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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT is not too much to adapt to the Locarno agreements Charles James Fox's famous words, "How much the greatest thing that has happened [since the Armistice] and how much the best." So far as the League is concerned Locarno means gain all along the line. To begin with, Germany, as a result of the negotiations, will become a member of the League. There seemed at one time a reasonable prospect that a special Assembly would be held in December to admit her, but as the Locarno treaties and conventions are not to be signed till December 1, it seems probable that the Assembly will not be convened before January at the earliest. In any event Germany seems likely to take her place at the Council table in March, when, as it so happens, the five members of the Saar Governing Commission are due to be appointed. It is a little unfortunate that it has been agreed to hold the March meeting at Madrid, for it would be better for many reasons that the German delegate on the Council should have the earliest opportunity of familiarising himself with Geneva and its surroundings. A Council meeting in a foreign capital is something wholly abnormal.

The Security Pact

THAT, however, is merely a detail, compared with the general importance of the Locarno accords. Without attempting any exhaustive analy-

sis it is worth while summarising briefly their chief features. The Security Pact, as distinct from the four arbitration treaties or conventions that accompany it, not merely assumes the inviolability of the frontier between Germany, on the one hand, and Belgium and France, on the other, it also lays it down explicitly that Germany, Belgium and France "mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." It is this undertaking which Great Britain (and also Italy) underwrites by pledging itself to take arms against any State violating it. The treaty which, it is definitely stated, "is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations" (a reference no doubt to Art. XXI.), is to remain in force till the League Council decides by a two-thirds majority that the League itself gives sufficient protection to the contracting parties.

The Arbitration Treaties

THE arbitration treaties are four in number, being concluded by Germany with France and Belgium in the west, and with Poland and Czechoslovakia in the east. All four are virtually identical. They prescribe a rather elaborate process, which varies according to whether the disputes arising are "justiciable" or not. If they are the former—if, in the words of the treaty, "the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights"—then they go

either to a Permanent Conciliation Commission, or to the Permanent Court, or to a body of arbitrators appointed under the Hague agreement of 1907. The findings of these two latter bodies is binding, and the dispute must be referred to one or other of them if it has been before the Conciliation Commission without result. If, on the other hand, the dispute is of a broader character, not falling under the head of justiciable, it goes to a Conciliation Commission, and if it is not settled there passes on to the League Council to be dealt with under Art. XV. of the Covenant. That means theoretically that a loophole for war still exists, for if the League Council is not unanimous there is nothing in the Covenant to prevent the two parties from fighting (after a three months' interval). But, under the Security Pact, Germany, France and Belgium have undertaken not to fight. The exact position here, therefore, is a little obscure. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany are not in such a case pledged not to fight.

France and Her Allies

THERE has always, of course, been a good deal of doubt how the agreements projected at Locarno would affect France's relations with Poland and Czechoslovakia and the obligations known to exist between her and them. This has been got over by the conclusion of a convention between France and each of the two eastern countries separately, whereby the countries concerned, "acting in application of Article XVI. of the League of Nations," undertake to lend each other immediate assistance in case either of them is made the object of unprovoked attack. Similarly, if the Council, dealing with a dispute under Article XV., fails to reach unanimity and war results, the two countries undertake to support one another, as Clause 7 of that article permits.

Disarmament

ONE other feature of the Locarno agreements must be mentioned here. The so-called Final Protocol, signed by all the States taking part in the Conference, speaks in striking language of the whole disarmament question. The passage deserves quotation in full:—

The representatives of the Governments represented here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these treaties and conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations, that it will help powerfully towards the solution of many political or economic problems in accordance with the interests and sentiments of peoples, and that in strengthening peace and security in Europe it will hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations. They undertake to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of Nations and to seek the realisation thereof in a general agreement.

It is hard to avoid seeing here a polite reminder to America that the League of Nations already has the disarmament question in hand.

Article XVI

GERMANY'S difficulties about Article XVI of the Covenant have been got over (so, at any rate, it appears) by the adoption of a formula lifted almost without the change of a word out of the Geneva Protocol. By this much-contested Article,

it is declared, "each State member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." It is instructive to compare that with Article XI of the Protocol. All things considered, the Locarno agreements represent a great consolidation of the authority of the League. They were conducted in the spirit of the League by men—notably Mr. Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Benes—long pledged to support the League at every point, and it is certain that without what has happened at Geneva in the last three years what happened at Locarno in October, 1925, would never have been possible. In response to a message of congratulation from the League of Nations Union, Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed:—

"Best thanks for your message and for valuable support you have given to policy."

That is a welcome recognition of the association between the achievements of Locarno and the efforts made for the League of Nations in this country.

Great Britain and Armenia

IT would, of course, be unreasonable to regard a Prime Minister as technically or even morally bound by every opinion he may have expressed when free from the responsibilities of office. At the same time, the letter signed by Mr. Baldwin on the subject of a grant for Armenian refugees is so recent, and gains so much in authority from the fact that it was written in a comparatively short interval between two periods of office, that its terms must be a slightly uncomfortable recollection to the Prime Minister to-day. What the letter, which was signed Stanley Baldwin and H. H. Asquith, actually said was:—

"We recognise with deep regret that it is impossible now to fulfil our pledges to the Armenians, for these pledges involve political and territorial rearrangements now beyond our power to achieve. But there is open to us another method of expressing our sense of responsibility and of relieving the desperate plight of the scattered remnants of the Turkish Armenians. . . . In September, 1923, the Council of the League of Nations approved a scheme for the land settlement of 50,000 Armenian refugees in the little Republic of Soviet Armenia in the Russian Caucasus. . . . It is in our opinion the duty of Great Britain to give substantial support to this scheme. We desire to express our view that, as some compensation for unfulfilled pledges is morally due to the Armenians, the British Government should forthwith make an important grant."

The British Government in question at the time this letter was written was, of course, that of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Circumstances, it may be argued, alter cases, but it would be interesting to know whether Mr. Baldwin himself is still of the opinion that Great Britain's duty is, to give substantial support to the Armenian Settlement Scheme.

The League Builds

A GREAT deal of interest has been aroused by the decision of the Sixth Assembly not only to build an Assembly Hall on the larger scale suggested by the Committee of architects—at a cost, that is to say, of 8,000,000 Swiss francs (£320,000) instead of the 4,500,000 originally contemplated—

but to buy and sell the existing Secretariat building and erect a new one adjacent to the new hall. The Secretariat was originally a hotel, and as a hotel once more it should have a prosperous financial future, for it will be nearer to the League headquarters than any other, and it may be regarded as certain that all delegates to the now innumerable League conferences and committees, as well as most casual visitors, will make a point of booking rooms there. The reserve price set on the building is 4,500,000 francs (£180,000), and offers will be received till December 15.

Mr. Bramley and his Work

THE death of Mr. Fred Bramley, Secretary of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, is a matter of grave regret to the League of Nations Union, for not only has the Council in general supported the work of the L.N.U., but Mr. Bramley himself has on more than one occasion given it valued personal service. His death occurred at a joint Conference of the Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International at Amsterdam on October 9. It was on Mr. Bramley's proposal that the Conference resolved that a special propaganda campaign for the ratification of the Washington Hours of Work Convention should be instituted from November 15 to the middle of December. This is the result of a resolution adopted at the Marseilles Conference and is an interesting experiment in the sphere of international labour legislation. It is the first occasion on which two great international workers' organizations have joined to launch a definite campaign in support of an I.L.O. Convention. The problem of a boycott on goods produced in countries which do not apply the Eight Hour Day is to be considered further before any definite recommendations are made, as the practical difficulties of the application of such a boycott are apparent.

Members of the League

THE President of the Board of Education said many good things to the Church Congress at Eastbourne. His subject was Education as a World Problem. He exhorted his hearers to set their minds to work on as wide a range of facts and ideas as possible, and he warned them against the expurgators of history, the propagandists and the doctrinaires. But Lord Eustace Percy forgot his own advice when he added that "Nations are *themselves*—not 'members of the League.'" Working on a wider range of facts, he would have realised that modern nations cannot be self-contained. They must be members one of another whether they like it or not; and he is the true patriot as well as the greatest realist, who possesses in the fullest measure a sense of world-citizenship. The narrow nationalist is a danger to his country; and the nation which is furthest from being a "member of the League" is the greatest menace to the world.

Fifty Thousand £1 Members

THE world having been made safe for democracy, many institutions are trying to make themselves safe by democratic finance. The Union is one of these. The day of the large munificent

donations is past, and rightly so. The moral strength of the Union lies in the rank and file, and the financial strength should come from the same source. A hundred subscriptions of £1 each are worth more in the long run than a single donation of £100. The aim of the Union, therefore, is to transfer the financial support from the few who can afford to contribute large donations occasionally to the many who can afford small sums regularly. For this purpose an intensive campaign is being opened to secure fifty thousand members who will each contribute £1 a year. Without any special effort eight thousand one pound members have been enrolled in the past five years. The intensive campaign should easily result in six times that number. A volunteer worker has made a sporting offer to enrol fifty £1 members in nine months and pay ten guineas to the Union if he fails. But the success of the campaign depends mainly on the branches. It means hard work; it means the organisation of public meetings, special drawing-room meetings, house-to-house canvassing, "League of Nations" weeks, and the like. This is realised by the Executive Committee, and in order that branches may feel they will have some return for their efforts, it has been decided that until the end of 1926 only 10s., instead of 13s. 6d., out of each new £1 subscription need be sent to Headquarters. To get 50,000 "pound subscribers" would mean putting the whole of the Union—Branches, District Councils and Headquarters—on a sound financial basis. It is therefore up to the Branches.

"Geneva, 1925"

MR. H. WILSON HARRIS has, as usual, written an account of the League of Nations Assembly, under the title, "Geneva, 1925." It is now available in a size and shape uniform with the similar accounts issued in preceding years, and is published by the League of Nations Union at 9d. Of its contents generally it is sufficient to say that those who like the earlier booklets in the series will probably like this—and *vice versa*. The ground covered may be indicated by quoting the chapter-headings: "The Sixth Assembly," "Who Were There," "How It Worked," "The Geneva Protocol," "Arbitration, Security, Disarmament," "Reconstruction," "The Mosul Problem," "Hard Business," "Mandates and Slavery," "The Humanitarian Side," "The World's Health," "Minority Problems," "Thinking Internationally," "Choosing the Council," "£ s. d.," "Future Tasks."

"The Four Cruisers"

CORRECTIONS being better made late than not made at all, a reference may still properly be made to a paragraph in the August HEADWAY on the Government cruiser building programme. Exception has quite justly been taken to a phrase in that paragraph to the effect that "the navy exists simply for attack." The sentence was meant to read and should have read, "the navy exists simply for defence against attack"—a very different proposition. We regret the accidental omission of the two essential words. The case for some new international endeavour to extend the field of naval limitation agreements remains none the less conclusive.

THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY: FINAL IMPRESSIONS

By H. WILSON HARRIS

IN last month's HEADWAY Professor C. K. Webster, writing when the Sixth Assembly was no more than a week old, set on record his first impressions of the meeting. Nothing I have to set down as supplement to Professor Webster's introduction will conflict in any way with anything he said. I am in full agreement with his views, and I start from the facts he gave.

Speaking generally, the Assembly was thoroughly successful. It moved within narrower limits than usual, for the obvious reason that, as Professor Webster explained a month ago, events were in progress outside Geneva which made Mr. Chamberlain's appeal for restraint irresistible. The success of the Locarno conversations is sufficient justification both for that appeal and for the readiness with which the Assembly delegates acceded to it.

Within the field thus narrowed the Sixth Assembly set about its business with confidence and efficiency. It was better together than any of its predecessors. There were no little antagonisms, no whisperings in lobbies and corridors to mar a harmony with which the atmosphere of both Assembly and commissions was sensibly charged. If there was anything wanting, indeed, it was a little more frank criticism, such as Count Apponyi voiced in his speech on disarmament and minorities. Differences of opinion, of course, there were—notably, on more than one occasion, between Great Britain and the world—but differences of opinion, so long as they are candidly stated in public and not nursed up as private grievances, do little harm to anyone. And in every case in which Great Britain called for a halt or a retreat while the other delegations were for pressing forward an agreement satisfactory to everyone was finally reached.

Take disarmament. The British delegate began by advising against raising public expectations by talking about a disarmament conference when no disarmament was anywhere in sight; but the delegation fully agreed in the end to the setting on foot of preliminary studies into disarmament methods—a resolve which the progress towards security made at Locarno has since abundantly justified. Take the Economic Conference. The British delegate wanted to think about it a good deal more, and in particular to have an opportunity of consulting his experts. His attitude provoked a good deal of criticism, but M. Loucheur, the author of the conference proposal, had nothing to say against it, and readily accepted the suggestion that the final decision regarding the holding of a conference should be taken not by the Assembly in September, but by the Council in December. So with Health. The British delegate criticised rather vigorously, in a speech which gave rise to a good deal of misunderstanding and some dissatisfaction, but he ended by supporting the full budget allocation applied for by the Health Committee.

On one question, indeed, dissatisfaction was created and remained. To the last it had been hoped that, despite the temporary abandonment of the Geneva Protocol, there might be a general disposition to sign and ratify the optional clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court. During the Assembly Belgium did, indeed, declare her intention to do that. Czechoslovakia is understood to intend to follow suit. France signed last year, making her ratification dependent on the adoption of the Geneva Protocol. Whether she will ratify, as things are, is not known. This year it was clear that practically the whole Assembly could have been carried forward to signature of the Optional Clause if one country—Great Britain—had been willing to give a lead. Great Britain was not willing. On the contrary,

she announced explicitly her refusal to sign the optional clause, on the ground that she was unwilling to submit matters of national honour or vital interest to arbitration—and that though M. Painlevé had reaffirmed what M. Herriot said last year as to the willingness of France to submit any dispute whatever to compulsory arbitration. That was the greatest disappointment of the whole Assembly.

Apart from that, the note of the Assembly throughout was one of encouragement. Practically every report received spoke of good work soundly done. The League's control of Austria's finances is to be finally withdrawn, because the work of setting Austria on her feet in accordance with the plans framed in doubt and misgiving three years ago had been completed. The Hungarian reconstruction scheme was going so well that nothing remained but to congratulate everyone concerned in working it. The Greek scheme, which struck a serious obstacle (owing to sudden and arbitrary action by the Greek Government) just before the Assembly opened, found itself rapidly in smooth water again as the result of firm action all along the line.

So, in varying degrees, it was with other standing activities—the work of the health and transit and financial and economic organisations, opium, women and children, and the rest of the long and lengthening list. Some, indeed, of the tasks the Assembly faced it could not finish in the time. Three weeks is hardly long enough for the normal routine work, though in two particular cases—slavery and the Armenian settlement scheme—four weeks would have been no better than three. In the case of the Slavery Convention, though the discussions that took place were of the highest value, the questions raised had really to be referred to Governments, and there was not much chance of fulfilling the British Government's initial hope and getting the Convention actually signed before the Assembly ended.

The Armenian scheme was, and is, a matter of money, and nothing else. Is it worth while spending, say, £1,000,000 to transfer 15,000 refugees from Greece (where there is no room for them) to the Armenian Soviet Republic of Erivan, in the Caucasus, where it is clear they can live and prosper? And if so, where is the £1,000,000 to come from? The first question was answered by the Sixth Commission pretty definitely in the affirmative; but that is not much use unless you see where to get the money. Dr. Nansen himself believed in the possibility of raising an ordinary loan, as in the case of the Greek settlement scheme, but not many people shared his optimism, and the announcement by the Duchess of Atholl that Mr. Baldwin, who, as Leader of the Opposition, thought Great Britain should give a grant for the purpose, as Prime Minister thought she should not, disposed of any hope of an immediate settlement of the problem. All, therefore, that could be done was to set up machinery by which the scheme could be carried through if the practical problems proved soluble, without waiting for the next Assembly.

Altogether, in a word, a thoroughly sound Assembly marked particularly by goodwill, determination and a sense of solidity and confidence in the future hitherto never manifest in the same degree at the September meetings at Geneva. And with much wisdom the Sixth Assembly, at which continued devotion to the principles of the Geneva Protocol on the part of all States except Great Britain and Italy was an outstanding feature, has made full and specific provision for the appearance of those principles in a conspicuous place in the agenda of the Seventh.

AN ASSEMBLY SUMMARY

[The principal decisions of the Sixth Assembly are here set out in summary form. It must be remembered that the chief task of the Assembly was to pass in review the varied activities of the League, no actual new decision by the plenary body being needed in most cases.]

1. Disarmament.—The Council requested to make a preparatory study of the basis of a conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, with a view to the summoning of such a conference as soon as satisfactory conditions in regard to general security have been achieved.

2. Economic Conference.—The Council requested to consider at the earliest possible moment the expediency of establishing a preparatory committee to map out the work for an international economic conference, the convening of which under the auspices of the League shall be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.

3. Slavery Convention.—A draft Convention on slavery presented by the British delegation, and amended by the Sixth Commission, to be communicated to all States members of the League, and certain others, with a view to the conclusion at the Seventh Assembly of a Convention broadly in conformity with the draft.

4. Armenian Settlement Scheme.—The Council invited to appoint commissioners to ascertain finally the practicability of the scheme for the settlement of Armenian refugees in Erivan, presented by Dr. Nansen, and if their findings are favourable, to constitute a body of trustees authorised to negotiate and conclude the necessary loan for the purpose.

5. Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.—The Council requested to examine all proposals and declarations made at the Assembly and the Council regarding the pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the Seventh Assembly thereon. The Council also requested to study, as soon as they shall have been registered, the conventions and treaties under negotiation with a view to arbitration and mutual security, and report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress in general security effected thereby.

6. Austrian Reconstruction.—Satisfaction expressed at the progress made by Austria towards stabilisation of her finances, and at the decision of the Council that Austria's condition permits of the early abandonment of the control of her finances by the League.

7. Hungarian Reconstruction.—Satisfaction expressed at the rapid progress made in Hungary's financial reconstruction and at the fact that the first year's working of the reconstruction scheme resulted in a substantial budget surplus instead of the estimated deficit.

8. Greek Refugee Settlement.—Satisfaction expressed at the settlement of 700,000 out of the 1,200,000 refugees concerned and at the reports of the industrial progress made by the refugees themselves.

9. Passports.—The attention of all governments drawn to the importance of the conference on passports to be held in 1926, and to the general demand of public opinion for the abolition so far as possible of the passport system.

10. Opium.—Commission to be sent to Persia to study the existing situation with regard to poppy cultivation and the possibility of partial substitution of other crops.

11. Children and Young People.—The Council requested to instruct the Health Committee to investigate questions concerning child hygiene and to study in particular infant mortality from the point of view of feeding in infancy.

12. Refugees.—Two new agencies for the refugee service to be established in South America, and the Council requested to call an inter-governmental conference to examine the possibilities of raising a fund of £100,000 for the migration and settlement of Russian and Armenian refugees.

13. Budget.—The total amount of 23,930,633 gold francs approved.

14. Assembly Hall.—The sum of 8,000,000 Swiss francs voted for the election of a new Assembly Hall, 2,000,000 for the purchase of a site and 1,700,000 for an extension of the existing Secretariat building, the latter, however, to be subject to reconsideration in case the existing Secretariat should be sold under conditions and within a period decided on.

A REAL LEAGUE LIBRARY

THANKS to the grant of £3,000 from the Carnegie Trustees, the League of Nations Union Library is now undergoing complete reconstitution and expansion. New shelving is being installed for some thousands of new books, which will be purchased immediately, and the Union will soon be able to claim that there is housed at Grosvenor Crescent the best collection of volumes on the League and kindred subjects available in this country.

The books are not merely to sit on the shelves in the library. They are to be lent free—though voluntary contributions of anything from 2s. 6d. upwards are rather earnestly invited—to any member of the Union anywhere, up to the limit of three works for one month, while branches, study circles and corporate members may borrow up to thirty volumes for a period of three months; the carriage both ways being borne by the borrower in all cases.

Owing to the alterations at present in progress, the library will not be fully available till early in December, but urgent requests from study circles and individuals will be dealt with before then as far as possible.

The library contains primarily books on the League of Nations, the International Labour Office, the Permanent Court of International Justice, but it has also works on International Relations, International Law, International Labour, the question of peace and war from many standpoints, modern history and geography in so far as it touches the work of the League.

A full catalogue will be prepared at a later date when the equipment of the library has progressed further. Meanwhile, class lists on special subjects, e.g., the I.L.O., the Permanent Court, Mandates, etc., are being compiled.

BOOKS ON LAW

Readers of HEADWAY may like to be reminded of the existence of the Edward Fry Library of International Law now housed in the Law Library of the London School of Economics. The nucleus of the library was the collection of the late Professor Oppenheim, one of the best known writers on international law. Considerable additions have been made by the trustees, and the library now contains standard works by authorities in all countries, as well as a collection of the international treaties. The publications of the League of Nations, the League of Nations Union, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are all to be found in the library. It is open from 10 a.m. to 9.30 p.m. on every week day except Saturday, when it is closed at 6 p.m. It may be used by serious students without charge. A complete printed catalogue can be bought for 5s.

GREAT BRITAIN AT GENEVA

THE EMPIRE DELEGATION THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

In view of various criticisms made in this country on the general attitude of the British Delegation at the Sixth Assembly, the following article, contributed early in October to the Warsaw paper "Le Messenger Polonais," by M. William Martin, Foreign Editor of "Le Journal de Genève," is of some importance. M. Martin is a well-known, competent and essentially fair-minded Swiss journalist, by no means anti-British in his sympathies. While HEADWAY in no way accepts responsibility for his opinions, it feels it right to bring before its readers an article which presents clearly a view that was widely expressed—often in a less temperate form—at Geneva during the Assembly.

THE mutual relationships of the French and British delegations have been the outstanding feature of the Sixth Assembly. Despite the loyalty and confidence which prevailed so far as concerns the personal relations of delegates, there has been discovered in their public action a profound divergence of which no onlooker could fail to be conscious.

Everyone who attended the first four Assemblies of the League of Nations will remember the timidity of the French delegation before the British, guided by Mr. Balfour, with his incomparable authority as statesman and philosopher, or Mr. Fisher, or again by Lord Robert Cecil, who sat sometimes as representative of South Africa, and sometimes as that of the British Empire. It was always the British delegation that was proposing solutions, combating objections and preaching the gospel of boldness. Opposite to it at the foot of the platform, the French delegation, with M. Hanotaux at its head, played a timid and sometimes embarrassed rôle. Composed individually of enthusiastic supporters of the League, it gave the impression of being bound hand and foot by imperative instructions from Paris. No one can forget the day when M. Hanotaux opposed with all his strength the opening of the Protocol regarding the protection of women and children, on the plea that the League of Nations could not itself conclude diplomatic conventions. Who, above all, does not remember those dramatic hours in which France, pitted solitary against almost the whole of Europe, was supporting Italy in the Corfu conflict? Lord Robert Cecil, the representative of Great Britain, at the Council table demanded in icy tones the reading of the relevant articles of the Covenant, and through the idealistic throng which forms the habitual audience at such sessions, one could feel a thrill of enthusiasm pass.

A Change of Roles

The elections of May 11, 1924, in France, brought the first change in the situation. At the Fifth Assembly the two delegations found themselves associated in their zeal for the League in their desire to establish peace on an international basis for the good of humanity. M. Herriot and Mr. MacDonald grasped each other's hands, and if even then, in the privacy of certain Commissions, there was room for astonishment at one or another surprising reservation made by the British delegates, these hardly discordant notes disappeared amid a chorus of mutual admiration.

It was not difficult to foresee that this year the situation would be profoundly modified. The accession to power in Great Britain of a Conservative Government, resting on an overwhelming majority, their almost contemptuous rejection of the Protocol of Geneva and the speeches delivered by Mr. Chamberlain at different sessions of the Council, could leave room for no illusion on the new sentiments of the British Government with regard to the League of Nations. The courtesy revealed in the choice of the Minister for Foreign Affairs as representative of the Empire was, of course, appreciated, but that after all was only a gesture, and it was realised that this delegate with all the authority attaching to his high position would come to Geneva to cast, so far as concerns the Protocol, a negative vote.

Even so, disappointment among the friends of the League has been great, for if they knew in advance that the British Empire was hostile to the Protocol, they never imagined that it would extend its opposition over the most diverse spheres, to the gravest questions as to the most trivial. The presence of Lord Cecil in the delegation had appeared a good omen in this respect, and had been interpreted as a guarantee of continuity. In actual fact, Lord Cecil, who had already caused some uneasiness to his friends and admirers in the course of the Opium Conference, revealed himself at Geneva as a man quite other than of old. We know to-day that there are two Lord Cecils, the Lord Cecil of General Smuts, and the Lord Cecil of Mr. Chamberlain.

Disarmament

On the question of disarmament, the change of front is complete. Year after year we have been told that disarmament must precede security. We are told to-day that security should precede disarmament, that arbitration should precede security, and yet that arbitration is impossible at any price. Lord Cecil, who was the soul of the Temporary Mixed Commission, composed of civilians, as against the Permanent Advisory Commission, composed of soldiers, allowed his colleague, who was the soul of the Commission which drafted the Protocol, to declare that if the League had so far not succeeded in the field of disarmament, it was because it had not consulted military experts enough—a reproach doubly unjust; firstly, because nothing has been done without them; and, secondly, because Lord Cecil has constantly urged that they should be consulted less.

It is possible, with some difficulty, to understand the attitude of Great Britain in a field which touches its vital interests so closely; but in other fields precisely the same attitude is observed, whether it be a question of Article 16 in the First Commission; or of the Economic Conference, or of the restoration of Austria, or of intellectual co-operation, or of the health organisation in the Second Commission; of the budget in the Fourth; of opium or the protection of women and children in the Fifth; or slavery in the Sixth. Everywhere the British delegates stop short of what they said in the past, short of what practically every other delegate is saying to-day, and far short of what the progress of humanity demands.

Weakness and Strength

It is none the less true, however, that Great Britain exercises on the Assembly by the prestige of its power a considerable influence, and that it bears a double responsibility for its acts, by reason both of their importance in themselves and of their effects. But what must be never lost to sight, and what is revealed by the Sixth Assembly more clearly than by any of its predecessors, is the fact that there exists to-day in the Assembly a world public opinion—that is to say, a body of delegates who, without holding very decided views on different problems, are always ready to rally to the speaker who inspires enthusiasm and who works in the interests of progress. In the earlier years of the League the diplomatic position of Great Britain was incomparably stronger than that of France. To-day the situation is reversed, and the French delegation exercises over the Assembly an almost unchallenged authority.

ARBITRATION

A NUMBER of events have conspired to concentrate public opinion in a striking degree on the question of international arbitration. Most notable have been the discussions during the Assembly at Geneva, the negotiations at Locarno, and rather earlier than either of these, the presentation to the British Foreign Minister of the petition in favour of arbitration in general and the acceptance of the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court in particular, organised by the League of Nations Union and the National Council for the Prevention of War. The total number of signatures obtained was about 450,000, such a result being achieved only through the enterprise and sacrifice of an army of voluntary workers, including many Branch Secretaries of the Union, who gave freely of their time and energies to the task.

Though the petition did not attain its object in the sense of convincing the Foreign Minister, it had the extremely useful result of eliciting from him a statement of the Government's official views on Arbitration. This was contained in a letter signed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, which the space available here does not, unfortunately, permit us to reprint in full.

Mr. Chamberlain's letter begins by recalling the classes of dispute to which Clause 36 of the Statutes of the Permanent Court applies (they are enumerated in Article 13 of the Covenant), and he mentions that the question of accepting the clause has been decided against by every British Government since the Court was founded. This appears to be not strictly accurate, for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his speech at Geneva in September of last year, said: "It is the desire of the British Government to sign undertakings like the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court, but before so great a step is taken, it is proper that the clause should be drafted in the most specific form possible." His Government, however, fell from power before action could be taken.

Mr. Chamberlain continues, in what is the central passage of his letter, as follows:—

"As regards disputes which are likely to lead to a rupture, His Majesty's Government are already bound under Article 15 of the Covenant to submit all such disputes either to arbitration or to the Council of the League. It is unnecessary to say that this obligation is fully accepted by His Majesty's Government, and that they have no desire to endeavour to escape from it. As regards disputes of this nature, therefore, the only result of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court would be that all disputes falling within the categories prescribed in Article 36 of the Statute would go to the Permanent Court, whereas at present it is open to His Majesty's Government, if they so desire, to have them dealt with by the Council.

This right is not one which, in the opinion of the Governments who have considered this question, it is wise to surrender. There may well be disputes which, although falling under one of the categories mentioned in Article 36, are yet of such a nature that they may be more suitable for settlement by the procedure of the Council than by the decision of the Court. Nor is it clear how objection can reasonably be taken to this attitude, for the object of the Covenant is to ensure that disputes likely to lead to a rupture are settled by peaceful means; and if it is thought that in a particular case the procedure of the Council is more likely to achieve this result than the procedure before the Court, there is no reason why it should not be adopted."

There remain, the Foreign Secretary explains, disputes not likely to lead to a rupture, and here again Mr. Chamberlain, after pointing out that Great Britain has consistently shewn herself ready to conclude arbitration treaties on all questions except those affecting "the vital interests, independence or honour of the contracting States," declares against any general obligation on this point. He emphasises the special difficulties

created by the fact that the British Empire is not unitary, and that His Majesty's Government must, before taking action, consult the Dominions. On this point there is, of course, no difference of opinion.

In reply to this letter a statement has been drafted by Professor Gilbert Murray in the following terms:—

The League of Nations Union is grateful to Mr. Chamberlain for the full and reasoned reply which he has sent to the Petition promoted by them in conjunction with the National Council for the Prevention of War, but they find his arguments far from convincing.

The Petition asks that H.M.G., following the example of 23 other Members of the League, including France and Belgium, should sign the Optional Clause of the Statute of the International Court, accepting the jurisdiction of the Court as obligatory in purely legal cases. We may premise that the object of this Clause is the establishment of the reign of law between Members of the League, so that even the smallest State may have the assurance that, in any disputes it may have with a Great Power, it will receive its legal rights and not be exposed to the danger of intimidation or chicanery.

Mr. Chamberlain's argument is frank and clearly intelligible. He deals first with disputes "likely to lead to a rupture." These, according to the Covenant, may be submitted either to Arbitration or Judicial Settlement by the Court or to "enquiry and report by the Council." Mr. Chamberlain argues that it may sometimes be more convenient to the British Government to evade a strictly legal decision and take the dispute to the Council. This is undoubtedly true. The conveniences are two fold. First, both as a Great Power and as a permanent Member of the Council, Great Britain enjoys a special position of prestige and influence. If ever she were legally in the wrong, a friendly Council, not bound to act on strictly legal principles, might well be more charitable than the Court. Even if it were disposed to be otherwise, her influence would probably suffice to secure that at least one of the other Members of the Council should dissent from the Report and so reduce it to nullity. In that case the Covenant ceases to operate, and the Great Power can, if it chooses, proceed to intimidation and threats of war.

The final paragraph of the Foreign Office's letter does not improve matters; it deals with "disputes not likely to lead to a rupture"; in these we are not bound to take any steps at all, arbitral, judicial, mediatory or otherwise. Suppose that, by any chance, it should ever happen that we were in the wrong, we need only sit tight and let the small Power make a rupture if it dared. This also is convenient for a Great Power.

These conveniences, on which the Foreign Office sets so much store, are undeniable; the mischief is that they are incompatible with the reign of law which the League is intended to initiate and they lessen the confidence of the small nations in the honesty and good faith of the great. France has voluntarily resigned them and has surely gained more than she has lost.

Thus for the moment this particular controversy stands. It is clear, however, that the question of Arbitration can hardly rest there. On no subject should attention be more resolutely concentrated, particularly by League of Nations Union Branches, in the period between now and the Seventh Assembly.

On August 28 a service commemorating the tercentenary of the death of Hugo Grotius, author of "The Legal Rights of War and Peace," was held in the church at Delft. This service was organised by the Dutch Association of the League of Nations and of Peace, and was attended by representatives of numerous societies, including the League of Nations Union (represented by Captain L. H. Green, a member of the Union's Labour Advisory Committee), members of the diplomatic corps, and others. The service was followed by several speeches.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

OF the various accords so successfully achieved at Locarno none is of greater importance than the agreement that Germany shall enter the League of Nations at the earliest practicable date. It is just indeed to say that none is of equal importance, for while the Western Pact, for example, means that Germany will not fight with France, the entry of Germany into the League means that Germany will work actively with France and with every other nation in Europe, except Russia, from now onward without time limit. And of those two results the positive is of sensibly greater value than the negative.

Much more intrinsically important than the way Germany enters the League—and there seems little prospect now of arranging a special Council for her admission earlier than January—is the question of how she is likely to comport herself when she becomes a member of it. She will, to begin with, claim that she is entitled to the appointment of a certain number of her nationals as members of the Secretariat. That is clearly reasonable, and the only obstacle to the full satisfaction of her desires will be the fact that posts are made for the work and not for the workers, so that it may be a little difficult to appoint Germans except as places for them fall open through resignation or promotion. It is, however, only a question of when, not of whether, they will be appointed.

On certain questions the German delegates on both Assembly and Council may be expected to declare themselves with vigour from the first, as they will be perfectly entitled to do. One is disarmament. Germany herself is not merely disarmed, but disarmed avowedly in order to make possible the disarmament of the rest of Europe. She has done her part—whether voluntarily or not does not greatly signify—and she means to find out now what other nations are proposing to do about it. Another question is the Saar. There complaints enough rain in on Geneva from German sources, and it will be all to the good that they should be put forward with full responsibility at the League Council table, and that Germany should be entitled for the first time to full information as to exactly what is being done and why both at Geneva and at Saarbruck. Danzig stands in the same category. In both these matters Germany will have plenty of opportunity for showing herself unreasonable if she wants to. If, on the other hand, she realises her responsibility as a League member from the first, she will be in a position to promote substantially sound administration both in Danzig and the Saar.

Regarding minorities, the German member of the Council may be expected to be specially active. In the matter of mandates Germany is represented as determined to secure for herself one of the existing mandates, perhaps that for the Cameroons. There are difficulties about transferring mandates and the League may quite well decide against any such step. But German representation on the Permanent Mandates Commission is another matter. It will certainly be demanded and in all likelihood conceded. If Germany does not get a mandate for herself she will be all the more likely to keep under keen scrutiny those Powers who have one. That, on the whole, will be all to the good.

A Council with Germany on it will not find nothing but smooth water in front of it. There may quite well be pretty frequent strain and friction for awhile. But if Geneva remains Geneva that will gradually all die down. In any case an addition of authority with some addition of strain is incomparably better than a comfortable and harmonious representation of not much more than half Europe.

LÉON BOURGEOIS

AT the head of the list of the French delegates in the Sixth Assembly, above the name of the Prime Minister of France, M. Painlevé, appears the entry, "Président d'Honneur—M. Léon Bourgeois." Three days after the Sixth Assembly ended M. Bourgeois died at his home in Oger-sur-Marne.

The absence of the venerable French delegate from the Sixth Assembly recalled inevitably an unforgettable little episode enacted at the Fifth. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was speaking from the Assembly platform. He was dwelling on the vital importance of arbitration. "I see in front of me," he said, looking towards the bench where the French delegation sat, "an old master, though a new friend, M. Léon Bourgeois. I was young and my hair was black when M. Léon Bourgeois, honouring his own name and the name of the nation to which he belongs, proposed at an international conference that the question of arbitration should be scientifically discussed. Here we are assembled to-day. The years have gone, disputes have accumulated, wars have been fought, millions of precious lives have been sacrificed, thousands of millions of treasure have been dissipated, and my friend, grown old and grey in the cause of international peace, still sits considering this question in its very first stages. It is a disgrace to us all."

The speech ended. The speaker left the platform. His words, which in their original English M. Bourgeois had not followed, were translated by the interpreter. The aged French delegate, deeply moved, rose from his place, and leaning heavily on the arm of his colleague, M. Loucheur, made his way to the English seats to grasp Mr. MacDonald's hand. The British Prime Minister leaped to his feet to give his chair to his "new friend," and the Assembly Hall rang with cheers as M. Bourgeois sank into the place reserved for the head of the British delegation.

Mr. MacDonald's brief tribute sums up the essential part of Léon Bourgeois' life. He was a good Frenchman in the best sense of the word, holding almost every Ministerial post in the Cabinet at different times, and remaining in office with hardly a break over the space of thirty years. But his outlook was international, and world peace was the object for which he lived and worked. When Grey and Asquith in England and Wilson in America were thinking out the possibilities of a League of Nations, Bourgeois was applying himself to the same task in France. At the Peace Conference he was the chief French representative on the commission which drew up the Covenant, and he was never quite reconciled to the decision of the majority of his colleagues that the League should have neither armed forces nor even a general staff at its disposal.

In due time, in January, 1920, the League of Nations came into actual being, and appropriately enough the first words ever spoken at a formal meeting of the League fell from Léon Bourgeois' lips, for the first time the Council assembled, on January 16, 1920, at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, he was in the chair, and it was he, therefore, who uttered the historic words, "Messieurs, la séance du Conseil de la Société des Nations est ouverte."

At Geneva Léon Bourgeois, accompanied by his devoted secretary, Mlle. Millard, who followed him at all the plenary sessions, even in September heat, with a rug, was a familiar figure. He continued to travel to Geneva down to the Assembly of 1924, when he appeared there for the last time. He was one of the Frenchmen, few indeed in the earlier days of the League, of whom it could be said with confidence, that he never allowed even his love for France to deflect him from his loyalty to League ideals. His death, less than three weeks after that of M. Viviani, robs both Paris and Geneva of a great figure.

THE WORLD'S HEALTH
WHERE GENEVA MAKES A DIFFERENCE

THE League of Nations Health Organisation has been a good deal in the public eye of late as a result of strictures passed on it by various British delegates at Geneva. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, for example, at the Council Meeting in June, thought the Organisation was attempting too much and doing in various countries what those countries ought to be doing for themselves, and Mr. A. M. Samuel, on the Second Commission of the Assembly, expressed a series of opinions which were universally understood as rather sharp criticisms, though Mr. Samuel explained with some diligence later that no one was a greater admirer of the Health Organisation than he, and that his only concern was to see that the best value was obtained for the money spent.

In the light of all this, it is worth while reviewing briefly what the Health Organisation is actually doing. That its net is rather far flung is true, but assiduity in well-doing is not of necessity a vice. Moreover, it is significant that most of the Health Committee's work is done not on the initiative of the League, but at the direct request of Governments all over the world.

In part or in all of its activities countries not yet members of the League, such as the United States and Germany and Turkey and even Soviet Russia, have been associated officially. Unofficially America has co-operated to pronounced effect, for the Rockefeller Foundation is at present financing both what is rather alarmingly called the Epidemiological Intelligence System, established by the Committee, and also its exceedingly successful scheme for exchange visits of medical officers of health of different countries.

Without attempting a complete catalogue of the Health Committee's activities, it may be mentioned that during the last two or three years it has been investigating the prevalence and treatment of some of the world's greatest scourges—cancer, tuberculosis, malaria and sleeping-sickness. The establishment of the Singapore Bureau last April was an important development in the League's campaign for the prevention of epidemic diseases. From this Bureau a weekly service of information on various contagious diseases in Pacific ports is cabled to Geneva and is published in the monthly Epidemiological Report. This, of course, enables preventive measures to be taken at the earliest possible moment, and the Singapore experiment has proved so successful that the French Government has asked for a similar office to be set up on the coast of West Africa. Europe's plagues are not less keenly watched. Several Governments bordering the Mediterranean and Black Sea have arranged to wire, at their own expense, the first signs of diseases such as cholera and small pox detected in their ports. The system of notification is so rapid that a case observed in the morning has been reported to Geneva during the afternoon of the same day.

As an example of the value of co-operative effort, not only in the field of medical treatment or administration, for that falls within the domestic spheres of the individual countries, but of investigation and research, the report of the Malaria Commission established by the Health Committee is striking. The original plans of the Commission have had to be extended, for requests for help have come from practically all the countries where the disease is prevalent. Its members have visited Yugoslavia, Corsica and Spain, at the instance of the Governments concerned, and reported on the activities of the mosquito in the malaria areas. Incidentally, the Spanish visit confirmed the discovery that the holy water stoops in Cordova Cathedral, and

presumably in many hundreds of other churches, were favourite breeding-grounds of the malaria mosquito. Turkey is now profiting by the experience already gained by the League's malaria experts, whose assistance she has asked for in setting up an Anti-Malaria Organisation. Advice has also been given to Persia and Albania—again at the request of the Governments—not only concerning malaria, but also on general health conditions. The Health Organisation has now offered travelling fellowships to two medical officers from Persia and Albania in order to enable them to study modern health methods. The malaria investigations in the various countries are, of course, providing valuable records of the results of the different methods of treating the disease. But the Commission is not prepared, for the present, at any rate, to recommend any particular treatment. As a matter of fact, there is an interesting division of opinion among the Commissioners themselves as to the best method of fighting malaria. Is it better to take quinine or to kill the mosquito? So far the balance of opinion is against the mosquito. (But presumably there is something to be said for combining both methods.)

The League's cancer inquiry has already brought to light some significant facts. The figures collected from Great Britain, Holland and Italy showed that the number of deaths from cancer in women in England is much higher than in either of the other two countries. The Cancer Commission set itself to discover if the differences were due to variations in the method of compiling the statistics. It was found that they were not, and the evidence seems to point to the unhappy fact that cancer among women in this country is more malignant than in either Holland or Italy. Having discovered that, the next thing is to discover why. The report of the tuberculosis inquiry is less depressing. It shows a real decline in several countries in the number of deaths from tuberculosis. Is this due to a general all-round improvement in the world's health, or is it due to preventive measures? What effect has a special diet, particularly milk, on the tuberculosis death rate? An expert committee is now collecting information which may help to solve these problems.

Whilst the wave of tuberculosis is receding in Europe, it is gathering force in Equatorial and South Africa. The exceptionally high death rate among the natives, especially those employed in the mines, has resulted in the South African Government asking the Health Commission to undertake an investigation.

Sleeping-sickness is another scourge which is decimating the native tribes in Equatorial Africa. The interested Governments have from time to time endeavoured to cope with it, but with little success, chiefly because of lack of co-ordination. The Health Commission has now been asked to give its assistance, and, on the invitation of the British Government, called an international conference in London last May, which recommended that a League Commission should be sent to Entebbe, Uganda, for a year to investigate the causes and treatment of sleeping-sickness.

So the work goes on in many fields. It is almost wholly either Intelligence work, where centralisation is essential unless there is to be duplication and waste, and investigation, whereby the League's efforts show national administrations the path to walk in. Tax-payers in this country may be interested to know how much it costs them. Great Britain's share of the money to be spent by the Health Organisation during 1926 amounts, all told, to £4,000—four-fifths of the salary of our own Minister of Health.



GENEVA, October.

I HAVE been informed from a thoroughly trustworthy source, as the phrase runs, that this issue of HEADWAY is dealing elsewhere with the death of M. Bourgeois, the Health Organisation, the Assembly and the subject of Arbitration, and have at the same time been given complete freedom to deal with any topical matter concerning the League. This makes me feel like the man who was told: "You are free to say anything you like, provided you agree with me." However, Barkis is nothing if not willing, so here goes.

The sad truth is that practically nothing has happened here since the Assembly and Council except the usual preparations for the next. As the Assembly recedes it appears not such a bad milestone on the path of the League after all, as will no doubt be explained elsewhere.

The approaching and apparently successful end of the Locarno Conference is the subject uppermost in most people's minds, and already there is much speculation about how many and what kind of Germans will be drafted into the League Secretariat, what positions they will occupy, and how their places will be found for them, who will be German representative on the Council, what line the German Government is likely to take when it first appears on that body, and so forth. Probably Germany would be best advised to say nothing in particular for at least the first meeting, until she has learnt the ropes; but no doubt the Nationalists will demand something striking and dramatic to assert themselves and justify Germany's entry into the League. Will there be a special Assembly? This can be summoned by the request of the majority of the Council. The question is whether things will have progressed fast enough between now and December 10 to justify the British or some other government member of the Council raising this question and demanding a special session in, e.g., January. A skeleton Assembly formed out of the diplomatic representatives at Berne or Paris of the members of the League could, of course, meet and vote Germany into the League very quickly and easily.

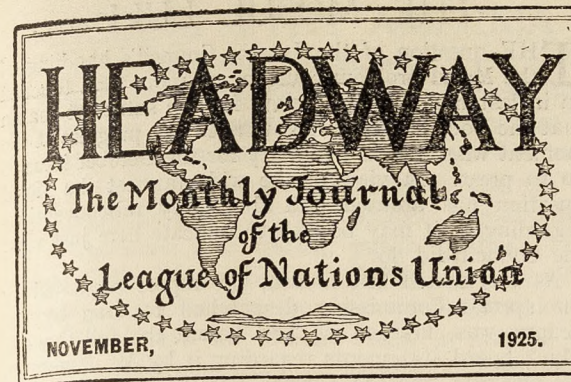
The only strictly League event worth mentioning is the Fifth Session of the Health Committee, which has just concluded. Three facts may be noted about this session. The first is that the Health Organisation has been left in a position of "stability" by the Sixth Assembly, which it had not before attained. It is the youngest of the League technical organisations, and only now can it be said to have reached its full stature, with the size of its budget adjusted to the rest of the League and to the tasks devolving upon it, with its number of sub-committees fixed, with all States in the world co-operating with it in one way or another, its relations to other agencies for inter-governmental health work defined, and its organisation and activities to date approved up to the hilt by the Council and Assembly of the League.

The second important fact about the Health Organisation is the increasing extent to which its activities are extra-European. One of its members, Dr. Leon Bernard, reported on his visit to several Latin-American States for the purpose of tightening-up co-ordination with these countries, some of which (e.g., Brazil) have decided to set up a special office within their health services for contact with the League, and all of which expressed a desire to get into closer touch and take a greater part in interchanges, statistical work, the sending and receiving of information, &c. Again an interchange has been planned to take place around the shores of the Mediterranean and in North-West Africa, and the French Government has requested the setting-up of an epidemiological intelligence office somewhere on the coast of West Africa, to do for Africa what the Singapore office does for the Far East.

The sleeping-sickness inquiry, the inquiry into Mediterranean Leishmaniasis (a prize competition should be started for those who know what this disease is), the inauguration of cable and wireless intelligence from Mediterranean and Black Sea ports, the Singapore office itself, and the health interchange beginning this month in Japan, are further instances.

The third fact brought up by the session of the Health Committee is the increasing extent to which Governments are turning to it for inquiries and investigations or technical assistance in some form or other. No less than ten proposals by seven different Governments were made at the last Assembly and referred to the Health Committee. Already the budgetary limits imposed by the Assembly are making it impossible for the Committee to take up work that on other grounds would be worth doing and well within its competence; and the fifty-five members of the League will soon have to decide whether deliberately to keep down co-operation or to spend more than the wretched £40,000, which is all they manage to scrape up between them, with enormous grumbling and expostulation, for the international public health work of the world.

Outside of League work proper, there is sitting in Geneva at the present time a congress of national minorities which is of considerable interest. The promoters of this congress maintain that they represent a movement in which representatives of some 30 million people, organised into national minority groups, are taking part, and that the object of this movement is, on the one hand, to exclude irredentism, and, on the other, to take a stand on the League and the minorities treaties, so as to develop a programme extending and perfecting the minorities treaty system, and guaranteeing full cultural and, where possible, political autonomy to organised national minorities. The importance of this movement is that it cuts many ways—there are Poles, Roumanians, Czechs and Yugoslav minorities among the neighbours of these countries, as well as Germans, Austrians or Hungarians living as minorities in Poland and the succession States. The movement may, therefore, do a great deal to facilitate the peaceful evolution of the *status quo* in Eastern Europe, not by changing frontiers, but by international arrangements across frontiers and national tolerance within frontiers; and this, in the minds of many people, is the most hopeful method of approaching the problem of changing the *status quo* without war. Minorities régime, railway union and customs union are the three great objectives of such a policy, and the League is the medium through which it can be conducted.—Z.



BRITISH DELEGATIONS

THE question of the general position of the British delegation at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations has been so much a subject of discussion at Geneva and elsewhere that it cannot be entirely ignored in the columns of HEADWAY. We are not entitled to affect that things which everyone knows are being said are not being said. For that reason it has seemed proper to give on another page an example of foreign comment, particularly selected because it is not extreme. Into the causes of the failure of the delegation to impress itself on the Assembly as previous delegations have we cannot enter in detail. Into any personal questions that reflection may suggest we have no intention of entering at all. It was no doubt unfortunate that all along the line, with the single example of the slavery convention—and there the very moderation of the British attitude was, perhaps unjustly, made a reproach in some quarters—the British delegates were opposing or sounding notes of caution. The fact that that happened over disarmament, or the economic conference, or the Armenian settlement scheme, or the optional clause, or health, alone would have created little adverse criticism. The trouble was that it happened over all these things, and various others, at the same time. It is not altogether astonishing that out of that should have grown the legend, which for ourselves we dismiss out of hand, that Great Britain had come to Geneva to obstruct.

But if in the matter of criticism of the delegation and its policy we go no further than merely to record the impression generally created at Geneva, there are certain points on which rather fuller discussion may be timely. One has reference to the actual composition of any British delegation. It is obviously very much to be desired that the British delegation each year should be appointed a good deal earlier than it actually is. It has been suggested that six months is none too long a period to enable the different members of the delegation to post themselves adequately, in consultation with various permanent officials, in the subjects they will have to handle during the Assembly. There would appear to be objections to making the appointment quite so long beforehand as this, but it would certainly be well that the full delegation should be chosen at the very latest by the beginning of June, and, if possible, by the beginning of May in every year. As to personnel, it is clear that any permanent officials who accompany the delegation should go as advisers rather than as actual delegates or substitute delegates. No other course is really fair to them. Matters of actual national policy ought to be handled by members of the Government of the day. The same applies, though perhaps in a lesser degree, to ambassadors. Unless there is any special reason to the contrary, an ambassador is not a suitable member of a British delegation, par-

ticularly when there are large numbers of Ministers to draw on. On the other hand there is the strongest case for including at least one national, non-party figure.

These, however, are in a sense points of detail, though they are points the importance of which should not be overlooked. A much larger and more immediate issue is raised by the attitude adopted by the delegation on the whole question of arbitration. That issue, it is clear, is likely to assume increasingly large importance in the world, and particularly in the League of Nations Assembly, in the immediate future. The present situation is adequately presented by a single comparison between M. Painlevé's speech, recalling with approval the fact that a year ago his predecessor, M. Herriot, had declared France to be willing to accept compulsory arbitration on every question whatever, and the declaration made on behalf of Great Britain by Sir Cecil Hurst that this country could not sign the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court, because it was unwilling to submit to arbitration matters touching its national honour, vital interests or independence. With regard to independence, there is no difficulty at all about making express reservations when signing the clause, just as there is no difficulty in making express reservations about maritime law; but when it comes to a willingness to arbitrate on every question except those affecting national honour and vital interests, that is nearly equivalent to saying that we accept the obligation to arbitrate except when we prefer not to arbitrate.

The fact, on which both Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Sir Cecil Hurst laid stress, that Great Britain has never shown herself backward in the past in invoking arbitration, is entirely beside the point. Even assuming that our own virtue is without fleck or flaw, the League is dealing with many nations whose standards cannot be so described. What is wanted, and what alone will suffice, is a general agreement to submit all disputes to peaceful settlement. A mere assurance that in nearly every case Great Britain is certain to be willing to arbitrate is not only useless, but it dams the whole movement, for instead of serving as an example to other States, it provides them at once with admirable excuses for refusing to give any general pledge on arbitration themselves. Invested, moreover, with the only meaning it can bear, what the British attitude comes to is an insistence on retaining the right to stand judge in our own cause rather than submit our disputes to settlement on a basis of justice. That is a particularly unfortunate position for a Great Power to take; for since Great Britain's disputes are likely to be as a rule with nations less powerful than herself, her attitude lays her open all too easily to the reproach, largely no doubt unjustified, of declining to pledge herself to arbitration because there may be cases in which it would pay better to sit tight or fight. We cannot afford to have that said of us. Still less can we afford to have it said, as it is being said to-day with truth, that when a growing and largely unexpected movement in favour of arbitration is manifesting itself at Geneva, Great Britain should be the only nation to throw herself with determination athwart the stream. This is not a question that can be pre-judged too lightly. There may be more to be said for the British Government's attitude than Mr. Chamberlain has said so far. If there is not, it stands, as Professor Gilbert Murray has had no difficulty in showing, on a very precarious basis. The whole problem must be fully canvassed, both in Parliament and out of it, between now and the date of the Seventh Assembly.

A FLANK ATTACK ON WAR

ONE of the most frequent causes of war in the past, said the French delegate, M. Loucheur, in the Sixth Assembly, has been the economic struggle between different countries. No one is likely seriously to doubt that, and, if they were, M. Loucheur's assurance that it is so ought to be almost enough in itself to convince them. For M. Loucheur speaks with as high authority as any man in France, at any rate, on economic matters. If he is right, if, that is to say, economic difficulties are in many cases causes of war, then any action tending to smooth economic difficulties out is in itself by so much an attack on war. M. Loucheur himself thinks a good many of the difficulties could be smoothed out at an international economic conference, and he accordingly proposed that the Assembly should summon one.

But what kind of problem will the conference handle? What are the kinds of problems that talking may improve—for it is not proposed that the conference itself shall do much more than talk, though it may have plenty of material for agreements which some special committees of the League can work out later? M. Loucheur gave some hint of that in his different speeches. Take, for example, the British coal industry, stagnant largely because Europe was producing more coal than Europe needed. The over-production, according to M. Loucheur, amounted only to some 15 million tons on a total production of 700 millions. With only that difference separating them, he urged, some adjustment between consumption and production was surely possible. So, again, it should be, in his view, over such a question as the price of wheat in France, which is kept up artificially by the 10 million quintals that have to be imported out of a total consumption of 90 millions.

These are only illustrations. There are an infinite number of similar questions the conference could study, provided its scope is not too rigidly limited in advance. M. Loucheur himself suggested two questions that ought to be excluded—inter-Allied debts and emigration and immigration; while Lord Cecil suggested others, such as the distribution of raw material and the relations between capital and labour, whose discussion might raise considerable difficulties. As against that, M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, has urged the importance of not restricting the scope of the conference in this way at all. If restrictions are multiplied it might be a good deal better to drop the whole idea altogether.

The final decision regarding the holding of the conference will be taken by the League Council in December, and there is little doubt that the conference will in due course be convened for some date in the autumn of 1926. As to who will come to it, there will no doubt be representatives from all countries members of the League (Germany will no doubt be in that category by then), and of the United States and Russia if they accept the invitation that will certainly be extended to them. What kind of representatives they are will matter a good deal. If they are Ministers or officials, the chances of the conference's success may be much reduced, for it is difficult to see what Ministers and officials could do but defend their country's policy through thick and thin. If the conference were formed mainly of business men and economists, nominated by Governments but in no way responsible to them, together with representatives of labour organisations and of bodies like the International Chambers of Commerce, its discussions would be both instructive and untrammelled. On such matters as these the French Government is likely to make definite proposals to the Council before its December meeting.

THE MOSUL LULL

THE question of the League Council's handling of the Mosul problem could be no more than touched on in last month's HEADWAY, for the sufficient reason that the Council discussions were in full progress at the moment when it was necessary for the October issue to go to press. In view of the wide interest the Mosul question has aroused and the many misconceptions regarding it, it may be well to indicate here just what the Council did do.

As was stated last month, the report presented by the special Commission despatched to Iraq by the League was, first of all, laid before the full Council, which heard statements regarding it by Mr. Amery on the one side, and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushdy Bey, on the other, and was then referred to a sub-committee, consisting of the Swedish, Spanish and Uruguayan members of the Council, for detailed study and recommendation.

The three members of the Sub-committee worked hard at their task, interviewing Mr. Amery and Tewfik Rushdy Bey as well as the individual members of the Iraq Commission. Just when a definite recommendation to the full Council was beginning to be expected, an unforeseen difficulty arose. It became known that the Turkish delegates were no longer prepared to honour the pledge, extracted with some difficulty from the Turkish representative, Fethi Bey, at the Brussels Council meeting nearly a year before, that Turkey, like Great Britain, would accept any decision the Council might give. That seriously affected the whole situation, for the clause in the Lausanne Treaty which handed the Mosul question over to the League did not refer it under any definite Article of the Covenant, and there was, therefore, a very genuine doubt as to what procedure should be followed. So long as both parties were prepared to accept the decision, the Council could arrive at the decision by whatever method it chose, but now that the Turks (basing themselves conveniently on an unfortunate inaccuracy in a speech of Lord Curzon's at Lausanne regarding League procedure) had repudiated their original pledge, an uncertainty arose which it was essential to clear up somehow.

At about the same moment it became clear that it would not be quite as easy to secure unanimity on the details of the settlement as had been hoped, and the further question was, therefore, raised whether unanimity was essential or not. If the dispute were referred to the Council simply as an arbitral body, then it might be assumed, in accordance with precedent, that a majority verdict would suffice. If, on the other hand, it was considered necessary to follow the lines laid down in Article 15 of the Covenant, then a unanimous finding (the votes of the interested parties not being counted) was clearly requisite.

Under these circumstances, it was considered necessary, and was undoubtedly wise, to secure a ruling from the only responsible tribunal, the Permanent Court of International Justice, as to what the ambiguous passage in the Lausanne Treaty really meant. A decision to do that was accordingly taken and the Court was to meet in special session on October 22 to consider the question. The final ruling can, therefore, not be given till the December Council meeting, unless, indeed, a special Council is summoned in November. Regrettable though the delay is when everyone is anxious to get the Mosul question cleared up once for all, it is not in reality of any particular consequence. Mosul has been administered as an integral part of Iraq for something like six years, and it will continue so to be administered till the Council gives its decision in December. Whether any change in the administration will be effected then depends, of course, on the nature of the Council's decision.

ARGUING WITH AMERICA

By A. GORDON BAGNALL.

IS America more enthusiastic about the League than she knows? The events of a tour this summer in the Eastern States seem to point that way. The tour itself, lasting three months and covering a length of some 3,000 miles, was a unique experiment in informing, and at the same time testing, public opinion. Two Britishers, Mr. Porter Goff, of Dublin, and myself,* were engaged in debating every night with two Americans the motion "That the United States is justified in continued abstention from the League of Nations." The debate travelled on a circuit through New York State and New England; it visited some seventy towns of differing size and occupation, and an average audience of about seven hundred was present each night. After the main speeches had been delivered, a period was allotted for questions from the audience, and after a further "rebuttal" speech on each side, the audience were called upon to vote, not as to the merits of the debate, but upon the motion itself. In this way a very accurate record indeed was secured of the state of public opinion in that part, an important part, of America.

The results of the debates were a tremendous surprise, especially to the audiences themselves. Politically the area was die-hard Republican, and therefore, presumably, anti-League. Added to this was the fact that, in order to vote for the League, its supporters would have to rise in public and vote against what seemed to be the American side of the debate. Mr. Bauer, of the Non-Partisan Association of New York, estimated that we should do well to secure a quarter of the voters for the League. In many towns local prophets allowed us even less. But the figures show that in Vermont and New Hampshire we registered an absolute majority for America's entry into the League; while over the whole circuit, including New York State and Maine, the voting was as high as forty-five per cent. in favour of the League. In the circumstances it was a triumph for the League. I am fully convinced that had the voting been in secret, and had two Americans supported the League side, there would have been a League majority in almost every debate. As it was, there were towns in which we discovered a 3 to 1 vote for the League, and those in the most unexpected districts.

Quite apart from the voting, some of the signs were distinctly encouraging. Very far from running into apathy, we found our audiences intensely interested, and in many cases well informed on international questions. Perhaps the most significant discovery was the tendency to take the League question out of party politics. All Republicans are not sinners, apparently. While there was very little condemnation of the hostile stand which their party took towards the League and the Treaty in 1920, nevertheless even the local Republican leaders declared, publicly as well as privately, that they by no means felt themselves bound now to oppose America's entry into the League, which, despite American prophecies, was proving itself a body of growing prestige and power. When it is realised that our audiences were at least two-thirds Republican, the vote alone indicates how widespread is this inclination to regard the question of the League from a non-party standpoint.

On the other hand, it was discouraging to find old

* Mr. Bagnall is an ex-President of the Oxford Union and of the National Union of Students. Mr. Porter Goff was an officer of the Historical Society at Trinity College, Dublin.

prejudices still colouring the minds of the more provincial folk. The question was frequently put whether the League was not used by Great Britain in an attempt to keep Ireland in subjection. Another popular fallacy was that the League is somehow the tool of the Roman Catholic Church. A postmaster asked us privately in one town whether it was true that the Pope had the power of vetoing decisions taken at Geneva. These were the more absurd of the fallacies spread in the bitter anti-Wilson campaign. There are others that carry more general weight. The League and the Treaty of Versailles are not easily disconnected in the American mind. The League is regarded as a purely European society, and often as a sort of voluntary society to persuade nations not to fight. On the whole, perhaps, it was regarded as a great conspiracy to keep America entangled in European troubles.

In this last regard, we could not but realise what harm had been done by Europe's and the League's attitude of appeal towards the United States during the first few years after the war. "Why do they want us in so badly?" was the obvious American reaction to those appeals. A very strong suspicion inevitably arose that Europe wanted in her own interests to "get something out of" America. And that suspicion, largely of our own creating or at least fostering, is one of the biggest factors in keeping the mass of the people content with the present position of the United States. The attitude most commonly encountered among those who support the Administration in their isolationist policy is—"Put your own house in order; set yourselves upon your feet. Let us see you honestly using the League for international ends, and not your own immediate interests—and then it will be time enough for us to consider our own duty towards the League."

As far as one could make a general conclusion from the whole tour, it is most certainly this—that if the Administration were, even at the present moment, to propose America's entry as a full member at Geneva, they would not find the great mass of their people hostile.

MORE UNION PAMPHLETS

SEVERAL new Union publications were issued during October. One of them, "Geneva 1925," by Mr. Wilson Harris, is referred to on another page. "The Family of Nations," by B. Bradfield (price 1s. 6d.), is an addition to the Union's series of League pageant plays. It dramatises very successfully the humanitarian side of the League's work, which is likely to make a special appeal to children. The setting and costumes have been kept as simple as possible, and the production would not involve a great amount of preparation. This pageant has been so attractively printed that it would make a delightful Christmas gift book for children. The cover is a coloured reproduction of a picture by Miss Canziani. Mounted copies of this picture, ready for framing (price 1s.), are also on sale at Headquarters.

The sermon preached by Dr. Fosdick in Geneva Cathedral has been published as a pamphlet under the title of "The Worst Sin" (price 2d.). It is an impressive appeal to the Christian Church to support the League. "We cannot reconcile Jesus Christ and war," said Dr. Fosdick. "That is the challenge which to-day should stir the conscience of Christendom. It would be worth while to see the Christian Church claim as her own this great moral issue of our time."

Branch Secretaries will be specially interested in the two new Armistice leaflets. The price of the 2-page edition is 10s. a thousand, and of the 4-page 19s. a thousand. Copies will, however, be supplied free to any branch organising a house-to-house campaign.

THE WORLD OF LABOUR

AN inquiry into conditions of labour in the Asiatic countries is to be undertaken by the I.L.O. this year. This proposal was first made at the Seventh Conference in May by the Indian workers' delegate, Mr. Joshi, and the resolution then adopted was referred to the consideration of the Governing Body at its recent meeting in October. The inquiry is to cover the whole field of hours of work and ratio of wages in the Eastern countries, and should be the means of gathering together an enormous amount of new and valuable material.

It is not, of course, the first time that the I.L.O. has given publicity to the state of labour conditions in the East. There are the annual reports furnished by the Governments on the steps they have taken to carry out the terms of conventions they have ratified. There are questions, and often some very frank criticism, by delegates at the annual I.L. conferences, and information regularly published in *Industrial and Labour Information*, the weekly publication of the Office.

A recent issue of that journal, for example, contains news of efforts made by the Chinese Government, which it reports are in conformity with the terms of the recommendation regarding the utilisation of workers' leisure adopted by the Sixth I.L. Conference. The Government reports the establishment of educational centres for workers employed by the Ministry of Communications. This field covers the postal and telegraphic services, navigation and State railways, with a personnel of some 50,000. Twelve such educational centres were founded in 1921 on the four main railway lines, and have met with unexpected success, 596 persons attending one school and an average of 200 the others. A change of Government in 1923 led to the closing of the schools, but they have now been re-opened, and are to be extended in scope. The workers on these State railways are reported to be under the protection of special regulations as to minimum age, hours of work, compensation, &c. Consumers' co-operative societies for the employees have also been set up.

From Japan comes news this month that the Government has decided to take the necessary measures for the fulfilment, with one or two exceptions, of the provisions of the recommendation concerning factory inspection adopted by the Fifth I.L. Conference. Whatever doubts we may have as to the efficacy of factory inspection in China and Japan, there is no doubt that the Governments of Japan and China are alive to the work of the I.L.O., and desire to conform to its standards.

Fascists and the Peace Treaty

Does the constitution of the Fascist Trade Union organisation infringe the terms of the Peace Treaty? The Workers' Group at the International Labour Conference has more than once maintained that it does, and the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International endorsed this decision at their recent joint meeting at Amsterdam. Part XIII of the Treaty gives as second among the nine "guiding principles" of the I.L.O. "The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as the employers." Indeed, the whole organisation stands on this basis, since employers and workers are equally represented at the International Labour Conference, their delegates being appointed by their Governments on the advice of the most representative organisation in the country (in Great Britain the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress). At the Seventh I.L. Conference, the Workers' Group challenged the credentials of the Italian workers' delegate, M. Rossoni, a representative of the Fascist Unions. The Group declared that Italian workers were not free to associate as they pleased, being under Government compulsion, and, moreover, that the

Fascist Unions were not only numerically inferior, but they were not true workers' organisations at all. They were "mixed unions," composed of employers and workers; they had not obtained reasonable economic advances for their members; they had no right to hold relations with foreign organisations except through their Government; and, lastly, they had been given a Government monopoly in the country.

M. Rossoni's brilliant defence of the Fascist organisation of industry secured him the votes of the government and employer delegates at the Conference, but the Workers' Group, Amsterdam and Christian trade unions alike, would allow him no representation on any of the commissions of the Conference. The latest news will aggravate the position. In future no collective agreements or wage negotiations, &c., are to be concluded except through the Fascisti unions. This is a very complete form of Government monopoly, and its results at the Eighth I.L. Conference should be interesting.

A WELCOME TO AUSTRIA

ON October 12 there took place at Vienna the inauguration ceremony of the Willkommenklub, which it is hoped will be of great assistance to the League of Nations Union. This club forms one of a series of similar institutions in various countries of Europe, which have been started largely through the energies of Madame de Jouvenel, the organiser and head of the *Bienvenue Française* in France. The purpose thereof is to encourage visits between the people of different nations and to offer them facilities when they visit each other's shores. In other countries these clubs have no special connection with the League of Nations Union, but the President of the Austrian club, Frau Granitsch, visited this country last June and invited a representative of the Hospitality Committee of the League of Nations Union to come to the opening ceremony in Vienna. Dame Adelaide Livingstone, the Hon. Secretary of the Committee, accordingly attended.

The opening ceremony was a most brilliant one, and was attended by various Ministers, including those of Great Britain and America; Dr. Zimmerman, the League's Commissioner-General in connection with the Austrian reconstruction scheme; Dr. Dumba, President of the Austrian League of Nations Union; and Dr. Kunz, one of the most active members of its Committee. The Minister for Commerce welcomed Dame Adelaide Livingstone on behalf of the Austrian Government, and Dr. Dumba welcomed the creation of the new Committee as tending to mark Austria's increasing interest in the Union and the League. Other speakers expressed special appreciation of the action of the League of Nations Union in sending a representative to Vienna to attend the opening ceremony of the Club. Dame Adelaide, in her speech of thanks, welcomed the creation of the Club in Austria, indicated the lines on which the Hospitality Committee of the Union worked in London, and urged the Willkommenklub to work in future in close touch with the Austrian League of Nations Union.

THE UNION AND THE ASSEMBLY

The Union Executive on October 15 adopted a series of resolutions expressing satisfaction at the reaffirmation by the Sixth Assembly of the principles of Arbitration, Security, Disarmament, and their conviction that these principles can only be fully realised through a general arrangement; regretting that Great Britain is not among the nations accepting the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court; welcoming the Slavery Convention and proposing certain amendments; and expressing eager sympathy with the negotiations then in progress at Locarno. A Union delegation took part in the welcome to Mr. Chamberlain on his return from Locarno on October 20.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I have discovered a remarkable method of learning French, Spanish, Italian or German. I only wish I had known of it before. It would have saved me much drudgery, toil and disappointment.

It has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never did. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French, German, Latin or Greek I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. Yet in other subjects I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Although I never "got on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read Racine and Balzac and Anatole France, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. And I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

Some time ago I read that the well-known Pelman Institute was teaching French, Spanish, German and Italian by an entirely new method. I wrote for particulars, and they so interested me that I enrolled for a course in French. Frankly it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

The Crisis of European Democracy (H. Milford, 6s.) is the latest volume in the admirable series issued by the Williamstown Institute of Politics. The author is Dr. Moritz Julius Bonn, of Berlin, and he writes with a large knowledge of modern history and politics. The crisis of the present day, as he sees it, arises from the conflict between government by conference and government by force; even where the former seemed firmly established in home affairs by the Parliamentary system, it has suffered a rude shock from the practices of violence, open and veiled, which the war let loose. He has many wise words to say upon minorities, he frankly criticises the Central European system of government by experts qualified only by prescribed examination, and he points out clearly the subtle danger that underlies the bureaucratic control of colonial territories. It will be seen that the ground which Dr. Bonn covers in some ninety pages is wide, but if he does not give himself space to elaborate his ideas, he stimulates independent thought; and that is always well. The hope for the future would seem to lie in a general strengthening of a Parliamentary democracy in the interest alike of national and international affairs; while the diversities that exist among mankind in respect of races, classes, trades and religions are recognised, "diversity need not mean social inferiority or social superiority. It merely means different capacity for different tasks." After all, Professor Bonn's closing words sum up the whole situation and will find an echo in many minds: "It is not merely a question of *form of government*; it is a question of spirit. If the spirit of greed, of materialism and of violence, which has ruled large parts of mankind so far, is going to survive, democracy will not stand. If we can get the better of it, if we can remember that the foundations of society must be based on justice, sympathy and consideration, democracy will survive the present crisis."

Mr. Arthur Ponsonby desires to make a reasoned appeal for peace, and his new book, *Now is the Time* (Leonard Parsons, 5s.), must be read as an honest expression of that desire. Like many another good word, "pacifist" has been distorted into a byword of reproach, and Mr. Ponsonby may be termed an out-and-out pacifist; "I am against the next war now," "I am against all war," are articles of his uncompromising creed. But this fact must not be allowed to discount his arguments in advance; indeed there is a disarming charm in the way he writes for all the vehemence of his statements. His arguments, coming from a man devoted heart and soul to the cause of peace, who has had experience, though but for a few months, of the conduct of foreign affairs, must not be lightly brushed aside or condemned in advance as the ravings of a crank. The main point on which Mr. Ponsonby lays emphasis is the utter futility of the method of war for settling disputes or of armaments for achieving security. On the constructive side he is a convinced believer in the value of arbitration, and few persons will be found to disagree with him, at least in theory, when he maintains "that there is no possible cause of quarrel between nations which cannot be settled by diplomatic negotiations or international arbitration." The italics are his own. The real danger to peace he sees to lie in the war-mongers, and he exposes very clearly the various classes of these persons whose interests are bound up with war and against whom the State must ever be on its guard. The title which he has given to his book is a justification of the present efforts of the L.N.U.; publicity and always more publicity; endeavour to make the League all-inclusive and to give it moral authority; the substitution of

internationalism for an aggressive nationalism; these are some of the points on which Mr. Ponsonby and the Union are at one. But nothing less will suffice than the conversion of the people; "if the people want enduring peace, they can have it. It rests with them." And now is the time.

The second edition of **An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1922** (Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d.) is very welcome, for the first has been out of print for a considerable time. Six new plates, as well as extra insets, have been added, the bibliography and statistics have been revised and brought up to date, and in a lengthy postscript to his historical introduction Professor Grant Robertson has summarised and explained the most recent and decisive changes in the map of Europe. Professor Grant Robertson is fully justified in claiming that this new edition still "provides a combination of features and material not to be found in, and at a far lower price than that of, any other historical atlas of which I have knowledge." History and geography go hand-in-hand, and the importance of their combination should be grasped by all good citizens; this atlas enables them to do so.—H. W. F.

Readers of HEADWAY who recognise the growing need for the christianizing of international politics, but who also know how complicated is the problem involved, will be grateful to the Rev. H. W. Fox, for the book entitled "**Christianity in Politics**" (John Murray, 5s.) just issued.

To quote from the dust cover description: "This volume seeks to shew the way in which the present political system of this country should be interpenetrated with the spirit of Christianity. There can be no sharp separation between the duties of the Christian and of the citizen. After reviewing the changed attitude of the church to social and industrial questions, the author makes practical proposals for the further application of

the principles of Christianity to these matters and to international affairs." These "practical proposals" are an excellent example of the way in which the Christian Church is discovering in the difficult sphere of social and international relationships that "Life is solved by action." "C.O.P.E.C.," the "Temperance Council of the Christian Churches," and the "World Alliance for the promotion of International Friendship" are cited as evidence that the immediate activities of the churches in face of the urgent challenge of the times are not only making for practical unity, but are a promise of the success which shall follow a bold attempt to apply the principles of Christianity to world needs.

The necessity of the Church's support of the League of Nations as the instrument of peace is recognized, and the suggestion is made that some definite place should be made for representative reunion in the organization of the Assembly. "The session of the Assembly which gives its approval to the formation of a Commission on Religious Co-operation will become the most noteworthy in the history of the League, and that state member which has the courage and confidence to propose such a commission as this will have deserved the best both of the Church and of the world."

Altogether, this book is an excellent one to put into the hands of all, especially of those who realize the necessity of Christianity to the state, and also the need on the part of the Church for the courage to apply her message to the world around her.—J. C. G.

The New Baltic States (Methuen, 15s.), by Owen Rutter. Few questions seem to demand the attention of the League of Nations more earnestly than the difficulties and dangers incurred by the small and newly revived nations in their struggle against the intrigues of Great Powers. The three Baltic States which Mr. Rutter has visited have endured centuries of suffering from the successful aggressions of Germans,

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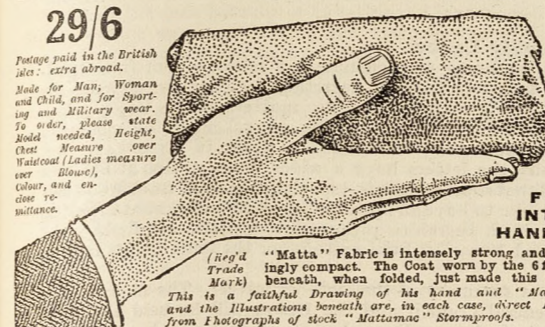
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Russians, Poles and Danes, and they are still in danger from the Bolsheviks. The rather uncertain attitude of the League of Nations about the unjust occupation of Vilna by the Poles has a little weakened the prestige of the League. Great Britain fortunately secured the sympathy of these unfortunate people by sending General Burt as their representative to the Baltic at a critical moment, and, while the wonderful development of these States since their recovery of freedom has shown that they are worth helping, the case of Georgia should bring home to the League and to Great Britain the danger of withdrawing support and sympathy from a struggling nation in its time of need.—C. E. M.

READERS' VIEWS

LABOUR AND THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Having attended during the course of the year three great Conferences representative of the industrial and political outlook of the organised trade unionists and co-operators of Great Britain, I have become convinced of the enormous part which these organisations might play in the educational work of the Union.

The Co-operative Congress of Southport, with its 2,000 delegates, displayed great fervour over a resolution demanding "open and just relations" between nations, and the abolition of secret diplomacy and treaties. With a membership of 3½ millions, comprising all shades of political thought, the co-operative movement affords a very wide and important field not yet fully explored by all branches of the L.N.U. With its motto "Each for all and all for each," the ideals of the League should make an irresistible appeal to this section of the community. Men's and Women's Co-operative Guilds, quarterly conferences, weekly and monthly educational talks are among the educational activities of the movement. These are ready-made opportunities which too few Branch Secretaries of the L.N.U. are making use of as yet. Permeate the Guilds with knowledge, and the Congresses of the future will reflect our work.

At the Trade Union Congress at Scarborough there was a different atmosphere, not universally receptive, but nevertheless giving signs of hope. There is no doubt a note of scepticism, mostly based on constant misrepresentation of the work of the League, prevalent in the world of trade unionism. Disappointment at the non-ratification of international labour conventions has also contributed to this feeling. It was therefore a hopeful sign that the meeting organised by the local branch of the Union during Congress week was so magnificently attended. Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., and Mr. E. L. Poulton, J.P., supported by many trade union delegates, gave their testimony as to the future of the League and of the I.L.O. as an integral part of its structure. The T.U. Congress is attended by some 800 delegates and represents about one-third of the people of England. There is, therefore, another opportunity waiting to be used by branches by approaching the local Trades Unions and Trades Councils.

At the Liverpool Labour Party Conference, despite the premonitions of the Press, the resolutions of the Executive Council of the Labour Party in support of the League and the I.L.O. were carried by a majority vote. The Liverpool branch again took advantage of the Conference week to organise a big meeting, which, in spite of four big counter-attractions, was a splendid gathering. The speakers were Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and the writer, with Mr. Maxwell Fyfe in the chair.

This meeting, too, should be followed by closer contacts between branch secretaries of the Union and local labour party and I.L.P. headquarters. All, not merely a few, of our branches should help to raise our membership in these new fields.—Yours, etc.

15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

TOM GILLINDER.

HUNGARIANS IN RUMANIA

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—As a member of the League of Nations Union, I received a copy of the October HEADWAY, which I read all over. As a Hungarian I must make some remarks on the report made over the complaint of the Hungarian landowners. First of all you report that the Rumanian Government has agreed to make an ex gratia payment of £700,000 as compensation for the confiscated lands. This £700,000 is, I believe, a mistake, because I see from our newspapers that the payment is only 700,000 French gold francs, not £700,000 as you report in your article. Please inquire the truth about this matter, which is very important for us, and please let me know the result. If the compensation is only 700,000 francs, the payment of the Rumanian Government is not at all a fair offer, because the landowners

receive for one acre of ground compensation of about 30 gold francs, which is not a compensation but a confiscation of the property. Then you speak about these landowners as if they were large ones. Well, none of these poor men have more than 25 acres each, so that they were rather small proprietors settled like colonists on empty territories by the Hungarian Government.—Expecting your kind answer, I remain, Yours, etc.,

Lajos SIMO (Landowner).

[Our correspondent is quite right about the money, and we regret the error by which a figure of £700,000 was given instead of 700,000 gold francs. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Rumanian Government did not pretend that this was compensation in the ordinary sense, but merely a kind of solatium. Legal compensation is provided separately.—ED. HEADWAY.]

THE UNION'S PAMPHLETS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In response to your requests for information concerning opinions of L.N.U. books and pamphlets, I should like to say how extremely useful I have found "Insurance Against War" and "Organising Peace."

Booklets of this description are absolutely invaluable in gaining the interest of men and women who think League matters out of their sphere; and it is very gratifying to a Union worker to observe the look of pleasant surprise which shows in the face of a possible convert as he makes his first acquaintance with L.N.U. literature. Even if the reader does not become a member, the impression formed will have a gentle effect as he views League events. If the impression is strong enough he will remember the League when he reads his newspaper or goes to the poll, and will not give undue credence to harsh criticism and taunts.

So I think the Union should go "all out" to make "first impression" books attractive, and increase their number and scope.

I should like to suggest that "Insurance Against War" be revised and brought up to date; and that other books be produced in similar style.

Would it not be practicable to publish a set of several books, after the fashion of "Organising Peace," so that beginners, having had their first taste, could be led, book by book, to other publications of a more specialised nature?

I should also be pleased to see a pamphlet, one day, which deals with the position of Service men in respect to the League. It is so difficult to make it clear to many that, in working for World Peace and Contentment, men of the fighting services are not less zealous in serving their King and Country.—Yours, etc.,

Mediterranean Fleet. "SERVICE MAN."

DISARMAMENT AND THE WORKER

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—This is indeed a surprising article, especially as it appears to be an editorial, and therefore to represent the considered attitude of the L.N.U.

If the Government policy of closing the Pembroke and Rosyth Dockyards were being pursued in company with a reduction of armaments, there might be something in the arguments you put forward. The reverse is, however, the case. We are faced with the position that the Naval Estimates for 1925-26 are £5,000,000 in excess of 1924-25 figures. In addition to this, we are now committed to an expenditure of £58,000,000, spread over the next five years, for new cruiser construction, &c., necessitated by the Singapore scheme and its logical outcome.

The closing of the dockyards merely means that work which would otherwise have been done in them will be carried out by private firms. If we must continue armaments, and the policy of Europe to-day is to increase rather than decrease, it is surely essential to do all that is possible to discourage rather than encourage vested interests in instruments of destruction.

Really, judging from the evidence which has appeared from time to time in your columns of the evils of the private manufacture of arms and the traffic in them, I am at a loss to understand your present attitude.—Yours, &c.,

L. J. ROWAN.

68, Grange Road, Leigh-on-Sea.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"International Labour Review." Part I of the new edition. Price 3s. The number of countries surveyed has been increased from 36 to 49, and includes for the first time information regarding labour conditions in Danzig, Irish Free State, the Soviet Republics, the Saar territory and Turkey.

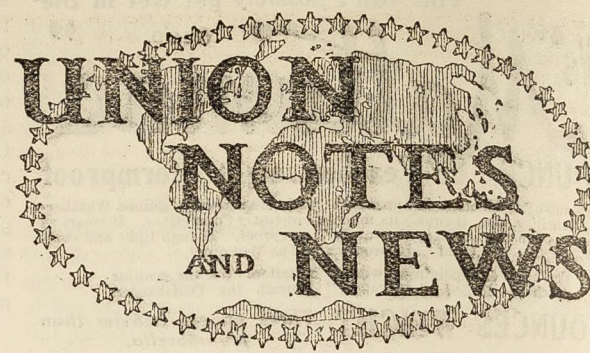
"A Brief Survey of English Constitutional History." D. G. E. Hall; with an introduction by Prof. Hearnshaw. (Harrap, 5s.)

"Fundamental Thoughts in Economics." Gustav Cassel. (Fisher Unwin, 6s.)

"The Consumers' Co-operative Movement in Germany." Dr. Theodor Cassau. (Fisher Unwin, 7s. 6d.)

"The Trade Union Movement in Belgium." C. Mertens. (International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, 1s.)

"National Isolation an Illusion." Perry Belmont. (Putnam, 3s.)



The Monthly Letter

At the beginning of each month a letter is sent from Headquarters to every Branch Secretary. Generally speaking its contents are devoted to domestic matters of the Union, which are not of sufficient interest to the general reader for more than a passing reference to be made to them in HEADWAY. But occasionally the letters have a wider interest, and it has been suggested that some members, especially those on Branch Committees, may like to have an opportunity of knowing what the letters contain. It is therefore proposed to publish regularly under "Notes and News" a brief epitome of the chief points in these letters.

Here is a summary of the October letter. The next meeting of the General Council and the Union will be held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on December 16, at 11 a.m. Viscount Grey will be present. Two new pamphlets have been published. One is a sermon preached by Dr. H. E. Fosdick, at Geneva Cathedral during the Sixth Assembly; the other contains the scenario and notes on the Union's new film, "The Star of Hope." The notes are especially useful to teachers who are using the film in their history teaching. A memorandum discussing the action of the Council and the League on the Mosul question has been prepared, and copies can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent. A letter is being sent to all Y.W.C.A. branches and hostels asking them to associate themselves with the Union's work by becoming either Corporate Members or Corporate Associates. Finally, Branch Secretaries are reminded of the resolutions recently passed by various religious denominations commending Corporate Membership of the Union to all their churches. It is suggested Branches may find that a personal call on the local clergy and ministers may result in many new Church Corporate Members.

A second Branch letter was issued towards the end of October. It discussed in the first place, how the season of the Armistice can best be used for the cause of the League, and in the second place, the great progress which the League will be able to make as a result of the Locarno Treaties.

A League Diary for 1926

The Union's Pocket Diary for 1926 will be ready this month. It will be bound in leather, and will measure 4 in. by 2½ in. In addition to the usual useful facts and figures contained in a pocket diary, it will include 24 pages devoted entirely to League of Nations matter. Publication has been specially delayed in order to include a summary of the work of the Sixth Assembly. The demand for the Union's diary increases each year. The 1925 diary was so popular that it was sold out within three weeks of its publication. A much larger supply is being printed this year, but to avoid disappointment members are asked to send their orders as soon as possible to 15, Grosvenor Crescent. The price of single copies will be 1s. 6d. each net, but a discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed on orders for not less than six copies at a time. It is a convenience to everyone concerned if remittances can be sent with the orders.

Insuring the Worker

A Conference on "Social Insurance in its National and International Aspects" is to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations Union at the London School of Economics from November 23-26. It is to be similar in scope to the Conference on Unemployment organised by the Union in the March of last year, the proceedings of which were afterwards published by the International Labour Office.

Sessions of the Conference will deal with the following aspects of the subject: The Government Pensions Scheme; the Unification of Social Insurance; Health Insurance; Workmen's Compensation; Unemployment Insurance; Family Insurance; and the International Aspects of Social Insurance.

Among those who have already consented to speak are the following: Sir William Beveridge, Mr. H. B. Butler (Deputy Director of the I.L.O.), Sir Kingsley Wood, M.P., Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Viscountess Astor, M.P., Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., Mr. J. L. Cohen, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Sir Henry Slessor, M.P., Sir Thomas Neill. Tickets and full programme may be obtained from the Secre-

tary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent. Branch Secretaries are asked to bring this Conference to the notice of employers, trade unionists, insurance companies, and friendly societies in their neighbourhood.

Activities in Blackpool

The go-ahead reputation of Blackpool is being lived up to by the local branch. During the holiday season it organised a series of meetings, many in the open air, which resulted in a large increase in the membership. Now all efforts are being concentrated on the meeting to be held at the Tower Ballroom, on Monday, December 7, at which Viscount Cecil is to speak. The Mayor has promised to preside, and the local Member, Sir Walter de Frece will probably be the second speaker.

Vale

Some months ago we reported in these columns that, largely as the result of the unceasing efforts of the secretary, Mr. P. S. Tavener, the membership of the Upper Clapton and Stamford Hill Branch was approaching the 2,000 mark. We have now heard with the greatest regret that Mr. Tavener has resigned the secretaryship owing to a breakdown. His ill-health was originally due to war wounds, but he has not spared himself in the fight for peace, and his work for the Branch since 1921 has contributed to his present collapse.

A Parting Gift

The Torquay Branch has also, unfortunately, to lose its secretary, Mrs. Beckett, who is going to live abroad. While she has held office the Branch membership has risen from 700 to 1,800, and as a mark of its appreciation of her work the Branch made Mrs. Beckett a public presentation of a book and a wallet, the latter containing a cheque. The presentation was made by the Mayor.

Intensive Work in Sunderland

Considerable interest has been aroused by the recent Con-

ference on International Relations, which was organised by the Sunderland Branch of the Union and a group of the local auxiliary. Between 150 and 200 people attended each of the four sessions, at which the speakers were Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Mr. Clifton Robbins, Dr. Harold Kerr, and the Rev. W. R. Maltby. After the first two sessions the Conference split into six discussion groups, each under a leader. The speakers visited each group and collected questions, which were answered later in the full Conference. This method was tried as an experiment and worked very well. A luncheon, presided over by the Mayor, was held on the second day, when Sir Theodore Morison spoke. The immediate result of the Conference is the formation of four Study Circles.

Peace Day in the Schools

A recent decision of the Smethwick Education Committee provides one more example of the way in which Education Authorities throughout the country are ensuring that the younger generation shall appreciate the spirit of the League. In future the nearest school day to Armistice Day, or Armistice Day itself, is to be kept as Peace Day in the Smethwick Schools. Just as Empire Day is the day on which the ideals of the Empire are commemorated, so Peace Day is to be the day on which the ideals of Peace, and, therefore, of the League of Nations, are to be given special attention. We hope that it will be possible to make Peace Day a national institution in the schools of this country.

A Loss to the Union

By the death of Dr. Percy Cooper the Altrincham and District has lost one of its most valued supporters. Although a distinguished physician and a man of the widest interests, Dr. Cooper found time to take an active part in the work of the Branch. He was chairman of the Branch Committee and a frequent speaker on the League, especially on its health work, which, naturally, made a particular appeal to him.

The Speaker Speaks

In the House of Commons it is the function of the Speaker not to speak. Fortunately this rule does not hold good during recess, or the Terrington Branch could not have enjoyed the excellent address on the League given by the Rt. Hon. W. H. Whitley at its meeting on October 12. The Branch owes much of its success to the Whitley family, as its indefatigable secretary is the Speaker's brother, Col. Sir Edward Whitley.

A Soldier's Views on War

The headquarters of the British Legion and of the Union work in close co-operation, and Branch Secretaries may remember that some time ago a memorandum was sent from Grosvenor

Crescent suggesting that Branches of the Legion might be invited to take part in meetings arranged by branches of the Union. At a garden fête organised by the North West Ham Branch of the British Legion, Lieut.-General Sir William Furse, D.S.O., urged his audience to back up the League and to join the League of Nations Union. "Although the army," he said, "has always been my profession, I consider that quite apart from the cruelty which it causes, war is the silliest and most unbusinesslike way of settling disputes. It is our duty to form public opinion on these lines." Judging from the applause which followed these remarks, the General's audience shared his views.

Warrington's Pageant

A most successful League pageant was held at Warrington last month, when 300 school children donned what the Press report describes as "the most striking variety of authentic national costumes ever assembled hereabout." Peace sat enthroned to receive gifts from groups of children, led by Joan of Arc on horseback, representing the 55 Member States of the League. A delightful feature was the series of national dances given by the various nations as they presented their offerings.

An entertaining account of the trials and joys of the pageant organiser, written by Miss H. V. Parker, was published in the local paper, and we should like to offer our congratulations to Miss Parker, not only on her success as a pageant master, but on her journalistic ability. After the performance came tea—much appreciated by the children—and a public meeting addressed by Mr. H. Grahame White.

A Country Campaign

An intensive campaign was held in the Sevenoaks Rural District of West Kent between September 21 and October 3, with the object of trying to form a Branch of the Union in each parish. The village halls, with one or two exceptions, were well filled with attentive and appreciative audiences, the large attendance of working men being one of the most encouraging features of the campaign.

About ten new Branches of the Union are to be formed, and at least one lapsed Branch will be revived. The campaign is to be extended to other villages in the district. During Armistice Week Campaign in Kent it is hoped to repeat the experiment in several other districts.

Raising Funds in Hoylake

The Hoylake and West Kirby Branch is to be congratulated on the very successful concert which it organised in the Central Hall, Hoylake, on September 28. This not only brought in a clear profit of £23, but was effective in widely advertising the work of the League of Nations Union throughout the district.

Autumn School at Dunblane

The Autumn School at Dunblane Hydropathic, arranged by the Scottish National Council, is annually attracting increased interest. This year the School, held from Friday, the 9th, to Monday, the 12th October, was addressed by Mr. C. R. Buxton, Captain Walter E. Elliott, M.P., Mr. J. H. Harris, Professor W. Wilson (Edinburgh University), Professor Hetherington (Glasgow University), and Mr. Frederick Whelen, of the Union Headquarters. There were 80 resident members, and some of the conferences were attended by over a hundred delegates.

Progress at St. John's Wood

The St. John's Wood Branch has reason to feel proud of its triumph over financial difficulties. Its inaugural meeting resulted in a deficit, and the committee set itself seriously to raising funds. So successful were its efforts that by the end of the first year the Branch was able to make a voluntary donation of £10 to Headquarters, and it hopes to give double this amount by the end of 1925. This winter's programme includes a debate at the Hampstead Conservatoire on November 9 at 8 p.m., when Mr. Wilson Harris is to state the case for, and Mr. Leo Maxse the case against, the League of Nations.

The Wisdom of Age

The senior officer of the highest rank in the Navy, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr, celebrated his 80th birthday a few weeks ago. During the course of the inevitable Press interview he said: "There is one cause which I am keen on working for in my old age, and that is the League of Nations. It is the only hope of avoiding war in the future." The Admiral is an enthusiastic member of the Derby County Branch.

Stars in the Mile End Road

A League meeting organised by the local Branch will be held in the People's Palace, Mile End Road, on November 20 at 8 p.m. The principal speakers will be Viscount Cecil and

Senator Marconi. The Union's film will be shown, and there will be music. Admission is free by ticket, and early application should be made to Headquarters, or to the Secretary of the Mile End Branch, Beaumont Hall, Beaumont Square, E.1.

Council's Vote

As we go to press, the total amount received towards the Council's Vote is £8,625. In addition to those mentioned in previous issues, the following Branches have already completed their 1925 quotas in full: Cowes, Shiplake, Boldre, Stockton-on-Tees, Keighley, Milbourn Port, Gerrards Cross, High Wycombe, Farringdon, Bloxham, Burford and Wallingford.

New Corporate Members

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

ALTRINCHAM: Sinderland Congregational Church. BARNSELEY: Wombwell Congregational Church. BATLEY: Congregational Church. BLACKBURN: Furthergate Congregational Church. BIRMINGHAM, Acocks Green: No. 1 Branch of Railway Clerks' Association; Blackheath Congregational Church. BOLTON: Derby Street Congregational Church; Edgworth Congregational Church; Rose Hill Congregational Church. BRADFORD: College Congregational Church. BRISTOL: Practical Psychology Club. BROMSGROVE: Primitive Methodist Wednesday Afternoon; Women's Adult School. BROUGHTY FERRY: United Free Church. BURNLEY: Westgate Congregational Church. BURY: Four Lane Ends Congregational Church. CANTERBURY: Society of Friends. CHESTERFIELD: Soresby Street Congregational Church. CUCKFIELD: Congregational Church. DAVENTRY: Congregational Church. DESBOROUGH: Congregational Church. DEVONPORT: Princess Street Congregational Church. DEWSBURY: United Congregational Church. DUNDEE: Liberal Association; St. John's (Cross) Parish Church; Willison United Free Church. ELLAND: Congregational Church. EXETER: Women's Section of the Exeter Labour Party. EXMOUTH: Beacon Congregational Church. FARNBOROUGH: Cove Parish Church Council. FARNWORTH: Wesley S.S. First Females. FAVERSHAM: Congregational Church. GILLINGHAM: Divisional Labour Party. GLASGOW: Wallneuk United Free Church. GREENOCK: Y.W.C.A. Hut. HALIFAX: Norwood Green Congregational Church; Sion Congregational Church. HECKMONDWIKE: Upper Independent Congregational Church. HORNCHURCH: Congregational Church. HUCKNALL: Annesley & Newstead Wesley Church; National Union of Railwaymen; Women's Adult School. KINGSBRIDGE: Congregational Church. LADYWOOD: Tennant Street Women's Section of Labour Party. LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE: Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice. LONDON: Baha'i National Assembly; Fulham: Dawes Road Congregational Church; HERNE HILL: United Methodist Church; LEWISHAM: Mothers' Meeting, St. Mary's Parish; N. ISLINGTON: New Court Congregational Church; PECKHAM: Clifton Congregational Church; PLAISTOW: Congregational Church; LEYTONSTONE: St. Oswald's Parochial Church Council; WALWORTH: Browning Settlement. LEEDS: Richmond Hill Wesleyan Methodist Circuit. LEICESTER: Belgrave Hall Wesleyan Church; No. 2 Branch of National Union of Boot & Shoe Operatives; Railway Clerks' Association. LINCOLN: South Bar Congregational Church. MARSDEN: Congregational Church. MELBOURNE (Derbys): Congregational Church. MOLDGREEN: Congregational Church. NEWTON ABBOT: Rotary Club. NEW MALDEN: Congregational Church; Parochial Church Council. NORTHAMPTON: Primrose Hill Congregational Church. NOTTINGHAM: Paton Congregational College. OKEHAMPTON: Wesley Guild. OLDHAM: King Street U.M. Church Young Men's Class; Lees Road P.M. Church Young Men's Class; Pastures Congregational Church. OPENSHAW: Lees Street Congregational Church. PONDERS END: Congregational Church. PORTSMOUTH: Buckland Congregational Church. RAMSBOTTOM: Dundee Congregational Church. RUGBY: Cambridge Street Wesley Guild. SAFFRON WALDEN: Congregational Church. ST. ANNES-ON-SEA: Congregational Church. SALE: Presbyterian Church. SALTBURN: Cleveland Miners' Association. SAXMUNDHAM: Congregational Church. SOUTH CROYDON: Congregational Church. SOUTHBEND-ON-SEA: Wesley Church. SOUTH WOODFORD: Congregational Church. STOCKTON-ON-TEES: Yarm Road Wesley Guild. THORNTON: Kipping Chapel. TORQUAY: Free Church Council; Rotary Club. VERWOOD: Congregational Church. WALSALL: Unitarian Free Church. WARRINGTON: Bank Quay Working Men's Mission; Cairo Street Chapel; Chamber of Commerce; Friars Green Independent Methodist Church; Holy Trinity Church; Warrington & District Sunday School Union; Wycliffe Congregational Church. WAKEFIELD: Zion Congregational Church. WELLINGBOROUGH: High Street Congregational Church. WESTGATE: Congregational Church. WIBSEY: Zion Congregational Church. WIGAN: St. Paul's Congregational

Church. WIMBORNE: Three Cross Congregational Church; WINDSOR: Congregational Church. WORCESTER: Baptist Church; Sisterhood; Women's Co-operative Guild. WORKINGTON: Presbyterian Church. WORTHING: Congregational Church. YEOVIL: Princess Street Congregational Church.

NOTES FROM WALES

The Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Gregynog Hall, Montgomeryshire, October 16-19. The work accomplished in Wales during the last year was reviewed and plans were made for a concentrated programme of activities for the coming year. Arrangements were made for further conferences with the teachers of the Elementary and Secondary Schools. The new League of Nations Union Film, "The Star of Hope," was shown during the week-end, and it was decided to arrange for a series of addresses to be broadcast.

The Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., Honorary Director of the Welsh National Council, gave an account of the educational work which is being done by various organisations in other countries. During his recent stay on the Continent he had visited France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Poland. It was decided that educational experts from abroad shall be invited to the next meeting of the Advisory Education Committee.

Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., gave a most interesting account of his experiences and travels in the United States of America, from which country he had only recently returned.

At the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council held at Shrewsbury, on October 20, it was resolved that a memorial from the leaders of religion in Wales should be addressed to the Churches of Christ in America, and that, if in any way possible, the memorial should be presented by the Honorary Director in person at the Conference of the Churches of America to be held at Detroit in December.

The Chapter had very kindly granted permission this year again for the Council to lay a Welsh wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey, at 2.30 p.m., on Saturday, November 7.

Mr. Rhys T. Davies, M.A., of the Holywell County School, was congratulated on the production of his book for schools on "Henry Richard," the Welsh Apostle of Peace.

The next Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council will be held at Llandrindod Wells during Whit Week, 1926.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, *minimum*, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire 5s.).

Membership, HEADWAY, and all pamphlets issued, *minimum*, £1.

Membership, *minimum*, 1s. The above minimum subscriptions do not provide sufficient funds to carry on the work of the League of Nations Union, either in the Branches or at Headquarters. Members are therefore asked to make their subscription as much larger than these minima as they can afford.

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

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

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

Particulars of the work in Wales 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.

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

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