

Headway

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THE MONTH.

The League of Nations is an organisation at present of fifty-two nations whose aim is to promote international co-operation and to achieve peace and security throughout the world.

The League of Nations Union is a British organisation whose aim is to educate and make effective public opinion in support of the League of Nations.

"The present Government is heart and soul in favour of the League."—Lord Robert Cecil, June 15, 1923.

THE statement made by Mr. Baldwin and Lord Curzon in the two Houses of Parliament on July 12 will, unless all reasonable hopes are gravely disappointed, prove the first step in a more positive and decisive policy than either of the last two British Governments has found itself capable of developing. But though it may be the first step that counts—and the aphorism does in this case hold good in so far as the Prime Minister's declaration indicates that the policy of mere passive observation of the French invasion is at an end—it is the second that will put to the real proof the meaning and value of the Entente. To argue, as M. Poincaré does with astonishing naïveté, that the two countries can remain bound by some special link when they are facing in diametrically opposite ways, is either pathetically or hypocritically futile. The question, Can two walk together unless they be agreed? demands a very different answer from any the French Premier would give. In the matter of immediate reparation policy Britain and Italy have taken their road and France and Belgium must choose between that and their own.

THAT choice may have been made by the time these lines are in print. It seems more likely, however, having regard to the delays that have clogged the wheels of action in the matter of reparations from 1919 onwards, that it will be well into August before any final decision is taken. If in the end France accepts, without reservations fatal to the scheme, the international commission which Germany desires and the British Government is believed to approve, new hope of a final settlement as prelude to the work of reconstruction will be opened up. Whatever the findings of the commission, Germany is pledged to abide by them, and the Allies, by accepting the commission project at all, must be held to be equally bound. That should mean that the work of building up would now at last begin. In that work the League of Nations must inevitably be called on to play a part. Germany has made it perfectly clear that while she recognises the need of some control of her finances, control (or supervision, if that term be preferred) by the League would be far more acceptable than control by a purely Allied body. That contention, after the experience of Austria, is so manifestly sound that there is reasonable ground to hope the Allies may act accordingly. The whole security problem, moreover, depends for settlement on League machinery.

* * * *

BUT it has unfortunately to be recognised that the prospects of continued disagreement between the Allies are at least as strong as the prospects of agreement. And if France flatly declines to accept the proposal for a commission of investigation, or to make common cause with this country and Italy on any other rational basis, an impasse will be reached from which no way of escape

presents itself. Here, again, the League appears the only hope. The British Government has studiously avoided using its "friendly right" under Article XI of the Covenant to bring the matter of reparations before the League; but if after this last attempt at an accord with France no accord is reached, Article XI will be the only visible card to play. Even so, there will be no settlement if France determines there shall be none, for the League does not exist to coerce recalcitrant States. Its function is to induce agreement, not impose it. But public opinion counts for something, even with France, and the British Government will be well advised to insist on matters moving fast enough to enable them in case of need to raise the reparation question before the Council while the Assembly, with all the moral force it embodies, is still in session.

THE experts of the British Foreign Office are to be congratulated on the great contribution which they have made to the settlement of peace in the Near East. While we cannot but agree with Lord Robert Cecil that agreement would have been reached more rapidly had the proceedings at Lausanne been concluded under the ægis of the League, we rejoice that the Lausanne Conference at last appears to have terminated its labours. Perhaps the most striking feature of the outcome of the Conference is, in the first place, the recovery of British prestige in the Near East, and, secondly the conspicuous rôle assigned to the League of Nations in the future of Near Eastern pacification. In the questions of frontiers, financial reconstruction, juridical questions, legislation, concessions, exchange of populations, sanitary provisions, protection of minorities and the control of the Straits, definite duties are entrusted to the League, in some cases of a highly responsible character.

IN many ways the Lausanne Treaty is of all treaties the most progressive ever drafted; it goes a long way to prove how impossible it has become to secure a satisfactory settlement anywhere without indirectly or directly drawing in the League of Nations. If the Lausanne Treaty is ratified, the protection of trade passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the defence of the Straits against external aggression, and the security of Constantinople will fall to the League.

PROBABLY the most outstanding feature of the last Council meeting* of the League was the publicity with which its deliberations were conducted. This, coupled with the variety and importance of the subjects discussed, makes this last meeting stand out from all its predecessors. The *Times* Geneva correspondent gave an apt description of the meeting:—

"The meeting of the Council which ended on Saturday [July 7] has shown that the League is not an amiable philosophic body, but a working unit of the world's polity. There have been live debates; there have been concrete results. . . . One could wish that the extreme critics of the League had been among the audiences. They would have realised that they, not the Leaguers, are the world's cranks."

* A report of the Council's proceedings has been published by the Government as a White Paper, obtainable at H.M. Stationery Office.

WHILE recognising the necessity to the British Empire of maintaining its security by sea, we cannot help regretting that circumstances have convinced the Government of the desirability of building a new naval base at Singapore. This action is capable of being misunderstood in foreign countries, and we trust that the British Government will take all suitable steps to reassure foreign Governments—and especially those which are members of the League—as to its fidelity to the letter and spirit of the Washington Treaty and the motives which have led it to propose this new naval expenditure.

FURTHERMORE, the League, as is the case under the Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Hungarian, German, Roumanian, Serbian, and Albanian Minorities treaties, will be entrusted with the task of providing security for the minorities in what might be called the minorities cauldron of the world. Indeed, the two main sources of all the ugly disturbances in the Near East during the past hundred years or so, sources tracing their origin to ruthless political and economic competition, will henceforward, together with all their wicked complications, be passed over to the League of Nations to temper and to mould if possible into a more hopeful and progressive shape. The burden will, indeed, be a heavy one, and it is incumbent upon all League supporters that they insist that their several Governments should give such earnest support to the League as it may require.

THE large majority by which the French Chamber of Deputies ratified on July 7 the Naval Disarmament Treaty, signed at Washington on February 6, 1922, will be a great satisfaction to all friends of France and to all who desire a peaceful world. The long delay has been unfortunate, but it is at last at an end, and the fact upon which attention should now be concentrated is that France has joined her fellow signatories in taking a first and very important step towards the limitation of armaments. What is the next step? If competition in dreadnoughts is as futile as it is costly, the same may be said of competition in aeroplanes.

THE increased expenditure on the British Air Force is a perfectly natural reply to the increase in the French Air Vote, but as Lord Grey pointed out in his great speech on July 11, neither is going to make for security against aggression. Lord Grey said no more than the bare truth when he declared that competition in armaments, if allowed to proceed, will only lead to another war, in which Europe will perish. The one and only solution is to give France in the place of large armaments something which she can recognise to be a better guarantee of safety. We believe that this alternative is provided by the mutual guarantee treaties under the League of Nations which formed the basis of the scheme submitted to the League's Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments by Lord Robert Cecil.

LAST year the Assembly of the League was chiefly stirred by the speech of M. Bellegarde, the gifted negro delegate from Haiti, describing the punitive expedition against the Bondel Hottentots, a tribe of South-west Africa, under the protection of the League of Nations. A full inquiry was promised by the South African Government. We understand that the report on the expedition against the Bondel Hottentots is now available, and can be seen in the Library at the Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, in Trafalgar Square. In reading this report it is also necessary to read the Government papers, and they can be seen at the same address. These two papers are numbered U.G. 30-22 and U.G. 16-23.

THE resolution of the League of Nations Assembly tasked for an impartial and public inquiry into the whole question. The report which is now issued is published without the evidence, and it is unfortunate that the Commissioners could not arrive at a unanimous report. The Permanent Mandates Commission will consider this report and relevant documents during its sittings in August, and will report to the Assembly. Without prejudging the issue in any way it seems evident that no punitive expedition should be embarked upon, except with the sanction of the Mandatory authority, unless, of course, there is grave risk of public disorder. We trust that the Assembly will emphasise this point.

NEXT month the Assembly of the League is to discuss the question of slavery in all its aspects. It is welcome news that the Regent of Abyssinia, where the slave trade is at its worst, has stated that his government is prepared to co-operate with the League in an effort to abolish slave-trading and slave-owning.* The co-operation of all Governments, especially Colonial Powers or States entrusted with mandates, is urgently necessary, and we trust that the British Government will lose no time in reconsidering its decision not to place at the disposal of the League the information which it undoubtedly possesses on this subject. Moreover, slavery actually flourishes in the interior of South-West Africa, administered under mandates by the Union of South Africa. A sincere attempt is being made by the South African Government to correct this practice, but here, too, we believe that the influence of the League would prove the most potent deterrent.

THE speeches made by President Harding during his recent tour confirm the view expressed by Mr. Philip Kerr in our present issue in regard to the change which is taking place in the United States in respect of the League of Nations. At the same time, Mr. Harding's heavily emphasised distinction between a "World Court" which America could join, and a "League Court," of which she could never be a member, lends colour to Mr. Kerr's contention that American opposition to the League is largely based upon the belief that the League is

* A vivid picture of the terrible condition into which Abyssinia has fallen—several tribes under British protection have been completely wiped out—was drawn in the July number of *Outward Bound*. Readers of HEADWAY interested in this subject should make a point of reading this article by Major Henry Darley.

more concerned with European than with world affairs. It is noteworthy that America is apparently ready to waive her anti-League prejudices in such matters as the League's health work and its anti-opium campaign, both of which are world-wide in scope and by no means confined to Europe. A rather interesting communication recently appeared in the *Figaro* from General Charles H. Sherrill, a former American Minister abroad, to the effect that the United States should appoint an Ambassador to the League at Geneva, and that the League should appoint an Ambassador to Washington. In this way, the writer believes, the real interest taken by America in European affairs could be manifested without prejudice to her determination not to enter the League itself.

THE Federation of League of Nations Societies is at last gripping with realities. By far the most important piece of work done by the British Delegation at the Seventh Assembly (held at Vienna last June) was prompted by an idea so obvious and so fundamental that one might have judged it almost unnecessary of expression. It lay in getting the Plenary Assembly to realise why it had met: to recognise, in fact, that making plans for educational and propaganda work was the very *raison d'être* for the Federation, and was consequently more important than discussing minor administrative details. The statistics given by Dr. Garnett of the Union's activities in this country appeared in some cases almost to dismay the smaller societies, whose wildest dreams had never envisaged a peace campaign, complete with its branch fortresses and its army of members, conducted on the sort of scale that would only have been resorted to by their own Governments in times of great national crisis for the defence of hearth and home; this demonstration, however, wrung from the Societies represented a timely pledge to go and do likewise.

THE Conference undoubtedly achieved some solid successes, among others, in the sphere of education, by setting up a Permanent Commission to examine and report upon textbooks, particularly historical and geographical textbooks, in use in the various schools and colleges of the several countries. But by far its most spectacular achievement was in the political sphere, where it succeeded, unanimously, in formulating a common policy—with the French, Belgians, Germans, British and Americans in complete agreement—respecting the present situation in the Ruhr.

THIS month we are presenting every reader of HEADWAY with a photograph of Lord Robert Cecil, taken when he was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union. We are making no charge for this portrait, but its production has, of course, involved the Union in some expense. We believe that all our readers will value this souvenir, and if they should desire to express their gratitude either by making a special donation to the funds of the Union or by increasing the amount of their annual subscription by 6d. or more when it falls due, the whole cost would be more than covered, and the cause which owes so much to Lord Robert Cecil would be further advanced.

THE SAAR AND THE RUHR.

THE League of Nations Council at its recent meeting at Geneva conducted an exhaustive inquiry into the administration carried on in its name in the Valley of the Saar. Of the general results of the Council's action it is sufficient at the moment to quote a remark attributed to a leading Saar inhabitant present at Geneva during the Council sittings, to the effect that so far as the Saar was concerned there would be entire satisfaction with the course events had taken.

To particularise slightly further, as a consequence of the Council inquiry and the public discussion that preceded it in Great Britain and elsewhere certain definite steps have been taken. The offending decree of March 7 has been withdrawn. An amnesty for all persons sentenced under this and the picketing decree was proclaimed, significantly enough, on the very day the Council sittings opened. The direct responsibility of the League Commission in the Saar to the League Council at Geneva has for the first time been definitely established. The President of the Saar Commission has promised in the future to make his periodical reports to the Council an expression not merely of his personal views but of the views of the Commission as a whole, thus leaving room in case of need for the expression of a minority opinion.

Broadly speaking, there is every reason to believe that the lines of communication which undoubtedly existed between Saarbruck and Paris have been broken, and lines which ought to have existed far more effectively than they have between Saarbruck and Geneva have been consolidated. If the population of the Saar can be convinced of that most of the grounds for hostility and suspicion will have been removed, but that is by no means the last word on the Saar inquiry, and it is important that the situation should be rightly assessed if the proper lessons are to be drawn from the proceedings at Geneva. In the first place, there was no question at any time of a hostile indictment of the Saar Commission. To that extent the emphatic distinction which the French representative drew between the two words "enquete" and "examen" was justified. What the British Government proposed, and what the Council accorded, was an inquiry, and an inquiry consists not of prejudging facts but of ascertaining them. It was to that end that the whole of Lord Robert Cecil's questions were directed, and he very properly prefaced his cross-examination by expressing the hope that it would reveal not that the Commission's faults had been many, but that they had been few.

That grave errors of judgment, to put it at the lowest, were revealed is undeniable, and it is unfortunate that those errors bore all the appearance of having been committed in the interests of France and to the detriment of the population of the Saar. But it is not the fact that the inquiry disclosed any general failure of the administration. On the contrary, it showed clearly that, with few exceptions, down to the end of last year things in the Saar had gone as well as the conditions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles would let them. The serious grounds for criticism were events that psycholo-

gically resulted, beyond any question, from the French occupation of the Ruhr, and the effect of the inquiry will, it may safely be predicted, be that all danger of any recurrence of such events disappears. All things considered, the British member of the Council gauged the situation accurately when he agreed willingly to assure the Commission of the "support" of the Council, but refused absolutely to substitute for "support" the word "confidence." The Commission has been subjected to a fair inquiry and no censure has been passed on it formally. But it has been made clear that it has yet to win, or win back, the full confidence of the Council. That it can do by carrying out at the earliest possible moment the expressed wishes of the Council (wishes which the Council has no constitutional power to make absolutely mandatory) regarding such matters as the development of a local gendarmerie and the removal of all French troops, and a complete reversion to ordinary common law unsupported by any extraordinary decrees.

From the whole Saar controversy certain conclusions clearly emerge. To lay it down that the League is ill adapted to undertake administrative work at all is extreme doctrine, particularly in view of the fact that in certain regions of the world some form of international government may be found necessary, and international government is almost certainly better undertaken by the League than by any other body. But on one point no declaration can be too dogmatic. If the League undertakes administrative work in the future it must undertake it on its own terms, not on other people's. In the Saar and at Danzig the League has had to carry out Treaty conditions which it had no part in drafting, which it never would have drafted in anything like their present form, and which make complete success in administration impossible. That it should have succeeded so far as it has succeeded is under all the circumstances remarkable.

But the Saar inquiry raises another vital question. Has it so far vindicated the League's reputation for fair dealing as to clear the way for its approach to the far more difficult question of the Ruhr? There can be little doubt that it has. It is unfortunate in the extreme that at points where the League has touched Germany most closely it has been tied hand and foot by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. In the case of Upper Silesia the League was never invited, and never had the right, to suggest the best solution it could devise of the whole problem. It had to start from Article 88 of the Treaty and merely give its judgment as to how that article should be interpreted in the light of the plebiscite. Whether the League, if it had had a free hand, would have given the whole province to Germany no one, of course, can say. But according to the best legal opinion in Great Britain and other countries, it never had the option of doing anything of the kind.

The same handicaps, as has already been pointed out, have clogged the action of the League in the Saar and at Danzig. On the other hand, the action of the Council in securing the reference to the International Court of the cases of the German inhabitants of the Polish corridor, and the claims

of Germans in Poland under the Minority Treaty, is proof that it is far from being animated by any kind of prejudice against Germany. The Saar inquiry should strengthen that conviction both in Germany, in Great Britain and elsewhere. The importance of that is far-reaching, for no one can doubt the competence of the League after its handling of the Austrian problem. All that is needed is to establish full confidence in it in quarters where, perhaps unjustly, its good faith is still a little questioned. That it is still questioned in Germany is undeniable. But there are after all two sides to that. Germany mistrusts the League because she holds aloof from it. That is just as true as the assertion that she holds aloof from it because she mistrusts it. If she came into it she would see it from a new angle, and realise what it could do for her. She has not consented yet to put it to the test.

But there are signs of a change of view on that point. If Germany makes application for membership of the League in September she will, of course, be admitted without any kind of question. That she will be elected a member of the Council forthwith, even if she fails to get a permanent place immediately, is almost equally certain. With her co-operation from inside the League would acquire the final qualification it needs for handling the whole Ruhr question, and the issues which lie at once behind and beyond it. That cannot be too soon or too fully realised both in London and in Berlin.

EUROPE, AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE.

By PHILIP KERR.

MOST people would probably agree with the proposition that if the League of Nations is ever to be the complete success its supporters hope, the United States must become an active and convinced member. This is not only because the League, to be a true League, must include all nations. It is even more because it is essential that the most liberal and progressive as well as the most powerful nations should bring their influence to bear in its deliberations. Merely to collect combative peoples round the Council Board is not enough. What matters is that the voice of reason, goodwill, justice and common sense should be effectively raised, when they are there. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we in Great Britain should understand as clearly as possible the real nature of American sentiment about the League.

As I have recently spent nearly a year travelling in North America, it may be of some interest to readers of HEADWAY to hear of some impressions about the League situation which I there formed. I entirely agree with Lord Robert Cecil's diagnosis that facts and reason have "exterminated or practically exterminated, full-blooded isolationists." If the United States reacted violently in 1920 from every sort of association with Europe, it is moving nearly as rapidly now in the opposite direction. Every thinking American agrees that the United States must find some basis for permanent co-operation with the rest of a now shrunken world. The present active discussion not merely of the League but of the proposal to join the world court, and of another scheme for the outlawry of war, is evidence of the revival of interest in the international problem. But that does not mean that the United States is preparing to join the League in its present form. It simply means that she is thinking the whole problem out for herself *de novo*.

So far as I could judge, American opinion is becoming definite about two points. The first is that under no circumstances will the United States agree to any arrangement which will entangle it permanently with Europe's internal affairs. I believe there is pretty well 100 per cent. unanimity on that point. The second is that it is turning more and more towards the idea that international disputes ought to be settled by judicial means. That most people will agree is a perfectly sound idea, only it presupposes the development of a code of laws dealing with all the common causes of international dispute, for the court to interpret and apply. To our ideas the League of Nations is obviously the body in which such world laws ought to be discussed and drafted.

None the less, in my opinion, the United States is not yet near the point of reversing its decision of 1920 and joining the League. There is no doubt that the League is much less unpopular than it was. That is partly because the phase of extreme partisan politics is over and America recognises that isolation as a permanent policy is impossible, and partly because most Americans now realise that the League is not the formidable super-state they were led to believe in the election of 1920. But there is still a very widespread reluctance to join the League, even among those who are most active in advocating American co-operation with the rest of the world. I was at some pains to try and find out the reason for this reluctance, and the conclusion that I reached was that it was because they felt that even if the United States joined the League with many reservations, which they thought was not a very satisfactory arrangement in itself, the League in its existing form was so much mixed up with the internal affairs of Europe, that it would be impossible for the United States to avoid the very kind of European entanglements it was determined to escape.

The case they make is roughly this. The Covenant was drawn up at the end of a great European war. Its framers were inevitably almost wholly pre-occupied with the European problem, and in point of fact the framers of the Treaty left to the League many knotty points which ought to have been settled in the peace, but about which for one reason or another they could not agree. Such matters as the Saar and Danzig, the provisions about frontiers, and a host of minor matters, overburden the League with Europe's affairs. If America joined the League, she would be perpetually involved in squabbles which Europe ought to settle for itself. Europe, of course, is a world problem, but half the questions about which it disputes are not world problems at all. Entanglement with these America is determined to avoid. How, as friendly Americans, is co-operation without entanglement to be achieved?

Personally, I do not think that it is the Covenant that is to blame, but Europe. If the League is expected to settle for ever all the inter-State problems of Europe, it will break the League and will not bring peace to Europe. In my judgment, what really matters is not the amendment of the Covenant, though that is probably also necessary on a few points, but that Europe should develop some machinery for dealing with its own internal disputes, while the League is left to deal with world problems. If that were done I believe the greater part of America's objections to joining the League would fall to the ground, and that she would recognise that the League was the natural forum in which to discuss her ideas about world law. I believe that anything which tended to separate the League from the passions of the great war would strengthen it among neutrals and facilitate the entry of Germany and even Russia. I believe it would strengthen our own position, because as members of a world-wide Commonwealth containing more people than the whole of Europe, it is manifest that we cannot become entangled permanently in the internal affairs of Europe, without

endangering the unity of the Empire. The Dominions will simply not accept such liabilities. Finally, I believe that it would be for the benefit of Europe itself, for until the European peoples recognise that self-help is the first law of progress, that they cannot expect outsiders to go on making sacrifices to maintain a peace they ought to be able to preserve for themselves, and that the only road to that peace is some measure of unity among themselves, I do not believe that much progress will be made towards European stabilisation and peace.

I do not put these ideas forward because I think we ought to start tinkering with the Covenant. As I have explained, I do not think that the Covenant is the root of the difficulty. In any case, the time for revision has not yet come. War passion must have subsided in Europe, the United States must have moved further forward into the outside world, before the subject can usefully be taken up. For the moment the only thing to do is to make the most of the present machinery of the League. At the same time, it is evident that there is something which stands in the way of the League idea making better headway abroad. I venture to suggest that the reason is that it is to-day too much mixed up with the internal affairs of Europe, and that the League will never be seen in its true proportions nor gain the whole-hearted support of the rest of the world and become a real League of all nations until that is remedied. The remedy lies not so much with the League as with Europe. The League can never become the Government of Europe, yet it is manifest that what Europe chiefly needs is some kind of regional association or League of its own. Once it is recognised that there are two different sets of problems, world problems and internal European problems, and that, though they often overlap, they cannot both be dealt with by the same machinery, I believe we shall make more rapid progress both towards a League of all nations and towards European appeasement and peace.

LEAGUE SOCIETIES IN CONFERENCE.

BY LADY GLADSTONE.

VIENNA to-day is beginning to smile again, perhaps a little wistfully, but still the smile is there, nor does it seem likely that she will fail to know the cause for her return to hope. On every lamp post, in every shop window, one sees the familiar sign of the League of Nations Austrian Loan.



A large round blue world, with the words "Völkerbund Anleihe" encircling it. This device is repeated in every conceivable shape and form, it appears made in flowers in the florists' shops, and little stamps bearing the same design are stuck to our bills. So the Austrian folk are reminded of what the League of Nations has done for them. It was a curiously

appropriate moment to choose Vienna as the place of meeting for the Conference of the International Federation of the League of Nations Unions. It gave a peculiar sense of reality to one's faith in the League to see it actually succeeding where everyone else had failed.

There is no doubt that this Conference has been by far the most successful ever held by the Federated Societies, and for several reasons. For the first time

we had with us an American delegation, who were given a very warm welcome by the Conference. I think they must have been impressed with the courage and determination with which difficult and delicate questions were tackled, and have felt that the complete harmony of the proceedings was the best possible proof that problems, however thorny, can be solved if they are approached in a League of Nations spirit.

The most notable achievement of the Conference was the passing of a unanimous resolution to the effect that the threefold question of reparations, inter-allied debts and security of frontiers should be referred to the League of Nations. It was an extraordinarily moving scene. One after the other the English, French, Belgian, German, Austrian delegates got up and affirmed their belief in the power of the League to settle this question which for months has threatened the peace of the world. The speeches reached a very high level of oratory. M. Hennessy, the leader of the French delegation, at the close of his speech, described almost in a whisper how one evening, in the gloaming, he had wandered round the battle fields of Verdun, and there he found a graveyard, where side by side were buried countless young French men and Germans. He thought of the glorious courage of these dead Frenchmen who had resisted one attack after another—and of the Germans, who with no less courage had returned again and again to the charge. Then with a burst of passionate eloquence, he denounced the horror and waste of war, and affirmed his belief in the cause of peace and the League of Nations. He was followed by Count Bernstorff, representing the German Völkerbundliga. He was evidently speaking under the stress of deep emotion. He told the Conference that there was no German who did not admit that Germany should make good what she had destroyed in the war. All they asked was that Germany should be consulted as to the sum to be paid, and the method of paying it. He felt that under the auspices of the League a settlement might be reached. There was one thing that no German could consent to, and that was the partition of Germany. His speech ended on a note of goodwill and confidence in the League of Nations. The resolution was carried by acclamation, and every one present felt that a real step forward towards peace had been made. Of course, the delegates at these Conferences of voluntary societies do not bind, or even represent, their Governments. Nevertheless, they are mostly men of importance in their own countries, many of whom have held high posts. They have now returned to the many lands from which they came, deliberately pledged to point out to their Governments the advantages of referring the question of reparations to the League of Nations.

Any delegate will tell you that these Conferences are hard work. In our four breathless days it was sometimes difficult to find time even to eat, but it was too deeply interesting for anyone to feel tired. The pity was that it was not possible to attend all the Commissions. Most satisfactory results were arrived at regarding the question of minorities, particularly in view of the difficulties that were experienced last year at the Prague Conference. Good progress was also made on the problem of disarmament. Propaganda was dealt with very thoroughly, and a real effort is to be made to rid the school books of the world of statements calculated to breed hatred and ill-will towards other nations.

It is a liberal education to find oneself seated round a table, discussing with men and women of various races the problems that, whilst they remain unsolved, must keep the world from peace and prosperity. The real lesson is, that these problems can be solved if they are approached in the true League of Nations spirit. That was the spirit that inspired the Conference, and to that its success was due.

SEVENTH PLENARY ASSEMBLY OF THE International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Vienna, June 24 to 27, 1923.

THE Assembly of the Federation of League of Nations Societies has just completed its seventh session. In all, twenty-five National Societies or Federations out of the forty members of the Federation were represented at Vienna, and for the first time since 1910 delegates from the United States and from Canada took part in the Conference.

The British Delegation, which was led by Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Overseas Committee of the League of Nations Union, included Sir W. H. Dickinson, Lady Gladstone, Captain Reginald Berkeley, M.P., Mr. W. T. Layton (Editor of *The Economist*) and others. Among the members of the French Delegation were M. Hennessy (Deputy), M. de Lapradelle (Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), M. Jaques Dumas (of the "Ligue de Droite de l'Homme," a Peace Society numbering over 100,000 persons), and the President of the French Legion of Ex-Service Men, M. René Cassin. The Japanese Society was represented by five delegates; the Swiss delegation was represented by that veteran protagonist of the League, Professor Bovet. Among other distinguished delegates were Count Apponyi, from Hungary; Count Bernstorff, the President of the German Society and a Member of the Reichstag; Count Mensdorff and Dr. Dumba (President of the Austrian Society), from Austria; and the Swedish delegation included Baron Adelsward, the President of the Assembly.

Other national Societies represented included those of the Argentine, Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Greece, Latvia, Holland and Poland.

In his opening speech to the Assembly, the President, Baron Adelsward, emphasised the special importance of the educational work of the Federation and endorsed a previous suggestion of Lady Gladstone that questions of education and propaganda should be the first business of the first Commission. Accordingly, at the opening meeting of the Federation, the Assembly divided the questions on its agenda into the following seven classes, and assigned each group of questions to a separate Commission:—

- (1) Education and Propaganda. (2) Minorities.
- (3) Juridical questions. (4) Disarmament. (5) Economic questions. (6) Intellectual co-operation. (7) Political questions.

EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA.

Dr. Garnett presented to the Commission the Union's resolutions, which had been designed to secure from the Assembly the acknowledgment of the primary importance of this section of the Federation's activities, and to secure, if possible, an undertaking that the Federated Societies would in the future make it their main business to educate public opinion in their several countries, and so secure for the League that widespread, enthusiastic and intelligent support upon which the League's success depends. The Commission unanimously adopted three resolutions to the following effect:—

- (1) (a) That each national Society or Federation should form Branches in every part of its country, and should, through these Branches, organise public opinion in support of the League of Nations.

(b) That in countries which have been through the ordeals of war, the National Society or Federation should make special efforts to enlist for the League of Nations the support of national organisations of invalids of the war and of ex-soldiers and of ex-sailors.

(c) That each national Society or Federation, in securing support of wage-earners for all the institutions of the League of Nations, is invited especially to emphasise the work of the International Labour Organisation.

(2) That each national Society or Federation should make special efforts to secure that the teachers in the universities and schools of its country are acquainted with the constitution, achievements and accounts of the League of Nations (including the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation); and should endeavour to convey such knowledge in an appropriate form to their pupils.

(3) That each national Society or Federation should take steps to ensure that there is available in its country a supply of suitable literature setting forth the constitution and achievements of the League of Nations (including the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organisation).

The greater part of the first Session of the Plenary Assembly was devoted to a discussion of these resolutions, which in the end were unanimously adopted. The Assembly was evidently much impressed by an account of the Union's organisation in England, of its membership, its Branches, and its educational work in the schools and colleges. Many of the delegates took the opportunity of congratulating the Union most warmly on the work that it had done and was doing for the cause of the League.

At a subsequent meeting the Assembly discussed the question of textbooks, and unanimously decided—

That a Permanent Commission be appointed by the Bureau of the Federation to investigate questions of education and propaganda, and, in particular, to examine textbooks now in use in the schools and colleges of the several countries, with a view to discovering how far these books contain partisan statements inimical to the friendly co-operation of nations; and to present a preliminary report to the Eighth Assembly;

That the Commission consist of one representative of each of the constituent Societies; and

That the several constituent Societies undertake to furnish the Permanent Commission with school books and the like which are in use in their respective countries, and to which the Commission should give attention.

REPARATIONS AND THE RUHR.

The most important resolution approved by the Political Commission was the following, passed *nemine contradicente*:

"That the Federation of League of Nations Societies is of opinion that the machinery of the League should be used to secure, with the assistance of Germany, and, if possible, of the United States, a general settlement of the connected questions of Reparations, Inter-Allied Debts and the Security of Frontiers."

It is of special interest that the final text of this resolution was reached by French amendments strengthening the original British draft.

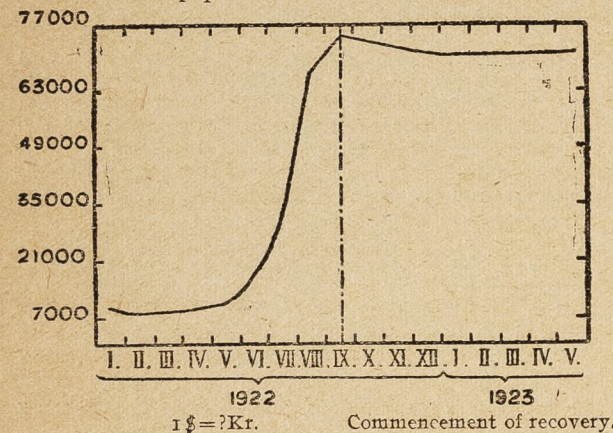
The Commission then proceeded, with the help of a small Drafting Committee, to formulate two further proposals which would add weight to the first resolution already mentioned, and bring it into line with the recommendations of the Economic Commission of the Federation. The second resolution as finally drafted pointed out why the League was pre-eminently fitted to deal with the question, and read as follows:—

"That the Federation of League of Nations Societies calls particular attention to the fact that an organisa-

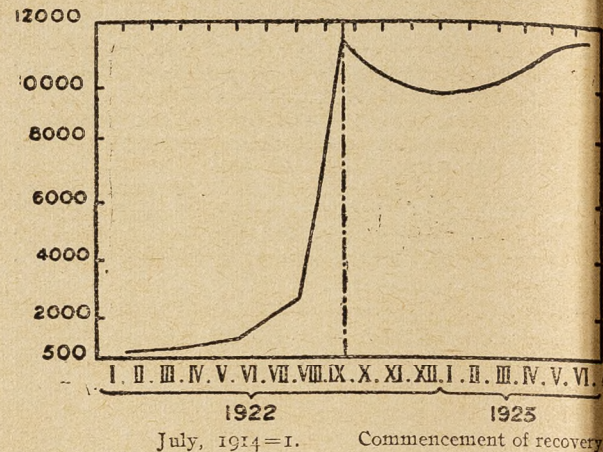
THE RECOVERY OF AUSTRIA.

WE expect that the subjoined diagrams, reproduced from the *Neues Wiener Journal*, may prove of interest to our readers. They demonstrate clearly

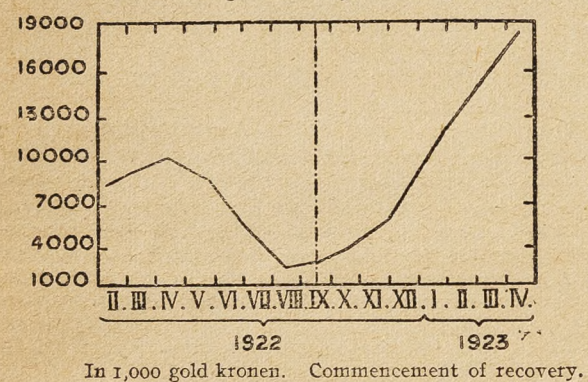
I.—The Stabilisation of Austrian Currency, showing the Dollar fluctuations in Vienna. (Figures in left margin show number of paper kronen to one Dollar.)



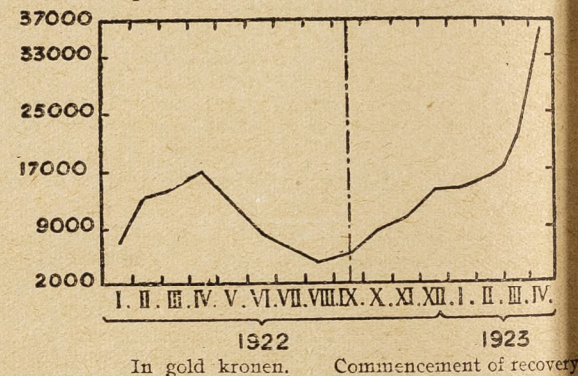
II.—Influence of the Recovery Measures on Prices. Cost of Living. (Figures in left margin show cost of living measured in paper kronen.)



III.—Growing Confidence of the Austrian People in the Krone. Increase in Savings Bank Deposits, in gold kronen.



IV.—State Finances set in Order. The increasing amount of State expenditure in gold kronen.



SEVENTH PLENARY ASSEMBLY—continued from p. 387

tion invested with the high international authority that appertains to the League of Nations can examine these problems as a whole as well as in detail with more impartiality and with greater care than the separate governments can do; and in particular may be able to achieve more effectively and rapidly:

- i. The fixing of Germany's real capacity to pay.
- ii. The application of the principle that the restitution of the devastated areas should be the first charge on whatever sums are paid by Germany.
- iii. The organisation in Germany on an international basis of such supervision as a solution of the problem may involve.
- iv. The utilisation of international credit."

Mr. Layton, in moving this resolution, explained to the Commission with much force and emphasis how useless it would be for the League to be entrusted with the settlement of such vital problems unless public opinion were satisfied that the League could achieve a settlement, but it should clearly define the steps to be taken to convince public opinion of the rightness of the course proposed. After privately consulting many of the leading British, French, Italian, German and American economists he considered that it would be possible to define Germany's capacity to pay, and believed that the only way to estimate that capacity was by means of an independent body of experts. British opinion re-

garded the late German offer with favour, and that offer was undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

A third resolution submitted to the Commission described the action to be taken by the Societies' members of the Federation. It ran as follows:—

"The Assembly urges the constituent Societies of the Federation, each in its own way to bring all possible pressure to bear on national and international opinion with a view to giving the fullest publicity and the utmost practical effect to the policy contained in the foregoing resolutions."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Assembly in their entirety, being moved by Mr. David Davies, seconded by Lady Gladstone, and supported by M. Hennessy (France), Count Bernstorff (Germany), and Dr. Atkinson (America).

Count Bernstorff on behalf of the German Society declared himself to be in complete accord with the object of the Resolutions and supported them because he understood that the scheme proposed that Germany would be given a status in the League equal to that of its other members. What most concerned Germany was the evacuation of her territory, and if this were part of the settlement there would be no question of her refraining from making the utmost possible reparations, or of granting the guarantees to cover them. The German people thoroughly recognised Germany's

ability to make such payments. In conclusion, Count Bernstorff observed that if the French Government had treated the German Government with the same consideration and in the same spirit which had been shown by the French delegation at Vienna to the German delegation, there would no longer be any reparations problem awaiting settlement.

The most important recommendations of the Disarmament Committee adopted by the Assembly were that:—

The Federation should support without prejudice to the merits of other schemes put forward the Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee submitted to the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League by Lord Robert Cecil; and that as soon as the scheme for disarmament had been adopted by the League the Societies, members of the Federation, pledged themselves to use every effort to educate public opinion in their several countries in favour of disarmament and to popularise it throughout the world.

The fourteen resolutions adopted by the Assembly on the question of Minorities should, if applied by the League, go far towards perfecting its machinery for dealing with this question.

Among other important resolutions adopted was that dealing with the urgency of Germany's admission to the League. It will be recalled that on several occasions resolutions have been passed both by the Federation and by its constituent Societies to the effect that the sooner Germany became a member of the League, the better.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, July, 1923.

THE 25th session of the Council, held at Geneva from July 2 to 7, amply vindicated the wisdom of the Government in appointing Lord Robert Cecil as chief British representative at League conferences. The fact that Lord Robert has throughout been prominently associated with the making and working of the League, has indeed devoted his public life since the war to the triumph of the League idea, Lord Robert's own personality and record, as well as the circumstance that he is an important Member of the Government, all told heavily at this his first appearance as British representative on the Council.

The first success was scored in asserting the principle that the Council, and the Council alone, is the body to whom the members of the Saar Governing Commission are responsible. On Lord Robert's initiative the members of the Commission were all summoned to Geneva, where not only the President but other members—notably the Canadian and Saar members—were subjected to a courteous but searching examination at the hands of Lord Robert, supplemented by M. Branting (Sweden), and M. Hanotaux (France), and skilfully presided over by M. Salandra (Italy), who was chairman at this meeting of the Council.

The resolution passed by the Council, taken in conjunction with the inquiry and all the circumstances attending the event, is a sharp reminder of the facts and an indication of where the line should be drawn. The resolution emphasises the collective responsibility of the Commission for its acts to the Council, and the Council alone; it expresses the Council's satisfaction at the withdrawal of the March 7 (maintenance of order) decree, and the amnesty granted under the picketing decree, and records its desire to see a return to a normal régime so soon as possible; it stresses the necessity for recruiting a local gendarmerie and the undesirability of foreign troops being responsible for order; and finally it expresses the Council's belief in the good intentions of the Commission and a promise of

support for the future. The latter device enabled the resolution to be passed unanimously—throughout the meeting M. Hanotaux's conciliatory attitude was remarkable—and the whole incident has, curiously enough, been hailed with almost equal satisfaction by the French, British and German presses, and by the Saar inhabitants themselves.

Gratifying progress on the question of Austria was shown by the reports of the League Commissioner-General and by the report on the successful issue of the long-term loan.

The plight of the million refugees in Greece—a matter originally raised when the Greek Government asked the Council's help for the raising of a large loan—had been given added impetus by the note of Secretary of State Hughes, stating that the American relief agencies, which had been feeding half a million people daily, would have to cease work on June 30, but would be willing to co-operate if any general reconstructive plan could be adopted.

The previous Council had at once initiated a double inquiry: On the one hand, by Dr. Nansen's relief agency as to the possibilities of a compulsory settlement of the refugees, and on the other hand, by the Financial Committee, on which the United States agreed to be represented, as to the practicability of a loan.

Both bodies reported to the Council in such a way that it was possible to work out a combined scheme for the approval of the Greek Government. This scheme provides in general, that as the securities offered by the Greek Government seem sufficient, the League would lend its aid if the Greek Government would come to an agreement with both Greek and foreign bankers for the issue of a loan. Were the loan to succeed, the work of settling the refugees could be undertaken by an international commission which would be given a large tract of land, and which would be composed of representatives of the Greek Government, the American relief agencies, and the League of Nations. If this plan goes through, it will be another big piece of reconstruction work in Europe, affecting, as the Greek representative said, not only the lives of a million people, but also the life of a nation.

The reports of the Opium and Health Committees on their last sessions were submitted and their recommendations adopted. These matters were described at some length in my last letter, and so let it suffice to stress once more the importance of official American co-operation in this work, and the fact that a scheme has now been drafted taking the first step to concentrating all inter-governmental work under the auspices of the League.

The Council at last decided to overrule the various objections raised by Poland to submitting the interpretation of Article IV of the Minorities Treaties between herself and the Principal Allied Powers to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion on two points:—

First, whether the League is competent to consider the question at issue; and, second, if so, whether Article IV of the Treaty (by which many Germans being expatriated by the Poles on the grounds that they are Germans, claim Polish nationality) refers to the domicile of the parents at the moment of the birth of the individual claiming Polish citizenship or at the moment of the coming into effect of the Treaty. There is unhappily reason to believe that the Polish Government has been trying to delay action on this matter as long as possible in order meanwhile to create an accomplished fact by acting on its own interpretation of the Article, and expelling Germans to which it objects. It should also be remembered on the other side, however, that these Germans are colonists that were settled by the Prussian Government on old Polish soil in pursuance of this Government's "de-Polonising" policy.—Z.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

The International Garden Fete.

The other day the following announcement was made by an aged Chairman at the close of a League of Nations Union meeting in London:—

"Ladies and gentlemen, I want to draw your attention to an International Garden Fête to be held at St. Dunstan's under the gracious patronage of Her Majesty Queen Victoria."

Which singular announcement prompted me to wonder if Garden Fêtes are out of date; and then someone turned to me and asked what was the good of Garden Fêtes, adding "What curious people they must be that turn up at them! And, anyway, how do they advance the cause by taking lucky (or unlucky) dips into bran-tubs full of valuable prizes?" In fact, he asked just the sort of irrelevant rubbish that one usually hears from high-brow cynics who have graduated with honours in the school of destructive criticism. Fates far more terrible than Garden Fêtes await such as these. Not that I mean that Garden Fêtes should suit everybody's mentality. I do not attend Garden Fêtes myself (if I can avoid them), but I do not sneer at them. The people who turn up at them may appear curious to my friend, but then humanity is a curious thing and it is just because of its curiosity that it does turn up at International Garden Fêtes. Get people asking "What's it all about?" and there you have a demand for knowledge which the League of Nations Union exists to supply. When dealing with humanity I back one bran-tub against a whole volume of resolutions. As we go to press too early to speak of the success of this particular Fête at St. Dunstan's, a full account of it will appear in next month's HEADWAY.

Council Meeting.

In case there are still any people—and I fear there may be—who think, now that Lord Robert Cecil has joined the Government, that the work of the League of Nations Union is done, may I draw attention to the note of warning that Lord Robert himself sounded at the meeting of the Union's Council on July 19? He began by saying that he had taken office mainly to be able to be of service to the League of Nations, and he went on to say that he had not altered in the slightest degree his conviction that on the League of Nations, on its success, on its growing power, on its growing acceptance by the nations of the world, depends our chief hope of a peaceful solution of the terrible problems that await us. "It is the League of Nations Union," he said, "and its fellow societies all over Europe which have the future of the League in their own hands. I earnestly hope that you will not relax your efforts in this Union. Do not think the victory is won or the goal achieved. There is a long way yet to go before we can say that. Do not think that the League is functioning perfectly or that it is doing all that it might do. It might with proper support from the public opinion of the world be now the recognised authority in all international questions, so that it would be as impossible to attempt to deal with a great international problem without referring it to the League in the first instance as it is impossible to deal with any questions of government in this country without referring it to the constitutional authorities of the country. That is the position which the League ought to occupy in international affairs."

The question of how much work the League is to do rests not upon Governments or individuals, but on the whole mass of the people of the world, led, "as I would fain hope," said Lord Robert, "by the mass of the people in this country." It is for us to provide the driving power which is needed for the League's success, and that driving power is public opinion. "Do not rely on this Government or that Government; do not rely on this man or that man; rely on yourselves—each man and each woman—to do your utmost to see that your wishes with regard to the League are duly embodied in the policy of your Government." Great is our responsibility and great our opportunity.

Apart from Lord Robert's address which was the outstanding feature of this meeting of the Council, nothing

very dramatic occurred. The Decentralisation Report (already described in these columns) was adopted in its entirety. The Honours list was brought up to date. Lord Grey was relieved of half his Presidential responsibility, the half being imposed on the Atlas-like shoulders of Lord Robert. The present Prime Minister was elected an Honorary President, and it is good to know from a letter that he wrote that he welcomes his election, that he is confident that the Union's task of educating public opinion to a better understanding will contribute in no small measure to the ultimate success of the League of Nations, and that he will, therefore, follow the work of the Union with the closest interest, "for upon its success, he writes, 'it seems to me so much depends.'" Sir Willoughby Dickinson and Lord Derby were made Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Bruce the Prime Minister of Australia, and Dr. Woodrow Wilson joined the ranks of the Vice-Presidents. Why we have waited so long before electing Dr. Wilson will always remain one of the unsolved mysteries. The Council then proceeded by a curious variation of the game of noughts and crosses to elect their Executive Committee.

The attitude of the Union towards the present Government was briefly outlined in the following resolution:—

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union begs to express its cordial approval of the tone and tenor of the Prime Minister's statement on July 7 on the subject of Reparations and the European position, and hopes the Government will use every effort to bring about a realisation of the policy there outlined."

In the afternoon the following resolution was passed:—

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union regrets that the machinery of the League of Nations has not been employed for the attempted settlement of the kindred problems of Reparations, Inter-Allied Debts and International Security, and, in particular, for meeting the grave threat to the peace of the world presented by the present situation in the Ruhr."

An important resolution on Armaments was passed by the Council:—

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union urges upon H.M. Government that a limitation of armaments is an essential step towards the establishment and preservation of real peace. The Council trusts that H.M. Government will make every effort to secure the adoption this Summer by the League of Nations Assembly of such a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee as was called for at the meeting of the Assembly of the League in September, 1922."

Reception at the Grand Central Hotel.

It was pleasant to leave the dusty deserts where our ideas of national and international politics clash and we concern ourselves with the necessary but impersonal question of Union organisation, and to meet on a footing of ordinary sociable human beings intellectually "off parade." When Mr. and Mrs. David Davies received members of the League of Nations movement "At Home" on the evening of July 19 they gave a delightful opportunity for this social intercourse. From all parts of the country we came, and the opportunity for personal friendship agreeably strengthened the bond of our common ideal. A.E.W.T.

AMERICAN SERMON FOR BUSINESS MEN.

A world brotherhood, based upon an essentially Christian foundation, was the text of a remarkable sermon recently delivered at Atlantic City to an audience of advertising men. Mr. Fred B. Smith, the speaker, laid tremendous stress on the ideal of universal brotherhood, a conception of life which is the keynote of the Christian doctrine. He impressed upon his audience the necessity for "some kind of an 'international instrument' or 'Association of Nations' which will bind all the nations together for the common purpose of working toward brotherhood and goodwill," but declared his conviction that the world would never know unchanging, abiding brotherhood and goodwill until it had been covered by the truth of Christ. The speech ended with an appeal to America: "Shall we not move up to the heights and now become prophets of universal peace and goodwill to all the nations?"

THE NEW WORLD.

XI.—AUSTRIA.

BY GERALD SPICER.

OF all the changes wrought in the map of Europe as a result of the Great War, none is more striking or more far-reaching in its effects than the complete disappearance of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and the resolution of that Empire with its component parts.

Prior to the war the Austrian Empire—or the Dual Monarchy as it was frequently styled—comprised within its frontiers the bulk of Central Europe, embracing an area of some 240,000 square miles—that is, about twice the area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—and containing a population of some 51 millions.

Out of this population the Empire of Austria contained some 12,000,000 Germans, the Kingdom of Hungary some 10,000,000 Magyars. From these figures it will be seen that considerably more than 50 per cent.



of the total population of the Dual Monarchy belonged to races that were neither German nor Magyar. Austria comprised something under 6,000,000 Czechs and Moravians, over 4,000,000 Poles, over 3,000,000 Ruthenians, and over 1,000,000 Slovenes, while the population of the Southern portion of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, as well as that of the western part of the Istrian peninsula, was very largely Italian. The Kingdom of Hungary presents a somewhat parallel picture. In addition to the 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 Magyars, Hungary was peopled by some 3,000,000 Rumanians, living in Transylvania and Bukovina, and considerable bodies of Germans, Slovaks, Croats and Serbs.

These figures will serve to give some slight indication of the tremendous difficulties with which the Dual Monarchy was at all times confronted, and these difficulties were greatly accentuated by the want of cordiality and goodwill between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy. Austria and Hungary were never able to pull together properly, and both, largely because of their defective and unsympathetic methods of administration, experienced ceaseless troubles with their subject races. These troubles were no doubt inevitable. The subject races differed from their masters in race, language, culture and religion, nor could they feel interest in supporting the states to which they owed much real unwilling allegiance.

With so many centrifugal tendencies ceaselessly at work it is not much cause for surprise that this conglomerate and polyglot Empire failed to sustain the stress of war, and dissolved almost naturally as the war drew to its close.

Transylvania was incorporated into Hungary, the Southern Slavs and Croats helped to swell the new Kingdom of Yugo (Southern) Slavia. Italy recovered

the Trentino and most of Istria as well as the Southern Tyrol. Eastern Galicia has gone to the new Republic of Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia has been recognised as a sovereign independent State. The slender links that formerly bound Austria and Hungary have been finally severed; thus has the seal been set on the complete break-up of the Dual Monarchy.

To-day the Republic of Austria consists of an area of a little more than 30,000 square miles with 6,000,000 inhabitants, of whom about two millions inhabit Vienna, while Hungary has an area of about 36,000 square miles with an estimated population of 7½ million Magyars; neither Republic has any access to the sea, and both are seriously handicapped in their economic life by the trade barriers erected against them by their neighbours.

Before the war the Dual Monarchy was, economically speaking, almost self-supporting. The vast plains of Hungary provided corn of all kinds, cattle, horses, sheep and pigs as well as coal and sugar. Czecho-Slovakia produced sugar, hops, live stock, timber, coal, iron, graphite, copper and lead. From Transylvania were derived corn, hemp, timber and tobacco, while Eastern Galicia provided oil and coal.

The principal exports were sugar, timber, coal, hides, glass, woollens, paper, cotton goods, leather goods, iron, horses and cereals, while the principal imports were raw cotton, raw wool, machinery, coffee, raw silk, and leather, and a certain quantity of coal and iron.

What is the position now as regards the Republic of Austria from an economic point of view. To begin with, Austria is burdened by the capital city of Vienna with its population of nearly 2,000,000.

A Republic of 6,000,000 people does not require a capital city of such a size and importance. Vienna is not celebrated for its industries so much as for its geographical position, its banks, its importance as a railway centre, as a centre of Government, of education, of art of all kinds. As a capital of the old Empire it occupied a perfectly natural—and indeed necessary—position in the life of the country, but it can readily be understood what a burden it places for its daily support upon the small Republic in which it is situated. The main industry of the Republic is agriculture; there are also a few mines of lignite and anthracite, and a certain amount of iron ore is produced, as well as beet-sugar and timber.

But, all said and done, it is difficult to see how Austria can ever hope to be anything like self-supporting, consequently it is necessary for her to develop to the fullest extent such industries as she has to enable her to obtain the necessary wherewithal to purchase food and raw materials.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of St. Germain it became evident that Austria was faced with collapse, financial and economic, and that it was quite useless to expect from her any share of reparations at all. Further it became increasingly plain that without outside assistance—which the vic-

torious Powers were alone able to provide—there was every prospect of a speedy and entire collapse of the country, entailing most serious and dangerous consequences for the peace of Europe. The principal Allied Powers consequently found themselves compelled more than once to lend money to Austria, as well as to forego for a period the liens they had on her assets for reparations. But no control was imposed on the expenditure of the money so loaned, which the Austrian Government merely devoted to their current expenses, instead of utilising it for the re-establishment of the public finances, and the advances rapidly disappeared, leaving matters in as bad a condition as ever.

Finally the Supreme Council informed the Austrian Government in 1922 that they could do no more for them and advised them—rather as a forlorn hope—to appeal to the League of Nations, of which they had become a member. The Austrian Government took the advice and in August, 1922, laid their whole case before the League and implored their assistance.

Some account of the action taken by the League in August and September last will be found in the November number of HEADWAY, but it may be interesting to carry the matter a little further.

The problem that confronted the League was to re-establish financial equilibrium in Austria. The question was most thoroughly explored both from the financial and economic standpoint, and it was finally decided that, given the whole-hearted co-operation of Austria in carrying out the scheme proposed, revenue and expenditure should balance by the end of 1924. The deficiencies in the budget during the intervening two years were to be made good by a loan guaranteed up to 98 per cent. by Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia. For the service of this loan the gross receipts of the customs and tobacco monopoly were assigned, and it is satisfactory to note that hitherto the sums realised from these sources have proved more than adequate for the purpose.

To prevent the Austrian Government from squandering the revenue derived from the loan a Commissioner-General, M. Zimmermann was appointed by the League with full powers to control expenditure and to see that the Austrian Government acted up to the undertakings given by them for a systematic reduction of the out-goings and liabilities of the State.

It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to be able to state that so far the financial work of the League in Austria has surpassed the most sanguine hopes. Confidence is returning in Austria, the value of the crown has been stabilised, unemployment is steadily diminishing, the deposits in the savings banks are rapidly increasing; the Austrian Government themselves are making the most strenuous efforts to carry through the financial reforms required of them, and, failing some unforeseen catastrophe, there is every reason to hope that the forecast of the Special Committee of the League will come true and that by the end of next year Austria will successfully have surmounted her more pressing difficulties and, thanks entirely to the efforts of the League of Nations on her behalf, will have set her financial house in order.

MANDATES MAP: A CORRECTION.

By the unfortunate omission of one line on page 351 of our June number, it was stated, under the heading "C Mandates," that the Pacific Islands north of the Equator are administered by the Union of South Africa. This is, of course, an error. The last two sentences of this paragraph should read as follows:—

"Pacific Islands north of the Equator, administered by Japan. Former German S.W. Africa, administered by the Union of South Africa."

WHAT IS WISE EXPENDITURE?

BY THE MASTER OF BALLIOL.

IN days not very distant British journalism had a dignity that came of a strong sense of editorial responsibility. Editors respected the distinction between news and views, confining expression of views to the editorial columns and presenting, in the news columns, statements of the most complete and authoritative information available on subjects of public concern. Later came the millionaire-proprietor-editor and a not very gradual change in journalistic tone. Expression of views was not confined to editorials and signed articles; the presentation of news became more and more scrappy and "tendencious," the ideal was not intellectual distinction but wide circulation. Since the advertisement columns made the millionaire's and other shareholders' revenue, the news columns had to become vehicles of the most popular "stunt." The only effective antidote is the more discriminating demand of a really educated people. When, however, the press applies its methods to discrediting social services of urgent utility, those of us who realise the value of these services must present the facts in truer perspective and call the evidence of the men and women best qualified to estimate them. Against criticisms which ignore every essential fact about the International Labour Organisation we must cite facts.

The annual cost of the services of the International Labour Organisation to the British taxpayer, said Mr. Grimshaw at a recent conference on "the International Labour Organisation and Industrial Health," is less than the cost of cementing the ponds in St. James's Park. It is with that cost that we are here concerned. The whole cost of the International Labour Organisation for 1923 is about £346,717, only 10 per cent. of which falls on Britain; the Governing Body of the Office has, subject to confirmation by the Financial Supervisory Commission and the Assembly of the League of Nations, adopted as budget for 1924 the sum of £275,250, only about £27,500 falling on Britain.

The fact that this is the Governing Body's figure is significant. Members of the Governing Body are not paid from the Office funds but by their own countries. It is a body of 24 men and women, 12 representing governments (including the eight of chief industrial importance), six representing employers' organisations, and six representing workers' organisations. Every Government represented is concerned with the economical running of this service, the Governing Body is constantly reviewing and authorising the activities of the office and must justify all its expenditure to the Assembly through the Financial Supervisory Committee of the League. It is a truism that the budget of no State is subject to such close and continuous and public scrutiny as the budget of the League of Nations, including its International Labour Office and its Permanent Court of International Justice.

Attention has been drawn to the high salaries of the most highly placed officers of the League and the Labour Office. While it is true that the principal officer of each is highly paid and that the general scale for all grades of the two secretariats was based on that adopted in the admittedly best organised and most efficient civil service in the world, viz., the British, it remains also true—for as much as the comparison is worth—that the salaries and allowances of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Director of the International Labour Office are in each case about half the salary and allowances of the British Ambassador at Paris or the British Ambassador at Washington. Further, when the principal appointments were made

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The following letters are typical:—

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Trenant Park, Duloe, Cornwall.
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and the scales of salaries fixed, a new experiment in international organisation was being launched and an international civil service of undetermined and unprecedented responsibility was being developed. To attract men and women of the highest order of intelligence and experience was necessary if these great and difficultly-won organisations were not to be crippled from the outset by incompetent administration. The devotion of the secretariats and the quality of their work has justified even higher hopes than were indulged. Experience has shown that economies were possible, and the British Government's desire for economy was a cause of the reduced Budget for 1924 recorded above. At the meeting at Geneva in June, when the Governing Body decided upon this reduction, Mr. H. B. Betterton, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and British Government delegate to the Governing Body, said of the motive which prompted the attitude of the British Government:—

"The British Government has had one object only, namely, the efficiency of the Office. It had no ulterior or sinister motive whatever. I should like to repeat here what I said in the House of Commons that the British Government has supported, and does, and, I firmly hope, will continue, to support this organisation by every means in its power."

He added a disavowal by the Government of all responsibility for certain hostile criticisms recently published in British newspapers. At the same meeting Mr. Poulton, the British Workers' delegate, referring to the criticisms, expressed his cordial approval of the work of the office both as regards legislation and the collection and distribution of information.

Now what is the service which the I.L.O. performs for this amazingly small cost to the British taxpayer? The treaties of Peace imposed on it the double task (a) of drafting Labour conventions which by assimilating the conditions of labour throughout the world would, on the one hand, prevent the low standards of life of workers in industrially backward countries from dragging down the standards which more advanced workers had won; and, on the other hand, by levelling up the standard of life generally, strengthen the influences making for social peace; and (b) the collection, sifting, co-ordination and distribution of the information about existing condition of labour, and so the creation of the only sure basis upon which that draft labour legislation could be framed. Further, the Treaty did what is surely a new thing in diplomatic instruments, it contained the agenda for the first International Labour Conference, to which member-States each sent four representatives, two for the Government in the interests of the general body of citizens, one for the employers and one for the workers. That agenda, it will be remembered, led to the adoption of six draft conventions—eight hours, unemployment, maternity, night work of women and of young persons, minimum age of employment of children in industry—which are a forward step to the establishment of an international minimum; and it cannot be too clearly realised that the establishment of an international minimum is essential for the mere preservation of the national minimum standard of life and industrial protection which British workers have won and Britain's industrial code secures.

For those who look at social expenditure sanely it is enough to say from the point of view of the national budget that the Ministry of Labour vote was £16,000,000, of which only £30,000 represents the cost to us of the services of the I.L.O., and that that Ministry, as Mr. Betterton said, is well content with the services it receives. From the point of view of the influence which the I.L.O. exerts in raising the standard of industrial life generally and saving workers of the West from a too intense competition from the East, it is a service of incalculable value.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE.

At the International Garden Fête at St. Dunstan's, on July 20, Señor Edwardes, President of the Third Assembly of the League of Nations, said:—

It is a very noble cause that the League of Nations Union represents, since without the help of voluntary associations such as this the very existence of the League of Nations would be endangered. For what is the League but a high source of international co-operation in everything in which the peoples of the world agree that international co-operation is possible and practical? The League of Nations Union and all kindred organisations are educating the peoples of the world to the new idea of international co-operation, and thereby constantly extending the League's field of activities and tilling it to increase its fruitfulness. If this idea of international co-operation had been instilled into the minds of the peoples of the European Continent some years ago there would have been no Great War.

The League of Nations Union is not engaged in propaganda in the ordinary sense in which that term is understood. It has nothing to advertise. It is simply explaining the real nature of a great institution, the pith and substance of a great evolution. It is, in short, educating the peoples to find their bearings in the midst of this hurricane of unbridled passion, in which they are living to-day, and to realise their own destiny, which in the future, as in time past, will be to meet in order to understand each other, to understand each other in order to unite, to unite in order to attain peace, real peace, which is but an intelligent anticipation of the eternal happiness of the great Beyond awaiting all men of good will.

Correspondence.

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—When, on opening my July HEADWAY, I saw the title "Roman Catholics and the League," I hoped I was going to read what I had long looked for, an account of Catholic effort in Britain for the League ideal.

While recognising as an obvious principle that the League can know no party in religion or in politics, and that therefore any reference to parties is out of place in the Union's organ, yet the frequent reports in your pages of admirable activities for the League on the part of numerous Protestant communities do raise a longing to see more printed evidence of the practical enthusiasm for the League which undoubtedly animates British Catholics just as vigorously as their Protestant fellow-citizens. The omission, I am quite sure, is not yours, and I should like to appeal to the secretaries and organisers of all Union branches in Catholic communities to send you reports of their activities and membership whenever possible, for the encouragement of your Catholic readers everywhere.

Surely to no organisation should the ideal of the League appeal more directly or more strongly than to the oldest international institution for the spreading of the Christian doctrine of peace to men of goodwill. Moreover, it is just this ideal for which Pope Benedict XV laboured incessantly, and for which His present Holiness bids the Church work and pray with all its might.—Yours, &c., OVERSEAS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—A correspondent's letter in the July number of HEADWAY contains the query, "May I ask how the Protestant would like to be catalogued with 'the Jew and the travelling pedlar'?"

I should imagine no Protestant would object to be classified with Jews, the world's Royal race, of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came. As for the Latin Church, it has for its head one who bases his claim to authority on his succession to St. Peter's chair. Of what nationality was St. Peter?

It is hard to understand how any professing Christian can have anything but deep and sympathetic interest in the Jewish nation, and gratitude for the unique services it has rendered to the world in times past.

I am very sure that belittling and slighting that great race is not the way that leads to peace.—Yours, &c., L. J. CHARLTON, London.

[In his new Encyclical, Pius XI, referring to the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas, says that his views on public affairs, on law and Government, war and peace, on the rights and duties of nations towards one another, are the fundamental principles of the League of Nations, which, if scrupulously carried out, would be all that is necessary to bring about the "peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ," for which the whole world is yearning.—ED.]

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

At the moment when I am writing to you the Council of the League has issued the report of its enquiry into the administration of the Saar Valley; with that report the Editor deals elsewhere and it is not my business to express any opinion about it. I want, however, to call your attention to a book in which the whole situation is discussed, Mr. Sidney Osborne's *The Saar Question* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 12s. 6d.). Mr. Osborne states very emphatically the case against the behaviour of the Governing Commission, and considerably more than half his book is occupied by documents which illustrate his subject and reinforce his points. I hope that events will prove that much of what he writes now belongs to a past which is best forgotten, and that the future will provide less cause for complaint; but apart from that, and perhaps in any case, his most valuable chapter is the one in which he deals with the world rivalry for cheap fuel; this is a matter of permanent importance, as Mr. Osborne has no difficulty in showing. The political and economic position which Great Britain has held in the past is due to the fact of our supplies of cheap coal; the struggle for predominance in post-war Europe will be waged, visibly or invisibly, on the iron-, coal- and oil-fields of the world. This is the fact that lies behind the problems which have been raised in the valleys both of the Saar and the Ruhr. Mr. Osborne gives us facts and figures which would prove to any Frenchman the necessity and advantage of his country controlling the productive areas of coal and iron. No nation can object to fair economic competition, but it may justly ask for a fair field and no favour; the difficulties and dangers arise when statesmen manipulate their politics or industries manipulate their statesmen for ends which are narrowly selfish. It is from this or any other selfishness that wars arise; and just because political and economic factors easily become so entangled as to menace the peace of the world that there is urgent need for the activities of the League in providing for the "equitable treatment" of world commerce.

Of the making of books on psychology there is no end; it is the latest popular science, and if the masters of it write in too technical language for the un instructed person to understand, it is well that they should have interpreters like the Rev. W. N. Maxwell. His *Psychological Retrospect of the Great War* (George Allen & Unwin, 6s.) is admittedly the result of a university thesis, and we do not expect from it on that account any original thought; the author freely quotes from the authorities and illustrates their propositions from the experiences which he gathered while serving as a chaplain in France. The happy consequence of his method is that his book is very readable and we are enabled to understand why we were so enthusiastic at our country's call, and why we were all glad when the war was over, why we were all of us afraid and why we need not be ashamed of admitting it, why the discipline of military life has not helped us during the last four years. What Mr. Maxwell does not tell us, and what we

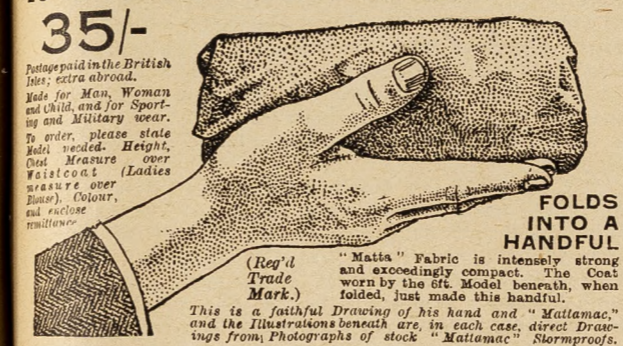
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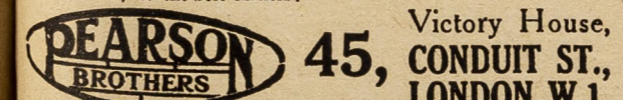
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should like to know, is the reason of the existence of those quaint persons whose minds the experience of the war has absolutely left unchanged.

On the principle that it is advisable for a swimmer to take his breath between the waves, now is the moment when we ought to consider our present electoral system and to weigh its value and its deficiencies. Like every other human system, it is not perfect and the inquiry is necessary whether a better can be found. All sorts of alternatives have been suggested in order to secure a fairer representation of the electors in the House of Commons in a strength proportionate to their votes; in the present house, according to the votes actually cast, the official Conservative party would only be entitled to 238 members instead of 326, while the Labour strength would be increased by 26 and the two Liberal wings by 57. To this anomaly, injustice, or whatever you like to call it, Mr. John H. Humphreys calls attention in *Practical Aspects of Electoral Reform* (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1s.). Various reformers have suggested the Second Ballot, the Alternative Vote, and Proportional Representation as panaceas; Mr. Humphreys plumps, if he will allow us to use a name of an action which he says in heavy type should be avoided politically, for the variety of P.R. which admits a single transferable vote. I am sure that you will not expect me to declare my own preference, but seriously the matter of the best way in which you and I can get our political views through to the House of Commons calls for consideration, and Mr. Humphreys makes a very clear and able statement of his case.

No man has a better claim to write on China than Mr. Henry Hodgkin; he has an intimate personal knowledge of that country; he is also a trained student who exercises his critical faculties on what he observes. I need hardly tell you, therefore, that his *China in the Family of Nations* (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 7s. 6d.) is a book to buy. I confess that he does not write in any too easy or popular a style, but his stuff is more important than his style. When you have read what he has to say, you will know a good deal about the past history of China's international relations, you will understand the various political, economic and religious forces which are now shaping China's destiny, and you will realise the need that China has for our sympathy and support. We do not hear much talk to-day about "the Yellow peril"; that peril need never exist if, as Mr. Hodgkin urges, we are ready to meet China without any greed of gain, without contemptuous indifference, and if we replace our un-informed and nerveless goodwill by the spirit of intelligent comradeship.

When I wrote to you last month about Hungary, I warned you that there were two sides to the question. As a counterblast to Mr. Street's book, I have been reading what the Duke of Northumberland and Miss Cécile Tormay have to say on the subject in *An Outlaw's Diary* (Philip Allan & Co., 12s. 6d.). I do not think that the Duke's preface is likely to do the book much harm, for many people have the idea that a preface is no more intended for reading than an index and skip both. There was an undoubted reign of terror in Hungary in 1918 and 1919; Miss Tormay lived through it and has produced a story of exciting adventure. Whether you will think that she has any sense of political values is another matter; it all depends upon whether you believe in the Duke of Northumberland's bogies and scarecrows. I think I know your opinion, my Punch.

I have no room to do more than mention Mr. Keer's new book, *Towards International Justice* (Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.), but I shall refer to it in more detail next month.—Yours,

THE SHOPMAN.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

No more striking proof of the growth and development of interest in the League of Nations the world over could have been offered than was offered a few weeks ago at Vienna at the seventh Conference of the Federation of League of Nations Societies. Of all the conferences yet held by the Federation it was beyond all question the most successful.

So signal were its achievements and so vast the field that the deliberations covered that it has been found necessary to deal with them in detail in another part of this issue.

From the delegations represented, and there must have been in all some 200 of these present, we were able to secure much information as to the activities of their societies, which in the course of correspondence is often overlooked or sacrificed to make way for the more obvious political issues of the moment.

The seventh Conference at Vienna finally established the principle amongst the societies that the primary task of the societies was to work tirelessly through their several channels of propaganda to bring the League and its machinery closer to the general public of the world. If, therefore, societies have hitherto failed to pay the necessary attention due to this feature of their activities, they are now under solemn obligation to do so. This is a great step forward, and the fruits of it should be apparent before long.

It was a matter of regret, however, that no representatives of the South African, Australian and New Zealand Societies were present. These societies have not as yet joined the Federation, but it is earnestly hoped that they will follow the example of the Canadian Society, and do so in the near future. It will be a great day when all the Dominions and Colonies of the British Empire are represented at the Conference of the Federation, and we should do our utmost to see that this is achieved as soon as possible.

Yet although not represented at the Conference, the work done by these societies is on the increase, and the latest news that we have from Australia is highly encouraging, particularly when one comes to consider the vast areas with which the Australian Branches have to cope.

The Pretoria Branch of the South African Society has of late sent us a report of its annual meeting held in the Town Hall, on May 4. Resolutions were passed urging, firstly, that the reparations question should be handed over to the League to settle; and, secondly, that one Sunday in the year be set aside as Peace Sunday, preferably near Armistice Day. Copies of these resolutions were sent to this Union, to Mr. Bonar Law and to General Smuts.

From India the news is not very encouraging, and it seems more than ever necessary that the impetus for a wide-spread movement in favour of the League must come from responsible native forces. In order to stimulate the interest required for the constitution of an Indian League of Nations Union a committee is being formed in this Union in London with the assistance of the Rt. Hon. Sayid Ameer Ali and others, and it is hoped that with the efforts of this committee the foundations of a League of Nations movement in India will be laid in the near future.

The latest news from Egypt leads one also to hope that as soon as the constitution of the Egyptian Government and the elections to the Parliament are completed a national Egyptian movement for the League of Nations will be forthcoming.

From the Irish Free State news has reached us that a Society is now in process of formation. This news is particularly welcome in view of the recent application made by the Irish Free State for membership of the League of Nations.

We have lately received a report of the work of the League of Nations Association of Japan. The report tells of a splendid record of activities during the year. Besides other successful meetings held throughout the year, the Association organised several meetings for Armistice Day in various parts of Tokyo. The meeting at the Y.M.C.A. Hall held on that day numbered over three thousand. At another meeting, held on the same day, the Minister for Foreign Affairs was the chief speaker.

The Association held their first Summer School this year, which met with unexpected success. A Winter School

was also held at the Tokyo Commercial College, among other speakers being Major-Gen. T. Kono, promoter of the arms limitation movement in Japan. Every lecture was attended by an audience of more than four hundred. During the year several lecture tours have been organised, and a study circle started which has held twenty meetings in the year.

A strong Parliamentary group has been formed this year out of the 187 members of the Imperial Diet who are members of the Association.

We have also received reports of two meetings held recently under the auspices of the Japanese Association and of the Daily paper, the *English Nichi*. The chief speakers were American, Drs. Peirce and Crawshaw, and, in addition to advocating the League in emphatic terms, the speakers urged a better understanding between the American and Japanese people.

Mr. C. F. Loomis, secretary of the Citizenship Education Committee and of the Y.M.C.A. in Honolulu, visited this department. He had been to Austria to attend the Y.M.C.A. World Conference. He informed us that it was intended to start a branch of the L.N.U. under the auspices of the Pan-Pacific League in Honolulu. He said that there were a great number of nationalities represented in the League and that the chairman was a Japanese. Mr. Loomis ordered a complete set of our literature for the University in Honolulu.

We were able to secure a good deal of information about the work of the French League of Nations Society from the French delegation at Vienna, amongst whom it was particularly gratifying to see the President of the French Legion of Ex-Service Men, M. René Cassin. Although the French society numbers little over 10,000 or so members, its affiliated membership amounts to some 500,000 or 600,000 persons. Branches are being formed throughout the country and there is no doubt but that a considerable increase of interest in the work of the League of Nations is taking place in the French provinces. A scheme whereby members of Branches of the League of Nations Union correspond direct with, and visit, members of Branches of the French Society is now in process of formation, and it is earnestly hoped, particularly in the case of members of the L.N.U. travelling abroad, that they will do all in their power to establish personal contact with members of French Branches.

It is hoped that as soon as other societies abroad follow the example set by the League of Nations Union in connection with the formation of Branches similar personal links will be achieved with other countries.

We have received news from the Swedish Society that they undertake to supply information to foreigners visiting their country for the purpose of studying social and practical work.

Before closing, a few words should be said about the work of the Overseas Department in connection with the thirty foreign sub-committees who meet from time to time in this office. From an experiment made at a meeting of the Joint Baltic Sub-committee, at which six States bordering the Baltic Sea were represented, it has been found possible to awaken an interest amongst these committees in such joint meetings which was never shown to the same extent by them in meetings of their individual sub-committees.

We now propose, as far as it will be possible to do so, to proceed with the formation of other joint sub-committees of this nature. W. O'MOLONY.

League of Nations Union. Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

Nov. 1, 1918	3,217
Nov. 1, 1920	49,858
Nov. 1, 1921	133,649
Nov. 1, 1922	212,959
July 21, 1923	300,789

The three best counties in England and Wales, so far as membership of the Union is concerned, are:—

Anglesey	..	1 member for every 19 of population.
Westmorland	..	1 " " 20 "
Merionethshire	..	1 " " 21 "

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In every department of knowledge each generation outgrows the one that precedes. The textbooks of science which, thirty years ago, seemed to say the last word on many things, would find no market to-day.

The Bible does not suffer from this limitation. It is a text-book of spiritual knowledge and experience, born in the world's childhood, abreast of the times in which we live, and, to the keenest discernment, affording vistas of unsealed heights and unfathomed depths. It is the best selling book in the world. Those who reverently read it in search of spiritual knowledge find it amazingly up-to-date and ahead of the times. The teacher of the Bible becomes old-fashioned, but the Bible never. It is the timeless book.

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MISCELLANEOUS. REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY.—Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d.; Dresses, £3; Cardigan Coats, 25s. 6d.; Knitting Yarn per Head (about 8 ozs.) in 2-ply White, Grey, Dark Brown, 7s.; Fawn and Moorit, 8s.; Fair Isle Knitting Yarn in 2-ply Yellow, Green, Blue and Red, 1s. 3d. per ounce; Jumpers with Fair Isle Border, 30s. to 45s.; Scarves with Fair Isle Border, 17s. 6d. to 27s. 6d.; All-over Fair Isle Jumpers, £3 to £5 10s. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, STROMNESS, Orkney.

AUTHORS.—Wanted collections of original poems and other MSS. for publication in small volume form. Known or unknown authors.—Write MORLAND, Publisher, Amersham, Bucks. Est. 1905.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, Etc. BEAUTIFUL MALVERN WELLS! Visit MAY PLACE RESIDENTIAL HOTEL. Every comfort. Tennis, garage. Splendid centre for excursions. Golf.

EDUCATIONAL. LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.—Home School on progressive lines. Garden, sea-bathing; small classes. Special care given to backward and delicate girls. Coaching for advanced pupils. Large staff.—Principal: MISS RICHARDSON, B.A.

CLUBS, Etc. BANISH LONELINESS by forming congenial friendships (home or abroad) through the U.C.C.—Write SECRETARY, 16H.D., Cambridge Street, London, S.W.1.

TRAINING IN JOURNALISM. A FURTHER VACANCY will occur shortly in the office of the Publicity Secretary of the League of Nations Union, for a young man or girl to train in journalism and to assist in the typing and other work of the office. No salary, no premium.

ENGLAND AND PALESTINE. THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION is prepared to send a Lecturer on the British Mandate for Palestine and the Zionist Movement free of all charge to any Organisation or Society. The Lecture can be illustrated by lantern-slides dealing with Palestinian life and scenery. Persons interested should write to the Lecture-Secretary, Zionist Organisation, 77, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

FORCE TOASTED MALTED WHEAT FLAKES served in an instant with cold milk or fruit and custard



"FORCE" is highly nourishing, being whole-wheat, malted and toasted. It is light and dainty and easily digestible. Children love it.

Send for Free Sample Try "FORCE." Post form to "Sunny Jim" (Dept. A.P.1), 197, Gl. Portland Street, London, W.1.

Name

Address

Branches.

On July 14 the number of Branches was 1,464, together with 107 Junior Branches and 375 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the July issue of HEADWAY:—

SCOTLAND.—GLASGOW—Dundas Street Congregational Church. BERKSHIRE.—READING—Chamber of Commerce. CHESHIRE.—STOCKPORT Branch of United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association. CUMBERLAND.—WORKINGTON—Wesley Guild Society. ESSEX.—LEYTONSTONE—Fillebrook Baptist Church; SOUTHEAST—SEA—Cliff Town Congregational Church; WESTCLIFF—SEA—Crowstone Congregational Church. LAN-CASHIRE.—BLACKBURN Branch of United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association. LONDON Branch of the United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association. OXFORDSHIRE.—SUMMERTOWN Congregational Church. SHROPSHIRE.—SHREWSBURY—Greenfields Congregational Church. WARWICKSHIRE.—BIRMINGHAM—Christ Church Men's Guild, Aston. YORKSHIRE.—BATLEY Branch of the Trades and Labour Council; HARROGATE United Methodist Church; IDLE—Baptist Church Men's Class.

League Doings at Belper.

Belper has just concluded a very successful Fête and Demonstration as part of the Derbyshire Appeal. In all £90 was raised. The Demonstration included a procession that was over a mile long, led by a girl on horseback decorated with flags. Then came a band, followed by a procession of twenty-four drays each with a tableau. The drays had been decorated by schools, organisations of various kinds, business firms and a few individuals, and the tableaux included the "Crowning of Peace" and many widely differing subjects. The drays were followed by a number of decorated motor cars in which the speakers drove, and these again by large numbers of people in fancy costume. Prizes were offered for the most artistic, the most original and the most amusing costumes.

A most impressive and charming effect was produced by a very simple device. When the scheme of decoration was completed it was found that some 30 flags supplied by headquarters were left over. A notice was posted in a shop window in the town asking for 30 girls aged 16 to 18 to volunteer to walk in the procession. They were asked to come in white dresses, a flag was draped round each girl and each wore a headband of the colour of her flag. As only sixpence was charged for the hire of the flags, a most decorative costume was provided for a number of people at a very little cost.

As far as the propaganda side of the demonstration was concerned, three meetings were held, one at the place of assembly, one at a point in the town where the procession halted, and one in the River Gardens where the fête was held.

Flag Days.

Many Branches will probably find that an effective way of raising their contribution to the "Council's Vote" will be by arranging for a flag day. A small paper flag printed with the "world and stars" design in blue and white is now available, and can be obtained from Headquarters at 11s. a thousand, post free, for quantities of not less than one thousand at a time. These flags sell at a penny each at least.

Work in Scotland.

The Edinburgh and Edinburgh University Branches recently organised a successful Garden Fête and Sale in the grounds of George Heriot's School. The Fête was opened by Lord Murray and Principal Sir J. Alfred Ewing presided. There were 12 stalls, old English and country dances, dramatic entertainments by the University Players and the Dickens Fellowship, a musical entertainment and numerous games and side-shows. No less than £400 was realised, a splendid achievement.

Wales at Work.

Amongst the outstanding meetings held since the second Annual Conference at Aberystwyth were those in the Bangor area, addressed by Froken Forchammer, and a

Conference in West Wales, attended by Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P. The Rotarians in the Principality have been visited by Mr. T. Henderson Pringle. There was a large Demonstration, by the courtesy of Mr. Gladstone, at Hawarden Castle on July 7, and a Garden Party was held, by the permission of Lord Tredegar, in Tredegar Park, Newport, on July 12, at which Mr. David Davies, M.P., spoke. Garden Parties and open-air functions in which the League of Nations Union played a part, have also been a feature of the summer's work at Denbigh, Merthyr Tydvil and Ammanford. And one of the prettiest pageants ever given in Wales was the League of Nations pageant in connection with the British Convention of Christian Endeavour at Cardiff.

By arrangement with the Postmaster-General the Welsh children's "Wireless to All the World" has been sent out again on Covenant Day, 1923, from the Leaflet Station in Oxfordshire on a wave length of 8,750 metres. A copy of the greeting, beautifully printed at the Gregynog Press, was also posted to the Ministers of Public Instruction in all countries. Before and on the day of the broadcasting of the message lessons were given in the schools on the aims and achievements of the League. In many of the schools the children were asked to write out the international message, and take it home "to explain it to father and mother." Requests have reached the Welsh headquarters from teachers in infant schools for simple League songs within the range of little folk. Are there any songs of this kind? News would be gladly welcomed by the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., at 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff. The Welsh Council is offering prizes to be competed for at the Royal National Eisteddfod for the best League of Nations hymn and the best tune for the hymn. It may be found necessary to follow this course for the finding of songs for children of seven years of age and under.

An Active Junior Branch.

Of £10 raised by the Junior Branch of St. Monica's School, Burgh Heath, £6 5s. 6d. was collected by the girls themselves on their own initiative after a lecture given by Mr. Whelen. This is the right spirit!

A Leaflet Distribution.

In connection with the unveiling of the Newcastle War Memorial the Tyne District has prepared and distributed 40,000 copies of an excellent leaflet showing a picture of the memorial and pointing the moral that the way to prepare for the peace for which men died in the Great War is to support the League of Nations.

Children's Demonstration at Weybridge.

A picturesque Children's Demonstration has just been held at Oatlands Park, Weybridge, in which schools, Guides, Brownies, Scouts and Cubs took part. The procession included children representing the States, members of the League Council, in costume. "Peace" came last, and was finally enthroned at the foot of the speakers' platform.

North London Demonstration.

On Saturday, June 30, at 3 p.m., a League of Nations Demonstration was held in the Grove, Alexandra Palace. The North London Excelsior Prize Band played from 2.30 p.m. A Children's Pageant entitled "Roll Call of the Nations" was performed at 3.30 p.m. The Demonstration was organised by the Crouch End and East Hornsey Branches of the League of Nations Union. The speakers included Miss Maude Royden, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Sir Raymond Green, M.P., Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., and the Rev. Silas Hocking.

Kent Wesleyan Synod.

The Synod of the Kent District, representing 200 Wesleyan churches in Kent, recently passed a resolution in support of the League and of the League of Nations Union. Circuits of the District are urged to co-operate with local branches of the Union, suggestions for co-operation including frequent references by ministers, local preachers and class leaders to the work of the League, dealing with League questions in the Guild Autumn Syllabus, and arranging a special session at the September Synod to consider the League programme.

A Fruitful Suggestion.

The Brigg Branch has arranged for some half dozen of its members to write a short, pithy letter each to a special local weekly, giving reasons why the "man in the street" should support the League and the Union. The first letter published was from the President of the Branch, Mr. A. J. Gregory. This is an idea which other Branches might follow with advantage.

"Teachers and Taught."

We draw the attention of our readers to an article on Dr. Nansen by Miss Faith Goodwyn, published in the June number of *Teachers and Taught*.

Conference on the International Labour Organisation and Industrial Health.

Last year, as the result of interviews with various societies interested in industrial welfare, it became very evident that greater knowledge of the work of the International Labour Organisation, and of discussion as to possibilities for better co-ordination between it and national societies, would be welcomed. Consequently the Union decided to convene a conference to which representatives of these national societies would be invited, and the objects of which would be to obtain expression of opinions from delegates, and to discover how the International Labour Organisation might assist those persons and organisations in Great Britain who are concerned with the welfare of industrial workers.

The Conference was held in the Royal Sanitary Institute, London, on June 19 and 20. The speakers included H. A. Grimshaw, B.A., M.Sc., Chief of Section II., Diplomatic Division; Lieut.-Col. J. A. A. Pickard, D.S.O., General Secretary, British Industrial "Safety First" Association; G. Stevenson Taylor, C.B.E., H.M. Senior Engineering Inspector, Home Office; D. R. Wilson, Secretary, Industrial Fatigue Research Board; Dr. C. S. Myers, C.B.E., M.D., F.R.S., Director, National Institute of Industrial Psychology; Dr. T. M. Legge, C.B.E., Medical Inspector, Factory Department, Home Office; Professor E. L. Collis, Welsh National School of Medicine,

People's League of Health; Miss Constance Smith, O.B.E., H.M. Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories; E. L. Poulton, C.B.E., J.P., Vice-Chairman, General Council Trades Union Congress, British Workers' Representative on Governing Body, International Labour Organisation. Papers were read on the International Labour Organisation; Safety and Protection in Industry; Fatigue in Industry; Industrial Diseases and Injurious Processes; Women Workers' Health. Valuable discussions followed each paper, and in conclusion the following resolution was adopted:—

On the motion of Mr. W. L. Hichens, from the chair, supported by Mr. E. L. Poulton, the Conference resolved:—
"That the I.L.O. be requested to communicate to the League of Nations Union for distribution to organisations interested in industrial health, a statement of—

"(a) The nature of the information it can now offer to these organisations.

"(b) The information it would desire to receive regularly from such organisations regarding their activities and results.

"That the League of Nations Union be requested to continue the work of co-ordination effected by this Conference."

Immediate action is being taken on this resolution, and it is hoped that good results will follow.

The Christ of the Andes.

Lady Courtney is presenting to the League of Nations a beautiful picture representing the Christ of the Andes, specially painted by Sir Arthur Clay. The picture has been lent to the League of Nations Union by Lady Courtney, and will be hung in the entrance hall of 15, Grosvenor Crescent until the League arranges to receive it and to display it effectively at the Palais des Nations at Geneva.

Scottish Council, League of Nations Union.

SUMMER SCHOOL, BONSKELD.

At the Summer School held under the auspices of the Scottish Council last June, the Discussion Groups reached the following findings:—

NO END OF HORRORS. TURKISH ATROCITIES.

SMYRNA TRAGEDY and the interior.

Deportation of women and children still continues. Men detained for WHITE DEATH—that is, forcible Military Service when all Christians, Armenian, Greek and Nestorian, are put in Labour Battalions to work on road making and are given

ONE LOAF OF BREAD PER DAY
AND NO PROPER SHELTER.

Consequently they die by the roadside from slow starvation and exposure (according to the Turkish plan).

TURKISH HEINOUSNESS.

"I met a woman in Athens from Bey-Alan in Pontus. She could not hold back her tears as she remembered the Bey-Alan tragedy. All the women and children of the village were put into two large houses, locked in, and petroleum poured around and they **were burnt alive!**

This woman only managed to escape. She was shot but not killed."

Do not forsake those who have escaped such terrible sufferings.

Christian Refugee Fund.

At the Office of the Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society,

S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, No Office Rent
Hon. Relief Commissioner. or Salaries.

358¹ STRAND,
LONDON, W.C.2

1. The education provided by HEADWAY is essential to the work of the Union; but it is desirable to supplement it by supplying to a constituency to which HEADWAY does not appeal some regular service of information. The News Sheet should be developed to supply this need, and should, if at all possible, be issued to all members by the Branches.

2. Branches should appoint qualified persons (preferably journalists) to act as publicity officers, to whom Headquarters should regularly issue news to be inserted in the local press in the form of short and readable paragraphs. The doings of the Branch should also be reported in the Press. It should be borne in mind that the matter for insertion should be presented in an attractive and popular form, and that the Branch's influence with the Press will depend on its size and general standing in the community.

3. Persons of local prominence should be invited to associate themselves with the Branch in honorary capacities in view of their representative character and influence, but the actual executive work should be carried on by a working committee, able and willing to take a continuous first-hand interest in the affairs of the Branch.

4. Branches should take careful plans for a programme of activities for a whole year, and such a programme should contain provision for at least one meeting each month during the winter.

5. Each District Council or Branch should appoint a Parliamentary Committee to promote the interests of the League in Parliament, and in particular to watch the voting of members on questions affecting the League. When there are two or more branches in one constituency, a joint Committee should be formed, to prevent overlapping.

6. To ensure the full results of propaganda, Branches should appoint honorary collectors to secure the punctual renewal of subscriptions.

7. Branches should endeavour to secure that Public Libraries and County Schemes have an adequate stock of literature on international subjects.

8. Children of all ages in the schools should be educated with regard to the League. But it should be understood that the method will naturally vary according to the age of the children. The important thing is to interest and inform the teachers themselves, and to leave it to them to find the most appropriate method of instruction under the different circumstances.

9. Study Circles with regular meetings are a good method of preparation for those who are to educate public opinion on the League. Two forms may be distinguished: (a) The study of a text-book specially prepared; (b) General discussion of a series of problems. Such group study is not likely to be successful without adequate leadership, and a membership able and willing to give time for the necessary preparation.

10. The Scottish Churches League of Nations Council should be asked to suggest to Presbyteries and other district Church Courts that they appoint a representative whose business it would be to advocate the cause of the League in local congregations, especially by asking them to appoint a correspondent who would be responsible for keeping the work of the League before their members, and for co-operation with the local Branch.

11. Branches should make a special effort to interest in their work those Churches which are not represented in the Scottish Churches League of Nations Council (Roman Catholics, Quakers, Jews, &c.).

12. Branches should co-operate in the arrangements for holding League of Nations Sunday on November 11, 1923, as fixed by the Scottish Churches League of Nations Council. Any such celebrations should include opportunities for joining the League of Nations Union. In future the date should be Sunday in Christmas week, to bring Scotland into line with England.

13. Ministers should be asked by Branches to preach sermons on the League as an indispensable application of Christianity to the modern world, and to urge on congregations as their duty the support of the League of Nations Union. Branches should supply ministers with such literature as will help them to carry this out.

14. Branches should explore the possibilities of co-operation with local Labour Groups. One suggested method is that the Branch Executive should invite Labour

representatives to attend their meeting and explain the obstacles to co-operation, if any. Arrangements should be made for sympathetic Labour speakers to address Labour gatherings (e.g., Trades Councils) on the work of the League.

15. Branches and District Committees should co-operate with Branches of the National Council of Women, Women Citizens' Associations, Women's Co-operative Guilds, Women's Rural Institutes, &c., offering to supply them with speakers. In dealing with Rural Institutes it should be suggested that meetings about the League should be open to the whole community.

* * * *

Seaside Meetings.

We draw the attention of our readers to the splendid opportunity enjoyed by Branches at seaside resorts to organise open-air meetings on the sands, where an audience is always ready-made. August need not be a slack month for seaside Branches.

* * * *

Do you Want "Headway"?

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

* * * *

Renew Your Subscriptions.

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

* * * *

To Branch Secretaries.

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

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, but opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, at the same address. All communications respecting advertisements should be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1.