soundest and most effective method of promoting the ideals of the League. For our own country, at any rate, that rule incontestably holds true. And when it is said that in France and Italy elsewhere the propagation of League doctrine through local branches throughout the country would be foreign to the national habit, the question must still be asked whether that method has ever been really tried.

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THE recognition of Russia by Great Britain, Italy and other countries inevitably raises the question of the attitude of the Government at Moscow towards the League of Nations. So far there is not a great deal to go on. Theoretically, the Soviet leaders still regard the League with conspicuous hostility, and their propagandists lose few opportunities of attacking it. Yet the fact remains that Russia co-operates fully in the Health activities of the League; that she is brought into direct touch with it by several provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, which she has accepted under protest, but accepted none the less; and that she has during the last month participated on equal terms in the conference of naval experts at Rome. This means slow advance, and there can be little doubt that if Messrs. Rykoff and Tchitcherin were sure of being admitted forthwith to the League, with a permanent place on the Council, they would seize the chance with alacrity as the final evidence of Russia's unchallenged international status. That is, in the main, satisfactory. At the same time, a proper anxiety to see Russia in the League must not blind us to one or two difficulties that may at once arise. It is to be assumed that the Union of Soviet Republics will claim admission as a single State, but it may not. In that case perplexing problems will arise. And under Article I. of the Covenant questions regarding frontiers, and conceivably regarding armaments, may present themselves, which cannot be answered in a sentence.

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THE most important feature of the meeting of the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission at Geneva early in February was the presence of Mr. Grew, the United States Minister at Berne. Mr. Grew attended, it is true, technically as an "observer" only, but there is no need to insist unduly on that fine distinction. The decision to send even an observer means going far beyond any position the State Department has ever adopted before, and the hope is at least justified that after almost interminable delay the evils of the arms traffic, to which pointed attention is drawn in Article VIII. of the Covenant, may be grappled with effectively. The failure to get that far before has been due to no fault of the League's. It is obvious that no agreement to restrict the indiscriminate export of arms can be reached except on a universal or practically universal basis, for if one nation of any importance stood out while all the rest imposed an embargo it would immediately secure a monopoly in supplying arms to the world. Hitherto America, for reasons that seemed to her adequate, has stood out, and the old Arms Traffic Convention of St. Germain has consequently been a dead letter. Now there are signs of a change of view in Washington. Mr. Grew has been invited to join the committee charged with drafting a new convention on the traffic in arms. If he is authorised by his Government to accept it marked progress will have been registered. If permission for this is withheld there will still be progress.

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THE Treaty of Mutual Assistance is gaining an increasing hold on public attention, and it is well it should. The final verdict in this country may be cast in favour of the Treaty or against it, or, what is more likely, in favour of the Treaty in an amended form. For that we can wait a little. The vital thing is that the document in its present form should be exhaustively examined, in its technical aspects by experts, and in its general bearing by the men and women who vote. The latter are the more important, for valuable though the expert is, he must in the last resort be the servant, not the master, of the electors, of Parliament and of the Cabinet. In that connection it is satisfactory that the Government, as Lord Parmoor informed the League of Nations Union deputation, has decided to appoint a strong committee to study the Treaty. Equally important in its way is the letter addressed in the middle of February by the American Secretary of State to a Congressman who proposed a new world-conference for the limitation of armaments. One of the reasons adduced by Mr. Hughes was the fact that the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was at present before the League, and it was apparently this factor in the situation which inspired the Secretary of State to add the hope "that at no distant day the European Powers will find it possible largely to reduce and limit their land armaments."

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IN the same connection the correspondence which has lately been appearing in *The Times* on the subject of air warfare of the future demands the most careful study. Attempts to depict the horrors of poison-gases of new and undreamed-of potency sometimes leave us cold when presented by an indifferent speaker from a public platform, but no one can disregard the grave and measured

words used by such a writer as Brigadier-General Groves (for some time a member of the League's Permanent Advisory Committee on Armaments) in his recent letters. His purpose is to show by temperate and reasoned argument that in future air warfare must and will consist largely of deliberate attempts to break the *moral* of a nation by mass attacks on the civil population —attacks which it is practically impossible to repel with any success, and which must inevitably be met by retaliation in kind. That assumption can, of course, be used as argument either for a vast expansion of our own air force or for a redoubled zeal in extending and consolidating the League of Nations. In the debate on air power in the House of Commons on February 19 the Under-Secretary voiced the Government's desire for a new Air Pact on the Washington lines. That, if it comes, ought to come through the League. Meanwhile there is the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. And, above all, there is the League itself, which will always do far more to turn nations away from the beginning of a war than to limit the weapons and the scale of devastation once war has begun.

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THE fact that whereas the League's Financial Committee had the Hungarian Reconstruction Scheme ready in the middle of December, the Reparation Committee had still not taken the necessary action in the matter in the middle of February is a good example of the kind of difficulties the League has constantly to contend with. The main causes of the delay were the endeavours of various of Hungary's neighbours to secure relief from certain of their own burdens as price of their assent to the proposal to relieve Hungary, temporarily at any rate, of hers. The scheme will now be much harder to carry through than it need have been. In the interval between December and February the crown has gone from 80,000 to the £ to 130,000 and opportunity has been given for a crop of rumours which all tend to shake confidence and prejudice the success of the coming loan considerably. Hungary herself has behaved well, and, though the political conditions prevailing in the country are far from what men of liberal mind here would desire, the present regime is stable enough to make the loan a thoroughly sound business proposition. Money invested in it will constitute a real contribution to the reconstruction of Europe.

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A REFERENDUM was taken in Switzerland on February 17 to decide whether the 48-hour week should be extended for the next three years to 56 hours. The Government advocated the extension, which was opposed by the Socialists. The referendum going in their favour, the project is quashed, the principle of the Washington Hours Convention being thus vindicated so far as Switzerland is concerned. The interest of the decision lies in the fact that it comes just at the moment when the British Government appears to have made up its mind that the Convention must be ratified. It is apparently intended to make an endeavour to secure simultaneous ratification by other countries. That is a sound enough plan so long as we are not content to justify our failure to ratify by other people's refusal. The political value of simultaneous action must be measured against the moral value of giving an unhesitating lead to other nations.

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THE Memel investigation is to all appearance going well in the capable hands of the League Commission, presided over by Mr. Norman Davis, but its prospects of success have not been furthered by a singularly unfortunate Note which the Conference of Ambassadors has seen fit to address to the League Council on the subject. It will be remembered that before the Ambassadors invoked the League's assistance last October they had themselves endeavoured to frame a project for Memel, to many provisions of which the Lithuanian Government took strong exception. The letter which M. Poincaré has now sent to Geneva in the name of the Ambassadors' Conference suggests that the League's task was limited to finding alternatives to those details to which the Lithuanians took exception. That is an entirely unwarrantable assumption. The League Council, in taking over the Memel question at its December meeting, took over the Memel question as a whole, leaving itself entirely free to adopt or to discard such partial solutions as the Ambassadors had succeeded in reaching. In point of fact, there was more to be said for discarding than for adopting them, but the importance of the Ambassadors' letter lies in its relation not to the Memel question at all, but to the respective positions of the League Council and the Ambassadors' Conference in international affairs.

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AN interesting example of the possible value of League of Nations Unions acting in co-operation is provided by action lately taken by the Swiss League of Nations Association, which at a meeting held at Berne in February decided to address a letter to the French League of Nations Association urging it to use its influence with the French Government in favour of recognition of the principle of arbitration in the matter of "the zones." The zone controversy, which has reference to certain areas round Geneva which (under an old agreement) have hitherto formed part of the Swiss customs system, though under French sovereignty, has long agitated relations between Switzerland and France, the French having shown themselves reluctant to accept the Swiss proposal that the whole matter be referred to arbitration. The merits of the dispute are less important than the action taken by the Swiss League of Nations Association. While such associations, like the League of Nations Union in this country, are well advised to avoid falling under the criticism of attempting to act as amateur Foreign Offices, nothing is more desirable than that organisations in different countries which take their stand first and foremost on League principles should endeavour to make common cause on that solid foundation in matters that concern their respective countries. If the League of Nations movement in Britain, France and Germany had been stronger than it is, common ground in the reparation controversy might have been discovered before this.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE COVENANT.

By Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

I REMEMBER vividly the first time I had a conversation of any length with President Wilson. It was in the house he was first occupying at Paris near the Parc Monceau. I called on him with General Smuts about a fortnight after the Peace Conference had opened, to discuss with him his draft of a scheme for the League of Nations. It was based largely on separate drafts prepared by Lord Phillimore, by General Smuts and by myself, but the fusion of the three had been almost entirely the President's own work, though Colonel House had collaborated with him. It was during this talk that President Wilson first told us that he proposed calling his League scheme "The Covenant." He said he had a Presbyterian ancestry, which attracted him to the phrase.

That, as I have said, was a fortnight or more after the Peace Conference opened, but to get an accurate picture of the President's place in that Conference one must go back to the day of the Armistice. There are few who cannot recall still the amazing reaction in public feeling, or visualise again the astonishing scenes in the streets of London—scenes paralleled, as we soon knew, in Paris, in Rome, and in every other capital of the warring countries. A day or two later President Wilson arrived from America and received a tumultuous welcome, not primarily as President of the United States, but as the man who, of all others, typified peace for the world. In Italy and in Paris his welcome was the same.

President Woodrow Wilson.
Drawn by J. F. Horrabin.

When I myself reached Paris as a member of the British Peace Delegation on January 6, the President had just arrived from Italy. He stood on the threshold of his great task, and he faced it with enthusiasm and confidence. Then came the slow disillusionment. Paris became a seething mass of intrigue. Everyone was out to get what he could for his country. President Wilson, no doubt, had his faults, but his devotion to the supreme cause of peace never faltered throughout. He claimed nothing for his country. His whole energy was concentrated on getting, first of all, fair terms of peace, and, secondly—though perhaps this really came first—the League of Nations. On the peace terms he had gradually to make one concession after another, but through it all he held unfaltering to the League. Without him the League Covenant would never have been put into the Treaty, and if it had not it is very doubtful whether it would ever have become part of the world's law.

At the sittings of the League Commission the President himself was in the chair. So far as I remember, he missed only one of the whole series of sittings. We met on the days when the Conference was not in session, or else, as often happened, late at night. It was characteristic of Wilson's loyalty to the League idea that, though he was not naturally of a malleable character, he accepted an almost complete change of form and partly of substance in the draft he had prepared, and worked as untiringly for the Covenant in its new form as if his own plan had been approved without the change of a letter.

In point of fact, the scheme as the President had presented it was not in precisely the form most suitable for international discussions. I made a remark to that effect to General Smuts as we left the President's house after the talk to which I have already referred, but he replied, with great sagacity, that, though that was true, it was essential that the President's draft and none other should be taken as the basis of the Commission's discussions, a view which I completely endorsed.

Mr. Wilson was a strong, and even autocratic, chairman of the Commission. The working out of details he left largely to others, but he was always there, and he constantly intervened with speeches of extraordinary eloquence, particularly when any difficulty occurred. I remember, though not in full detail, a magnificent speech by the President which ended with a declaration that the day would come when loyalty to humanity would take as high a place in men's minds as loyalty to one's country.

To Article 10 of the Covenant Mr. Wilson, of course, attached much importance, but I should say that the part of the Covenant most essentially his own was Article 11. The phrase regarding the "friendly right" of any member of the League to bring any threat to peace before the Council or Assembly was the President's own, and, so far as I know, it had no precedent in any diplomatic document.

Beside these memories of President Wilson at Paris, I must set another very different. The next and only other time I saw him he was sitting alone with his wife in his house in S Street in Washington, a man broken and powerless physically, but a man with all his mental faculties undimmed, who talked in many respects exactly as he had talked at Paris four years before. He was, as always, full of anecdotes, and at intervals he referred to the League and its position in the world. "We are winning," he insisted repeatedly. I asked his views as to whether I was doing wisely in visiting America at that juncture and speaking on the League. "Absolutely right," he replied, and added again: "Remember, we are winning; make no concessions."

That is the last sentence I remember of our conversation. There could be none more characteristic.

THE DEAD AT SURESNES.

[One of President Wilson's most notable public speeches, that delivered over the American dead in the cemetery at Suresnes, near Paris, on May 30, 1919, has, we believe, never been published, except in the form of fragmentary reports in the daily papers at the time. That, apart from the importance of its references to the League of Nations, is sufficient reason for reproducing the greater part of it here.—Ed., Headway.]

MR. AMBASSADOR, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-countrymen:

No one with a heart in his breast, no American, no lover of humanity, can stand in the presence of these graves without the most profound emotion. These men who lie here are men of a unique breed. Their like has not been seen since the far days of the Crusades. Never before have men crossed the seas to a foreign land to fight for a cause which they did not pretend was peculiarly their own, but knew was the cause of humanity and of mankind. And when they came, they found fit comrades for their courage and their devotion. They found armies of liberty already in the field—men who, though they had gone through three years of fiery trial, seemed only to be just discovering, not for a moment losing, the high temper of the great affair, men seasoned in the bloody service of liberty. Joining hands with these, the men of America gave that greatest of all gifts, the gift of life and the gift of spirit.

But it would be no profit to us to eulogise these illustrious dead if we did not take to heart the lesson which they have taught us. They are dead; they have done their utmost to show their devotion to a great cause, and they have left us to see to it that that cause shall not be betrayed, whether in war or in peace. It is our privilege and our high duty to consecrate ourselves afresh on a day like this to the objects for which they fought. They came to see to it that there should never be a war like this again. It is for us, particularly for us who are civilians, to use our proper weapons of counsel and agreement to see to it that there never is such a war again. The nation that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel would betray the human race.

So it is our duty to take and maintain the safeguards which will see to it that the mothers of America and the mothers of France and England and Italy and Belgium and all the other suffering nations should never be called upon for this sacrifice again. This can be done. It must be done. And it will be done. The thing that these men left us, though they did not in their counsels conceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations. The League of Nations is the covenant of governments that these men shall not have died in vain. I like to think that the dust of those sons of America who were privileged to be buried in their mother country will mingle with the dust of the men who fought for the preservation of the Union, and that as those men gave their lives in order that America might be united, these men have given their lives in order that the world might be united. Those men gave their lives in order to secure the freedom of a nation. These men have given theirs in order to secure the freedom of mankind; and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the results of their labour as it is now impossible to regret the result of the labour of those who fought for the Union of the States.

You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckonings of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates the renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made; for if this is not the final battle for right, there will be another that will be final. Let these gentlemen not suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed and that we are ready to forget. They cannot accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know our age, we cannot accomplish our purpose, and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standards of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which the only questions will be, "Is it right?" "Is it just?" "Is it in the interest of mankind?"

This is a challenge that no previous generation ever dared to give ear to. So many things have happened, and they have happened so fast, in the last four years, that I do not think many of us realise what it is that has happened. Think how impossible it would have been to get a body of responsible statesmen seriously to entertain the idea of the organisation of a League of Nations four years ago. And think of the change that has taken place! I was told before I came to France that there would be confusion of counsel about this thing, and I found unity of counsel. I was told that there would be opposition, and I found union of action. I found the statesmen with whom I was about to deal united in the idea that we must have a League of Nations, that we could not merely make a peace settlement and then leave it to make itself effectual, but that we must conceive some common organisation by which we should give our common faith that this peace would be maintained and the conclusions at which we had arrived should be made as secure as the united counsels of all the great nations that fought against Germany could make them. We have listened to the challenge, and that is the proof that there shall never be a war like this again.

Ladies and gentlemen, we all believe, I hope, that the spirits of these men are not buried with their bodies. Their spirits live. I hope—I believe—that their spirits are present with us at this hour. I hope that I feel the compulsion of their presence. I hope that I realise the significance of their presence. Think, soldiers, of those comrades of yours who are gone. If they were here, what would they say? They would not remember what you are talking about to-day. They would remember America which they left with their high hope and purpose. They would remember the terrible field of battle. They would remember what they constantly recalled in times of danger, what they had come for and how worth while it was to give their lives for it. And they would say, "Forget all the little circumstances of the day. Be ashamed of the jealousies that divide you. We command you in the name of those who, like ourselves, have died to bring the counsels of men together and we remind you what America said she was born for. She was born, she said, to show mankind the way to liberty. She was born to make this great gift a common gift. She was born to show men the way of experience by which they might realise this gift and maintain it, and we adjure you in the name of all the great traditions of America to make yourselves soldiers now once for all in this common cause, where we need wear no uniform except the uniform of the heart, clothing ourselves with the principles of right and saying to men everywhere, 'You are our brothers and we invite you into the comradeship of liberty and of peace.'"

GENEVA LETTER

GENEVA, February.

THE advent of a Labour Government with its firm League policy has been here, as no doubt elsewhere, a subject of constant consideration and of wisely tempered expectation. Those who have followed regularly the meetings of the League are not unconscious of the wide gulf between the formation of a policy and the general acceptance of it, and it would be courting disappointment to spread the notion that the consequence of the British Government's attitude will be any immediate extension of League authority or of actual achievement by the League.

All foreign policy, into which category the League obviously enters, is a matter of negotiation and persuasion, and it seems difficult for many people on the Continent to suppose that British League policy, or any other policy, is inspired by anything but British interests. That is an unfortunate circumstance which has to be taken into consideration, but at the same time it seems to have been little realised in England how great a stimulus has been given in all countries to the discussion of League prospects under an energetic League policy of one of the Great Powers. In the most unlikely quarters there are comments which say that it will be no longer possible to treat the League indifferently and that those who want to keep a footing in international affairs and to make their voices heard will have to pay serious attention to the League. That in itself is a great gain, but for the rest there is only speculation as to what precise steps the British Government may take, and what kind of influence the British Government representative on the Council may exercise as the spear-head of British policy. It will greatly depend upon him.

What foundation there is for one British correspondent's suggestion that there is considerable alarm as to what the Government may attempt, it is hard to know, and to the ordinary observer, anxious for a wider application of League principles, the general indications of Government policy are far from giving him any sense of alarm.

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It is difficult to foresee what may be the developments regarding the admission of Germany, Russia, and in the more distant future, it is to be hoped, of America. The Russians, it is true, have sent a representative to the committee of naval experts meeting in Rome to consider the terms of a draft convention (to be considered at a later conference) for the extension of the terms of the Washington Treaty to non-signatory States; but it will have to be seen how much this step implies when the results and the part played by the Russian delegate are known. It is also true that the American Government instructed their Minister at Berne to attend the meeting of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments as an observer during the discussion on the steps to be taken to replace the St. Germain Convention which the United States declined to accept. This collaboration is extremely important, but there have been indications that the American Government, doubtless for reasons of internal politics, are disposed to keep the supervision of such matters as the control of the traffic in arms out of the supervision of the League as such, and this tendency has not been without at least some little support within the Commission. The American attitude in this respect is not, however, a matter to be taken tragically. No one, presumably, supposes that American membership of the League is anywhere approaching realisation within the immediate future.

I gather that among the directors of Russian policy there is now some division of opinion as to the question of ultimate adherence to the League Covenant, and if, as I believe, this is true, it marks an advance upon consistent lip-hostility hitherto. So far as Germany is concerned, my impression is that their action will be governed by events more than by policy.

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There are a good many League meetings this month—the Temporary Mixed Commission, the Permanent Advisory Commission, the Health Committee, the Committee of Naval Experts in Rome, the Memel Committee, and the German-Polish negotiations under the auspices of the League regarding the question of Polish nationality in relation to Germans.

The main result of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments was the appointment of two committees, one to consider the future organisation for armaments work, and the other to consider details of a convention or conventions to replace that of St. Germain. The Permanent Advisory Commission has also considered the question of the future organisation, and there is apparently the usual divergence between the civil elements of the Temporary Mixed Commission and the professional elements of the Permanent Advisory Commission. It would require a peculiarly sanguine temperament to imagine that a body of professional military, naval, and air men is specially progressive in the matter of armaments reduction, and it is perhaps not a surprising thing that there should be amongst them the view that the Temporary Mixed Commission is a quite unnecessary and incompetent set of individuals. No doubt the composition and character of the T.M.C. might be improved, but it would be extremely unfortunate if the professional element were allowed to supersede the civil element. Such are broadly the two tendencies, but it will be for the Council to decide when they receive the definite views for which they have asked the two Commissions.

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The Health Committee, which is still in session, has a large programme, and it is too early yet to speak of its decisions, with one exception. The Committee has considered a report of the Opium Sub-Committee regarding the average amounts of opium and dangerous drugs required in each country annually for medical and scientific purposes, and the Committee had reduced the Sub-Committee's proposed average of 600 milligrams per head per year, to 450 milligrams. It considers that this figure applies only to countries that have a highly-developed medical service and consequently have large medical and scientific needs, and that even so, it is still probably too high. If adopted, a world production of 500 tons a year would be sufficient to supply the world medical and scientific needs, whereas the present production is 3,000 tons. The conclusions of the Sub-Committee, which is composed of members of the Opium and Health Committees, have also to be examined by the Opium Committee, and in the form in which they are ultimately approved will be used by the Opium Committee in the course of its work on the control of the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs.

The Memel Committee, which met here early in the month and whose American President, Mr. Norman Davis, created an extraordinarily good impression, has been working on the spot, and the progress of its labours will not be known until their return to Geneva, probably during the course of this week. The German-Polish negotiations are being conducted in excellent spirit, and there are hopes of a convention being ultimately agreed upon.

C.

FRANCE AND THE LEAGUE.

By MARCEL RAY.
(Foreign Editor of the *Petit Journal*.)

WHEN I once asked a very wealthy, very clever and very distinguished Frenchman whether he was interested in the Peace movement and the League of Nations, I got the immediate and spontaneous answer: "The League of Nations? Why not?"

French people believe in the League, indeed, as they often believe in the dogmas of their Church, without thinking too much about it and without pledging themselves. Excepting on Sunday mornings, they are not expected to spend much of their time before the altar. To approve the League is part of the creed of decent people; it is the correct thing. They do it for the same reason that they approve of drinking moderately, of destroying slums, of not tormenting animals, of protecting children against cruel employers. They are not lacking in faith or good will. They would protest against the suspicion that they do not really care. But they rather want other people to do the work. Besides, they have their own hands full.

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Nevertheless there is an opposition in France to the League. It is small but determined. It is directed by a fairly important group of conservative parliamentarians, by a large number of diplomatists, and by a few influential journalists. They may be divided according to the nature of their objections into two categories.

The first includes that fraction of the French public which distrusts British policy, and fears the effects on French interests of the predominance of British influence on the world. This state of mind unhappily has developed in the course of the last few years, in consequence of the disappointments experienced by France on her Reparation policy and of the violently anti-British campaign led by some of the most important Paris newspapers. In this connection a single caricature can do more harm than a whole year of blundering policy. Many French readers of these papers considered the League as an instrument of "English imperialism," as a war machine worked by the Foreign Office, and their chief argument is that the British Empire possesses seven votes in the Assembly against one given to France.

The second group of opponents is composed of the people who raise an objection of principle to the very existence of the League. They believe that the relations of peoples are necessarily based on violent competition, or the struggle for life; that they are a contest for power and prestige, and that all efforts to change this is a generous or a perfidious delusion of which only the idealists and the simple-minded are victims. They therefore denounce the League and its Covenant as chimeras which increase the danger of war because they mask the facts.

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But the objection and the opposition made to the League do not prevent the idea of international co-operation and of the peaceful organisation of the world making rapid and considerable progress on French soil. The great *Association française pour la Société des Nations*, which numbers to-day nearly 200,000 members, with the world-known mathematician, M. Paul Appell, as its chairman, was founded by M. Léon Bourgeois, formerly Premier, on November 10, 1918, the eve of the Armistice. In June, 1920, the *Association française* took the initiative of grouping a dozen other Peace Societies, of which there were several before 1914, and of which the most interesting are the *Paix par le droit*, the *Union féminine* (Women's Association for the L. of N.), and the *Ligue des catholiques français*. It was thus that came into being the *Fédération des Associations françaises pour la S.D.N.* This Federation now includes the very important *groupement universitaire*, founded in 1922 by the students of the *Université de Paris* and their professors. For my part, I consider this body the happiest and most fruitful creation of the last few years, because of the influence it has acquired in intellectual circles, and because in every land it is youth which will mould the future. This group, which has sections in all French universities, is endeavouring to reach the teaching staff and the pupils of the public schools; it is thus preparing the peaceful France of to-morrow, and its fine effort deserves the greatest praise.

Three months ago some of the foremost champions of the League organised the *Comité d'Action pour la S.D.N.*, which must be mentioned here for two extremely interesting reasons.

The first is that the Committee of Action brings together the representatives of the *Association française* and of the *groupement universitaire* delegates of the *Union fédérale des Associations de mutilés, anciens combattants et veuves de guerre*, which counts 300,000 ex-soldiers or widows of soldiers fallen on the battlefield. Negotiations are in progress for bringing in also the *Union nationale des Combattants*, another society of ex-soldiers, which has a membership of more than half a million. It is needless to insist on the importance of the support thus furnished by men who have defended their country and know what war is.

In the second place, the *Comité d'Action* has succeeded in obtaining in French political circles the support and even the help of some of the most conspicuous public men, and its president received from M. Poincaré a letter from which I quote the most important passage: "Your committee will be able to dissipate a number of prejudices still prevalent in the minds of many Frenchmen. It will be able to make our fellow-countrymen understand all the advantages that we may draw for the consolidation of peace from a wisely ordered activity of the Geneva organisation." Many Englishmen will wonder to find that M. Poincaré should be found a supporter of the League. As a fact, there is not a single French politician of any importance who declares himself its adversary. In France, as in Great Britain, the League is no longer a question of parties, and the diverse political shading of its adherents is the most striking proof of its growing prestige.

* * * *

At the last election in England the leaders of the three great parties gave the League their solemn approval. An attempt will be made to obtain no less at the forthcoming general election to the French Chamber of Deputies in the spring.

The *Fédération des Associations françaises* has decided to submit to the candidates of all parties the following questions and pledge:—

1. Do you pledge yourself, if you are elected, to make in Parliament every effort to base the foreign policy of France on the League of Nations?

2. Will you agree to include this pledge in your address to the electors?

The "Rights of Man League" and the "Federal Union of Ex-soldiers" will declare, in addition, that they will give their support only to candidates who have signed the pledge to defend the League. The coming general election, therefore, will take the form of a popular verdict on the Geneva institution. Without exaggerating the practical importance of such a verdict, one may be allowed to anticipate very favourable results at a moment when the British Government has just affirmed its faith in the League and its determination to make use of it in the settlement of peace.

IS THE LEAGUE HUMAN?

By Robert Clifford.

AS to that, it would be difficult to imagine any more human international assembly than the annual meeting of the International Labour Conference, where employers and workers from all parts of the world gather together to discuss their common industrial problems. This is no high court of learned professors deeply discussing world problems with a mass of statistics, but a blissful ignorance of the human factor; it is a kind of parliament of men and women, practical and hard-headed and deeply imbued with all the feelings of the people they come to represent. One could not but have been impressed with this large humanity after hearing a speech by Mr. E. L. Poulton, the British workers' delegate, at the 1922 session, when the world problem of unemployment was discussed. He emphasised the need to keep alive and in physical fitness "these men and women who, through no fault of their own, find themselves derelict in this twentieth century civilisation of ours." He finally urged the Conference when it had carried its proposals to do all it could to put them into practical effect, "to bring hope and joy and gladness to these millions of men and women who are, at the present time, suffering so much in their everyday lives."

The deep sympathy for men, women and children, as individual human beings and not as mass-millions belonging to a particular State, permeates the whole International Labour Organisation and is best illustrated by the alleviation of suffering of women and child workers which has been effected in various parts of the world by its activities. It was reported to the International Labour Office that the conditions of work in the carpet-weaving industry in Kerman, and the adjacent villages in Persia, fell far short of those "fair and humane conditions of labour" which, by the Covenant of the League, each member is pledged to establish and maintain. Workers at the looms in these places were employed from early morning to sunset in ill-ventilated and crowded rooms; children as young as five years of age, as well as women, worked under extremely unhealthy conditions, with the result, in many cases, of permanent physical deformity; it was even reported that, in some instances, children had to be carried from their homes to their work because they had become so crippled by their daily task in the factories.

Representations were made by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to the Persian Government, suggesting that it could not knowingly tolerate the existence of conditions so repulsive to all humane sentiment, and the reply was received that the Persian Government had instructed the Kerman local authorities to enforce an eight-hour day, the prohibition of employment of boys and girls under ten, the provision of healthy sites and pure air for factories, and the provision of suitable seats for women and children, to allow work in normal positions.

Factory regulations have been promulgated in China fixing a ten-hour day, prohibition of the employment of boys under ten and girls under twelve, an eight-hour day for boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen. How substantial an advance on existing conditions is represented by these reforms can be seen from the following extracts from an article in a recent issue of the "International Labour Review": "In the textile industry a very large proportion of the operatives are women and children. The moist heat in the silk filatures in Shanghai is very trying for the women, and fainting is a matter of almost daily occurrence. Small children are employed in the textile mills and work equal hours with the adults, usually 12-hour shifts. They get very tired, and accidents frequently happen because little is done in most factories to guard machinery. The children employed are often very young, only eight years of age or even younger; they go, in other words, as soon as they are more use than nuisance. In machine industries the hours are still frequently as much as 14 to 17 per day. In Hongkong some girls work 96½ and 82½ hours a week in alternate weeks. Some match factories work their employees from 4 a.m. until 8 p.m., including the young children."

Hours of labour in India have been reduced from 72 to 60 a week for adult workers with a maximum of 12 hours a day, while for children, whose minimum age has been raised from 9 to 12, hours may not exceed 6 a day. Sunday work in factories is forbidden except in special cases, and then compensatory rest time must be allowed. Particularly important is the effort that is being made to improve the condition of work in mines. Both women and children have been accustomed to work underground. No child under 13 is now allowed to work or be present in any part of a mine below ground. Local Governments are to be consulted with a view to the prohibition of employment of women below ground as far as possible in about five years. The prohibition of the presence of children below ground is having an indirect effect on the employment of women, for a number of them have been in the habit of taking very young children down the mines with them as the only method of watching over them.

It is obviously only possible to give concrete examples of definite improvements from such countries as those mentioned where the standard has been much lower than that prevailing in the majority of Western countries, but the amelioration of the lot of women and children in these other countries is undoubted although the general results make it difficult to give an exact calculation. The fixing of the minimum age for children employed in industry at fourteen; the prohibition of the night work of women and young persons employed in industry; similar provision for the employment of children at sea and in agriculture, and for night work in agriculture; the Conventions on these subjects which have been put into force by many countries must have an incalculable effect on the lives and happiness of a large number of women and children.

A recommendation concerning the protection of women and children against lead poisoning must have progressive results on the health of these workers, for the evil effects which have been suffered from this cause, if not always fatal and therefore not to be recorded in figures, have very often been lifelong. Official British figures showed, for example, that the average attack rate in certain lead processes during eleven years was more than three times as great for women as for men. The health of boys also must receive great benefit from the Convention forbidding their employment under 18 as trimmers and stokers in ships.

Far-reaching effects may also be expected from the Recommendation at the fifth session of the Conference held last October containing general principles for the organisation of factory inspection which can be applied in all countries. An official factory inspection report in Greece states "the sanitary conditions in industrial undertakings leaves much to be desired, except in new firms. In very few cases are there messrooms and washing-rooms for the workers, who usually take their meals in neighbouring shops, the factory yard, or even in the machinery rooms. Certain types of industry, such as the tanneries, are in a positively deplorable state." Such conditions amply illustrate the value of this side of the activities of the Conference.

To put it in a word, the few facts given above should be sufficient to show that *the League and its International Labour Office are a very human business.*

THE PROFESSOR AND THE OPTIMIST.

By L. P. Mair.

THE Professor subsided with a sigh of relief into a comfortable chair. He was accustomed to reinforce by iron determination a constitution not really built for the part of Distinguished Guest; but he nevertheless thanked a kindly Providence for the lucky chance by which his last interlocutor had caught sight of a long lost friend in the distance. Hardly, however, had he enjoyed a moment's peace when a strange figure appeared before him, evidently desirous of claiming acquaintance. His tall, somewhat ponderous figure was encased in almost faultless morning dress; he had a giant camelia in his buttonhole, and white kid gloves.

"Professor Nemo?" he inquired. "Allow me to introduce myself—Jingle my name"—producing a large card with a gilt edge, on which the astonished Professor read the words, "Alfred Jingle, C.B.E., Wigan." "Heard you discuss League of Nations recently." The stranger sank heavily into a chair, and continued as the latter gazed spell-bound upon him: "Wonderful thing that—infallible body—perfect impartiality—court of arbitration always open—make war impossible—control all the nations."

As he paused for breath, the Professor collected himself and began: "I'm afraid I can't have made myself very clear. Much as I could wish the League controlled the nations, it can only do so as far as their governments believe in carrying out its principles. It *is* the nations, not something outside them, and its strength is the strength of their support."

"Think so? Consider, my dear sir—world disarmed, conferences every month—limit ships, acroplanes, reserves; my trade gone, took it over from my father; grandfather one of our greatest actors; father partner in armament firm; no use now—you'll abolish it. Wonderful, sir—wonderful!"

"I don't think you need be afraid to lose all your business yet," said the Professor. And observing with satisfaction that Mr. Jingle had not inherited the full measure of his grandfather's irrepressibility, he continued: "There are a good many difficulties still in the way of disarmament. The Draft Treaty will have a hard fight before it gets sufficient ratifications to come into force. Even then there will be endless technical details to arrange. Complete disarmament must be very gradual, and can't be done unless you give the nations some security in exchange."

"But, my dear friend," burst out Mr. Jingle expansively, "why not a world conference—scrap all armaments—all the nations—whole thing done at once?"

"Excuse me, three of the most important nations—America, Russia and Germany—are not members of the League."

"Then ask them in, sir, ask them in! Invitation from Council—graceful gesture—they accept, more graceful still—all peace and harmony."

"They have their reasons for their attitude. There would be nothing to hinder America from joining the League if it weren't for her own objections."

"Reasons? Absurd! Best invention ever made—peace on earth, good-will to men. What reason can they have?"

"They didn't like the idea of being entangled in the European muddle, for one thing."

"But reflect, my good sir! All these Commissions Americans attend, observers, advisers, commissioners, chairmen; far better come right in and be done with."

"I hope they will," said the Professor placidly. "I may say I have no doubt they will, in time. But I must warn you, Mr. Jingle, against the dangers of being too sanguine."

"No, no! can't be too sanguine. Never say die! Old diplomacy gone, new methods everywhere, new brooms sweep clean; no more injustice, everything public; whole world to criticise, no more intrigues, nothing but honesty."

"I can't say we've reached that point either, I fear," said the Professor. "There are affairs which must be carried on in the old way. Nations are still jealous of what they consider their 'vital interests,' and not ready yet to submit them to the whole world to discuss. And they're not obliged to do so until the conflict of interests gets to danger-point."

"Surprised at you, sir! You believe in the League—such lukewarm sentiments—dash it all, sir, what *is* your League good for?"

"Quite a lot, Mr. Jingle. But not in the way you imagine. It was never meant to govern the nations, or to supersede the Foreign Office in every capital. It is a centre for the public opinion of the world; and it works out the aims which the world recognises as common to every nation with the greatest efficiency and least overlapping possible."

"Half measures no good," snapped Mr. Jingle. "Why not go right back—secret treaties—balance of power—fight when you like—lots of jobs for me—never compromise, you know."

"My dear Mr. Jingle we live in an imperfect world. We must build on the material we have. You are not to suppose that the League has made no advance on the old methods. The Assembly can't supersede the Foreign Offices, but it can control diplomacy by the rules which its members have bound themselves to follow for the conduct of international affairs." Mr. Jingle fidgeted and seemed about to speak, but the Professor was getting too deep for him, and he desisted with obvious reluctance. "If the nations wish to make secret treaties, they do so at their own risk; since no treaty is binding unless it's registered with the League, and either side could repudiate an unpublished treaty at any time. Besides, the very fact that secret agreements must now cause great suspicion should act as a deterrent."

"Yes, yes, my good man," broke in Mr. Jingle impatiently. "Is that all you can do?"

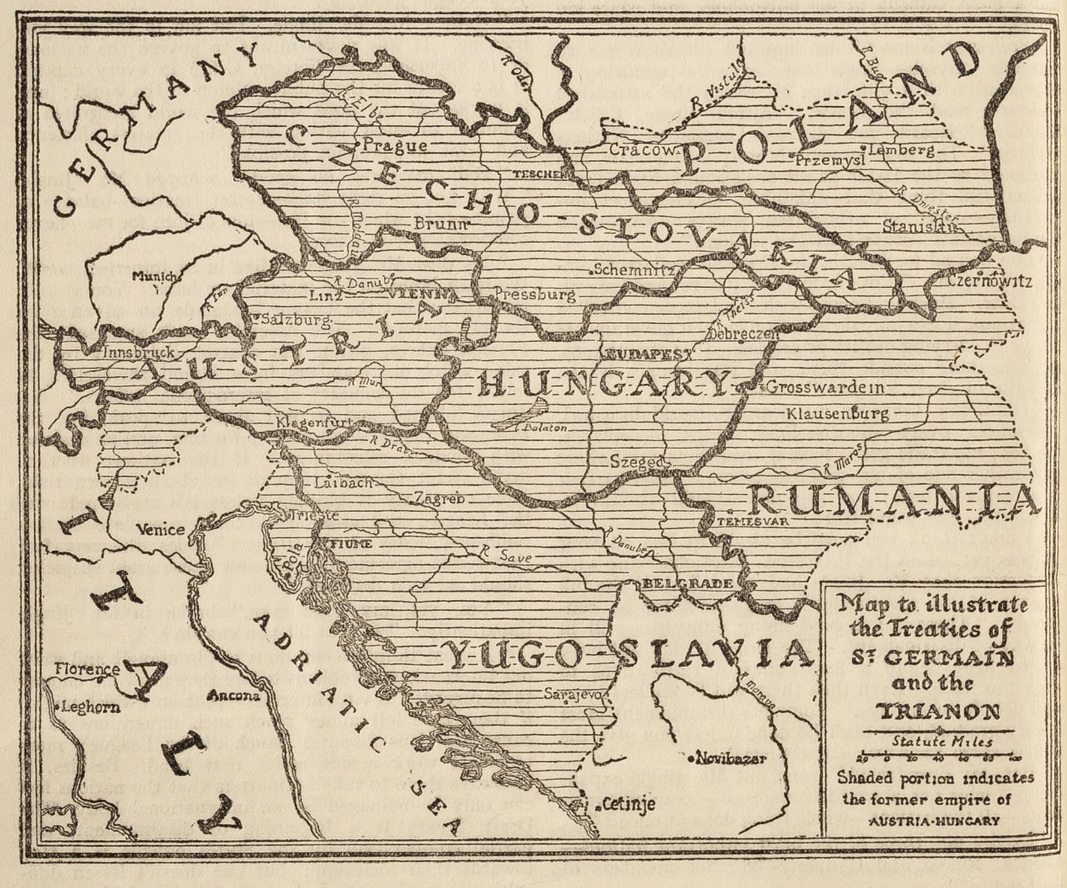
"A great thing we can do is to disentangle and work out international problems before they grow big enough to be regarded as vital interests—problems which might, if they were left alone, reach such dimensions as to cause a serious dispute. Much of the League's more technical work comes under that head. Besides, it is always there to take up matters that the nations feel can only be managed by an international body. The Draft Treaty is a beginning of disarmament, and partial co-operation by the States outside is a step towards their inclusion; but one doesn't lessen difficulties by under-rating them, and it is only honest to look them straight in the face."

Never had Professor Nemo blessed his hostess as much as now, when he saw her coming towards him. As she bore him off he caught, amid a torrent of disjointed phrases, "Pleased to have met you—disappointed, very disappointed."

"So far as the League of Nations is concerned, we rely very strongly on the help we hope to get from the League of Nations Union."—*Lord Parmoor*

FIVE YEARS' TREATIES.—II.

ONE treaty was enough to settle the future of Germany. It took two — St. Germain, signed September 10, 1919, and the Trianon, signed June 4, 1920—to break up Austria-Hungary. To put it in that way, indeed, is not quite just, for it was the war more than the peace that shattered that ramshackle Empire into fragments. The promise of a reunited and independent Poland meant tearing a hole in the north-east of the country, and the declaration of independence by Czecho-Slovakia before the Armistice of November, 1918, was signed meant that the old Dual Monarchy had gone for ever.



While, therefore, the loss of Germany was confined to fragments lopped off here and there round the circumference, Austria-Hungary was actually divided up among seven different States—a new and diminished Austria, a new and diminished Hungary, a new Poland, a new Czecho-Slovakia, a Serbia expanded into Jugo-Slavia, an enlarged Rumania, and Italy.

That is practically the whole story. A glance at the map tells it better than it can be told in words. There are, all the same, one or two points deserving comment. The Treaty of St. Germain has been criticised on the ground that it gives too large a German population to Czecho-Slovakia instead of leaving most of them to Austria; and that Italy, bent on obtaining a strategic frontier along the crests of the Alps, has been allowed to swallow up a purely Austrian population in the Southern Tyrol. The Treaty of the Trianon, in the same way, has hit Hungary hard, Rumania having leapt westwards over the Carpathians and absorbed a tract of Transylvania hardly less in extent than the whole of her own pre-war territories. The population of Transylvania is almost hopelessly mixed, and under either Hungarian or Rumanian rule there would be serious and genuine minority grievances.

The Treaty of St. Germain, like its predecessor of Versailles, left certain disputed questions still unsettled for years. Among them may be noted particularly the frontier controversies in the Burgenland (between Austria and Hungary), finally settled by the League of Nations Council in September, 1922; in the region of Teschen (between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland) settled in July, 1920; in the region of Jaworzina (another part of the Teschen district) settled by the League of Nations Council, after reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice, in December, 1923; and Fiume, in the bay between the peninsula of Istria and the mainland of Croatia, settled after numerous abortive attempts (such as the Treaty of Rapallo, 1920), by agreement between Italy and Jugo-Slavia, in January, 1924. With the Fiume settlement the last open controversy over the treaty terms has been disposed of. It may be observed that, though neither document has an express provision to that effect, the settlement resulting from the Treaties of St. Germain and the Trianon wiped one small State, Montenegro, off the map of Europe, the new Jugo-Slavia surrounding and swallowing it. H. W. H.

HEADWAY
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WILSON'S LEAGUE.

NO man can write of President Wilson without discussing the League of Nations, or of the League of Nations without dwelling on the part Mr. Wilson played in its creation. Most of us, indeed, have failed to realise how great that part was. We think in the main of the President's chairmanship of those sessions of the League of Nations Commission at Paris in 1919 which Lord Cecil has recalled in his singularly interesting article in another column. Occasionally indeed we may go a year further back and remember that the last of the Fourteen Points embodied in Mr. Wilson's address to Congress in January, 1918, declared that "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike." But that was only a terse and considered expression of thoughts that had long been crystallising in the President's mind. More than eighteen months before—in May, 1916—while America was still neutral, he had stated the need in language hardly less explicit, calling for the institution of "a universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning, and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

These quotations have no doubt in the main a historical value. And yet there is something of more than mere academic interest in thus tracing the growth and development of a great idea in the mind of a great man who did on the whole more than any of his fellows to get that idea translated into action. President Wilson could claim no divine authority for his conception. The League as he would have shaped it if the task had been his alone might have been full of imperfections. All that is true enough. But Mr. Wilson's equipment of historical knowledge, coupled with his singleness of purpose and his personal and practical knowledge of methods of government, gave his views on the form the League should take, and gives them still, an almost unique claim on the attention of serious men.

Mr. Wilson's League was not the League as it exists to-day. He could not carry his proposals unscathed through the Paris controversies. No one could have. Whether his plan in the end gained or lost by the changes it underwent is matter for discussion. That contentious question need not be settled here. But at least it is worth while, unless we rate Mr. Wilson far lower than the estimate men have commonly set on him, to compare for a moment the League as it actually exists with the League as it might have been if certain of the Wilson principles that were in fact omitted had been embodied.

Most notable among these is a declaration of the freedom of the seas. The precise meaning of that doctrine has never been explicitly stated, but the second of the Fourteen Points is clear enough when it stipulates for "absolute freedom of navigation on the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the sea may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." To that stipulation the British Government has never assented. In the decisive pre-Armistice declaration of November 5, 1918, it approved (in common with the other Allied Governments) all the Fourteen Points except this one. On this it made the fullest reservations, and no reference to anything approaching the freedom of the seas finds a place in the Covenant of the League of Nations. That may be right. The question is complex and delicate. But whether all discussion of it should be burked is more doubtful. The subject cannot be dismissed as of no importance. Some day it will fall to the Court of International Justice to give a verdict that will raise the whole issue in the acutest form. Meanwhile it would be no bad thing if a few competent persons in this country, which any maritime question touches so intimately, were to examine dispassionately the case for Mr. Wilson's Second Point and consider how, if at all, it should be given effect through the League of Nations.

But let that pass. It is perhaps more in the spirit than in the letter that President Wilson's conceptions differ from the achieved reality of to-day. He, no doubt, was an idealist. But our political leaders in this country to-day declare themselves the same. They, at any rate, cannot turn from the challenge presented by the declarations of aim embodied in the Mount Vernon speech of July, 1918, or the enunciations of principle in the New York speech of two months later. Read to-day, after five years of comparative peace and four years of a League of Nations, these dogmas—for it was something of a dogmatist who laid them down—have a strangely searching quality.

"The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just."

"No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement."

"There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations."

"There can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the League."

These may be hard words, but they are not words to obliterate or lightly to disregard. Do they represent ideals we disapprove, ideals we once did homage to and have since forgotten, or ideals we have tried in all sincerity to apply, but found irreconcilable with "the strenuous conditions of the modern world," as the Covenant has it? Those questions need considered answers, and they cannot get them here. But they cannot be for ever evaded. The Covenant represents the highest level international understandings on any comparable scale have yet attained. But it is far from representing the ideal. It is avowedly a compromise. It is not what Mr. Wilson wanted, or Lord Cecil or General Smuts. It was what Mr. Wilson and Lord Cecil and General Smuts were able to persuade other statesmen, with an equal right to their opinions, to accept. That means that it is capable of amendment, and must in due time be amended. Mr. Wilson has done his generation the great service of laying before them in a series of eloquent and lucid speeches a coherent and comprehensive body of League doctrine. Those speeches were never better worth study than to-day.

A LONDON LETTER.

MR. MACDONALD'S life, as everyone knows, is about as full as a pint pot would be if you tried to squeeze a quart of beer into it. Nevertheless, he found time on February 18 to receive a deputation from the Union. Although the hour was an early one (11 a.m.) yet a fair number of the Executive managed to attend—about 20 in all. Professor Murray naturally introduced his mixed company: for the benefit of the unitiated he explained that the Union existed first to support, strengthen and explain the existing League; second, to make the League complete both in organisation and in membership, and then generally to work on all sides for a policy in accord with the spirit of the League. He unreservedly placed the expert knowledge of the Union (ahem !) at the disposal of the Ministers.

Then came Lord Cecil, who dealt with the Government organisation for using the League. Our foreign policy must be identified with the League; moreover, when Britain speaks about the League she must have behind her not merely one Department of Whitehall, but the solid phalanx of the whole Government. It was good that the League representative was housed in the Foreign Office; but was he allowed to see the letters in the morning? And what about our Diplomatic representatives abroad? Was *their* policy based on League ideas? Were they even informed about the League? And then as to the other Government Departments—the Air Ministry, the War Office, the Admiralty, the Health Ministry, and the rest—did they know about the League? Why not circulate a Cabinet minute about it, appoint an official in each Department to keep *au fait* with the League's work, and hold departmental discussions?

But, lo ! and behold, when Ramsay replied, it turned out that three-quarters of Lord Cecil's suggestions had already been adopted, and an assurance was given that the other suggestions would be carried out during the next few days! Mr. MacDonald was most cordial, and when he retired (as he had to, rather early) Lord Parmoor was left to hear Sir Charles Hobhouse (who spoke on the Ruhr), Mr. Barnes and Major Hills.

Mr. Barnes confined himself to three Conventions passed by the International Labour Organisation—one dealing with the Eight-hour Day, another with White Lead, and the third with Seamen's Unemployment Indemnity. Would the Government move to get these Conventions ratified?

Finally came Major Hills, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, who dealt with the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and with the two Arms Conventions which the T.M.C. was working on. First, there was the Convention on the Traffic in Arms, which had been held up in the past by America's attitude; however, the Americans were officially represented at the last meeting of the T.M.C., and there was hope that something might be done. And there was the Convention dealing with the private manufacture of arms. He hoped the Government would co-operate with the Labour Movement, widespread on the Continent, which was trying to bring the manufacture of arms under some control.

In answering these various questions, Lord Parmoor emphasised the importance of the educational work the Union was doing, and especially the importance of using the present time and opportunity to build up its work. Through the League of Nations must come order out of chaos, must come the harmonisation of nationality and internationality. Hence says Lord Parmoor: "We rely very much—we rely very strongly—on the help we hope to get from the League of Nations Union."...This remark was far and away the most important assurance, from the Union's point of view, that Lord Parmoor gave.

Dealing with the questions that had been raised, he assured Mr. Barnes that the White Lead Convention was on the point of being ratified, and that he, himself, was in favour of the Hours Convention being ratified. He would do all in his power to take similar action over the Seamen's Unemployment Indemnity. As to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, he realised its importance, and he hoped that as soon as the rush of business was over, a strong committee would be established by the Government to go into the whole matter. With regard to the two Arms Conventions, he assured Major Hills of the co-operation of the British Government.

Professor Murray thanked Lord Parmoor, and the deputation withdrew. And so to lunch.

Mr. Chamberlain in the City.

Towards the end of every afternoon in the great City there comes a moment when the Captains and the Kings of Commerce and Industry prepare to depart; 'tis the hour when the typist, like the Barons at Runnymede, brings in her letters for the chief to sign, and he, busy man, divides himself between swallowing a hasty cup of tea, giving final instructions with his mouth full of brown bread and butter, and consulting his gold hunter (which has slept warmly and snugly all day in the sleek recesses of a tightly-fitting waistcoat) lest he should miss that corner seat in the first-class smoker which will take him, and many other generous burdens like him, to some suburban resort of comfortable Christendom.

But it happened one day about this hour that a great part of the suburban stream was diverted—mainly owing to the efforts of Mr. Faulkner, who is always arranging these little diversions, as certain folk at Malden and Coombe will testify. The stream, as I say, was diverted to a dimly-lit City hall, known as the Cordwainers' Hall, where the dusty rays of the setting sun seemed to fall on a past century, revealing ancient flags and banners (relics, perhaps, of far-off battlefields), old pictures, old plate, and old loving cups, which had been passed and repassed at many an ancient banquet

"with beaded bubbles winking at the brim."

And into this hall there came masters, past-masters, wardens, upper wardens, middle wardens, junior wardens and renter wardens of all the old and worshipful City companies—carpenters, brewers, glovers, cooks, dyers, gardeners, butchers, clock-makers, painters, stainers, plasterers, vintners, carmen, tallow-chandlers, pewterers, curriers, cordwainers and the rest.

And there came to meet them two men—one of their own world whom they knew and revered and who served to introduce them to the other man whom they did not know, and who, perhaps, moved in a world they wist not of. The first man was Austen Chamberlain, the other man was Frederick Whelen. The old world met the new world, and Austen was the link between them. Not that Mr. Chamberlain had been deeply touched with the spirit of the new world, for he admitted that it was the first time he had ever spoken for the League of Nations. But who knows? Who can guess what the effect of Mr. Whelen's words may have been? It was a typical address—dramatic and defiant—like Epstein's Cunningham Grahame. It was full of colour, like a Turner; it was a symphony of laughter and tears . . . it was, in fact, the soul of Mr. Whelen. And it was not wasted on Mr. Chamberlain and his hearers; it evoked, in fact, something of an apology from Mr. Chamberlain for the rather safe and guarded remarks with which he had introduced Mr. Whelen. And even the masters—nay, the past-masters, too—were moved.

Words, words, you say? But even the suburban stream has a soul . . . where will it all end?

A. E. W. T.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL.

THE first meeting of the League of Nations Council in 1924 opens at Geneva on March 9, Lord Parmoor being British representative. Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, will also take his seat for the first time as a member of the Council, to which his country was elected last September in place of China. The main tasks before the Council are the consideration of the report of the jurists appointed to examine the questions arising out of the Corfu discussions of last September; the appointment of members of the Governing Commission of the Saar; the decision with regard to the holding of a general Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments; and various Minority and Transit questions.

The jurists, who sat at Geneva in January (Lord Buckmaster being the British representative), reached unanimous conclusions which are not to be published till it has been before the Council. It is understood that the most important decision reached was that the competence of the Council to enquire into a dispute, under Article 15 of the Covenant, is without any limitation except that imposed by the clause regarding domestic jurisdiction. On the seizure of territory as a pledge, the jurists made no very precise ruling. It would be obviously desirable that this matter should be referred to the Court of International Justice, but whether a resolution to that effect can be got through the Council remains to be seen.

The Saar Valley appointments ought to involve no more than the definite registration of agreements reached informally during the last session of the Council in Paris in December. It appears likely that the Danish and Saar members of the Commission will be replaced.

With regard to the Naval Conference, a good deal depends upon the decisions reached by the preliminary Naval Conference of Experts which sat at Rome in the latter part of February. Their recommendations will be before the Council, which will presumably base its decisions on them.

Among other matters may be mentioned the scheme for a settlement at Memel. The Commission appointed by the Council last December has been working assiduously at this under the chairmanship of Mr. Norman Davis, the former American Under-Secretary of State, and full recommendations are expected to be in the Council's hands by March 9.

Two Transit cases of some interest, in which Rumania and Poland challenge certain interpretations of the provisions for an international régime of the Danube and the Oder respectively, will have to be dealt with, and the Council's discussions will no doubt mark a further step forward in the solution of the difficult problems arising between Germany and Poland over nationality opinions and the eviction of German colonists in the latter country.

The Agenda, in short, consists of interesting and important routine business, without the prospect of anything sensational.

GENEVA JOTTINGS.

THE committee of experts—British, French, Dutch and probably American—appointed to draw up the programme for the opium conference of next November, meets at Geneva on March 5.

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M. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the Commission for the Settlement of Greek Refugees, expects to return to America for a short period to take steps towards securing the necessary loan for the prosecution of the work. Unfortunately the continuance of political unsettlement in Greece makes the prospects less favourable than they might be.

The League Health Commission has had the vital question of cancer before it, in the form of a report, prepared at the instance of the British member, designed to present accurate and comprehensive data on the incidence of the disease. Whether further action will be taken on the basis of the report is undecided.

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Dr. Zimmermann, the League High Commissioner at Vienna, has secured temporarily the services of M. Leprince-Ringuet, a Chief Inspector of Mines in France, to examine and report on the administration of the Austrian Salt Mines, much on the lines followed by Sir William Acworth in the case of the railways.

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An International Office of University Information has been created in the Secretariat at Geneva in accordance with a resolution of the last Assembly adopted at the instance of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation. Information of all kinds on university life throughout the world will be published in a quarterly Bulletin.

REPARATIONS AND HOURS.

THE February meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at Geneva was the occasion of a singularly interesting debate on the relation of the Eight Hour Day Convention to the reparation problem.

The ratification of this and other conventions being under discussion, the French Employers' Representative pointed out that the eight-hour day had been abandoned in Germany and that, in his view, this action was justified, as Germany needed to work harder in order to pay reparations. The German Employers' Representative followed in the same tenor, laying stress, however, on the fact that the extension of hours was only temporary.

At this point the German Workers' Delegate intervened with a vigorous defence of the eight-hours agreement, declaring that it was to him inconceivable that the I.L.O. should allow the principle to be questioned. German workers, he said, had always been willing to pay reparations, but there were better roads to that than long hours. That view having been countered by the German Government Representative, who took the same ground as the German employers, the French Workers' Representative entered the lists with a forcible defence of the attitude of his German trade-unionist colleague. He opposed both French employers and German employers, asserting that, though reparations was a vital question to every Frenchman, no French worker wanted to see the reparation problem and the hours problem bound up together. In that matter longer hours did not necessarily mean larger output.

Finally, the British Government Representative (Miss Bondfield) associated herself fully with the French and German workers, declaring that reparations and hours of labour should not be linked, and that the British Government was endeavouring to bring about the simultaneous ratification of the Hours Convention by all countries.

After a comprehensive summing up of the debate by the Director of the I.L.O., a resolution was adopted without a dissentient vote desiring M. Thomas to continue his efforts for the ratification of all conventions.

"I share your confidence in the ability of the League of Nations to foster that spirit of reliance on right and forbearance, instead of suspicion and armed strength and thus to contribute effectively towards the establishment of Peace on a firm and lasting foundation."—*H.M. the King.* (Reply to the address from the Canterbury and York Convocations. Feb. 19, 1924.)

THE LEAGUE IN THE HOUSE.

THE League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, which has done valuable work during the last two Parliaments, shows promise of increasing its activity substantially. Its first meeting since the election of the new Parliament was held on February 14th, when its principal officers were elected as follows: *Chairman:* Sir Ellis Hume-Williams; *Vice-Chairmen:* Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence; *Hon. Secs.:* Capt. Reginald Berkeley, Major A. G. Church, The Marquis of Hartington.

It will be seen that the three political parties are thus represented in equal numbers, the same principle being adopted in the constitution of a Procedure Sub-Committee which has now been created for the first time. The following nine members of the Sub-Committee were appointed, with power to add to their number:

Conservative.—Mr. E. F. L. Wood, Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, K.B.E., Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.

Labour.—Dr. Haden Guest, Miss Jewson, Mr. Tom Williams.

Liberal.—Gen. Seely, Mrs. Wintringham, Mr. J. H. Harris.

The institution of such a Sub-Committee should substantially increase the general efficiency of the Parliamentary Committee. The chief tasks of the Sub-Committee will be to maintain close contact with the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union (the head of the Union's Parliamentary Department is to collaborate formally with the Secretary of the Sub-Committee), to prepare the agenda for the main Committee, to consider any matters specially laid before it by the Executive of the Union, and to deal with questions which it may be thought desirable to put to Ministers in the House.

The Parliamentary Committee, which in the last House of Commons included over 400 members, has decided to meet at least once a fortnight, mainly to discuss particular aspects of the League's activity. The first meeting of this character was addressed at the end of February by Lord Cecil on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

Speaking generally, there is every reason to hope that the link thus established between the Parliamentary Committee and the Union and the development in the Parliamentary Committee's own organisation will do much to strengthen the position of the League in the House of Commons.

DR. NANSEN'S APPEAL.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

THE response to the Appeal made in the autumn for clothing or materials for the Christian Refugees in Greece has been remarkably good, and has rendered it possible to alleviate much suffering. Shipments of clothing, blankets, boots and materials have been sent regularly from England to the Piræus, and both in quantity and in quality these goods, new or old, have been most valuable. There are innumerable donors who deserve the most sincere thanks for their help, whom, I fear, I cannot reach. Some branches of the Union, however, have played their part in this good work, and to their members I wish to express, on behalf of the High Commission of the League, our profound gratitude. Through these British gifts thousands of the unhappy refugees were helped to withstand the rigours of a winter which has proved exceptionally severe.

But may I venture to appeal to you once more, and ask you not to relax your efforts? Would it be too much to ask *every* branch to endeavour to collect clothing, etc.? There are numerous refugees who have not yet received any garment; they are still clad in the ragged remnants of the summer clothing they wore when they fled from their homes in Asia Minor many months ago. I know that enormous demands are being made upon the generosity of Great Britain, both at home and abroad. But it may be pointed out that this is a problem which can be definitely solved if only we can secure the means to keep the sufferers alive during the limited time which will elapse before they can be made self-supporting. Through the efforts of the Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League, these refugees are now being settled on the land or placed in other permanent productive employment. But there is no money to pay for supplies of clothing which are desperately needed until the process of settlement has been completed.

May I, therefore, make an earnest appeal for continued help to tide over this interval, and thus render it possible to complete the work of charity which has been so well begun. This will definitely save hundreds of thousands of refugees still in dire distress and assist in restoring them to a productive life.

Parcels should be addressed: The All British Appeal, New Hibernia Wharf, London Bridge, S.W.

Yours sincerely,

Lysaker, February 4, 1924. FRIDTJOF NANSEN.

*The urgency of this appeal is greatly intensified by the unfortunate fact that the steamer "Maid of Spetsia," carrying over 6½ tons of clothes for Greek refugees, foundered on January 26, and became a total loss.

COUNCIL'S VOTE FOR 1923.

THE following table shows the amounts different parts of the country were asked to raise and the amounts actually remitted to Headquarters. As additional payments are still coming to hand, it is not yet possible to give the final figures.

	Assessment	Amounts received.
Bedfordshire	£95	£58 16 3
Buckinghamshire	85	68 10 10
Cambridgeshire	120	81 12 4
Cornwall	65	51 4 2
Cumberland	100	33 12 0
Derbyshire	380	400 0 0
Devonshire	230	128 9 9
Dorsetshire	105	55 0 0
Essex (excluding Metropolitan area)	320	218 6 9
Gloucestershire & Somersetshire	490	369 5 0
Hampshire	470	157 13 4
Herefordshire	55	21 6 5
Hertfordshire	245	118 15 4
Huntingdonshire	10	18 0 0
Kent (excluding Metropolitan area)	390	214 14 4
Lancashire and Cheshire	1,995	1,279 13 5
Leicestershire and Rutland	180	118 13 1
Lincolnshire	150	80 10 6
Metropolitan area (London, Middlesex and parts of Essex, Kent and Surrey)	3,480	1,557 14 11
Norfolk and Suffolk	175	50 3 10
Northamptonshire	195	55 8 0
Northumberland and Durham	530	346 6 1
Nottinghamshire	220	21 19 9
Oxfordshire and Berkshire	285	272 5 3
Shropshire	45	7 17 6
Staffordshire	365	68 2 0
Surrey (excluding Metropolitan area)	295	345 3 11
Sussex	340	304 18 11
Warwickshire	445	94 11 5
Westmorland	70	78 11 4
Wiltshire	115	71 4 3
Worcestershire	125	46 0 9
Yorkshire	1,430	1,121 7 5
Scotland	1,250	546 2 10
Wales	250	250 0 0
Total		8,712 2 5

BOOKS THAT MATTER:

MR. R. B. MOWAT has accomplished a remarkable feat; in the space of less than a hundred pages he has given us a clear and continuous account of European political history since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The ordinary reader has neither time or money to spare, even if he has the inclination, to wade through the large volumes of the Cambridge Modern History, but in **The European States System** (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.) he is provided with a sketch of all that is essential. He can trace therein the steady rise and progress of the Public Law from the days when it took shape under the hands of Grotius through the sequence of great European Treaties which followed that of Westphalia, Utrecht in 1713, Vienna in 1815, and finally Versailles in 1919. We cannot here follow Mr. Mowat as he shows the growth of the European System which enshrined itself ultimately in the Concert of Europe, nor as he points out that every "disturber" of Europe and its "all-but dominators" have always met a European coalition to their undoing; but it is important to note that he places the League in its true relation to past history. The League, though new in form and of far wider embrace than any predecessor, did not spring out of nothing to sudden life; it is the child of the past. We quote Mr. Mowat's own words:—

> The League of Nations comes at the end of a long period of experiment, during which a States System has been in process of being built up, in spite of many failures, cataclysms and disasters of every kind. It represents the permanent effort of mankind towards international law and order, and at the sane time towards national freedom.

It is this fact that the League stands as a forward step in a long line of development, more even than any of its already considerable achievements, that leads us to place our confidence in its power to secure world peace. In comparison with past attempts it "comes as something more definite, more organised, not purely occasional and voluntary like the Concert, but permanently functioning and with some such amount of compulsory power as is compatible with national freedom." For writing this book, which is illustrated with a dozen maps, Mr. Mowat deserves our thanks; perhaps in the next edition he will correct the slip on page 94 which places only four non-permanent members on the Council instead of six.

An outsider claims, sometimes with truth, to see most of the game, and Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan has this advantage in writing of the League of Nations that she is a citizen of the United States. From that distant standpoint she has written with candid impartiality her **Study of International Government** (Harrap, 10s. 6d.), and though her earlier chapters unfold the history of her subject beginning with the remote age of the Amphictyonics, the main substance of her book deals with its latest expression, the League of Nations. She thus provides a useful historical background on her canvas and sees, no less clearly than Mr. Mowat, that the League is no "sudden device sprung full armed from the Conference at Versailles." At first glance her candour and detachment may seem to many disquieting, but if her method is chilly it is thorough and scientific; she is not blind to the defects of the League as at present constituted, and in particular to those of the Council, but her criticisms are nearly always well-founded, and what is more to the point, constructive. The defects, or unsolved problems, as she terms them, appear to her to be those of "equality and democracy, of sanction and of the persistence of the war régime. . . . Yet the weaknesses of the institution lie far less in itself than in the environment where we have placed it." It is to the change of this environment, economic, imperialist and particularly psychological, that Dr. Hughan turns our attention and looks for hope.

"It is the will for International Government that is yet lacking. We may hope therefore that the internationalists of the next generation . . will turn more and more to the social psychologists for help in the understanding of those instincts which lie at the root of war and peace, and with the survival or transformation of which International Government is inextricably involved."

We would not have it supposed that Dr. Hughan has only occupied herself with criticism; far from that, she has made a contribution to the literature of politics which no member of our Union should fail to read.

Jesus and Civil Government (Allen & Unwin. 6s.), by the Rev. Dr. A. T. Cadoux, is the work of an author whom the war and the contentions of pacifists drove to study afresh the teaching of Christ in regard to coercion. He examines this teaching dispassionately and in detail. His exposition is often suggestive and, we think, original, as, for example, his interpretation that the command to "buy a sword" was "a rescinding of that pacifism which is natural to those who devote themselves to the witness of truth." He believes that Jesus foresaw the speedy return of conditions "in which order would be so imperilled that those who sought the world's highest good would not be justified in leaving the maintenance of order to others." He concludes that Jesus taught that "the ends of love need, and can best be served by, a use of coercion, including the corporate use of it both in penal legislation and, under certain conditions, in war." Exposition, however, is of little use without application; twenty centuries have changed the life of society, and Dr. Cadoux applies the Christian ethics of coercion to our modern conditions in regard to public services, industrial legislation and the penal system as well as to war and international relations. The whole book deserves more careful study than can even be suggested in a short review.

Mr. Will Irwin, an American journalist and the author of **The Next War,** returns to his anti-war propaganda in **Christ or Mars?** (D. Appleton & Co., 6s.) We are not sure that the arguments which he produces to enable the reader to make his choice are the best suited to the purpose. The immorality and absurdity of hate, the human loss by war, the material impoverishment it causes, its ineffectiveness to achieve its object are not strong enough reasons to prevent nations fighting if in the heat of passion they want to fight. They are all true, but they are not sufficient, and it is not sufficient to decry war. To stop wars we must preach peace and goodwill positively; all else is rather like shaking a bogey and as little effective. We wish more books were written on behalf of peace and fewer against war. Mr. Irwin, however, from his own point of view writes competently, but he must be more careful in his spelling of well-known European place-names.

We can commend more confidently the Rev. J. W. Coutts' **The Gospel and International Relations** (Student Christian Movement, 4s.). He sees in Amos and Isaiah the proto-prophets of the League discovering the principles to be set forth more clearly in the teaching of Christ and in the thought and practice of the early Church. In his closing chapter Mr. Coutts lays emphasis on the correspondence of the League with the Christian conception, "that is in seeking to serve others that we ourselves gain full life," and he urges the task to which the Churches should set themselves of creating a Christian International Mind. H. W. F.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

A Palestine Notebook, 1918-1923. By C. R. Ashbee. (Heinemann. 12s. 6d.)

L'Oeuvre de la Societe des Nations. By Léon Bourgeois. (Payot, Paris. 25 francs.)

The Fighting Instinct. By Pierre Bovet, Litt.D. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Correspondence

THE FIGHT AGAINST OPIUM.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

FROM PROF. ROGET, OF GENEVA.

SIR,—In the January number of HEADWAY, under the heading "The Fight Against Opium," appeared an article by the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, ending with a paragraph on methods of smuggling. In this Switzerland is mentioned in measured and exact terms as "one of the few countries that have not yet ratified the Convention and adopted the export and import certificates system," which is a correct statement of fact.

Mrs. Lyttelton adds that "from the Union point of view the great piece of work which might be done is to rouse opinion in Switzerland."

In full agreement with this timely hint, I have brought her appeal before the Swiss Society for Public Welfare at a large meeting in Geneva. It was unanimously decided to call, as from the people, the attention of the Swiss Federal Council to the unseemliness of delay, there being no doubt as to the trend of public opinion.

There is now a certainty that the necessary legislation will be rapidly pushed forward. The Federal Government will receive the powers required for the general supervision of the administration of the local police regulations, which, in most places, have yet to be drafted—there are twenty-five distinct sets of police regulations in Switzerland, each of which has to be completed in this respect by local amendment. The central Government will control the Swiss foreign trade in drugs.—Yours, &c.,

F. F. ROGET.

A LEAGUE SANCTION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

FROM THE RT. HON. G. N. BARNES.

SIR,—I have just read the reply to Major David Davies' plea for an international force from the pen of Mr. Fisher. And I am sorry to find that the matter is discussed, as I think, too much from the point of view of ultimates. An International Army and Navy under the control of the League is indeed a big proposition. I, for one, believe it to be the ultimate expression of world unity which will be reached as time and circumstances unfold the need for it. But I should be content with something to be going on with and which in our day and generation might make the League more effective. No one can possibly be satisfied with a condition of things which left it possible for Greece to have been blackmailed by Italy simply because the latter was the stronger of the two. No one could have viewed the flouting of the League by Poland without misgiving. Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that treaties have been made which, while conforming to the letter of the Covenant, are yet contrary to its spirit. And the reason is, not because the armies and navies of the world have not been mobilized under the League, but because the League has not the power or authority to mobilise anything effectively when there is need to get respect for its desires. It is in need of a sanction. Mr. Fisher says there is the sanction of public opinion. I wonder what is thought of it by Greece, or Lithiania—or, for a matter of fact, by France. France in 1919 in effect said, "We have been twice the victims of aggression within living memory. Give the League power to prevent a third." The French delegates therefore proposed "a permanent organisation . . . . to enforce the obligations arising from the agreements entered into by the High Contracting Parties and making it operative in all cases of emergency."

That did not mean a World Army or Navy. But it did mean that the French wanted an effective League of Nations. If they had got it we might have been saved a heap of trouble. France would, at all events, have had less excuse for arming the Poles or subsidising the little Entente or rushing the Ruhr.

I hope readers of HEADWAY will keep in mind the heading of Mr. Fisher's interesting article. It may not have been his choice. But, there it is—"A League Sanction."—Yours, &c.,

76, Herne Hill, S.E. GEORGE N. BARNES.

WILSON'S INAUGURAL.

This is no day of triumph. On this day
A Feast of Dedication let us hold.
To-day the name of Wilson is enrolled
With Washington and Lincoln. Let us pay
Our tribute to his memory, and lay
An offering on his bier than much fine gold
More precious, vowing to be true and bold,
And faithful soldiers in the hard-fought fray.

This is no Party war-cry. Hearts of men
Wait for us, and their shattered hopes rise high
Within them, straining eyes aloft to see
The Vision that he made Reality.
Who volunteers to stem the tide again?
Who sees the Vision? Who dares fail to try?

B. R. WARD.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

THE scheme for the despatch of HEADWAY and other literature to readers abroad continues to develop. So far rather under 400 members of the British Union have offered to despatch their literature in this way, and rather less than 300 requests have been received from abroad. These, however, are likely to increase as the willingness of members in this country thus to establish links with other countries becomes known. In particular a member of the British Union in Jugo-Slavia is expecting to develop a good many personal links between that country and this, and a similar arrangement is expected in the case of Finland. There are now a large number of British members sending HEADWAY regularly to persons interested in the League in Germany, and many of the French Branches are similarly in touch with us.

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Mr. W. O. Molony has left the Federation Office at Brussels for a short visit to America to establish direct contact with the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association there.

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With a view to establishing closer contact with the Dominion visitors to this country, a strong Dominions Sub-Committee has been formed at Grosvenor Crescent. Earl Buxton, formerly Governor-General of South Africa, is chairman of this Sub-Committee, which includes among its members Viscount Cecil, Major J. W. Hills, Major W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., and a strong representation from the different Dominions. It is hoped that the Committee, through the large number of Dominions' visitors to the Empire Exhibition this year, may be able considerably to stimulate the Union movements in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and elsewhere.

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The annual conference of the Federation of League of Nations Societies is to be held this year at Lyons on June 28th. It is hoped that in addition to the actual representatives to the Conference, a party of Union members will visit Lyons at the same time. The annual Fair will be in progress, and special arrangements are being made for travelling and hotel accommodation.

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The Austrian League of Nations Union has opened a "Travelling Section" for the benefit of those travelling in Austria. The Section is offering very wide facilities and those intending to travel in Austria are advsied to write for further particulars to the Austrian League of Nations, Union Travelling Section, Wien, 1, Elisabethstrasse, 9.

UNION NOTES AND NEWS

More Peace Plays.

Two new short plays are now obtainable from Headquarters. The superiority of pacifism over any form of violence, even in self-defence, is the theme of Miss Margaret Macnamara's historical play "In Safety." It is the story of a New England settlement threatened with attack by an Indian tribe. The contrast between the hysterical behaviour of two young settlers, accompanied by a soldier, on their way to take refuge in the fort, and the dignified courage of the Quakers, who refuse to accept their protection, is well drawn, and the moral pointed by the appearance later on of an Indian laden with the spoils of the murdered settlers. At this point one of the younger Quakers gives way to a burst of righteous indignation, and saves a situation which threatens to become too good to be true.

The play is in one act, requires very simple scenery, and has the supreme merit for amateur performance that it has not too many speaking parts and a number of "supers"—Quakers and Indians—which can be increased or diminished at will. A touch of local colour is given in the remarks of the Indians, which the authoress assures us are genuine Mohawk. The costumes, apart from the soldier's rifle, should not present much difficulty. They are described in some detail in a very helpful introduction, which gives references to illustrations in Green's "History of England" for the conscientious producer. The price of the play is 1s. 1d. post free.

"The Invention of Printing" is a title that explains itself. A very short piece in three scenes, it shows different stages in the invention of the printing press, culminating with Caxton at the height of his success, and stressing the fact that three different nations had their share in the work. The Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses provide an opportunity for a little peace propaganda by the way. The final curtain falls on a prophetic speech in rhymed couplets in which Caxton hints that this instance of co-operation between three nations is a forerunner of the League.

The play is somewhat lacking in human interest, and would perhaps do better as an incident in a historical pageant than as an isolated performance. Its large number of more or less colourless characters, which call less for interpretation by the actors than for efficient drilling and grouping by the producer, make it particularly suitable for school children. As two of the scenes represent the workshops of Gutenberg and Caxton, both of whom indulge in considerable technical explanation, properties might be regarded as an obstacle to a school performance; but as it appears that the play has already been performed by school children, this difficulty can no doubt be got over by means of a little ingenuity. Typed copies of this play can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

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Advice to Branch Treasurers.

An energetic Branch Treasurer sends us an account of his activities, which should be useful to fellow-treasurers in pursuit of renewal subscriptions. The following extracts are particularly illuminating: "The method is to copy into a book the names and addresses of members month by month, crossing out names as subscriptions are paid. Each day a personal call in *every* case; this entails a lot of labour, as the first call is often fruitless. . . . Post-cards are written where desirable beforehand—for instance, to members at a distance, especially if isolated, to City men or folk who are known to be out of doors often. . . . The written postcard is more effective than a printed notice; it becomes a personal appeal, and is worth the toil, being varied in wording to suit each case."

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Financial News.

Mr. H. D. Watson, of Guildford, has generously offered to guarantee £1,000 towards the salary and expenses of a collector or collectors to raise one-fifth of the sum £30,000 required for the Union's expenditure in 1924. Mr. Watson's idea is that if five such guarantees were given, the Union could afford to employ a staff of "expert beggars," who could almost certainly raise the whole £30,000, and probably sufficient extra money to make it unnecessary for them to fall back on the guarantors. Other members, please copy!

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A Challenge Shield for Children.

A challenge shield is offered annually by the Heywood Branch to the schools of the district for the best tableau representing a League of Nations. A great attraction in the League to children is the opportunities it presents for dressing up, and the idea might well be taken up by other branches. The shield has in its centre a panel representing the coats of arms of the Union and of Heywood, with the motto "Alte Volo." It cost £20, and was purchased by a subscription specially raised for the purpose.

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A Working Woman and the League.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett's address to the Hampstead Branch on the I.L.O. made at least one convert of the right sort. The day after the meeting a working woman turned up armed with her own subscription and that of three friends whom she recruited. The address, she said, had been a revelation to her; she had had no idea that the League dealt with such commonplace things as labour, and the description of its work in this field had won her allegiance on the spot. Another blow to the "impractical idealist" theory.

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Christchurch and Opium.

Geneva has its counterpart at Christchurch, where a mock "Opium Commission," modelled in all respects on the real thing, held a session on January 24. Nine countries were represented, and the hall was arranged so as to form a lifelike imitation of the Palais des Nations. One point of the mock Commission would probably have roused the envy of the real one. A time-limit of 7 minutes was imposed on speeches, except for the representatives of China and India, whose special interest in the question entitled them to a little latitude. The Indian delegate eloquently defended the practice of eating opium, but did not carry his amendment.

The session was so successful that it is hoped to hold a "Fifth Assembly" in October. Those members who go to Geneva will no doubt study the more distinguished delegates with a view to impersonating them, and it is hoped that representatives of several foreign nations will be able to take part in the debate.

Another successful "Mock Assembly" has been held at Sir William Perkin's School, Chertsey.

* * * *

Ex President Wilson.

The following letter, written by Mr. Wilson in acknowledgment of a poem sent him by Miss Gertrude Ford, a member of the Bournemouth Branch, is of interest:—

"My dear Miss Ford,

"I have had the great pleasure of reading your poem 'To a Pioneer of Disarmament,' in the *Millgate Monthly*, and I want you to know that it both touched and gratifies me. The poem is in itself very beautiful, and it has more than beauty, it has a deep and simple sincerity, and is therefore very moving. The fact that it was intended as a tribute to me gives me pride and cheer . . . .

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

Bishop's Stortford and Christchurch (Hants.) Branches have cabled messages of sympathy to Mrs. Wilson.

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Free Italian Class

Chevalier T. Sambucetti, hon. sec. Friends of Italy Movement, is conducting a class for the study of Italian free to members of the League of Nations Union. The class meets at 6.30 p.m. on Thursdays at the Guild House, Eccleston Square. There is still room for a few more students.

* * * *

Mansfield's Treasurer.

Mr. G. H. Willson, who has been treasurer of the Mansfield Branch since its foundation, has had to resign on account of his failing eyesight. The members presented him with an ebony walking stick on the occasion of his retirement.

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League of Nations Sunday.

Sunday, February 3, was observed as League of Nations Sunday by the Boys' Brigade. At Bible classes throughout the country addresses were delivered on the aims and achievements of the League, while in many districts church parades were held at which the ideals of the League were placed before the boys.

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International Contact.

The International People's College at Elsinore is holding a special course for English-speaking students from April 10 to July 28, 1924. In addition to courses in social science, history, literature and languages, a special series of lectures is to be given on the "Economic Background of the League of Nations." The College was founded in 1921 with the object of promoting international goodwill by personal contact between subjects of different nations. Two international summer schools are also to be held at the College, during August, in connection with the Workers' Travel Association.

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Lantern Lecture.

Mr. F. B. Bourdillon, who was a member of the Upper Silesian Commission, has prepared a lantern lecture, describing the country and its inhabitants and giving a history of the boundary problem and its settlement. Mr. Bourdillon has given interesting lectures on the subject of plebiscites in general, and is willing to talk to branches if they can provide a lantern and an operator.

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WALES.

The Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America has been a wonderful success.

On Saturday, February 2, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, the head of the delegation, was given an enthusiastic "send-off" at Euston by the London Welsh Association. At Liverpool she was joined by another member of the delegation, Miss Elined Prys, and on behalf of Miss M. F. Rathbone, who was prevented by indisposition from being present, the Memorial, signed by 400,000 Women in Wales and Monmouthshire and the keys of the Oak Chest containing the signatures, were formally handed over by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A. On arriving at New York on February 11 the delegation was joined by Miss Mary Ellis, who had been in America since December. The Memorial has received the kindest welcome that America could give.

Professor C. K. Webster has arranged for a number of

Educational Conferences in Wales, and Mr. A. S. Turberville, M.A., of Bangor University College, met a Conference of Teachers at Wrexham, when there were between 70 and 80 present. In many of the schools in Wales instruction is given on the principles and history of the League with the express approval of the Board of Education.

Branches in Wales are now organising a "Daffodil Day" for the educational and missionary work of the Welsh National Council.

The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Shrewsbury on February 8.

The following resolution and others were adopted :—

"That the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the announcement of the Prime Minister that it is the intention of the new Government to base the foreign policy of Britain upon the continuous and systematic use of the League of Nations in International Affairs ; it urges the Government to employ to the utmost possible extent the machinery of the League to deal with the associated problems of Reparations, Security and Inter-Allied Debts and Disarmament which are at present disturbing the relations of the British, French and German peoples ; and it assures the Government of the whole-hearted support of the Welsh people in such a policy which can alone bring back peace and prosperity to Britain and to Europe."

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council will be held at Llandrindod Wells at Whitsuntide.

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The Glasgow Branch flourishes bravely. Its membership has increased by 2,598 during the past year, and it is making a strenuous campaign to increase its funds. Special permission—usually given only for charities—has been obtained to hold a Flag Day on March 29. A League of Nations Fair is also being planned for June 20, with stalls named after the various members of the League, and stallholders in national costume.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

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All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

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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