

Headway

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

Ring out the past, and let not hate bereave
Our dreaming dead of all they died to win.—JOHN GALSWORTHY.

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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

Solving the
Silesian
Riddle.

The Council meeting of the League, which is in extraordinary session as we write, is in some respects the most important which has yet been held. The outstanding event of the month has been the dramatic reference to the League of the Upper Silesian difficulty, after the Supreme Council has failed to arrive at the agreed solution. The chorus of praise, marred by very few dissentient voices, which greeted the decision in this country, is attributable at least as much to relief at the confessed failure, and consequent abdication, of the Supreme Council, as to the joy at the increased prestige accruing to the League. The Supreme Council has proved itself bankrupt. Now is the moment for the League to demonstrate its superiority as an efficient instrument of international justice. "The desperate plight of the Supreme Council is the opportunity of the League of Nations," writes the *Times*. "The Supreme Council has had its day and it has now confessed that it is obsolete. It is handing over its mantle of authority to the League of Nations—*Le Roi est mort! Vive le Roi!*"

Will the
League
Decide?

Meanwhile, there is one pertinent question to which an immediate reply is desirable. What are the precise terms of reference to the League? According to the terms of the Supreme Council's resolution on August 12th, the Council of the League is invited to give its recommendations as to the frontier line which the principal Allied and Associated Powers should lay down. Technically, therefore, the decision is not left to the League, but to the Allied and Associated Powers; but since the members of the Supreme Council pledged themselves at the time of passing the

resolution to abide by whatever solution the League suggested, the distinction is meaningless in practice. A second point which arises in this connection is, precisely how much of the Silesian problem is to be dealt with by the League? Mr. Lloyd George has stated emphatically that now that the matter has been referred to the League it goes there *in toto*, to be reconsidered from the very beginning, without regard to the various proposals and counter-proposals with which the Supreme Council have been playing battledore and shuttlecock for the past few months.

If it can find a real solution of this, the first problem of truly vital international importance which has as yet been submitted to it, the League will have established for itself an unassailable position in world statecraft. The Silesian difficulty is on a different level from the Vilna dispute or the trouble over the Aaland Islands. The latter case gave an opportunity for an excellent and remarkably economical settlement* by compromise to be effected by the League, but there was never any question of the controversy affecting more than the two countries concerned. In the matter of Vilna, the Supreme Council to some extent queered the pitch for the League, in the first place by neglecting to make known the frontiers it had drawn between Poland, Russia, and Lithuania, and in the second place by failing to ensure that this frontier was respected by the parties concerned. In Silesia, on the other hand, Allied forces are actually keeping order, and further reinforcements have been sent. The present *rapproche-*

* It is worth while comparing the cost of pre-war arbitration with the cost of arbitration by the League. Twelve years ago the cost to Great Britain alone of the first arbitral verdict in the Newfoundland fisheries dispute was £150,000. The cost of the Aaland Islands dispute to the whole of the Members of the League was only £8,500.

ment between the Polish and German political and industrial leaders justifies the hope that the existing troops will be found sufficient to keep the peace until the League of Nations announces its decision.

A question that is exercising the minds of a good many people at the present time is whether Germany will be offered temporary membership of the Council for the purposes of the dispute. Mr. Lloyd George said definitely that the parties would undoubtedly appear before the League's tribunal, and the Council has already set a precedent for interpreting the phrase "obligations of membership," used in Article 17, to include those privileges of membership contemplated in Article 4, Clause 5. In the cases of Sweden and Finland, and of Poland and Lithuania, the non-Member was given the privilege of temporary membership of the Council for the purposes of the dispute in which it was concerned. In the case of Germany it is highly desirable that she should be granted temporary membership of the Council, because of the probable effect of such action by the League on Germany's attitude towards that body, and her intention of applying for membership.

According to Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, who is one of the Government's representatives at the Assembly, the British delegates did not intend to take a decision before proceeding to Geneva on the question of Germany's admission to the League, but to preserve an open mind and be guided by the balance of argument in the course of discussion. But there will be no discussion until Germany herself asks for membership. For ourselves, we have no doubt that her application would receive the necessary two-thirds majority in the Assembly. It would be exceedingly difficult for any State to muster the seventeen votes out of forty-eight which would be necessary to prevent Germany's application from being agreed to. Two ex-enemy States will this year take their seats on that body—Austria and Bulgaria—the latter represented by M. Stamboulisky, President of the Council of Ministers, and M. Theodoroff, Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade. The application of Hungary is one of the items on the Agenda.

The second meeting of the Assembly, which is in session at Geneva as we go to press, has a heavy Agenda before it. After the election of the President, the Assembly will get to work on the first important item—the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Council since the last Assembly. This gives an opportunity for a highly important debate, in which the work of the Council will be reviewed, and if necessary criticised, in the fullest publicity. The greatest piece of constructive work that the League has undertaken up to the present—the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice—is also on the point of completion. The requisite number of ratifications having now been received, the Assembly and Council of the League can

proceed with the election of the eleven judges and four deputy judges who will constitute the Court. An interesting list has been compiled from nominations put forward by the Members of the League. It includes Mr. Elihu Root, nominated by Brazil, Bolivia, and Venezuela, M. Raymond Poincaré, nominated by Portugal, Lord Finlay, Dr. Max Huber, and other well-known international jurists. The work of the various committees of the League—the International Blockade Committee, the Technical Committee of the International Health Organisation, the Temporary Armaments Commission, the Economic and Financial Committee, the Transit Committee, and the Advisory Committee on the Opium Traffic will also come under review. Further, the Council will report on the international conference on the traffic in women and children, the typhus campaign, and the work of the Commission of Inquiry on the deportation of women and children in Turkey and adjacent countries.

The Assembly will also be called upon to take a decision in the matter of amendments to the Covenant, of which a report will be submitted by the special Committee appointed for this purpose. A separate committee dealt with Article 18, the Article which carries out the spirit of the first of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" and signs the death warrant of secret diplomacy. On this question the Assembly will have to take a very important decision. When the first Assembly, in November, 1920, proposed the appointment of a committee to examine the scope and intentions of Article 18 from a legal point of view, it did so on the motion of the Dutch Foreign Minister, whose object was to ensure the rigid interpretation of the Article, so that it should apply to all engagements of whatever character which should not be considered binding unless and until registered with the Secretariat of the League. The Committee dealing with the matter recognises the universal application of the Article in its present form, but states that Members of the League have by no means fully complied with their obligations under it, and *on these grounds* advocates considerable modification of the Article. In other words, the negligence, international and otherwise, of certain Members of the League is to set the standard by which the Article is to be interpreted.

We are bound to protest against this suggestion, which seems to us to set a most undesirable precedent. The Committee recommends the amendment of Article 18 so as to permit of the registration of treaties, "subject to such provisions as the Assembly may unanimously decide upon." How much latitude would this not give to States which, on the Committee's own showing, are already none too anxious to register all, or every part, of their engagements with each other? The Committee goes on to suggest that the Assembly be invited to decide unanimously that "it shall not be obligatory to submit for registration instruments of a purely technical and administrative character which have no bearing on political international relations." Here the danger appears to us

to lie in legalising evasion of the spirit of the Article. It is arguable that the publication of the detailed arrangements, as distinct from the general aims, of a military alliance destroys the object for which the alliance was framed; but this appears to us an additional argument in favour of the Article in its present form. The creation of the League should render military alliances unnecessary. Anything that renders their multiplication easier renders the path of the League harder. We venture to hope that the Assembly will set its face firmly against the emasculation of Article 18.

The Great War, the direct product of the Armed Peace which preceded it, ended, as far as actual hostilities were concerned, on November 11th, 1918.

On November 11th, 1921, the disarmament conference convened by President Harding meets at Washington. The augury is a hopeful one. The American President's formal invitation to Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and China to take part in a conference on disarmament and on Pacific and Far Eastern questions was sent on August 11th. It is a concise, well-reasoned document, whose appeal goes straight to the minds as well as to the hearts of the peoples, not only of the countries directly concerned, but of the whole world. It is impossible to controvert Mr. Harding's statement that "productive labour is struggling under a burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced," and no one can fail to draw the conclusion that "the enormous disbursements in rivalries of armaments manifestly constitute a greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity." Mr. Harding goes on to point out that "avoidable or extravagant expense of this nature is not only without economic justification, but is a constant menace to the peace of the world rather than an assurance of its preservation."

The main object of the Conference is then the limitation of armaments in the economic interest of all the Powers and of the world generally, and here Mr. Harding intimates that although naval armaments will have first place in the discussion, questions pertaining to other armaments will not be excluded, "to the end that all practicable measures of relief may have appropriate consideration." But there can be no final assurance of peace without a practical effort to remove the causes of misunderstanding, and therefore discussion on disarmament is to be preceded by a discussion of the Pacific and Far Eastern problems, which provide the justification of the existing rivalry in naval armaments. On this point the American President will receive the whole-hearted support of the British Empire. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons on August 18th, stated emphatically his conviction that the surest way to success in the matter of disarmament at Washington was to have first an understanding as to the Pacific. There is little doubt that the Conference of the Imperial Premiers, whose deliberations ended on August 5th, took the same view.

Saving Russia.

Athwart the shifting cross-currents of Allied policy towards Soviet Russia the stupendous fact of famine has cut clear and straight, dominating fears, obliterating, even if only temporarily, deep-rooted grudges and prejudices. None too soon has the Supreme Council decided to take action. Its best efforts, coupled with those of Mr. Hoover's American Relief Administrator, and the Joint Council of the International Red Cross Committee and the League of the Red Cross Societies, will be able to save a fraction only of the inhabitants of the vast famine-stricken areas of Russia. A certain number is inevitably doomed. The Joint Council of the two Red Cross Organisations has set to work without delay. The appointment of Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner is a wise one. His work in connection with the repatriation of prisoners to and from Russia is likely to make his name an "open sesame" in that country, even if stark necessity were not holding the door open wide. All obstacles have also now been removed from the path of Mr. Hoover's relief scheme. But the field of endeavour is so vast and so incredibly barren that nothing but co-ordinated world relief work can avail to plant it. Will the League avail itself of this unparalleled opportunity? The impetus that was given to the anti-typhus campaign by an appeal in the Assembly last year, suggests that a similar appeal made to the second meeting of that great body would not fail to produce a result equal to the necessity. That appeal must be made.

The question of the frontiers of Albania, which proved so tough a nut that the Council of the League preferred to hand it over to the Conference of Ambassadors to crack, is straining the resources of that body also. The Conference appointed a Commission, which met early in August, but it was not found possible to submit a unanimous recommendation to the Ambassadors' Conference. Under the circumstances, the Assembly of the League can hardly avoid making a serious effort to deal with this difficult question. Meanwhile, Albania, by way of making assurance doubly sure, has not only referred the frontier dispute to the Assembly, but has appealed on a second count, not unrelated to the first, to the League Council. This time the appeal is directed against the alleged unlawful occupation by Serbia of certain Albanian territories, and the alleged advance of Serbian troops into the interior of the country.

Three Summer Schools.

This year the League of Nations Union embarked upon an ambitious Summer School Campaign, which has more than justified the expectations of its promoters. The three "schools" or conferences held at Oxford, Bruges, and Geneva, gave to some 600 men and women an unparalleled opportunity of acquainting themselves with every aspect of the League's manifold activities, of realising at first hand (at Bruges) the horrors of war, and (at Geneva) of coming into personal touch with those who direct the work of the League. From the point of view of per-

sonal contact, the Geneva gathering was of immense value—whatever other summer schools are held in future, it is evident that a conference at the seat of the League is one that, having once been tried, can never again be omitted. The effect on Labour opinion alone in this country is likely to be very far-reaching. More than one Labour delegate confessed to having been converted from anti-League to pro-League views by his experiences at Geneva.

The Secretariat's Opinion.

Equally instructive was the impression made by the conference—or rather the two conferences—upon the Secretariats of the League and the International Labour Office. Officials of both bodies, from Sir Eric Drummond and M. Albert Thomas downwards, were at pains to show how fully they realised the importance of such voluntary associations as the League of Nations Union, upon whose efforts the ultimate success of the League largely depends. The keenness of the delegations was also appreciated. Writing to the Director of Information of the League of Nations Union, the Secretary-General of the League said: "I am delighted that the members of the League of Nations Union party who came here were so pleased with their visit. They really worked very hard and were a particularly good audience. I wish I could have seen a little more of them personally." The Labour Office devoted considerable space in its *Official Bulletin* (August 10th), and its *Daily Intelligence* (August 12th) to an account of the Conference.

One other aspect of the Bruges and A Lesson in the Geneva Conferences needs to be mentioned. There is a definite League of Nations value in holding such gatherings in a foreign country, in order to give an opportunity for mutual understanding between the peoples of the various Member-States of the League.

The area in which British summer schools can be held is, of course, limited. One must regretfully postpone the notion of a week's conference in Central America, or in China, until aerial traffic has reached a more advanced stage of development. But to have lived, for however short a time, in one country other than one's own, is to acquire a useful insight into the meaning of that much abused phrase, "the brotherhood of man." It is not necessary to be a profound logician to deduce from the data supplied by Belgians and Swiss that probably Germans and Poles and Japanese and Indians are brothers "under their skin." And that is a lesson that no one need despise to learn.

It is just possible that Geneva may also have learnt to reverse a few cherished theories as a result of the sojourn within her gates of some 200 Britons. The legend of the phlegmatic Englishman and the reserved Scot must have been given its *coup de grâce* on the evening when Scots and Englishmen danced Highland flings on the deck of a Swiss vessel to the delighted fiddling of a highly amused Swiss band! "One touch of nature . . ." After all, that is the business of the League.

ON TRIAL.

By REGINALD BERKELEY.

[Mr. Berkeley, the well-known dramatist, is also Director of Information of the L.N.U. In this article he deals with the Upper Silesian question, which he insists is a test case for the League.]



MR. REGINALD BERKELEY.

THE most important event in the political history of the League of Nations has been the submission to it by the Supreme Council of the world problem of Upper Silesia. Upon the success or failure of its handling of this problem, the immediate future of the League will, to a large extent, depend. If there should be displayed ability to grapple with and overcome such deadly menaces to international peace as those involved in the Upper Silesian disagreement, the way is open for the League to forge ahead swiftly to its rightful position as the guardian of the peace. But if there should be hesitation, or doubt, or fear; if the Council shrinks from the thorns, or wavers in its purposes; it may well be that the movement will receive a blow to its prestige from which it will be unlikely to recover in our lifetime, and from which it is conceivable that the seeds of another war may be sown. Let us, therefore, the members of the League of Nations Union, upon whom it rests to stimulate public opinion in this country, face the situation with anxiety and determination, making it our business to arouse in this country a widespread and emphatic demand for a prompt and impartial settlement of the problem at the hands of the League.

The League has not sought out this task, but it has accepted it. If it is to retain our confidence it must carry it through. If there is a sufficient popular determination in the leading countries of the world, it will carry it through, indirect political considerations and other clogs in the machinery notwithstanding. But if this is to come about, those who are responsible for taking the decision must know in their hearts, beyond the possibility of misunderstanding, that the public will support them in a solution characterised by breadth of vision and justice, and that, on the other hand, it will not for one moment tolerate a miscarriage. Unfortunately, there are not wanting symptoms of political influence in the matter. It is no part of our duty to criticise the actions of a friendly foreign Power; but it is justifiable to say, and needs to be said, how much it is a matter for regret that the Spanish Government, whose representative was invited to take a leading part in preparing the work of the Council, should have hesitated, and finally refused to allow him to undertake the responsibility. That kind of action is all too reminiscent of the diplomacy which we are seeking to replace.

As to the procedure to be followed, this is not a cardinal point. Whether the Council decides the question itself; whether, as Mr. Lloyd George has

suggested, it delegates its powers to a Commission, or to a single arbitrator; whether, as has been put forward in other quarters, the matter is referred by special agreement to the Permanent Court, these are secondary considerations. They are for the Council alone to determine, and when the Council has reached its decision, then, so long as that decision is compatible with reaching a just and speedy settlement, the Council is entitled to our whole-hearted and loyal support. But what is of the essence of the matter is that the principles of the Covenant should prevail; that is to say that all who are concerned in the settlement should have ample opportunity of presenting their side of the case on terms of equality with all other parties to the dispute; that justice should be maintained; that the authority of international law should be scrupulously respected; in brief, that the matter should be determined on its merits. We have seen in the case of the Aaland Islands that the Council of the League is eminently fitted to bring to any international dispute the impartiality, wisdom, and firmness of the highest courts of law. May they exercise the same qualities, with the same unwavering courage, in the great task which is before them now.

WHAT LABOUR THINKS.

By J. BROMLEY

[Mr. Bromley, Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, attended the L.N.U. Conference at Geneva on behalf of his Society, and writes his impressions below.]



MR. J. BROMLEY.

DURING the first week in August there was a gathering of the clans at Geneva, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, for the purposes of Informal Conferences, the hearing of Lectures, and discussions on the work of the League of Nations and its International Labour Office.

After a long, weary journey by train and boat, extending with many of us from Saturday morning to Monday morning, we arrived in Geneva tired and dirty, but full of a desire to take our share in everything coming forward during the week. The journey was, however, broken by the Sunday in Paris, when the delegates had an opportunity of seeing most of the principal sights of the city.

The delegates first assembled on Monday afternoon at the Labour Office, to receive an address of welcome from M. Thomas. It was inspiring to see the packed assembly to which everyone—men and women alike—appeared to have come, in spite of their weariness. The mixed gathering ranged from parsons to Trade Union secretaries, from educationists to Members of Parliament, with very many unlabelled persons in between.

The speech of M. Thomas, delivered in French and ably translated into English by Mr. Weaver of the

British Section of the Labour Office, was a great and inspiring welcome, into which the old veteran of French Socialism could not refrain from pouring his enthusiasm for the welfare of the workers of the world. Replies were made on behalf of the assembled visitors by Mr. Whelen, of the League of Nations Union, and Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., and myself, and I believe that M. Thomas understood that even if everyone had not come full of enthusiasm, at least all hoped to go away inspired to do their level best to help to strengthen the League of Nations and its Labour Office.

During the week this resolve was followed by the lectures, all of which given to the Labour Section were of a high tone and packed with information. The questions and discussions were greatly interesting and showed a real desire for information, and a wish to help to make the world a little better than it was the day before yesterday. A notable feature of the Conference was the equally good attendance of the men and women delegates, and the equal interest shown by both sexes. From the point of view of the League's work, this is of very great value. When we are able to bring to bear on national and international politics the natural mother-love and the sympathy for human suffering of our women-folk, then, at last, we can say that the real regeneration of this old world of ours will have begun.

A solid week's work was done, although one day was devoted to a trip on Lac Lemman, for even on that day the lectures were seriously discussed, opinions exchanged, and friendships made which will help forward the good work.

It is impossible in the short space at my disposal to examine the lectures in detail, and difficult to discriminate as to their value, as all were of a high order, and Butler and Phelan, Pone and Hudson, Grimshaw, Baumeister and Sanders vied with each other in giving of their best. Possibly Mr. Baumeister's address on the Trade Union Movement and the International Labour Organisation appealed most to the Labour Section, and requests were made for it to be printed in full and published to the delegates.

I feel that if all delegates are able to report faithfully to their various organisations on the information given during the week, there will be an awakened interest in the work of the League and its Labour Office; its possibilities as an instrument for peace and human progress will be more fully and widely realised, and greater support will be accorded it in future by all interested organisations in this country, especially, I trust, by the Trade Unions.

The League of Nations Union is to be highly complimented on its initial venture, which, we hope, will be the forerunner of other similar gatherings, and may well be emulated by organisations in other countries. Certain it is that the representatives who attended the lectures and conferences at Geneva during this memorable week, from League of Nations Union, Trade Unions, Trades Councils, and Local Labour Parties, returned to their several homes, tired indeed from their long journey, but fully satisfied that the results more than justified the trouble.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE LEAGUE.

BY RAYMOND UNWIN.

[Mr. Raymond Unwin, a prominent member of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., has been making a personal tour of Central Europe in order to study the voluntary League of Nations Societies on the Continent. His conclusions are recorded below, and we recommend them to the careful study of our readers.]

IN visiting the headquarters of the League of Nations Societies in several countries, I learned something of the difficulties of propaganda in favour of the League which arise from the political circumstances of each nation. The French Society, which I visited last year, has to meet a want of faith in the efficacy of the League to give them protection from the horrors of invasion, which have been twice experienced within the memory of many of the inhabitants. The question of protection against attack very naturally absorbs more attention in France than elsewhere; and many of the enlightened spokesmen of the Society are working with a true international outlook to help their countrymen to realise that real security can best be found in stable international conditions, based on general good understanding and friendly relations.

This year I visited several of the countries of Central Europe where, as would be expected, the League propaganda has to meet quite different grounds of opposition or suspicion. The fact that the League Covenant forms part of the Treaty of Versailles, and that the majority of the members of the Council are representatives of the Allied Governments who were responsible for dictating the Peace Treaties, has tended to foster the suspicion that the League may be only another and more permanent edition of the Supreme Council of the Allies, through the medium of which they may continue, with some camouflage of impartiality, to impose the will of the victors upon the vanquished. Unfortunately this suspicion is entertained by many of the old and well-tried supporters of peaceful action, who would otherwise be among the most enthusiastic supporters of the movement. Apart from this general suspicion that the present League is not the genuine organ for producing reconciliation and peace which its advocates claim it to be, in each country there are special difficulties, believed to be due to the various peace-treaties, which occupy the minds of many people to such an extent that they are unable to approach the question of the League of Nations in a broad, international manner, but see it more or less exclusively in its relation to their own national problems.

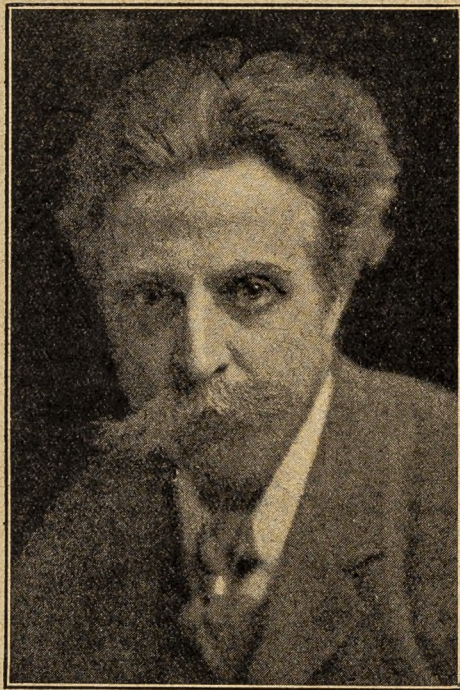
This nationalistic atmosphere was most noticeable at Budapest. Hungary is, perhaps, the most unhappy

of the countries I visited. The revolution from the old imperial régime, which in Austria passed off, in the main, quietly and on moderate lines, and left a general sense of freedom and independence of view, took a more violent form in Hungary and was followed by equally violent reactions. To their international difficulties there is consequently added a general suspicion and sense of insecurity at home, accompanied by efforts to curtail freedom and suppress the expression of liberal thought, directed with special force against the Jews, which makes life very uncomfortable. There can be no doubt that the attempt to solve the racial problem by limiting the area of Hungary to that in which the Magyar race overwhelmingly predominates has caused here the maximum difficulties of other kinds. The whole economic system,

based on waterways, railways, and the relation of the industrial centres to fertile agricultural regions, had grown up throughout the old Austrian Empire, with Vienna and Budapest as the two centres; and the present divisions, whatever their merits may be, seem to have resulted in the greatest economic confusion. The mills which used to grind the corn are in Budapest; the corn now largely grows in other countries which will not send it "abroad" to be ground. The rivers and railways which converged on these centres are now cut off half way by foreign boundaries with customs barriers and passport difficulties. So much is this the case that it is not possible to cross Czechoslovakia by rail from east to west without taking a zig-zag course and passing twice into foreign lands! These difficulties have roused much animosity in the Hungarian mind against the surrounding countries, into whose

hands the various territories once included in the economic sphere have passed. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that nationalistic and racial preoccupations for the time being obscure, to a great extent, even in the minds of the supporters of the League of Nations Society, the broader international considerations on which the success of the League must depend.

For the moment the recovery of parts of their former lands seems the only solution of their problems which they are willing to entertain, and this does not make for friendly relations with their neighbours. The good qualities, as well as some of the weaknesses, of the Hungarian people and of their social organisation, have given special opportunity for the growth of a strong Jewish element, who largely take the place of our middle and commercial classes: they have provided the greater number of the speculators and profiteers and the coincidence of the social with the class distinction has had the result of involving the



MR. RAYMOND UNWIN, F.R.I.B.A.

Jews generally in the animosity directed mainly against the speculator who alone seems to thrive on the misfortunes of Central Europe. It is only fair to add that the Jewish race has also contributed a large proportion of the most public-spirited and liberal-minded men and women of the country.

The anti-Jew feeling is also prevalent in Austria, but in a milder form. The questions which I found most seriously preoccupying the minds of the supporters of the League at the Vienna headquarters were the provision of International Credits, the removal of the economic restrictions with which they are surrounded at the various frontiers, and the difficulty of raising funds to carry on their work in a country as poor as Austria. There are, of course, classes who are making money, profiting by scarcity prices, the falling value of money, or speculating in the constantly changing values of everything. In the main, however, these are not the people likely to subscribe to the League of Nations Society. But in spite of its poverty and its great money depreciation, there is in Vienna a healthy sense of freedom of thought, and the pressing nationalist difficulties do not seem to obscure the broader international aspect of affairs which is largely realised and discussed. The society is run on conservative lines, in sympathy with the veteran diplomatist who is the President. There are some of the members who would like a more active and less cautious policy, as to the wisdom of which only the supporters in the country can judge.

In Prague I found that the relations between the Czechs and the Austro-Germans—called Germans there—were such that a united League of Nations Society had not yet been able to be formed. There are pacific groups supported by both races, and probably some union may later become possible. The Germans had been the dominant race, occupying most of the prominent posts and contributing much of the culture; now the turn of the Czechs has come; they are the dominant people, capable and pushing, with a strong conviction that they have as good capacities as the Germans. Naturally, there is much ill-feeling between the two races; the Germans are being ousted from their posts and influence by men whom they feel to be at present less cultured and qualified than themselves. The Czechs, it must be owned, seem to show more push than consideration in the process of displacing those who have hitherto been the leaders in the land. At present they tend to eat at separate restaurants and boycott each other's concerts. But the country seems likely to prosper; the Czechs seem to be a capable and vigorous people, and one must hope that a little experience will teach them the value of some of the older culture and that a general prosperity will create sufficient openings for useful work for all the capable men of both races. A strong, united League of Nations Society, encouraging mutual tolerance and keeping the ideal of peaceful relations with the surrounding peoples always before them, would be of greater value. They have an enlightened President, and in spite of the present internal divisions, which are sad enough, there is a feeling of hope, as at the commencement of a new era, which is healthy. The German Society, the Liga für Völkerbund, is

well housed on the Unter den Linden. It receives support from the German Government and has a good staff, many of the members of which are men and women of great ability and genuine conviction: some of them have a good record in the pre-war movement in favour of a pacific policy. The propaganda is necessarily restricted by the national circumstances. The suspicion that the present League is a tool of the Allies is present with many people in Germany who would support the League of Nations principle; and while the Silesian question remains unsettled and the extra sanctions imposed before the reparations settlement was arrived at remain in force, it will be difficult for very extensive propaganda in favour of the League to be undertaken. I hear that the reference to the League of the Silesian question has already been helpful to the position of the Liga für Völkerbund. A fair and obviously impartial decision on the point by the League would greatly help the position and influence of that body, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe. Spite of these national preoccupations, I found in discussion with some of the leaders of the Society in Berlin a genuine international outlook which is very hopeful for the future influence of that body.

L.N.U. PUBLICATIONS.

PEGGY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Mrs. L. H. Hallows.

Under the above title the Union is issuing this month a book which is suitable for children, and also might well be used for reading at mothers' meetings and similar gatherings. It deals in story form with the ideals and objects of the League, and with what it has already accomplished, and shows how a child can be interested in the League, and how much she can do to gain support for it. The book is attractively produced, and contains a map and two illustrations; every member of the Union should make a point not only of reading it, but of securing as wide a circulation for it as possible. It can be obtained from the L.N.U. office, price 1s. 6d.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, by J. C. Maxwell Garnett. Published by the L.N.U. Price 6d.

THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES, by Prof. Gilbert Murray. An illustrated pamphlet describing the striking history of this impressive statue. Published by the L.N.U. Price 6d. per doz. 3s. 9d. per 1,000.

A HYMN SHEET containing ten hymns for use at League of Nations services and meetings. Price 3s. per 100. Published by the L.N.U.

A LITANY AND PRAYERS. It is hoped that these will be very widely used, both in public and private. Price 2s. 6d. per 100. Published by the L.N.U.

WHAT THE WORLD IS THINKING.

Mr. Lloyd George

If there is another war it will be terrible beyond thought.

Brig-General Colvin

The last war was destruction, the next war will be extermination.

President Harding

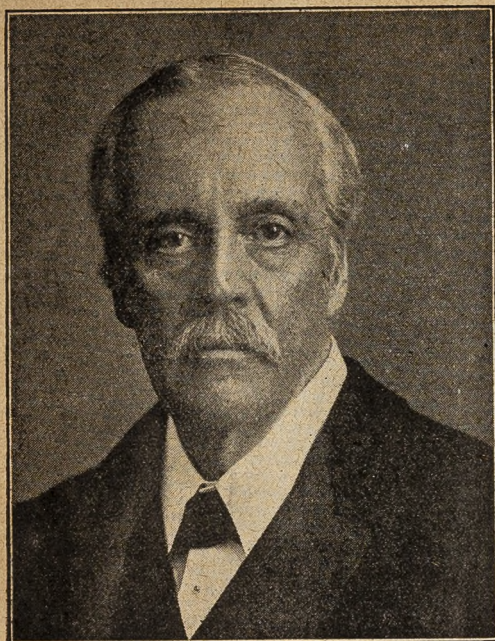
Avoidable or extravagant expense (on armaments) is a constant menace to the peace of the world rather than an assurance of its preservation.

Rear-Admiral Hopwood

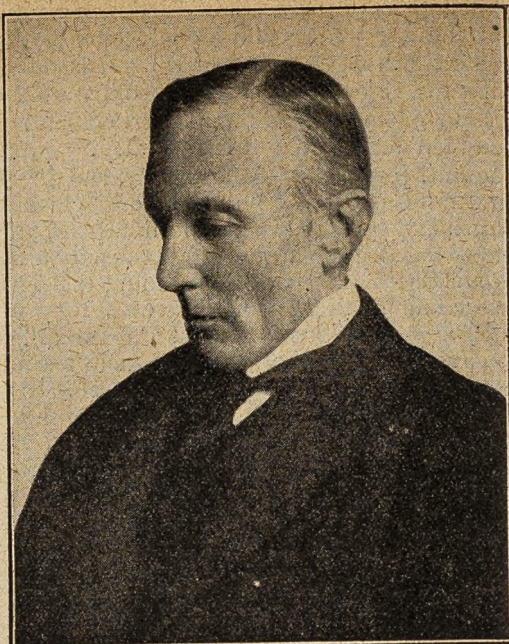
The threat to civilisation to-day is not one that can be met by either battleship or submarine, but only by an international fellowship of service, in which each may strive legitimately to be first.

Lord Northcliffe

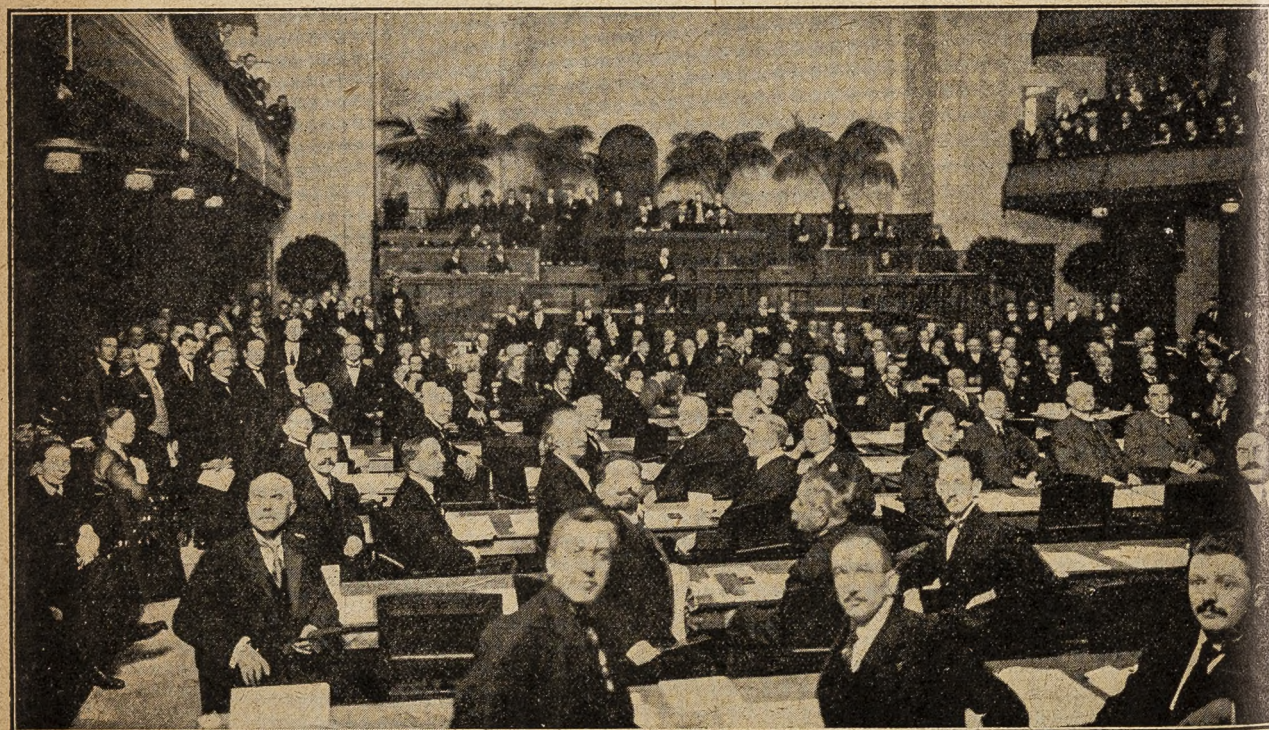
We can all help by disarming our minds before we disarm our fleets.



MR. A. J. BALFOUR (First British Delegate to the Assembly)
Hon. President of the L.N.U.



MR. H. A. L. FISHER (Second British Delegate to the Assembly)
Vice-President of the L.N.U.



THE FIRST ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1920.

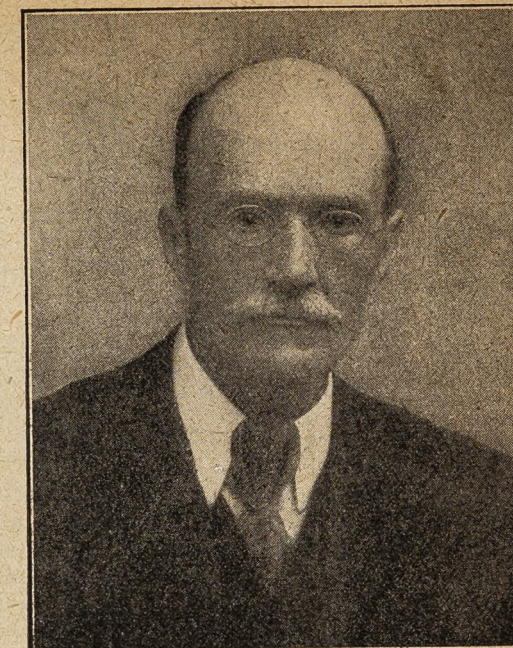
A Photograph taken in the Salle de la Réformation in which the meetings were held.

The Second Assembly, which met on September 5th, is now in Session. The meeting place will be the same as last year. To-day, however, instead of 42 nations 48 will be represented, including Austria, Bulgaria and Albania. Hungary's application for membership will also be dealt with.

Readers of HEADWAY will be gratified to observe that the four prominent members of the Union whose photographs are printed above are attending the Assembly as delegates.



LORD ROBERT CECIL (Representing the Union of South Africa at the Assembly)
Chairman of the L.N.U. Executive Committee.



PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY (Representing the Union of South Africa at the Assembly)
Vice-Chairman of the L.N.U. Executive Committee.



L.N.U. CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, AUGUST, 1921.

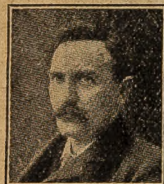
Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League (x). Members of the Union who attended the Conference will recognise also Dr. Manley O. Hudson, Mr. P. J. Baker, Professor Rappard, Capt. W. Stephen Sanders, and other members of the Secretariat and I.L.O., who gave their valuable services in lecturing on various aspects of the League's work.

The building in the picture is the Palais des Nations, Headquarters of the League. The photograph was taken immediately after an official reception given to members of the Conference by Sir Eric Drummond and his staff. Descriptive articles on the Conference by Mr. J. Bromley, and by the Editor, will be found on pages 129 and 134.

THE ESPERANTO CONGRESS AT PRAGUE.

By HENRY VIVIAN, J.P.

[Mr. Vivian is a well-known Liberal thinker. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., and is Chairman of the Hornsey Branch.]



MR. HENRY VIVIAN, J.P.

KNOWING that I proposed to visit Czechoslovakia, the Secretary of the League of Nations Union invited me, as a member of the Executive of that body, to include the Esperanto Congress at Prague in my itinerary, and I was glad to be able to comply. I am not competent to express an opinion on the merits of Esperanto as a language, but I feel that any movement which promises to simplify and facilitate international intercourse a supporter of the League of Nations should look on with a kindly eye and, if possible, help forward. I have attended a number of international congresses and conventions during the past thirty years, and I must say that the Esperanto gathering, in my view, eclipsed them all, not only in regard to size and enthusiasm, but, what is more important, in its competence to secure harmonious action between men and women of diverse nations and tongues. How common it is at international gatherings for the majority of those attending to be bored beyond endurance by the second or third day, owing to the never-ending difficulty of translating satisfactorily the speeches made. Flesh and blood ultimately revolt and seek refuge in flight.

By the courtesy of those responsible, I was favoured with an excellent position to watch the opening ceremony on July 31st, and it was indeed an impressive one. The great hall was crowded with some 2,600 people, representing thirty-five different countries and forty different races. The rendering of the hymn, *La Espero*, by the great gathering led by the organ, was in itself an inspiration.

In addition to practically every European country, far Japan, Australia, the Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Cuba, the United States, and Canada had their contingents present. For the first time in the history of this movement the Congress was officially welcomed by a principal Minister of the Government of the country in which it was being held, in the person of Dr. Susta, Minister of Education, who paid a warm tribute to the great work which Esperanto was doing as "co-worker" with other movements in favour of International Peace.

The League of Nations sent a representation directly from Geneva, including Dr. Nitobe and Dr. Fugisana.

During the opening proceedings it was my good fortune to hear a speech by Dr. Privat, from the University of Geneva. He spoke in what, to me, was a strange tongue, and yet his personality was so magnetic, and his manner and gestures harmonised in such a remarkable way with what he desired to convey, that one was compelled to feel in sympathy with him. In the course of his speech Dr. Privat emphasised that

the choice of Esperanto as an international language avoided the risk of jealousy which might be roused if one of the existing languages were selected. In a short talk I had with him he begged me to give their love to our Chairman, Lord Robert Cecil. "I mean 'our love,'" he repeated, "because we do love him." I promised to carry out this duty.

I have learned since that it was Dr. Privat who interpreted the speeches of Mr. Barnes and Lord Robert Cecil at the Geneva Assembly with such astonishing fidelity, reproducing, as one who was present says, "Not words, but feeling, atmosphere, appeal."

Dr. Edward Benés, Minister for Foreign Affairs, though unable to attend at Prague, sent a letter praising the cause.

Readers of HEADWAY will be interested to learn that the Canton of Geneva has decided, as an experiment, to make the study of Esperanto obligatory in the higher classes in all first-grade schools from September, 1921, whilst the educational authorities in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Russia, and other countries, have arranged for the optional teaching of Esperanto in the schools they control.

There can be no doubt that the "attitude of mind" of the movement is in harmony with the League of Nations, and that its growth will enormously facilitate the League's work.

THE HERITAGE.

"Patriotism is not enough."—EDITH CAVELL.

Oh! not enough the patriot's deed,
We must not curse, we must not hate,
A life of active love to lead,
That is the path of our new State.

We love the land that gave us birth,
We love her customs and her laws;
But other nations have their worth,
Let us with them make common cause.

We love our hearth, our home, our kin,
Our great tradition and our name;
But other men a goal may win,
Diverse in form, in thought the same.

Oh, Mother Earth, thy vast embrace
From hateful thoughts doth us recall;
Thy sea and land have ample space
For every tribe upon thy ball.

Towards other men in other lands
We will not nurture endless rage;
Our children need their strength and hands
To build a nobler heritage.

Then let us join heart, hands and voice,
Our gifts together let us bring,
Each in the good of each rejoice,
And "Hail the League of Nations" sing.

F. JOHNSON.

THE EMERSON CLUB (19, Buckingham Street, Charing Cross. Phone City 9252) has vacancies for a few new members (men and women). Annual Subscription, 30s. Entrance fee, 10s. Apply Honorary Secretary, or any member.—[Advt.]

THE POWER WITH THE NEED.

"Come the Whisper, come the Vision, come the Power with the need."—KIPLING.

By THE EDITOR.

Some two hundred men and women from Great Britain recently had the opportunity of investigating at first hand the method of work of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office. Two joint conferences had been arranged by the British League of Nations Union, the one attended mainly by representatives of the Union, Branch Secretaries, and others, addressed by officials of the League Secretariat; the other attended chiefly by representatives of British Trade Unions and Labour Organisations, and addressed by officials of the International Labour Office. But as both conferences were held at the Palais des Nations, a good deal of helpful interchange of audiences took place.

It is not too much to say that the delegates probably learnt in six days more about the real significance of the League and Labour Office than could possibly have been taught them by the ablest of lecturers outside Geneva or derived from a series of the most informative pamphlets on every aspect of this colossal task. It is one thing to hear or to read an address on the present position of mandates. It is quite another to listen to Professor Rappard, fresh from his work as Director of the Mandates Section, giving a frank and wholly unbiased view of the situation, whose every aspect he must know by heart. A recital of the actual achievements of the League, even though the list is by no means short or the items insignificant, may fail to rouse more than a mild enthusiasm; but to the people who heard it straight from the lips of the Personal Assistant to the Secretary-General of the League, it became something real and vital—a living record of steps backward effaced by steps forward, of sins of omission more than outweighed by virtues of commission, of steady striving towards a recognised goal. Even Captain Walters, whose honesty compelled him to paint as gloomy a picture of the position in regard to disarmament as could have been imagined by any "Red" opponent of the League, leaving his audience oppressed by the vision of the Permanent Armaments Commission "hampered by the combined inertia of eight War Offices, eight Admiralties, and eight Air Ministries!"—even this enforced pessimist was unable to damp his hearers. The measure of the League's ill-success in this matter is the measure not of any flaw in the structure of the Covenant, but of the extent to which its constituent Governments fall short of the wisdom expressed in that international Charter. The blame for failure must fall upon the several Governments rather than upon the League as a League—a thought which was driven home by nearly all the speakers from the Secretary-General downwards, and pointed by a direct appeal to the British delegations to make their own Government respond to the pressure of an informed public opinion. The League, said Mr. J. A. Salter, late Director of the Economic Section, now Secretary-General of the Reparations Commission, is not an original source of power; it is

only an instrument and a medium, through which the world can achieve international action, if the world so desires. The emphasis is on the last five words. The audience left no room for doubt that it understood its responsibilities.

The extent to which these responsibilities are carried out will be one of the tests of the success of the conferences. It is certain, however, whether or no the Geneva week is followed by consequences of a tangible nature, that direct contact with the workers at the Palais des Nations and the Bureau International du Travail is bound to have the effect of spreading a far saner view of the League and its kindred bodies than prevails in many quarters to-day. There will, for instance, be less of a tendency to regard the League as a body possessing, independently of its constituent Members, power which it sometimes decides and sometimes refuses to exert. Furthermore, it will be seen that the League is not an end in itself, but is a means of meeting certain practical human needs of to-day. That it is not necessarily, though it conceivably may be, an instrument for all time, but that it is, without any possible doubt, an instrument for our time, evolved out of and because of the practical problems which confront the post-war world. One of the most valuable lessons that Geneva had to teach was a lesson in perspective.

The League must be tested indeed by the touchstone of its practical achievements, but it must be tested no less by the spirit which animates its workers. Recapture the spirit of 1914, was the advice of the Secretary-General of the Reparations Commission, the spirit of faith and hope and boundless enthusiasm. It is this spirit which will supply, and is supplying, the power to deal with the world's stupendous need. In the words of Dr. Manley Hudson: "It doesn't so much matter that we should know precisely where we are going, as that we should feel that we are on our way."

L.N.U. NOTES AND NEWS.
WANTED—SNAPSHOTS!

SOUVENIRS OF GENEVA.

THE two informal conferences held last month at Geneva in connection with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, will live long in the memories of those who attended them. But not content with mind pictures, many of the delegates provided themselves with tangible souvenirs in the shape of snapshots, by means of which they were able to give those who could not be present a clearer idea of the Conference than could be conveyed in words.

We want all readers of HEADWAY to share the advantages of the fortunate possessors of Kodaks and Brownies. Anyone who took photographs during the Conferences is invited to send prints to the Headquarters of the Union, and the most interesting will be published in HEADWAY. The following particulars should be noted:—

1. Photographs (prints only, not negatives) should be addressed to the Editor of HEADWAY, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, and should reach the office not later than September 20th.

2. Each print should bear the name and address of the sender on the back.

3. Photographs should be confined solely to subjects connected with the Conferences themselves, or with the League of Nations or

the International Labour Office. That is to say, a photograph of the town of Geneva itself would not be eligible for reproduction in HEADWAY. On the other hand, a characteristic group of delegates taken on board the steamer en route for Territet, or in the funicular railway going up the Petit Salève, would be most suitable entries. Photographs of the Palais des Nations, or the International Labour Office, or of the officials of these two bodies would be also eligible.

The main point to remember in selecting snapshots for the competition is that the object is to give the readers of HEADWAY a picture either of the Headquarters of the League and the International Labour Office, or of the two Conferences held last month. The winning photographs must fulfil one or other of these two conditions.

THE WESTMINSTER BY-ELECTION.

The questionnaire published in the last number of HEADWAY was sent to the three candidates of the Abbey division of Westminster, with interesting results. General Nicholson, Constitutional Independent Conservative, who has been elected, replied that he would support the League of Nations, but was against admitting ex-enemy States at present. He was in favour of the principle of mandates, and would press for full League publicity.

Colonel Applin, who took his stand solely on "Anti-waste," replied that he was not prepared to support the League as at present constituted, and that America must join the League before it could be of any use. He was not in favour of ex-enemy States being admitted until they had completed their pledges under the Treaty of Versailles. On the question of mandates he refused to express any opinion.

Mr. Arnold Lupton, Independent Liberal, was strongly in favour of the League, and agreed that all nations should be admitted. He reserved his judgment on draft conventions and mandates, and was in favour of publicity.

A LEGACY TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

We publish below an extract from a letter to Lord Robert Cecil from Mr. Malcolm Leggett, one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Chiswick Branch of the Union. The generous purpose of the writer speaks for itself.

"After consultation with my wife, and in complete accord with her wishes, I have arranged that on the death of the survivor a certain sum of money is to be paid over to the Trustees of the Union 'for the general purposes of such Institution,' according to the draft which your Lordship was good enough to send me. My wife and I have accordingly executed Codicils to our respective Wills to this effect. We hope and feel sure that the Trustees will see that the amount, when paid over to them, is judiciously applied for the furtherance of the great cause for which the Union exists."

The draft form of bequest referred to by Mr. Leggett is as follows:—

"I give to the League of Nations Union, situate at No. 15, Grosvenor Crescent, in the County of London, the sum of £— (free of duty), to be applicable for the general purposes of such Institution, and I declare that the receipt of the Treasurer, or other proper officer, for the time being of such institution, shall be a sufficient discharge for the same."

A GREAT APPEAL.

On October 18th a great campaign will be launched by the League of Nations Union. It will have a two-fold object—to raise funds in order to ensure the continuance and the extension of the present manifold activities of the Union; and to increase its membership. The Union is appealing for one million pounds. Appeal Committees will be formed throughout England and Wales in co-opera-

tion with the existing Branches. A special Handbook is being prepared, which will shortly be sent to all Secretaries of Appeal Committees and to all Branch Secretaries, and which will give valuable guidance as to the different methods of raising money and increasing membership.

THE AIM AND THE METHOD.

Readers of HEADWAY do not need to be convinced of the supreme importance of this campaign. Month by month evidence accumulates to prove that the League is a workable machine *if mankind will set it in motion*. Month by month and week by week it becomes evident that the full effectiveness of the League depends upon the support of a strong and well-informed public opinion. It is the business of the League of Nations Union to educate and to organise public opinion to the end that the League may fulfil the hopes and the intentions of its founders.

There is no time to be lost. If the work is not done now, while the lessons of the late war are still fresh in our minds, it will never be done, and our children and grandchildren in the days to come will pay the price of our negligence to-day. It is a duty which we owe to posterity to see that the present educational work of the Union shall not be crippled for want of funds.

No effort can be spared in such a cause. The workers must be numbered not in thousands but in millions. The funds available to carry on the work must be adequate to the need.

For the need is great. The success of the campaign will depend ultimately on the extent to which every member of the Union conscientiously shoulders his individual responsibilities. Everyone must help. No single member can be exempt.

The campaign will be launched at a great meeting at the Mansion House, on October 18th, when Lord Gray will be the principal speaker, and will continue until after Christmas.

HOW TO OBTAIN NEW MEMBERS.

A novel method of obtaining new members is now receiving the attention of the Executive Committee, whereby it is hoped that Branches may double or treble their membership. Full particulars will be given in October. Branch Secretaries, please take notice!

RHODES SCHOLARS HELP THE L.N.U.

Six Rhodes Scholars, who are now at Oxford, are rendering splendid help to the Union. They have offered their services during the vacation, and are rendering invaluable assistance by addressing public meetings in the Northern, Yorkshire, Midland and Southern Regions. This generous help could not have come at a more opportune moment.

AN APPEAL FROM GEORGIA.

The Georgian Sub-Committee has passed a resolution appealing to the League of Nations Union to obtain the evacuation of their country by the armies of the Soviet Russia. The Sub-Committee urges that the liberation of Georgia from the Bolsheviks and the recognition and guarantee of her independence by the Great Powers are necessary to the peace of the Middle East, and the League is further asked to consider the needs of Georgia and of the Transcaucasian people generally when organising relief for famine-stricken Russia.

THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

Our membership on August 31st was 124,636, being an increase of 4,457 on last month's figures. The total number of duly constituted Branches is now 604.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—With regard to Mr. W. E. Arnold-Forster's letter in your August issue, I am glad that he approves my appeal for direct democratic representation of the peoples in the League Assembly. This would be quite compatible with the existing terms of the Covenant, and it would be for the Assembly itself to recommend a uniform system of election to its Member-nations, if it so desired. I did not allude to the system of voting in the Assembly, since this is prescribed in the last clause of Article III.; but I entirely agree with Mr. Arnold-Forster, that this clause might, with advantage, be amended so as to give the several representatives of one nation independent votes. If parties come to be formed in the Assembly, as they probably must be in all great public bodies, it is far better that they should be formed on broad grounds of opposed principle which cross-divide with supposed national interests than that there should be parties consisting of groups of nations with informal *ententes*.

I cannot, however, admit what Mr. Arnold-Forster seems to imply, namely, that direct representation should be postponed until Article III. is amended in the sense which he and I desire. Under some such scheme as that which I suggested, an enlightened Member-nation, on adopting the scheme and thereby setting an example to all the other Member-nations, would, while still limited to one vote in the Assembly, be contributing three independent and independently influential voices to its deliberations. We all want to make the League a real power in the world, and we all agree that its power must largely depend on the popular interest and confidence which it secures. What can promote this more effectually than giving every man or woman an opportunity to help in electing the nation's representatives?—Yours, &c.,

CHARLES E. HOOPER.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In response to your invitation, and arising from the letter of Mr. W. E. Arnold-Forster in last issue of HEADWAY, it seems to me that the view taken of the question of election or nomination of members to the Assembly will depend upon the conception held of the province of that body and its likely development.

To those who approach the question from an individualistic point of view, regarding all legislation with suspicion as restrictive of liberty and a necessary evil, but who regard the danger of war as a still greater evil, the Assembly, and, indeed, the whole organisation of the League, will be welcomed rather for its negative than its positive promise, for what it secures us from rather than for what it promises to lead us to. Their attitude may be thus expressed: "We prefer that the Assembly should not do anything except 'keep the peace,' like a police force, leaving each nation to work out its own salvation after its own pattern, tolerating differences which do not endanger peace."

At the other extreme are those who view the League of Nations from what may be called a socialistic or internationalistic point of view, and who welcome it as a body which will eventually become the Parliament of the world, and the Supreme Authority invading, if humanity's needs seem to demand it, the National Authority, exercising in short a world jurisdiction in all the ranges of human affairs.

Opinion, it seems to me, will fluctuate between these two extreme views, neither of which is wholly wise. The first class will desire that the members of the Assembly should be nominated by the Government and not elected directly for the Assembly; that each Government's representatives should vote as a unit and not as free representatives of the nation.

The second class will, on the other hand, prefer direct election of the Assembly members, wishing them to be free as individuals to ally themselves with men of congenial sympathies and aspirations whether of their own or other countries.

As Lord Robert Cecil points out, the criticism often levelled against the Assembly is that it is a "League of Governments" and not a "League of Nations."

Until the public conscience is quickened, made sensitive to the imperative importance of the League, the progress of thought and consequent development of the League must be slow. As the example of America shows, many people have still to be persuaded that the restriction upon national sovereignty involved in the acceptance of the League of Nations, even on the narrower construction before alluded to, must be voluntarily undertaken, if mankind is to enjoy the security of an orderly life.—Yours, &c.,

DAVID CRAWFORD.

213, West George Street, Glasgow.

CAN YOU SAVE £1,000?

And if so, how soon can you do it?

Will you save a thousand pounds in the next five years? Will you do it in the next ten years? Even with ordinary good luck, and a steady salary, with good health and quiet living, can you be sure of saving a thousand pounds as a little nest egg for your old age? Very few men can!

But here is a plan by which you can easily start at once to save well over £1,000. If, for instance, your age is 40 the sum of £58. 6s. paid as a first annual instalment will secure you a Sun Life of Canada investment policy for £1,000. In 20 years' time you would receive £1,000 plus profits, or a total sum estimated at not less than £1,450.

As a system of scientific saving the Sun Life of Canada Investment Insurance policy must commend itself to all thinking men. It enables you to make certain of a considerable sum of money at a time when it will be most useful, say at 60 years of age.

The plan holds good for any amount, or for any period, or at any age. If you can't manage to deposit £58. 6s. per annum and so begin to save £1,000 at once, then there is no reason why you should not take out a policy for £500 or even £250. The annual sum to be deposited is proportionately less, but the principle of saving and provision for old age or death is just the same.

The actual amount payable yearly to make your £1,000 secure is really less than £58. 6s. The Government recognises this form of insurance as thrift—it allows you to deduct the amount of the annual premium from your taxable income, and the saving effected on the £1,000 Investment Insurance policy is a nice little sum of £8. 15s., making the net payments £49. 11s. per annum.

Another important advantage is that if through sickness or misfortune you cannot keep up the deposits, the policy itself shows at a glance what is the surrender value and the amount the Company will advance as a loan on the policy. Moreover, you get substantial financial protection immediately the first deposit is made.

But that is not all. If at any time in the next twenty years anything should happen to you, your wife or your dependants would receive £1,000 with the return of half the deposits made to the Company. The amount due if your death occurred in the twelfth year would be no less a sum than £1,349 16s. With such a sum at her disposal your wife would not be at the mercy of an indifferent world. Why not investigate at once?

The Assets of the Sun Life of Canada exceed £23,000,000 and the Company is under strict Government supervision. Anyone interested should write at once for full particulars, giving his or her age and the amount it is proposed to invest annually. All communications treated in confidence. Write to J. F. Junkin (Manager), Sun Life of Canada, 9, Canada House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C. 2.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Mr. Hooper appealed in your June issue for direct election by all the people of the Representatives to the Assembly, and in July it was further proposed that P.R. should be the electoral method. Mr. Arnold-Forster truly said in the August issue that "of all changes this seems the most essential for giving life to the League." The "acid test" of that life is its power to prevent all war.

Is it not advisable to base our policy upon the pre-war, instead of the post-war psychology of the peoples, as differentiated by Lord Grey in 1912, when he said, that "the large majorities" (pre-war) would then vote for "peace not war," but after a shot had been fired, at the instigation of the war minority, "you would probably in any democracy have a large majority for continuing the war"?

Is it not clear that this peace psychology of pre-war majorities is our greatest source of opposition to militarism, and that it would readily give a perennial supply of power for world peace, if only it were constitutionally organized? To realise its full strength it would be necessary to concentrate its force upon a separate triennial election for Geneva of the three League Representatives only, so that the world issues of peace and war might safely be kept in the judgment of the people entirely separate from the ordinary issues of Parliamentary elections to Westminster.

May I ask all readers who support this separate and direct P.R. election of the Assembly Representatives by all the people, to send me a letter or postcard to that effect?—Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM H. BAYLEY.

Bath Street, Leek.

SANCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Is Greece a member of the League of Nations, and, if so, has she not broken the rule by making war on Turkey without giving nine months' notice? Why, then, are not the other members of the League down on her? I am strongly pro-Greek, and would like to see Turkey beaten to her knees, but what about the League of Nations?

Which is the best breakfast food?

There are many ways of judging. By flavour, digestibility, economy, ease of preparation and nutritive value. Fairly tested upon any of these grounds the award must be given to

"P.R." BODY-BUILDING BREAKFAST FOOD

and analysis justifies the verdict, proving it much superior in all essentials to any similar food. Here are the actual figures:—Moisture 8.08%; Fat 1.15%; Protein 12.55%; Sugars 10.34%; Starch 65.36%; Natural Salts 1.52%.

The analyst says:—"The constituents of the food will nourish nerve, muscle and bone. The raw materials from which the food is manufactured are of the highest quality and purity."

It is good for all ages, and especially so for growing children.

"P.R." Breakfast Food is all-British;

requires no preparation; can be taken with or without sugar; served direct from packet with milk or stewed fruit, etc.

Sold by the leading London Stores, Health Food Stores, and high-class grocers.

10½d. per full size packet.

Sample free for 2d. stamps to cover postage.

Where there is no agent we offer to send 12 packets, carriage paid, for 11s.

Wallace 'P.R.' Foods Co., Ltd.,

66, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London, N. 8.



"P.R." COFFEE is perfect for flavour, aids digestion, and does not injure the nerves.

If England set out to re-conquer Ireland, would she give nine months' notice? Would not that give Ireland time to organise her army? But what about the League of Nations? I am much puzzled.—Yours, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

(1) The war between Greece, a member of the League of Nations, and Turkey, a non-member, is, properly speaking, a "carry-over" from the Great War, and it is hardly fair to expect the League to deal with it. No Treaty of Peace has yet been signed between the Allies and Turkey. The position would be different had the Treaty of Sevres been ratified by Greece and Turkey.

(2) The Irish question is at present a domestic concern of Great Britain, and not an international question. The hypothetical "re-conquest" of Ireland by Great Britain could only become a matter of concern to the League if any Member of that body should avail itself of its "friendly right" under Article 11 to bring the matter before the Council as a "circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends." As a matter of practical politics, America is the only State which could conceivably make out a case for the international aspect of the Irish question in view of her large Irish population; and America is not a member of the League. She would have to become a member before she could bring the matter before the Council. It is just conceivable that one of the Dominions might raise the question, but hardly at the bar of the League. Imperial questions are properly the concern of the Imperial Conference. Even in the unlikely event of the matter coming before the League, Great Britain would have the right to claim, under Article 15, clause 8 (as did Finland in the matter of the Aaland Islands), that this was a purely domestic concern which did not come within the jurisdiction of the League. The Council would then have to adjudicate on this point.

(3) The notice of an intention to resort to war is not nine months, but three months after the award of the arbitrators on the report by the Council on the dispute. Article 12 stipulates that the award of the arbitrators shall be made "within a reasonable time," and the report by the Council "within six months after the submission of the dispute."

There is nothing in the Covenant to prevent either party to the dispute from making preparations for war while the dispute is *sub judice*; neither party would have any advantage over the other.

EDITOR.



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BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

EAST ANGLIAN REGION.

CAMBRIDGE TOWN.—A splendid "Children's Rally" was held on Parker's Piece, on June 25th, when the principal elementary and Sunday schools competed in displays expressing the League of Nations idea for shields presented by the Branch. Some beautiful decorated lorries and wagons, and other displays, were made, and songs, previously rehearsed in the separate schools, were sung by the assembled children. After the presentation of the shields, speeches were given from the platform by Sir Charles Walston, Lady Newton, Mrs. Whitehead, and others. A further meeting for speeches was held on Sunday evening, June 26th. Three successful performances of Miss F. Johnson's Pageant Play, "Earth and her Children," were given on July 19th and 21st at Homerton College and Emmanuel College Gardens respectively. The play will probably be offered for competition according to the terms of the Central Office. In the meantime, it may be obtained from the Author, Ramsey House, Barton Road, Cambridge, for 1s., post free.

LONDON REGION.

CHELSEA.—At a recent meeting the Branch passed a resolution urging Headquarters to insist that the Armenian question be again brought up at the meeting of the Assembly in Geneva in September.

TOTTENHAM.—The Librarian and Curator of the Tottenham Urban District Council writes that, at the suggestion of the local Branch of the Union, the Libraries Committee has decided to subscribe for two copies of HEADWAY per month for the Central Library. It would be a good thing if all Libraries would do the same as Tottenham.

NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

HINDLEY, PLATT BRIDGE, AND HINDLEY GREEN.—A successful Flag Day was held on August 27th.

SOUTH-WESTERN REGION.

SALISBURY.—The Branch has arranged to hold meetings fortnightly throughout the winter. It also runs a small library, a valuable piece of propaganda and educational work.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of August thirty-one meetings were held, although in the August publication only six were announced at the time of going to press. For next month meetings have already been arranged in the following places:—

September 14th, Islington. September 16th, Ilkeston. September 17th, Sutton Coldfield. September 18th, Devizes. September 25th, Hammersmith. September 26th, 27th, 28th, East Islington. September 29th, East Islington, Crowthorne. September 30th, East Islington, Mortlake. October 1st, 2nd, East Islington. October 3rd, Accrington, Weybridge. October 4th, Croydon, Bromley-by-Bow. October 5th, Kendal, Thatcham (Berks). October 6th, Belvedere, Barrow, Thornton Heath, Chipstead (Sevenoaks). October 7th, Bow (London), Gooie. October 10th, Ibstock, Leeds, Somerset House, London.

Among the speakers are: Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., M.P.; H. Wilson Fox, Esq., M.P.; Mrs. Whitehead, C.B.E.; Canon H. Bickersteth Ottley; Dr. Elliott Skinner; W. J. Squire, Esq.; Frederick Whelen, Esq.; H. G. Chancellor, Esq.; Neville Dixey, Esq.; E. Everett Reid, Esq.; Harold Wright, Esq.; Mrs. G. Skelton; H. W. Green, Esq.; Major H. Barnes, M.P.; Rev. J. C. Paterson Morgan; Professor Gilbert Murray; the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes; the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

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

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