



CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT .. .. .	61	A LONDON LETTER .. .. .	72
THE RESCUE OF GREECE. By Henry Morgenthau..	64	VARIED VOICES .. .. .	73
WHAT THE SAAR WANTS. By Hermann Roehling..	65	OVERSEAS NEWS.. .. .	73
SWITZERLAND AND THE LEAGUE. By Helveticus ..	66	BOOKS WORTH READING:—	
A LETTER FROM GENEVA .. .. .	67	The Common Weal; Ultimatum; The Costs	
SAAR COMMISSION CHANGES .. .. .	68	of the War; The Reconstruction of Life ..	74
WHAT THEY DID AT ROME .. .. .	69	THE RESCUE OF HUNGARY .. .. .	75
IN THE HOUSE .. .. .	69	THE COUNCIL'S VOTE .. .. .	76
FIVE YEARS' TREATIES—III. .. .. .	70	CORRESPONDENCE:—	
THE LEAGUE'S LIMITATIONS .. .. .	71	The Peace Movement in France; The Apathy	
		of the Churches .. .. .	76
		UNION NOTES AND NEWS .. .. .	77

MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE session of the League of Nations' Council held at Geneva in the second week of March was as successful as any in the last four years. Lord Cecil was, of course, a conspicuous absentee, but Lord Parmoor made a favourable impression in his new post, and the presence of Dr. Benes, due to the fact that Czecho-Slovakia is now a non-permanent Member of the Council in place of China, added distinct strength to the Council's *personnel*. M. Hymans was missed, the fact of his having the previous week been made Foreign Minister of his country necessarily detaining him in Belgium. A pleasant feature of the meetings was the capacity shown by Signor Guani, of Uruguay, as chairman. Though the matters before the Council consisted in the main of what may be termed routine business, the discussions—practically the whole of which were conducted in public—gave a distinct impression of the Council's stability and confidence in its own capacity.

\* \* \* \*

THAT confidence was certainly justified by the results of the week's meetings. Of these distinctly the most notable was the Memel settlement, and nothing could have been more satisfactory than the resolve of the small Commission which handled the problem to ignore special political interests altogether, and to base itself on those general principles which the League has more than once already made its own. The special position of Memel as an important port at the mouth of a large

river gives the Barcelona and Geneva Transit Conventions a special relevance to the issue, and the Commission very wisely devoted itself in the main to working out a detailed application to local conditions of the general principles embodied in those Conventions. It is, perhaps, worth while pointing out that in that and other respects the settlement finally adopted coincided almost completely with the draft scheme prepared by joint meetings of the Lithuanian, Polish and German sub-committees of the League of Nations' Union a few months ago.

\* \* \* \*

OF other pieces of business transacted by the Council, the most intrinsically important was the final adoption of the Hungarian reconstruction scheme, made possible by the signature of the Protocols by the three Little Entente Powers—a signature which had been withheld during the discussions at Paris, but was forthcoming when those discussions were moved to Geneva. This is a decision which affects not Hungary alone. • Czecho-Slovakia has made itself, partly through natural advantages and partly through its own well-directed efforts, the most stable and prosperous State in Central Europe. Adjoining it is Austria, which the League has lifted out of bankruptcy into stability. Adjoining Austria, again, is Hungary, where the same change is likely to be effected through League assistance. It is no small matter to have now in the centre of Europe an area, consisting of those three States, in which normal economic conditions soon will exist or exist already.

THE article by Mr. Henry Morgenthau on another page links up instructively with the leading article in this month's HEADWAY. The Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission explains convincingly how great are the possibilities of the settlement scheme as a business proposition, but he has at present only the remains of a Bank of England loan of £1,000,000 to work on, and he warned the League Council at its last meeting that the funds in hand would be exhausted by June. By that date, therefore, a new loan of £6,000,000 or more must be floated. The possibility of doing that effectively depends, not on the League, but on Greece. The League may do its utmost, as it is doing, to guarantee wise expenditure of any money lent, and it may satisfy itself, and satisfy the world, that the security offered by Greece is in normal circumstances more than adequate. But a revolution, or even grave political instability stopping short of revolution, is not a normal circumstance, and unless Greece can get on a level keel and keep there the prospects of a loan will be none too bright. Failure is, of course, not to be anticipated, but if hopes should in the end be disappointed the fault will not be the League's. It is well that that should be clearly recognised even now. The League does its best to help different countries—Austria, Hungary, Greece—but it can do nothing, and professes to do nothing, unless they are ready at the same time to help themselves.

THE announcement that the Government has decided to drop the projected scheme for the extension of the Singapore dockyards has at any rate an indirect relation to the League of Nations. The full bearing, indeed, of the decision on League principles is not, perhaps, as fully recognised here as elsewhere in the Empire. What the decision means is that battleships and battle-cruisers would be virtually excluded from the Pacific in time of war, as there would be no repairing-base adequate to deal with them east of Malta. Capital ships, in other words, would not be available for the defence of Australia. An interesting comment on the decision comes in advance from a HEADWAY correspondent in Victoria. "The reported refusal," he writes, "of the new British Government to spend large sums of money on the defences of Oceanic waters rather impels us along the road we were inclined to follow—the venturing of our existence on the efficiency and acceptability of the League of Nations." That is a point of view to which Australia may be moving, and if she is it is essential that it should be universally appreciated here. Those who oppose the five cruisers or the Singapore extension owe it to their fellow citizens in the Empire as well as to the cause of peace generally to make the League as effective a bulwark as any armed forces could be.

THE interesting article by Herr Hermann Roechling on another page gives a fair picture of the more moderate claims advanced by Saar inhabitants. It will be observed that in Herr Roechling's view even the bad system instituted by the Treaty can be made to work satisfactorily. That may seem to some critics undue optimism, and not all Herr Roechling's countrymen exhibit the

moderation he displays in his present article. The root trouble in the Saar is that, as a result of the terms of the Treaty, the one thing the patriotic German has to fear is that the Saar inhabitants may become contented with League of Nations' rule, for, if they did, there would be a strong prospect of their voting for a continuance of it, instead of for restoration to full government by Germany when the time for the 1935 plebiscite comes. It will be observed that Herr Roechling alleges the existence of no very serious grievances in the Saar. With what he says about the desirability of the Saar members of the Governing Commission being nominated by the Saar Advisory Council, an elected body, there will be general agreement, though to avoid any risk of the Commission being saddled with a mere obstructionist, it might be well to invite the Advisory Council to submit three names, from which the League Council could select one. It would be reasonable, moreover, to require that all members of the Governing Commission should take an oath to administer the territory in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. As to the recent appointments by the League Council, there is every ground for believing that Herr Kossmann, whom the Saar population elected in the past to represent them in the Reichstag, will prove a reasonable and effective guardian of Saar interests, though certain Saar political leaders at Geneva were pushing the claims of another candidate.

AN interesting sidelight on the ramifications of the illicit drug traffic and the necessity for international action through the League for the restriction of such traffic is provided by a recent message from Switzerland. It appears that in the course of the last month the Canadian Government secured the seizure at New York of four cases of morphine cubes, of a total estimated weight of 1,000 to 1,200 lbs., destined for Montreal. This was reported to the League of Nations, together with the fact that the forwarding agent was a Rotterdam firm. The Dutch Government was accordingly apprised of the facts, and it duly informed the Secretariat of the League that the case had been despatched from Switzerland under a false declaration, figuring on the consignment sheet as incandescent lamps. This has, in turn, been reported to the Swiss Government, which is making an enquiry into the affair.

IN an interesting passage in the Speech from the Throne on the occasion of the recent opening of the Egyptian Parliament, King Fuad expressed the hope that Egypt would soon take her place as an independent Member of the League of Nations. There is no reason why she should not, and many reasons why she should. It is true that so long as the four outstanding questions between this country and Egypt are still unsettled there will be a number of British troops remaining in Egypt, but similar conditions exist in the case of other Members of the League, such, for example, as Haiti, which signed the Treaty of Versailles as an independent State, and as such has a seat in the League of Nations Assembly. Meanwhile, an interesting suggestion reaches us from Egypt that the difficulties

between Great Britain and Egypt over the régime in the Sudan might well be solved by reference of the subject to the League.

A CURIOUS development in the Austrian reconstruction scheme was reported at the last meeting of the League of Nations' Council. The scheme at the present moment is in danger of going wrong through succeeding too well. Under the plan originally drafted by the League Finance Committee, Austria was to be in a position to balance her budget at the end of 1924. In point of fact, she has been balancing it every month since November, 1923. That, however, is not considered, either by the Commissioner-General or by the League Council, as a sign of complete health, for the feat has been achieved much more by increasing taxation than by reducing expenses. The League intended, indeed, that the gulf between income and expenditure should be bridged as to 70 per cent. by a reduction of expenses and as to 30 per cent. by an increase of taxation. It appears that actually the proportions stand as 10 per cent. and 90 per cent., the former being the very insufficient degree in which expenses have been reduced. The increase in taxation represents a heavy burden on industry, and a League Commission of experts is to examine the situation and report to the Council.

FEW documents are more consistently interesting than the reports which the League Health Organisation presents from time to time to the Council. The report laid on the table at the March meeting, for example, spoke, among other things, of an application made by Persia to the League to assist it in forming a national Health Service, beginning practically from the foundations, for Persia's Health Service at present is in an extremely primitive stage. At the same time, investigations have been carried on in Albania, Jugo-Slavia and other Balkan countries into the causes and incidence of malaria. One result of the investigations is to suggest that the world supply of quinine is insufficient, and it is proposed to call a conference of countries concerned to consider how protection may be stimulated. The League Health Organisation is also studying cholera in Russia, and examining the forms of statistics in the case of cancer with a view to determining whether the apparent increase in this disease corresponds to the actual facts, or is due merely to differences in statistical methods. The Health Organisation has also, at the request of the League Opium Committee, fixed, with some reserves, the amount of opium required per head in well-organised Western countries as 450 milligrams per year.

AS this number of HEADWAY appears thousands of English travellers to and from the Continent will be suffering from general confusion and inconvenience owing to the fact that France and Belgium have seen fit to introduce summer-time on March 29-30, whereas Great Britain has seen fit to introduce it on April 12-13. Summer-time is not among the great concerns of life, but co-ordination as between different countries makes a great deal of

difference to a great many people, and the inability of two countries with only the English Channel between them to agree on the point is puerile. But obviously the League of Nations ought to attempt co-ordination on a larger scale. It was understood to be actually doing this through the sub-committee appointed to consider the question of a fixed Easter, but little so far has come of its endeavours. Nor is it clear what has been done since last September about the fixed Easter. This is a matter on which Lord Desborough introduced a Bill (unfortunately stillborn) in 1921. He might do some service now by seeking to discover from the League representative in the House of Lords how the matter is progressing. A simultaneous question as to what the League is doing in the matter of summer-time would be equally apposite.

A CURIOUS petition has, according to the "Christian Science Monitor," been addressed by the natives of French Togoland, an area held under League mandate, to the League of Nations. The trouble complained of appears to have arisen in the appointment by the French Commissioner for the area of a new Chief to the Stool of Aneho. A Stool in Togoland appears to be equivalent to a Throne, and as the Togoland natives complained that the Chief thus elevated had not been appointed in accordance with tribal custom, the Commissioner is alleged to have rid himself conveniently of their protestations by banishing some 150 of them from the territory altogether. They have, so it is said, been in exile for two years, and have now appealed to Geneva. Their complaint will no doubt come before the Mandates Commission in June.

IT is not too soon to call attention briefly to the Annual Assembly of the International Union of League of Nations Societies to be held at Lyons in June. The meeting would have its importance wherever held, for it is only as the bodies corresponding in other countries to our own League of Nations Union further strengthen themselves, and contribute of that strength to the annual conference of all such bodies, that an international public opinion can be effectively mobilised behind the League. Hence the necessity of every effort being exercised by individual members of the L.N.U. who have personal friends among the citizens of other countries to persuade such friends to do their utmost to strengthen their own national League of Nations Society. Only so can the ideal of a League of Peoples side by side with the League of Governments at Geneva ever be realised. But apart from that the Lyons meeting may well form a landmark on other grounds. It will take place within six weeks after the French elections, which, whether or not they result in an absolute victory for the Left, seem bound to register a Leftward—which, in France means a Leagueward—movement. Lyons is incidentally the home of the French Radical leader, M. Edouard Herriot, who attained distinction as Mayor of the silk city before he rose to prominence in the wider field of national politics. The League movement in France is growing steadily and the Lyons Conference should stimulate it appreciably.

## THE RESCUE OF GREECE.

By HENRY MORGENTHAU.

[M. Morgenthau, who was American Ambassador at Constantinople before and during the war, and is the author of a notable book embodying his reminiscences of that period, last year accepted the post of Chairman for the League of Nations Commission for the Settlement of Greek refugees, declining to accept the substantial salary attaching to the post.—ED. HEADWAY.]

TO appreciate what the League of Nations' contribution to the solution of the Greek refugee problem has been and can be, it is necessary, first, to understand what that problem is. To do that you have to imagine close on a million people torn from their moorings (in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace) and thrown helpless on a country—Greece—which has a population of no more than 5 million to begin with. That means that the Greek Government at the end of 1922 and 1923 had to cope with a sudden influx equal in volume to one-fifth of its total population. Greece could not cope with such a situation. No country could have coped with it. I venture to say that even my own country, the United States (if that "even" does not sound egotistic) could not have dealt, without outside help, with a mass of immigrants suddenly swelling its population by 20 per cent.

Greece, therefore, found herself up against a blank wall. Her credit, after years of war, was gone. To raise a loan for the settlement of the refugees was impossible. There was only one way of escape from the situation created by the arrival of the refugees, and that way has been taken. It was for the League of Nations to come to the rescue, and prevail on the bankers to provide money after all. The League did that. It addressed itself to the Bank of England. But the bank was prepared to help only if firm guarantees were forthcoming that the money would be applied strictly to productive purposes, and that its expenditure would be supervised and controlled along the lines of what I may call League of Nations sentiment. The Austrian experiment had already shown what confidence League control could create. Without the League, Greece, though she exerted every possible effort, and did, in fact, raise out of her Budget £2,000,000 to tide over the immediate crisis, would have been powerless to cope with the refugee problem.

Now what has the League done? To begin with, its influence and the confidence it inspires has led the Bank of England to advance a preliminary £1,000,000, with the hope of further assistance when a larger loan—we shall need from £6,000,000 to £8,000,000 in all—comes to be floated. That has enabled us to settle enough refugees to prove definitely that the scheme is a practical business proposition. The problem is not insoluble. Of that I am convinced. But, quite apart from the actual steps taken towards settlement, the moral effect of the start made has been immense. The people no longer feel deserted and neglected. They realise there is someone behind them. It has kept hope alive in their hearts.

Already, with the Bank of England's £1,000,000 and the money Greece herself had found, between 150,000

and 200,000 people have been put in a position that will enable them to become completely self-supporting. To settle the remainder will take about £50 a family. That means a house, mostly the small two-roomed buildings that are considered adequate in those parts, something in the way of tools or implements, one draught animal—mule or horse or ox—and enough seed to start them towards their first harvest. The single draught animal is enough if, as we intend, two families on adjacent plots join forces for ploughing and sowing. Of the houses I have described we have erected about 6,000 so far, and at present many of them have to accommodate more than one family each. Already the League by its action has undoubtedly saved thousands of lives.

The land costs the Refugee Commission nothing. It is provided by the Greek Government, and consists mainly of farm land evacuated by the thousands of Turks who have had to leave Greece under the exchange of population scheme carried through at the Conference of Lausanne. The exchange is not proceeding very rapidly, and as the Turkish holdings consisted mainly of large estates, each of which has to be cut up into twenty lots or more for the new Greek settlers, there will be a good deal of house-building to do.

All this applies to the agricultural side of the work, which is by far the chief part of our task. But there are a good many refugees to be settled in cities as well. In their case we find them a house, or part of a house, and supply them with enough tools and materials to start them in trade. If a man is a carpet-maker, for example, we give him a loom and some hemp. If he is a shoemaker, then he needs tools and some leather. All this is not a gift, but a loan. Every family we help has given it a book, of which we keep a duplicate, and in it is entered every expense incurred on the family's behalf by the Commission. As the family settles down and prospers, it will gradually pay off its indebtedness. That is of the essence of the scheme. Charity is needed. I will say a word on that in a moment. But the scheme itself is not charity. It is hard business, and it has to be run on business lines. Greece, supported by the League, is borrowing the money to lend it to the refugees, and in order that Greece may pay her creditors she must be paid back by the refugees. And it can be done. It is possible now to assert that these people can be assisted and made to pay their way. As for Greece herself, the agricultural side of the scheme will, if all goes well, change her from an importing into a self-supporting country.

But let me add one necessary word in conclusion. The very fact that this scheme must, as I have said, be run on business lines, makes it impossible for us to devote our funds to ordinary relief work which shows no direct return. For that we are still dependent on private charity, which has already done so much invaluable work in helping the refugees over this interim period. The need is steadily diminishing, not in intensity, but in volume, as the refugees are gradually getting settled, but for that very reason it is the more urgent that help should not be withdrawn just when the realisation of our hopes is in sight.

## WHAT THE SAAR WANTS.

By HERMANN ROECHLING.

[Herr Roechling is one of the greatest industrialists in the Saar Valley and almost the only one who has maintained his resistance to the attempts of French bankers and business men to obtain a controlling interest over Saar industries. Comments on this article will be found among "Matters of Moment."—ED., HEADWAY.]

THERE is no question that its administration of the Saar Valley is a test case for the League of Nations. If the Saar, over which the League has full control, is not handled in accordance with true democratic principles, it is a bad omen for the success of the League in other fields. In that regard, indeed, the Saar population may be content to be more patient than the League itself, for the League needs great successes, and if it fails to obtain them here, where its hands are entirely free, and where it is placed by treaty in a commanding position, how is it to be expected that other people who have difficulties to be solved should submit them voluntarily to the League?

I do not at all take the view that the League must of necessity fail in the Saar, in spite of the difficulties created by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The system can work. If the Governing Commission were composed of one Frenchman, one real representative of the Saar population and three genuine neutrals, I am satisfied that it would work reasonably well. I do not say it would ever be really satisfactory to the Saar population. That is the fault of the treaty. But, at any rate, we are better off as it is than our compatriots in the Palatinate, though I do not subscribe to the view that we are better off than the average citizen of the unoccupied Reich. It is said, I know, that we pay no war debts or reparations, but we pay in another way through the prices the French mines in the Saar charge our industries for the coal needed to keep them going. That is handicapping our production and export trade all along the line.

To revert to general principles, what we feel is that there ought to be more control of the Governing Commission. It is, of course, not answerable to the population, and our purpose, so far as we can effect it unofficially, is to enable the League Council to keep fuller control over the Commission. No Government can function successfully without real control, and there can be no effective control except by the population. M. Branting said, during the recent sessions of the Council, that there ought to be some way of making the voice of the Saar population heard at the League Council table. With that I wholly agree. If we could secure that, and at the same time get real and effective representation on the Governing Commission—the natural thing would be to have a name suggested by the Advisory Council—we should have made a great advance. I admit there has been development as it is. That dated from the moment when Lord Cecil became a member of the League Council. The Council is certainly taking a new and more intimate interest in Saar concerns, and that change was due almost wholly to Lord Cecil. There are other members of the Council, like M. Branting and M. Guani, from whom we

are always sure of a fair hearing, but it is Lord Cecil who has made all the difference.

As things are, it is almost inevitable that the Council should see things very largely through French eyes, for it is the French administration of the mines and the French President of the Commission, M. Rault, who are in daily contact with the Saar population as no one else is. The other members of the Governing Commission have their special departments—finance, education, &c.—but M. Rault, as Minister of the Interior and Executive of the whole Commission, is in much closer contact with the people than any of his colleagues. There is, of course, an Advisory Council, but it is confined to purely consultative functions. That restriction is due to the treaty, not to the League, but it is foolish and petty not to allow the Council to elect its own President, but to have one imposed on it by the Governing Commission. This is not a great matter, but it constitutes a needless irritation. The need for securing closer association of the League Council itself with the Saar administration is shown by the recent discussions about the number of French troops in the Saar. Last July M. Rault told Lord Cecil there were 2,200 men, of whom 1,800 ranked as effectives. At the March Council meeting he gave the figures as 4,000 gross, with 1,800 effectives. Reports presented to the French Chamber gave both for last year and this about 200 officers and 5,800 men. As a matter of fact, there have been reductions. The artillery have gone, and apparently the engineers, too. But my point is that

here are three different sets of figures, and the Council ought to have before it authoritative information to enable it to decide which is accurate.

One point on which feeling in the Saar runs high is the question of the schools. There are two clauses in the Treaty bearing on that. One says that the population shall retain their schools and educational system, the other that the French mine administration may open special schools for the children of mine employees. On the face of it there is nothing contradictory in those provisions. On a plain reading it means that, apart from the ordinary Saar system, special schools may be opened for the children of French officials imported to work in the mines. That is reasonable enough. No one could object to it. But what is happening is that pressure is being brought to bear on German mine employees and even on German officials in the employ of the Governing Commission to send their children to the French schools. What is more, the Governing Commission has relaxed the law by which every child must have an education in a German primary school and has accepted education in a French school as satisfying this requirement. We realise to the full the value of a good linguistic education, but we object very strongly to Saar children being educated in an atmosphere naturally antagonistic to all our national ideals.

Various other points could be mentioned in which we feel in the Saar we have just ground for complaint, but I do not desire to labour relatively unimportant grievances. But I would repeat this. The system can work, given a wise and fair selection of members of the Governing Commission. If it does not work, then the League will infallibly be disabled from assuming greater tasks which—for the sake of humanity it ought to assume.



## SWITZERLAND AND THE LEAGUE.

WHEN out of the throes of the war the idea emerged that peace should be founded on liberty and justice, and that it should be secured by international co-operation, no country accepted the new ideal with greater alacrity and conviction than Switzerland. The predominance of right over might, the equality of all nations, small and great, the recognition of the claims of oppressed minorities, open diplomacy and a general association of nations for mutual protection—the essence of Wilson's fourteen points—were hailed by the Swiss people as the projection on the international plane of their own national ideals. The sympathetic interest of the people was shared by the Government, as is shown by the very carefully-worked-out scheme for a League of Nations which was submitted by the Swiss delegates to the Peace Conference. It may be said that, at the end of 1918, the League of Nations idea could count on the almost unanimous support of the Swiss population.

The Covenant, as it is framed in the Treaty of Versailles, produced in Switzerland a profound disillusionment. The League of Nations was not to be universal in its membership. The Covenant, while regulating the procedure of international co-operation and conciliation, contained no absolute prohibition of war. The fundamental principle of the equality of States was not only not expressly recognised, but was openly violated in the composition of the Council of the League. These features of the Versailles scheme were generally looked upon in Switzerland as glaring defects, for which the choice of a Swiss city as seat of the League provided no compensation.

As the question of Switzerland's joining the League of Nations could, under the democratic constitutional principles of the country, be decided on only by the voters themselves, the discussion on the merits and demerits of the Covenant and on the Swiss attitude towards the new League of Nations immediately engrossed public attention all over the country. The referendum, which took place on May 16th, 1920, after the Council of the League had declared Switzerland's military neutrality to be not incompatible with her adherence to the Covenant, showed that Switzerland had joined the League by a majority of less than 100,000 votes and by 11½ cantons against 10½. These results were greeted with enthusiasm in the French and Italian speaking parts of the country, and with mingled satisfaction and resignation in the German cantons. Everyone agreed that the wisdom or folly of Switzerland's action could be judged solely according to the League's future activities.

Since that time, opinion in Switzerland has appreciably changed. Enthusiasm has vanished, but, on the other hand, the passionate hostility which had been shown in certain quarters in the course of the public campaign has been at least partially disarmed. The causes of this change of public opinion are due to the experience of the last four years.

Several features of the League's activities have tended to lessen the opposition of its former enemies. In the first place, it has become very apparent that the League in no way threatens the independence even of its smallest Members. This was conclusively shown by the absurd but successful refusal of Switzerland to allow a few companies of foreign troops bent on the peaceful mission of securing the freedom of the Vilna plebiscite in 1921 to cross a corner of its territory. The relative freedom of speech which prevails in the Assembly and the brilliant part played in its debates by Mr. Motta, the first Swiss delegate, have also tended to create a real feeling of national satisfaction and pride. The part which eminent Swiss citizens have been called upon to play in various League activities, such as the

Brussels Economic Conference, the International Court of Justice, the technical organisations, in Upper Silesia and in Danzig, have all tended to give the Swiss people the impression that they were effectively contributing to the application of Swiss principles of impartiality and conciliation to world affairs, and thereby endowing their country with a new mission.

The greatest single achievement of the League in the eyes of the Swiss people has been the setting up of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Although the Court has not yet been called upon to render any vitally important decisions, it is generally looked upon as the one great hope of the future. The successful efforts towards the economic reconstruction of Austria have also won the League many supporters, particularly among the hard-headed, matter-of-fact German-Swiss elements of the population.

Such are, I believe, the main items on the credit side of the League balance-sheet in Switzerland.

On the other hand, both by certain acts and by certain omissions, the League has severely disappointed its friends and justified the suspicions and apprehensions of its opponents. On the whole, its greatest failure has been its avowed inability to overcome the national hatreds and animosities which are the saddest legacies of the war. The abstention of the United States, the only internationally disinterested Great Power of the world, has not only seriously shaken the confidence of public opinion in the League, but has obviously impaired its usefulness as an instrument of just and fair dealing. The ever-delayed entrance of Germany is almost equally regretted. Once Germany is in the League, the back of the opposition to the latter in Switzerland will be broken. In the meanwhile, the absence of Germany is deplored both as an indication and as a cause of the national prejudices which are held to paralyse the League and to bias its decisions.

On the whole, it is held in Switzerland that Great Britain is the mainstay of the League. In that connection I may, perhaps, in closing call attention to an immense, and perhaps decisive, service which their country could render to the cause of the League throughout the world, and particularly in the smaller countries such as Switzerland.

As stated above, the Permanent Court of International Justice is, in the eyes of Swiss friends and foes alike, the unchallenged achievement of the League. Everything that tends to enhance its prestige and to extend its jurisdiction is therefore a gain, and everything which tends to diminish its competence and to limit its authority is a loss for the League. As is well known, the statute of the Court contains an optional clause providing for compulsory jurisdiction. All States may, by signing this clause, agree to entrust the Court with the settlement of any international dispute in which they may become engaged. Many small States, including Switzerland, have signed this clause, usually on condition of reciprocity. None of the Great Powers have yet consented to do so.

The refusal to take advantage of this great opportunity for the juridical settlement of international disputes can be due only to one of two causes: either to the belief that in the last analysis might must prevail over right, or to the view that the Court is not a satisfactory instrument for the triumph of justice. In both cases this attitude is a direct blow at the League, as it expresses scepticism either as to its fundamental ideals or as to the efficiency of one of its main organs. By accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Great Britain would not only show the way towards the only form of international peace which is worth having—a peace based on impartial justice; it would also establish the League of Nations on the firm foundation of the confidence of the peoples of the world.

HELVETICUS.



GENEVA, March, 1924.

TWENTY States took part in the proceedings of this month's meeting of the Council—the first attended by Lord Parmoor as representative of the British Labour Government—and a heavy agenda was expeditiously disposed of in six days. The session appropriately began with a tribute to the life and work of the late Mr. Woodrow Wilson, and it was significant of many things that Mr. Norman Davis, former American Under-Secretary of State, and Mr. Morgenthau, former American Ambassador at Constantinople, played an important part in the work of the Council. American collaboration, however comes considerably nearer home in the participation of Mr. Grew, former Minister at Berne, who has just recently been appointed Under-Secretary of State at Washington, in the work of the sub-committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, for the purposes of drawing up a convention to take the place of that of St. Germain. One other Council feature of general importance was the declaration by Lord Parmoor of the British Government's complete devotion to the idea of the League of Nations, and its desire to see the League become universal.

\* \* \* \*

In the work accomplished at this session, the principal features were the settlement of two questions referred to the League by the Conference of Ambassadors, namely, the regime for Memel and the frontier between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the region of Jaworzina, the approval of the answers given by the Jurists' Committee to the questions submitted to it on the interpretation of the Covenant, and the signature of the Hungarian Protocols, which has definitely put the reconstruction scheme into motion.

The Memel settlement is certainly a triumph. The neutral commission of experts, under the presidency of Mr. Norman Davis, succeeded, after weeks of application, in securing a convention accepted by Lithuania and all the Powers represented on the Conference of Ambassadors, providing Memel with a large autonomy, giving the Port a business-like authority favourable to its development, and guaranteeing the economic interests, not only of the town and territory of Memel, but of Lithuania, Poland, and other regions of which Memel forms the natural outlet. It also provides for the immediate renewal of traffic on the Niemen which has been interrupted for years owing to political difficulties. A point of interest is that, as in the case of Austria and other League settlements certain aspects of previous League doctrines and decisions are specifically applied to particular problems that arise, so here the Commission made the fullest use of the Barcelona Transit Conventions applied to the special transit requirements of Memel and the hinterland. Mr. Davis, who emphasised the value of the Barcelona decisions in practice, told the Council that in his view this convention was an improvement on the one drawn up by the Conference of Ambassadors and declined by Lithuania, and expressed himself hopeful that better political and economic consequences would follow. In acknowledging the thanks accorded him for the work

of the Commission, he said it was the sort of work which the League was created to do, and he felt that his trip from America had been fully justified. This satisfactorily disposes of the squabble which the Ambassadors' Conference was unable to settle, and the same applies to the Jaworzina frontier, where the Council has applied on a smaller scale the method adopted in the settlement of Upper Silesia by suggesting an economic convention between the two States to avoid any local difficulties due to the tracing of the new frontier line.

\* \* \* \*

The Council approved *en bloc* the replies of the Jurists' Committee to the questions submitted by the Council arising out of the Corfu affair. These replies declare (1) that when the Council is seized of a dispute—“likely to lead to a rupture” it is not bound, before inquiring into any point, to decide whether in fact such a description is well founded; (2) that when a dispute already forms the subject of arbitration or of judicial proceedings, the Council must refuse to consider it; (3) that questions of national honour and vital national interests are not grounds for restricting the competence of the Council to deal with the dispute, and that the only case where the Council is not to inquire into a dispute is where it is held to be a matter of purely domestic concern. No reservations such as are inserted in most arbitration treaties can be pleaded as a bar to the pacific mediation of the League; (4) coercive measures “not intended to constitute acts of war” may or not be inconsistent with the Covenant. It is not possible to establish a general rule; each case must be examined on its own merits. The Council may, in each case, recommend the withdrawal of any such measures of coercion as have been undertaken; (5) responsibility of a State is only involved by the commission in its territory of a political crime against the person of foreigners if the State has, in fact, failed to take all reasonable precautionary measures.

Lord Parmoor expressed himself entirely satisfied with these replies, and, speaking specifically of the reply to the question of pacific coercion, he said he did not see how any other reply could have been given to an abstract question. Some members of the Council, notably the President, M. Guani, of Uruguay, thought it might have been possible to specify that in no case were measures of armed force compatible with the Covenant, but only measures of a juridical, financial and economic kind. What is important, however, in the interpretation adopted by the Council is the recognition of the Council's right to request immediate withdrawal of any such measures. An important declaration was made by the Italian representative, M. Salandra, who said that the Italian Government hoped that the approval by Italy of the report would be considered as proof of its loyal adherence to the essential principles of the Covenant and of its desire that the League might develop more and more its beneficent work for the maintenance of the best relations amongst civilised peoples and for the assurance of the peace of the world.

In effect, the words of the President seem justified. The replies, he declared, represented in general an interpretation broadly favourable to the competence of the Council to deal with any difference between States members of the League.

\* \* \* \*

The session marked considerable progress in the League's reconstruction work. In addition to the formal putting into force of the Hungarian reconstruction scheme, the Council was able to note with satisfaction that the monthly deficit in Austria had diminished, and after hearing Dr. Zimmerman, the

Commissioner-General, expressed the hope that the administrative reforms would be continued so that expenses might be reduced and that the budget equilibrium might be established on a stable basis.

The establishment of refugees in Greece, reported upon by Mr. Morgenthau, has made progress, but it is being retarded by lack of money. The million pounds advanced by the Bank of England is exhausted, and the Greek Government has spent more than two millions sterling. Another six million pounds are required for the completion of the task, and Mr. Morgenthau foresees the opportunity of securing the greater part of this from outside Greece as soon as political stability is restored. His own personal view is that this should not be long delayed, and meanwhile the Council has delegated full powers to a sub-committee to take any decision which may be considered necessary when the proper moment arrives.

The Council received an appeal from Albania, whose northern inhabitants have been reduced to famine conditions as a result of the bad harvests following upon war. It voted 50,000 Swiss francs (about £2,000) for the most urgent needs, and made an appeal to the members of the League and to private charity. It has asked the Committee of the Red Cross Organisations to nominate a representative to administer in the name of the League the funds which may be forthcoming for the purpose. Lord Parmoor indicated that the British Government would be prepared to contribute £5,000.

A number of questions arose on the administration in the Saar and in Danzig. The two principal Saar questions were the Commission's programme for increasing the gendarmerie and the election of the members of the Commission. It has long been the desire of the Council that the gendarmerie should be increased as rapidly as possible, so that the French troops might be withdrawn, and it had been recently proposed in the Commission itself that for the next three years the additional numbers should be 500 per annum. But Mr. Stephens, the Canadian member of the Commission, informed the Council that much against his will he had had to point out to the Commission the grave financial crisis that would be caused by the extra cost, and the Commission therefore proposed an addition of 200 instead of 500. This was agreed to by the Council on the understanding demanded by Lord Parmoor that if the financial situation improved during the current year, the increase in the number of gendarmerie would be reconsidered. Considerable improvement has been effected in the personnel of the Commission by the appointment of M. Kossmann as Saarois member, and of M. Espinosa de los Monteros, a Spaniard, these two taking the place of M. Land (Saarois) and Count de Moltke-Huitfeldt (Dane), who requested the Council not to re-elect them. The other members of the Commission were re-elected.

Sir J. C. Bose, the famous Indian scientist, has been appointed a member of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation in place of Mr. Bannerjee, resigned.—C.

## SAAR COMMISSION CHANGES.

SOME rather serious misconceptions having arisen regarding the appointment of members of the Saar Valley Governing Commission at the last League Council meeting, it is well that the facts should be clearly stated. Of the five members of the Commission three—the President (M. Rault), the Belgian member (M. Lambert), and the Canadian (Mr. G. W. Stephens), who lately succeeded Mr. Waugh—were by common consent to be reappointed. The other two members, Count Moltke-Huitfeldt (Danish) and Herr Land (Saarois) had for different reasons not given satisfaction, and were to be replaced.

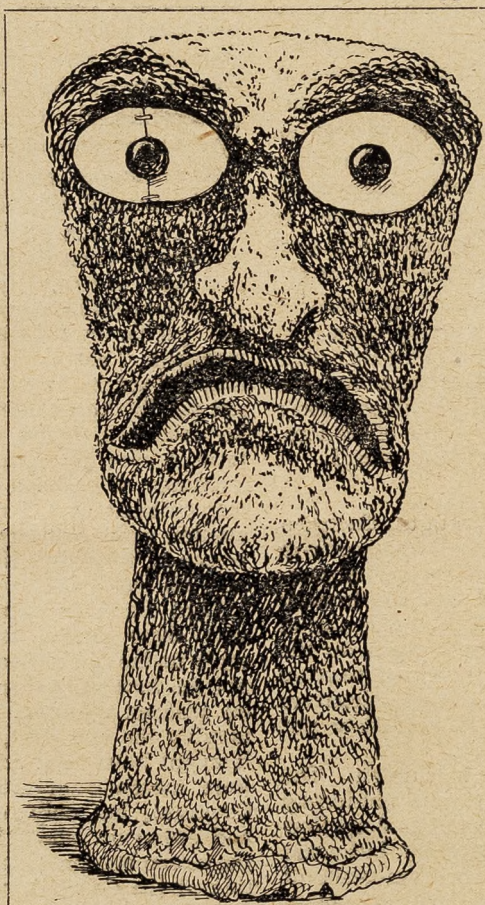
As long ago as last July Mr. Edward Wood, then British representative on the Council, gave notice that the British Government would hold themselves free to oppose Herr Land's reappointment in March. Accordingly the British Government proceeded to make its own search for a suitable candidate, and chose a certain Herr Kossmann, who had been a working miner and subsequently a trade union official in the Saar, and had been elected by the inhabitants successively member of the Municipal Council of Neunkirchen, of the Reichstag, and of the Constituent Assembly which drafted the present German Constitution at Weimar.

When the Governing Commission took over in the Saar in 1920 it naturally desired to make use of Herr Kossmann's knowledge and abilities, and he accepted a post in the Saar civil service, being subsequently appointed by the Governing Commission President of the newly-created Saar Advisory Council. Satisfied by the proofs the Saar inhabitants had given of their confidence in Herr Kossmann by electing him repeatedly to public office, Lord Cecil with some difficulty persuaded the French Government last December to agree to his substitution for Herr Land. At the March meeting of the Council Herr Kossmann was accordingly elected unanimously.

As regards the other vacancy, there were originally before the Council the names of a Spaniard, a Norwegian, and an Italian, but the Italian accepted an appoint-

ment elsewhere, and withdrew. Of the two remaining the Spaniard was a Catholic, and the Norwegian a Protestant. The Saar is a predominantly Catholic country, and Count Moltke, who was being replaced, had had charge of educational and religious affairs in the Saar. Partly, at any rate, on the ground of his religion the Spaniard, Col. Espinosa de los Monteros, was chosen by 7 votes to 3. He was educated in Austria, speaks German, French and English fluently, and has had a legal as well as a military training.

It should be added that after Lord Cecil had secured the acceptance of Herr Kossmann's name by the French some of the Saar party leaders urged the appointment of Herr Levacher, a former burgomaster of Saarlouis. There can be no question that the new Commission is a great improvement on the old. Whether the new appointments are the best possible is a matter of opinion.



THE GOD OF WAR (HAWAIIAN).  
(From the British Museum.)

## WHAT THEY DID AT ROME.

A GOOD deal of doubt has prevailed regarding the results of the Naval Conference held at Rome from February 14 to 24. The Conference consisted entirely of Naval Experts, practically all of them Admirals, whose business it was to prepare an agenda for a full Conference of plenipotentiaries at a later date, convened to consider the application to non-Washington States of the principles laid down at Washington in 1921-22 for the limitation of naval armaments.

A report submitted to the League Council during its March meetings makes clear a good deal that newspaper reports failed to elucidate. The main principle of the Washington agreements was that the proportion existing between the fleets of the Powers present at the Conference on a fixed date should be maintained, a general reduction or limitation being effected without disturbing those proportions, and a naval holiday of ten years being agreed on during which no fleets should be increased to a higher figure than that specified. It must be said at once that the Rome Conference failed to achieve agreement on any such basis, and at Geneva, as at Washington, there will clearly be decisive discussions on the respective merits of two principles: one, that already explained, and the other the allocation to each Power of ships on a scale required by its national needs. This latter expedient was rejected at Washington as providing no possible basis of agreement, and it will clearly be extremely difficult to apply in the present case.

At Rome a leading part in the discussions was taken by the representative of Soviet Russia, Admiral Behrens, who first of all demanded for his country a shipping tonnage far in excess of what any other State was likely to agree to, and next proposed to reduce the tonnage provided that a number of political conditions, such as the closing of the Baltic and the Black Sea and the demilitarisation of the Straits of Korea, were accepted.

The main importance of the Russian representative's claims is that they demonstrate the necessity of having the ground for the general conference prepared by a body analogous to the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, which contains politicians as well as experts. The experts were narrowly bound by the instructions given them by their respective Boards of Admiralty, and could not move outside the limits of those instructions. The next conference, therefore, must be of a slightly different character. Meanwhile, there is general agreement among those present at the Rome Conference that a great deal has been done to clear the ground, and that the Conference was well worth holding. Each nation has put on paper what it conceives its naval needs to be, and to that extent substantial progress in handling the problem has been effected.

The real difficulty is psychological. It was made quite clear at Rome that several States felt it necessary, as a matter of national prestige, to demand a tonnage figure far in excess of what they could afford to build or had any intention of actually building—Spain was a conspicuous case in point—and the same question of national prestige prevented an arrangement from being reached between the three principal Latin-American Powers—the Argentine, Brazil and Chili.

At the end of the Conference a report, constituting rather a record of proceedings than a statement of conclusions, was issued, and this, by decision of the League Council in March, is to be circulated to all Governments for their observations. These are likely to be received before the date of the June Council meeting, when a decision regarding the larger conference will be taken.

## IN THE HOUSE.

March 3.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Commander Kenworthy):

In connection with the League loan scheme, the Hungarian Government has undertaken loyally to fulfil all obligations under the Treaty of Trianon.

March 3.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Sir Ellis Hume-Williams):

There are 233 French officers and 5,409 other ranks at present in the Saar. The local gendarmerie numbers 355, and a programme for its increase will come before the next Council meeting.

March 3.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Major Ormsby-Gore):

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance will be examined by the Committee of Imperial Defence, which will report to the Cabinet.

March 5.—The MINISTER OF LABOUR (to Mr. Lloyd):

Since the Washington Labour Conference, Eight-Hour Day laws have been enacted in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Luxembourg, Russia, Jugoslavia, Latvia, various South American States, and British Columbia.

March 10.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Major Ormsby-Gore):

All departments concerned, whether civil or military, will attend meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence at which the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee may be discussed. "His Majesty's Government cannot consider this proposal in a final way until the general European situation is more clearly defined."

March 17.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Commander Kenworthy):

The Turco-Iraq frontier is to be settled between Turkey and Great Britain within nine months from October 5, 1923, and failing that to be referred to the Council of the League of Nations. When the Treaty of October, 1922, with King Feisal has been ratified, the British Government will do its best to secure the admission of Iraq to the League.

March 17.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Major Ormsby-Gore):

"I hope to continue the custom of publishing as a Parliamentary paper the report by the British representative on the work of each session of the Council of the League."

March 17.—Miss BONDFIELD (to Mr. Turner):

A Bill to legalise the 48-hours week provided for under the Washington Convention will be introduced at an early date.

March 19.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Mrs. Wintringham):

The Memel convention was signed by Great Britain and Lithuania on March 16, the question having been referred to the League on September 25. It had been in the hands of the Conference of Ambassadors since the Armistice.

March 19.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Major Church):

The British members of the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Committee on Armaments represent the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry and express the views of these departments respectively. Consultation with the Foreign Office is not always required, but takes place when necessary.

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

## FIVE YEARS' TREATIES.—III.

THE Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and the Trianon, already discussed in these columns, decided the fate of Germany and what was once the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Two others, that of Neuilly with Bulgaria and of Lausanne with Turkey, may be taken as completing the great post-war settlement.

Neuilly, like Versailles, St. Germain and the Trianon, is a suburb of Paris, chosen for the actual signature of the Bulgarian treaty, and complete symmetry was to have been maintained by having the Turkish treaty signed at still one more Paris suburb, Sèvres. And signed at Sèvres it actually was in August, 1920, but, unfortunately from many points of view, before it could be ratified a new Turkish leader arose, in the person of Mustapha Kemal, who achieved such military success that Turkey refused to recognise the Sèvres Treaty, and a brand new one had to be worked out with infinite

potamia directly. Mosul, the most northerly of its three vilayets, or provinces, is claimed by Turkey. Great Britain resists that claim on behalf of Mesopotamia, and if it cannot be settled within a specified period by direct negotiation the League of Nations is to adjudicate finally.

Apart from the Middle Eastern changes already enumerated the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne affected territorially only the Balkans and the Straits between Europe and Asia. Bulgaria came fairly well out of her troubles. She lost to Jugo-Slavia two unimportant little patches of territory in the west and south-west, and to Greece a much more important strip on the Ægean Sea. Greece indeed was at one time to have gained the whole area between her former eastern frontier and the Black Sea, but most of that was at Turkey's expense, not Bulgaria's, and Turkey got most of it back by the Treaty of Lausanne. The serious fact for Bulgaria is that Greece's acquisition

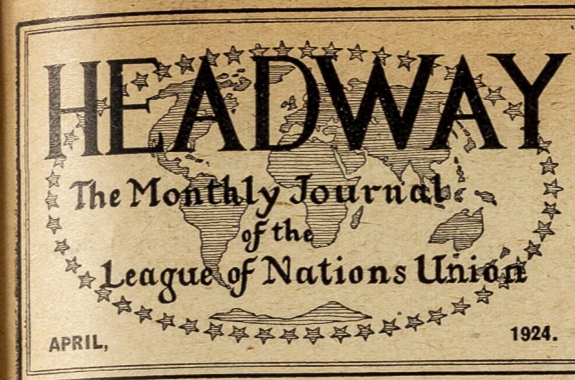


toil at Lausanne in 1922 and 1923. Even now that treaty has not yet been ratified by Great Britain, France or Italy, though it has been by Turkey and Greece.

To indicate all the changes effected by two treaties (Neuilly and Lausanne) which concern localities as far distant as Macedonia and the Persian Gulf, would demand too extensive a map, and it will be sufficient here to indicate without actual illustrations what Turkey's Asiatic losses amount to. They include briefly Mesopotamia (Iraq), Palestine and Syria, and in addition Turkey loses also the shadowy overlordship she exercised over Egypt. Palestine and Syria became mandate territories, the former British and the latter French. Mesopotamia is theoretically under mandate, but the actual formalities have never been complied with, and it seems likely that Mesopotamia may enter the League of Nations as an independent State, subject to the acceptance of certain obligations which would have been imposed on her under mandate. One important clause in the Treaty of Lausanne affects Mes-

opotamia directly. Mosul, the most northerly of its three vilayets, or provinces, is claimed by Turkey. Great Britain resists that claim on behalf of Mesopotamia, and if it cannot be settled within a specified period by direct negotiation the League of Nations is to adjudicate finally.

So far as Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor goes she ended the war much as she began it. Having lost by the unratified Treaty of Sèvres all but a patch of standing-ground in Europe (merely Constantinople and its environs), and a large area round Smyrna in Asia Minor, she has re-established herself completely by the Treaty of Lausanne, with the exception of a not unimportant piece of territory west of the Maritza River, between Adrianople and Demotika. This remains in the hands of Greece, the one remnant of her gains from Turkey under the Treaty of Sèvres. The Straits of Dardanelles and the Bosphorus are demilitarised and under international supervision, but Turkey retains full sovereignty over them.—H. W. H.



## THE LEAGUE'S LIMITATIONS.

IN acknowledging the thanks of the League Council for his part in carrying through the Memel settlement, Mr. Norman Davis, the chairman of the Commission that drafted the plan of settlement on behalf of the League, said the Memel negotiations showed two things: one, that the League was fulfilling with notable success the purposes its founders had always had in view for it, and the other that no organisation but the League could have secured a settlement at all. Dr. Nansen long ago declared in the Assembly, regarding his work for the repatriation of prisoners of war, that the undertaking could never have been carried through except by the League. Dr. Seipel said precisely the same thing of the scheme for the financial reconstruction of Austria.

If there is ground for satisfaction in that, as there manifestly is, there is ground also for some anxiety lest the habit of relying on the League in emergencies may result in some failure to realise the League's limitations. There are many things it can do supremely well; there are others it cannot do at all. For that reason it is worth while taking note from time to time of what the League's limitations actually are. To begin with, the League is limited by the Covenant. No one, if the question is seriously put to him, really believes the League to be a super-State, capable of compelling its member-States to do something they prefer not to do, but a great many people none the less argue constantly as though they did believe it. The Covenant is simply a treaty under which a number of States—at present 54—agree to act in common within a certain limited field, and accept no responsibility whatever for acting in common outside that field. There is, of course, nothing to prevent them from extending their field of agreement, either by enlarging the Covenant or by taking common action through the League outside the terms of the Covenant. That has indeed been done often enough. It would be hard to point to any clause in the Covenant that really covered such enterprises as the typhus campaign in 1921, or the Austrian or Hungarian reconstruction schemes, but it is one of the virtues of the League that the agreement to co-operate in certain fields immediately induces the habit of co-operation in others.

In spite of that the League is constantly being called on to move in spheres where it is obviously neither authorised nor qualified to act. The outstanding case of that is the reparation controversy. That controversy could be referred voluntarily to the League by the States concerned, as the Upper Silesia controversy was referred, and there may possibly be developments of it which do concern the League in one way or another, but the League has no warrant whatever to step in and claim to handle the reparation question itself. Take, again, the protection of minorities, a matter for which in many countries the League has special responsibility. There is nothing about minorities in the Covenant,

and the League's authority is therefore limited to those cases where special treaties have been signed, or special declarations made, giving the League specific powers in the matter. And there are many countries with minority problems untouched by any treaty. A conspicuous instance is the case of the Southern Tyrol, where large numbers of Austrians are now under Italian rule. Would the League intervene there in case of need? It could not, for there is no treaty giving it the warrant to do so, and the League, as the Covenant specifically declares, has no right to interfere with the internal affairs of any nation.

Or take another form of limitation which impedes the League's work very gravely. There are a number of tasks which, like the supervision of minorities, the League can only discharge within the limits of treaties for which it has itself no responsibility. The best example of that is the Saar Valley. That area was handed over to the League to administer under conditions that make satisfactory administration impossible. That the League has been uniformly well-advised regarding the Saar need not be contended, but it remains true, none the less, that three-fourths of the criticism directed against it in respect of the Saar ought in reality to be directed against the framers of the Saar articles of the Treaty of Versailles.

But let us take a wider survey still. There are ardent supporters of the League who, with President Wilson's great ideals firm-rooted in their minds, look to the League to work along quite different lines from any other international body. There must be at Geneva no secret diplomacy. There must be no scheming and intriguing for special interests. There must be no bargaining of an advantage here for a concession unrelated to it there. There must be no antagonisms and divisions into groups of States. That those expectations should exist is all to the good. They must be maintained and never relaxed. But it is idle to look for their fulfilment in a day. The men who go to Geneva are in the main the men who represent their countries elsewhere. That is as it should be. But that means that they are the men who in other surroundings do, as occasion may seem to require, conduct secret diplomacy, fall into antagonisms, bargain for their own ends, work for groupings of countries against other groupings.

There is no question of making charges here against the statesmen of to-day. The charges are taken from the lips of those who rightly demand that the standards of Geneva should be far different from the standards prevailing in other centres of diplomacy. The demand is just and right, and, in a measure markedly encouraging, it is being satisfied already. Even in four years Geneva has set standards of its own. Settlements are reached in that strange but inspiring atmosphere that could not be reached, and have been attempted in vain, in other and different surroundings. But it is a slow and gradual process. Men are not changed by twenty-four hours or a week of Geneva air.

The League, moreover, is not made up of fifty-four Great Britains. We sometimes talk as though it were. It is made up equally of Costa Ricans and Albanians and Abyssinians and Chinans. If we have any just pride in our own civilisation we must recognise not only that we have a privilege of leadership at Geneva, but that the penalty of leadership is to find ourselves dragged back all the time by followers who cannot go our pace. That is how any society works, whether it be a church or a political club or a League of Nations. There are difficulties at Geneva. When Germany and Russia come in they are likely for a time to be more rather than less. But all the while there is progress. All the while the League's individuality becomes stronger. All the while its methods differ more and more from those of the past. There is no justice and no reason in maligning the League because it has failed to attain perfection in a night.

## A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

## The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

THE Draft Treaty is becoming more and more important as the Fifth Assembly approaches. The British Government will almost certainly have to define their attitude to the Treaty in the near future, whether that attitude is to be one of active approval or disapproval, or whether it is to be one of bland refusal to discuss. The Treaty has its supporters and its opponents. No one can say that the present form is perfect. Indeed, it is avowedly only a draft. But at least it deserves the most serious consideration. It would be altogether disastrous if the Government decided simply to look it boldly in the face and pass by. The Executive Committee of the Union, therefore, has passed resolutions:—

(1) Urging His Majesty's Government to give to this Draft Treaty their careful attention, and to submit it without delay to the criticism of a strong representative committee or Royal Commission, with instruction to report in time to enable the Government to formulate its policy for the meeting of the Fifth Assembly in September, 1924.

(2) Inviting Branches to give their closest attention to the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and, if possible, to support the demand of the Executive Committee for a full enquiry into the draft treaty. Resolutions on the subject should be sent to the Prime Minister, Lord Parmoor, the local Members of Parliament, and any Peer residing in the neighbourhood of the Branch.

It will be seen that these resolutions are entirely non-contentious; they express no opinion; they simply ask that the Treaty should be carefully considered in time to allow the Government to go to Geneva with a policy. In spite of scepticism, those who know the workings of Royal Commissions are confident that a report could be prepared in time for this without putting an undue strain upon the British Constitution. Those who know the working of Governments consider that the arrival in Geneva of a Government with a policy will create a sufficient sensation to warrant the experiment.

Meanwhile Branches of the Union should take all possible steps to focus interest in the Treaty by holding meetings to discuss it. As the subject is rather technical, special efforts should be made to secure speakers who have made some special study of the whole question.

## Unemployment.

The Union organised an extremely important Conference on Unemployment in its National and International Aspects, at the London School of Economics on March 25, 26 and 27. A powerful battery of speakers included such heavy guns as the Minister of Labour, Mr. Maynard Keynes, Mr. W. L. Hitchens, and Mr. Frank Hodges.

## The British Empire Exhibition.

The Union is taking a part in the great Exhibition at Wembley. How big that part will be depends on the workers of the Union. A Pavilion is being built at which League literature will be sold, new members enlisted, short lectures given, and the whole mechanism of the League and the Union explained to the curious. If the members of the Union support the experiment the Pavilion may well develop into the most successful and important activity of the year. Much voluntary help will be required and a circular letter has been sent out to neighbouring branches asking for assistance. In brief, the scheme for organising the venture is as follows: The working day is to be divided into three shifts—12 noon to 3 p.m., 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., 6 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Those members of the Union who can offer assistance are asked to write to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, saying what dates and shifts they will undertake. It is a great opportunity for rendering a most valuable service to the Union and to the League.

The Annual General Council of the Union is to be held in one of the Conference Halls at Wembley during the week beginning June 16, and after the ordinary business has been concluded, will develop into a series of Conferences on the work, organisation, future possibilities and other aspects of the Union. It will probably conclude with a representation of the Assembly at work, if the floor space of the hall permits. During this week also there will be a lecture on ex-Service men and the League by an official of the British Legion, and at least one big public meeting in London. In effect, the week is to be a "League of Nations' Union Week." There will be plenty of scope and employment for enthusiastic voluntary assistance.

## The Riviera.

While officials, members and supporters of the Union were ineffectively attempting to avoid influenza and pneumonia and were wearing several overcoats to ward off the icy wind which, according to cheerful meteorologists, were blowing direct from the North Pole, one member of the staff at 15, Grosvenor Crescent found his path set in pleasant places. Mr. Whelen, known to 1,000 audiences as the principal lecturer of the Union, was wending his way from Cannes to Nice, from Nice to Monte Carlo, from Monte Carlo to Mentone. He lectured to large, distinguished and enthusiastic audiences and his visit aroused a great amount of interest. Blue skies, blue Mediterranean, the frogs croaking in the orange groves, and the borgainvillea clustering on sunny walls. . . . We shivered at Grosvenor Crescent and imagined Mr. Whelen's eloquence and the palm-groves and the moon on the Grand Corniche and distant Italy. . . .

## The Abbey By-Election.

The Westminster Branch organised a League meeting during the Abbey by-election. All the four candidates promised to attend and give their views on the League. Lord Phillimore was in the chair and the most arduous task was that of the Chairman. The spirit of belligerence which follows Mr. Churchill pervaded even the League meeting. The inevitable circus arrived, Gallipoli, Antwerp, and the stormy petrol of Mesopotamia filled the air. There was a considerable section among the audience which appeared to be more interested in the strategies and tactics of the last few wars than in the possibility for preventing the next few. "If you want peace prepare for peace," said Mr. Leach. We can reasonably reply, "If you want war prepare a Public Meeting."

League principles prevailed, however. The Chairman appealed for order according to the spirit of arbitration and in conformity with Article 12 of the Covenant. When this proved to be in vain, Article 16 was invoked and "the prevention of all . . . personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State," was enforced. In other words, as Mr. George Robey would say, "a man was chucked out." This application of sanctions was a welcome steadying influence and Mr. Churchill was allowed to continue his speech.

All four candidates made admirable League speeches and answered questions. It is against the policy of the Union to take sides in party contests, and it is in no party spirit that we consider Mr. Churchill's first pro-League appearance on a platform to be an event of some importance. In last month's HEADWAY the first appearance in a similar rôle of Mr. Austen Chamberlain was chronicled, and now it is Mr. Churchill. One by one the great men are coming over; one by one the Duke's adherents slip away. Either they are being converted or else they cannot afford to ignore the Union. Anyhow, they appear on our platforms; it is the first step on the Golden Journey, which ends sooner or later at the gates of the New Samarcand, Peace between the Nations.

## VARIED VOICES.

Sir Samuel Hoare, in House of Commons.

"Provided no risk is taken with our national defence, I look most sympathetically on any attempts to bring about a general reduction of armaments, whether by International Conference, Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, or—and perhaps this is the most efficacious of all methods—by a mobilisation of public opinion in the countries of Europe."

Mr. Leach (U. Sec. for Air), in House of Commons.

"Two thousand years ago a great reformer laid down the principles for solving this problem of national defence. Most unfortunately nobody accepted his views. They were buried with him. I want to see some new excavation works to raise the lid of the sarcophagus of the New Testament."

M. Kalkoff, Foreign Minister, in the Bulgarian Sobranje.

"Let it not be forgotten that as a member of the League of Nations, Bulgaria has certain obligations towards the outside world which she cannot ignore without exposing the interests of the country to harm. The Government will not allow or tolerate any initiative which would cause outside complications or compromise the safety of the State."

King's Reply to Convocation of York.

"I share your confidence in the ability of the League of Nations to foster that spirit of reliance on right and forbearance instead of suspicion and armed strength, and thus to contribute effectively towards the establishment of peace on a firm and lasting foundation."

M. Dombiski (ex-Minister), in Foreign Commission of the Polish Diet, February 16, 1924.

"When disarmament is brought about by the League of Nations, Poland should take advantage of this opportunity, for half of her income is swallowed up by the army."

Mr. Shaw (Minister of Labour), in House of Commons.

"The policy of H.M.G. is to endeavour in every possible way to raise the prestige of the I.L.O."

Mr. Ponsonby to the Women's International League.

"With regard to the demand for a new Conference, he thought the League of Nations a more direct method of dealing with these questions."

Mr. Asquith, at Plymouth, February 23, 1924.

"I believe that the only instrument by which economic reconstruction could be effectively dealt with was by the authority of the League of Nations."

M. Briand, at Carcassonne.

"The War has given birth to an admirable instrument, in which we can have great confidence—the League of Nations. France cannot complain of the manner in which the League settled the question of Upper Silesia."

M. H. de Jouvenel, to Daily News correspondent.

"There is no reason why the Rhineland should not be internationalised, free to have commerce with whom it pleases, but a sort of sacred region guaranteed by the same great collectivity, the League of Nations."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (interview with New York Tribune).

"We must, we shall make much more use of the League than we have so far."

Herr Stresemann, Foreign Minister of Germany, to the Reichstag.

"Germany accepts the principle of international solidarity underlying the idea of the League. At present the question of applying for admission was not acute, but should it become so Germany would wish to have the same rights in the League Council as other Powers. Nor could she accept any conditions."

Lord Londonderry, in the House of Lords.

"Those of us who to-day plead for adequate forces for home defence are, I believe, the best supporters of the ideals embodied in the League of Nations."

Mustapha Kemal Pasha, to the Angora Assembly, March 2,

1924, referred to the possibility of Turkey joining the League of Nations after the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, though he added that he did not wish the League to become a means of domination in the hands of a few powerful States, but rather to be an instrument capable of insuring harmony and concord among the nations, with power to hear and settle disputes in conformity with international law.

Mr. Kameneff, Acting President of the Union of Soviet Republics. (Interview with Vossische Zeitung.)

No invitation to join the League of Nations has as yet been received by Russia, nor has Russia made a corresponding request. If the League of Nations were to develop into a real union of peoples for the safeguarding of world peace, in which all countries could co-operate with equal rights, then there would hardly be any reason for Russia to remain aloof from such a union. The present "League of Victors," which unjustly calls itself the "League of Nations," can in no way be regarded as an instrument of world peace is quite clear.

## OVERSEAS NEWS.

A STEADY interest continues to be manifested in the scheme for forwarding HEADWAY to persons abroad interested in the League movement. Apart from the individual interchanges which are being arranged daily, the Ilkley Branch of the L.N.U. has entered, through Headquarters, on direct relations with the branch of the German movement in Leipzig, and is sending 50 copies of HEADWAY a month for distribution there. Further offers from readers who are willing to post their copies overseas would be appreciated. Arrangements can be made, if desired, to exchange HEADWAY with the American League of Nations' Herald or the Swiss Die Schweiz im Volkerbund, which is printed in German.

\* \* \* \*

The tour conducted by Mr. Whelen through the Riviera in the latter part of February was extremely successful. Meetings were held at Alasio, San Remo, Bordighera, Mentone, Monte Carlo, Beaulieu and Nite. At Beaulieu the Duke of Connaught was present, and at Monte Carlo the Prince of Monaco took the chair. The average attendance was about 200. At San Remo members of sixteen different nationalities were on the platform. A number of new members of the Union was enrolled at each meeting.

\* \* \* \*

The first meeting of the newly formed Paris Branch of the Union was addressed by Mr. Whelen on March 8, the Salle Jouffroy being filled with an audience of over 400. A second meeting was addressed by Lord Cecil at the Institut Océanographique on March 24, and regular branch meetings will be held henceforward.

\* \* \* \*

Arrangements are being made for the formation of a branch of the League of Nations Union at Malta.

## BOOKS WORTH READING.

MR. H. A. L. FISHER'S record and qualifications bespeak a ready welcome for his series of lectures delivered at Glasgow last year which are now published under the title of *The Common Weal* (Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d.). To his earlier fame as a scholar and historian and as a practical educationist, he has added more recently a knowledge of public affairs both in the British Commonwealth and in the wider world, which he has gained as a Cabinet Minister and as a delegate of this country to the League. He develops his study of the demands of citizenship through a series of widening circles, one's neighbourhood, one's country, one's race and then mankind; but it is with his later chapters on internationalism in many aspects that this review must deal. Mr. Fisher gives short shrift to those who deny that there is such a thing as international morality. However much the international idea has been weakened by the growth of nationalism, he holds that the right relations between states must always be governed by the recognition of law in the same way as the right relations between individuals; the development of international law from the body of already existing customs, rules and precedents is an urgent task from which its difficulties must be no deterring influence. On another subject again—the reduction of armaments—Mr. Fisher does not minimise the practical difficulties; he discusses briefly the proposed Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, in theory admirable and in practice calculated to allay the constant alarms of France, but he is not blind to the risks it may bring to the fabric of the British Commonwealth. In a single sentence he goes to the root of the anxieties which disturb the world: "The appeasement of the age-long feud between France and Germany is in fact the condition precedent to the effective disarmament of Europe." Without that, however much the risk of war may be lessened, all else is a mere makeshift. In regard to the League itself Mr. Fisher recognises its present limitations as well as its value in being "a code of the best political morality current among civilised states at the conclusion of the Great War"; it is not the absolute or ultimate best, and Mr. Fisher, while hopeful, suffers from no illusions, as the following quotation witnesses:

"The task of presenting to the mind of a proud, eager and vigorous nation a constant and effective image of its wider responsibilities is no easy one. The amount of prejudice to be vanquished is everywhere immense. The sacrifices demanded from time to time will be real, sacrifices of hate, sacrifices of revenge, sacrifices of impatience, sacrifices of jealousy, sacrifices of pride, in some cases even sacrifices of apprehension."

There are the rules, but it is not by ignoring them or making light of them that the common weal of the world will be secured. We are grateful to Mr. Fisher for emphasising them and much else so clearly.

There have been enough and too many novels written round the War, and Mr. Victor Maclure's *Ultimatum* (Harrap & Co., 7s. 6d.) comes as a refreshing contrast. It is the thrilling tale of the future and describes how an imminent war was averted by the intervention of a marvellous airship, devised by a pacific scientist and operating in secret to dislocate the whole of world trade and finance to impose a dictated peace on the nations. We do not agree with Mr. Maclure's line of reasoning, but that does not prevent us from appreciating his novel as an exceedingly clever "adventure" story of daring airmanship and of the mysteries which science may yet reveal. His imagination nowhere goes beyond the bounds of possibility.

Another attack on war from a different angle comes from Professor Ernest L. Bogart, of Illinois. In his

*Direct and Indirect Cost of the Great World War* (Oxford University Press, 6s.) he presents a very careful and detailed analysis of figures showing the actual monetary expenditure, as well as the capitalised value of human in the loss of production which was entailed on the enemy nations and neutral countries. All this is doubtless interesting to the statistician and economist, but as a deterrent to war it is altogether useless; no nation will refrain from war by the mere consideration of how much it is likely to cost, even if the cost could be anything but entirely problematical.

The question of war or peace must be decided on other grounds, and those not material. It seems to us that Dr. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford goes much nearer to the heart of the matter than either Mr. Maclure or Professor Bogart. He has written at some length a volume entitled *The Reconstruction of Life* (Collins & Co., 10s.), in which he calls for a mental and spiritual renaissance as the only means whereby the world can be saved. He sees some light already in the League of Nations leading forward to such a renaissance, even though it be only "a faint and flickering beacon in the gloom for the hopes of mankind, and is as yet powerless in the face of competing armaments and of national hatreds burning implacably for revenge." It is this hatred and this spirit of revenge that must be dispersed if peace is to prevail. However, Dr. Wingfield-Stratford is no pessimist, and he is ready to admit that the League may become "a really effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and international justice" both in politics and industry; there is evidence enough that human nature can be changed, and he plainly tells us that we must make it our business to change it. This change must be the task of individuals rather than of governments, and the author outlines a scheme for a new "Order of the Divine Faith," modelled on the great Akbar's attempt, as a new church or spiritual brotherhood of mankind to vitalise the League and to fill the same place in the spiritual as the ideal League would fill in the temporal sphere. Whether it is necessary or even desirable to found a new society for this purpose is open to question, but there is no doubt that truth lies in Dr. Wingfield-Stratford's contention and appeal.

## BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

*Germany in Transition*, by M. Philips Price (Labour Publishing Company, 5s.). A careful account of Germany during the last five years, dealing with the causes of the revolution, the new forces at work, the economic conditions and the future prospects. Invaluable to those who would understand Germany of to-day.

*The Treachery of France*, by C. J. C. Street (Philip Allen & Co., 5s.). According to the author, this record of France's disloyalty to her allies, to the treaties and to the League is anything but complete; even so, it is a heavy and depressing indictment. The more's the pity that such a record should be necessary and possible, but the facing of facts must be a prelude to any chance of enduring friendship.

*The Ruhr*, by Joseph King (British Bureau for Ruhr Information, 7; Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1., 6d.). A pamphlet giving a clear and connected account of the French occupation, its meaning and consequences. A frank exposure of the failure of force, and an appeal for the undoing of the wrong.

*Report of Committee on the Release of the Property of Ex-Enemy Aliens* (H.M. Stationery Office, 6d.).

*The World Struggle for Oil*, by Pierre L'Espagnol de la Tramerye (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.).

*The Equality of States*, by Julius Goebel, junr. (Humphrey Milford, 7s.).

*In China Now*, by J. C. Keyte, and *China and Her Peoples*, by Lena E. Johnston (United Council of Missionary Education, 2s. each).

## THE RESCUE OF HUNGARY. NEW METHOD OF LEARNING FRENCH.

ONE of the most important pieces of business carried through at the recent League Council meeting was the removal of the last obstacles in the way of the Hungarian reconstruction scheme.

There have already been serious delays, for which the League in itself was not responsible, since the scheme was first framed in definite form by the League's Finance Committee in London last December. The next step was for the Reparation Commission to approve the scheme and to suspend its claims on Hungary in respect of reparations for a period of twenty years. That was not done till the latter part of February. After that the Protocols guaranteeing Hungary's territorial integrity and political independence were signed by Great Britain, France and Italy, Hungary on her part undertaking at the same time to carry out all the provisions of the Treaty of the Trianon and, in particular, those relating to the Hapsburg dynasty and disarmament.

Even then difficulties were raised on the part of the three Little Entente Powers (Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania), and when the League Council assembled at Geneva on March 10 these States had still not signed the Protocol. Discussions at Geneva, however, cleared the air, and the necessary signatures were affixed on March 13. Meanwhile, a League Commission had already gone to Budapest to discuss with the Hungarian Government the actual execution of the scheme.

The situation in Hungary differs from that prevailing in Austria when the League took charge there, in that Hungary's material wealth is much greater than Austria's, and it was, therefore, considered unnecessary, as it would probably have been impossible, to prevail on the Allied Powers themselves to guarantee a loan. As it is, the assets Hungary herself can command should be sufficient security. Though the League Commissioner-General in Budapest has not yet been formally appointed, the position has been offered to Mr. Harding, for some time President of the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, and there is every reason to believe he will accept it.

The League's scheme has been criticised in some quarters in this country on the ground that it tends to strengthen a Government largely reactionary in character. The facts are that the League is assisting in the reconstruction of Hungary, and is properly anxious to make its scheme as much economic and as little political as possible. If it began studying the political complexion of a particular government before endeavouring to assist the country controlled by that government, endless difficulties would inevitably arise. There is, moreover, no question that the establishment of a League Commission in Budapest, and the general interest aroused by the League scheme, will have the effect of letting light and air in on Hungary, and making it difficult for any political abuses which may exist to continue.

The main terms of the Hungarian scheme are as follows:

- (1) Loan of 250 million gold crowns (equal to about 10 million pounds sterling), to be issued by Hungarian Government secured on certain revenues of Hungary, estimated at 50 million gold crowns per annum. These revenues to be set free for this purpose.

- (2) It is to be a 20-year loan, but may be amortised earlier by Hungarian Government in manner to be agreed with holders.

- (3) During full period of possible amortisation—i.e., 20 years—Hungary's Treaty charges should be limited to a maximum annual average of 10 million gold crowns per annum—i.e., £500,000.

- (4) Hungary, in agreement with a delegation of the Council, is to draw up a programme of progressive reforms, in stages, such that Budget equilibrium on a sound and durable basis will be established by June 30, 1926.

## COURSES IN SPANISH AND GERMAN ALSO READY.

Could you pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language you have never learnt, without a single English word in it, and read it through without referring to a dictionary?

It sounds impossible. Yet this is just what the new Pelman method of learning

FRENCH, SPANISH AND GERMAN now enables you to do.

Here are a few typical extracts from the thousands of letters received from those who have adopted this new method:—

London, W.  
"I find that the Pelman method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."—Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. Haldane (H. 682).

New College, Oxford.  
"The Course is most remarkably ingenious and deserves the highest praise. It is unique."—H. Dunsmore (S.D. 115).

"Bodley," 16, Gordon Hill, Enfield.  
"By your method of instruction, which is gradual and sure, the pupil learns more in one year than in four years by the ordinary method."—(Rev.) J. Mare (S.M. 163).

Trenant Park, Duloe, Cornwall.  
"I cannot speak too highly of your Course; my little daughter of twelve really enjoys it and looks forward with the keenest interest to the return of the work sheets. The professor of Spanish is extremely helpful and kind in his corrections. If possible, I hope my little daughter will be able to take the French and German Courses; to a mother teaching her child alone the Courses are invaluable."—M. A. B. Peel (S.P. 130).

Everyone who wishes to acquire a fluent mastery of French, German or Spanish in the shortest possible time will appreciate the great advantages of this new "direct" method.

*First.* This method enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, and German in German. No English is employed; consequently there is no translation. Yet the system is so interesting, ingenious and simple that even a child can understand it.

*Second.* There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart. You learn the words by using them and in such a way that they stay in your mind without effort.

*Third.* Grammatical difficulties are avoided. The Pelman method enables you to read, write, speak, and understand a Foreign Language without spending months studying complicated grammatical rules. Yet by this method you secure an absolutely accurate and grammatical mastery of the language in question, the reason being that you absorb the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

## DESCRIPTIVE BOOK—FREE.

Those who have adopted this new method agree that it is the simplest, most interesting, and most effective of all methods of learning to read, write, speak, and understand a Foreign Language. It enables you to learn French, German or Spanish in about one-third the usual time.



The new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in three little books (one for each language). A copy of any one of these books will be sent you on application, gratis and post free. If you wish to learn French, Spanish, or German for Travelling, Business, Literary, or Social Purposes, you should certainly send for one of these books. Write to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book required will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.

Don't forget when writing to mention the language about which you require special information.



(5) A Commissioner-General to be appointed (not a national of one of neighbouring countries or of Italy, Great Britain or France), who will control accounts into which will be paid (a) the assigned revenues, and (b) the proceeds of the loan.

(6) A Bank of Issue is to be founded independent of Government control or influence.

(7) The Reparation Commission is to appoint a committee to ascertain that the interests of Reparation creditors, as limited under (3) above, are not being prejudiced during the 20 years' period of the loan.

(8) In accordance with the Austrian precedent, a guarantee of respect for Hungarian sovereignty and territorial integrity by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, and any other Governments who may care to undertake it, and a guarantee by Hungary that she will carry out the Treaty of Trianon, and in particular the military clauses which are contained in a second Protocol.

### THE "COUNCIL'S VOTE."

THE following Branches and other local organisations of the Union have paid, in full, their quotas of the Council's Vote for 1923:—

NATIONAL COUNCIL.—Wales.  
DISTRICTS.—Birmingham; Bradford; Derbyshire; Liverpool and Merseyside; Oxford Federation; Tyne.  
BRANCHES.—Abingdon; Addingham; Almondsbury; Ambleside; Arnside; Ashbourne; Ashby-de-la-Zouche; Barnoldswick; Barton-on-Humber; Batley; Bedford; Bideford; Bingley; Berkhamsted; Bishopston and Horfield; Bloxham; Boar's Hill; Bourton-on-Water; Bridge-water; Bridport; Brighton; Bristol, Redcliffe; Bristol, W.D. & H.O. Wills' No. 2 Factory; Bristol, St. Mark's Baptist Church; Bromley; Buckingham; Burford; Burgess Hill; Burslem-on-Sea; Bury St. Edmunds; Butter-shaw and Shelf; Calne; Calstock; Camberley; Cambridge; Carlisle; Chelsea; Chingford; Chinnor; Chislehurst; Chorley Wood; Choseley; Cuckfield; Clevedon; Clifton; Congleton; Corsham; Coventry; Coverdale; Cottingham; Crewe; Crosshills; Cuckfield; Danbury; Dawlish; Dewsbury; Dorking; Douglas, I.O.M.; Rosemount Chapel; Dunmow; Ealing; Earl Shilton; East Finchley; East Hendred; Eccleston; Epping; Farnborough; Filey; Ferme Park; Fishponds; Fleet; Folkestone; Grangetown, St. Matthew's Men's Meeting; Grasmere; Graxington; Grayshott; Hindhead and Churt; Great Malvern; Gomersal; Guildford; Halifax; Hampstead Garden Suburb; Harpenden; Heathfield and Waldron; Hebden Bridge; Henleaze; Hereford; Herne Hill; Horbury; Horley; Horsham; Huddersfield; Huddersfield, Hillhouse Congregational Church; Hunting-ton; Ilkley; Kendal; Kettering; Knaresborough; Leamington; Leeds; Leeds, North Trinity Church; Leeds, Headingly Congregational Church; Leeds, Hare-hills Lane Baptist Church; Lelant; Lewisham; Lincoln Junior Training College; London Postal Service; London, General Registry Office, Somerset House; London, G.P.O. Money Order Department; London, Whitfield's Tabernacle; Long Buckby; Lostwithiel; Lothersdale; Louth; Maidenhead; Maldon; Meltham; Middlesbrough; Mytholmroyd; Newbury; New Mills; New Milton; Normanton; Northam; Orrell; Ossett; Otley; Oxted and Limsfield; Paignton; Patley Bridge; Penzance; Peppard; Perthshire group; Purley; Quorn; Ravenstonedale; Rawdon, Yeadon and Guiseley; Reading; Redland; Reigate and Redhill; Ripon; Rochester; Rushden; Ryde; St. Annes-on-Sea; St. Austell; St. Peter's-in-Thanel; Salisbury; Saltash; Saltburn; Scarborough; Sedbergh; Silsden; Sittingbourne; Skipton; Small Heath; Southampton; Southend-on-Sea; Staple Hill; Starbeck; Staveley; Steyning; Stourport; Syston; Tadworth; Tamworth; Taunton; Teignmouth; Thirsk; Thornaby-on-Tees; Thundersley; Todmorden; Topsham; Torquay; Tunstall; Twyford; Ulverston; Wallingford; Wandsworth, East Hill Congregational Church; Wantage; Warwick; Wellington; Wells; Weston-Rhyn; Weybridge and Oatlands; Wheathampstead; Whitstable; Wincanton; Winscombe; Worthing.

In certain cases Districts rather than Branches have been assessed; this means that there are Branches who have paid their quotas in full, but whose names are not included in the above list.

## Correspondence

### THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In your last number you state that the fact that the French League of Nations Association has a membership of over 200,000 will be received with some surprise. I should be glad if you could allow me to give your readers some idea of the scope and extent of the peace movement in France. Just as the majority of Frenchmen are under the delusion that all Germans are thirsting for revenge, so most English people are convinced that Frenchmen want nothing but the destruction of Germany. What is the real position?

Who are the actual partisans of the League of Nations in France to-day?

1. *The Socialists*, corresponding to the English Labour Party and having a large number of adherents. Their journal is *Le Populaire*.

2. *La Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*. An organisation of more than 100,000 members, pacifist, and full of confidence in the League of Nations.

3. *The Radicals*, through their journals and reviews, *L'Ère Nouvelle*, *L'Œuvre*, *Le Quotidien*, *Le Progrès Civique*, are also carrying on a vigorous campaign for a Franco-German rapprochement and for the League of Nations.

4. *Society for International Friendship through the Churches*.

5. *French Federation of League of Nations Associations*, comprising the members of numerous associations, feminist, political, trade union, and ex-soldier.

6. *La Jeune République*, under the presidency of M. Marc Sangnier. This organisation held an International Congress at Paris in 1921, at which, for the first time since 1914, a German was one of the speakers. In 1922 the Congress was held at Vienna, in 1923 at Freiburg, at which 600 Germans and 125 Frenchmen were present.

7. *La Paix Par le Droit*. This is the oldest French pacifist society. Its president is Professor Ruysens, General Secretary of the International Association of League of Nations Societies. Its programme may be summed up as follows: "Against war, against militarism, for the League of Nations."

Pacifists of all countries may take courage from the efforts of all these organisations.—Yours, &c.,

ROGER SILLARD

(Avocat à la Cour de Caen).

[The suggestion of surprise did not bear reference to the strength of the peace movement in France, but to the membership of the French League of Nations Association. In this country membership of the L.N.U. means personal adhesion and the payment of a subscription direct to the Union. In France the members appear to be made up by adding together the total memberships of various societies generally favourable to the League.—ED., HEADWAY.]

### THE APATHY OF THE CHURCHES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The letter on "The Apathy of the Churches," taken with the list of New Corporate Members, in the January number of HEADWAY, gives rise to serious thought. Is it not strange that that long list of Corporate Members, consisting almost entirely of churches, contains the name of not one single Church of England? Can and will anyone explain?—Yours, &c.,

A WORKER FOR THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

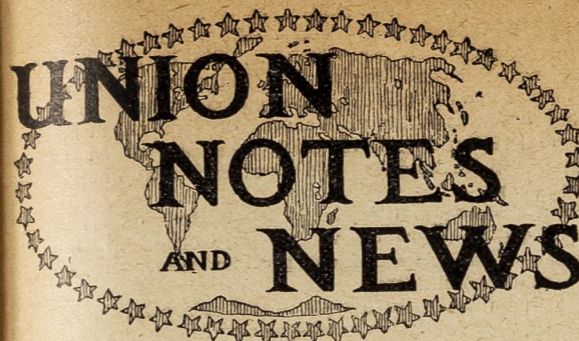
SIR,—With reference to a Branch Secretary's letter in the January HEADWAY on the "Apathy of the Churches," I should like to say that I, too, have noticed the want of interest and enthusiasm shown by individual Christians.

On Christmas Day I heard a very excellent sermon on "Peace and goodwill towards men," but no mention was made of the League.

I ventured to write to the minister, and in his very kind reply he said that he should have and would have spoken of the League had he thought of it, and very much regretted the omission.—Yours, &c.,

Glasgow.

K. E. D. (a member).



### Congratulations to Southampton.

The annual report of the Southampton Branch is evidence of an active year. Its numbers have increased in the past year from 397 to 1,400, and the Committee are determined that this year it shall reach at least 3,000. Pressure is to be brought to bear on local authorities to have a course of instruction on the League given in Council schools. Meantime an essay competition for school-children has been held. The essays in the elementary division were based on an address delivered to 1,700 children by Mr. F. Whelen; in the secondary division the subjects were framed on the lines of the American School Citizenship League Essay Scheme. Eighteen hundred children entered, and most of their essays showed both intelligence and enthusiasm.

An innovation was made in the summer in the shape of char-à-banc excursions to Lymington, Lyndhurst and Beaulieu. At each place an open-air meeting was held. This is a lead which other Branches might follow. Altogether some fifty meetings have been held during the year. The Committee are to be heartily congratulated.

### Leeds "League of Nations" Week.

A "League of Nations" Week, which was held in Leeds from February 24 to March 2, resulted in increasing the membership of the Branch by 2,000. Five hundred new members joined at a single meeting in one of the city workshops. Over a hundred meetings were held in all, and a historical play, "William Penn," was performed in aid of Union funds. The great event of the week was an address by Lord Cecil on February 27. Lord Cecil countered the Birkenhead thesis with the statement that "everybody, unless he was a criminal or a lunatic—and most of them—were idealists." Other speakers were Mr. Charles Roden Buxton and Mr. T. W. Stamford, M.P. for West Leeds, who spoke on the International Labour Organisation.

### The "Save the Children" Film

was shown at the Æolian Hall on March 12. The film itself was taken over a year ago, and represents only the work of the Fund in England, France, Austria-Hungary, and Greece; but the Duchess of Atholl supplemented it with a most interesting address in which she mentioned the many other countries where the Fund is at work. The Duchess emphasised the practical side of the work in that it aims everywhere at training the children, once they are restored to health, to be self-supporting. Not the least interesting part of the film was that which showed groups of boys and girls in Budapest singing over their shoe-making and lacework.

The Council of the Fund held its fifth general meeting at Geneva in February. All the delegates present signed the "Declaration of Geneva," a "Children's Charter," affirming that the first duty of humanity is to save and help the children of every race and creed. The Declaration has been deposited in the archives of the Canton of Geneva, and all

the affiliated committees are to be asked to draft detailed "charters," embodying its principles. It was also proposed to hold a universal "All Children's Day" once a year.

### Reading and Labour.

Representatives of almost all the Labour organisations in Reading met in conference on February 16, and heard an account of the International Labour Organisation from Lady Hall. Discussions were held which touched on all the League's activities. It is beginning to be recognised that the I.L.O., whose work seems at first sight a little prosaic beside the variety of tasks which fall to Assembly and Council, is really an extremely interesting organisation. Indeed, to the worker it is the aspect of the League which appeals most strongly. Reading is to be congratulated on the innovation.

### A Successful League Pageant.

"The Desire of All Nations," by N. Boole, which was first performed last November by the Congleton Branch, was repeated, by request, on January 21, and has succeeded in rousing great local interest. A good deal of care was given to the production, in particular to the scenery and costumes, and the arrangement of dances and music. The Branch are willing to sell the scenic properties, some costumes and copies of the music at less than cost price to other Branches wishing to perform the pageant. Enquiries should be addressed to Miss Whitehurst, Malvern Villas, High Town, Congleton.

### Admission of Germany.

The "model Assembly" held at Aberdeen on February 29 by a joint effort of the Aberdeen and Edinburgh Uni-

versity Branches, decided by a large majority in favour of the admission of Germany to the League. Delegates from twenty-three countries were present, and among those who were represented by their own nationals were France, Belgium, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, Latvia and Switzerland. Local colour was provided by one of the French delegates whose address was delivered in French and translated by an interpreter. The Yugo-Slav representative made an original contribution to the debate by drawing his argument

from biology. The law of racial development, he said, ordained that Germany must become strong. The problem for the League was to see that when Germany became strong she would not become dangerous. Twenty-one votes were cast in favour of admission, with France the only dissentient. One wishes the motion might hope for such an easy passage through the real Assembly.

ShIPLEY Salt Schools Junior Branch also holds a mock Assembly, which, thanks to the help of three members of the staff who had been at Geneva, has reproduced with considerable fidelity the opening of the Assembly.

Birmingham Junior Branch went even further, and organised an Assembly, at which a number of the delegates spoke in French.

### A German Christmas.

In "The Little Fir-tree," Mrs. E. C. Hoare has written a delightful story of a German Christmas, which was unexpectedly brightened by the arrival of a parcel from England. Real pathos and charm are combined in a way which is rare indeed in a story with a purpose. Mrs. Hoare will be glad to send copies, free of charge, to anyone interested in relief-work in Germany. Those interested should write to her at Ashlawn, Blanford Road, Reigate.

### "The Christ of the Andes."

In response to many requests from purchasers of this leaflet (No. 25) (over a quarter of a million have been sold), a coloured reproduction of the statue with the Andes in the

background has been prepared, and can be supplied from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, at 2s. 6d. each mounted, 1s. 3d. unmounted. Postage and packing 2d. extra in each case.

A copy of this photograph with the pamphlet should be in the possession of every Sunday School teacher.

Mrs. D. M. Northcroft's "Women at Work in the League of Nations" (price 6d.) is also on sale at Headquarters.

**Help for Greek Refugees.**

A 3d. fund for Greek refugees has been started at St. Anne's-on-Sea. This is a way in which even those whose means are small can do their bit, and other Branches might well copy it.

**Service at Staines.**

A joint service of all denominations in the Parish Church was organised by the Staines Branch on March 2. A large congregation was present. The service was conducted by the Vicar, the Rev. J. R. James, and Dr. Maud, Bishop of Kensington, preached the sermon.

**L.N.U. Players at Barnes.**

The L.N.U. Players gave a dramatic performance at Barnes on February 20 to help the Branch raise its quota towards the Council Vote. Barrie's comedy, "The Will," was performed, with Miss Gertrude Jennings' "The Bathroom Door" as a curtain-raiser. The proceeds amounted to two-thirds of the Council Vote, with a fair surplus for the Branch funds. The Players will be glad to give their services to any other Branch which applies to 15, Grosvenor Crescent. Those who have only seen Headquarters in office hours would never dream to what heights they can rise.

**Summer Schools.**

The Oxford Summer School will be held from August 1 to 8 at Keble College. The fee for accommodation and lectures will be 4½ guineas; lectures only, 1 guinea. A reduction of 5s. will be made for those accommodated in College; small extra charges will be made for excursions.

The Geneva Summer School will be held from August 8 to 15. Lectures will be given in the Council Chamber of the Palais des Nations. The School is being held in close co-operation with the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. The fee for the week, inclusive of travelling from London via Folkestone-Boulogne, second class, carriage across Paris and accommodation, is 10 guineas. Accommodation will consist of bed, Continental breakfast, luncheon and dinner, and will commence on arrival at Geneva. Small extra charges will be made for excursions. The fee for those remaining until the evening of Monday, August 11, will be 11½ guineas.

Applications for both schools should be made as early as possible to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. A deposit of 10s. for Oxford or £1 for Geneva should accompany each application. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to the League of Nations Union and crossed "London Joint City and Midland Bank."

Detailed programmes of both schools will be published later.

**Guernsey Branch's Splendid Lead.**

Lieut. W. G. M. Colman writes from Forest Rectory, Guernsey: "I make great use of all my literature and have in the last month got 180 members in my own parish out of a total population of 988." If this rate of progress were general, the Union would soon count its members in millions instead of thousands. Upper Clapton and Stamford Hill Branch have increased their membership to 1,835.

**WALES.**

On Tuesday, February 19, a public reception was given at New York to the delegation from the women of Wales. At the luncheon there was a gathering of 300 American women representing 60 organisations comprising 16,000,000 members. The visitors were cheered again and again on their entrance into the room. Miss Ruth Morgan, of the National League of Women Voters, presided and Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths spoke on behalf of the Welsh delegation. On the following day the presentation of the Memorial

and of the oak chest containing 400,000 signatures was made at Washington. The members of the delegation were presented to Mr. Coolidge, the President, and to Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, the Secretary of State. The Memorial and the oak chest are to be kept for all time in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. All the members of the delegation speak of their reception in America as amazing in its kindness and wonderful in its wholehearted enthusiasm.

In a "Message to Wales," broadcasted on St. David's Day, Lord Pontypridd said that the work of Wales for the League of Nations was one of the most remarkable features in Welsh national life.

Quite a number of Welsh Branches are arranging for a Daffodil Day for the educational and missionary enterprise of the Welsh National Council—the daffodil being the emblem of the League of Nations Union in Wales. On the day of the Rugby International at Cardiff, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, H.R.H. the Duke of York and the Prime Minister, who were present at the match, all wore daffodils which had been presented to them by Miss Nansi Roberts, of the headquarters staff of the Welsh National Council. The amount taken on the Daffodil Day at Cardiff was £234.

Professor C. K. Webster is addressing a number of teachers at conferences in North Wales. He has already met the teachers of Merionethshire at two centres—Bala and Barmouth; of Flintshire and a part of Denbighshire at Shotton and Rhyl. There have been good attendances and great keenness has been shown. During April Professor Webster is to speak to teachers at five conferences in Carnarvonshire and Anglesey.

Arrangements are now in hand for the annual conference of the Welsh National Council at Llandrindod Wells in Whit-week—on June 10 and 11. Sessions will be devoted to the winter's programme of the Branches, the League and the Schools and to a review of the work which is being done by the sister unions in various countries in Europe.

The 1924 Henry Richard celebration will be held at his birthplace, Tregaron, on August 20, when the Lord Bishop of St. David's will be one of the speakers.

**Forward Push at Belfast.**

The Belfast Branch, which distinguished itself by adding no less than 102 new members during the first 10 days of March, is holding an important public meeting on April 29, in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, at which Viscount Cecil will speak. It is hoped that at least 1,500 people will be present.

**Canvassing the Churches.**

Burnley Branch is certainly alive to the urgent necessity of canvassing the support of the churches, and is so organising its work that a spirit of friendly competition is being aroused among them. The Honorary Secretary reports that two or three big church sub-branches are running neck-to-neck for the highest number of members, and, judging from the general tenor of the report, if these churches are to retain pride of place they will in the future not only have to reckon with each other, but with other places of worship that are rapidly coming along.

**Are you going to the I.L.O. Conference?**

A trip to Geneva for the opening of the International Labour Conference is being arranged by the North Staffs District Council, leaving Stoke-on-Trent mid-day, June 10, and Victoria that evening. There will be lectures at the International Labour Office by its senior officials, and the party will also be admitted to the Conference. The cost, which includes second-class return from Victoria-Geneva, with a bus across Paris and a week at a boarding-house, is from about £10 10s. All details from the Secretary, 15, Church Street, Stoke-upon-Trent. Please enclose stamped addressed envelope for reply.

**Corporate Members.**

The following have been admitted to "corporate membership" during February:—

ALTON—Congregational Church. BARNET—Women's Adult School. BARNOLDSWICK—League of Young Liberals. BECKENHAM—Congregational Church. BER-

WICK-ON-TWEED—Primitive Methodist Circuit; Wallace Green Church-Literary Society. BISHOP AUCKLAND—Townhead Wesley Women's Meeting. BRAMPTON—Presbyterian Church. BRIDGWATER—St. Mary's Church. BRIGHTON—St. Mark's Church. BRISTOL—St. George's Baptist Church. CHESTER—Northgate Congregational Church. CHIRNSIDE—Women's Rural Institute. COVENTRY—Foleshill Road Congregational Church; Queen's Road Baptist Church. COWLING—Labour Party. CROSBY (Liverpool)—St. Paul's Church Council. CROSSHILLS—Ebenezer United Methodist Chapel. CULLERCOATS—Primitive Methodist Church. CULLOMPTON—Baptist Church. DAREINGTON—Railway Clerks' Association No. 1. EAST HAM—Congregational Church. EAST-LEIGH—Parochial Church Council. ECCLESHILL—Congregational Church. EDINBURGH—The Teaching Staffs of: Borrowmead Secondary School; Broughton Elementary School; Craigmount School; Edinburgh Ladies' College; George Watson's Boys' College (Group I.); George Watson's Boys' College (Group II.); Lochend Road School; North Fort Street School. FARNHAM—Congregational Church. GATESHEAD—Branch of B.W.T.A. GILLINGHAM—Free Church Council. GLASGOW—Abbey Close U.F. Church Junior Bible Class. HAVERHILL—West End Congregational Church. HORWICH—Primitive Methodist Church (Horwich Circuit). ILKES-TON—Ebenezer United Methodist Church. INCHMARLO—Rural Women's Institute. KESWICK—Congregational Church. KETTERING—Fuller Baptist Church. KIDDERMINSTER—Baxter Congregational Church. KILDWICK—Parochial Church Council. LEEDS—York Road Baptist Church. LEIGHTON BUZZARD—Hockliffe Street Baptist Church. LEYTONSTONE—Congregational Church; East Leyton Junior Liberal Association; Free Church; Presbyterian Church; St. John's Church; Wesleyan Church. LIVERPOOL—The Council of the Liverpool Battalion of the Boys' Brigade; Princes Road Presbyterian Church of England. LONDON—Cricklewood Chichele Road Congregational Church; Edmonton, The People's Tabernacle; Fulham, Munster Road United Methodist Church; Lavender Hill Congregational Church; Lewisham Road Baptist Church; London Workers' Section of the Association of Infant Welfare and Maternity Centres; Paddington Congregational Church; St. John's Wood Presbyterian Church; St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Parochial Church Council; Upper Clapton Brotherhood. MAIDSTONE—King Street Church. MANCHESTER—Longsight Baptist Church. MARPLE BRIDGE—Congregational Church. MAYBOLE—Carrick Provident Co-operative Society. MIDDLETON—St. Stephen's Church. MILNSBRIDGE—Baptist Church. MITCHAM—Zion Congregational Church. MORECAMBE—Sandylands United Methodist Church. NEW EDLINGTON—Primitive Methodist Church. NUNEATON—Primitive Methodist Church. OSSETT—Ossett Green Congregational Church. OXTED—Congregational Church. PENZANCE—Branch of the B.W.T.A. READING—Branch of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. REETH—Wesleyan Church. ROBY MILL—Primitive Methodist Church. SHEFFIELD—Cemetery Road Congregational Church; Hillsborough Baptist Church; Branch of the United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association. SKELMERSDALE—Primitive Methodist Church. SOUTHSEA—Devonshire Avenue Baptist Church. SOUTHWELL—Branch of Co-operative Society; Branch of Girls' Friendly Society. SOWERBY BRIDGE—Congregational Church. STANLEY—Primitive Methodist Circuit. STEBBING—Congregational Church. SUNDERLAND—Branch of the United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association. SUTTON-IN-CRAVEN—Baptist Church. SWANWICK—United Methodist Church. TONBRIDGE—Congregational Church. TOTLAND BAY—United Methodist Church. TUNSTALL—Jubilee Primitive Methodist Church. WATFORD—Leavesden Road Baptist Church. WESTBURY—Old Congregational Church. WEST BYFLEET—St. John's Church Council. WHITLEY BAY—Trinity Wesleyan Church. YORK—Southlands Wesleyan Church.

The following have been admitted to "corporate membership" during March:—

ACCRINGTON—Oak Street Congregational Church. BRADFORD—Eccleshill Parochial Church Council.

BRISTOL—Henleaze Congregational Church; Y.M.C.A. BROADHEATH—Parochial Church Council. BURNLEY—IN-WHARFEDALE—Salem Congregational Church; Wesleyan Church. CHESTER—Queen Street Congregational Church. DEVIZES—New Baptist Church. EDINBURGH—Greenside Parish Church Fellowship Association; The Teaching Staff of Bruntsfield School; The Teaching Staff of Crauley School; The Teaching Staff of the Flora Stevenson School. ERDINGTON—Baptist Church Women's Meeting. GATESHEAD—Durham Road United Methodist Church; Springwell Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association; GRIMSBY—Men's Co-operative Political Council. HUGGLESCOTE—Baptist Church. KETTERING—Church of England Men's Bible Class; Silver Street Wesleyan Men's Bible Class. LONDON—Covent Garden, Crown Court Scottish National Church; Emperor's Gate, Presbyterian Church; Isle of Dogs, Christchurch and St. Cuthbert's Mothers' Union; Westbourne Park Chapel. LUMPHAVEN—Social Club; NEW-BIGGIN-BY-SEA—Primitive Methodist Church. NOTTINGHAM—New Church Society. PENZANCE—The Teaching Staff of the Boys' County School; St. John's Church Council. RANGOON—Olcott Lodge of the Theosophical Society. RIPONDEN—Zion Congregational Church. SEVEN KINGS—Baptist Church. SHEFFIELD—Weston Street United Methodist Church. SOUTHWELL—Wesley Guild. SUNDERLAND—The Thompson Memorial Hall. SWINDON—Wesley Church. TORQUAY—Zion United Methodist Church. UXBRIDGE & DISTRICT—Free Church Council. WEST BRIDGFORD—Muster's Wesleyan Church. WHITLEY BAY—Trinity Wesleyan Church. WINCHMORE HILL—St. Paul's Church Council.

**Geo. M. HAMMER & Co., Ltd.**

Church, School, Institute,  
Library, Office, Laboratory  
Furniture—Chairs—Memorials.

CROWN WORKS, ST. JAMES'S ROAD,  
BERMONDSEY, LONDON, S.E.16.

**THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP**

Write for General Programme of STUDY TOURS, LECTURE SCHOOLS, etc. Subjects included are,  
AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS & AFFAIRS London Easter.  
ITALIAN ART Florence May 2-16.  
ENGLISH LAKES & THEIR LITERATURE Ambleside Whit-week.  
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE Geneva June 20-27.  
IRELAND OF TO-DAY Dublin July 25-Aug. 1.  
ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS Geneva Aug. 30-Sep. 5.  
Secretary, MRS. K. E. INNES, B.A., HIGH OAKS ROAD,  
WELWYN GARDEN CITY, HERTS.

Readers of HEADWAY are invited to purchase one of the British made



**HARPER PIANOS.**  
ORDINARY PIANOS or PLAYER PIANOS.  
High grade quality and finish. Beautiful Tone. Finest value at moderate price.  
Sold for CASH or on MONTHLY TERMS.  
**HARPER PIANO CO., LTD.,**  
Write (Sidney C. Harper, Managing Director) for list 256-262, HOLLOWAY RD., N.1.

**TOURS.**

ARLINGTON TOURING CLUB.—Conducted Tours to the Balkans, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, Tyrol, the Dolomites and Brittany. Walking Tours.—Send for programme to FRED TALLANT, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.

**Do you Want "Headway" ?**

Many of the members of the Union whose subscriptions entitle them to receive HEADWAY belong to the same family at the same address. In such cases it may happen that one copy of HEADWAY may be found sufficient for a family, even though every member may, in virtue of the amount of his subscription, be entitled to receive a copy. If those recipients—who, though entitled to receive HEADWAY, prefer to dispense with their copy—would kindly inform Headquarters accordingly, there would be a saving in labour and expense.

\* \* \* \*

**Renew Your Subscriptions.**

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

\* \* \* \*

**To Branch Secretaries.**

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

\* \* \* \*

**Enquiries.**

Many of our members who write to Headquarters asking for information on League subjects, send stamped addressed envelopes for reply. It would be a great help if this practice could be universally adopted.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

1s. a year. Minimum Subscription.

3s. 6d. a year. Membership and HEADWAY.

£1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.

£25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.

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

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

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

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

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

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. All communications respecting advertisements should be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1.

Telegrams: "Freenal, Knights, London."  
Telephone: Victoria 1970.

## How YOU can Help Sufferers from Drink and Drug Habits

If you have friends or relatives who have unfortunately become victims of drink or drugs, you can render practical and immediate help by calling their attention to the Keeley Treatment. For over 30 years this Treatment has been bringing joy into the lives of those sands of men and women whose future was dark with foreboding. Lives that were in danger of moral and physical shipwreck have been rescued and regenerated. Many healthy, sane citizens to-day owe their livelihood, their strength, and their mental capacity to the Keeley Treatment. It is an astounding thing that a short course of this Treatment, under conditions equal to and almost exactly like those of a first-class hotel, should result in giving men and women back to society, with courage renewed, and the glow of health in their veins.

The Keeley Treatment entails no hardship whatever. It is as easily undertaken as a holiday—it is in full charge of our own physician—it leaves patients free to come and go at will until the case is complete. "Truth" has specially investigated the claims of the Institute, and in common with many eminent divines, scientists, medical men, and politicians, has endorsed them without qualification. The work of the Keeley Institute should have the support of all the Churches. The redemption of men and women from a terrible end is a duty which all should be eager to undertake. If, therefore, you have friends or relatives who are now in the grip of Drink or Drugs, tell them about the Keeley Treatment.

**Write for FREE Prospectus.**

All communications treated in confidence.

**THE KEELEY INSTITUTE (Dept. 14),  
9 West Bolton Gardens, London, S.W.5.**

Telephone: Kensington 813.



TAKE YOUR HOLIDAY  
at

# GENEVA

Home of the  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WE are again opening our Centre at Hotel Fédéral, Rue de Berne, 3 minutes from Lake and station. Forty persons can be accommodated, and there will be an English hostess. Special visits will be made to the International Labour Office and the League of Nations. Lectures will be arranged, trips round the Lake to Ouchy (for Lausanne), Vevey, Castle of Chillon, and Mont Salève.

Excellent bathing, boating, fishing, and tennis.

Geneva with its glorious lake, clean, bright streets, and pure air, offers a most attractive holiday. To all interested in Labour and League of Nations questions, a unique opportunity of combining a holiday and education is offered.

Terms for Geneva: { One Week at Centre £9 10s.  
Two Weeks at Centre £12 10s.

Parties leave London on Saturday evening train, via London, Dieppe, Paris, and arrive at Geneva on Sunday evening. They leave Geneva on the following Sunday or Sunday week, and arrive in London on Monday evening. Earlier departure if desired.

TERMS cover 2nd class rail and boat, accommodation and food, all excursions and visits, and tips at Hotel.

Send Stamp NOW for Full Program to—

**WORKERS' TRAVEL ASSOCIATION, LTD.**  
Dept. E, Toynbee Hall,  
28, COMMERCIAL STREET, LONDON, E.1.