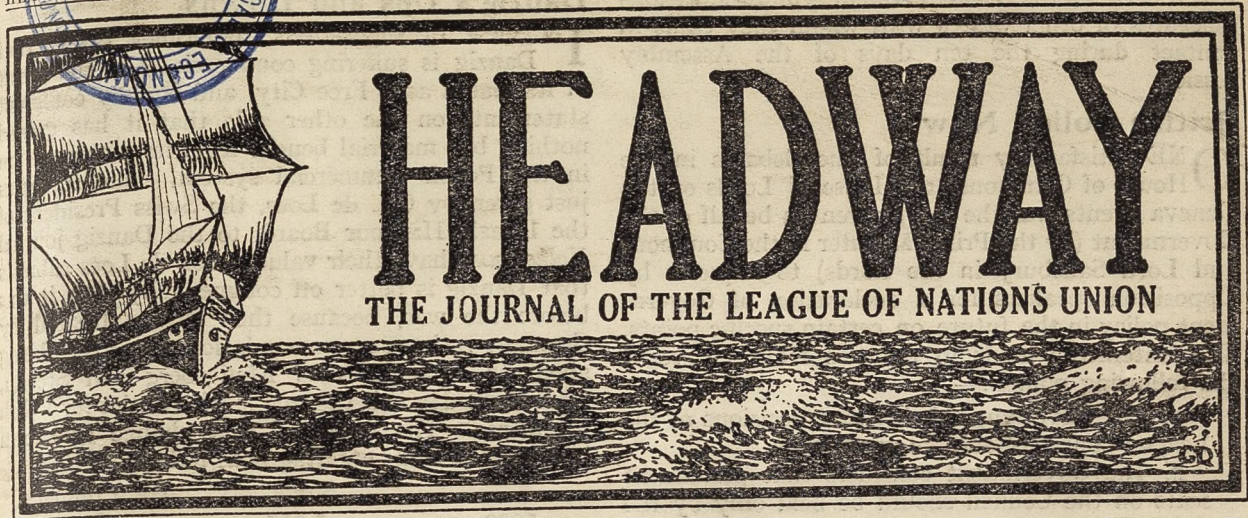




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MARCH AT GENEVA



Vol. VIII. No. 4 [Published by the League of Nations Union.] April, 1926 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.] Price Threepence

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE last issue of HEADWAY opened with the confident prediction, which no one in this country at that time seriously challenged, that before the month of March was half through Germany would be a full member of the League of Nations with a permanent seat on the Council.

Gain against Loss

WHAT the League has suffered through this unhappy result, and the circumstances that led up to it, is apparent to everyone; the greatest danger of all being the possibility of developments either inside or outside Germany which might make the entry of that country into the League in September as difficult as it was in March.

lished between the German Ministers and the various delegates of other States with whom they came in contact during the ten days of the Assembly session.

British Policy Now

ONE satisfactory result of the debates in the House of Commons and House of Lords on the Geneva events was the reply given on behalf of the Government (by the Prime Minister in the Commons and Lord Salisbury in the Lords) to requests by Opposition speakers for a declaration of Government policy in the future on certain specific points. The statements made in the two Houses covered the following points:—

1. The Government holds that decisions of the League Council should be unanimous.
2. The Government considers that permanent seats on the Council should be held only by the Great Powers.
3. The Government is in favour of making the fullest use of the normal machinery of the League "every time it is appropriate."
4. The Government would do everything in its power in September to secure for Germany membership of the League and a permanent seat on the Council.

What has not been so far discovered is whether the British Government still considers itself bound by its pledge to Spain, and intends to go to Geneva in September to endeavour to elevate Spain to a permanent seat on the Council. It is clearly of importance that information should still be sought in the House of Commons on that point.

The Union on the Crisis

THE views of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union on the events at Geneva are expressed in the following resolution unanimously passed on March 18:—

The Executive Committee deeply regrets that effect has not been given to the strong British opinion in favour of the immediate admission of Germany to the League.

It sees with astonishment and indignation that Germany's admission to the League has been made the subject of secret bargains, pledges and even threats, utterly at variance with the methods and spirit of the League of Nations. It deprecates the fact that this question was not dealt with from the first day of the Assembly meeting onwards by the normal and official use of the League machinery, including at all stages full public debate of the issues involved both in the Council, and, if necessary, in the Assembly, of the League. It believes that this method, which has been unflinching in the past, afforded the best chance of achieving a successful result.

It expresses its satisfaction that these secret negotiations have, at least for the time being, been defeated, and offers its respectful congratulations to the representative of Sweden for his firm vindication of the true principles of the League.

It welcomes the appointment of a Committee, on which it hopes Germany will be represented, to consider the constitution of the Council; and calls attention to the importance of the principle that members of the Council should be responsible to the public opinion of the whole League, and consequently to the extreme danger involved in the creation of any permanent irremovable members whatsoever except those few Great Powers whose continuous presence is necessary to the strength and authority of the Council.

It urges the extreme importance of removing all obstacles to Germany's entrance into the Council in September, and hopes that, in the meantime, her active co-operation with the League, wherever possible, will be invited and secured.

Danzig's Ups and Downs

IN view of suggestions sometimes made that Danzig is suffering commercially as the result of its status as a Free City, and equally confident statements on the other side that it has gained nothing but material benefit from its incorporation in the Polish commercial system, some statistics just given by Col. de Loes, the Swiss President of the Danzig Harbour Board, to the Danzig journal *Volkstimme* have their value. Col. de Loes submits that Danzig is better off commercially than it was before the war, because then it was treated by Germany rather as a poor relation, preference being given to such ports as Königsberg and Stettin, whereas to-day it is the sole marine outlet for Polish commerce. The result of that change as shown in figures of ships entering is as follows:—

		Ships.	Total tonnage.
1920	...	1,951	987,750
1923	...	2,916	1,701,747
1925	...	3,986	1,869,979

Commercial prosperity does not necessarily spell political satisfaction, but these figures do at least dispose of the contention sometimes advanced for political purposes that severance from Germany has meant Danzig's ruin.

America and Armaments

DESPITE all the alarms and excursions we have heard from America in regard to the condition of Europe and the hopelessness of any American co-operation with a continent in so deplorable a state, it would appear that the United States is to co-operate in the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament after all. That is extremely satisfactory, and Mr. Hugh Gibson, the United States Minister at Berne, will make an excellent delegate, supported as he is to be by competent naval and military experts. The Commission is not to meet till May 18, which is not as early a date as many people had hoped for, but it may be argued with some justice that a week or two one way or the other is of little moment. Germany's co-operation is certain, and various changes have been made in regard to the plans for the work of the Commission at her suggestion. Russia, unfortunately, is more doubtful, for the Council has decided again that the first meeting of the Commission at any rate shall be held at Geneva, and Russia's objections to sending any representatives within the frontiers of Switzerland are well known. It does not, however, follow that if Russia is not at the first meeting of the Commission, she will necessarily absent herself from subsequent meetings, of which there are likely to be many.

The Mandate for Syria

A GOOD deal of satisfaction has been felt at Geneva about a special session of the Mandates Commission held at Rome in the latter part of February to deal with the disturbances which arose in Syria last year under the French mandate. This was the first time the Mandates Commission had been in danger of finding itself in collision with a Great Power, for the Bondelswart Rebellion in S.W. Africa concerned the Union Government rather than Great Britain itself. The fact that the

sitting of the Mandates Commission came so soon after the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute was also a factor in the situation, for it had been freely suggested that while the League could deal sternly with small Powers, it would recede hastily when confronted with a State of the first importance. A dispassionate reading of the Commission's report and still more of the evidence, when the evidence is available, will convince most people that the Commission did its best under difficult circumstances. It did not hesitate to express judgments which, having regard to the strictly diplomatic language always adopted on such occasions, did not fall short of censure, and it made various suggestions as to changes desirable in Syria in future. At the same time it avoided the mistake of increasing the difficulties of the French authorities, who, it should be said in all fairness, have, since the advent of M. de Jouvenel as High Commissioner, been pursuing a very different policy from that practised to that date.

Relief for the Traveller

THERE is some danger that the Passport Conference organised by the Transit Section of the League of Nations, and to be held on May 12 at Geneva, will attract too little attention beforehand, and therefore may suffer for lack of technical preparation and the expression of public opinion that might contribute largely to its success. Everyone who travels is interested in getting passport formalities reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, it would be very rash to suggest that, in the present state of the world, the passport system is entirely valueless. In point of fact, the necessity of carrying a passport when travelling is really burdensome to no one; but both nuisance and expense is involved in the visa system, under which an official of each country through which the traveller is to pass has to stamp the passport accordingly, and charge a substantial fee for so doing. The League Passport Conference of 1920 did something towards getting visas abolished and the fees for them regularised where they still survived, but the abolition is far from complete. It is extremely desirable that this system, particularly as regards transit visas—i.e., visas for a country through which a traveller is merely passing without making any stay there—should be abolished if possible, and, if not, reduced within the narrowest limits. All this means that the British Government ought to send to the Conference a delegate with sufficient power to make necessary concessions in order to reach satisfactory agreement, not merely an official with very limited authority.

A League Hotel?

NOW that it has been definitely decided that the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva should vacate in three or four years' time the admirable building in which it is now housed, the question of the use to which that building should afterwards be put presents itself. It was, of course, originally a hotel, and the natural thing would be for it to be sold for hotel purposes again. But there is all the difference between a hotel run on ordinary lines and an institution making special provision for persons connected with the

League or attending its Conferences and Committees. The question has been raised in informal conversations whether some company or corporation could not be formed to acquire the present buildings and run them as a kind of League hostel, making provision if necessary, not only for Government delegates capable of paying high prices for their accommodation, but also for more obscure persons who need to have some regard to economy. The idea should not be dismissed even now without full consideration. The building will be much nearer the Secretariat and the I.L.O. than any other hotel.

A Job for a Minister

THE fact that the annual conference of the International Labour Office is to be held in May makes it necessary to emphasise the great importance of proper British representation on that occasion. In the past the contrast between the action of Great Britain and the action of various other European countries in this regard was striking. Last year, to take the most recent instance, this country was represented for a few days by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, and for the rest of the time by two civil servants. France, Poland, Belgium and nine other countries sent their Ministers of Labour, and a strong move is being made to persuade the British Government to take the same course. If it is worth the Foreign Secretary's while to attend personally, not only the annual Assembly of the League of Nations, but also the quarterly Council meetings, it is manifestly not too much to ask the Minister of Labour to attend the I.L.O. Conference once a year. Civil servants are invaluable in their sphere, but it is essential that this country should be represented at any League conference of importance by a Minister directly answerable to Parliament. A statement on these lines has been embodied in the 1926 "Policy" of the League of Nations Union, and the British delegates on the "I.L.O. and Social Legislation Commission" of the Federation of League of Nations Societies have put down a resolution urging similar action in all countries.

The Last of Mosul

AFTER all the concentration of public opinion on the early stages of the so-called Mosul controversy, the last act in that particular little drama aroused singularly small interest. Though the Council in December had given Great Britain six months in which to negotiate a new treaty with Iraq, the business was put through in little more than six weeks, with the result that the finished article could be produced at the March meeting of the Council instead of being left, as was first expected, till June. The Council, under the circumstances, had nothing to do but to adopt the proposal of the Swedish member, M. Uden, who has had this subject in hand from the first, and make its decision regarding the frontier of Iraq final. It is characteristic of M. Uden's thoroughness that he was not ready to let this business be carried through simply as a mere formality, but devoted serious study to the Treaty itself and all the relevant documents before he took the responsibility of advising the Council that the decisions it laid down in December were now satisfactorily fulfilled.

THE FATEFUL TEN DAYS

WHY GERMANY IS NOT IN THE LEAGUE

By H. WILSON HARRIS

THE full story of March, 1926, would take a great deal of telling. It has not been told yet, and will not be told here. No one man, indeed, can tell it. For to make it complete unrecorded conversations by the score in hotel salons or conference corridors would have to be laid under contribution, and unpublished telegrams by the dozen between delegations and their Governments studied and collected.

But some attempt at a story must be made none the less, the more so since the day-to-day wires from special correspondents at Geneva are no adequate basis for any clear conception of the tortuous negotiations as a whole. Let me try, therefore, formidable though the task is, to gather together the impressions of ten days, and set at any rate the main events in their sequence of time and their relation to one another.

As preface it is essential to distinguish the elements in the drama. **First** comes, or should have come, **the Assembly**, which during the ten days met three times in all, once for formal business preliminary to Germany's admission, once to decide on the construction of new buildings for the League, and once—and finally—to register the bitter disappointment of everyone at the frustration—by Brazil's adverse vote—of Germany's admission to the League, and the not less bitter dissatisfaction of many at the methods by which the negotiation had been conducted. **Secondly**, there was **the Council**, which never from first to last devoted a formal meeting, public, private or secret, to the discussion of Germany's entry, but whose members met daily behind closed doors to thrash out that dominating problem and all the subsidiary questions arising from it. **Thirdly**, there were **the three claimants** (other than Germany) to permanent seats on the Council—Spain, Poland and Brazil—all of them living as it happened under the same roof at the Hotel des Bergues. **Fourthly and lastly**, there were **the Germans themselves**, a little remote geographically, at the Hotel Metropole (though Viscount Ishii, President of the Council, was there, too), joining from time to time in conversations with the four other signatories of the Locarno treaty (Britain, France, Italy and Belgium), but taking part in no official gatherings whatever, and maintaining throughout under abnormally trying circumstances a correctness of demeanour which aroused universal admiration.

THE RIVAL CLAIMS

How the controversy ended all the world knows. **Germany was not admitted to the League of Nations because Brazil refused to see her accorded a permanent seat on the Council unless Brazil herself got one simultaneously.** Spain and Poland had both claimed similar positions, but **Spain's demand was rejected, and Poland's was partially met** by her proposed election to a non-permanent seat under an arrangement which involved the voluntary resignation of two of the sitting non-permanent members, Sweden and Czechoslovakia. **Brazil, of course, could not prevent Germany's election to membership of the League**, for that only requires a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, and in point of fact, in the Assembly not even Brazil would have voted against her. **But everyone knew that Germany would never come into the League at all unless she got a permanent seat on the Council** (an attitude universally approved as wholly reasonable and right), and that

Brazil, as a Council member (non-permanent) was in a position to prevent, for the Council must be unanimous regarding the creation of new permanent seats.

That, then, was how the controversy ended. But how did it begin? The answer to that question depends on how far one goes back into history. **It is enough to say here that whenever Germany's entry into the League has been discussed it has always been assumed that a Special Assembly would be called for the purpose of admitting her**, and after the Locarno accord of last October it was obvious that that occasion would not be far distant. Unfortunately the opportunity was seized by three States—Spain, Poland and Brazil—to prefer claims to permanent Council seats at the same moment. **Sir Austen Chamberlain promised Spain his support last December**, and when he passed through Paris in January he apparently led M. Briand to understand he approved Poland's claim also. Then came an almost universal declaration of British public opinion against the grant of permanent seats to anyone except Germany so far as the March meeting was concerned, and it was in an atmosphere of profound disquiet and uncertainty that the Council and Assembly opened.

BRIAND AND CHAMBERLAIN

Both were to hold their first sittings on Monday, March 8. In the early hours of the previous Saturday—March 6—it became known that **M. Briand, who seemed certain to share with Sir Austen Chamberlain the dominant rôle at Geneva, had been defeated in the French Chamber**, and was, therefore, no longer Premier or Foreign Minister. In spite of that M. Briand left for Geneva on the Saturday evening, arriving there on Sunday morning by the same train that conveyed the British, Polish, Spanish and other delegations. The Germans had arrived the previous evening. From this point events developed so rapidly that it is necessary to present them day by day in diary form.

SUNDAY, MARCH 7.—The first of a series of conversations between the five Locarno Powers (Poland and Czechoslovakia not participating) took place at the Hotel Beau Rivage. The German delegation made it clear that they must enter the Council without any other changes or not enter it at all. **Sir Austen Chamberlain argued in favour of a permanent seat for Spain.** M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Foreign Minister, said he was against any increase in permanent seats, but if they were to be increased, Belgium would claim one. After this conversation M. Briand left for Paris, and did not get back to Geneva till Thursday morning.

MONDAY, MARCH 8.—The Council met in private in the morning, and the Assembly held its first session in the afternoon to get its formal business through. In M. Briand's absence no formal conversations took place regarding Council seats. **M. Unden (Sweden) made it clear he would vote for no candidate except Germany.**

TUESDAY, MARCH 9.—The Assembly Commissions charged with making recommendations regarding Germany's entry met, but there was no sitting either of Assembly or Council, nor did any further "Locarno conversations" take place. There were, however, personal meetings between German and British and German and French delegates. **By this time vague**

rumours of Spain's withdrawing from the League and Brazil's voting against Germany were current.

BRAZIL'S DECLARATION

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10.—Another "Locarno conversation" took place at the Beau Rivage. Germany once more stated her attitude, and refused to recede from it, her delegates repudiating with some warmth the suggestion that they had any responsibility for the deadlock. The same afternoon the ten Council members "had tea together" in Sir Eric Drummond's room. **Brazil announced her intention of voting against Germany unless she were given a permanent seat herself.**

THURSDAY, MARCH 11.—With M. Briand's return from Paris (once more as Prime Minister) intense diplomatic activity developed at Geneva. **The Council members once more "took tea" together behind closed doors**, and in view of Brazil's threat and Spain's attitude, together with French advocacy of Poland's claim, **Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand did their best to persuade M. Unden to abandon his opposition to any immediate change in the constitution of the Council.** He remained firm, and protested against what he regarded as undue pressure.

FRIDAY, MARCH 12.—Another "Locarno conversation." The suggestion was made (by Lord Cecil, who now for the first time took part in the negotiations) that **a new non-permanent seat should be created, and the Assembly invited to elect Poland to it**, the claims of Brazil and Spain being set aside till September. The Germans asked for time to consider the proposal, but the meeting broke up confident that a solution had been reached. In the afternoon, however, Dr. Luther (the German Chancellor) visited Sir Austen Chamberlain to inform him that **Germany could not assent; she must come into the Council alone and come in unpledged, before any other changes were made.** The news caused great disappointment, and it was announced that **to hold further "Locarno conversations" would be useless.** In any case Sweden was understood to be still opposed to any changes in the Council, apart from Germany's entry.

SWEDEN'S SACRIFICE

SATURDAY, MARCH 13.—Sweden, in the hope of facilitating a solution, offered privately (in a conversation between M. Unden and M. Vandervelde) to **resign her non-permanent seat on the Council**, so that Poland could be elected to it without the creation of a new non-permanent seat. **Council members once more "took tea," without result.**

SUNDAY, MARCH 14.—Most delegates went into the country, and no formal conversations took place, but M. Briand and the Germans discussed the possibility of a solution based on the resignation of one or more Council members. The Germans took strong exception to the substitution of Poland for Sweden on the Council, and the idea of a second resignation (Czechoslovakia), in whose place some such State as Holland might be elected, gradually took shape.

MONDAY, MARCH 15.—At a secret gathering of Council members in the morning it was definitely agreed that **Sweden and Czechoslovakia should resign**, provided their delegates could get authority from their Governments. The Assembly meeting called for Tuesday was adjourned till Wednesday, to allow time for instructions to arrive. It was understood that Germany would raise no objection to the proposed arrangement. Meanwhile, **Brazil showed no sign of yielding, and Great Britain and**

France made urgent diplomatic representations at Rio de Janeiro. **A further secret meeting of Council members was held in the afternoon.**

TUESDAY, MARCH 16.—Objections made by Rumania to Czechoslovakia's proposed resignation were largely smoothed out, but after lunch **Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand**, apparently speaking on behalf of Italy and Belgium (as "Locarno Powers"), also visited the Germans at the Hotel Metropole to tell them the obstacles to their election to a permanent seat seemed insuperable, and propose that the whole question be postponed till September. The Germans assented, and other Council members were informed at a secret gathering later of what had been done. The same morning the delegates of all the Latin-American States at Geneva had made an appeal to Brazil to withdraw its veto, but before any reply could be received from Rio de Janeiro the "Locarno Powers" had decided on postponement.

Spain informed Germany she would not veto her, but would withdraw from the League if refused a permanent seat when Germany got one.

THE ASSEMBLY SPEAKS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17.—Various rumours of a Brazilian withdrawal proved false. At the Assembly in the morning the **Brazilian delegate declared the instructions of his Government to be "final and irrevocable."** Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand delivered speeches highly conciliatory to Germany, and embodying warm tributes to Sweden and Czechoslovakia for the sacrifice they were prepared to make. Viscount Ishii, as President of the Council, announced the proposed appointment of a special commission such as Germany had proposed, to consider the whole future composition of the Council. **M. Unden received an ovation on mounting the platform to make a brief statement, and Dr. Nansen emphasised the fact that the breakdown had occurred largely because no attempt had been made to employ those methods of publicity the League had so often employed in the past.** The German delegation left Geneva the same evening, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, having previously made statements both to the German and to the foreign press, indicating that in spite of the check the League idea had received the **German Government would in no way change its attitude either to Locarno or to Geneva.**

THURSDAY, MARCH 18.—The League Council definitely decided to appoint a commission, with wide terms of reference, to consider the whole question of the future composition of the Council and the conditions of election of the non-permanent members. The commission, which is to hold its first meeting on May 10, consists of representatives of the ten Council States, of Germany, and of the Argentine Republic, Poland, Switzerland and China. The appointment of a non-member State, like Germany, on a commission charged with advising on the League's own internal organisation is without precedent.

So ended the extraordinary meeting of the Assembly and the ordinary meeting of the Council convened to admit Germany into the League of Nations and accord her a permanent Council seat. This article attempts to do no more than tell the plain story of what happened. But more than that is needed. While mere recrimination is useless some attempt must be made to distinguish cause and effect and even to apportion praise and blame. Those questions, together with a tentative forecast of immediate developments, are the subject of a separate article elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY.

HOW DID IT HAPPEN?

WHERE THEY WENT WRONG AT GENEVA

THE actual story of what happened at Geneva in the second and third weeks of March has been told elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY. But even more important are the conclusions and reflections emerging from the facts. In regard to that it may, perhaps, be the most useful course to cite first certain pertinent comments that have already appeared in different papers in this and other countries—notably *The Times*, *The Daily News* and *The Journal de Genève*.

The special correspondent of *The Times* at Geneva wrote as follows in *The Times* of March 23:—

"The League has been blamed for all the unsavoury business of the past fortnight at Geneva, but what the League did was to show it up.

"One error in procedure was made which probably increased the stubbornness of Brazil, and for which the British Foreign Secretary was largely responsible. Sir Austen Chamberlain, throughout the first week of negotiation, thought entirely in terms of Locarno, and did not envisage the new technique of League diplomacy. He held meetings of the five Locarno Powers in his room in the Beau Rivage. The other members of the Council stayed outside. Among them was Senhor Mello Franco, of Brazil, and he may have resented it. Señor Quiñones was in this way also excluded, with Señor Guani, of Uruguay, M. Uden, of Sweden, Viscount Ishii, of Japan, and Dr. Benesh, of Czechoslovakia."

The special correspondent of *The Daily News*, telegraphing on the day after the final meeting of the Assembly, said:—

"The League Assembly at its meeting yesterday—the only opportunity it had had to express itself on the subject at all—made it abundantly clear that it was unanimous, with the single exception of Brazil, in desiring Germany's entry, and desiring it on the terms in which agreement—again except for Brazil—had already been concluded—namely, without a permanent seat for any other claimant whatever."

The Old Diplomacy

The *Journal de Genève*, in a very striking article, headed "Responsibilities and Consequences," on March 18, subjected the whole proceedings to a very acute analysis. Only brief quotations from this article are possible here:—

(1) "The crisis is due essentially to the intrusion of the methods of the old diplomacy into an international organisation."

(2) "The Council adopts deplorable methods of business. Compelled by public opinion to hold public sittings, it has acquired the habit of deciding in private, and even super-secret sessions, over a cup of tea, all delicate problems and vital issues."

(3) "Sir Austen Chamberlain, who has made an understanding with France the pivot of his policy, allowed himself to be prevailed on to give a promise to Spain and encouragement to Poland! That is what has given the crisis its gravity. Without the assurances of Sir Austen Chamberlain neither France nor Spain nor Poland would have ventured to take up immovable attitudes in advance. The crisis might indeed have arisen. But it would have been far easier to solve. The day when Sir Austen Chamberlain said to M. Briand, on his way home from Rapallo, 'Personally I agree with you,' he assumed responsibility for everything that was to happen subsequently."

(4) "To crown everything, after the secret handling for weeks of an affair which by its character was public engagements were taken publicly which ought to have remained

secret. Everyone tied his hands before coming to Geneva in order to be sure of being prevented from holding them out to his enemies."

All these comments are worth giving, but they do not cover the whole ground. To fill all the gaps it is necessary to give full consideration to such reflections as the following:—

(1) The situation was hopelessly prejudiced before the Assembly met by the fact that, without any word to Germany, Britain and France had both encouraged other candidates for permanent seats on the Council simultaneously with hers. It is still reasonable to believe that if M. Briand and Sir Austen Chamberlain, or even Sir Austen Chamberlain alone, had firmly declared in advance against any candidature but Germany's this time the whole trouble would have been averted.

(2) It is impossible to deny the truth of the declaration made from the Assembly platform by the Swedish delegate, M. Uden, that:—

"The sole object of this special session of the Assembly was the admission of Germany into the League and the allocation to Germany of a permanent seat on the Council. Unhappily the question of Germany's admission has been linked up with others entirely foreign to it; national claims have arisen in this quarter and that; special interests have placed themselves in antagonism to the general interest and to the common welfare of the League."

Publicity as Weapon

(3) There was a resolute refusal, or at any rate a flagrant omission, to bring the normal machinery of the League to bear on the problem. The Council never once held a formal meeting—public, private or secret—to consider it. The Assembly only had the matter before it twice, once when it met to elect its President and transact other formal business, and once when it was convened to hear the decision already taken by a handful of Locarno Powers that the whole question of Germany's admission should be postponed till September. The whole situation might have been different if, after the first private soundings proved ineffective, the question of Germany's claims had been discussed in public first by the Council and then—still more—by the Assembly. World opinion has shown its value repeatedly in the past at Geneva—notably at the time of the Corfu crisis—but on this occasion world opinion was denied all opportunity of expressing itself.

(4) No evidence demanding serious consideration has so far been adduced to indicate that any other Power was responsible for Brazil's attitude. The simplest explanation at present is that, seeing Spain and Poland not merely demanding permanent seats, but being supported in that demand by Britain and France, Brazil resolved to insist on one, too, and in the end carried her obduracy to incredible lengths.

(5) The episode has created a case for considering some possible modification of the unanimity rule in certain cases, but not for its abolition. Sweden, by the exercise of her veto, saved the League from a greater disaster than Brazil inflicted on it.

(6) Great as the value of Locarno is, or may be, the Brazilian delegate was undoubtedly right when, in his defence before the Assembly, he insisted that "the admirable work of Locarno should be brought within the framework of the League of Nations, and not the League of Nations within the political systems of Locarno."

A TRIBUTE TO THE UNION

THE League of Nations Union has received many tributes to its activities at different times in its career at the hands of various personages, from Prime Ministers downwards. It may be doubted, however, whether a warmer testimony to its value has ever been given than is contained in two leading articles published by the *Daily Mail* on March 13 and 17 respectively. They are, unfortunately, too long to quote in full, but the following striking paragraphs are sufficiently representative:—

"When we see the Front Benches in both Houses of Parliament placing themselves at the disposal of a mischievous clique of international busybodies which calls itself the League of Nations Union—and which in many eyes is rapidly degenerating into a pro-German society—it is time to enter earnest and emphatic protest, to remind his Majesty's Ministers that they received a mandate to govern, and to warn them against becoming the catspaws of cranks who, while ostensibly devoted to the cause of the League of Nations, are injuring that institution while hiding and disguising themselves under its name."

"If we judged the situation by the follies of some of its advocates in this country, we should indeed be gloomy as to its future. But we continue to distinguish between the League of Nations proper and the League of Nations Union—a self-appointed body of propagandist partisans who are largely responsible for the strain and stress at Geneva which arouses keen anxiety."

"This miserable affair, which has convulsed Continental Europe, was, so far as this country was concerned, one of the most artificial agitations we can recall. It was confined to a handful of marplots in and around Westminster and to that portion of the Press which took them too seriously."

"We are, of course, aware that there was a deplorable debate in the House of Commons, engineered by the League of Nations Union, in which, with the conspicuous and honourable exception of Sir Alfred Mond, members, obviously inspired by that Union, vied with one another in talking nonsense, to the enormous embarrassment of our Foreign Minister, who was put in an impossible position by the attitude of many parliamentary colleagues."

Mere Facts

To descend from this to anything so prosaic as mere facts calls perhaps for an apology; but in regard to the debate referred to in the House of Commons (the one that took place before the Geneva meeting) it may perhaps be proper to observe that the full list of speakers who attacked the Government on that occasion consisted of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Lloyd George, the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Col. Wedgwood. The debate was "organised" by the Labour Party and by no one else. Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George spoke in their official capacity as leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties respectively, and certainly owed nothing to any inspiration from the League of Nations Union. As for Lord Hartington and Mr. Pethick Lawrence, they are respectively secretary and vice-president of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee. It can hardly cause acute astonishment, even to the *Daily Mail*, that Members known to be particularly interested in League of Nations questions should take the opportunity of intervening in a League of Nations debate. Col. Wedgwood spoke as a Labour Member pure and simple.

The suggestion that the League of Nations Union is capable of turning at its will virtually the whole of

British public opinion as expressed in papers like *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Observer*, *Daily News*, *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily Herald*, the *Daily Express*, the *Spectator*, the *Nation*, the *New Statesman* and others too numerous to mention, is a compliment before which the Union can only gracefully bow—even though in the interests of truth and candour it is compelled to dismiss the suggestion as palpably preposterous. The actual fact, as everyone knows, is that when once it was made known that certain nations other than Germany were, with the more or less direct approval of Great Britain and France, pressing their candidatures for permanent seats on the League Council at the moment when Germany was expected to be admitted and to be admitted alone, the instinctive right sense of this country asserted itself, and the League of Nations Union, decisive and unequivocal though its attitude was, could not claim to be more than one voice out of dozens or scores insisting that things should not happen that way.

THE MARCH COUNCIL

THE 39th session of the League of Nations Council, held at Geneva in the middle of March, might well have been the most important that ever took place, for it was fully anticipated that at this meeting a German representative would, for the first time, take a permanent seat. As all the world knows, events have turned out otherwise, and the Council, after putting off till the last moment all its most important business in the hope that the Germans would be there to take part in the discussions, had in the end to carry it through with only ten seats filled instead of eleven. Most of the items on the agenda were not of the first importance.

One, however, that regarding the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, will remain historically significant as marking, so far as the League is concerned, the last stage in a protracted controversy. It will be remembered that the provisional decision given in December in favour of Iraq in regard to the sovereignty of the Vilayet of Mosul was dependent on the negotiation of a treaty approved by the League between Great Britain and the Iraq Government. That treaty having been carried through and ratified by both countries between the December and March meetings, was now laid before the Council and found to be in accordance with its views. The decision regarding the frontier, therefore, became final and binding in the course of the second week of March.

Russia and the League

Another matter of some importance with which the Council had to deal was the steps to be taken regarding the first meeting of the Disarmament Commission, which had been postponed from February 15 at the request of the French and other Governments. In this connection a further question arose as to whether the meeting should be held at Geneva, in view of the refusal of the Soviet Government to send delegates to a conference held anywhere in Switzerland. In the end the date of the meeting was fixed for May 18, and Geneva was chosen as its meeting place, a letter (since published) being addressed to the Soviet Government explaining the reasons for this decision.

Two Saar questions of some importance came up, one being the constitution of the Governing Commission, which is re-appointed annually in March, and the other the problem of the French troops still stationed in Saar territory. Two changes were made in the constitution of the Commission, both consequent upon the resignation of M. Rault, the French representative, who has been President of the Commission from the beginning. His place as President is now to be taken by the Canadian

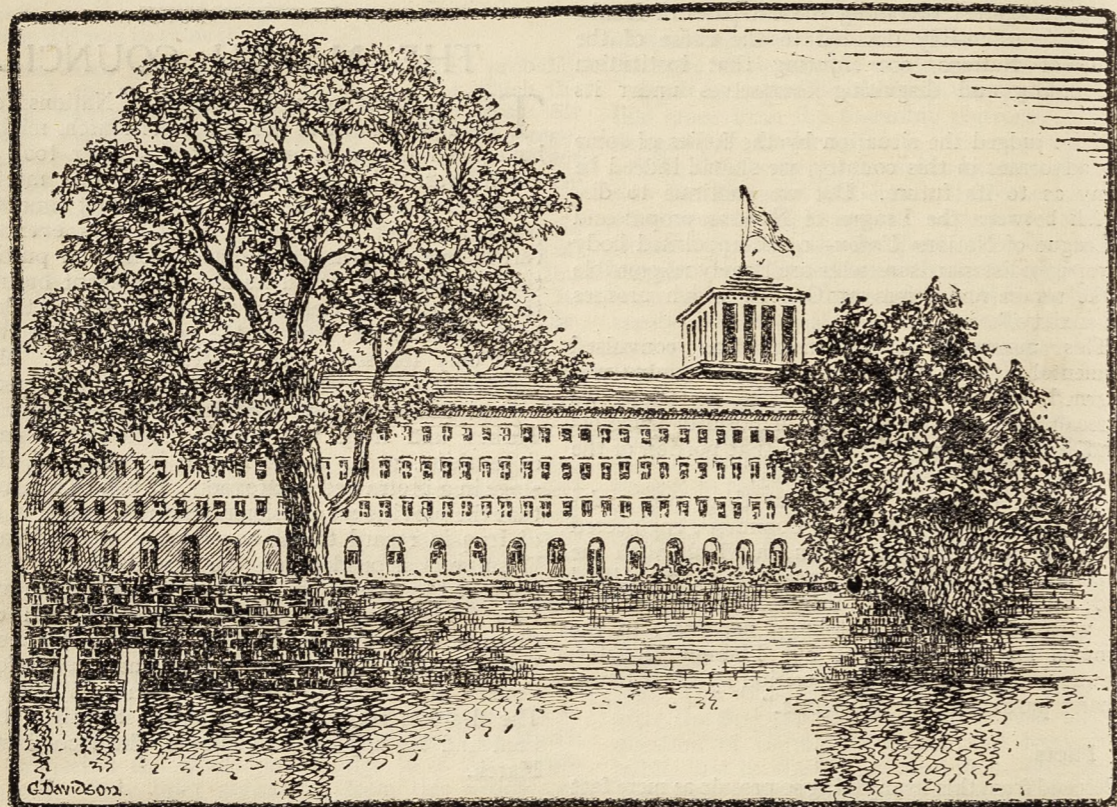
member, Major G. W. Stephens, while the new French member of the Commission is M. Morize, its former Secretary-General. The appointment of a new Secretary-General to succeed M. Morize, which is a matter of some importance, lies in the hands of the Commission itself. As to the troops, they are to be reduced to one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry by the end of May, and thereafter a further reduction will be gradually carried out till the last French soldier is removed altogether. It is understood, however, that in case of serious disorder the Commission would be able to call in the services of the French forces stationed just across the frontier.

Some difficulties were expected in regard to the dispute between Turkey and Greece, brought by the latter before the League under Article 11 of the Covenant, in regard to the delimitation of the common frontier between those countries on the River Maritza. The frontier was to lie along the river, and the dispute arose as to whether one of its branches or the other was

particularly with reference to the number of non-permanent seats and to the method of election. This arose out of the discussions regarding the admission of Germany to the League, and a strong commission was ultimately appointed, consisting of the ten Council Powers, together with Germany, Argentina, Poland, Sweden and Holland. Argentina has, unfortunately, since declined to serve, for the present at any rate.

"WHY WAR IS HELL"

A FEW months ago when the proposal to abolish submarines was under discussion, it was pointed out in the press and elsewhere that it is futile to prohibit the employment of any weapon in war, since whatever agreements may be made in time of peace, when war comes every nation will make use of whatever weapon it thinks most effective. One of the most cogent



The New I.L.O. Building at Geneva

intended where the river diverges towards its mouth. A Turkish representative attended, in spite of Turkey's temporary disappointment over the Mosul decision, and both sides professed themselves content with the mild action the Council took, which consisted simply in sending legal advice to the President of the Delimitation Commission.

The report of the special meeting of the Mandates Commission regarding events in Syria was received and adopted after little discussion. This matter is dealt with more fully on another page of HEADWAY.

A request from the International Labour Office for an advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice on the question of whether I.L.O. conventions can be applied to employers who work in their own businesses was approved, and the Court is accordingly to be asked to give its ruling on this point.

Only one other matter dealt with by the Council need be dealt with, the appointment of a special Commission to consider and report on the composition of the Council,

expositions of this thesis was made by Mr. J. L. Garvin in the *Observer*, and his article entitled "Why War is Hell" has now been published as one of the Union's pamphlets (price 1d.). Mr. Garvin also explains a further reason why the abolition of submarines is impracticable as an isolated step, namely, that it would be an advantage to this country and a disadvantage to all the rest. We cannot be the proposers of such a step; or, if we want to see submarines abolished, we must be prepared at the same time to limit or abolish other naval armaments. This, of course, is what members of the Union should be working for.

The Union also published last month another penny pamphlet, "The International Federation of League of Nations Societies" describing the work of that organization. To those who have not been lucky enough to attend the conferences which the Federation holds in all the most attractive cities of Europe in turn, its activities may seem rather remote; this pamphlet explains both the need for them and their good results.

THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME

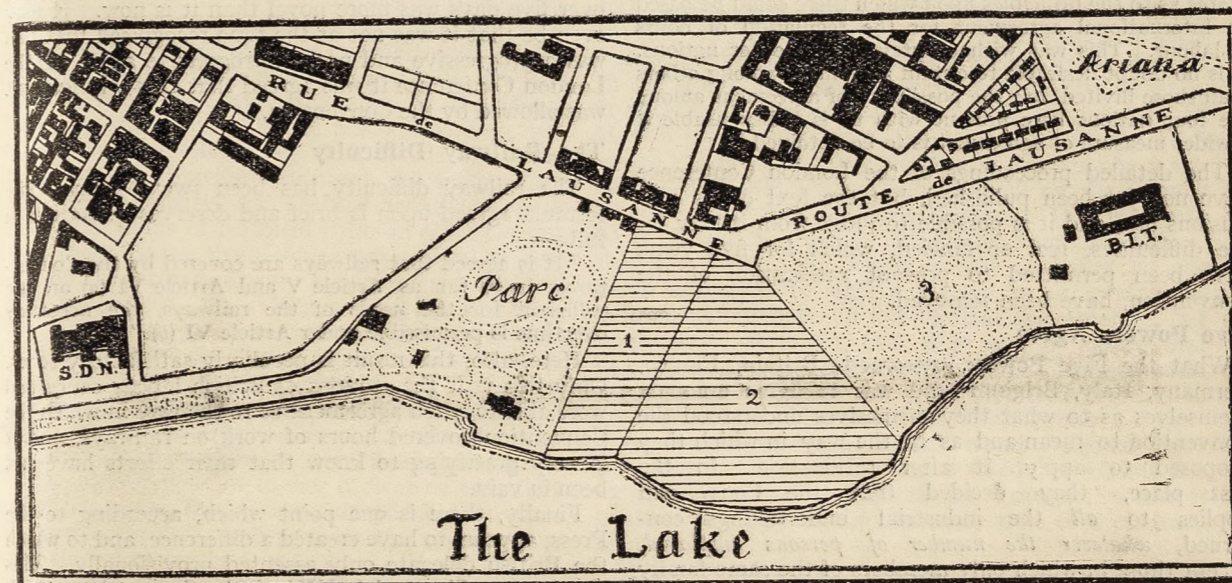
DISTRACTED though it was by the German affair, the League Assembly found opportunity in the course of its special session last month to take a decision that vitally affects the future of the League by disposing once for all of any idea of transferring its home to any other centre than Geneva.

So long as the League was making shift with hired or improvised buildings a move was always possible. As soon as any extensive building operations were undertaken the whole institution would, as it were, be pinned to the soil. Those operations it has now been decided to undertake, with the result that Geneva promises to remain permanently the symbol it has become in the past six years for all the principles and activities the League of Nations embodies.

The building controversy has been long drawn out. It began over the necessity for some permanent assembly hall, to take the place of the extremely unsatisfactory concert hall hired for the Assembly meetings every

necessity of taking long and not short views, and the Swiss authorities, including both the Federal Government and the Canton of Geneva, both of whom are interested on various grounds in the retention of the League headquarters at Geneva, offered financial assistance which makes the adoption of the larger plan possible after all.

The Assembly's final decision was taken on March 13. As a result an international competition will be instituted for plans of a hall and secretariat on a site which the League now acquires on the lakeside a little short of the grounds on which the new Labour Office has just been erected. Those who have visited Geneva since the League has been there will find no difficulty in visualising the new scheme. Just beyond the present secretariat is the park of Mon Repos, and beyond the park there come in succession three private estates all running down to the water's edge. First is the Moynier property, next the Villa Bartholoni, where Mrs. Woodrow



The above plan shows the existing League of Nations Secretariat (S.D.N.—Société des Nations) at the extreme left, and the new International Labour Office (B.I.T.—Bureau International du Travail) on the extreme right. On the sites marked 1 and 2 the new Secretariat and Assembly Hall are to be erected. It is hoped that an option on site 3 will eventually be acquired.

September. It was first of all intended that this should be erected at one end of the present secretariat grounds, but while the Assembly proposed one way the architects called in to advise disposed another, insisting that the site was too small and left no room for extensions either of the existing secretariat or of the new assembly hall itself.

That plan, in consequence, was abandoned, and it was decided provisionally to build the hall on the far side of the secretariat (i.e., on the side away from the town), and extend the secretariat premises in the other direction on the site originally chosen for the hall. It was, however, stipulated by the Sixth Assembly last September that if by December 15 the building which now houses the secretariat could be sold for not less than a fixed figure a distinctly more ambitious enterprise should be undertaken, and a new secretariat and a new assembly hall be erected adjacent to one another on a very suitable site some half a mile further up the lake than the present premises.

The existing buildings, however, were not sold by the specified date, and this larger plan appeared therefore to have fallen through. The architects nevertheless (Sir John Burnet being the British representative) once more protested vigorously against any cheeseparing, a number of far-sighted League delegates insisted on the

Wilson spent a good deal of last summer, and next again the beautiful grounds surrounding the house of Mrs. Barton, widow of a former British Consul at Geneva, and well known as a generous hostess in League circles.

The League is to acquire the first two of the properties immediately, and they are in themselves sufficient for the buildings now to be planned. It is hoped, however, that an option can also be obtained on the Barton estate, so as to give opportunity for future extensions. This is the more desirable, in that the property immediately beyond is occupied by the new Labour Office, so that the ultimate acquisition of the Barton grounds would give the League a continuous and valuable frontage on the lake from the Parc Mon Repos right up to and including the I.L.O.

The only objection to this plan is that the new headquarters will be a little farther than the old from the town and the hotels. There will, however, be a new road driven through the Parc Mon Repos along the lake front, and there is little doubt that the present secretariat buildings will once more become a hotel. But none of this will happen immediately. It is extremely unlikely that the new hall will be ready for use before the Assembly of 1929, and it may be even longer before the new secretariat is completed.

THE LONDON "HOURS OF WORK" CONFERENCE

By E. L. POULTON.

British Workers' Representative on the Governing Body of the I.L.O.

DURING the six years which have elapsed since the Washington Hours Convention was adopted, the Convention has been ratified by a small number of countries. It has not been ratified by the chief industrial powers of Europe, and other countries of lesser importance have been waiting for those big powers to give them the lead.

Here lies the chief significance of the Conference of the Ministers of Labour which has just met in London at the invitation of the British Government. The purposes of the Conference were well summed up by its Chairman, the British Minister of Labour, in the statement he made at the end of its work in the early hours of March 19:—

"The Government of Great Britain decided to convene this Conference because it desired to see how far it was possible to secure agreement amongst the principal industrial States as to the principles upon which there could be based an international agreement for the regulation of hours of labour. This was without prejudice to other nations. It is no doubt desirable to obtain agreement among others than those invited, but the possibility of agreement among the four nations here present with us is indispensable if a wider measure of agreement is to be obtained."

The detailed proceedings of the London Conference have not yet been published, but the text of its conclusions has, and it is possible to judge from it how far the difficulties, real or fancied, which for five years have been permitted to prevent ratification of the Convention, have been removed.

Five Powers Agree

What the Five Powers concerned—Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium—did was to agree amongst themselves as to what they themselves understood the Convention to mean and as to the way in which they proposed to apply it after ratification. In the first place, they decided that the Convention applies to all the industrial undertakings concerned, *whatever the number of persons employed*, except those in which only members of the same family are employed. This would seem to be a tightening-up so far as some Continental countries are concerned, and will be an advantage to Great Britain as well as a gain for Labour.

Next, it was agreed that working hours would be defined as the time during which the persons employed are at the disposal of the employer. Once more a gain for British industry as well as for Labour, because the French law as it stands at present describes hours of work as the "effective hours of work," a phrase manifestly vague and clearly less effective than the phrase now adopted. It was further agreed that the building trade, with its seasonal fluctuations, comes within the provision of the Convention (notably Article 5).

In the next place, the Conference was able to reach an understanding of the phrase "essentially intermittent work." The Conference agreed that the exception permitted by Article VI applies only to the occupations such as those of doorkeepers, watchmen, etc., which are not concerned with production properly so-called, and which, by their nature, are "interrupted by long periods of inaction during which these workers have to display neither physical activity nor sustained attention, and remain at their post only to reply to possible calls."

Payment for "Time and a Quarter"

The Conference agreed that each nation was empowered itself to fix the maximum number of hours of overtime permitted under Article VI. It was definitely agreed that it is obligatory to pay at least "time

and a quarter" for overtime. This agreement seems to mean that both France and Germany have come into line with this country, and, therefore, represents a further certain gain both for British industry and for labour in France and Germany.

It was further agreed in this connexion that the "time and a quarter" rate must be paid for work done to compensate for time lost on holidays—a further concession by France. Agreement was reached as to how hours of work done on the weekly rest day and over and above the weekly limit of 48 hours on account of the nature of the services rendered should be treated under the Convention.

Two special difficulties which had always been said in the country to lie in the way of British ratification were next surmounted. At the time of the Washington Conference, the practice of spreading the 48-hour week over five days was more novel than it is now. It may even be that it was not at the time recognised that this was a progressive and not a retrogressive step. At the London Conference it was agreed that this arrangement was allowed by the Convention.

The Railway Difficulty

The railway difficulty has been swept away. The formula agreed upon is brief and deserves quotation in full:—

"It is agreed that railways are covered by the Convention. In so far as Article V and Article VI (a) are not sufficient for the needs of the railways, the necessary overtime is permissible under Article VI (b)."

Here, also, this result is peculiarly satisfactory to us. Only this year the sections of British labour concerned were able to reach agreement as to the way in which the Convention covered hours of work on railways, and it is very gratifying to know that their efforts have not been in vain.

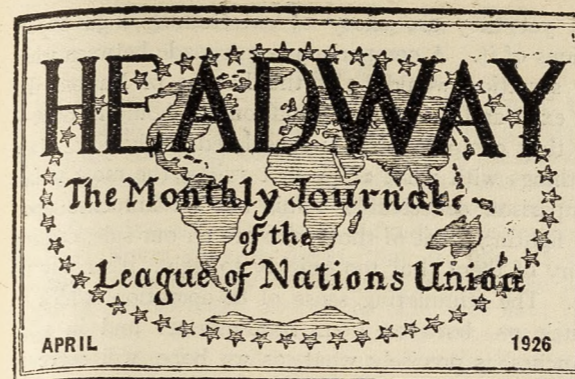
Finally, there is one point which, according to the Press, appears to have created a difference, and to which the British delegate only assented provisionally. This was in regard to Article XIV of the Convention, which provides that its provisions may be suspended in any country by the Government in the event of war or other emergency endangering the national safety.

The Conference agreed that each Government would insert the above text in their legislation, and furthermore they agreed (in the case of Great Britain, provisionally) that use can only be made of Article XIV in case of a crisis which affects the national economy to such an extent that it threatens the existence of the life of the people. An economic or commercial crisis, which concerns only special branches of industry, cannot be regarded as endangering the national safety within the meaning of Article XIV, so that in this case the suspension of the Convention would not be justified.

An 8-Hour Day Bill

Presumably the British Government's difficulty about accepting this formula arose from the fear that in the case, for example, of an economic crisis in the German shipbuilding industry, the German Government might try to avail themselves of Article XIV to suspend the Convention in that particular industry. It is, however, quite clear that the formula now drawn up prevents any such action.

Such, very briefly, are the findings of the Conference of Labour Ministers. Now that this unanimous agreement has been reached there seems to be no reason why a Bill should not immediately be introduced to ratify the 8-hour day Convention, and so in the near future to make it the law of the land.



THE CRISIS AND AFTER

THE debate in the House of Commons on the proceedings at Geneva took place after most of the present issue of HEADWAY was in the press, but nothing said in the course of the Westminster discussions modifies in any way the views expressed in other pages of this journal. No one has ever questioned Sir Austen Chamberlain's sincerity, honour and goodwill, but it is permissible, even after his explanation in the House of Commons, still to question his political wisdom, and those in particular who spoke their minds in cordial approval of the Foreign Minister's Locarno policy without regard to party are entitled equally to speak their minds in terms of reasoned criticism of his Geneva policy without laying themselves open to the smallest imputation of party motives. No more need be said on that point here. As evidence that habitual supporters of the present Government rightly feel that their support does not debar them from considered comment on the situation that arose during the second week of March, it is sufficient to quote from the principal leading article in *The Times* of March 24—the day after the House of Commons debate—the following passage:—

"In the clearer light of to-day it remains true that if the position of the British Government had been more clearly and more fully indicated at the proper time, some of the worst troubles in Geneva and some of the most vexatious misapprehensions in foreign countries might have been avoided."

There is and was, as *The Times* proceeds to point out in its next sentence, no question of Great Britain setting up to be a dictator or attempting to impose its will on the League of Nations. But the word of Great Britain happily has weight in the world, as it should have, and if it had been made clear—not at Geneva on March 8, for that was far too late, but from the first moment the candidatures of States other than Germany for permanent seats on the Council became known—that so far as the Special Assembly was concerned Great Britain must, without prejudice to its attitude in September or later, oppose any aspirants except Germany, the difficulties, even if they had not been entirely removed, could never have become as serious as they actually did. Just how far Sir Austen Chamberlain in Paris in January gave M. Briand to understand he approved the claims of Spain and Poland will probably never be known. What is quite certain is that he never gave M. Briand to understand that he disapproved them.

One valuable feature in the House of Commons debate was the production by the Foreign Minister of the instructions given him before he went to Geneva. They laid it down that no change in the Council was to be admitted which would have the effect of preventing or delaying Germany's entry; that it was desirable the changes, if any, should be made after Germany's entry, and not before; that permanent seats on the Council should be reserved for Great Powers; that

Spain, however, was in a special position, and might require special attention; that neither Poland nor Brazil should be given permanent seats, but that Poland should obtain a non-permanent seat as soon as possible. These instructions were drafted only a few days before Sir Austen Chamberlain went to Geneva, and therefore at a time when public opinion in this country had been expressing itself on the whole subject for nearly a month. It is hard to resist the conclusion that in this case public opinion very largely did its work. The general declaration of the will of the country was abundantly justified and produced the result it was intended to produce.

Having said that, we have said enough. One act in the drama of the admission of Germany is closed and another now opens. Between now and September a special Commission appointed by the League Council will consider and report on the whole question of the composition of the Council and on the method of election of the non-permanent members. Great Britain is, of course, a member of this Commission, and it is, therefore, a matter of importance to know what the policy of the British Government is. Fortunately, a clear indication on this point was given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and the indication, so far as it goes, is entirely satisfactory. It is the view of the British Government that the rule of unanimity as it exists to-day in the Council must in principle be maintained, and that the permanent seats on the Council should be reserved for Great Powers. This is clearly as it should be, though it may be found possible to devise a method by which a veto exercised by one State in regard to such a matter as an increase of permanent seats should not be final and absolute, but suspensory. It might, that is to say, be agreed that in cases where it is not a question of compelling some State against its will to do something it desires not to do (for this would convert the League into a super-State on the spot), a Council member should have the right to delay action for a fixed period, but not to impede it altogether if, for example, a three-quarters majority of the Assembly were of a contrary opinion.

Whatever view be taken of the rights and wrongs of what took place at Geneva in March, it is clear that the result should be not a relaxation but an intensification of effort on the part of the League of Nations Union. The Union has nothing to recant and nothing to repent of in regard to any steps it took in the weeks preceding the meetings of the Council and Assembly. Its business was to express itself decisively in public on a matter of great moment to the League, and it did so with results that may justly be claimed as beneficial. The effect of the concentration of the world's attention on Geneva has been to create interest in the League in quarters where it never existed before. It is our business to profit by that fact. To-day, as in the past, and to-morrow as to-day, it is for the Union to study every problem in all detachment and in all sincerity as it arises, and to support or to criticize any British Government of any Party colour according as its policy appears to call for either treatment. But that is very far from meaning that old controversies should be maintained when the occasion that gave rise to them is past. Our action must be determined not by what happened at Geneva in March, but by what must be made to happen there in September. So far as the Council Commission is concerned, it would appear, as has been shown, that the British Government is setting out on what are essentially right lines. If that is so, it is for all supporters of the League of Nations in this country to strengthen the hands of the Government in such a matter to the utmost of their power. That they can do most effectively by strengthening the Union itself.

THROUGH DUTCH EYES

[The writer of the following article is one of the secretaries of the Dutch League of Nations Society, who with the President, Dr. Dresselhuys, visited London, Oxford, Manchester and other centres in February, to study the League of Nations Union's methods of work.]

WE were aware, on going to England, that the League of Nations Union was the oldest of the organizations at present existing for propagandising and confirming the idea of the League of Nations, as also that it was the most important and wealthiest of the sister organizations. We, with the meagre funds hitherto at our disposal, were well aware of the fact of there being much for us to learn from this great and comprehensive organization. And we have learnt. We have valued highly the opportunity of being able to take note of how the work of your Union was organized, what you do and how you do it. We now know how your Union carries on the propaganda, on what principles it thereby relies, central and local. We do not, of course, entirely lack all that, although possessing it in appreciably smaller measure. What we do lack, however, is the cohesion appertaining thereto, which is just what makes of your Union in such high measure a living organization.

Religion and Party

One thing in particular made a strong impression upon us—i.e., the fact that political and religious differences play no part in your Union, and do not diminish mutual co-operation. We saw that in your Parliamentary Committee you were able to unite members of all parties. Your Educational Committee is composed of representatives of education and teachers' organizations, no matter their political party colour. Your department occupied with the work of the International Labour Bureau need not fear this policy's endangering the name of your Union. Your Union works together with congregations of all denominations all over England. Such is, alas, different with us. The League of Nations itself, and also in general our foreign policy, stand apart from political insignia; but with the Labour Organization this is not the case, owing to the political character immediately given to the struggle for social legislation. Side by side with our general Peace Society we have a recently established Roman Catholic house, with which we hope to co-operate as closely as possible, but which, nevertheless, destroys the unity. The struggle on the limitation of armaments set in at the last general election, and it is hardly necessary to say more for you to appreciate how necessary it is to emphasize in our programme the international character of the disarmament we desire in order to avoid creating any misunderstandings or difficulties.

Learning Internationalism

There is, however, still more. Holland has for centuries forgotten how to play a role in international affairs, and has thereby also lost in a certain degree interest in international events. The world war has indeed taught in some measure the average Hollander that, even though he wishes to remain out of the war, war does not leave him unaffected. Not sufficiently so, however. It is beyond everything difficult in our country to eradicate indifference. They do not deny that politically and especially in economic and financial matters, the League of Nations can and does perform useful work,

and yet they are chary of entertaining high expectations of it. A comparison is not made between what the situation would be if the League of Nations did not exist and the present situation, as should be done—no, they compare what is considered as the ideal state of things with what at present exists, the most unfair comparison conceivable. This has an influence upon the fighting spirit of those who are on our side, causing many of them but too quickly to sigh: it's really no use. The stimulating sense of co-operation, which so struck us, both at your headquarters and in your branches, is precisely what, as we hope, will serve in particular for an example to us.

Our visit can already refer to direct results, to the extent of our seriously taking into consideration the forming of a Hospitality Committee. For we have now personally experienced, not only how agreeable the existence of such a Hospitality Committee is for the foreign League of Nations friend, but also as to its utility and essentiality. It brings that League of Nations friend, no matter from what circle he comes, in contact with persons in the foreign country, with whom he can discuss questions he has especially at heart; it causes him to be no longer in the position of a stranger in a foreign country, but someone who already begins to feel at home after a few hours. We may not be able to boast, either absolutely or relatively, of a society such as yours; we may not even be able to distantly approach it; but that does not alter the fact that Dutch hospitality will presumably come to our aid indeed in the forming of such a Hospitality Committee. If we succeed, we hope in that case that our overseas friends will soon come and convince themselves of the proper working of this Hospitality Committee!

New Contacts

We may avail ourselves of this opportunity to tell you something about our Society. We are endeavouring to form a commission for the purpose of considering as to the direction in which Dutch foreign policy will have to trend in the coming years—joining up with Locarno, return to the Protocol, or some other course? We are contemplating League of Nations visits, for the present to the Scandinavian countries, in order to attain union *re* League of Nations matters with those countries, and we have already had the pleasure of hearing from Finland that this initiative is greeted with approval and appreciation. We have, after having seen your most instructive League of Nations film, carried out our plan of having such a film prepared, your Union having kindly permitted us to adopt for said film certain of the ideas worked out in your film. Our visit to your Union has inspired us with fresh courage, vigour and animation, and we doubt not that we shall be enabled to succeed—be it only in humble measure—in imbuing Holland and the Hollanders with what the League of Nations desires and demands of them.

Our stay with you was to our mind too brief, but, despite our being unable to stay longer, the days and hours spent within the sphere of your Union, its directors and its friends have been fruitful for us.

CH. VAN DER MANDERE.

A course of five lectures on Practical Problems of Disarmament will be given by Professor P. J. Baker, Sir Ernest Cassel Professor of International Relations, at the London School of Economics on Wednesdays, at 5.30 p.m., beginning April 28. Admission to these lectures is free, and without ticket.

"WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR"

"WITHOUT fear or favour" is the phrase that occurs to one's mind on laying down the Report which the Mandates Commission has just presented to the League Council on recent events in Syria and the Lebanon. Behind its vigorous independence of judgment there is a pervading sense of fundamental responsibilities. Never does it forget that (to use its own words), "It is its duty to determine how far the principles of the Covenant and of the Mandates have been truly applied. But at the same time it is its duty to do the utmost that lies in its power to assist the Mandatory Governments in carrying out the important and difficult tasks which they have undertaken on behalf of the League of Nations, and on which they render Reports to the Council."

The Commission proceeds, in a passage worth the attention of everybody who is interested in the theory of the Mandate system, to define its duty as a double one of co-operation and supervision. When, as in the present case, it finds cause to criticise the action of the Mandatory Power, it holds the duty of co-operation paramount. Like the old Duke of Wellington, it considers that "the King's Government must be carried on." It is anxious (says the Report) "not to make the task of France in Syria and the Lebanon impossible of performance." For this reason (and apparently for this reason alone) it does not recommend the League Council to send its own Commission of Inquiry to Syria.

The Mandates Commission goes on to say that the French Government has not furnished it with as much information as it had hoped for. There are gaps "not only in its statement of the immediate cause of the present risings, but also in regard to the deeper causes of an unrest which had not been emphasised in the Reports for preceding years." A mass of petitions and protests had reached the Commission, but in no single case had the Mandatory Power commented upon these.

The present rebellion originating in the Jebel Druse, was, of course, specially considered by the Commission, and the Report brings to light for the first time an important fact, on which criticisms of French handling of the crisis are largely based. It appears that as long ago as 1921 the French signed an Agreement with the Druse chiefs, which gave the latter the great desire of their hearts—a large measure of autonomy. The Report says:—

"It seems clear that one of the causes of the revolt was the failure on the part of those who subsequently represented the Mandatory Power in the Jebel Druse to understand the peculiar conditions which led to the Agreement of 1921. One of these officials, far from granting the mountaineers the liberties and autonomy to which they were entitled, seems to have governed them with a particularly heavy hand. . . . Moreover, when a delegation of Druse notables approached General Sarrail in April, 1925 . . . it was informed that this Agreement had ceased to have other than historical value."

It is on facts such as these that the Commission bases its conclusions, which in as far as they are condemnatory of French administration, lay some of the blame on individuals and some on "the lack of continuity which appears to have marked the policy." There were incessant changes both in organisation of districts, degrees of autonomy, and even in the composition and competence of judicial courts. The "doctrine of the Mandate" seems to have been often forgotten by the local administrators, and the "mission of counsel and advice," which is the essence of the "A" Mandates, "has appeared to the Syrians to be gradually transforming itself into a system of direct administration."

These few quotations are, perhaps, enough to show that the Mandates Commission has not shrunk from its task of criticism, even when the subject of criticism is a great Power. The Report ends on a different note.

"It would be unjust not to refer to the sacrifices made by France on behalf of the country. But for these sacrifices, amounting to thousands of human lives and millions of francs, the inhabitants of the Mandated territories would probably have long since fallen again under a foreign yoke. Their protests would have had more weight if they had appeared to be more aware of this elementary truth."

The last words are of confidence of the acts and declarations of M. de Jouvenel, the new High Commissioner. "Henceforth" (so the Report ends) "persistence in rebellion must be deprecated . . . by all who desire to see peace, prosperity and freedom prevailing in a country which is now divided by sterile bloodshed and strife."

IN THE HOUSE

March 1.—Earl Winterton (to Mr. Cove): The Government of India intends to nominate an Indian to represent India at the 8th and 9th sessions of the International Labour Conference at Geneva on May 26 and June 9.

March 8.—Earl Winterton (to Mr. Campbell): In opening the Council of State on February 9, the Viceroy announced that the Government of India intend, subject to the approval of the Legislature, to reduce progressively the export of opium so as to extinguish the trade altogether within a definite period except for strictly medicinal purposes. In proposing this new policy the Government of India have been animated by a determination to do all in their power to co-operate to secure that improvement in the world Opium situation which was looked for as a result of the Geneva Conferences.

March 10.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Riley): The British Government will place no difficulty in the way of Bulgaria obtaining a loan from the League of Nations to assist in solving the Refugee problem in that country so long as the security for the loan is approved by the Reparations Commission.

March 18.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Captain Walter Shaw): It was indicated to the German delegation at Locarno that Germany as a Member of the League of Nations would be a possible candidate for colonial mandates like all other Members, but no promise or undertaking on this matter was given to the German Government.

March 24.—Sir A. Chamberlain (to Viscount Sandon): The British ratifications of the Opium Agreement and the Dangerous Drugs Convention were deposited on the League of Nations on February 17. So far as H.M. Government is aware, no foreign Power has yet ratified the agreement or the convention.

March 24.—Sir A. Chamberlain (to Mr. Smith and Commander Kenworthy): The first meeting of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament will take place at Geneva on May 18. Lord Cecil will represent Great Britain. The Secretary-General of the League is communicating with Russia regarding the suggestion that meetings of the Committee might be held at some place other than Geneva.

March 24.—Sir A. Chamberlain (to Col. Wedgwood): Great Britain's obligations under the Locarno Treaty only come into operation after the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. Any alteration in the Treaty in this regard whether made by agreement, note or verbal assurance, will be submitted to Parliament for sanction before becoming an undersanding honourably binding upon this country.

(Some of these replies are summarised.)

BUSINESS AND PLEASURE

THE Geneva Institute of International Affairs was founded by the League of Nations Union and various kindred American societies in response to a growing desire among their members to visit Switzerland in the month of August, and the eagerness of members to avail themselves of this excuse is such that it is advisable to book early for the Holiday Conference which is to be held this year from August 4 to 21.

Parties are shepherded by capable shepherds, with no trouble or anxiety to themselves, from London, across the perils of Paris, and all the way to the hotels, where accommodation is arranged for them in Geneva. There, excursions on the lake, up the Mont Saleve, to Chamonix and other beauty-spots in the district, are arranged.

Mental improvement is suitably interspersed among these amusements; and a glance down the list of lecturers will leave the reader puzzled to decide whether their lectures should be classed as business and pleasure. Any one who has not heard Professor A. Zimmern's striking parallels from the history of all ages and Professor J. H. Laski's lightning epigrams has not yet lived.

If you can stay on to the Assembly, your appreciation of its proceedings will be immensely heightened by the grounding in international problems which you will have received. If you can't, you will be able to interpret the newspapers in a superior way to those of your friends who have not attended the Conference; and you will have the satisfaction of knowing that the Secretariat, whose willingness to be kind to strangers never falters, had time to devote far more attention to you than they could to those who were there in September.

The programme of the Conference is given below. The fee, including travel from London, accommodation and lectures, is 10 guineas for one week and 11½ guineas for 10 days.

Sunday, August 15.—3 p.m.—Tea at Chateau Prangins. 8.30 p.m.—Reception by the Secretariat of the League of Nations; official welcome and announcements; address by Professor A. Zimmern.

Monday, August 16.—10 a.m.—“The Development of International Government during the Past Half-Century,” Professor H. J. Laski. 3 p.m.—Reception at the International Labour Office. “The Organisation of the International Labour Office,” Mr. William Ellison; tea; “The Outlook for International Legislation,” Mr. E. J. Phelan, Director of the Diplomatic Division of the International Labour Office. 8.30 p.m.—“The Progress of International Organisation since the War,” by Mr. Frederick Whelen.

Tuesday, August 17.—10 a.m.—“Arbitration, Security, Disarmament,” Senor S. de Madariaga, Head of Disarmament Section. 2 p.m.—Excursion to Mont Saleve. 8.30 p.m.—“American Views on the Outlawry of War,” Professor James T. Shotwell.

Wednesday, August 18.—10 a.m.—“The Progress of Economic Reconstruction in Europe,” Sir Arthur Salter. 3 p.m.—(1) Visit to the Assembly Hall, where Mr. Frederick Whelen will talk on the organisation of the Assembly of the League of Nations; (2) Round-table discussion of the “Protection of Racial, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,” led by Mr. Eric Colban, Director of the Minorities Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations; (3) “World Health and International Action to Protect It,” Dr. I. Rajchman, Head of Health Section. 8.30 p.m.—“The Operation of the Mandates System,” Professor William Rappard, member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Thursday, August 19.—10 a.m.—“The Political Activities of the League,” by Professor P. J. Baker. 3 p.m.—(1) “Codification of International Law,” Professor Manley O. Hudson; (2) “The Problem of the Opium Traffic and the Work of the Social Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations,” Dame Rachel Crowley; (3) Round-table discussion of the problems of immigration, led by Professor Varlez, of the International Labour Office. (1), (2) and (3) are alternatives. 8.30 p.m.—“Public Opinion and the Organisation of Peace,” by Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

Friday, August 20.—10 a.m.—“The Problems of the Future,” Professor Arnold Toynbee. 3 p.m.—General discussion on the work of the Institute. 8.30 p.m.—Reception to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

Saturday, August 21.—Excursions to Chamonix and elsewhere.

OVERSEAS NEWS

MEETINGS took place at Geneva at the beginning of March of the Executive Committee of the Federation and of the Standing Committees dealing with minorities, staatenloosigkeit (loss of nationality), and the I.L.O. and social legislation.

The Executive Committee (in which the British representatives were Mr. David Davies, M.P., and Sir Willoughby Dickinson), in addition to transacting a great deal of ordinary business, set up a special Committee to study and report on the constitution and possible enlargement of the Council of the League of Nations. This Committee will meet early in April at Brussels. The Executive Committee also appointed Dr. Kirchoff to the staff of the Federation, so that the Brussels office is now served by one Frenchman (Professor Ruysen), one Scotsman (Captain L. Small) and one German (Dr. Kirchoff). Dr. Kirchoff's special duties will be to maintain personal touch with the League of Nations Societies within the Federation and to stimulate and assist them in their work.

The new I.L.O. and Social Legislation Standing Committee held its first meeting in the new offices of the I.L.O. at the request of the Director, M. Albert Thomas, who himself was present. The British representatives on the Commission were Mr. George Barnes, Alderman Ben Turner and Captain L. H. Green. The Commission passed a series of resolutions put forward by the League of Nations Union urging League of Nations Societies, by various specific means, to give the fullest publicity and effect to the principles and work of the I.L.O. The League's forthcoming Economic Conference was discussed and a special Sub-committee, of which Mr. George Barnes was nominated Chairman, was appointed to study the questions likely to be raised at the Conference and to make a report, in time for the Tenth Plenary Congress, on the action which the Societies should take in order to secure the best possible results from the Conference.

The Federation is organising a Summer School, in the French language, to take place at Geneva from August 23 to 28. This is an entirely new activity of the Federation, and it is hoped that the Societies in the Federation will give their active support to it.

France.—The Ministry of Public Instruction has recently sent a circular to the educational authorities, informing them that it has authorised representatives of the French University Federation of the League of Nations to hold conferences on the work of the League in all educational establishments. These conferences are to take place at some time out of school hours, to be fixed by agreement between the representatives of the Federation and the heads of schools.

Holland.—The Dutch League of Nations and Peace Society has brought out a film which was exhibited for the first time at The Hague in the presence of Ministers, Members of Parliament and of the diplomatic corps, as well as of representatives of various societies. The film, which lasts a full hour, takes the spectator through the whole history of the League from its start up to the present day, and gives also some amazingly realistic pictures of modern warfare.

Don't destroy "Headway," give it to someone else

BOOKS WORTH READING

CURRENT HISTORY—SOCIAL INSURANCE—SYRIA

Survey of International Affairs, 1924, by Arnold J. Toynbee (Humphrey Milford, 25s.). This second volume in the series provided by the enterprise of the British Institute of International Affairs, contains a wider as well as a lesser survey of contemporary history than the date upon its title page implies. On the one hand it contains arrears which could not be included in the previous volume; on the other Prof. Toynbee has been compelled to carry over until next year certain matters which strictly belong to 1924. Prof. Toynbee has wisely refused to be trammelled by a rigid calendar; he has done better and has handled world affairs in several more or less self-contained groups. The following list of chapters will show the field which he here covers, though the titles are not always his own; it includes Security of Disarmament, Migration in and out, relations with Russia, the Allies and Germany, an “omnibus” chapter on miscellaneous European events, boundary questions in Tropical Africa, together with appendices of illustrative documents and maps. The whole of Professor Toynbee's work, whether he is considering the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol, the Separatist Movement in the Rhineland or the Dawes Scheme, the reconstruction of Hungary or American immigration restrictions, shows him to be as much a commentator as a chronicler. He searches for causes that lie behind events and suggests where they may be found; as he guides us along the path of current history, he pulls us up short with an unexpected, but necessary and illuminating question to which he is ready to provide an answer. For example, when “the representatives of the defeated and discomfited countries had fair warning that the Protocol would commit its signatories to the stabilisation of the existing frontiers,” why did the protest come from Japan? Why were the critics “mostly Englishmen and not members of those Continental nations upon whom the existing status bore most hardly” and who resented it strongly? Or again, after pointing out that the United States Immigration Act of 1924 affected Italy far more severely than Japan, “Why,” he asks, “were the economic and political consequences of the Act, in these two cases, in inverse ratio to one another?” Professor Toynbee's method is stimulating, and shows the serious purpose which, as we should expect, animates him. This same fine seriousness of purpose, coupled with an impartiality of judgment, can be seen in one further instance. He has given a fairly damning account of the relations of the French Government with the Rhineland Separatists in the years 1923-4, but he will not leave us content in a pharisaic self-complacency. “In the present state of knowledge,” he continues, “it is only just to France to say that the discredit of the story does not reflect exclusively upon her. Germans, Englishmen and Italians, looking back dispassionately over their own national records during the ten years preceding the summer of 1924, might well hesitate to cast the first stone at their French neighbours.” The book gains and does not lose from such “stimulating excursions” as these, to use Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's words in his preface; they increase our respect for the author and our readiness to accept his guidance.—H. W. F.

Social Insurance (Faber & Gwyer, 5s.). This is the report of a conference organised by the League of Nations Union. The addresses there delivered will secure in their printed form a wider and more permanent appeal, which they deserve to have, than when they

were entrusted only to the memory and the ear. On all counts the book is valuable. Professor Gilbert Murray, in the introduction he contributes, explains why the L.N.U. should concern itself with such a subject as Social Insurance; not only is Social Insurance a problem which the International Labour Office is authorised to study, but public opinion, in this country as elsewhere, must be educated to the “unquestioning acceptance of the principle that Social Insurance is a public duty”—a matter of international importance. For this reason leading British economists and those who have had first-hand experience not only of the principles but also of the practice of insurance and of the conditions of life which make this insurance necessary met last November to discuss the means by which the community may protect its members against the risks of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment. This international aspect of the subject was handled by such continental authorities as Mr. H. B. Butler, of the I.L.O., Dr. Greiser, of Berlin, Dr. Bargoni, of Rome, and Dr. Stephan Bauer, of the International Association for Social Progress. The general reader is thus put into possession of the experience of those who have given many years to the study of Social Insurance; he will learn much and he will be stimulated to learn more.—H. W. F.

Syria, by Leonard Stein (Ernest Benn, Ltd, 3s. 6d.). Mr. Stein's book is timely; although he has compressed his treatment of the French mandated area of Syria into a small compass, he has given a clear and useful survey of a subject which is prominent at the moment and about which most people know very little. He deals briefly with some of the recent sensational events in Syria, and, in describing the French system of administration, he points to the causes of these disturbances. Mr. Stein is impartial in his judgments; on the one hand he gives sympathy to the French for the difficulties which they have had to face, on the other he does not fail to mark down their mistakes. One fundamental mistake, which seems to be clear, is that the French officials did not fully understand the kind of people with whom they had to deal. The methods which they have employed with success in their more backward provinces and colonies of Africa could not be applied to the peoples of Syria who were in a far higher state of civilization and who possessed a considerable, though exaggerated, measure of national self-consciousness. They looked to the French as liberators and they expected quite other treatment than that which they have received; hence they are now disappointed and disgruntled. It is true that systems of local councils have been attempted, but they have not gone far enough to satisfy Syrian ambitions; the councils have been merely advisory and have been too largely experimental and subject to change. Other and more obvious mistakes have been made in the choice of personnel and in the quality of the troops employed for the maintenance of order. The position in Syria is one of peculiar difficulty, but those who have followed the course of events will agree with Mr. Stein when he says: “With its heterogeneous population, its religious feuds, its political immaturity, and its exposed frontiers, Syria is not capable of standing alone.” M. de Jouvenel has an unfortunate inheritance from his predecessors, but his reputation at Geneva gives promise that under his guidance the French mandate will justify itself. We hope that a map will be supplied in a second edition.—H. W. F.

READERS' VIEWS

"Headway" is glad to give whatever space is possible to letters from readers, BUT PLEASE KEEP THEM SHORT

THE O.T.C. FROM WITHIN

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—As members of the body concerned in the recent discussion about the O.T.C., we hope we have some excuse for trespassing on your valuable space.

Colonel Wright, whom we have known and respected, advances several plausible, though fallacious, arguments in favour of the O.T.C. He attempts to show that, although he dislikes militarism, he supports a body which, superficially at least, is closely connected with militarism. To say "I hate militarism, but think the Corps an admirable thing," seems very like saying "I hate wine, but think champagne an excellent drink." Militarism and the O.T.C. are hopelessly bound up in the mind of the average member, who not unnaturally fails to see the difference between the training which the Corps provides and regular training for the Army. This view is largely furthered by "the magnificent be-plumed and be-medalled inspecting generals," to whom Mr. Kittermaster refers. These people tell us that the finest career for a man is in the Army, with results which are sometimes almost calamitous. We cannot blame them, it is their duty to persuade us that the Army is the finest profession in the world. But we do blame the system, which allows such seed to fall on a soil all too easily influenced, as a rule, in a "Die-Hard" direction.

Again, Colonel Wright says that this training brings people up more self-reliant and capable. He inquires how Mr. Badley would act in particularly trying circumstances. A knowledge of human nature would be far more effective than all the military training ever provided. Any antic which could catch and, if possible, amuse the attention of a panicky crowd would break up the mad stream of people straining to crush its weaker members to death. The roar of military orders mingled with every other kind of noise would merely produce greater confusion.

Lastly, he refers to the idea "of public service" which the O.T.C. instills. We suggest that no such idea has ever entered the minds of the majority of those who join the Corps. To say that a boy usually joins the O.T.C. with any idea of public service is absurd. People are made to join by the "moral" persuasion of those above them; and moral persuasion at a public school is a powerful weapon. A certain number join because they are going into the Regular Army, and a still smaller number from any nobler idea.

The O.T.C. has some good points. The Annual Camp is probably enjoyed by some of those who attend, and even Field Days are perhaps preferred to a day's school work. But the main justification of the O.T.C. is to make people do what they do not wish to do. Regardless of what it teaches, its discipline, cruder than that of everyday life, does no good. Let its supporters be honest, and declare this; the sugar coating of beneficent militarism will no longer cover the nastiness of the truth. If they will admit this, we shall at least know where we are.—Yours, etc.,

N. W. WADDINGTON, Corporal.

March 13, 1926.

R. FORT, Private.

Eton College O.T.C.

[This correspondence is now closed.—ED. HEADWAY.]

THE CAMBRIDGE SUMMER SCHOOL

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Your announcement in February that arrangements were already almost completed for the Summer Schools programme brought to mind a discussion towards the end of last year's Cambridge week, when regret was strongly expressed that the school had not embraced a much larger number of students. Many of us were attending the School for the fourth time, and felt that the privilege of hearing such inspiring addresses was not properly realised among members of the Union. Suggestions were made that Branches might in some cases, where fees were found to be a difficulty, help to defray the expenses of likely members, who would in all probability return to their town or village, full of enthusiasm and information that would make them useful missionaries or—dare one say—recruiting sergeants for their Branch. To the isolated member who is outside a Branch area where lectures can be heard, the value of the School is even greater, and the personal touch with prominent workers is stimulating and helpful. It is a bit of a disappointment to some that Oxford, for which a majority voted, is not the meeting-place this year, not that we love Cambridge less, but we like the

alternate scheme better, and we specially like the fuller measure of our Chairman's presence that we are able to enjoy at Oxford. But some of us pledged ourselves to try and increase the membership of the School for 1926, so this letter is in fulfilment thereof, and, whether at Cambridge or Oxford, we shall not voluntarily forgo the pleasure of joining the School again, and yet again, and are anxious that others should share the privilege we enjoy.

I ought, perhaps, to add that it is not all work and no play, and that the social amenities arranged are not the least pleasurable feature of the school week.—Yours, etc.,
Salop.
EDITH WARD,
March 12, 1926.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I was sorry to read in your February number Mr. C. D. Watkins's attack on Indian Nationalists—in other words, on educated India. I feel I must contradict his statement that Indians cannot rise above Nationalism. They most certainly can do so, if given an opportunity. Nationalist India is not opposed to the League—nor is the Press. This is evidenced by the fact that India's contributions to the League have been voted unanimously each year by the Legislature, which has always rejected by overwhelming majorities resolutions urging India's withdrawal from the League. Are not the doctrines of non-violence, of justice, of brotherhood and of inter-racial co-operation, which Gandhi has been preaching to his fellow-countrymen since many many years, are they not, Mr. Editor, the very doctrines on which the League is founded and on which it ought to be worked?

And if Indians have not shown a greater active interest, they are not to be blamed. The Indian delegates at the Assembly are the nominees of the British Government, and as such represent its views rather than those of India. The official Indian policy, for instance on the opium question was decidedly behind, and in several respects opposed to, the Indian public opinion as reflected in the resolutions of the National Congress and of the Legislature. Possessing no means to make their voice heard (before the League), the Indians consider it their duty to devote all their time and energy towards hastening the date when they would be able to do so. And surely, sir, this does not justify Mr. Watkins to so strongly run down Indian nationalism.

I must, however, admit that there is a small section opposed to the League, but their opposition is only to the League as at present constituted, which, in their view, is dominated far too much by a few Great Powers, and which allows many international crimes to be committed under the clause of domestic jurisdiction.—Yours, etc.,

Cambridge.

INDIAN.

February 20, 1926.

A WORD ON RUBBER

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I would wish to thank you for your courtesy in publishing my letter on rubber in the March HEADWAY, but at the same time I feel myself obliged to trouble you again.

You admit that the Stevenson scheme was originally intended to counteract the effects of over-production, but go on to say that "it has been kept in operation till supply has fallen well below demand." This is literally true, but in any other sense it is misleading.

The Stevenson scheme was fitted with a sliding scale by which for every so long that the price of rubber maintains a certain level so much more rubber is put on the market. Under normal conditions this would have adequately adjusted supply to demand; as it is, there has been a sudden enormous increase in the demand, which has completely outrun this sliding scale, as it would have outrun any other practicable sliding scale. But, as I write, the sliding scale has already operated to release the whole output of rubber, and the price has already fallen 50 per cent. It is essential for any such scheme that it should work automatically and not at the arbitrary discretion of any Government, otherwise neither producer nor manufacturer would know where they stood. As it is, the manufacturers have had to wait a few months for the sliding scale to take effect, but if there had been no Stevenson scheme the weaker plantations would have been inevitably destroyed, and this would have meant a shortage of rubber and famine prices for a long time to come.—Yours, etc.,

Oxford.

J. W. LAWRENCE.

March 13, 1926.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Religious Minorities in Transylvania," compiled by Louis C. Cornish. (Grant Richards.)
"Democracy." Henry Adams. (Fisher Unwin.)

The pleasures of Foreign Travel are multiplied tenfold when you have learnt, by the New Pelman Method, to speak the language of the country.



THE PELMAN WAY OF LEARNING LANGUAGES

Remarkable Tributes to this New Method of Learning French, Spanish, Italian and German

The Pelman Institute is doing a wonderful thing. It is not only removing from the nation the reproach that British people cannot learn Foreign Languages, but it is actually making the study of languages a popular hobby.

People are taking up French, or Spanish, or Italian, or German, as a recreation as well as a useful study. For the first time in history the Pelman Institute has made the study of a language really interesting.

Hitherto people who have wanted to learn a Foreign Language have found the way bestrewn with difficulties. They have had to make their way through a tangled thicket of grammatical complexities. They have had to learn innumerable rules and exceptions. They have had to learn by heart long vocabularies of foreign words. Even after they have done this (and the majority "give up" before getting so far) they have found that they can only speak the language slowly and haltingly because in their minds they are laboriously translating English thoughts and phrases into their foreign equivalents.

The "Direct" Method

All these difficulties disappear when you learn a Foreign Language by the New Pelman method. By this method you learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish, and Italian in Italian. You do this without using a word of English. There is no translation. You learn the foreign words you need by using them, and in such a way that they stay in your mind without effort. As for the Grammar, you learn that almost unconsciously as you go along. But the Grammar comes last: the language itself comes first.

The complete success of this new method of learning French, Spanish, Italian, and German is shown by the vast number of letters received by the Foreign Languages Department of the Pelman Institute from men and women who have followed this plan. Here are a few examples:—

"You will be interested to hear that my first fortnight was spent in Vienna. After only six weeks of your German Course (with no knowledge of German previously) I found that I was able to speak well enough to go anywhere on my own and to buy things for others in our party who were unable to speak German." (G.P.111.)

"I took up your Course in October with a view to improving my French for the Intermediate Arts Exam. of London. You will be pleased to hear that I passed in French, and I feel it was largely owing to your excellent course." (W.194.)

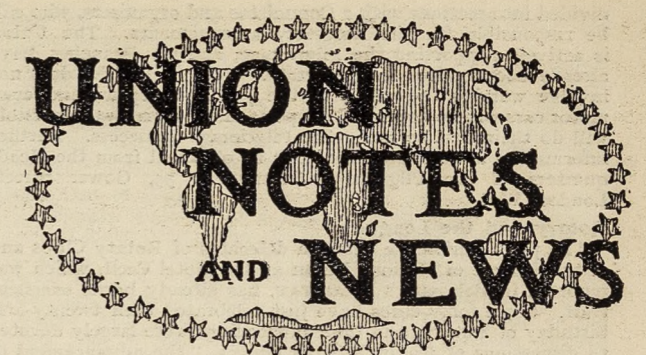
"I have found your system of teaching Italian so excellent that I am recommending it to people here." (I.C.104.)

"I have just finished your Spanish Course, which was easy, but which has taught me so much that now I can read any book that I wish. I did not even know the alphabet when I started." (S.J.178.)

Hundreds of similar letters could be quoted.

The New Pelman method of learning languages is explained in four little books, entitled respectively, "How to Learn French," "How to Learn Italian," "How to Learn Spanish," and "How to Learn German."

You can have a free copy of any one of these books by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. State which book you want, and a copy will be sent you by return, gratis and post free. Call or write to-day.



Where to Spend Your Holidays

To any of our readers who are in doubt as to how and where to spend their holidays, the Union can make some useful suggestions. If you are contemplating a holiday abroad, why not join one of the Union's Geneva Tours? The first leaves London on May 29 to visit the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation. Members of the party will have an opportunity of seeing exactly how everything works and obtaining their information from leading experts. But no one need be deterred by the fear that it will be all work and no play, for an attractive programme of social functions and excursions has been arranged. The fee for one week, including travelling, accommodation and lectures is 9½ guineas and for two weeks 13 guineas.

Next comes the Geneva Institute of International Relations, and full particulars of this appear on page 74.

To those who have holidays in September, we would commend the Assembly Tours. The first party leaves London on September 3, and will be followed by others on the 9th and 15th. The inclusive fee for this is 11 guineas.

Applications for the I.L.O. Tour and the Geneva Institute should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent; those for the Assembly Tours either to that address or, preferably, direct to the Organiser, Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City.

The Cambridge Summer School

In view of the letter from Miss Ward which appears in the correspondence columns, there seems no need to say more about the Union's Summer School at Cambridge than that it will be held at Trinity College from July 30 to August 6. The fee, including accommodation and lectures, is 4½ guineas. Men students attending the School will live in the College, and women students will be accommodated in lodgings near-by.

Here is the provisional programme:—

Friday, July 30, 8 p.m.—Inaugural Address.

Saturday, July 31, 9.30 a.m., The Growth of International Organisation, Sir Geoffrey Butler. 11.15 a.m., The Aims and Work of the League of Nations Union, Dr. Maxwell Garnett. 3.0 p.m., Reception by the Cambridge Branch. 8.0 p.m., Germany and the League, Count Kessler.

Sunday, August 1, 3.30 p.m., Evensong in King's College Chapel. 8.0 p.m., a public meeting in the Central Cinema.

Monday, August 2, 9.30 a.m., a Review of the League's Work, Frederick Whelen. 11.15 a.m., The Problem of Disarmament, Sir Frederick Maurice. Afternoon, optional excursion to Ely Cathedral. 8 p.m., The World Court: Its Work and Future, Professor Manley Hudson.

Tuesday, August 3, 9.30 a.m., The League and the Middle East, Leonard Stein. 11.15 a.m., The World Economic Conference, Norman Angell. 2.30 p.m., visit to Colleges; special guides will be provided. 5.30 p.m., discussion on the work of the League of Nations Union. 8 p.m., Russia and the League.

Wednesday, August 4, 9.30 a.m., The League and Mandates, John H. Harris. 11.15 a.m., The League and Problems of the Pacific, G. Lowes Dickinson. Afternoon, optional picnics; tea at the Orchards, Granchester. 8 p.m., The World Industrial Parliament, E. J. Phelan.

Thursday, August 5, (a) 9.30 to 10.15 a.m., The League and Slavery, Sir Frederick Lugard. 11.15 a.m. (b) The Present International Situation. Afternoon, optional excursion. 8 p.m., concert in Old Combination Room, Trinity College.

Friday, August 6, 9.30 a.m., The Problem of Minorities, Professor Ruysen.

"Madam, will you Walk?"

"To assure the Government that this country wants law, not war," is the object of the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage to London which is being arranged by an influential Committee of Women's Organisations. The intention of the scheme is to give expression to the strong feelings in favour of peace and international arbitration that exists in this country, but which so far have not been effectively mobilised.

The Pilgrimage will begin early in May, and the Pilgrims will converge on London by six routes, from Edinburgh, Carlisle, Swansea, Penzance, Cromer and Brighton, arriving in London for the big demonstration on June 19. Each route has been

divided into sections with a Committee and organisers, who will be responsible for the necessary arrangements. The Union is actively supporting the Pilgrimage, and its Branches have already been invited to co-operate. Being a Pilgrim does not involve walking the whole of the journey; cycles and even motor cars will be used. We hope as many members as possible will do their best to make the Pilgrimage a success. Further information as to routes, etc., can be obtained from the Headquarters of the Pilgrimage Committee, 55, Gower Street, London, W.C.

Rotary and the League

The joint conference between delegates of Rotary Clubs and of the League of Nations Union at the Hotel Cecil, which was reported in February's HEADWAY, has already borne excellent fruit. Some forty clubs have just celebrated their twenty-first birthday of Rotary, and their proceedings were largely devoted to discussions of Rotary's Sixth Object, "the advancement of understanding, goodwill and international peace," which brings it into contact with the Union.

Out of about 180 clubs in this country, 170 now have their own international peace representatives, who act as liaison officers with the Union, and are responsible for keeping their members up to date in international affairs. Many clubs devoted their meeting to hearing and discussing such reports, while others heard addresses by prominent members of the Union. Sir Willoughby Dickinson spoke at Stroud, Sir Arthur Shirley Benn at Plymouth and Dr. Maxwell Garnett at Richmond.

Not many clubs are resting content with one representative as a contact with the Union. An active campaign is being carried out to induce individual members of Rotary to join the Union. Leicester Rotarians are determined not to rest until every one of their members is also a member of the L.N.U.

An article in the *Rotary Journal*, summarising these activities, concludes with an exhortation that might well be addressed to Union branches. Rotary is urged to take seriously the problem of world peace the most serious problem of the day. The steps to be taken are outlined; they show that Rotary is approaching the problem in a really businesslike way. Rotary headquarters are urged to set up an organisation for co-operation, not only with the Union, but with Rotary clubs reserves, and especially in Europe; individual clubs to form personal contacts with clubs overseas, and to arrange for addresses which will give them a real knowledge of the international problems of the moment; and every member to devote his own time and thought to considering what particular contribution he can bring to the cause of international understanding and goodwill.

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March Letters to Branches

Two letters were sent during last month by the Secretary of the Union to the branches. The first mentioned that a large number of districts and branches had adopted the resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Union on the composition of the League Council. Included in the letter was a table shewing the amount contributed by the different "regions" towards the 1925 Council's Vote and the proportion of these amounts to the 1925 quotas.

Particulars of the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage were enclosed, and branches were asked to give all possible assistance.

The second letter dealt with recent events at Geneva, and formed a comment on the Executive's unanimous resolution on the subject, which is reproduced elsewhere. It emphasises the root cause of the breakdown—the failure to use the League's machinery for bringing public opinion to bear on a situation which in the past has more than once defeated the selfish action of individual nations. It points out that we must be prepared to encounter misunderstanding of the proceedings at Geneva. The set-back to the League is in itself a challenge to its supporters to use all their personal influence and all their united strength for the full development of the League.

Swelling the Ranks

This is a season for Branch Annual Reports, and copies are pouring into Headquarters every day. It requires only a casual glance at a few picked at random to get some idea of the enormous amount of energy and initiative that our Branch officers throughout the country expend on their work. An outstanding fact revealed by these reports is that almost every one records a substantial increase in membership. Some of these membership figures made spectacular leaps during last year, and the new members enrolled by Branches, such as Oxford, Nottingham and Grimsby, ran well into four figures. The splendid increase of 1,600 in the membership of the Carlisle Branch is recorded elsewhere. Harrogate, which is not, comparatively speaking, a large town, obtained 554 new members in 1925, bringing its total to 1,500. The Haslemere Branch, although it covers a thinly populated district, was able to raise its membership from 339 to 446, and the Branch at the Fulham Congregational Church, which began the year with seven members, ended it with 223. In practically every case these large increases have been due to a special campaign generally in Armistice Week, and they provide incontrovertible proof that it is intensive work of this kind that produces the best results.

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A Strenuous Life.

Here is an extract from the diary of the Secretary of the Union, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, for the three days March 18 to 20:—

Thursday, March 18.—10.30 a.m., attended the Executive Committee of the Union. 2.30 p.m., addressed a meeting of headmasters of the Secondary Schools, at which the Union's film was shown. 9.30 p.m., left S. Pancras for Glasgow.

Friday, March 19.—7.40 a.m., arrived Glasgow. 9.10 a.m., 30 minutes' speech to 600 boys of the Glasgow High School. 10.15 a.m., Kelvinside Academy; gave an address to about 100 boys. 1.15 p.m., addressed Glasgow University Branch. 3.0 p.m., spoke at Glasgow Academy to 200 boys and masters. 4.0 p.m., met the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council of the Union at tea. 8.0 p.m., spoke at the annual business meeting of the District Council.

Saturday, March 20.—11 a.m., spoke at a meeting of Glasgow teachers, scout masters and girl guides. Afternoon, went to Edinburgh to address a meeting of the Edinburgh Branch. 8 p.m., attended a meeting of the Classical Association of Scotland. 10.50 p.m., left Edinburgh for London.

Sixteen Hundred New Members

In one week the Carlisle Branch has secured fifteen hundred and ninety-one new members. This is one of the results of a recent intensive campaign undertaken by the Branch, the success of which has exceeded the hopes of even the most optimistic of the campaigners. The whole harvest has not yet been gathered and the Branch Secretary, Mr. Duxbury, tells us that he is continually receiving requests for information from people who attended the meetings and want to hear more about the work both of the League and of the Union. We should like to offer our congratulations and thanks to all who helped to make this membership drive such a complete triumph.

Each Ward of the City had been given a Branch Leader and the analysis of the membership returns during the campaign show that the Aglionby Ward (Mrs. Burns) enrolled 200 new members; the Caldewgate Ward (Alderman R. Burns), 105; the Currook Ward (Councillor R. G. Muckley), 133; the Denton Holme Ward (Councillor A. J. Watt), 140; the Greystone Ward (Councillor M. Y. Borland), 375; the Newtown Ward (Mrs. Mann), 144; the Rickergate Ward (Miss Musgrave), 110; the St. Cuthbert's Ward (Captain Dudley), 220; the Stanwix Ward (Mrs. F. N. Hepworth), 155.

The "Daily Mail" Helps the Union

We are much indebted to the *Daily Mail* for having become a recruiting agent for the Union. Its recent attacks have served the useful purpose of bringing the Union's work to the notice of the readers of the paper, not always with the effect which the Editor desired. For instance, a regular reader of the *Daily Mail* at Harrogate was so disgusted with the leader maligning the Union that he straightway went to the local Branch Secretary and joined as a 3s. 6d. member.

A Civic Reception

The Wembley Branch is particularly fortunate in having been blessed ever since it was formed with what might be called the paternal interest of the District Council. Three years ago the then Chairman of the Council created a precedent by giving a reception to the members of the Branch. Each year since his successor has followed this excellent example, and on March 5 the present Chairman, Mr. Oliver Jenkins, J.P., and Mrs. Jenkins gave the Branch members a delightful evening. After the guests had been received, Lord Parmoor gave an address, which was followed by dancing that continued until midnight. Naturally, these social functions have added considerably to the popularity of the Branch, which now has a membership approaching 900.

League Week in the Potteries

The children came in for the largest share of effort provided during the North Staffs campaign. They began by having a United Sunday School Service on the Birthday of the League in the Parish Church at Stoke. On the Tuesday about 3,000 members of the Boys' Brigade, G.F.S., Scouts, Guides, Church Lads' Brigades, Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades, came to see the Union's film "Star of Hope," and hear Mr. Whelen in the King's Hall, Stoke. The Exhibition travelled through the Six Towns, taking two weeks to accomplish its journey. The Education Authority had given permission for the older scholars of the Elementary Schools to visit it with their teachers during school hours, and they arrived in parties of fifty and were taken for a short "tour round the League" by Mr. Wood, Captain Bell and Miss Stephens, each party being given half-an-hour's talk. Some 2,500 boys and girls visited the Exhibition and from the

essays they have written since, it is evident that the League has become something very real and alive to them.

During the campaign sermons were preached and membership forms distributed in fifty-seven churches. Mr. Whelen and Mr. Bartlett each gave a talk from the B.B.C. Studio in Stoke; Lord Hugh Cecil most kindly came to the rescue and spoke for Viscount Cecil at the Hanley meeting and several speakers addressed "ready-made" meetings.

Good Out of Evil.

A Glasgow audience at a League meeting has provided an excellent illustration of the way in which people in Great Britain reacted to the crisis at Geneva. The meeting was held on the day on which it was announced that the breakdown was final. So far from the news having a depressing effect on the audience, it roused them to the need for rallying to the support of the Union, and no less than 292 of the people present enrolled themselves as members. Another example comes from Blackpool, where one of the Sub-branch Secretaries himself secured over fifty new members during the week following the failure of the Council.

A Mayor and A Magistrate

Strenuous efforts are being made by the Halifax Branch to increase its membership. Mr. Tom Gillinder addressed five meetings in two days early in March, including an excellent conference of teachers. A number of new members have joined as a result of Mr. Gillinder's visit, including the Mayor and one of the local Magistrates.

Hospitality for the Council

The last meeting of the General Council of the Union decided that the Annual Meeting should be held at Bristol on June 8 and 9. It is hoped to be able to provide hospitality for all the delegates who will require it, but as the necessary arrangements will take time, the members who intend being present at the meeting and will want accommodation are asked to send full particulars immediately to Lieut.-Colonel G. N. Wyatt, 79, Park Street, Bristol.

"They shall beat their Swords . . ."

There is an interesting and, we hope, significant, paragraph in the last Annual Report of the Civil Service Supply Association. It remarks that there is now an appreciably smaller demand for toy soldiers, but a growing one for model farms with everything appertaining to farm life. Practically all the metal used for these toys is taken from broken-up British shells and other war material—a literal case of beating swords into ploughshares.

Labour's Conference on the I.L.O.

Miss Margaret Bondfield and Mr. E. I. Poulton are the two chief speakers at the great conference-demonstration that is being held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on April 17, at 3 p.m., to discuss the work of the I.L.O. and its effect on world peace. Mr. J. R. Clynes will be in the chair. The conference is being arranged by the Union's Labour Organisation's Advisory Committee and the London Regional Federation. All trade unions, co-operative societies, guilds and labour bodies in the London area, together with the Metropolitan branches of the L.N.U., have been invited to send three representatives. A delegate fee of 1s. is charged to help towards the expenses. Branches who wish to be represented at the conference are asked to make early application for tickets to Headquarters.

"Shop Week" in Godalming

Godalming Branch's venture into business was a complete success. Through the generosity of Messrs. Pitcher, it was able to borrow a shop in the High Street for a week free of charge, at which a League Exhibition was on show, competitions were organised, and the Union's literature sold. The Godalming Cinema showed the "Star of Hope" film for a week without charge, and the King George's Cinema advertised not only the Shop Week on the screen, but also the League film. A substantial contribution towards the cost of this effort was brought in by acrostics, lucky dips and a cake weight-guessing competition. The chief and immediate result of the Week is 194 new members for the Branch.

The next meeting of the Branch will be held on April 13, at the Borough Hall, Godalming, at 8 p.m., when Sir Arthur Hort will speak on "The League and Public Opinion."

Locarno Takes the First Prize

The Dartford Branch, which has been doing a great deal of hard though unostentatious work, has received some welcome publicity owing to the fact that one of its members, Miss Lee, took the prize for the most original costume at a dance organised

by the Dartford Traders. Miss Lee represented the Locarno Pact, and a full description of her very original costume appeared in the local paper.

A Good Year's Record

The 1925 record of the Brentford Branch is one of which the members may feel proud. The year closed with a membership of 502, an increase of 86 during the twelve months. The interest of the old members has not been allowed to flag for with the exception of 18, all have renewed their subscriptions. This is in no small measure due to the fact that the branch has not concentrated on one or two big efforts but has also held regular monthly meetings which have kept the members informed of the League's progress. Among the other activities mentioned in the annual report are two mass meetings, a social, a League of Nations Sunday, a special Memorial Service on Armistice Sunday, and a great deal of work among the local schools. Several head teachers are on the Branch Committee, and a copy of "The Fight for Peace," through the generosity of Mr. A. Rayner, has been sent to every school.

Points from Annual Reports

The net proceeds of the Flag Day organised by the Nottingham Branch were £206 12s. 6d.

Camberley Branch raised £20 for its funds by means of a special Christmas Ballot. £10 of this is to be spent in assisting members to attend the Union's Summer School at Cambridge.

The first page of the report issued by the Paignton Branch is devoted to a summary of outstanding achievements of the League in 1925. It is a useful form of potted history.

The Council's Vote

It is most encouraging to be able to report that contributions are still coming in from Branches towards the Council's Vote for 1925. The following should be added to the lists previously published of those Branches that have completed their quotas: Alston, Burgess Hill, Clevedon, Deal, Drighlington, Faversham, Finedon, Halesowen, Hampstead, Knaresborough, Malton, Margate, Mirfield, Pateley Bridge, Prestbury, Rugby, Sherwell (Plymouth), Swanage, Terrington, Thornaby-on-Tees, Wolverton, Worcester, Writtle.

The Bude and District Branch has broken all records by having forwarded to Headquarters a cheque for double the amount of its quota for the present year. The Secretary writes that this contribution is sent to mark the Branch's appreciation of an address given by Lieut.-Col. Wyatt and its realisation that Headquarters "will welcome support particularly at the present time."

Almondsbury Branch has also paid the whole of its quota for 1926.

New Corporate Members

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the publication of the February HEADWAY:—

ARMLEY: Whingate Wesleyan Church. ASTON: Christ Church, Six Ways. BARNLEY: Regent Street Congregational Church. BATLEY: Commonsides Wesleyan Brotherhood. BELFAST: Loganview Street Mission Y.P.S., C.E. BIRMINGHAM: Ebenezer Church, Steelhouse Lane. BLACKBURY: S. S. Union. BLAKEDOWN: Brotherhood. BLETCHLEY: Spurgeon Memorial Baptist Church. BRADFORD: Didley Hill Men's Own Brotherhood; Thornbury (St. Margaret's) Junior Church Council. BRAINTREE: London Road Congregational Church. BRIDPORT: Wesleyan Church. BRIGHTON: Equitable Co-operative Society; Preston Road Brotherhood. BURNLEY: Hargreave Street Wesley Chapel. BURTON (Bucks): Wesleyan Chapel. COLCHESTER: Brotherhood. DEAL: Wesleyan Circuit. DITTISHAM: Congregational Church. DOVER: Brotherhood and Sisterhood. EDBASTON: Christ Church Young Men's Class, Summerfield. EDINBURGH: North Esk Literary and Debating Society; St. Paul's Parish Church. EPPING: Women's Co-operative Guild. FARNBOROUGH (south): Parochial Church Council. GLASGOW: Rutherford U.F.C. Women's Association. GRIMSBY: Flotter Gate Women's Meeting. HENDON: Congregational Church. HITCHIN: Queen Street Congregational Church; St. Mary's Parish Church Council. HORWICH: Parish Church; St. Catherine's Church. HULL: Newland Wesleyan Church. IBSTOCK: Wesleyan Reform Church; Wesleyan Reform Church C.E. Society. ILMINSTER: Wesleyan Methodist Church. KEIGHLEY: United Methodist Church. KINGSBRIDGE: Brotherhood. LANGLEY MILL: Wesleyan Church. LEEDS: Dewsbury Road Congregational Church; West Hunslet Central Mission. LEICESTER: Church of Christ (Errington Road). LINCOLN: St. Nicholas' Women's Fellowship. LIVERPOOL: Practical Psychology Club. LONDON: Brahmō Somaj; The Spiritualist Community; Balham Women's Co-operative Society; CHISWICK: Sutton Court Wesleyan Church; Kentish Town Unitarian Church; Putney Baptist Church; St. JOHN'S WOOD: Victoria W.M. Church; STREATHAM: Mitcham Lane Baptist Church; Streatham Wesleyan Church; UPPER NORWOOD: St. Aubyn's Congregational Church; WANDSWORTH: St. John's Hill Church. LUTON: Park Street Baptist Church. MACCLESFIELD:

Langley Wesleyan Church. MALTON: Congregational Church. MANCHESTER: Independent Order of B'nai Brith, Dr. Moses Gaster Lodge (2nd Lodge of England); Newton Heath Wesleyan Methodist Church; South Manchester New Church Society; Whalley Range Wesleyan Church. MORECAMBE: West End Wesleyan Church. NEW BARNET: Men's Adult School. NORWICH: United Free Church. NOTTINGHAM: Albert Hall Institute; King's Hall Mission; Mansfield Road Wesleyan Church. OAKWORTH: Baptist Church. PARKESTONE: Congregational Church. PENRITH: Presbyterian Church. RAMSGATE: Wesleyan Senior Scholars. RAYLEIGH: Wesleyan Church. READING: Trinity Congregational Church. ROCHESTER: Wesleyan Methodist Circuit. RUGBY: Brotherhood. RUSHDEN: Wesleyan Reform Union. SELLY OAK: Y.W.C.A. College. SOUTHALL: King's Hall and Uxbridge Wesleyan Mission; Holy Trinity Church. STIRLING: National Council of Women. STOCKSBRIDGE: Congregational Sisterhood. STOKE ST. GREGORY: Baptist Church. SUNDERLAND: Sans Street Wesleyan Mission. WARRINGTON: Padgate Wesleyan Church.

WELSH NOTES

The President of the Welsh League of Nations Union, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, has continued her campaign by addressing meetings at Ammanford, Brecon, Mountain Ash, Merthyr Tydfil, Newtown, Newport (Mon.), and Aberystwyth. The meetings have been not only particularly well attended, but also most enthusiastic and appreciative.

Professor Gilbert Murray has recently addressed meetings at Holyhead, Bangor, Denbigh, and Rhyl. Professor Gilbert Murray was given a very hearty welcome, and at each meeting the attendance was most encouraging. During March, Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, J.P., another of the staunchest supporters of the League, addressed large meetings at Lampeter, Cardigan, Machynlleth, Caersws, Llandinam, and Llandiloes.

The "Rotary" movement in Wales is taking an increasing interest in the work of the Union. The Honorary Director addressed a special meeting of Rotarians at Aberdare, and Capt. Frederic Evans addressed a similar gathering at Bridgend. Capt. Evans also gave a wireless talk to the schools from the Cardiff Broadcasting Station on Monday, March 8.

Further evidence of the keen interest taken in the United States in the memorial from Welsh religious leaders to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, is provided in the fact that an order has been received from New York for two thousand copies of the Rev. Gwilym Davies' account of his mission to the Churches of America.

Another appeal has been issued to all educational bodies in the Principality with a view to ensuring that still greater attention be given to the teaching of League principles in the schools. No sooner was the appeal issued than inquiries and offers of still further co-operation were received.

The World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales will be sent this year on "Goodwill Day," May 18. The message is addressed to the children of all countries; last year the replies were numerous and most interesting.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council, to be held at Llandrindod Wells in Whit Week, May 25 and 26, promises to be more successful than ever. Several District Committees and Branches have already sent in particulars of their representatives to the Conference. A strong panel of speakers has been secured for the public meetings.

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

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

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

Telegrams: "Freenat, Knights, London."

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