

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

Vol. III. [New Series.] No. 12.

December, 1921.

Price Threepence.

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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

NOWHERE will the expected success of the Washington Conference be hailed with greater satisfaction than at Geneva. The Committees of the League working on the limitation of Armaments have been hampered in drawing up a scheme by the lack of an agreement on naval armaments among the principal naval Powers. America remaining outside the League, a preliminary agreement between America and the principal members of the League was indispensable. Granted that a complete satisfactory arrangement is concluded at Washington, there is no reason why the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League on Armaments should not produce a general scheme next summer as, indeed, they have been charged by the Assembly to do. The Great Powers will have made the preparation for the work of the League which they should have made during the Peace Conference when Limitation of Armaments was imposed on the ex-enemy States. Some extracts from an article by Lord Robert Cecil on this subject will be found at page 50.

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So far, reports from Washington indicate that a holiday from naval armaments is contemplated rather than a permanent limitation. The League goes far beyond this. The powers of the League do not begin until an agreement has been reached

on a reduction of armaments by its members, but, having begun, they are absolute. It is not a question of a period of experiment with the faculty of returning to the old standards. Under the League, further limitation may be reached, and will be striven for, but without the unanimous consent of the Council no increase can be made. Spasmodic conferences like that at Washington of a few Powers may, from time to time, make sensational reductions in vastly exaggerated armaments, but for the permanent peace of the world it is essential that in some international body should be vested the control of the whole Armament situation.

* * * *

The attitude of the Union to the Washington Conference was clearly defined at the last meeting of the Executive Committee. The Committee cabled first to Mr. Balfour at Washington a cordial welcome of the announcement that the British Government had approved in principle the American proposals for the immediate reduction of naval armaments, and next they cabled to the League to Enforce Peace congratulations on this magnificent lead given to the Washington Conference. The Committee also recorded the following resolution on its minutes :

"The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union whole-heartedly applauds the magnificent lead given to the Washington Conference by the American proposals for the immediate reduction of naval armaments ; and rejoices that His Majesty's Government have at once accepted its proposals in principle."

"It welcomes the proposals especially as a great step in the world-wide limitation of armaments, which is one of the most important of the objects of the League of Nations."

The spirit of this resolution was anticipated at a meeting of women (which included delegates from 87 organisations, representing 4,500,000 women) held at the Caxton Hall, on November 11, when a message was sent to the women of America hoping for their co-operation in efforts to create a public opinion in favour of permanent peace. The meeting was not left in doubt as to the opinion of American women on this question, for early in the proceedings a message was received from Mrs. Winter, President of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, stating that her country women joined in ardent efforts for peace by international agreement.

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We cannot leave the subject of the Washington Conference without mention—in compliment to a Committee of the Union—of the remarkable similarity between Mr. Hughes's proposals and Clause 9 of the Report of the Union's Limitation of Armaments Committee. Lord Robert Cecil has commented on this similarity in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, from which an extract is printed on page 50.

* * * *

The League's success in dealing with the Albanian question merits comparison with its success in the settlement of the Aaland Islands dispute. During the months that elapsed between Albania's first appeal to the League and the award given (on November 8) by the Conference of Ambassadors, the inroads of the Jugo-Slavs had become a serious menace. On November 2 the attention of the Secretary-General of the League was drawn to the fact that a new Serbian offensive had been launched, which threatened the invasion of the whole of Albania. On November 7 Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed to Sir Eric Drummond on behalf of the British Government, which, availing itself of its friendly right under Article 11, requested the Council to meet instantly to study the situation and decide whether it demanded the application of Article 16 (Economic Blockade).

* * * *

In compliance with this demand, the Council met in Paris on November 16. After a statement by Mr. Fisher on November 17, as to Great Britain's reason for having summoned the Council to intervene, and one by the Jugo-Slav and Albanian representatives, respectively, Mr. Fisher announced that, in view of the promises already given by the Belgrade Government, he withdrew his demand for the application of Article 16 to Jugo-Slavia. The Council passed a resolution noting the assurances of the Serb-Croat-Slovene and Albanian States to respect the frontiers as delimited by the Ambassadors' Conference. In addition, the Council instructed the impartial Commission consisting of a Finn, a Norwegian and a Luxembourgian—which the Assembly had requested should be sent to supervise the execution of the decision of the Ambassadors' Conference—to keep the Council informed of the retirement of both the Jugo-Slav and Albanian troops from the provisional zone of demarcation, and to keep in touch with the Delimitation Commission wherever necessary, and place itself at the disposal of the local authorities to assist in carrying out the evacuation so as to avoid "incidents."

One of the most notable and welcome features of the League's conduct of this case was the rule of completely open diplomacy which it adopted. Every session of the Council was held in public—and any man or woman could walk in without let or hindrance, and avail themselves of the really unique opportunity of hearing at first-hand the facts of the dispute and its eventual settlement. The triumph of the League lies in the fact that the Serb-Croat-Slovene State promised instant withdrawal of its troops directly the Council of the League was summoned to meet. It is true that Serbia's action had evoked the threat of the League's extreme penalty, *i.e.*, the Economic Boycott, but it appears evident that Serbia's withdrawal was effected much more out of respect for public opinion and international goodwill, as represented in the League, than out of fear of the Blockade itself. Not only has the League scored a signal triumph in proving its ability to restrict the activities of a recalcitrant member, but by appointing a Commission as sponsor for law and order in Albania, it has given yet further earnest of its peculiar position as arbiter and director of peace throughout the world. Further comment on the Albanian case is made on our editorial page.

* * * *

The deadlock in the Vilna dispute is not yet ended. The Polish and Lithuanian delegates returned from Geneva to their respective countries six weeks ago, to submit to their Governments the League's new proposals for a basis of agreement. They have been asked to answer by December 6. A refusal to continue peaceful negotiations would be disastrous to the interests of both countries. The statesmanlike attitude of the Lithuanian delegates at the Second Assembly, and their acceptance of the necessity for compromise, largely influenced the vote in favour of Lithuania's admission to Membership of the League. Public opinion in their own country no doubt needs educating, for the belief in their right to Vilna is deeply rooted in Lithuanian national sentiment. It is to be hoped that wise counsels may prevail before the allotted time expires.

* * * *

It does not appear that the leaders of the Polish people are using any influence on the side of moderation. Mr. Balfour's stern rebuke to them remains unheeded. Not only does Zeligowski, "that ambiguous general with his troops of uncertain allegiance," remain in possession of the Vilna district, but we learn that the Polish Government is proposing to hold a plebiscite in an extended area of non-Polish territory which is under the occupation of Zeligowski's soldiery. The results of a vote so taken could not be considered for a moment. The Poles have no shadow of authority for taking it, and if they attempt to do so, the act would certainly not advance their cause with the League of Nations.

* * * *

We have received this month many letters about Upper Silesia, and we must ask our correspondents to accept the assurance that it is not from any lack of appreciation of their contributions, or from any desire to stifle their criticisms, but solely because of the exigencies of space, that some are omitted.

It is the desire of HEADWAY to give ample opportunity to its readers to express themselves frankly about decisions of the League, whether in approval or otherwise—in this case the "otherwise" predominates. Some of our correspondents assume that the League of Nations Union is concerned merely because it is the decision of the League, to defend a decision which they hold to be entirely bad. This is not so. The Union's purpose, rather, is to make plain how and why the decision came to be reached. In the ordinary course, we should have printed most of the criticisms and offered some comment on them, but there will be available shortly a League of Nations Union reprint of an article which Lord Robert Cecil has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for December. In this article the whole story of Upper Silesia is examined in the light of the findings of the expert committee of the Union. Lord Robert Cecil points out that the fundamental consideration to be kept in mind is that the Council of the League was not asked to advise on the *best* solution of the question, but on the *least harmful way in which the relevant provision of the Treaty of Versailles could be put into force*. We commend to our readers a careful study of Lord Robert Cecil's statement of the case, with confidence that, if they bear in mind what the definitely indicated task of the League Council was, they will arrive at his conclusion, at least, as to the honesty of the decision that came to be made.

* * * *

The Executive Committee of the Union has recently formed a new sub-committee of Religions and Ethics, having as its nucleus most of the members of the committee of the Society for a League of Religions, which has decided that it can best carry on its work of promoting universal righteousness, brotherhood and peace through the League of Nations Union, and which has thus ceased to exist. Its aims are to assist in securing the sympathy and co-operation of the religious and ethical bodies throughout the world in furthering the principles of the League of Nations, and extending the work of the Union among those religious, ethical and educational bodies which are not already the concern of any other committee.

* * * *

With the help of a newly-formed Labour Advisory Committee, the Executive Committee of the Union hopes to increase both the dimensions and the force of its appeal to the working classes of this country, that they should give their support to the Union. During the past twelve months the Union has pressed for the formation of this committee through the agency of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, which was, until September, the chief central representative working class organisation of this country. This body, consisting only of sixteen members, was overloaded with its own urgent affairs—the rail and coal disputes, and the steady growth of unemployment—and it was only when this Parliamentary Committee, as such, passed out of existence, and its personnel was incorporated into the newly-created General Council of the Trades Union Congress, with a personnel of 32 members, that the League of Nations Union felt very hopeful of attention being given

to the creation of the Advisory Labour Committee to the League of Nations Union.

* * * *

The reconstruction referred to above was carried out at the Cardiff Trades Union Congress in September last, and the same Congress passed a resolution in support of the League of Nations. The Trades Union General Council has followed up that resolution by appointing the following of its members to the Advisory Committee:—

Mr. J. Davenport (United Order of General Labourers)

Mr. A. A. H. Findlay (United Patternmakers)

Mr. Ben Tillet, M.P. (Dock, Wharf and Riverside Workers)

Mr. Ben Turner, J.P. (Textile Workers)

Miss J. Varley (Workers' Union).

The Executive Committee of the Union has officially appointed these nominees, and with them three of its own members:—

The Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.

Mr. J. Stuart Bunning, J.P.

Mr. Henry Vivian, J.P.

Our readers will earnestly look forward to the day when working class enthusiasm and hope for the League will greatly add to the present strength of the Union.

* * * *

We congratulate the General Secretary of the Union (Mr. Maxwell Garnett), whose book, "Education and World Citizenship," has recently been published by the Cambridge University Press, on the news that he has been approved by the University of Cambridge for the degree of Doctor of Science.

* * * *

It may interest our readers to be reminded of what Victor Hugo said, about the year 1840, concerning a hoped-for League of Nations. Like all true poets he had great ideals and looked far ahead in his visions of the future. The following extract from one of his political speeches is found in Madame Duclaux's excellent "Life of Victor Hugo" and is so appropriate to the present time that it might have been written to-day instead of eighty years ago, before Alsace and Lorraine were lost and regained by France:

"The day will dawn when your arms will fall from your hands. The day will come when war will seem as absurd and be as impossible between Paris and London, Petersburg and Berlin, Turin and Vienna, as between Rouen and Amiens, or Boston and Philadelphia. The day will come when you France, you Russia, you Italy, you England, you Germany, nations of the Continent, without losing your separate characters and glorious individualities, you will fuse in a superior unity and constitute an European brotherhood, even as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Alsace join hands in France. A day will come when our battlefields shall be markets open to all products, and minds to all ideas. A day will come when your bullets and your bombs shall be replaced by votes, by the universal suffrage of the nations, by the venerable arbitration of a great sovereign senate, which shall be to Europe what her Parliament is to England, her Diet to Germany, and our Legislative Assembly to France. A day will come when, in our Museums, we shall exhibit a cannon as now we show an instrument of torture, and wonder that men should ever have used such things. A day will come when you shall see two multitudinous and friendly groups facing each other on either side of the Atlantic: the United States of America and the United States of Europe."

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

WE are all in favour of the American method of conducting a Conference, especially an international Conference on a subject that dismays the average diplomatist so much as does that of Disarmament. The average diplomatist knows quite well that he must pay lip service to that ideal, but he is singularly loath to surrender even one revolver unless he is reasonably certain that it will not shoot, or until some other diplomatist has agreed to give up two. The results of this attitude we have had ample and dismal opportunities of observing during the last three years. Luckily for the world, the United States are somewhat new to diplomacy, but well accustomed to business. On the first day of the Washington Conference Mr. Hughes tabled a definite proposal for the scrapping of all capital ships now building, for the complete cessation of all building for ten years, and for the stabilisation of the navies of the three greatest naval Powers in accordance with a fixed ratio of strength. This proposal was so transparently fair, and offered so great a relief to the overburdened taxpayers of the world, that it provoked an immediate and enthusiastic popular response. Washington got itself across the footlights with its opening words.

This proposal, we hope and believe, will be safely steered through the shallow waters of "expert" and "detailed" criticism, and become an accomplished fact. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should get it into its proper perspective. It is certainly not a scheme to be in any way depreciated. It promises us relief of taxation to the amount of some eight or ten millions for every ship avoided. More important by far than this, it should prevent that desperate reaction upon international politics to which a competition in naval building gives rise. No one who watched the gradual deterioration of our relations with Germany, as Germany year by year increased her fleet, would care to run the risk of such a competition with any other nation, however friendly. Policy and armaments influence each other in a reciprocal manner. Armaments are the outcome of policy; but a competition in armaments itself drives policy into desperate courses. To one nation or another it becomes an intolerable burden; or else one Government realises that, in a few years, it must necessarily be in a worse position than it is at the moment. When that happens the international atmosphere becomes so explosive that the smallest spark will set it alight.

The American scheme, therefore, should counteract one of the impulses towards war so far as three great Powers are concerned. It will clear the atmosphere of explosive gas. It will still the "now or never" cry. It will prevent policy from being driven into insane courses by waves of panic among the general staffs. That, however, is as much as it will do. It will not prevent a clash of policy which arises, not from panic, but from a real cleavage

of interests. Its acceptance "in principle" by Great Britain, the United States and Japan should enable the representatives of those three nations to sit down together to face the very real issues of their policies in the Pacific with their heads clear and with a very real measure of mutual confidence. But their policies in the Pacific remain to be adjusted.

The proposals put forward by China provide rather a crystallising point than a solution of the problem of the Pacific. Idealists are a little too apt to assume that there is necessarily a righteous and practicable solution of every political and international problem, providing only that men are reasonable. This is by no means necessarily the case, and the problem of the Pacific is serious enough to baffle even the idealist. It can only be solved in the spirit of mutual give and take. One point requires especial recognition, and that is that the white races cannot in the same breath insist on an exclusive colour policy in the "white" continents and demand equal rights for both colours in "yellow" countries. Japan must have room to breathe, and if she is shut off from elsewhere she must have an outlet on to the Pacific coast of Asia. Even when that is admitted, as in fairness it must be, it is still necessary to reconcile her interests with the legitimate interests of China, and it will probably have to be conceded that the old Chinese Empire and China proper are by no means the same thing.

In a short article it is not possible to do more than glance at the outlines of the problem of the Far East. It is necessary, however, to insist that on its solution depends the other issue of disarmament. Mr. Hughes's scheme simplifies and helps matters enormously, but it will not be permanent or effectual unless it be accompanied by an adjustment of the nations' difficulties in the Pacific which is at least tolerable to all concerned. It is important, moreover, to notice that the question of land disarmament, and, indeed, all European questions, remain far in the background at Washington, and appear, as we write, unlikely to emerge from it. Washington, in short, is not doing the work, the whole work, of the League of Nations. It is doing some of it; it is acting as the complement of the League, but it is far too much an *ad hoc* assembly to attempt to take the place of the League. Nevertheless, it is clearing serious obstacles out of the League's path, obstacles that cannot be removed without the help of America, and all believers in the League can and should give to it, on its merits, their full and emphatic support.

ALBANIA.

THE meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on the dispute between Serbia and Albania is important in several respects. In the first place, for the first time one of the principal Allied Governments has taken the initiative in invoking the action of the League on a subject which arises out of the Peace Treaties, but is not specifically referred by them to the League for decision. On three occasions previously the British Government has taken advantage of the means allowed it by the Covenant, and has called the League into action in the exercise of their right as a member.

It was on British initiative that an attempt was made to utilise the machinery of the League for the purpose of investigating the state of affairs in Russia, and it was no fault either of the League Council or of this country that the attempt proved abortive. It was also on British initiative that the Council of the League called the Financial Conference at Brussels in September, 1920, which produced a permanent organisation, the fruits of which are only now beginning to ripen, and which will certainly be looked back upon as one of the cardinal points in the emergence of the League as a permanent international world organisation. Finally, it was the British Government that called the League's attention to the dispute between Finland and Sweden on the question of the Aaland Islands, a dispute which the Council of the League was able to bring to a satisfactory settlement that has been accepted by the parties concerned.

Hitherto, however, apart from matters like Danzig and the Saar Basin, which are put under the control of the League by other sections of the Peace Treaty outside the Covenant, no one has invoked the League's assistance and judgment on a matter arising out of the Peace Settlement, but not specifically entrusted by the Treaty to the League for action. The Albanian question was brought before the Council by Mr. Lloyd George himself in the exercise of the powers conferred on the United Kingdom under Article 11 of the Covenant, which makes it a friendly right of any Power to call attention to anything which is likely to be an infringement of peace as between members of the League.

It is also important from another point of view. Mr. Lloyd George, in his telegram requesting the Secretary-General of the League to summon the Council, called attention to the powers possessed by the League under Article 16 of the Covenant, powers which enable the League to put pressure upon any member violating the letter or spirit of the Covenant by the exercise of economic pressure through blockade or other methods of a similar kind. It must be remembered that while the Covenant of the League of Nations was under examination at the Peace Conference at Paris, proposals were made that the League should have a certain international naval or military force at its disposal, which would enable it to act effectively in the case of misconduct of any of its members. This proposal was defeated, and the Covenant in its final form, as it has been ratified by the various signatories of the Peace Treaty, contains no more than what might appear to be the somewhat shadowy possibility of blockade as a means of enforcing international discipline.

Many people thought (and the very hesitating manner in which the blockade question was handled in the Assembly commissions lent colour to the idea) that the threat of blockade would in itself amount to very little. The importance of this Albanian meeting has been that a threat of this kind has proved itself much more powerful than anyone was prepared to imagine, especially when the fact is taken into account that it was directed against a country with a short and unimportant sea frontier, and a land frontier which was only partially con-

tiguous with other members of the League. In the letter by the Serbian Prime Minister, M. Pachich, accepting on behalf of his Government the decision of the Ambassadors Conference with regard to the frontiers between the Serb, Croat and Slovene Kingdom and Albania, he quite definitely admits that his country has deferred to the Council of the League under this threat of a blockade which is contained in Article 16, and to which Mr. Lloyd George referred in his telegram. The following are M. Pachich's actual words:—

"The British Government . . . has summoned the Royal Government before the Council of the League of Nations, and threatens it with the application of extreme measures, such as those provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. By this action a threatening situation has been created resembling that of an ultimatum. Placed in this position, the Jugo-Slav Government states with the greatest regret that it enters a protest; at the same time, it obeys the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in order to avoid the dangerous consequences of non-acceptance."

It is clear from this that even the very tempered form of pressure contained in Article 16 is sufficient to ensure the acceptance of the Council's decision on the part of any Government infringing its obligations as a League member.

The Council Meeting on Albania was remarkable in one other way. For the first time, without any qualification at all, the whole proceedings of the Council were held in public. Though comparatively few of the public in Paris availed themselves of the opportunity, it was possible for anybody to walk into the room in Petit Luxembourg and to hear a discussion carried on, with the completest candour, on international matters which, after all, involved the happiness and safety of hundreds and thousands of people in an important area in Europe. This is a precedent of a very formidable kind. No doubt it has had its disadvantages as well as its advantages, and it would be foolish to pretend that the temper shown by the disputants (and especially by the Serbs) could leave any student of human nature with the conviction that the settlement was certain to be carried out in the spirit in which it was drawn up. What is important, however, is that bad manners internationally are much more likely to be removed if they are displayed in public, than if they are exercised in private.

THE CALL.

'Peace hath her victories no less renown'd
Than War.'—So spake the Seer, e'en in that hour
Knowing that not for ever would the Power
Of Darkness rule this earth at will, unbound
By Michael and his angels. Hear the sound
Of sevenfold trumpets blown on high to tell
His prisoning at hand! Therefore more fell
And fierce his wrath, for that his deadly wound
Is new, the time is short. All Hell to maim
This first strong forging of his chain of doom,
Man's League of Peace in Heav'n and earth, will try
To burst one link. Now then, in CHRIST His name,
Stand all good men and true, for hearth and home,
Beside the angels to gain Peace's victory!

LOWTHER BRIDGER.

November, 1921.

NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

By Lord ROBERT CECIL.*

MR. BALFOUR, rising as he has often done to the level of a great situation, has cordially certified the adhesion of the British Government to the principles laid down by Mr. Hughes, and it must not be supposed for a moment that those of us who have the objects of the League of Nations at heart can feel anything but gratification at this splendid opening of the Washington Conference. It would be, indeed, a mean and jealous spirit that refused to recognise the value of the bold step taken by the United States on behalf of peace.

It has been a matter of infinite regret that political accidents have prevented America from joining the League; and we are well aware that her absence has, in many cases, hindered the progress of the League. But that regret does not diminish in any degree the cordiality with which we welcome the efforts of the United States to further objects identical with ours, and, in my opinion, our whole-hearted and constant support should be extended to the aims and intentions of President Harding. In the past it has been extremely difficult to make any real progress towards disarmament at Geneva. Without the co-operation of the United States it was obviously impossible to reach any practical solution of the problem of naval disarmament. The United States was one of the main factors of the problem, and any attempt to solve it in her absence was bound to be abortive.

But, although the abstention of the United States from the work of the League has retarded the discussion of naval disarmament at Geneva and necessarily concentrated attention upon the European problem of disarmament on land, it must not be supposed that the naval problem has been overlooked. It is interesting to notice that the Committee on Disarmament of the League of Nations Union composed, among others, of such eminent men as Admiral Hopwood, General Gough and General Maurice, came to conclusions on naval disarmament curiously similar to those of Mr. Hughes. They say in their report, which is published as a pamphlet by the League of Nations Union, that the British Government's welcome announcement of a "one-power standard," and their repudiation of the idea of competitive building will not stop, and may even stimulate, competitive building. And they add "the desired result would, however, be secured by adding to the 'one-power standard' an agreement as to the maximum number, size and armament of the capital ships which the great Naval Powers should maintain, and as to the replacement of capital ships when obsolescent. This is the practical minimum which ought to be obtainable at . . . a Conference" of Naval Powers. It is clear that on both sides of the Atlantic similar aims have led intelligent minds to similar remedies.

It is, I think, of great importance that the immense value of the Washington Conference should be understood by those who support the League of Nations in this country. There is, to begin with, the vast impetus towards peace and against war created by the widely advertised existence of such a Conference. Conferences to divide the spoils after a war, Conferences to compromise about the spoils instead of going to war, have been the accustomed machinery of the old diplomacy. But a Conference whose avowed and sole object is the preservation of peace is on a different plane. There is a moral purpose behind it which is characteristic of the new international outlook. The minds of men cannot fail to be impressed by something so arresting and, alas, so unusual.

*Condensed (by kind permission) from the *Contemporary Review*.

THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

By THE HON. OLIVER BRETT.

MANY of us who are impatient advocates of the League are apt to be disappointed at the amount of attention given to its work by the House of Commons. It is well known that the large majority of members are in favour of the League. It is well known that candidates who aspire to enter the House rarely fail to announce themselves as supporters of the League. The members of the League of Nations Union, spread in their thousands all over the country and eager to testify to the faith that is in them, are becoming a powerful political influence. In a democracy it is numbers that count, as the leaders of forlorn hopes well know. For long the Union and its members could be ignored by the politician in exact proportion to the paucity of its numbers. No politician can now afford to ignore the legitimate power in public life that the Union and its ever-increasing membership can exercise. No doubt we discover among the aspirants to the legislature an amusing ignorance about the Covenant and the machinery of the League, an ignorance which it is useful to enlighten, since it is no doubt often shared by many of the candidate's electors. At a recent bye-election one of the candidates was apparently under the delusion that the International Labour Office was an offspring of our Labour Party at home, and thought it very unfair that only one party in this country should be represented at Geneva. Probably, if pressed, he would have agreed to support the League if an International Coalition Office was created at the seat of the League. So parochial is still the vision even of the educated classes. Nevertheless, no candidate can escape during his election the fire of questions which, if it does not alter his opinions, does at any rate make him aware of the political importance of the League. Surely then we should expect, when we reach the House of Commons, that the League and its affairs would be the subject of some full-dress debates, and not be confined, as it usually is, to the hour of "questions."

It is probably true, however, that the more firmly the League becomes established as a political instrument the less will it find itself the subject of debate in the House of Commons. Its open enemies are decreasing in number and are negligible in importance. No votes are to be gained by abuse of the League. No constituencies insist that their representative shall voice their dislike of it. There will be no point, in future, in raising discussion upon the ideals that it represents or the principles upon which it is founded, since those ideals and principles will receive an almost universal acceptance. The League will become an accustomed part of the machinery of Government, and will function without question or surprise. The novelty of its existence, which now prompts the newspapers to emphasise with large head-lines any use that the Government makes of the League machinery, will in a few years disappear; custom and habit will make it appear as natural and commonplace an institution as the Foreign Office; and the Ministers of the Crown, glad to be able to lighten the immense weight of their continual burden, will wonder how the business of the State was ever carried on without the assistance of the League.

The judicial system of this country, created for the peaceful settlement of disputes between individuals, rarely receives the attention of Parliament. Details of its machinery, questions of personnel or of cost, may be discussed. But the principles upon which it rests, and the necessity for its existence, are beyond dispute. The right to kill a man in a duel is no longer a matter of "urgent public importance." In the same way the judicial system created for the

peaceful settlement of disputes between nations will shortly be incorporated as an unquestioned member of the body politic. England, unlike the United States, possesses the incomparable advantage of an unwritten Constitution, which throughout the ages has with more or less difficulty been successful in absorbing the new ideas and changing morality which are inevitable in a progressive community. Such an absorption is no easy matter, and we who watch our Constitution in the process of absorbing a change of vast import, involving attitudes of mind completely foreign to our ancestors, must not be surprised at the evidences of strain and dislocation.

Nevertheless, from month to month it is clear to close observers of the House of Commons that the League is consolidating its position as a permanent ingredient of our elastic Constitution. A few avowed enemies, a few open scoffers, continue to attack the League. But the vast mass, even of the indifferent, are growing accustomed to its existence and view with unconcern the obvious inclination of the Prime Minister to recognise the value of Geneva. The band of enthusiastic members to whose tireless determination we owe the effective recognition of the League in the House of Commons are to be congratulated upon the results of their efforts.

LABOUR AT GENEVA.

THE third session of the International Labour Conference which opened on October 25, at Geneva, came to an end on November 19. Lord Burnham, President of the Conference, made a closing speech in which he congratulated the delegates "on the triumphant completion of their work." The Conference, he said, had given him great faith in internationalism, which was destined to grow as centuries went on.

In some cases unanimously, and in others by large majorities, the Conference has adopted seven International Conventions, and eight Recommendations, as follows:—

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS:

- (1) *Weekly Rest Day in Industry.*
A general rule is prescribed of one day's rest in seven.
- (2) *White Lead in Painting.*
The prohibition of the use of white lead in interior painting (with some few exceptions) and the regulation of its use in exterior painting, is laid down.
- (3) *Agricultural Workers.*
The right of industrial combination is authorised.
- (4) *Agriculture and Children.*
No child under 14 to be employed during compulsory school hours.
- (5) *Agricultural Workers' Compensation.*
Compensation laws at present applying to industrial workers to be extended to agricultural workers.
- (6) *Juvenile Employment at Sea.*
Persons under 18 years of age are not to be employed as trimmers and stokers in ships.
- (7) *Medical Examination of Young Persons.*
Compulsory regular Medical Examination of persons under 18 years of age employed in ships is to be instituted.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) Women employed in Agriculture shall be entitled to nine hours rest, if possible consecutive.
- (2) Children under 14 to have 10 hours consecutive rest, persons between 14 and 18 to have nine hours consecutive rest.
- (3) Maternity protection, in the form of a guarantee of a period of absence from work, before and after child-birth, to be extended to women agricultural workers.
- (4) Measures are recommended for the improvement of living in conditions of agricultural workers.
- (5) A series of measures for dealing with agricultural unemployment is suggested.
- (6) That social insurance Laws applying to industrial workers should be extended to agricultural workers.
- (7) Governments are recommended to develop technical education as much for agricultural workers as for others.
- (8) For Commercial Establishments, a weekly rest day is recommended as a general rule.

These draft Conventions and Recommendations (dealing, as was originally intended, very largely with agriculture) constitute a big addition to the world's existing international labour legislation. From experience of the fate of past Conventions and Recommendations, we cannot look forward with confidence to the immediate ratification and observation of the entire group by all nations, and the voting list at Geneva forbids any such hope. Pressure of public opinion, however, may do even more for these new legislative attempts than it already has done for the previous Conventions and Recommendations.

Perhaps the most immediately interesting result of the Conference is the outcome of a telegram addressed to the Conference by Mr. Sam Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labour. He suggested that the Conference should hold an enquiry into the present world-unemployment, and take measures to lessen it. Mr. Charles Schurch (Swiss Workers' delegate) moved a resolution asking the International Labour Office "to institute a special inquiry into the international aspect of the unemployment crisis and the means for combating it." M. Leon Jouhaux (French Workers' delegate) strongly supported it, stating that relief work and similar measures were not adequate, and that an international problem of such magnitude demanded international treatment. Mr. E. L. Poulton (British Workers' delegate) and Sir Montague Barlow (British Government delegate) also supported the resolution, and it is interesting to observe that the British Government delegate suggested that the assistance of the financial and economic sections of the League should be asked to co-operate. The resolution was carried unanimously, and it is expected that the conference will be called without delay.

** The Union is anxious to give more detailed treatment of the results of the Conference than the space in "Headway" will allow, and hereby invite branches to call meetings in the near future to listen to speakers whom the Union can provide to deal with "The Third International Labour Conference." Please write to the General Secretary, L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, giving available dates.

THE PRIZE SONG.

(See Competition Awards on Page 57.)

ALL-MEN'S SONG.

There's a stirring of great silences
And a moving of the still;
The winds from the Corners waft them on
Over mountain and hill.
The valleys are full of their moving,
They ride on the sun,
And the stars of the heavens to their ruling
Are one.

Their ploughshares have gathered in courage,
Their pruning-hooks love,
The harvest song dips to their passing
As onward they move.
The phalanx of brotherhood passes,
The song of their masses
Is one.

Their eyes are afire with the dawn,
Their feet with the day;
They leap from the footstool of earth
As they follow the Way.
They call to us, "Brother, oh brother!"
Sing, "Sister, oh come!"
Our spirit, my brother, my sister,
Is one."

HILDA FINNEMORE.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, November, 1921.

THE principal League event this month has been the Washington Conference, which is attempting to do what the League has hitherto been unable to do, not on account of "timidity" (as Mr. Barnes says in a letter to *The Times*) but because the absence from the League of the one State which makes the Washington Conference capable of success, has made the League's work necessarily slow and cautious. The Washington Conference, therefore, is a very valuable supplement to the work of the League, but whether those who are so hopeful of its beneficial reaction upon League activities are altogether justified in their views, is a point which it is a little premature to be dogmatic upon. Naval disarmament is the prime concern of only three States of the world, and the most widespread burden of armaments, as well as the most active germ of war at the present time, lies mainly in the maintenance of land forces. It is early yet to see how the final adjustment of the naval side of the problem is necessarily going to make easier the other side of it. There is in Washington a good representation of delegates who had first-hand experience of the difficulties of land disarmament during the detailed examination by the League. If Washington can produce a shorter cut it will be a matter for all-round congratulation, but already the same problems which arose at Geneva are raising their heads in Washington (particularly through the mouth of M. Briand) and another point of importance is that any disarmament agreement arrived at, whether on land or sea, necessarily involves some permanent system of control. The League organisation, with its 5 States members provides for this, and why should it not be made use of?

Nearer home there has been the Labour Conference at Geneva and the point which is most striking about this meeting of Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates, as compared with the Assembly of the League itself, is the freer atmosphere of criticism and greater vitality by reason of the fact that it is not purely a representative of Governments. The Labour delegates had a great opportunity, of which they took full advantage, to keep up their end, and have not hesitated, where necessary, to criticise their own Government representatives. Although the Conference has been marked by almost naked championship of particular vested interests, both national and industrial, the advantage has been that Labour has been able to make its voice heard on this international platform, where I am afraid the tendency this year has been rather to take advantage of the prevailing economic distress to avoid a too definite introduction of better conditions of labour. At the same time, although many countries have not ratified previous Conventions, and although they endeavour to go slowly in formulating new ones, the Labour organisation of the League is gradually setting up a standard in educating the official mind as well as public opinion, especially in more backward countries. The most obstinate are compelled to show some flexibility. The lesson that League supporters should take from this Conference is the importance of working for representation of Labour in the Assembly delegations. They could not bind the Governments to any particular decisions, but they could tear abroad the official sophistries, and bring plainness and outspokenness to its debates. The Labour Conference has made useful progress.

The complicated problems of Albania and Vilna still trouble the League. The Poles apparently are proposing to hold a plebiscite on their own, thus ignoring the League, and it is reported with suspicious unanimity that the British and French diplomatic representatives have expressed their approval of this procedure. If so,

it is about time for the Council of the League to take up the matter with some vigour and to ask explanations, not only from the Poles, but also from the British and French Governments. Either Britain and France are members of the League or they are not, and it is just as well that the matter should be put squarely to them.

On the Albanian question Mr. Lloyd George's vigorous telegram to the League was not unjustifiable, as the Serbs seem to have been taking a leaf out of the book of the Zeligowski Corfanti d'Annunzio "adventurers." The disagreeable factor about it is that the Serbs have had behind them the same friends as the Poles, and Mr. Lloyd George's action was greeted with many sarcastic references in the usual quarters. The fact of the matter is, the League must be prepared to take risks. Its blunder in the Vilna business was not to have insisted, as a preliminary to any steps whatever, upon the withdrawal of Zeligowski from Vilna or the withdrawal of Poland from the League. It ought to be prepared to take such a step with regard to Serbia, if Serbia persists. It is no use pointing out the possible consequences which may ensue in other withdrawals from the League, for it is better for the League to lose members and retain its self-respect than to maintain its full membership mocked at by every little State which cares to disregard its obligations under the Covenant.

The forcible action of the British Government had its full effect at the Paris Council meeting, which was in every respect a notable occasion. In the first place, every session of the Council was thrown open to the public, and this step, taken, I understand, on the initiative of Mr. Fisher, was a bold one, bearing in mind the passions and interests involved in the matter. The whole thing was fought out and settled in the open. Mr. Fisher himself with complete candour gave the British Government's view of Serbian methods, which he clearly indicated as active support and backing behind the scenes for the so-called Northern Albanian rebels against the central Tirana Government. Not all the usual extravagances and rhetoric which we are accustomed to expect from Serbian delegates succeeded in shaking Mr. Fisher's plain analysis of the case. The net result is that Serbia has given a solemn undertaking to respect the frontier line drawn up by the Ambassadors' Council, to withdraw all her troops behind that frontier, and to do nothing, directly or indirectly, to provoke any disturbances of the peace; the League's Commission of Enquiry has been instructed to assure itself that no support from outside is given to any local disturbances in Albania. But the outstanding point about the affair was that the Serbian Prime Minister in his letter to the Ambassadors' Conferences—like his representative at the Council—entered Serbia's protest against the particular line, but at the same time declared that though this was the case, the consequences of the application of the Economic Blockade—envisaged in the British Government's telegram bringing the matter before the League—would be so serious that Serbia was compelled to observe the frontier decision. Here we have the first instance of what League supporters have always declared to be the strong weapon, namely, the mere threat of an economic blockade, which of itself, even in the present uncertain state of Article 16 of the Covenant, has been sufficient to work its purpose. Relentless critics of the League have been compelled to acknowledge this as a victory for it, and the wisdom and foresight of the Assembly in requesting the Council to send a Commission of Enquiry on the spot, have been demonstrated by these later events. The Commission will be there now to see that Serbia keeps her word. I wonder what the course of history might have been if there had been a League Council to deal with the Near Eastern troubles in July, 1914?

C.

Makers of History.

SAAD PASHA ZAGHLOUL.

By CLENNELL WILKINSON.

IN the winter of 1907-1908 there was some trouble among the students at one of the Government secondary schools in Cairo—some paltry matter of the date of an examination paper, but sufficient to serve as an excuse for defying those in authority. The Egyptian Minister of Education adopted the unprecedented course of coming down to the school himself to enquire into the matter. With little regard for the feelings of the English headmaster he countermanded most of the orders already given, administered a mild punishment, and was leaving the building when some of the malcontents, greatly elevated at the turn affairs had taken, assembled round the gate and "boomed" him vigorously. In a quite unnecessary panic the Minister hurried back to his office and sent down to the school a squad of armed police, apparently under the impression that a revolution was about to break out. So at least the story ran in official circles in Cairo, where it caused considerable amusement.

The Minister was Saad Pasha Zaghoul, the present leader of the Nationalist opposition, and the incident was highly characteristic of the man and his methods. If he escaped the trouncing for it in the Nationalist press, which would certainly have been the lot of any other Minister who had acted as he did, it was because, though a Minister under the old régime, he was always notoriously a Nationalist at heart. It is sometimes forgotten in this country that Lord Cromer held a high opinion of Saad Zaghoul, who was not a member of the Government in those days, and used to describe him as the best type of Nationalist. Sir Eldon Gorst, in pursuance of his policy of an alliance between the Khedive and the British authorities, was skilful enough to obtain the active support of Zaghoul who had never been supposed to be a friend of either. He became Minister of Education and was not, as I have indicated, a conspicuous success in that post. When Lord Kitchener succeeded Sir Eldon Gorst, Zaghoul retained his portfolio, and I have before me as I write a photograph of the Egyptian Ministers, taken in 1912, showing the present Nationalist leader seated on Lord Kitchener's right hand. His subsequent resignation was not due to devotion to the cause of nationalism; in fact he kept out of politics for some little time. He was in the background in 1915 when the Turks were attacking the Suez Canal and a rising in Egypt behind our lines might have had disastrous consequences. The fact that he did not come forward with his demand for separation until the war was over and our position in Egypt so firmly established that we obviously could

not be turned out by force, is a measure of his honesty, a proof that he is not actuated, as all previous Nationalist leaders have been, by a mere unreasoning hatred of England.

A glance at the character of Lord Cromer's great Nationalist opponent, Mustapha Pasha Kamel, may give some clue to his failure and to Zaghoul's success. Mustapha Kamel was an extremely clever young man; he spoke several languages and was as much at home in Paris as in Cairo. Zaghoul has a few words of French, no English, and hardly any culture in the European sense. Mustapha Kamel kept his eye on European politics; Zaghoul knows (or knew before the war) very little about them. Mustapha Kamel was a pasha by a fluke; Zaghoul is a man of position (a "notable" in Egyptian jargon), with a real stake in the country. Lord Cromer always refused to take any steps against Mustapha Kamel; but we sent Zaghoul to Malta and made him a martyr. Finally, in the days of Lord Cromer and Mustapha Kamel Egypt was very prosperous; but when Zaghoul began his crusade the country, though indisputably prosperous, was feeling the ill-effects of the war and the fellaheen were still sore at the methods employed in recruiting for the Egyptian Labour Corps. All of which does to some extent explain why Mustapha Kamel could sell a million copies of his anti-English newspaper daily, but could never rouse the fellaheen against us. The most he created was an occasional storm in a tea-cup. But Zaghoul has made history.

An honest, excitable, not very tactful or accomplished man, working with Nationalist catch-words upon the feelings of a population among whom there is no real national feeling, and producing a bloody insurrection against the only good government they have known for centuries: that is the phenomenon. Zaghoul may not appeal to the European as possessing a very striking or masterful personality; but of his influence with his fellow-countrymen there can be no serious doubt. To a large extent the future of Egypt is in his hands and such is the uncertainty of his temper that almost anything might happen. As I write, the Egyptian Prime Minister is on his way back to Egypt to report the break-down in his negotiations with the Foreign Office. The next move is with the popular leader, Zaghoul. It is the turning point in his career. If he decides for another revolution he will not find it so easy as last time.

In any case he has made his mark upon the history of the Near East and of the British Empire. Our voluntary acknowledgment of Egypt's right to independence after forty years of British occupation is a notable event. And it would be absurd to deny the importance of the part that Saad Zaghoul has played in bringing it about.



Correspondence.

[We do not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by our correspondents.—ED.]

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts with many others see the urgency of Germany's admission to the League of Nations. May I suggest why the German people are reluctant to take this step? My medium of information is a correspondence with typical working and business people all over Germany. Their unanimity is remarkable. The League of Nations is regarded as the instrument for carrying out in the future the Peace of Versailles—a peace of the sword. A League of Nations which stood for world-justice would command assent but the dictates of Versailles are regarded as the decisions of intense partisans. For my own part, I am continually perplexed by the British supporters of the League of Nations who plead for the submission of all disputes to a court of impartial justice. Yet these very same people uphold a verdict of the sword and of the Allied Supreme Council as an infallible, unalterable decision. A genuine all-inclusive League should have the power to reconsider and revise judgments determined by brute force.

Yours faithfully,

RICHARD LEE.

4, Morgan Street, Dundee,
November 19, 1921.

THE LEAGUE AND UPPER SILESIA.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Is it not to the best interests of the League that there should be no obscuring, no misleading defence of its actions? To maintain that the League has done well and wisely, which it has not, though it may silence criticism for the time, in the end can only bring harm.

The article in your current issue in defence of the Silesian question is, I submit, misleading. It is unworthy of the League to take refuge in the cry that it is "impossible to satisfy everybody"; it is almost ludicrous to lay it as a merit to the League to have "made up its mind" not to set up (for fifteen years) an economic barrier across a solid economic unit. No one suggests that the Council of the League had an easy task, nor that it performed it less well than the makers of the Treaty might have done.

What many people do say is that the Council was unduly Francophile. What about that? Can't the charge be met? Or, worse, is impartiality less to be considered than political prudence? Not consciously, certainly; but in fact? Again, the article speaks of a "clear field" as though the only suggestions set aside were those of partisans. May not the world know why the finding of the Plebiscite Commission was ignored? If it is not, can it be blamed for thinking that the reason was political?

The real sin from which the League needs to be cleared in the eyes of many of those who know that some such League is the only hope of salvation—the real sin is that, being a League to secure peace, it has, in the eyes of half the world, set a premium on the use of force. Is it astonishing that Poland, and others, should henceforward use the methods that were, apparently, so successful in Silesia?—Yours, etc.,

A MEMBER OF THE L.N.U.

November 18, 1921.

[We warmly agree with our correspondent that no true friend of the League should fear to criticise it when its action calls for criticism. We are glad, however, to undertake its defence on the points raised in this letter. The Council is accused of being "unduly Francophile." In other words, its decision on Upper Silesia is attacked as being too much in accord with French wishes. The representative of France on the Council, however, took no part in framing the decision. The four principal Allied Powers deliberately withdrew themselves from the discussions, and entrusted them to the representatives of the four States who had "no axe to grind." We have Mr. Balfour's word for it that no pressure of any kind was brought to bear on these four. We do, indeed, deplore that their discussions were not carried on in public, so that the rumours of intrigue and influence might have been proved as false as we believe them to be.

Our correspondent goes on to ask why the finding of the Plebiscite Commission was ignored. The Commission arrived at no finding. The French Commissioners presented one Report, the British and Italian another. Hence the deadlock, which the League has removed. It has done so, not by setting a premium upon force, but by initiating an experiment. A scheme has been devised for Upper Silesia which, it is hoped, will secure the industrial interests of Germany and Poland against injury from the partition. If it succeeds it will point the way of escape from

many of the difficulties which beset Europe at present. It lies in the power of the parties concerned, as Mr. Balfour has frankly stated, to wreck it, or work it. This is the broad and statesmanlike judgment of the Upper Silesian decision. In these greater issues, criticisms on points of detail dwindle in importance.—EDITOR.]

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The zeal of Mr. Hamilton Fyfe in the cause of Germany leads him to say, "All intelligent people who know and perform their duty as citizens . . . are aware by now that all Governments were to blame for the disaster which befell us, and that all peoples are equally to be pitied for having been mishandled and deceived."

A sentence like this alienates the undecided people who may be on the eve of joining the Union. Naturally they are unwilling to be classed with those who are so obsessed by chivalry to their enemies that they cannot be fair to their own side.

If a better feeling is to be produced between us and Germany it will not be by trying to persuade ourselves that England and the Allies were responsible for the war, or that the British public entered the war in the same embittered spirit of animosity as the German nation. Blame there always will be to each one of us in so far as selfish ambition and an un-Christian ideal of life predominate in each soul, but that Britain was inflated like Germany with the mad dream of an "hereditary and divine right to conquer" other nations, is not true, and no good purpose can be served by such implications. Extremes breed extremes and tend to focus attention on fruitless arguments.

I gather that the *raison d'être* of the Union is to get people to support the League of Nations and to educate public opinion to the pitch of including all the European nations within the League, so that it shall be no longer possible to say, "Half a league, half a league, half a league onward." This ideal is no more likely to be won by glossing over Germany's crime than it would be by concentrating on it.—Yours, etc.,

AN OCCASIONAL READER.

Buxton.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The amiable article by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe in your October issue says either far too much or far too little. It blithely states that "almost everybody in Germany is ready to sink memories of the war, and if they are unable to do this it is because the so-called victors will not allow them to do so."

No doubt the Germans are "willing to forget the war!" Probably also the other criminals in our prisons are willing to forget their murders, violence, burglaries and swindles! But why this cool assumption by Mr. Fyfe that Englishmen who hold the views I have expressed are not worth arguing with?

If Mr. Fyfe possesses information proving that England is equally culpable with Germany, why does he not state his facts instead of taking it for granted that they are known to everyone?—Yours, etc.,

A PLAIN YORKSHIREMAN.

Leeds.

[Mr. Fyfe's reply is printed on page 56.—ED.]

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Hamilton Fyfe asks us to believe that in Germany "almost everybody is ready to sink memories of the war," and are only prevented from doing so by "the so-called victors." He begs the question of responsibility for the war by calmly assuming that Germany was no more to blame than any other country; and he is severe on "French politicians" and their endeavours to preserve their country from a power that has inflicted upon it butchery and wanton devastation twice in fifty years.

Mr. Fyfe longs to admit Germany into the League and to get her "powerful driving force behind it." But what sort of a "driving force" is that at present likely to be? Later on in his article Mr. Hamilton Fyfe admits that the Germans still "take it for granted that there are bound to be more wars," that they are busy thinking of alliances that will balance interests and set up this or that combination of interests against some other, and that they are hopefully looking forward to the time when "Britain and the United States and Japan and France will in turn destroy one another" for Germany's benefit.

Until the Germans manifest a better spirit than they have yet done or are now doing, the identification of the League of Nations with admiration and affection for Germany at the expense of justice to France will deprive the League of much of the popular support it needs and should receive.

Yours truly,

Cirencester,

October 19, 1921.

D. SCOTFORD HARMER.

THE
PIONEERS OF THE LEAGUE

The British Save the Children Fund and its International Union at Geneva are in close touch with the Secretariat of the League of Nations and their work has its warm approval. Read what M. Slavik, delegate of the League of Nations at the Save the Children Fund Congress at Stockholm in September last, says of them.

"Associations like yours are a striking testimony of what the Solidarity of the human race can mean in its most practical as well as in its loftiest form. That is why those who watch you trace the furrow of charity in the ravaged fields of suffering Europe salute in you the pioneers of the League of Nations."

In France, Germany, Austria and Hungary: in Poland and the Baltic States: in the Balkans, Turkey and Asia Minor: above all in Russia, the Save the Children Fund is succouring the child victims of war, disease and famine. In Saratov, the heart of the Russian famine area, its British agents have already started to feed a quarter of a million starving little ones, under the direction of Dr. Nansen, the great champion of the League, who has agreed to feed the adults in the same area out of other funds at his disposal, on the understanding that the chief British representative of the Save the Children Fund superintends the whole work.

Governments discuss and wrangle. Economic remedies are proposed but to be dropped or postponed. Meanwhile, the Save the Children Fund, reeking naught of distinctions of politics, race or creed, holds aloft the Banner of Love and Pity and cries—"These Children Shall Not Die."

The work is well begun. But Winter has now these lands in its icy grip: more and more terrible becomes the need: more and more desperate the fight with death.

Members of the League of Nations Union, you cannot hear this appeal unmoved. It is unthinkable that for lack of funds this work shall not be carried through. Practice what you preach. Send all you can spare and send at once.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND.

(Registered under the War Charities Act, 1916.)

PATRONS.—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY; HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER; HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF WALES; THE VERY REV. THE CHIEF RABBI; THE MOST NOBLE MARQUIS OF KEDLESTON, K.G.; THE REV. R. C. GILLIE.

Bankers: London County Westminster & Parr's Bank, Ltd.

TO LORD WEARDALE,
Chairman of Committee of "Save the Children Fund" (Room 674),
26, Golden Square, Regent Street, London, W. 1.

SIR,—I would like to make a Gift to help the Suffering Children of Europe and Asia Minor and enclose..... as a donation to the "Save the Children Fund."

NAME

ADDRESS

Headway, 1-12-21.

NOTE.—Subscriptions can be ear-marked for Russia or other countries if desired.

MR. HAMILTON FYFE'S REPLY.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have been asked to "develop my proposition" that—"All intelligent persons who have tried to form a correct judgment are aware by now that all Governments were to blame for the disaster of the war," and that putting all the blame on Germany will not bear historical investigation.

As my first witness I call the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking on December 22, 1920, said:—

"The more one reads the memoirs and the books written in the various countries of what happened before August 1, 1914, the more one realises that no one at the head of affairs quite meant war at that stage. It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered and stumbled. Discussion, I have no doubt, would have averted it."

Thus the Prime Minister disposed of the legend, which he had helped to circulate, of the sole responsibility of the German Government. There was a good reason for circulating it during the war: it helped to stiffen the spirit of the nation. An exactly similar legend, throwing the entire responsibility upon the British Government, and especially upon Sir Edward Grey, was spread abroad in Germany. Such legends are as much part of the material of war as shells, rifles and grenades. When wars cease they are usually dropped. In this instance they were kept up partly because many of our public men, owing to their ignorance of history and human nature, were simple enough to believe in them; partly because France insisted that the war should be continued by other means after the shelling and bombing and bayoneting had been stopped.

A year ago, however, the Prime Minister admitted that the legend of Germany's "long and insidious and clandestine preparation" for a war which it began deliberately and with "ruthless cynical determination," had no basis in fact.

If there had been such a malign preparation afoot, Mr. Lloyd George as a member of the Government for eight years before war must have known of it. If he had known of it he could not have said as he did on January 1, 1914:—

"The German army is vital, not merely to the existence of the German Empire but to the very life and independence of the nation itself, surrounded as Germany is by other nations, each of which possesses armies about as powerful as her own. We forget that while we insist upon a 60 per cent. superiority (as far as our naval strength is concerned) over Germany being essential to guarantee the integrity of our shores, Germany herself has nothing like that superiority over France alone, and she has, of course, in addition to reckon with Russia on her eastern frontier. Germany has nothing which approximates to a two-Power standard."

Thus Mr. Lloyd George explained away the notion that Germany was any more a "menace" with its army than Britain was with its fleets.

A French writer on military matters, Colonel Boucher, made the same admission in even clearer terms in his "L'Allemagne en péril," published in the spring of 1914: "Germany to-day is threatened on all her frontiers. . . . To be in a position to resist attacks threatened on all sides she is compelled to develop her military strength to the highest point. . . . It was in order to defend herself against the Russian danger that Germany passed her 1913 (Army) Law."

Next I call as witness King Edward the Seventh, who strove with Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Lansdowne and others between 1898 and 1902 to bring about an Anglo-German Entente, or rather Alliance, and who said that he regarded Britain and Germany as "natural allies." Only when the muddle-headedness of Germany's Foreign Office chiefs, the insanity of a few naval and military officers, and the Kaiser's inability to keep a straight course had made further negotiations impossible, did Britain turn towards France and come to an agreement with her, followed later by the agreement with Russia. Those negotiations lasting for years negative the legend that Germany was then engaged, as was later asserted, in laying plans for a war which was to secure domination over Europe and a large part of the world outside.

It may be replied that the failure of the negotiations for an Anglo-German Alliance (fully described in Baron von Eckhardstein's memoirs) proved that Germany was working against Britain. But that is disputed by the statements of British political leaders made frequently after that date testifying to Germany's good faith.

Next I call into the witness-box Baron Guillaume, who was Belgian Minister in Paris for some years before war. In a despatch to his Government, written on January 16, 1914, Baron Guillaume said:—

"I have already had the honour to mention that it was Messrs. Poincaré, Delcassé, Millerand and other friends who have created and pursued that policy of nationalism, flag-wagging and jingoism whose revival we have been

observing. It is a danger to Europe—and to Belgium. I see in it the greatest peril which threatens the peace of Europe to-day."

Baron Guillaume was an impartial observer. He was concerned only with the interests of Belgium. He knew pretty well what was going on and he saw the greatest peril to peace, not in the German plotting and planning, but in the provocative attitude of France. He repeated this view in many other despatches and it was the view taken by other Belgian diplomats. Eliminate Baron Greindl and Baron Beyens, Ministers in Berlin; it might be said that they were under Berlin influences. But listen to Count de Lalaing, Belgian Minister in London. On November 7, 1913, he wrote about a speech of Sir Edward Grey's, in which a formula for British foreign policy was laid down. This formula, his despatch said, is "dangerously elastic" and "leaves the door open for intervention, often in cases where intervention is unjustifiable and exasperating."

That was only an opinion, and I do not attach any great value to diplomatic opinion, but it proves that in this Belgian observer's eyes Britain must be held responsible for its share in bringing about the state of international relations which resulted in war. Many other expressions of this view can be found in Count de Lalaing's correspondence with the Belgian Foreign Office.

Now as to the very heavy responsibility for the war which rests with the Tsar and the Russian Government, and especially upon General Soukhomlinoff. In February, 1914, the Tsar discussed war with M. Pashchitch, Premier of Serbia, asked how many soldiers Serbia could supply, promised to consider the request made to him for howitzers, munitions and 120,000 rifles.

What were these needed for? Why should Russia and Serbia have been discussing war? Why did the Russian Government take measures in view of an "expected crisis"? Who expected the crisis? Nobody but the Russian and Serbian Governments. Why did the *Bourse Gazette* of St. Petersburg, known to be the agent of General Soukhomlinoff, publish an article in March, 1914, declaring that Russia no longer intended to remain on the defensive but to adopt an active strategic plan? Why did the *Novy Vremya* in the same month say "The hour is approaching" and urge the necessity of working upon the army day and night? Colonel Repington, *The Times* military correspondent, wrote a little later:—There are signs that Russia has done with defensive strategy. . . . These things are well calculated to make the Germans anxious."

In April there was a "test mobilisation" of a large part of the Russian army, and in May a mobilisation of reserves was ordered for the autumn "to take part in manoeuvres." There was joy in the Russian capital over the support given by Britain to France and Russia, that is, over the tightening of the Triple Entente: this was regarded as "a triumph for the war party," so the Belgian Minister informed his Government. Sir Edward Grey, in April, 1914, told French Ministers that he personally was in favour of "a closer approach to Russia," whose military preparations were causing alarm in Germany as Mr. Lloyd George and Colonel Boucher testified. As a practical step, the British Admiralty was now empowered to discuss with French and Russian naval agents how the navies should act in case of war. In short, Russia was now secure of aid and Russian statesmen openly displayed their satisfaction. Why?

Then came the murder of the Archduke which, according to a Serbian diplomatist, M. Bogitshkévitch, must have been planned with the knowledge of the Serbian Government. After the murder three weeks passed and the Serbian Government did nothing to pacify Austria's natural resentment, made no conciliatory proposals, allowed the Serbian Press to display a "measureless arrogance" (Bogitshkévitch). How could it have dared to defy Austria in this contemptuous fashion unless "it was assured that war against Austria and Germany had been resolved upon"? Bogitshkévitch, "Causes of the War," Allen & Unwin, 1920).

Without going so far as this Serbian writer, it is impossible not to see that the Russian Government was playing a provocative part; while the story of the final mobilisation of the Russian army proves that Soukhomlinoff was resolved upon war, even though the Tsar at the last moment tried to curb that evil genius of his.

I could extend this exhibition of reasons for holding that the German Government, great as its faults were, was not entirely responsible. I still maintain that all intelligent people who have tried to form a correct judgment are convinced that all Governments were to blame. As Compton Mackenzie has truly put it, "the war was in all our hearts."

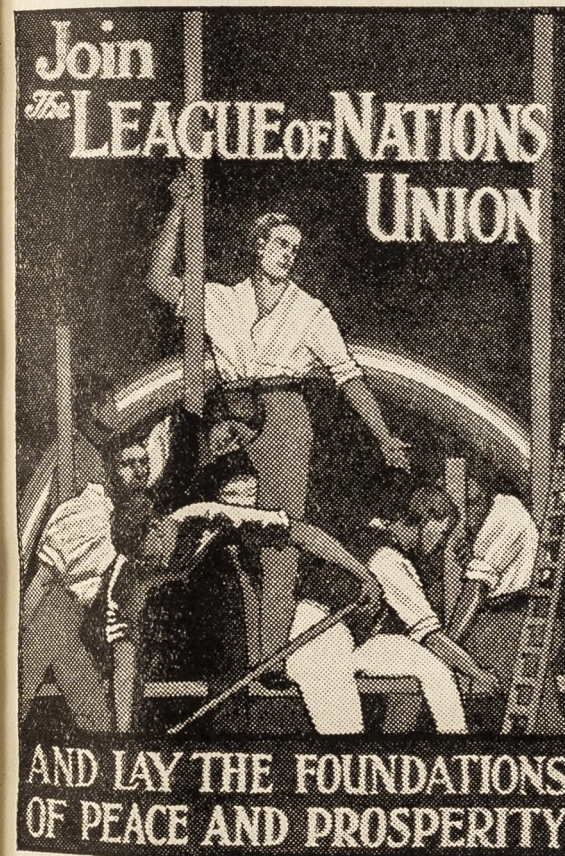
Many intelligent people have not tried to form correct judgments, have not investigated the contributing causes. I hope I have suggested to them lines of research. My interest in the matter is solely that of a man who wants to get at the truth and to make the truth known. If we all approach the matter in that spirit, we shall be true Leaguers. If we repeat obsolete catchwords and mouth stale phrases of hate, we shall be working against the League and helping to perpetuate the Old Order which brought catastrophe upon us.—Yours, etc.,

HAMILTON FYFE.

Competition Awards: The Prizewinners.

A competition was arranged some months ago by the League of Nations Union in order to obtain from members some original suggestions for popularizing the work of the Union by means of Songs, Poems, Flags, Banners, and Pageants. The Union gratefully acknowledges its indebtedness to the competitors for the work submitted and to the judges who kindly gave their services in awarding the prizes. The names of the prizewinners and of the judges are given below. The prizes will be distributed at the League of Nations Union Headquarters, 15, Grosvenor Place and prizewinners are being notified of the date. The designs for the two prize posters are reproduced on this page. Elsewhere we print Miss Finnemore's Prize Song.

FIRST PRIZE POSTER.



A Short Address on the League (judged by Mr. Frederick Whelen).

- 1st. Mr. M. F. LEVEY, Coulsdon, Surrey.
- 2nd. Mr. ALFRED G. PETTY, Bannockswick.

League of Nations Flag (judged by Miss E. Fortescue Brickdale, A.R.W.S., and Mr. Gilbert Pownall).

- 1st. Miss MARY HUNTER DONALDSON, St. John's Wood.

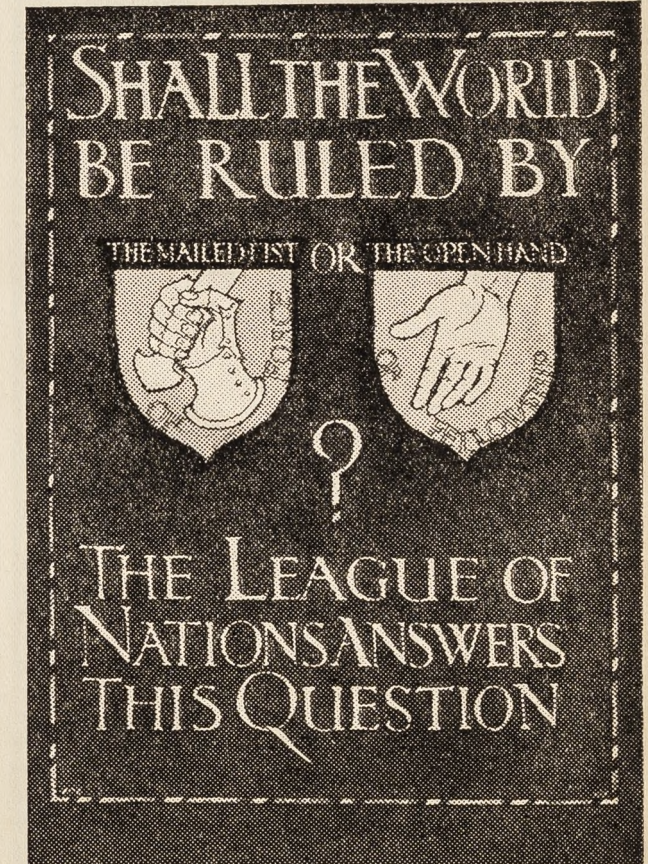
A Badge for the League of Nations Union (judged by Miss Brickdale and Mr. Pownall).

- 1st. Miss JAGGER, Oxton, Birkenhead.
- 2nd. Miss MARY HUNTER DONALDSON, St. John's Wood.

A Poster for the League of Nations Union (judged by Miss Brickdale and Mr. Pownall).

- 1st. Mr. EDWARD EARLE, Chelsea.
- 2nd. Miss M. C. BOWERLEY, Hampstead, and Miss HOLMES, Kensington.

SECOND PRIZE POSTER.



LIST OF AWARDS.

Words of a Song (judged by Mr. John Drinkwater).

- 1st. "All men's song," by Miss HILDA FINNEMORE, Northwood, Middlesex. (See page 51.)
- 2nd. "The song of the Milky Way," by Miss M. C. BOWERLEY, Hampstead.

League of Nations Pageant (judged by Sir Arthur Pinero).

- 1st. Miss RILEY, 4, Sunnydale Terrace, Ossett.
- 2nd. Miss H. WILLIAMS, Bickerstaffe, Ormskirk, and Miss CRUTTWELL, Wrexton, Wokingham, Berks.

A Short Story (judged by Mr. Clement Shorter).

- 1st. "Forming a Branch," by Miss H. E. BELCHER, Ashford, Middlesex.

A Banner for the League of Nations Union (judged by Miss Brickdale and Mr. Pownall).

- 1st. THE BOROUGH POLYTECHNIC.
- 2nd. Miss M. C. BOWERLEY, Hampstead.

League of Nations Union March (judged by Mr. Mark Hambourg).

- 1st. Mrs. PARROTT, 12, East Street, Ballarat E., Victoria.

League of Nations Union Song (judged by Mr. Alfred Dove).

- 1st. "Peace" (*nom de plume*), Abingdon.

League of Nations March for an Orchestra (judged by Mr. Alfred Dove).

- 1st. Mr. A. CRIPPS, Worthing, Sussex.

THE FINANCES OF THE UNION.

ARE WE EXTRAVAGANT?

LORD QUEENBOROUGH recently stated in public that from his own intimate knowledge of the work of the Union he could assure his audience that the Union was making good use of every penny it received, and that money subscribed in response to its Appeal would be effectively and economically spent. Lord Cowdray, another member of the Finance Committee, who, if anyone, should know what constitutes business-like management, used almost the same words when he recently said in public that the Union "makes effective and economic use of every penny it receives."

These two statements should finally dispose of any charge of extravagance against the Union. A small committee of business men, who are connected with the Union in a voluntary capacity, has for some weeks past been carefully exploring the possibility of effecting any further economies in the Union's administration: but they have not yet seen their way to recommend any considerable savings.

The criticism that the Union does not produce results commensurate with its expenditure is equally baseless. The Union's business is to obtain, distribute and render effective, information about the League of Nations, so as to win for the League the instructed and enthusiastic support of the people of this country. Dr. Nansen—Norway's delegate at the Assembly of the League of Nations, one of the most trustworthy of European statesmen and one who has no special concern with our British League of Nations Union—has recently said "that the League of Nations looks upon the voluntary societies, and especially upon the League of Nations Union, as essential to its continued progress and ultimate success." Delegates from several other nations expressed similar opinions at the last meeting of the Assembly. If the League of Nations Union is essential to the success of the League of Nations, it cannot be accused of failing to produce results commensurate with its expenditure.

The department of the Union's work that is concerned with obtaining new knowledge has not only rendered possible the wide distribution of plenteous and accurate information about the League, but has been of direct assistance to the League itself. For example, one Committee, as the result of laborious investigations extending over many weeks, laid down last spring the essentials of a practical scheme for the limitation of armaments. So far as Army and Air Forces are concerned, the proposals of the Union were incorporated in the report on the Limitation of Armaments passed by the Assembly of the League of Nations this autumn. And Dr. Nansen says that "a prominent member of the Permanent Advisory Commission gave his opinion that the only solution of this question was along the lines of the Report of the League of Nations Union." But the Union's Report dealt with Naval armaments also. After pointing out that the "one-power standard" which Great Britain was prepared to adopt would not itself stop, and might even stimulate, competitive building, our Report added that the desired result would be secured by adding to the "one-power standard" an agreement as to the maximum number, size, and armament of the capital ships which the great Naval Powers should maintain, and as to the replacement of capital ships when obsolescent." Every one of these principles, except only the maximum armament of capital ships, is embodied in the practical scheme of disarmament with which Mr. Hughes astonished the Washington Conference. For his scheme also involved the "one-power standard," an agreement as to the

maximum number and size of capital ships which the great Naval Powers should maintain, and as to the replacement of capital ships when obsolescent.

Once more it was the League of Nations Union's investigations into the question of Mandates that gave to the first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations their first draft Mandate, and it was mainly due to the action taken at its second meeting that the Assembly has been able to practically establish the Mandate System without waiting for the completion of negotiations with America.

So the investigations undertaken by the League of Nations Union resemble the labours of Royal Commissions in that they have furnished materials for effective action—certainly by the League of Nations and possibly by the Washington Conference—but our enquiries differ from those of Royal Commissions in being far more expeditious and far less expensive.

The main business of the Union is, however, the distribution of information. This is now being done through 650 Branches of which 400 have been established within the last year, and in the same period it has enrolled 100,000 new subscribing members. It has also reached many hundreds of thousands with its message. It has arranged some thousands of public meetings whose number has steadily increased, until last month it reached no less than 300, more than ten meetings on every week day. Summer Schools have been organised: a constant stream of information has been published in the Press. Literature of all kinds (pamphlets, books and magazines) has been prepared and put into the hands of the public; Branches of the Union have been established in most of the universities and colleges; practical co-operation has been inaugurated between the Union and Labour organisations, women's organisations and the churches.

The Postmaster-General said the other day that there was no question which interested his constituents more than that of the League of Nations. It is the League of Nations Union almost alone that is responsible for this typical change in the attitude of English opinion to the League of Nations.

FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE UNION:—Lord Queenborough, Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., Major David Davies, M.P., Mr. Herbert Worsley, Lord Vernon, Mr. A. W. Claremont, Mr. E. B. Ince, Viscount Cowdray, Sir John Mann, K.B.E.

PROGRESS OF THE APPEAL.

Bis dat qui cito dat.

THE Union is already beginning to make considerable headway with the Appeal. The committees which have been formed in nearly every part of the country are actively engaged in organising meetings, conducting Press campaigns, holding social functions, circularising and canvassing the public and generally doing their best to interest people in our work and to collect the funds that are necessary for the Union to carry on until its object is achieved. It is perhaps early to make any financial predictions, but it is confidently expected that considerable sums will be sent in from the provinces before the end of the year.

The Appeal work that is being carried on at headquarters may be classed under three heads. Financial support is being sought from:

1. Important business, commercial and industrial interests.
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THE social influence of the Army is a big subject—as big as the abyss out of which the Army lifts men and women. This space could be more than filled with a mere list of the agencies through which the Army applies its social salvation, such as the cheap food depôts, the slum sisterhoods, the prison-gate brigades, and a hundred others. Again, every word in this space could be changed into a significant figure—the number of homeless lodged, the number of ex-criminals assisted, and so on.

BUT let us leave out of account, for the moment, the point of view of the "bottom dog"—the unfortunate, the drunkard, the criminal and the licentious. Perhaps the Army has done its greatest social work in stirring up the conscience of the man in the street with regard to the outcast and degraded. It has shown us that people whom we might otherwise have regarded as hopeless are capable, if taken in hand, of counting heavily on the credit side in the long run. Had it not been for the Salvation Army we should all be harsher in our judgments with regard to the less fortunate and thereby help to make them less fortunate still. Often, were it not for the alternative offered by the Salvation Army, magistrates would have to send offenders—perhaps first offenders—to prison. Thus, without the Army, our administration of justice would be harder and to that extent more futile.

WERE it not for the Army we should rely more on the workhouse and the prison; we should be more complacent about the slum hovel and the sweater's den; our pity would be feebler, our understanding less. As it is, we are ready to try the rescue home or the farm colony. The Army has shown us that to be our brother's keeper does not mean being his gaoler. By stirring the social conscience, it has opened up a more human and a correspondingly more successful way of dealing with the flotsam and jetsam of society. And that alone is a great social achievement.

The Salvation Army depends entirely upon voluntary contributions. Will you not help in the fight against the forces of evil and misery by sending a contribution (no matter how small) to

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WHAT IS BEING DONE.

So far, the response has been very encouraging. Two of the five big joint stock banks have doubled the donations they had already given (making a total of £1,000 each). The trade associations are, for the most part, giving generously. In particular, the Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Association of Great Britain and Ireland have not only sent us nearly £700 from some of their leading members, but have devoted six pages of their *Federation Journal* to the Appeal. This journal is read from cover to cover by the traders who receive it, and, leaving out of consideration any monetary response that may result from the insertion of this Appeal, its value both to the Union and to the League itself is inestimable.

Insurance companies are also being approached, and it is hoped to arrange a meeting of chairmen to be addressed by Lord Robert Cecil.

In conjunction with Mr. Whitehead, secretary of the Co-operative Union, it has been arranged for a circular letter commending the Appeal to be sent to the 1,500 co-operative societies throughout the country, with a covering letter signed by Mr. Whitehead. The contents of the letter will, it is hoped, be brought to the notice of some four and a half million people.

Many large business firms, wholesale and retail, have been visited and have promised support. The Tube authorities and certain railway companies have given spaces for the display of the Union's posters at their stations, and it is hoped that branches will help in the advertisement campaign by displaying small reproductions of these posters locally.

The importance of every Branch co-operating in this Appeal cannot be too greatly emphasised. Even if the financial response is not great, the educational and propaganda work that such a campaign would involve is worth the undertaking.

ONE WAY IN WHICH OUR MEMBERS CAN HELP.

There are some three thousand very wealthy people in this country who can well afford to give substantial donations to the Central Fund of the League of Nations Union. The best way of approaching these individuals is by *personal visits*. Will any friends of the Union volunteer to help by canvassing people in their own neighbourhoods? Lists of names and addresses will be sent on application to the

Appeals Department,
League of Nations Union,
15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

LATEST GIFTS.

Some recent donations and promises include the following:—

£50,000	...	Viscount Cowdray.*
£1,500	...	Professor and Lady Mary Murray.*
£1,500	...	Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co.
£1,000 each	...	Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferenst†; Lloyds Bank; London County & Westminster Parrs Bank; Executors of Robert McDougall (Manchester); Co-operative Wholesale Society.
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£660	...	Promises of varying amounts from members of the Incorporated Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, amounting in all to (payment to be spread over 3 years).
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L.N.U. Notes and News.

[All communications to the League of Nations Union should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

OUR CHRISTMAS CARD.

THE Executive Committee of the Union feel that there could be no more appropriate occasion than Christmas Day upon which to make a special effort to increase our membership. The Committee has, therefore, decided to publish a Christmas Card which will include an effective appeal for new members, signed by Viscount Grey, the President of the Union. It is thought that by the distribution of this appeal on Christmas morning it should be possible largely to increase the membership of the branches. The procedure suggested is that branches should arrange for the card to be distributed on Christmas morning by members who would call at the same houses during Christmas week for the membership slip and subscription. Branches might with advantage supply the collectors with a simple form of receipt in order that they may at once give a written acknowledgment.

How All May Help.

Branch members who undertake by the distribution of these cards to obtain new members for the Union, will be giving an unexampled demonstration of their real desire this Christmas for peace upon earth and goodwill to all men, which is the fundamental ideal for which the League stands; moreover, they will assist in an appropriate conclusion to a year memorable for the progress made toward the establishment of permanent peace. The year that is now ending has seen the settlement by the League of two disputes which held all the possibilities of war. It has seen the establishment of the World Court of International Justice, and it has seen the opening of the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments. These are great achievements, but the end is not yet. Much more remains to be done and can only be done by the strength of organised public opinion. If the Union can increase its membership threefold this Christmas it will be a fitting close to the record of 1921 and a great omen for the cause of peace in 1922.

International Federation.

The Central Office of the Federation of League of Nations Associations has now been definitely established at the Palais

Mondial, Brussels. The Secretary-General, Professor Théodore Ruyssen, recently spent several days in London studying the organization and activities of the League of Nations Union.

Organization in the Dominions.

The following are the organizations corresponding to the League of Nations Union established in the Overseas Dominions up to date:—

AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

1. *South Australian Branch.* Industrial Buildings, 55, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
2. *New South Wales Branch.* University Chambers, Phillip Street, Sydney, N.S.W.
3. *Victoria Branch.* 578, St. Kilda Road, Melbourne, Victoria.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA.

106, McKinnon Building, Toronto.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Dunedin Branch, c/o Prof. W. H. Pringle, University of Otago.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

c/o J. C. Merkin, Esq., P.O. Box 1001, Johannesburg.

Readers of HEADWAY are invited to pass on their copies to friends overseas, especially friends in the British Dominions.

League Notes Available.

The Union has prepared a number of lecture notes on League subjects. These notes are available for the use of speakers and lecturers, and are obtainable on application to headquarters, which, as far as time and resources permit, is prepared to obtain and supply information to members desiring it.

Union Speeches at a London Theatre.

An International Season of plays is now being produced at the Everyman Theatre in Hampstead, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union. The same group of players are taking plays "representative" of a number of nations. Already they have produced two American plays and two German plays, and will cover most European nations before the season is finished. The producers have made arrangements for a five-minute League of Nations speech to be made before the curtain on the first Saturday of every new play. The speaker outlines the work and purpose of the Union, and makes an appeal for members. Application forms are enclosed in each programme and a member of the Hampstead Branch is in attendance to take names and subscriptions from the audience.

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League Reference Library.

Mainly owing to the valuable help of Mrs. Claremont and Miss Macdonell, who has had experience in the library of her father, Sir John Macdonell, a reference library has now been established at the headquarters of the Union. It is open daily on Monday to Friday from 10—3 and on Saturdays from 10.30—12. It is hoped that the library will be of great assistance to our members.

A Pocket Diary for 1922.

The orders received for this Diary are now being executed in rotation and it is hoped that the Diaries will have been received before this notice is read by our members. The response has been most satisfactory and only a few copies of the Diary remain for sale.

Touchstone's Peace Hymn.

A musical setting for Touchstone's Peace Hymn has been written by Mr. F. G. Waldock of Hitchin. We are duplicating copies of the words and music and shall be glad to supply them to branches at a very small cost.

The Progress of the L.N.U.

The membership of the Union is now 139,101, and the total number of branches 665.

Branch Activities.**The Movement in Scotland.**

The membership of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch now numbers 1,000. This total will probably be greatly increased by the activities of this enterprising branch during the coming winter, for already over 130 meetings have been arranged. The local churches of all denominations have shown their desire to co-operate with the Union, and united in recommending that appeals for support should be made in all churches on November 13, on behalf of the League of Nations and of the Disarmament Conference. The work of the Branch is extending so rapidly that it has been found necessary to engage an organiser and central offices at 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow.

In Wales.

There is a great awakening throughout the principality on the question of the League of Nations. The General Secretary has addressed several public meetings, denominational assemblies

and committees, and his services are in great demand. Excellent results have followed his efforts. The membership is increasing steadily and extensive canvassing is going on in nearly every town and hamlet throughout the land. The schools and colleges of the principality are taking the matter up enthusiastically. We have already received notification of the intention of five secondary schools in Wales to join the Union. The churches are also taking the matter up, and references have already been made in some districts to the League from the pulpits.

Items from our Correspondents.

The Willesden Public Library Authorities have set apart a special table in the reference room in each of their four libraries which will be entirely devoted to the display of literature on the League of Nations.

Our Canterbury branch approached the Local Education Committee with a view to talks on the League of Nations being given during school hours to the children in all the elementary schools in the town. The Local Education Committee refused to grant permission for this, but on application to the City Council unanimous consent for the holding of such a meeting was obtained, and it will take place on January 12.

At a meeting held at Banbury, November 18, in the Town Hall, and addressed by Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. J. H. Clynes, nearly 250 members were enrolled out of an audience of 500 persons, of whom about 80 were already members of the Union.

Local League News.

Last month we referred to the "Bulletin" issued by the Ealing Branch to its members. We have now received a copy of the "League Notes" circulated by the Upper Clapton and Stamford Hill Branch. Croydon branch has just produced the first number of "League Echoes." Twenty thousand copies have been distributed, and the entire cost has been covered by the revenue from advertisements. An example to be copied by other branches.

Help from the Press.

"The Yorkshire Pioneer" has granted the Skipton Branch a weekly column for Union and League news, in order to help local branches to extend their membership and to build up a strong public opinion in favour of the League.

THE FACTS ABOUT RUSSIA

are beyond dispute. Sir Philip Gibbs says in the Daily Chronicle:—

....."It is only some power of words beyond my reach which may touch the heart of the world and rouse it from its deadly indifference to the fate of millions."

MUST VIENNA'S CHILDREN STARVE?

A cable from Vienna says:—

"Doctors anticipate fearful winter, probably worse than 1919. Increased relief imperative."

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The Society to-day is in straits, because the demands upon it have steadily expanded until—mainly on account of the increased cost of producing books—its expenditure has far outrun its revenue.

The Society has resolved, however, that it will not curtail its supplies of the Scriptures without first appealing to friends and lovers of the Bible for an increase of £75,000 in its annual income.

The Society is one of the vital co-operative organizations of Christendom. It asks those who have not supported it hitherto to become annual subscribers, and to communicate with the Secretaries, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

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The Oxford Assembly.

The Oxford University Branch of the League of Nations Union is making an interesting experiment. It has formed an international assembly, modelled on the lines of the Assembly at Geneva, and allowing equal right of representation to men and women. All countries are set on the same footing and each national delegation consists of three members with one official vote. An unofficial vote of the audience will be taken on important questions. (The first vote, it is interesting to record, gave a hearty and unanimous approval to the limitation of armaments proposals brought forward at Washington). The aim of these regular gatherings is to provide a platform for international discussion of international questions, particularly in connection with the League of Nations. It is hoped that the Oxford Assembly will encourage a corporate expression of the international side of the university in its relations with students throughout the world. Further particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, J. W. Parkes, Hertford College.

Educational Work at Gillingham.

Mr. F. J. Gould visited Gillingham on October 14 and delivered two addresses to children, one during school hours in one of the Council schools, and one after school hours at the County school. In each case the teachers were present, and in each case the attention of the children was held during the whole of the address. The importance and far-reaching effect of such work cannot be too greatly emphasised. There are those who say that it is hopeless to expect the present generation ever to become enthusiastic about the League; it is good to know that the Union is giving the future generation a chance.

How the Free Churches can Help.

In the Hornsey and Highgate District many of the ministers of the Free Churches have co-operated with the Union to the extent of allowing speakers to address their congregations on the League of Nations at the close of evening services.

Corporate Members.

We are glad to be able to record that the following have become corporate members of the Union:—

Atherton ...	... Baptist Church.
Bath ...	... Argyle Congregational Church.
" ...	... Grove Street Adult School.
" ...	... Manvers Street Baptist Church.
" ...	... Percy Congregational Church.
Carlisle ...	... Lowther Street Congregational Church.
" ...	... St. Cuthbert's Parochial Council.
" ...	... Society of Friends.
Grantham ...	... St. Peter's Hill Congregational Church.
Huddersfield ...	... Highfield Congregational Church.
London ...	... Castle Street Welsh Baptist Church.
" ...	... Clapham Congregational Church.
" ...	... Hampstead Garden Suburb Free Church.
" ...	... Hanwell Wesleyan Church.
" ...	... Kingston-on-Thames Congregational Church.
" ...	... Lyndhurst Road Congregational Church, Hampstead.
" ...	... Whitefield's Tabernacle.
" ...	... Sydenham Baptist Church.
Rochdale ...	... Milton Congregational Church.
Rothwell ...	... Congregational Church.
Stony Stratford ...	... Pottersbury Congregational Church.
Tiptree ...	... Congregational Church.
Tiverton ...	... Baptist Church.
Girls' Life Brigade.	
Rushden Branch of National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors.	

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP TO THE L.N.U.

Persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify, in writing, their general agreement with the objects of the Union and their desire to join it may become members on payment of subscription as under.

An annual subscription of at least £1 entitles a member to HEADWAY, the monthly Journal of the Union, and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued.

An annual subscription of at least 3s. 6d. entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly.

The minimum subscription is 1s. All subscriptions run for twelve months from the date of payment.

A payment of £25 secures life membership. HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued are sent to all £1 Members.

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 London Joint City and Midland Bank.

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