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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE outstanding feature of the report of the Reparation Commission's expert committees was the absence of any reference to the League of Nations. That was something of a surprise, for it had been generally assumed that after the experience of Austria and Hungary the framers of any scheme for the financial restoration of Germany would propose the intervention of the League to do at Berlin something of what it has done at Vienna and will immediately be doing at Budapest. The experts, however, have decided otherwise, and control in Germany is under their scheme to be exercised directly by Allied representatives. So far as the League itself is concerned, it may be well content to be free from responsibility for a task difficult in itself and the execution of which might have evolved new friction with Germany at a moment when the first consideration is to establish full co-operation, without suspicion or reluctance on Germany's part, between that country and the League. If, as seems probable at the moment these words are being written, some reasonable settlement is reached between Germany and the Allies on the basis of the expert's reports the atmosphere should be more favourable than it has been for years for the admission of Germany both to the Assembly and Council. German opinion, according to the writer of the article on "Germany and the League" elsewhere in this issue, is by no means hostile to the

League as such. If the country were assured of her rightful place at Geneva she would be more than ready to take it.

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THE opium question is assuming some urgency. The Committee appointed to prepare an agenda for the November Conferences has held two recent meetings and steady progress is being made. There is, however, no sign that the British Government has determined its attitude towards the general question. Answers to questions in Parliament, indeed, suggest definitely that it has not. The American Government has presented an admirable programme, of which the three main features are the principles (1) that all manufacture, sale and use of opium, coca-leaf and their products, except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, should be prohibited; (2) that the world's supply of opium and coca-leaf should be restricted to a figure representing the world's ascertained needs for these purposes; (3) that no State should derive revenue from narcotics except so far as may be needed to finance control of their production, distribution and sale. At the present moment India is standing out for the use of the word "legitimate" instead of "medical and scientific," and the British Government has not yet declared itself on this point. India is also deriving revenue from narcotics. This is a case in which some expression of public opinion is called for, both here and in India. Meanwhile the news that Switzerland has at last ratified the Hague Opium Convention is particularly welcome.

THOUGH there is not much sign of any active interest on the Government's part in the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which appears to be still under examination by the Committee of Imperial Defence, public interest in the treaty is on the whole growing. Most League of Nations Union branches are arranging public meetings or private discussions on the subject, and a number of public debates in various centres have stimulated interest and increased the sum of knowledge regarding it. In the course of the last month a critical, but constructive, letter in the *Times* from Mr. Delisle Burns was followed by replies by Lord Cecil and Major Hills, both of them welcoming discussion of the treaty, and emphasising the importance of practical suggestions for its amendment. That is, perhaps, the most important task of the moment, and a strong committee, of which Lord Cecil is himself a member, is sitting at the Union headquarters to work over the treaty once more clause by clause. Its report may be a document of considerable importance.

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A COMMITTEE of the American Senate should, unless a published decision has been varied, be sitting at this moment to examine the question of America's relationship to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The committee consists of five Senators holding diverse views on the question, and a number of organisations favourable to America's full association with the Court, including the League of Nations' Non-Partisan Association, have asked to be heard. Opponents of the proposal are also being invited to appear. There is no ground for discerning in this a new step forward towards Geneva, or even towards the Hague. The enquiry is simply an enquiry, the result partly of pressure in pro-League quarters, but it is unlikely in the extreme that any action will be taken one way or the other before the Presidential election in November. The enquiry gains something in importance from President Coolidge's recent reference to the Court and the codification of International Law in the speech in which he foreshadowed a possible world-conference on armaments.

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THE League Transit Commission's Sub-Committee charged with preparing a report on a fixed Easter meets again this month, not having sat since September. The interval has been left to enable governments' members of the League to express their views on the subject. This some of them have done and some not, the latter including the British Government, which has resolved to follow rather than lead in such a matter. Lord Desborough has raised the question in the House of Lords and Mr. Foot in the Commons, but the Prime Minister refused to do anything but wait and see what the Committee recommended. If all governments adopted that attitude, members of the Committee would have singularly little material to work on. However, a good many replies and suggestions have been received from different quarters. The Society of Confucius, in Peking, for example, has expressed itself (favourably) on the subject. On the other hand, the Jews, as might

be expected, are strongly opposed, a fact which ought to ensure the *Morning Post's* enthusiastic support for the project. What is more important is that the business world everywhere seems to desire a fixed Easter. The real question is whether their views can prevail over a fairly strong sentiment, both ecclesiastical and popular.

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THE C.O.P.E.C. Conference at Birmingham, whether it was as unalloyed a success as some of its supporters claim, or as full of defects as certain of its critics allege, seems destined to leave a lasting impression on the more progressive sections of the Christian Church in this country. Whatever be the future of the permanent organisation it has been decided to set on foot to carry on the work of the conference, the actual meetings at Birmingham will be a landmark in themselves. If the outstanding features of the meetings be reduced to two, they may be said to have been the spirit of unity which pervaded the Conference and the practical and businesslike character of the resolutions adopted. That is particularly true of the attitude of the Conference towards international affairs. Nowhere was the need for a new order more keenly felt, and nowhere, it would seem, did the road to that goal stand out clearer. C.O.P.E.C. realised with unhesitating conviction that the instrument by which peace and co-operation in the fullest sense is to be achieved must be the League of Nations, and it realised equally that all in this country who seek to see such an object attained must throw their strength behind the League of Nations Union. For the Union such a declaration must generate, not a spirit of self congratulation, but much more, a sense of the responsibility an expression of confidence from such a quarter imposes.

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THE last stages of the Memel affair show the Conference of Ambassadors at its worst. The dispute itself, as everyone knows, was settled at Geneva in March, and the British and Lithuanian representatives signed the agreement then and there. The French, Italian and Japanese had not the necessary powers, and as soon as the League Council ended the whole thing got in some mysterious way back to the Conference of Ambassadors, which discovered that in the Convention as drafted at Geneva the stops and commas were not just in the right places, or lit on some other defects of about equal moment. There appears to be little enough basis for these criticisms, but they have given the Ambassadors an excuse for holding the whole Convention up for a period the duration of which is not yet apparent. Repeated questions in the House of Commons only elicited the information that the Ambassadors were effecting nothing more than drafting alterations, and that the British Government was doing its best to hurry them up, as no doubt it is. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Ambassadors, and quite possibly the French Government, are choosing this method of demonstrating their annoyance that the first signatures were set to the Convention at Geneva instead of Paris.

THE article on plebiscites elsewhere in this issue deserves serious consideration. The author, who sets a higher value on the plebiscite method than might perhaps be looked for, speaks from a wider personal experience than most men can command in this field. He was dealing with the whole question of plebiscites at the Peace Conference in 1919, he was a member of the Upper Silesia Plebiscite Commission, he was in Marienbad on the day of the plebiscite there and in Allenstein on the day after the polling in that area, and also examined the situation at Teschen (where the plebiscite never actually took place) on the spot. It will be observed that Mr. Bourdillon gives no support to the view commonly held that plebiscites are habitually unsatisfactory owing to the pressure, open and secret, brought to bear on the voters from both sides. Such an article by a writer possessing first-hand knowledge is a contribution of much value to the study of an important problem. Nothing he says about ordinary plebiscites shakes the general conviction as to the evils of deferred consultations such as that ordained for the Saar Valley in 1935.

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THE development of the Hungarian reconstruction scheme was carried a stage further in the course of the past month, when the definite appointment of a League Commissioner-General at Budapest was made. Mr. Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board at Washington, who was to have been appointed, finally declined the post for personal reasons, and the appointment has consequently gone to Mr. Jeremiah Smith, a prominent Boston lawyer, who has close association with the great banking house of Morgan. Mr. Smith should be in Budapest before these words are in type. Meanwhile the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Bethlen, has been applying himself with praiseworthy expedition, to the task of raising internal loans and taking the other financial steps prescribed by the League. He has met with opposition from the Society of Awakening Magyars and other nationalist factions, and the Socialists are critical but not actively hostile. The middle parties who support the Prime Minister proved strong enough to carry the necessary measures through without trouble, and the road is now clear for the floating of the loan of £10,400,000 advised by the League. The adoption of the present administrative programme will be the best of guarantees of Hungary's will and ability to discharge the new obligations she proposes to incur.

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THE League of Nations has no special responsibilities towards Armenia except those imposed by minority provisions, such as apply in many other parts of the world. But even those limited powers or limited obligations may before long involve the Council or the Assembly in negotiations, which will inevitably be difficult and protracted, with the Angora Government. There appears to be small doubt that despite the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, which bind the Turk to allow unfettered freedom of movement to those Christian minorities

which are not removed under the transfer of populations scheme, the Turkish Government has resolved to allow no cohesive mass of Armenians to form itself into a community of any size anywhere. They are to be kept in small scattered groups, and history unfortunately is stained with all too many red records of what the process of scattering Armenians means. Questioned regarding this by Mr. Fisher in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, while expressing some doubt as to the actual intentions of the Angora Government, said that one of the reasons for an early ratification of the Lausanne Treaty was that, till that happened, there could be no effective protest against infractions of its various provisions. Ratification has now taken place, so that that obstacle is removed. It cannot be long, therefore, before the Armenian question comes up in one form or another.

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CONSIDERABLE progress was made at the recent meeting of the League Sub-committee charged with drafting a new convention on traffic in arms. It will be remembered that the failure of the Great Powers to ratify the Arms Traffic Convention signed at St. Germain in 1919 has involved the League in the necessity of drafting an entirely new Convention. This could only be successful if approved by the United States of America, whose co-operation in this matter is essential. It was, therefore, of particularly happy omen that Mr. Joseph C. Grew, formerly American Minister at Berne and now Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, attended first of all the full Temporary Mixed Armaments Committee, which considered the principles of a Convention at Geneva, and then the special Sub-committee charged with actually drafting the Convention at Paris. The draft has now been completed and is in many ways an improvement on the original Convention. It provides for the strictest supervision over all exports of arms and complete prohibition of export to certain specified areas.

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A SMALL but useful piece of humanitarian work to which the League Council committed itself at its last meeting is now well on the way to success. It was agreed that States members of the League should be invited to contribute to a modest fund for the relief of famine in Albania. It was computed that £15,000 would meet the essential need and a first contribution of £2,000 from the League's own "Unforeseen Contingency" fund was voted. Since then it is announced that the British Government has given £5,000, Italy £5,000, Czechoslovakia £500, a group of private American citizens £2,000, the Save the Children Fund £500, the International Red Cross £200, and the Rumanian Red Cross the equivalent of £12. The Italian Red Cross is also sending medicines and clothing. It will be seen, therefore, that the sum considered necessary (which was perhaps an underestimate) has been fully subscribed, though one or two countries of importance, notably France, do not figure in the list.

DO PLEBISCITES PAY?

By F. B. BOURDILLON.

(This article is discussed under "Matters of Moment.")

ARE plebiscites worth while? Do they provide a sound basis for deciding the destiny of disputed areas? The question is of particular moment at this juncture, when Russia is insistently demanding this form of popular consultation in Bessarabia. That alone is a good reason why some attempt should be made to estimate the value of the various plebiscites provided for under the Treaties of 1919 and 1920.

In those plebiscites the inhabitants of five frontier regions, one on the German-Danish border, one on that between Austria and Yugoslavia, and three on the boundary between Germany and Poland, were involved. Of these areas two were more than half the size of Wales; one was traversed by the direct route from Warsaw to the sea; another contained an immense coal field and a huge network of iron, steel and zinc industries. If the rival States had continued to press their claims, and no other means of settling them had been found, the controversies arising would have been sufficient in any of the five districts to cause a war. Frontier disputes, indeed, are permanent causes of war, for war never finally settles them. The beaten side always claims that too much has been taken from it, and devotes its returning energies to preparing itself for a new war of liberation.

It was hoped at the Peace Conference that a way to obtain a lasting settlement could be found by putting the rival claims, both based as they were on the national sentiments of the inhabitants, to the test of cold fact, by getting these sentiments expressed in accurate statistics, and drawing a frontier accordingly.

This hope has, I think, been fully justified by the results. A close study of the history of the five plebiscites, and personal observations of three of them, have convinced me that they were fairly carried out and that the voting really expressed the wishes of the voters. The two parties, wherever they could find local representatives, were associated with every stage of the preparations, and themselves had charge of the actual voting. They were thus able to see that irregularities were either entirely prevented or reduced to a negligible quantity.

Each of the five plebiscites took place in conditions of complete order. In four out of the five areas concerned the Allied troops had never been called upon to act, and no incidents had occurred more serious than the breaking up of one or two meetings by rowdies. In one other area, Upper Silesia, an insurrection had taken place, organised from outside the plebiscite area, but it only lasted a few days, and had been disposed of six months before the plebiscite was held. Intimidation by official and parties was successfully prevented by the Allied Commissioners. Such intimidation as took place was simply the natural and mostly unspoken presence of the majority over the minority in any one place. It cannot be said to have turned any local or regional majority into a minority.

It was, in a word, demonstrated that plebiscites can be fairly carried out and carried out to the satisfaction of the two parties concerned.

Experience has been gained, too, with regard to the question how small are the units of territory to be which may be transferred *en bloc* as a result of the vote. In Schleswig and Klagenfurt large districts were treated as a single unit, and given as a whole to the country which had a majority in the aggregate. This led to the disregarding of local majorities; and the new frontiers did not so completely follow the voting as in areas where (as in Upper Silesia) the civil parish had been taken as the unit.

Another important conclusion is that before a plebiscite is held it should be clearly laid down that the frontier decision is to be based solely on the wishes of the inhabitants without regard to extraneous considerations, and especially without regard to the interests of the two rival States. The decision in the case of Upper Silesia, although it followed the voting more closely than any previous proposals except the British, still left a small, but densely populated, German area just on the Polish side of the new frontier. This was because it was based on the principle of giving each of the rival States a proportion of the population equal to the proportion of votes given for it. The decision thus benefited one of the rival States at the expense of the inhabitants of a section of the plebiscite area; and in this case one party can still contend that it has a moral claim, under the principle of self-determination, to some of the territory awarded to the other party. Fortunately the area in question was extremely small and its German inhabitants have already largely emigrated from it to the adjacent parts of Germany.

These minor defects must be taken into account in framing rules for future plebiscites. But the remarkable feature of the five plebiscites is their extraordinary success. The Allied Commissions were everywhere received with respect by the population. Except where disturbances were instigated from outside, and that was only in one case, public order was no more disturbed than in an ordinary Parliamentary election. The two sides collaborated in a purely business-like way to draw up the lists of voters and to conduct the general preparations and supervise the voting. Not a single breach of order occurred in any of the plebiscite areas on the day of the vote. No one attempted either to interrupt it or to upset the counting. The scenes in the various areas on the day of the polling were hardly distinguishable from those of any other public holiday.

The subsequent history of the plebiscite areas has been equally satisfactory. The two parties have resumed normal relations without difficulty on both sides of the new frontiers. The minorities have accepted their position. Certain individuals among them, conspicuous for their uncompromising nationalism, have migrated. Many exchanges of shops and flats took place, largely through newspapers' advertisements, shortly after the decision. As a consequence, the national division revealed by the voting has since become more marked, and the permanence of the frontier is thus made doubly sure.

But the most important result is that the rival States have been constrained to accept the verdict of the voting thus peacefully held under their own supervision. The former Danish, Polish, Yugoslav and German claims to such parts of the plebiscite areas as voted against them have been completely, and I think finally, dispelled. That Austria is satisfied with the result is self-evident, as it obtained all the territory subjected to a vote in the Klagenfurt plebiscite.

In none of these countries is there any further justification for a belief that in the parts of the plebiscite areas which voted against them the majority of the inhabitants are discontented with their present status. Whatever else might kindle the passions of the people concerned to war-heat, the desire to liberate oppressed compatriots in these districts cannot do so. The result is probably the most powerful war-motive of modern democratic States has been removed as far as the plebiscite areas are concerned.

It may therefore, I think, be concluded that the plebiscite, having stood the test of experiment, has come to stay, and that it is an institution which should be resorted to whenever a frontier dispute between two civilised States calls for settlement.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE.

By Dr. EDGAR STERN-RUBARTH,

Foreign Editor of the "Vossische Zeitung."

WHEN Germany was forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles, she at the same time and by the same kind of obligation accepted the conditions of the Covenant of Nations. But at that moment it was, in the general opinion throughout Germany, merely a decorative preface of the treaty, instead of a serious proposition for the future of mankind. The following incidents seemed to enforce such a point of view: The rejection of the Covenant as well as of the treaty by the Senate of the United States, the withdrawal of Argentina from fruitless deliberations, the mischief done to Germany in the question of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, in the form of Government and military occupation, &c., of the Saar Valley, and many other wrongs committed in the name or under silent toleration of the League, were anything but a help for those Germans who had from the beginning sustained the sound idea and the world's urgent necessity of a super-national organisation. The situation has, however, been altered since, for reasons which I shall try to explain.

As far as the man in the street, the intellectuals, the business men, &c., are concerned, the great majority is rather indifferent to the question, but quite disposed to accept a solution which would bring us into the League, if presented by a German Government and by the Press in a proper way. The minority consists merely of the intellectuals and the more far-sighted business men; with a few exceptions, that minority is a more or less fervent defender of the idea, if not always of the present form, of the Covenant and the League. All things considered, the broad mass of population of non-political men, and especially women, is quite well disposed towards any form of international agreements tending to abolish for the future the horrors of warfare and to bring about parliamentary proceedings for the solution of differences between the nations. The restrictions, which are and must be made from the German point of view shall be explained later on.

The Ideas of the Political Parties.

Germany has many more political parties than are necessary or desirable. Many of them are unimportant for the moment, or differ not sufficiently concerning the question at hand, so that I can refrain from investigating their ideas. The remaining parties can be classified in three groups: (1) The decided partisans of Germany's participation in the League, even in its present form; (2) adherents of the League who want to arrange certain points before actually entering the League; (3) the adversaries of Germany's taking part in the League.

Among the first group we number the Socialists (180 out of 469 members of the Reichstag), the Democrats (49), the Catholic Centre (62), and enough dissenters of nearly all other parties to carry a resolution of that kind through with a majority of two-thirds.

The second group consists of the Deutsche Volkspartei (Liberals, party of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Stresemann), with 68 seats, of the Bavarians affiliated to the Catholic Centre, the Bayerische Volkspartei with 20 seats, and of a few moderate Nationalists, perhaps a hundred M.P.s in all, who would readily enough have Germany enter a combine of the world's nations under the condition that we were not considered a pariah among the Powers, that there were no humiliating or oppressing conditions put forth, *i.e.*, by France, for Germany's reception, not only into the League, but into the Council of the League as well.

The third group are the extreme Nationalists, actually about 50, and the Communists, about a dozen,

both opposed by principle to political obligations of such kind, because their one wish is to maintain for demagogical purposes the fiction that the previous conditions for Germany's might and prosperity can be restored by sheer power of will, and because the others do, as true kinsmen of the Moscow Soviets, what they are ordered to do by the Third Internationale.

It might be asked, why, with a majority as thus depicted, there has never been a motion in the German Parliament asking the Government to apply for the admission to the Covenant and the League.

The United States and Russia not being members, the League, and especially its Council, had been in the eyes of the German public not much more than a larger board of Germany's previous adversaries and actual creditors. The policy of the Labour Government of England, candidly operating on a plan to give the League an importance in conformity with President Wilson's initial ideals, has spread confidence in Germany in a development of such principles. Beginning from that moment the German sympathies, previously more platonical, have become practical. A motion of the Democratic Party to the effect, that the Government should apply for membership, is imminent; the platforms of the other pro-League parties for the coming elections all contain similar points.

The Press, so far as political newspapers treat the question, reflects, of course, the opinion of the respective parties. But the biggest and most important papers belonging more or less to the pro-League groups, their propaganda for the participation of Germany is rather strong. Chief among them are the big democratic papers; in Berlin, "Vossische Zeitung" and "Berliner Tageblatt"; in Frankfurt o/M, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" and other big provincial papers in Hamburg, Leipzig, Königsberg, Mannheim, etc. The centre relies on the Cologne "Kölnische Volkszeitung," and the Berlin "Germania." The Liberal papers are not unanimous in their views, whereas the prominent "Kölnische Zeitung" has outspoken League sympathies, the Stinnes paper, "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," in Berlin shows the affinities of the industrial group of the Liberals with the more sensible part of the Nationalists. The Socialist papers, as the "Vorwaerts," of Berlin, are of course strong partisans of the League, and only the Nationalist papers, very numerous but mostly of no large circulation, show openly their pessimistic or predisposed views concerning a Parliament of Nations as against any parliament whatever.

It might be noted, by the way, that the work of the British Union of Democratic Control, which has a corresponding organisation in Germany, has been much appreciated in Germany. The press as a whole is certainly not an impediment, but a great help, towards Germany's participation in the League, and might become even more so if a security of any kind could be given that

(1) A demand of admission would be unanimously accepted;

(2) The question would not be made dependent on German Reparation payments;

(3) The situation of Germany would not be—by interpreting certain articles of the Covenant that way—that of a "minor partner" in the Society of Nations, with no claims as to a place in the Council and with restricted voting rights.

The Opinion of German Government.

The actual Government, the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet, is an outspoken combine of the middle parties. It has lately, largely for tactical reasons, been driven a little towards the right wing of the Parliament, because the steps necessary for the financial stabilisation and the regaining of our industrial efficiency, the abolition of the eight-hours working day, and the provisional

restriction of certain social institutions, have necessarily been resented by the Socialists. It is doubtful whether this Cabinet, whose powers expire with the elections, would or could take steps to apply for Germany's admission to the League. I could say, however, from personal knowledge, that the Chancellor, as well as the Foreign Minister and other important members of the Government, see quite well the point of the question, and will, if there can be given a certain security as to the fears explained above, quite readily support a motion to apply for membership—a motion which will undoubtedly be introduced shortly after the opening of the new parliamentary session. It would be desirable to have, before and during the period of the German elections in May, a strong support of those views by the well-meaning powers and their Press and Parliaments, as it might help to keep back radicalism, engrossed and strengthened by the German experiences on the Ruhr, in Silesia, Memel, the Saar, and on other questions falling within the scope of the League of Nations, but practically decided now by the stronger political and military power of Germany's adversaries.

To bring the whole question of Germany's relation to the League of Nations into a formula. The majority, and by far the majority of the population, and each single group of importance, is pro-League. Let certain founded fears concerning the working of the League, and above all the fear of receiving a rebuff when applying, be destroyed, and Germany will come in at once, with the sincere wish to help towards the realisation of the ultimate ends of the Covenant.

BRITAIN AND THE COURT.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

WHAT, someone has asked, is the obligatory jurisdiction protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and how can we urge the Government to sign it without understanding what it means?

That, obviously, is sound sense. Here, therefore, is an attempt at explanation. It is a pity the terms are so cumbrously technical, but the simplest way is to get them over once for all, and then fall back on plain language. To dispose of the last technicality, the so-called optional clause runs technically as follows:—

"The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it, and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

"The members of the League of Nations and the states mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:—

- (a) The interpretation of a Treaty.
- (b) Any question of International Law.
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or states, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court."

This Article, it may be observed, says all there is to say about the Court's general competence. It says (1) that generally speaking the Court can deal only with cases which the parties—both parties—refer to it, and with certain matters which certain treaties definitely put in its hands. But it says also (2) that it is open to

any State to say once for all "I offer to submit to the Court any case whatever that concerns me within the field the Court's jurisdiction covers."

A number of States—some fifteen, so far—have actually said that. Some of them have said it without reserves or conditions. Others have made the offer, not to all comers, but to States willing to adopt the same attitude themselves. Great Britain has not said it at all. So far as she is concerned she will go before the Court only when she feels like going before it. We have never yet got to the point of saying "We believe in the Court. We stand for a reign of law. Anyone, therefore, who has a controversy with us will always find us ready to take it to the Hague."

Ought we to say that? On the face of it we manifestly ought. There must, indeed, be solid reasons on the other side to make us hesitate at all. What are those reasons? Practically they boil down to one. International law does not consist of a series of statutes written down in black and white for everyone to read. It has, in fact, never been codified. It consists very largely of practices and customs which have gained general recognition without anyone ever formally agreeing to recognise them at all. Administration of that kind of law must therefore be a rather uncertain affair. Unfortunately, moreover, the Anglo-Saxon conception of international law differs substantially in some respects from the conception held by most Continental jurists, from whom a majority of the judges of the Permanent Court have been chosen. That is true in particular of one class of cases in which this country has a special interest—those involving the rights of merchant-shipping in time of war. We have our own Prize-Court practice on such matters as right of search, the doctrine of continuous voyage, and so forth; but there is no guarantee that the Permanent Court would take the same view of such questions. We cannot, therefore, place ourselves unreservedly in the hands of the Court.

So runs the argument of the opponents of signature of the optional clause. To their contentions three answers may be made. In the first place it might be possible to accept the clause as applying to all periods when the British Empire is at peace. That would be an unsatisfactory compromise, but it might be better than nothing. Secondly, it may be observed that at best the Court deals only with a very limited class of cases. It handles only legal or semi-legal questions, not the far more numerous disputes involving broader problems of right and wrong, justice or injustice. Anything like a decision on the ground of self-determination, for example, is quite outside its sphere. That is a matter for the League Council. The only cases the Court hears are those involving (1) interpretation of a treaty; (2) questions of international law (such as it is); (3) certain questions of fact; and (4) assessment of damages. If, therefore, there is actually any risk in a country's putting itself into the Court's hands it is clearly only a very limited risk.

Thirdly and finally, it can be contended with much cogency that even if there is some risk it is a risk we ought to take, for the moral value of our accepting the Court's jurisdiction without reserve will far outweigh any possible disadvantage. At present the smaller States, many of whom have signed the optional clause themselves, see Great Britain saying in effect, "I decline to give full recognition to the Court, and claim the right to pick and choose, to say I will let this case that concerns me go before the judges, and to refuse to let that one be decided on the basis of justice at all. That is not an attitude that commands admiration, even though it is an attitude all the Great Powers adopt. The Great Power that first abandons it will add much both to its own prestige and to the Court's."

THE MAN FROM JUBALAND.

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE.

HE was dusky of hue and curly of hair, and he was clad in a loia-cloth and a blanket. The policeman on point duty at Hyde Park Corner looked a little restive as he asked the way to Grosvenor Crescent. But he got to No. 15 safely, and felt himself exceedingly at home there, for he was a member of the Union—Jubaland Branch—all right, and he had paid his subscription for 1924, which is more than some people much nearer Rotten Row can say.

He wanted to know what Headquarters did, and where the £30,000 went. So again, do some people much nearer Rotten Row than Jubaland. Anyhow, that was what he meant to find out, and that was what brought him into town from out Wembley way. What he expected to see he never quite explained, but it appears that his idea, once more like a number of people with quite whitish skins and straight hair (if any), was that the Union headquarters was manned by a General Secretary and two typists. He found the General Secretary and threaded his way with difficulty through straying typists, and he found in turn a Labour Department, and a Public Meetings' Department, and a Department for dealing direct with the Union's 1,700 branches, and an Overseas Department, and a Parliamentary Section, and an Intelligence Section, and an Education Section, and a Colleges' Section, and a Hospitality Secretary, and a Women's Section, and a Publicity Department, and a Department—most astonishing of all—where HEADWAY is manufactured monthly.

He was obviously shaken, but with resolute imperturbability concealed his feelings. Instead, he began putting perspicacious questions.

"Intelligence Section?" he asked in some perplexity. "Is only one section of all of them intelligent?" A little explanation followed. The Intelligence Section was where intelligence about the League of Nations was amassed, set in order and doled out to all and sundry. All official publications flowed in there. Scissors flew all day up and down the columns of daily papers, snipping out every article or paragraph dealing with the League, bearing on the League, or having any remote or contingent connection with the League. It was a place of files and pigeon-holes and dockets. All other departments in the office came to it for information. Branches wrote in to it. Members of Parliament wanting to make speeches rang it up on the telephone. August people in the Foreign Office itself had been known to consult it.

The dusky visitant asked no more. But more was vouchsafed him. He was shown the Library, where every book on any kind of League subject, and on the multitudinous questions with which the League deals, was already possessed or in process of being acquired. He saw rows of reports of the transactions of the Permanent Court of Justice, more rows of League official reports and other publications, and lots and lots of nice neat books with bright bindings, which is clearly how they like to have them in Jubaland.

He was told of the Parliamentary Department, the support and stay of more than 300 members of the House of Commons, together with a goodly leavening of Lords, who have formed a League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, and hold fortnightly meetings to hear and discuss addresses on League activities by members of the Secretariat at Geneva or other authorities. Direct liaison existed, he learned, between Union headquarters and this committee, so that when it was advisable to raise a League matter in the House, or have questions on League problems put to Ministers, it was only necessary to turn a crank in the machinery created for the purpose. He was shown, too, the card-index, in which the record of every M.P., whether as

Member or candidate, regarding the League, is kept filed away, like any criminal's at Scotland Yard, to be produced on demand from his constituents or any other responsible quarter. The Parliamentary Section, he was told, working in direct association with the branches, saw to it that practically every Parliamentary candidate, whether at a General Election or a bye-election, was called on for a definite declaration of his views on the League, and often enough told a good deal more about it than he ever knew before.

Over the Hospitality Committee the overseas visitor decided not to stop. It had already found him out and invited him, with wives within limits, to an afternoon party, an attention he manifestly appreciated warmly. On hearing that the committee functioned twelve months in the year, not merely at Wembley moments and on similar occasions, he expressed both surprise and admiration, emphasising the latter emotion a little unnecessarily by a circular motion of the palms of his hands on that part of his person where his waist-coat would have been but for his African habits. It was at this point that he asked whether any of the staff were University men ("I was at Balliol myself," he interjected), and was considerably gratified to find that most of the heads of sections had had the inestimable advantage of an education at either Oxford or Cambridge.

That seemed a fitting moment for a visit to the Education Section, where the problem of bringing knowledge of the League's ideals and achievements to the young is mainly dealt with. Having observed that there was also a college section, he inquired, with great acumen, whether colleges were not educational institutions. That, he was assured, was the case, but so keen was the interest in the League in universities and training colleges that a special department had lately been created to co-ordinate the activities of all those institutions. The Public Meetings Section did not keep him long, for, unfortunately, circumstances preclude the provision of speakers for Kasanguri, but he exhibited lively interest in the records and future engagements, which show how large a part Headquarters plays in supplying speakers for the public meetings arranged by branches in centres rather nearer home.

In the Overseas department he naturally lingered longer. The main function of that department, he discovered, was to keep in touch with League of Nations Union movements the world over, with individual members of the British Union in foreign countries, and in particular with the Federation of League of Nations Societies, in which practically every national League of Nations Union has its place, domiciled at Brussels and holding annual conferences in different centres in Europe. To the development of this body, it was pointed out, the more far-seeing looked confidently to fill the rôle of that unofficial League of Peoples so imperatively needed to accompany and supplement the official League of Governments. There were other things, he found, that the Overseas department did, such as organising a series of sub-committees among nationals of other countries residing in London, and keeping in touch with foreign Embassies and Legations; but his attention was beginning to wander, and the rest of the visit was accordingly curtailed.

Even so, his imagination was caught sufficiently by the books of cuttings, which showed the success of the Publicity department in securing the insertion of columns of League news weekly in the London and provincial press, and a short disquisition on what the Labour section was doing in that sphere of human activity covered by the International Labour Office was listened to with a concentration that argued something more than mere necessary patience.

So, a little prematurely, the visit terminated. The distinguished and sagacious stranger was reminded that

a humble but hospitable canteen existed below stairs; but having enquired whether it was fully licensed, he betrayed, on receiving a veracious reply, the first signs of disappointment exhibited since his arrival on the premises, and explained a little hastily that he had an appointment elsewhere with a friend. As he emerged into Grosvenor Crescent he remarked with fervour: "Now I understand. Or, rather, I do not understand. I do not see how £30,000 is enough. It is more wonderful—more wonderful than Wembley."

It isn't really, but it was kind of him to say so.

SPORT AND THE LEAGUE.

By B. G. D. RUDD.

(Ex-President Oxford University Athletic Club, Olympic Champion, 400 metres, 1920.)

IN something I once wrote on a subject akin to this I ventured to observe that "The League of Nations may yet find the Olympic games the brightest sign on her escutcheon," and it is that theme I would now like to develop. My knowledge then of that escutcheon was a little dim, for I saw through the glass of my own ignorance darkly. Yet I liked to think that ancient Greece had stopped her internecine wars to get on with her games, and I do not now like to think that after six years of Peace, Germany is not represented in the coming Olympiad; but I suppose that the barracks of Cologne are in effect too far removed from the Stadium at Colombes! And yet there are signs of a saner outlook: a little while ago a German cyclist competed in Paris. He was beaten; but his plucky effort was cheered wholeheartedly and he was presented by the French with a wreath of flowers, which he immediately proceeded to lay at the foot of the Memorial erected to the French cyclists killed in the War. The same day a French cyclist competed in Berlin. These are signs of the times that cannot be ignored, they are glorious opportunities that should be exercised to the full with confidence and tact, that out of what is often a dictated and artificial hatred may come a warmth of friendliness and trust that have been so long starved.

I saw animosities, really spiteful animosities, die away at the 1920 Olympic games with the first contact with reality, and I had hoped to see in the 1924 games vaguer but more vicious antipathies dissipated.

A number of fractious pressmen presumed that their news would be more exciting if they maligned or suspected their opponents, and they acted assiduously on that assumption—or else it was that, having praised their own people too fulsomely, they could only sustain their level of hysteria by vociferously decrying those who defeated them. But they failed ignominiously in the end, and I fancy that if not converts to the frank spirit of trust which the athletes themselves learned, they will at least be more cautious next time. They should have been at the finish of one race when an American was unexpectedly defeated; he turned to his victor and said: "Oh, boy, that was a hell of a race; You sure had me licked; I guess the better man won. Shake." That somehow for me epitomised those games.

Apart from these professional mischief-makers, some irritation was caused by poor organisation; the Belgians had too little time to prepare, and most countries not enough money to spare to equip effectively, so that there were incompetent officials and bad housing arrangements. But these things, which worried most of the teams on their arrival, were forgotten in this extraordinary atonement which came to be offered in the true spirit of sport: Rivalry tempered with generosity, excitement that never became vindictive, victory without gloating, defeat without chagrin, and not infrequently some whimsical incident that must have

stirred the shade of Cervantes. And so, out of what might so easily have been tawdry and quarrelsome, emerged the heroism of a robust pageant. That, I think, was the feeling of all who competed, and they have gone back to their respective countries strong in the resolve to defeat prejudice and to ensure that the splendid spirit of camaraderie that can exist in these games shall not be thwarted of its continued development.

Within the limits of a short article it is not possible to give chapter and verse of the occasions that gave rise to the above sentiment, but there were many. We began in compact hostile camps, but gradually the competition in the Stadium reached an obvious consummation in a wider friendliness outside. It became the custom of the various teams to entertain one another; one evening the Americans would invite us to their billet, the next we would invite the Swedes, and so on, and the genuine exhilaration of those evenings I shall never forget.

"From quiet homes and first beginnings,
Out to the undiscovered ends,
There's nothing worth the wear of winning,
But laughter and the love of friends."

All this is to be made easier of fulfilment in the coming Olympiad in Paris. Those who returned from Antwerp determined to launch an efficient campaign for funds. It has been difficult; possibly more difficult in Britain than in other countries, mainly on account of our hide-bound prejudices against Olympic games; but it has been done, and the discomforts and hasty improvisations of Antwerp will not recur in Paris.

There was a meeting of the delegates of over thirty nations in Lausanne shortly after the last games to reconstruct the programme and to take precautions against a recrudescence of muddles that had previously taken place. Those delegates did not meet in any spirit of bargaining, though there were many controversial topics; the experience of the Antwerp games had produced a serious sense of responsibility, and it was to the good of the Olympic games, and not to the blind advantage of their particular countries, that the energies of almost all those delegates were directed. A complete instance of this was manifest during the vote on the inclusion of Rugby football into the Olympic events. America (where only in California is Rugby played) proposed that it should be, and several nations, where the game is unknown accepted its inclusion, believing it to be a magnificent sport, and hoping that that inclusion would act as an incentive in their own country towards the adoption of the game. The Olympic games might appear superficially to lack the essential of international co-operation upon which the League of Nations is based, in so far as rivalry appears to be the main element. But I would suggest, and suggest seriously, that rivalry is not the essential. The obvious rivalry that must always exist in competitions seems to occur in the Olympic games only as an epilepsy of animal spirits—brave and generous; but that ebullition has its spiritual home in the domain of goodwill and unremitting effort for the good of everyone. The aspect in this case is sport, but sport in all its vicissitudes plays very fully on all the emotions.

Therefore I do believe that the Olympic games can be more than an invaluable adjunct to the League of Nations. It can be a small but active copy of the League itself. "Like to some branch of stars we see, Hung in a golden galaxy." That galaxy is much nearer earth, and as such can be carefully observed; but I do believe it will bear scrutiny—for those who have seen the "shaken mists unsettle"—mists of stupidity and envy—will count it a duty and a joy to keep those mists dispersed, that the tiny galaxy of the Olympic games may shine in the greater firmament of the League of Nations.

"OUT OF WORK."

By LOTHIAN SMALL.

BESIDES working for a steady levelling up of conditions of labour, the League's industrial organ, the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), is charged with the task of securing progressive world agreement for preventing or providing against unemployment. To make known to British industry what the I.L.O. has already done in the matter, and to obtain contributions from British experience that may advance those efforts, the Labour Department of the League of Nations Union organised in the London School of Economics at the end of March a Conference on "Unemployment in its National and International Aspects and in Relation to the Work of the I.L.O."

The representatives of employers and of the workers, the Government administrators, economists and social workers who read papers and took part in the discussion were persons of outstanding competence. The programme of the Conference, with its six sessions devoted respectively to International Trade and Unemployment, the Financial Factors, Works for the Unemployed, Insurance, Hours and Wages and Migration, defined the problem, indicated which aspects required a domestic and which an international solution, and brought together a body of knowledge, of suggestion and of hypothesis which, since the proceedings are being published in a volume of the I.L.O. Studies and Reports*, will be of high and permanent value.

Sir Wm. Beveridge having anatomised the whole problem, Mr. E. F. Wise emphasised, in view of the rapid industrialisation of British Dominions and other customer countries, the wisdom of a definite State policy and State credits for cultivating the Russian market; and Mr. Pethick Lawrence advised a State-organised Empire development scheme, e.g., cotton growing. Mr. Keynes urged a constant and unified financial policy with a view to eliminating trade cycles. Miss Bondfield usefully indicated what a Ministry of Labour cannot do in the way of providing work. Lady Astor, showing the evil moral and economic consequences of juvenile and of women's unemployment, proved the economy of raising the school-leaving age. In the session presided over by Lord Burnham, emigration, however valuable it is in other respects, was shown to be negligible as a solution of our unemployment problem. Methods for decasualising dock labour, with the corollary of industrial organisation, were propounded by Mr. Creach Jones and, under Dr. Macnamara's chairmanship, Mr. T. W. Phillips gave a description, which can hardly fail to become classic, of the administration of British unemployment insurance.

After Professor Bowley had shown that the power of bad labour conditions abroad to drag down home conditions might be easily exaggerated, whereas, on the contrary, the example of good conditions anywhere tended to force up the world standard, Mr. W. L. Hitchens and Mr. Pybus, both of them employers very much alive to the simple justice of raising the workers' standard of life, lent weight to the notion that in those industries most sensitive to world competition British industries could only survive on a basis of longer hours and lower wages. It was left to the Deputy-Director of the Labour Office, Mr. H. B. Butler, to point out which factors in international industrial competition might be eliminated if all the chief industrial countries were to ratify such international Labour Conventions as had already been adopted, e.g., those dealing with unemployment and particularly that on the eight hours' day and 48 hours' week—a fundamental convention which, fortunately, Britain seems at last to be on the point of ratifying.

* 2s. net, obtainable from I.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

IN THE HOUSE.

April 2.—Mr. PONSOMBY (to Mr. J. Harris):

The advisability of placing Jubaland under a League Mandate will not be considered by His Majesty's Government.

April 2.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. J. Harris):

The question of adhering to the "Obligatory Jurisdiction" Clause of the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice is being considered.

April 7.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Sir A. Sinclair):

It would not be proper for the League to invite Germany to contribute to the cost of the Saar Gardarmerie.

April 7.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Sir H. Brittain):

The Draft Convention regarding Memel has been accepted by the States concerned. The Conference of Ambassadors are rectifying certain verbal errors of drafting in the Convention. There is no question of any modification of substance.

April 9.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Foot):

The next meeting of the League Committee on the reform of the calendar is fixed for a day in May. The Government proposes to express no view on the subject, though its views have been invited.

April 9.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Ayles):

The British representative on the Committee preparing the agenda for the coming Opium Conference is Sir Malcolm Delevingne. No decisions have yet been taken.

April 9.—Mr. PONSOMBY (to Mr. Lumley):

The United States has submitted certain suggestions regarding the Opium Conference to the Committee preparing for the International Conference. His Majesty's Government cannot yet express its views on these points.

April 9.—Mr. PONSOMBY (to Lord Hartington):

All Treaties entered into by this country are registered with the League, any outstanding Treaties and undertakings being sent by the Foreign Office to Geneva once a month for registration.

April 9.—Mr. PONSOMBY (to Mr. John Harris):

I am aware that attempts have been made to ship from a European country arms and ammunition for war purposes in the East and to persuade a British shipping company to transport them. The attention of Lloyds had been drawn to the China Arms Embargo of 1919.

April 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Capt. Sidney Herbert):

The tonnage tax levied by the Spanish Government on foreign ships using Spanish ports is not technically an infraction of the League of Nations Maritime Ports Convention, but representations are being made to the Spanish Government regarding the matter.

April 16.—Mr. PONSOMBY (to Capt. Berkeley):

His Majesty's Government are doing all they can to expedite the signature of the Memel Convention. The only alterations being made are draft alterations in the text.

April 16.—The MINISTER OF LABOUR (to Sir A. Shirley Benn):

Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania and Spain have formally ratified the Maternity Convention drafted at Washington in 1919, and its ratification has been recommended or authorised in certain other countries.

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

FIVE YEARS' TREATIES.—IV.

THERE have been already dealt with in these articles the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, the Trianon, Neuilly and Lausanne. These stand out as the five great settlements which followed the defeat of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, and it is these that between them have changed the whole face of the map of Europe.

There is, however, one not unimportant corner of Europe, on the north-western confines of Russia, which needed quite a series of further treaties to put it in its present shape. So far as that region is concerned the outstanding difference between the pre-war and the post-war map is that on the latter there figure for the first time as independent States Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Till 1914 the frontiers of Russia marched with Sweden, Germany and Austria. To-day a whole chain of buffer States separates what is now known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from the countries she adjoined till so lately.

That change was, like other changes in the map, effected (or rather, confirmed) by treaty, and as it often happened that more than one treaty was signed in, and took its name from, the same town, the treaty-scheme as a whole is unnecessarily confusing. To begin at the north, Finland, which enjoyed a large measure of self-government under the Russian Empire, gained full independence by the

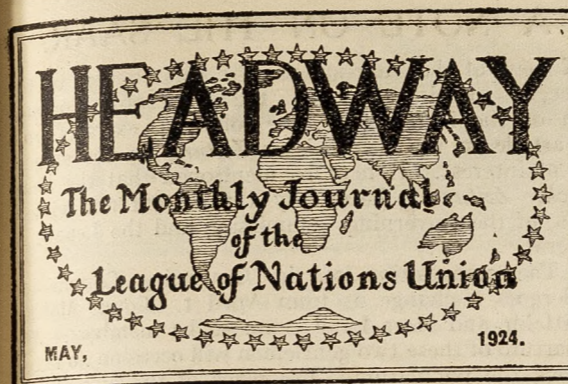
Treaty of Dorpat (signed in October, 1920), a treaty which incidentally embodied also the promise of autonomy for Eastern Carelia, a district lying immediately to the east of the Finnish frontier.

But that was not the only Treaty of Dorpat. Eight months earlier the old university town had seen another settlement concluded, whereby Soviet Russia recog-

nised the full independence of the region known to-day as Esthonia. Confused fighting had continued throughout these territories through 1919 and into 1920, the new republics (for they had already declared their independence) pitting themselves against German irregulars, on the one hand, and Soviet troops, on the other. In August, 1920, by the first Treaty of Riga, Latvia, immediately to the south of Esthonia, got her freedom recognised. A month earlier, by the Treaty of Moscow, the independence of Lithuania had been similarly acknowledged, Russia being the other contracting party in either case.

There remained Poland. With her Russia waged war as late as 1921, a war of many vicissitudes, whose latest turn resulted in successes which carried Poland's victorious armies well beyond her ethnographical frontier. It was on the basis of the line so reached that the second Treaty of Riga was concluded in March, 1921, the Ukraine being associated with Russia in the signature. The feature of that treaty was that it gave Poland a long narrow strip of territory thrust up as far as the Latvian frontier between Lithuania's eastern and Russia's western borders. Lithuania's eastern frontier was, however, still to be modified, and Poland's narrow strip to be thereby substantially widened. In October, 1920, the Polish General Zeligowski had seized Vilna by a *coup de main*, and though for two years and more the League of Nations sought to settle the dispute thus arising between the two States neither of them

would accept its proposals, and in March, 1923, the Allies, with whom it lay to fix Poland's eastern frontier, fixed it so as to include the Vilna district, and, further south, the region known as Eastern Galicia. Thus, four years and a half after the Armistice, the last undetermined frontier of any consequence was drawn in Eastern Europe.



"DULL STUFF."

THERE is a common impression abroad that anything written or spoken about the International Labour Office and its works must be dull stuff. That may be largely the fault of speakers and writers on such subjects. It is, partly, too, no doubt a result of the fact that while the activities of the League of Nations as a whole are multifarious, so that everyone who follows its doings at all closely can find one piece of work or another that has a special interest for him, the Labour Office naturally and rightly confines itself to a single field—to wit, the world of labour—and about half the population of the British Isles is firmly and obstinately convinced that labour problems, involving as they do questions of hours and wages—in other words, statistical and economic questions—must necessarily be so dreary that no one could be expected to study them except as a means of earning a living.

That is in reality all nonsense. The Labour Office and its works are no more dull than a bus ride from Piccadilly to Ludgate Circus is dull. The one, it is true, is concerned only with men and women and workshops and factories; but the other likewise is concerned only with men and women and shops and houses, with a church and a theatre or two for variety. What is wrong with our approach to the Labour Office is our own lack of imagination. We see it as dealing with problems when in reality it is dealing with human lives. When we hear talk of cutting down hours of labour from ten hours or nine hours to eight our material minds begin speculating on what effect that will have on output. We forget to think of the most important thing of all, what effect it will have on domestic life in men who care for their families and are going to have one hour or two hours more with them a day. We forget what it may mean to men who care for self-development to be able to put in the time thus gained at evening classes or on a small holding or at some decent place of entertainment, just as we forget that unemployment is only secondarily a social problem, and first and foremost a human tragedy.

We forget, in short, just the things we ought constantly to remember. We forget that the Labour clauses of the Treaty of Versailles constitute something unique in the history of the world. Where in history can a parallel be found to a diplomatic instrument which, in the course of settling the problems outstanding at the end of a great war, goes out of its way to define the broad rights of labour and then creates an international instrument, involving a formal co-operation (also unique in the history of international relations) between governments, employers and employed, to regulate hours of work, to prevent unemployment, to provide for the payment of a living wage, to protect children and women in the course of their employment, to organise vocational and technical education, and to attempt other changes which if they are ever effected in their totality or anything approaching it, will slowly revolutionise the life

of the worker the world over? The real reproach against the Labour Office is not that it is dull or materialistic, but that its aims range so far into the realm of the ideal that serious hope of their realisation must be dismissed.

That reproach will not actually lie. Even in four years and a-half the I.L.O. has achieved much. Like the League itself, it finds it hard to get its Conventions ratified, and this country has no particular reason to be proud of its record in that regard. We are only now being promised a Bill to give effect to the so-called 48-hour week Convention, signed by the British representative under instructions in 1919, and we still have to ratify the White-Lead and Seamen's Unemployment Indemnity Conventions. What do those two latter prosaic instruments involve? They involve in the first instance protection against the grave physical perils which attend the regular use of paint with white lead as a chief constituent—any doctor will enlarge on that topic—and in the second a cancellation of the grossly inequitable practice by which a seaman wrecked in some distant sea cannot claim from his employers a day's wages or the price of a passage home from the moment the voyage was so ended. That was made graphically clear by Mr. Barnes when he observed recently that the men who were feted and received with every parade of congratulation on reaching England as survivors from the wrecked "Trevesa" a few months ago had no legal claim on the owners of that vessel from the hour when she had to be abandoned.

Take again what the I.L.O. has already accomplished in the way of abolishing child labour—baby labour, it might almost be called—in certain countries in the East, notably in India and Japan, where conventions, signed at International Labour Conferences, have been most loyally observed. Mr. Sherwood Eddy in his striking book "The New World of Labour," mentions a visit he paid to a Chinese match factory said to be the best of its kind in the neighbourhood. There he found "eleven hundred employees, mostly boys from nine to fifteen years of age, working from 4 a.m. to 8.30 p.m. with a short intermission for meals." Regarding another factory he was told that the workers average 18 hours a day, with short intervals for meals, and work seven days a week. That is the kind of thing the Labour Office has to deal with, and nobody can expect it to root out that debasing and inhumane system in a decade. But it has begun to try, and already an impression is being made. It is satisfactory from a national point of view to find that Mr. Eddy, himself an American, after detailing the almost equally deplorable conditions that till lately prevailed in India, mentions that "India was almost the first country in the world to ratify the action of the Washington Labour Conference," and that she has "far surpassed Japan and set a shining example to China in her Labour legislation."

To contend that I.L.O. news is dull stuff, in short, will not do. It can be made dull. So can most subjects. Not much is wrong with the Labour Organisation itself. What is wrong is that too little trouble is taken to make its work known at home, and too little zeal manifested in applying the principles agreed on at Geneva to the domestic industrial problems of individual countries. Therein lies the value of the conference on unemployment lately organised by the Labour Department of the League of Nations Union. The conference indeed served a double purpose, in that it at one and the same time familiarised a number of important people for the first time with what had been done in this sphere at Geneva, and mobilised for the benefit of the Geneva authorities, in common with the world in general, the views of the most discerning and most experienced authorities in this country. That kind of procedure should be copied in other countries and often repeated in our own.

VARIED VOICES.

Signor Mussolini to the Syndics (Mayors) of Italy, March 23.

"Italy has been the first to recognize the Soviet Government, and she will not oppose the admission of that Government or of Germany to the League of Nations whenever that question arises."

Lord Cecil of Chelwood, in House of Lords, April 2.

"Memel and Yaworzina may be described as two cases in which the League has wiped the eye of the Ambassadors' Conference. They are two cases in which the Ambassadors' Conference failed to secure a settlement and which the League has settled."

Herr von Lersner, Bavarian Nationalist leader at Munich, March 23.

"We must oppose with all our strength suggestions now being made in various quarters that Germany should join the League of Nations. To do so would be suicide, for the League of Nations is nothing less than a League to throttle Germany and to assist the Entente to continue their policy of robbery."

Lord Chelmsford, in House of Lords, March 18.

"We stand for a policy of international co-operation through a strengthened and enlarged League of Nations, the settlement of disputes by conciliation and judicial arbitration, and the creation of conditions which will make a comprehensive agreement on limitation of armaments possible."

M. Trygger, Prime Minister of Sweden, April 7.

"The League of Nations, whatever hopes it may inspire for future developments, is no guarantee against the possibility of warlike complications. The sundering of so many national, political, social, economic and cultural bonds had sown the seeds of future disturbances. No one dared to be unprepared to meet them in self-defence."

M. Poincaré, Ministerial Declaration, April 31.

"How can France, who has so largely contributed in Europe to the freeing of suppressed nationalities, have any idea of trampling on the conscience of the nationalities, small or great, which to-day make up Europe? How can she do otherwise, on the contrary, than support and develop the League of Nations, of which she was the first to conceive the design and in which she has constantly in the last four years played the part of conciliator?"

Baron Matsui, Japanese Foreign Minister, to *Times* Correspondent, April 6.

"We are glad that the British Government has decided not to create a great naval base at Singapore. . . Our membership in the League of Nations, our very definite Naval Agreement, the Four Power Treaty, and other associations we have in common with Great Britain are highly regarded by us. . . Japan's desires for peace are not only sentimental but are based upon our requirements."

M. Rakovsky, Delegate of the Union of Soviet Republics at Anglo-Soviet Conference, April 13.

"We are aware of the great interest shown by the British Government and public opinion in this country in the League of Nations. The Soviet Government do not feel in the same way as is done in England towards the League of Nations as it now exists, but they would be prepared to associate themselves with a plan of international organisation which should exclude measures of coercion and reprisal. These can only result in serving the selfish interests of certain of the more powerful States. At the present time the only international organisation possible, in our view, would be that into which all the Governments would enter of their own free will and on a footing of perfect equality."

A NOTE ON THE SAAR.

IN view of the interest taken in this country in the recent appointments to the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley, the following extracts from an article in the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* on the subject are of interest. It may be mentioned that the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* is habitually a persistent and violent critic of the Governing Commission and the League in general.

"The composition of the Governing Commission undergoes a change as from April 1. Count Moltke, Huitfeldt and Herr Land cease to be members. The departure of these two gentlemen will occasion no regret among the population. The place of the first will be taken by the Spanish representative, M. Espinosa de los Monteros. He is not known to the Saar population, but the relations between his country and Germany are excellent."

"M. Espinosa de los Monteros comes to us, therefore, from a friendly country. We are confident that he shares the generous views of his country and is inspired with a genuine desire to carry out the duties of his office here with impartiality and justice, as a man standing above political parties. The fact that he is acquainted with our language will make it easier for him to understand the nature of the tasks which await him."

"Herr Kossmann will now be responsible for the protection of Saar interests as the representative of the Saar population. He was elected against the wishes of the population, on the nomination of the Governing Commission. The situation, however, must be accepted. It is in the nature of things that Herr Kossmann should not enjoy the confidence of the Saar population; but that he may, nevertheless, be inspired by an honourable desire to work in his new position to the best of his ability to safeguard the rights and promote the welfare of the Saar Territory must, in fairness, be admitted. The population should therefore not regard him with distrust."

"Bartholomäus Kossmann is of Saar origin; he knows the country and its people from personal experience. He has raised himself from humble beginnings by his own energy; characters such as his, which have been trained in the school of necessity, are certainly not among the worst. In the course of his duties when working under the Governing Commission he may have been exposed to many unjust insinuations; many of his actions at that time may also be explained by the difficulties of his official position; but Herr Kossmann has nevertheless frequently emphasised his German sympathies. Let us remember, too, that as President of the Advisory Council, he succeeded, in spite of opposition at the outset, in preparing the way for an understanding with the political parties."

"With his appointment by the Council of the League of Nations as a member of the Governing Commission, Herr Kossmann is no longer in an official position of subordinate to the President but becomes a representative of the Government invested with equal rights. We may, therefore, expect Herr Kossman, as a Minister, to adopt a more independent attitude than he adopted as an official. This important rearrangement in the composition of the Governing Commission deserves careful attention. The present Saar representative on the Governing Commission will find it no easy matter to repair the harm done by his two predecessors, Dr. Hector and Herr Land. Regarded from this point of view, therefore, the election constitutes a great improvement, and Herr Kossman will have the opportunity, in his new position, free from the oppressive restraints of official dependence, to uphold the rights and serve the interests of the Saar—an aim in which he will receive the support of all true Germans in the Territory."



GENEVA, April, 1924.

THE League of Nations has received from the Reparation Commission copies of the Expert Committee's report. Too much significance should not be attached to this step, though it is apparent that there are several aspects in which the experience and character of the League may be usefully employed in practice. The report has doubtless been communicated by reason of the fact that there are two points in which the League is directly concerned. The first is that in case of any dispute arising on the index of prosperity the Financial Section of the League should be the body to decide in order that the decision may be impartial and disinterested. The second concerns the rise or fall in the value of gold. Gold may be a defective measure of value in assessing the number of gold marks which Germany is to pay, and if the general index figure and the purchasing power of gold should automatically increase or decrease by more than 10 per cent., and if any dispute arises as to this rise or fall, the matter will be considered by an arbitral committee appointed by the League.

On much broader grounds, the influence of the work of the League is obvious throughout the greater part of the essential proposals. What the League has done for Austria has been a guide and a model. Although the scheme has been generally approved all round, there are some gaps of importance which will have to be filled in, notably as to what is to be the deciding authority in case of dispute between the controllers and the German Government on many of the various points which may arise during the execution of the plan. It could scarcely be the Reparation Commission, upon which Germany, of course, is not represented, and it would seem a reasonable plan to make the Council of the League, with Germany as a member of it, the court of appeal, as is the case with Austria and with Hungary. It is to be hoped also that the Allied Powers will take guidance from League methods by the appointment of controllers, who will have the confidence not only of the Allies, but of Germany, as being impartial, disinterested administrators. It is quite obvious that the experts have been influenced not only by the League examples, but directly by Sir Arthur Salter, the Director of the Financial and Economic Section of the Secretariat of the League, who was consulted by them, and the Allied Powers could certainly do worse than take a leaf out of the book of the experts by engaging in similar consultation in the steps which remain to be taken.

Another general aspect of importance is the first approach to definition by the Russian Government of what they mean by their observation about a reconstituted League of Nations. The first occasion upon which they referred to the matter was in the carefully considered reply addressed to the League to the request for their views on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. This reply, which was couched in more moderate terms than is usually the case in Soviet references to the League, made some suggestions and also some criticisms, not all of which, on examination, hold good. But the fact of broader significance is their indication both in this letter and in M. Rakovsky's statement at the opening of the negotiations with the British Government in London, that, in the view of the Soviet, the

League should cancel all provision for the exercise of sanctions or penalties. There are probably a good many who will have little objection to such a development, but the main difficulty would come from some of the new small States, who find in these sanctions some safeguard for their national stability and security. But it is now pretty generally recognised that the Council of the League cannot ordain general coercive action by States Members, but can only make recommendations to that effect, their execution depending upon the Parliamentary assent of each separate Member State. It is true, however, that the Mutual Guarantee Treaty in its present form goes somewhat further. Assuming that the Soviet declarations are sincere—and this is not a facile assumption—there should be a chance of satisfying their apprehensions as to the real significance of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant.

During the month there have been several League meetings. The Committee of Government revenue experts has made a considerable step forward in their consideration of the problem of double taxation; the Committee of experts appointed to carry out an international inquiry into the extent of the traffic in women and children has roughly sketched out its plan of progress; the Advisory Committee on the traffic in women and children has just concluded its ordinary meeting; the Committee appointed to prepare for the Opium Conference in November has held a meeting in Paris without having made much apparent progress; and there has been an interchange of public health officers in England, concluding with the usual reports and discussions in Geneva.

A most interesting development has taken place in connection with these interchanges. On the initiative of a Polish doctor, those participating this time—and they are medical officers of key positions from twenty-one different countries—have decided to set up an international society of public health officers taking part in these interchanges, with its headquarters at Geneva. All those who have hitherto taken part, namely, 240 from 43 different countries, are to be invited to become original members. A provisional committee has been elected to draw up a constitution. It is composed of doctors from France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Poland, Ecuador and Great Britain. Its objects are to be the advancement of preventive medicine and public health administration in its international aspects, the promotion of the international activities of the Health Organisation of the League, the exchange of information of public health matters, international conferences, the publication of reports in the national medical periodicals, &c. The importance of this step is that it is crystallising the idea which lies behind this system of interchanges, namely, the closer relationship between public health services in different countries and the development of an international spirit.

Reference should be made to one or two points in the meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children. Fourteen replies were received from Governments to the questionnaire as to their views on the connection between the system of licensed houses and the traffic in women. Of these replies seven are of interest: the Governments of Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Holland and Poland consider that the system of licensed houses is a direct cause of the traffic; Panama defends State regulation on hygienic grounds alone; Latvia and Denmark abandoned licensed houses for reasons other than those connected with the traffic; and Hungary considers that the severe measures taken to punish procurement in that country has prevented the possibility of licensed houses becoming the source of traffic in women. These replies are to be circulated to all Members of the League.

BOOKS WORTH READING.

INDISCRIMINATE adulation is a peril for institutions as well as for individuals; success almost inevitably brings in its train a self-content that is a foe to all further progress and perfection. There is a real danger that the League of Nations may suffer more from its friends than from its enemies; its very successes may prevent its most vehement, though not its truest, supporters from seeing its flaws and its mistakes, and from seeking their remedy. For this reason Mr. Horace Alexander's *The Revival of Europe** (Allen & Unwin; cloth 5s., paper 3s. 6d.) should receive a cordial welcome and a wide circulation. Mr. Alexander's position as lecturer in International Relations at Woodbrooke, declares his knowledge of events and places him above suspicion as an enthusiast in the cause of peace; he is well known to many as an active supporter of the League and of our Union. It follows therefore that any criticism to which he subjects the League cannot be lightly regarded; it will carry all the more weight in that he gives full measure of praise to the achievements of the League and that he answers the question of his sub-title—Can the League of Nations help?—with a strong affirmative. For all this, however, he is not blind to the realities of the present moment, while he is careful to distinguish, as we might expect, between any responsibility for failure which rests upon the League and that which rests more heavily upon the Governments of its member States. In Mr. Alexander's opinion the League cannot be excused for having shown at times an anti-German bias and for registering on more than one occasion the will of the conquerors in the late war. The League's procedure in regard to minorities also comes in for criticism; "the task committed to the League has proved too great for it hitherto; in places the Minorities' Treaties are little more than a dead letter." To remedy its present weakness Mr. Alexander favours the proposal which was turned down by the Assembly of 1922 for the appointment of a League Commissioner who should reside in all areas of mixed population, a proposal which would be robbed of all discredit if every State, our own included, were to welcome an independent League representative "to co-operate with the home Government to further the interests of humanity not only as concerns racial and other minorities, but also as to conditions of labour, public health and in all other spheres where the experience of one people may be valuable to another." It must not be supposed, however, that the author is absorbed in criticism; far from it, his chapters on the disarmament enquiries and on the League and Germany, for example, give the clearest discussion and exposition of these subjects that we have seen. He sets out also constructive proposals which are severely challenging, but which deserve full and unbiased consideration.

Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice's booklet on *Disarmament* (*Daily News*, 6d.) is a valuable summary of the whole subject, and of the League's action in regard to it in particular; he writes with authority and with intimate and first-hand knowledge. He again is not blind to one defect at least of the League, "the intolerable slowness of the machinery of International Legislation"; and he sees more hope in the calling of an *ad hoc* Conference to be attended, as at Washington, by plenipotentiaries with power to act. With this end in view he would have this country take the lead and cease from its attitude of "benevolent neutrality" in the matter. It is certainly not to our credit that he is able to point out that Great Britain shares with Lithuania and Esthonia the unenviable position of not having even replied to the questionnaire

*Copies of this book may be obtained at the L.N.U. Offices, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Postage 4d. extra.

issued on the subject by the authority of the 1922 Assembly. An appendix usefully contains the text of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which is also discussed at some length in the body of the book.

Those who heard Count Harry Kessler speak during his visit to England last year will not be slow to read his *Germany and Europe* (Milford, 10s. 6d.), the verbatim report of lectures which he delivered last autumn at Williamstown, Mass. He quite frankly admits that the Imperial German Government had a lamentable share in the responsibility for the outbreak of the Great War, though he claims that it was not alone responsible; he holds that the greater blame rests upon Russia. With equal frankness he admits Germany's moral duty of reparation and restoration, but he justifiably criticises the "blunder" of the Treaty of Versailles and France's claim for security, as they appear to a German who is inspired with the spirit of international goodwill. In his closing pages Count Kessler speaks of the League, "whatever its shortcomings," he says, "it is at least conceived as a permanent agreement. It thereby gives Europe its first real chance of solving fundamental problems. And I believe therefore that Germany is vitally interested in its continuance and re-enforcement." But he considers it to be weak on the economic side, and would like it to assume the part played by the Supreme Economic Council of the Allies during the war. It is only by the inclusion of non-political international interests strong enough to counter-balance national and local groups that, according to Count Kessler, the weakness of the League can be healed. Even if such an idea as this is not immediately practical, it affords matter for debate and thought. The book is worth reading, but why has Mr. Milford put it out of the reach of many would-be readers by charging half-a-guinea for 150 pages?

Yet another book on the situation in Europe. It might have been thought that there was little left to say about our hapless continent, and we doubt if Mr. Harold Stannard in *The Fabric of Europe* has added much to what has already been thought and said in plenty. In searching for the causes of the late war the author here traces in the political background of the past four centuries the sequence of events in Eastern and Western Europe which contributed to the disaster of 1914. From causes, which occupy a good half of the book, he proceeds to results, among which he singles out the Russian Revolution and the League as new factors in European life. We are tempted to ask whether either of these factors is really new; is not each in its own sphere the logical and inevitable outcome of all that has gone before? Mr. Stannard believes that, while the moral authority upon which the League depends must limit its political activities, it has been wise in accepting these limitations, and that most of its strongest supporters look to what it may become rather than to what it is to-day; we agree, but we do not think that any useful purpose is served by discussing the reasons which have led the United States to stand aloof; that is a matter of her own concern.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

The Nations of To-day. The Baltic and Caucasian States (Hodder & Stoughton, 15s.). The story and present conditions of Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, of Azerbaijan and Georgia ably described by a group of writers who are experts in their subjects and describe without dullness. Invaluable to all who would understand these new States of Europe and Asia, four of which are already members of the League. Eight good maps.

The Principles of International Law. By T. J. Lawrence (Macmillan, 20s.). This standard work is too well known to need comment, but this newly issued

OVERSEAS NEWS.

THE Union has now penetrated the Sudan, a branch having been formed by members of the British colony at Khartoum.

A successful meeting has lately been held by the new Delhi branch of the L.N.U., with Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council, in the chair. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari were among the speakers.

The German Liga für Völkerbund offers to send its literature regularly to 25 members of the British Union who would like to receive it. Applications should be sent to the Overseas Secretary, League of Nations Union.

Both the Canadian League of Nations Society and the Irish League of Nations Society have applied for membership of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, and both are expected to be represented at the Lyons Congress at the end of June.

The Paris branch is now well on its feet, with a membership of over 200, which is likely to be increased considerably. A crowded meeting addressed by Lord Cecil at the end of March gave the movement a considerable impetus.

It is desired that the statement supplied to HEADWAY and published in its last number, to the effect that at the meeting addressed at Monte Carlo by Mr. Whelen the Prince of Monaco took the chair, should be corrected. The Prince gave his patronage to the meeting, but the chair was taken by Admiral Sir John Parry.

The Columbia University Law Library (New York) is very anxious to obtain a complete set of copies of HEADWAY for 1923. These are out of stock at headquarters. Is any reader of HEADWAY disposed to present, or sell, a set to the library in question? Offers (not the actual copies in the first instance) should be sent to the Overseas Secretary, L.N.U. Similarly the Boston (U.S.A.) Public Library wants the first five complete volumes of HEADWAY. Offers here also to the Overseas Secretary.

The Japanese League of Nations Society has now sent to the Union a list of some two hundred books which they desire to obtain to replace copies in the various University Libraries of Japan destroyed by last year's earthquake. Authors and publishers of the books in question are being invited to present them in the first instance, and any not so obtainable will be purchased with funds which it is proposed to raise by subscription.

As stated in last month's HEADWAY, it is proposed to arrange for a party of L.N.U. members other than actual delegates to attend the meetings of the annual assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Lyons at the end of June. The actual meetings last four days, from Sunday, June 29, to Wednesday, July 2. There will be various public functions apart from the actual assembly sittings, including a whole-day excursion on Thursday, July 3, to Aix-les-Bains, the return to Lyons being at such an hour as to leave time to catch the night trains to Paris and London. Full particulars of cost and hotel arrangements will be published in the June HEADWAY. Meanwhile it may be mentioned that the actual ticket (2nd class return) costs £5 15s. 4d. if a large enough party is made up. L.N.U. members thus visiting Lyons can be made members of the Assembly (without voting rights) on payment of 10 francs (say 3s.). Applications to the Secretary, L.N.U., before June 14 at the latest.

edition has been brought up to date by Dr. P. H. Winfield, who deals with the development of his subject since the war and the establishment of the League, "one course of masonry in the future temple of International Law." By no means too technical for the non-legal reader.

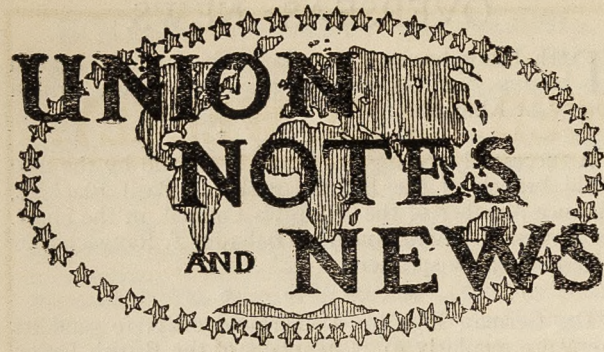
A Short History of International Relations. By C. Delisle Burns (Allen & Unwin, 5s. cloth, 3s. 6d. paper). The author is a master of simple and lucid explanation. This "history of peace" traces the progress due to the interchange of arts and sciences, goods and services and of the good influence which one nation has had on others. The tale of wars and revolutions is eliminated. While written primarily for teachers, it can be read with equal profit and interest by their pupils and their parents.

Citizenship. By W. H. Hadow (Clarendon Press, 6s.). Being the Stevenson lectures for 1922; the treatment of the League stops short at that date, but Sir W. H. Hadow has many wise words to say on the relation of the individual to the State, and in an excellent chapter distinguishes between internationalism and cosmopolitanism. H. W. F.

AT WEMBLEY.

"EVERYONE'S a-Wembling, and we must Wemble too," sang the two E.V.'s in dulcet unison in the "Empire Review." We must indeed; not once, but many times, in the hope that next time it will be a fine day. Besides, those wonders from all over the Seven Seas, which it is worth braving even the mud of Middlesex and the bitter blasts of an English summer to see, are too many and too novel for the average intelligence to take in all at once. So keep on coming until you are sure you have seen all you ought. One feature you must not miss. When you get out at the station, turn your back upon India and follow the Golden Ways, past the bandstand between Newfoundland and the Government Building. There you will find—little and good, like the city of Geneva, or the beginning of everything that was ever worth while—the League of Nations Pavilion.

Within its humble portals you will find at least as many opportunities for instruction combined with amusement, as in the more lordly edifices which tower around it. Though there may be no ostriches, there are postage-stamps from little known and out-of-the-way member States. There are photographs, signed and framed, of well-known workers for the League in this and other countries. There is a Travel Bureau, at which you can drop in and discover hitherto unsuspected possibilities of summer holidays in unknown foreign lands, this combining the advantages of a visit to Wembley with those of one to Messrs. T. Cook & Sons. Your friends from overseas can find there information relating to towns in this country to be explored when the lure of the British Empire Exhibition has ceased to hold them in its grasp, and to accommodation in and near London up to that time. If you choose your time well, you will be able to read, displayed in large letters, special messages to the Union from the Dominion Premiers on appropriate occasions such as Anzac Day. If you arrive during League of Nations Week—that is to say, between June 16 and 23—you will see the Model Assembly in progress. If you are not lucky enough to go to Geneva for the real Assembly, you will always be able to obtain the latest news of its doings from the League of Nations Pavilion. So with any other interesting League news, such as the June Council meeting and the sixth session of the I.L.O. And should there not happen to be any epoch-making news displayed on the day of your visit, you may still hear ten minutes' talks on the League and its work by our own speakers. So come in your thousands. Be sure, you will profit by it.



L.N.U. Lending Library.

The existing Library at 15, Grosvenor Crescent has been reorganised and brought up to date, and will, it is hoped, shortly be opened as a Lending Library on a subscription basis. The Library contains sections on the League of Nations and its various problems, such as Mandates, Armaments (including a valuable collection of schemes for international government, before 1920 when the League came into being), War and Peace, Peace Conferences and Peace Treaties, International Law, Diplomacy, History, International Finance and Economics, Education, Religion, International Labour Problems, &c., &c. It is proposed both to lend separate books and to send out book-boxes containing up to 20 books to individuals, Branches of the Union, Study Circles, organisations outside the Union, &c. The scale of charges proposed is as follows:—

- 2 VOLUMES PER WEEK.—10s. 6d. per annum, or 4d. per volume per week; or
- Book-Box (containing up to 20 books) for 3 months, 15s. per annum.

It will, however, largely depend upon the members of the Union whether the scheme for a Lending Library can be carried out. Two members of the Union have given each a generous donation which has brought the Library into the realm of "practical politics." But we must be assured of further support before the Library can be set working. The Union therefore definitely appeals to its members and Branches to inform the Librarian before June 15, 1924:—

- (a) Whether they approve of the proposal to start a Lending Library and are willing to support it.
- (b) Whether they will promise a subscription for 1924 on the lines indicated above.
- (c) Whether they will bring the Library to the notice of their friends, whether members of the Union or not.

If the number of replies sent warrant the launching of the venture, the Lending Library will be opened as soon as possible.

* * * *

Plays and Pageants.

"William Penn," a historical play by Mary L. Pendered, was performed by members of the Society of Friends and Leeds during the very successful "League of Nations" Week which we reported last month. The play is now on sale at the Friends' Book Shop, Devonshire House, E.C.2, for the modest sum of half-a-crown. Leeds Friends will be very glad to lend the costumes worn in the play at a moderate fee—an offer which harassed producers will no doubt be glad to accept.

Miss Fanny Johnson's pageant, "Earth and her Children," is widely popular among branches. It has lately been very well performed by school children at Berwick-on-Tweed. Two performances were given on the same day, each preceded by an address on the League by Lieutenant-Colonel E. N. Mozley, D.S.O. At the evening performance

an opportunity was given, after the address, for everyone present to join the Union. This is a "turn" which should not be omitted from any Branch entertainment. The Borders District hope to increase its membership to 2,000 this year.

Branches in search of a new form of play will be interested to hear of the great success of a performance of Professor Gilbert Murray's translation of the "Andromache" at Bristol. The Press were unanimous in praise of this as a peace play. The Union is fortunate beyond many institutions in having a poet for its chairman, and its gratitude to Providence might well be expressed by following Bristol's lead.

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Glasgow Flag Day.

A month or two ago we announced that the Glasgow Branch had so successfully pressed its claims on local authorities as to obtain their permission, usually only given to charitable enterprises, to hold a Flag Day on March 29. The enterprise was justified by the sum realised—£850—which far exceeded the proceeds of many other flag days in Glasgow. The Glasgow Branch is always qualifying for honourable mention. With this achievement behind them they should be encouraged to hope great things from the League of Nations Fair which they are planning for June 20. Let us hope the weather will prove kind in proportion to their energy.

* * * *

A New Branch in Cheshire.

A new Branch has been founded at Sale and Ashton-upon-Mersey, and has inaugurated its existence with a public meeting in Sale Town Hall. Mr. P. T. Johnstone was in the chair, and the speakers included Mr. J. L. Paton, M.A., Lady Haworth, Commander Robert Alstead, M.P. for the Altrincham Division, Sir G. C. Hamilton, Mr. W. Plant, C.C., Mr. F. S. Churchill, J.P., and Mr. Thomas Cheshire. One hundred new members were enrolled.

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"G.B.S." at St. Albans.

It is not without a certain apprehension that one approaches Mr. Shaw's treatment of a cause which one has at heart. One can be certain that if it has any weaknesses he will lay them bare, and one has an uncomfortable feeling that he will reveal them where one had never suspected them. So it was a relief when he was kind to the League at St. Albans. It will never be a real League, he said, until Germany and Russia are members; and he pleaded eloquently for a real spirit of friendship between the nations which are now nominally at peace. "The last war has not been stopped yet," he said. This is only too true; the League's difficulties have been doubled by the fact that, while it was designed to function in a world at peace, such a world has not yet existed for it to function in.

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Jones Minor's View.

An unsolicited testimonial (as the dealers in patent medicines say) to the value of Junior Branches comes to us in the form of a conversation overheard between two schoolboys. "Some of the chaps are beginning to take quite an interest in the thing." "What sort of a lecture did you have?" "Oh, jolly good. Just what we wanted. The fellow knew his subject well. Even Jones Minor agreed that he was the right sort." Evidently the League is a live subject to boys, and their interest in it is well worth organising.

* * * *

Success in Ulster.

The new Belfast Branch, thanks to the energy of its Secretary, Mr. A. R. Rhys Price, has made an excellent start and is spreading the Union through Ulster. A branch has been successfully established at Bushmills, and others are in course of formation in Coleraine, Ballymena,

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ROYAL TOURNAMENT

May 22 to June 7

AT OLYMPIA

will be

LONDON'S BEST SHOW for 1924

GRAND NAVAL PAGEANT, POPULAR DISPLAYS and COMPETITIONS
Air Raid—Musical Ride, etc., etc.

PERFORMANCES at 2.30 and 8 p.m.

Make a note of date and book early at all libraries

POPULAR PRICES

Ballymoney, Portrush, Lisburn and Londonderry. Lord Cecil was to address the Belfast Branch on April 29th.

Geneva Summer School, August 8-18.

Lectures will be given in the Council Chamber of the Palais des Nations, the headquarters of the League. The School is being held in close co-operation with the Secretariat and the International Labour Office. Facilities will be given for studying the work of both departments and meeting the personnel.

PROGRAMME.

Friday.—Depart Victoria 8.45 a.m.

Saturday.—Arrive Geneva 8.20 a.m.

Sunday.—Morning church services in English church. Day or half-day excursion on lake. (Optional).

Monday.—10-12, "The Organisation and Functions of the League," H. R. Cummings. 2.30, Visit to International Labour Office; reception by the Director, M. Albert Thomas. 5.0, "The Organisation and Functions of the International Labour Organisation," W. Stephen Sanders, O.B.E.

Tuesday.—10-12, "The Political Activities of the League," M. Mantoux, Director of Political Section; reception at Palais des Nations. 8.15, "The League and Health," Dr. L. Rajchman, Director of Health Section.

Wednesday.—10-12, "The Economic Activities of the League," Sir Arthur Salter, Director of Economic and Financial Section. 5.0, "The Work of the International Conference," Mr. H. A. Grimshaw. 8.15, Reception to Secretariat of the League and the International Labour Office.

Thursday.—10-12, "The League and Armaments," Senor Madariaga. 2.30, Excursion to Mont Salève. (Optional), 8.15, "Present and Future Problems of the International Labour Organisation," Mr. E. J. Phelan, Chief of Diplomatic Division, I.L.O.

Friday.—3.0, Discussion on the work of the League of Nations Union. 8.0, Leave Geneva for London (those staying a week only).

Saturday.—Excursion to Chamonix. (Optional).

Sunday.—Afternoon excursion to Jura Mountains. (Optional).

Monday.—Visit to places of interest in Geneva.

Each lecture will be followed by discussion. Fee for the week, 8th-15th, 10 guineas, inclusive of travelling from London (second class all the way), Folkestone-Boulogne route, carriage across Paris and accommodation in Geneva at hotels or pensions. Accommodation will consist of bed, Continental breakfast, luncheon and dinner, and will commence on arrival at Geneva. Small extra charges will be made for the excursions. The fee for those remaining until the evening of Monday, August 18, will be 11½ guineas.

Hand luggage only should be taken. Special labels will be provided. Each member of the party will be responsible for his or her own luggage and for the customary gratuities.

Passports are required and can be obtained direct on application to the Passport Office, 1, Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

Applications should be made as early as possible and addressed to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. A deposit of £1 must be sent with each application. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union" and crossed "Midland Bank."

Oxford Summer School—Keble College, August 1st to 8th.

PROGRAMME.

The Summer School at Oxford will be held at Keble College. Women students will be accommodated in sets of rooms near the College for bed and breakfast; other meals will be taken in the College.

Members should arrive in time for dinner at 7 p.m. at Keble College on Friday, August 1st, and will depart after lunch on Friday, August 8th.

Friday, August 1st, 8 p.m.—Inaugural Address, Professor Gilbert Murray.

Saturday, August 2nd, 9.30 a.m.—The aims and work

of the League of Nations Union, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E. This will be followed by a full discussion. 3.30 p.m.—Reception by Oxford branch. 8.0 p.m.—America and Europe, by a representative of the American Non-partisan Association.

Sunday, August 3rd, 8 p.m.—Arrangements for services being made.

Monday, August 4th, 9.30 a.m.—The Origin and Functions of the League, J. R. M. Butler. 11.15 a.m.—The Organisation and Functions of the International Labour Organisation, M. Arthur Fontaine. 2.30 p.m.—Optional excursion to the Cotswolds. 5.30 p.m.—The League of Nations and Teaching of History, Professor A. J. Grant. 8.0 p.m.—The League and armaments, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice.

Tuesday, August 5th, 9.30 a.m.—The Political Activities of the League, Frederick Whelen. 11.15 a.m.—The Work of the International Labour Organisation, M. Arthur Fontaine. Afternoon and Evening. Optional excursion on the river.

Wednesday, August 6th, 9.30 a.m.—The Mandatory System, Frederick Whelen. 11.15 a.m.—The World Court of Justice at work, Lord Phillimore. Afternoon.—The reception at Shipton Manor. 8 p.m.—The Economic Activities of the League, W. T. Layton, C.H., C.B.E.

Thursday, August 7th, 9.30 a.m.—The Humanitarian Activities of the League, Dame Edith Lyttelton. 11.15 a.m.—The Tasks before the International Labour Organisation, Miss Margaret Bondfield. 2.30 p.m.—Visit to the colleges. 5.30 p.m.—Geography and the League of Nations, Professor H. J. Fleure. 8 p.m.—Music and the Fellowship of Nations, Mr. J. Mahler.

Friday, August 8th, 9.30 a.m.—The League and Health, Dr. Harold Kerr, Medical Officer of Health for Newcastle.

Fee for accommodation and lectures, 4½ guineas; a reduction of 5s. will be made for those accommodated in College. Small extra charges will be made for the excursions. Members will make their own arrangements for travelling to Oxford, but provision will be made for the collection and delivery of luggage, and special labels will be issued.

Rooms will be allotted in order of application, which should be made as soon as possible to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. A deposit of 10s. must accompany each application.

Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank."

Admission to lectures only, One guinea.

WALES.

The members of the delegation from the Women of Wales to the Women of America have returned, and a "Welcome Home" meeting to Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths was arranged by the Welsh Federation of the League of Nations Union.

Mrs. Griffiths spoke of the wonderful kindness which they had received in America, and of the great gathering just before she sailed for home of 600 prominent people who were initiating a campaign for closer co-operation between America and the League of Nations.

Much progress has been made in Wales in the matter of teaching in the schools. A statement has been circulated by the Board of Education to all Education authorities throughout the country, and Education authorities are found to be very ready to act upon this circular. For instance, on April 8th the Glamorgan Elementary Education Committee, one of the most important Education Committees in the kingdom, passed a resolution requesting the head teachers of all their senior departments to take the necessary steps to give effect to the recommendation passed at the League Assembly. Copies of "Teachers and World Peace" are to be supplied to each school by the Committee. Reconsidering the previous decision, the Glamorgan Education Committee has also decided to allow

Captain Frederic Evans, B.A., to retain the honorary secretaryship of the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council.

Professor C. K. Webster met the teachers of Merionethshire, Denbighshire, Carnarvonshire and Anglesey in conference at various centres during the first fortnight in April.

Branches in Wales are now looking forward to the annual conference at Whitsuntide at Llandrindod Wells. Mr. David Davies, M.P., and Prof. Ruysen have been invited to deal with "the progress of the work in Europe," and it is intended to discuss such practical subjects as "Planning the Winter Programme," "the Work of a District," and "the Work of a Rural Branch."

"Daffodil Days" have been arranged by many of the branches with excellent results.

For the third year in succession, in the month of June the message from the Children of Wales to "all the world" will be sent out from the Oxford radio station on a wavelength of 8,750 metres.

The "Council's Vote."

In addition to those mentioned last month, the following Branches of the Union have paid in full their quotas of the Council's Vote for 1923: Bishops Stortford (Herts); Christchurch, Huddersfield (Gledholt Wesleyan Branch); Leatherhead; Staines.

Sunderland's Progress.

Sunderland held its annual meeting on April 7, when Mr. Whelen gave an effective address, having already spoken three times, at two schools and to the students of the Sunderland Day Training College.

A Mansion House Meeting.

In view of the visit to England of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the League Commission for the Settlement of Greek Refugees, a Mansion House meeting has been arranged for 5 p.m. on Thursday, May 8th, at which the Lord Mayor is expected to take the chair, and Mr. Morgenthau, Viscount Cecil and Viscount Burnham will speak. Admission is free, and L.N.U. members are urged to take the opportunity of hearing Mr. Morgenthau.

New Recruits.

The following have been admitted to "corporate membership" since the publication of the April HEADWAY:—

BIRMINGHAM—Park Road Congregational Church. BOLDMERE—Chester Road Baptist Church. BROMLEY—Trinity Presbyterian Church. BUCKHURST HILL—Wesleyan Church. CHESTER-LE-STREET—Wesley Guild. CHICHESTER—Congregational Church. DERBY—Normanton Road Congregational Church. ECCLES-HILL—Baptist Church. FARNWORTH—Wesley Guild. GLASGOW—St. George and St. Peter's United Free Church, Y.M.C.A.; Whiteinch Primitive Methodist Church. GOLDFIELD GREEN—Lyndhurst Hall Fellowship. HUNTSLEY—Wesleyan Church. LONDON—The Ahmadiya Movement in Islam; The Froebel Society and Junior Schools' Association; Greenwich Road Sisterhood; St. Katharine's Royal Chapel; Stoke Newington Presbyterian Church of England. MAIDSTONE—Union Street Wesleyan Church.

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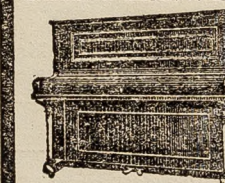
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Edinburgh.

The annual report of the Branch for 1923 shows that during that year membership had increased by 179 per cent., to 904, a further increase to 1,124 being registered by April 9.

Record-breaking in Keswick.

The Keswick Branch has doubled its membership during the past year, largely owing to the beginning of systematic canvassing. 111 new members were enrolled in the first three weeks of March.

New L.N.U. Publications.

"The Technique of the League of Nations," by Roth Williams (No. 144, 2d.).

"The Unity of Civilisation," by G. B. Good (No. 147, 2d.)

International Government.

Two books which should be on the shelf of every student of the League of Nations are "The League of Nations Today," by Roth Williams, price 6/-, and "International Government," by Leonard Woolf, price 7/6. The first describes what the League is and does; the second gives the historical background of the League, the history of International Co-operation. Both books may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, postage 6d. each extra.

Renew Your Subscriptions.

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

To Branch Secretaries.

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

Enquiries.

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

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- I.—FRENCH. July 19 to August 30.
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- II.—CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. Aug. 19 to Sept. 10.
A. The League of Nations. Six lectures by Prof. G. Scolle, of the University of Dijon. (The League's origin, constitution, evolution and future; the attitude of France and England towards the League.) B. The League of Nations' activities for the promotion of Political Peace. The International Labour Office's activities for the promotion of Social progress. Professor Zimmer, of the University of London, will comment in daily conferences the debates of the Council and the League of Nations during their sessions.
- III.—NATURAL SCIENCES, BOTANY AND GEOLOGY. Field and laboratory work for advanced Students, in the Mont Blanc, St. Bernard, Jungfrau and Matterhorn regions.
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For detailed programme apply to M. G. Thudichum, Directeur des Cours de Vacances, Université, Genève (Switzerland).

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

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