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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE German Note, addressed on July 20 to the Allied Governments in reply to their communication of June 16, contains highly important indications of the attitude of the German Government towards the League of Nations. Germany, of course, co-operates already in various of the technical organisations of the League, as well as in the work of the International Labour Office, of whose governing body she is a member. That, however, is a wholly different matter from full German membership of the League of Nations with a seat among the permanent members of the Council. With regard to actual entry of the League, the German Note, without going so far as to make absolute stipulations, raises two difficulties to which considerable importance must be attached. She still finds Article XVI, in spite of the explanations given in the Note addressed by the League Council last March to the German Government, to be a serious obstacle to her entry, on account of the obligations it involves in the matter of allowing the passage of foreign troops through her territory and of other measures connected with the exercise of Sanctions in the name of the League. Further, the German Note makes the very valid point that, as an unarmed nation, she cannot enjoy full privileges of membership so long as the majority of League members decline to take active steps to carry out the disarmament provisions of the Covenant. Any legitimate pressure Germany may exercise in that direction is manifestly to the good.

Back to the Covenant

IT is noteworthy, however, that in the other sections of the Note Germany is constantly invoking the Covenant of the League of Nations as a preferable alternative to various measures proposed by the Allies in their Note of June. In particular, she takes exception to the proposal that France and possibly other Western Powers should act as guarantors of the treaties of arbitration it is proposed to conclude between Germany and her eastern neighbours and other States and suggests that in regard to this the provisions of the Covenant should prevail. Quite apart from the debating force of this argument, it is interesting as proof of what, to anyone who has discussed international problems with Germans of influence, was already apparent, that discussion of the Pact in Germany, like discussion of the Geneva Protocol in this country a few months ago, has had the valuable effect of driving both politicians and the ordinary public back to the Covenant, and given them a new appreciation both of the nature of its obligations and of the value of its general rules of international conduct.

The Four Cruisers

THE decision of the Government to lay down four new cruisers this financial year raises something more far-reaching than any question of party politics. It is, no doubt, true in some measure that, so long as we have a navy at all, old and worn-out ships must be from time to

time replaced by new ones. It is equally true that, with the normal progress in naval construction, the new vessels will be more powerful than the old. But it is none the less true that the navy exists simply for attack, and if there is little likelihood of attack there is correspondingly little case for an increase in naval strength. Whose attack at this moment have we any reason to fear? America's? Japan's? France's? Any one of those countries has just as much reason to fear ours, and our building gives them a perfectly sound incentive for building too. A League of Nations Union which remembers the disarmament provisions of the Covenant cannot, however resolute it may be to keep detached from party politics, remain indifferent to these developments. The naval conference projected by the League of Nations last year fell through because of the larger disarmament conference projected under the Geneva Protocol. That larger conference fell through, in its turn, because of the non-adoption of the Protocol. The Union Executive has unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Admiral Drury-Lowe, urging that Great Britain should take the lead in calling a new conference to discuss cruiser limitation. That is the only visible alternative to another disastrous competition in a special type of armament.

The Sixth Assembly

THE League Assembly will open, as provided by the Assembly's own rules of order, on the first Monday in September, which this year happens to be September 7th. The Council will meet several days earlier, probably on the 2nd, and it is at least conceivable that conversations may take place at Geneva a little earlier still between the British and French Foreign Ministers, and, it may be hoped, their German colleague, Dr. Stresemann. The main business before the Council is consideration of the Report of the League's Commission on the Iraq frontier, and it is in order to give full time for a discussion on that point that members are to assemble some five days before the Assembly opens, instead of only three days, as is more usual. The nature of the Report of the Council's Commission regarding it may have some effect on Turkey's decision regarding application for membership of the League, though there seems relatively little probability of such an application being forthcoming this year. With regard to the Assembly, everything will depend on whether Germany decides to apply for membership or not. At the moment these words are being written the prospects of that happening appear to be about as evenly balanced as they could be. If the application is made, it will not merely be the most important event at the Assembly, but may determine the whole of the subsequent discussions. If it is not made, the likelihood is that there will be a straightforward meeting. Important as the Assembly must be, in that it passes the whole business of the League in view, it will not be marked by any discussions as striking as those which attended the formulation of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance in 1923 or the Geneva Protocol in 1924. Except that the world expects a good deal of the Assembly and is therefore disappointed if discussions are dull, a quiet meeting devoted mainly to routine would do no great harm for once.

The Assembly Delegates

THE announcement of the names of the British delegation to the League Assembly in September has on the whole been received with satisfaction. There would have been profound disappointment if Lord Cecil had not been chosen as one of the delegates. As it is, his name appears on the list immediately after that of the Foreign Secretary, which means that if, as seems probable, Mr. Chamberlain is able to attend only part of the Assembly, the delegation will in his absence be led by Lord Cecil. Those who remember with what prudent statesmanship he guided not merely the British delegation but the whole Assembly through the Corfu crisis two years ago, will have complete confidence in the fortunes of this year's delegation, even during Mr. Chamberlain's absence. In sending the Duchess of Atholl to Geneva the Prime Minister has included in the delegation his only woman Minister. There is obvious appropriateness in this appointment, and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education will find plenty of scope for work lying along the lines of her own department, while her personal sympathies with the League have been sufficiently pronounced to qualify her from that point of view also. Sir George Grahame, a distinguished diplomatist, will gain valuable experience at Geneva. Sir Cecil Hurst, the Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office, is an indispensable member of any British delegation to the Assembly, and Mr. A. M. Samuel, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, will have an opportunity of establishing contacts which cannot fail to be of value with the highly important work of the Economic and Financial and other technical organisations of the League.

The Popular Voice?

ONE obvious comment to be made regarding the choice of personnel is that, while the delegation contains four Ministers, one diplomat and a permanent official, it includes no one who may be said to represent the broad mass of the people outside party politics. Most British Governments in the past have set the example of including one political opponent in the list of delegates, and there is clearly some loss when this is not done. If the present Government had seen objection to that course, it would at least have been possible to find some distinguished man or woman who could do great service at the Assembly outside party politics altogether. Though there is not much to find fault with in this year's delegation, it still remains matter for regret that political considerations should so have completely prevailed. As noted elsewhere in HEADWAY, the League of Nations Union Executive Committee adopted in July a resolution expressing the hope that the British delegation would be of the broadly representative kind suggested by President Wilson in his speech on the future League at one of the plenary sessions of the Paris Peace Conference.

The I.L.O. and the Coal Crisis

THE Press is coming gradually to realise the urgent necessity for some kind of international organisation of the coal industry. It may be sur-

prised to learn that the I.L.O. is already considering the possibility of a special inquiry into this problem. In April a Committee of the International Miners' Federation appealed for the help of the office in carrying out an investigation into the hours of work, annual holidays, and wages paid by employers to the working miners of different countries. Economic difficulties, it stated, were such as "to lead to continually increasing unemployment among miners and the lowering of their standard of living." These difficulties arose largely from "competition and commercial rivalry in the international coal market" . . . embittered by reason of the differences in the working conditions existing in the principal coal-producing countries." It decided, therefore, "that efforts should be made to secure the standardisation of working conditions of miners on an international basis." This appeal to the I.L.O. was considered by the Seventh Conference, which unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Body to consider the way in which such an investigation could best be carried out by the office. The adoption by a great international trade union of the fundamental principle of international labour organisation is an important step.

America Moves

AN interesting article in the "Manchester Guardian" suggests that a notable development of public opinion has taken place in America regarding the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The new development appears to arise from a series of conferences between different sections of the Peace Movement in America, some, but by no means all of them, being pledged supporters of the League of Nations as a whole. The result was the publication in the middle of July of an influentially signed document representing persons connected with the Outlawry of War Movement, commonly associated with the name of Senator Borah. The document urges the immediate adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court with the Harding-Hughes reservations, followed within two years by the adoption of a general declaration in favour of certain specific steps towards the outlawry of war. It is suggested by the writer in the "Manchester Guardian," which incidentally prints a long leading article on the subject, that this move means a definite abandonment of the hostilities displayed towards the League of Nations in America by many sections even of the recognised peace movement.

Austrian Hopes

VIENNA message in a recent issue of the *Observer* gives a welcome assurance of the gradual recovery of Austria from the financial and industrial crises through which it has recently passed. It would appear that the requirements of the League in regard to financial matters are now being loyally carried out, and what is of particular importance is the announcement that legislation has at last been adopted putting the financial relationship of the Central Government and the different provinces on a satisfactory basis. Hitherto, while the Central Government was effecting economies in accordance with the League's programme, the provinces, enjoying as they did a large measure of indepen-

dence, were some of them levying local taxes far too heavy for the country in its present impoverished state to bear. To rectify this difficulty is to advance Austria many stages on the road to stability. Incidentally, the League Commissioners, Mr. W. T. Layton and Dr. Rist, have been conducting an enquiry into the general situation in Austria, and their report will no doubt provide the League's Financial Committee with material for conclusions which, if applied with the co-operation of Austria and her neighbours, will remove still more of the obstacles to her complete recovery.

The League and China

THE question has frequently, and very rightly, been asked in the last few weeks of what part the League of Nations can play, and should play, in connection with the disturbances in China. Such a question raises difficult issues, and a special Committee has been appointed by the League of Nations Union Executive to consider the whole outlook, with a view to advising action, if action should at any moment prove desirable. If anything like open war between China and one or more Western Powers resulted from the present unrest, it is clear that the matter ought at once to be raised under Article XI of the Covenant. Fortunately, however, nothing of that kind is in immediate prospect, and it is still possible to hope that the worst of the trouble is over. That being so, the question immediately arising is whether the League should be definitely associated with any impending discussions on such matters as the Extra Territoriality Treaties under which foreigners in China at present live. The revision or reconsideration of these Treaties could clearly be raised with propriety at the coming Assembly under Article 19 of the Covenant, and it is quite possible that it may be so raised. Mr. Chamberlain, however, in the House of Commons, has expressed the view that these Treaties are better discussed in connection with the special agreements regarding China reached at the Washington Conference in 1922, and it is fair to add that many China experts entirely sympathetic to the League of Nations are of this opinion. That does not mean that, even so, the League might not co-operate in some form yet to be determined in measures that may seem advisable for the financial and political reconstruction of China. Nothing, however, is in prospect at present that could with advantage be publicly discussed.

China Loans

ONE curious statement made regarding China in the House of Commons has given rise to a good deal of perplexity. Mr. Tom Johnston, the able Labour Member for Dundee, suggested in a recent speech that arms had been or were being supplied to the belligerents in China as the result of credit operations actually approved in some cases by the League of Nations. That statement appears to rest on a misapprehension, for it has no discoverable basis. It would seem that Mr. Johnston had in mind certain alleged operations of the Consortium of Bankers, which largely controls external loans to China; but this body has never had any relations with the League of Nations, nor has the League expressed itself on its transactions in any way.

THE TRANSPLANTING OF A PEOPLE

By CAPT. WALTER ELLIOT, M.P. (*Parliamentary Secretary to the Scottish Ministry of Health*)

THIS is the story of what happened after the war between the Greeks and the Turks—which ended only in 1922. It tells of the replanting of a whole people, though it is a story of a corner only of the Mediterranean, and of but three years of our own time. It is the story—no, the history—of these people since 1922; how a quarter of the Greek nation was uprooted, was flung violently overseas, how it settled, and whether we can believe that it will take root again or not. It is a story so new that it has not yet reached even the most modern of the history books, and it is still coming out in quarterly parts under the unappetising title of "Reports on the Operations of the Greek Refugees' Settlement Commission."

All of us have heard of refugees—and many of us have seen them. These refugees were swept out by the wind of war as were the others we have seen. But these refugees differed from the others in this, that in the Peace Terms it was stated that they were never to be allowed to go home again. Nay, more: the old tangle of races and peoples in the Balkans had knotted itself so hard that it was decided to try and cut it once and for all. So the two sides set themselves to sever interlinkings which had existed for three thousand years. For three thousand years the Greeks have lived along all these Mediterranean shores—not on the European side only, but on the Asiatic side as well. For many hundreds of years the Turks also have lived in Europe. The two peoples gave themselves but three years to alter all that—to transplant the Turks into Turkey and the Greeks into Greece. It is only with the second of these epics that I have to deal here. But that is why I have called it "The Transplanting of a People." How literal is the phrase "transplanting" you may judge by the story of an English estate in Greece upon which a refugee village was being settled. It was pointed out to the villagers that there was only land for forty families and they had brought a hundred and twenty. "But," said they, "you would not have us cut our saint in two?" "What saint?" they were asked. "Our saint, the saint of our village, Prokopi. We dug him up when we left and carried him all the way to the sea, four days' march out of Asia. Where the saint of Prokopi is, there is Prokopi!"

Come across Europe then and let us see the thing at work. But first let us grasp the scale of what we shall see. Greece is a small country, and many hundreds of thousands of her people live overseas. The country itself counts only some five million inhabitants. The population who have fled, or been driven out or exchanged in this tremendous exodus, numbers not less than one and a-quarter million. They came by land, they came by sea; some came in top hats and patent leather boots with bags and bank accounts; most in bare feet and rags, flying for their lives with two red handkerchiefs, a cooking pot, and a baby. But come as they might, for the most part they were utterly destitute—having lost everything they possessed—and stricken in many cases with disease. The burden upon a small country can scarcely be conceived. One and a-quarter million new homeless and destitute people would be a burden even for England. It equals the number of our unemployed; and if you can imagine the number of our unemployed suddenly doubled you can conceive what the figures mean. But this gives no idea of the proportion of the refugee Greeks to the population which was receiving them. It would have equalled ten millions for our country, for it was a quarter of the population. And in these reports—these quarterly reports of the Refugee Commission

which I have just mentioned—there is the story how these people were welcomed, fed, clothed, and now set to work, so that they are actually new strength to the nation, and not, as seemed certain before, a weight which would crush it utterly into the dust.

How does this Commission appear in the story which I have just told? It comes in very simply. In 1922, when the disaster round Smyrna in Asia began, and hundreds of thousands of refugees were pouring into the country, the Greeks appealed to the League of Nations for help. Various charitable societies came forward, a Lord Mayor's Fund was opened, and that same October the League sent a Commissioner to the spot with some £40,000 for help. This Commissioner was the great Dr. Nansen, formerly an explorer as famous as Amundsen, and now even more famous in the great works of mercy he has organised since the end of the war. But this sum, of course, was only a drop in the bucket. It was decided that a great effort must be made to get these people to productive work. The Greek Government therefore determined to ask for a Commission to be appointed by the League; to hand over to this Commission one and a-quarter million acres of land, to hand over to it also the absolute property in many of the Greek taxes, and to work on this security to raise a loan of ten million pounds sterling for the settlement of the refugees. Backed by the authority of the League this loan succeeded, and the Commission set out on the tremendous task of trying to put into productive employment one and a-quarter million of human beings with a loan capital of only ten million sterling.

Who were the members of the Commission? It was agreed that it should be composed of four members, two to be Greeks and two appointed by the League, of whom one, the chairman, was to be an American, and the other (it was generally agreed) should be an Englishman. And so the appointments were made. True, the American appointed was a Jew, and the Englishman a Scotsman, and neither of them could speak any Greek; but, in spite of these disadvantages, it is more than wonderful how they have succeeded.

Take a journey, then, as I said, to Greece—a journey I took in the spring of this year. At the harbour of Athens you will find a hum of activity, and behind it the great city, looking not at all as though it had just lost a disastrous war and had thereafter one million beggars landed on its quays, but like a prosperous, go-ahead capital of a modern state. Everywhere you will see little huts which the refugees have erected, for not all of them have gone on the land—indeed, it is reckoned that half a million or more have been absorbed, though nobody knows exactly how, in the life of the towns. But the real marvels have been wrought in the country—and most of all in Macedonia, up by Salonika—where a land left empty by generations of war seemed to be waiting for such an emergency as has arrived.

Near Eastern statistics, of course, are all most doubtful, and the Greek statistics as doubtful as any others. But you may take it that, while in the first seven months of its work the Commission had actually settled 23,000 families, by May of last year it had settled 80,000 families, and by the end of 1924 135,000 families, and it was reckoned only some 50,000 families still remain to settle. That is to say, on the land alone at that time they had settled 600,000 people in two and a-half years—an achievement never equalled by any other body or any other nation. When you consider that the Huguenot migration to England (which we still

THE GERMAN PLAN

THE long-expected reply from the German Government to the Allied Note of June 16 regarding the whole question of a Western Security Pact was handed in at the various allied capitals on July 20. Apart from its general importance, the Note has a special interest to readers of HEADWAY, in view of its various references, both to the League of Nations in relation to the proposed regional agreements, and to the much more important question of permanent membership of the League.

It will be remembered that the first article in the Allied Note of June laid stress on the vital importance of Germany's application for League membership, a subject to which the original German memorandum of February had made no reference at all. In the new Note Germany points out that the two questions of security in general and of Germany's entry into the League might properly be regarded as quite separate, but that she herself has no objection to linking the two. The Note proceeds, however, to raise certain difficulties which it was hoped had been disposed of by the communication sent from the League Council to the German Government last March in response to questions Germany then asked about her obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant (regarding joint action in the imposition of sanctions).

What is now said on this point is worth reproducing textually. "The Note of the Council of the League of Nations of March 13 last," writes the German Foreign Minister, "has not removed the objections that have been expressed by Germany against the acceptance of the obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant. Even after the explanations by the Council of the League of Nations, the danger remains that Germany, as a disarmed country, surrounded by strongly-armed neighbours, in a central position, having been in history repeatedly the theatre of great wars, would, after entering the League of Nations, be exposed without limitation to the danger of being involved in the armed conflicts of third countries.

"Germany, as a member of the League of Nations, can only be considered as enjoying equal rights when her disarmament is followed by the general disarmament provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. Therefore, if the immediate entrance of Germany into the League of Nations is to be rendered possible, a solution has to be found to tide over the time till general disarmament has become a reality. This solution would have to pay due regard to the special military and economical, as well as to the special geographical, situation of Germany."

Germany's insistence on general disarmament is entirely legitimate and sound, and the last sentence of the paragraph quoted appears to contain a veiled suggestion as to the means by which the difficulty about the acceptance of Article 16, particularly the obligation to allow the passage of troops through Germany, might be met.

For the rest, the Note consists of a further discussion on the general question of a Western Pact and Eastern Arbitration Treaties, in the course of which it is pointed out, incidentally, that the Covenant of the League of Nations contemplates the possible revision of treaties; and claims in another passage that the Eastern Arbitration Treaties should not be guaranteed by the Western Powers individually, but should fall into the general framework of the League of Nations. It is pointed out, moreover, that the type of arbitration treaty suggested by Germany is based on the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which means incidentally that it does not entirely close the door against war.

remember) covered only some 40,000 people, you can see the scale upon which the Commission has been working.

The Greeks, of course, are a keen and quick-witted race, and the refugees, in addition, are desperately anxious to work. Let me mention a concrete example. Owing to the lack of dwellings and the hard climate, the colonisation authorities in Macedonia had for the bidden the refugees who were awaiting at the ports their turn for settlement to proceed inland in mid-winter. Whereupon they rose up and demanded their immediate transport, preferring to live in tents on the icy plains of the Vardar rather than to miss the spring sowing season. Of their quick-wittedness I need only mention that they have discovered a thing as yet happily unknown in London or the provinces—how to make motor hooting into political warcries. When King Constantine was coming back to Athens, they discovered that by appropriate honkings they could produce the Greek words for "he is coming," and consequently day and night for nearly three weeks the ten thousand motor cars of which Athens boasts honked to and fro on those steep streets and dusty hills, clamouring the new words which their masters had discovered that automobiles could say.

All this effort, however, turned upon confidence and hard work. Hard work without the confidence—which the League of Nations' support alone supplied—would have been unavailing. The confidence, without the hard work and endurance which these indomitable refugees possessed, would also have been unavailing. The houses, for instance, which they were supplied with cost on an average £48 apiece, and the whole sum available for settlement came to only £8 a head. (It costs us in the neighbourhood of £1,000.) But the transplanting of a people has been accomplished. Even with so little water, the young tree begins to flourish.

POINTED QUESTIONS

Q.—Why is the fighting in Morocco not brought before the League of Nations?

A.—The League of Nations has never undertaken to attempt to suppress fighting of every kind. It is concerned only with the relations between States as such, and though under Article 11 it is possible for any member to bring before the League any circumstances which affect international relations and threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends, it is hardly possible to bring the events in Morocco under this formula. The nations concerned are France and Spain, who are working in complete harmony, and to a lesser extent the Sultan of Morocco, over whose territories France and Spain share a protectorate. Abdul Krim is the leader of certain troops living in this area, and the fighting, therefore, is of the nature of an internal revolt. Unless it took such a shape as definitely to threaten "international relations," it is difficult to see how the League could take action in the matter.

Q.—What would the League do if Germany and Russia made a pact between themselves?

A.—The League would have nothing to do in such circumstances but carry on. It could, of course, do nothing to prevent the conclusion of a pact between Germany and Russia, nor would there be anything illegitimate in such an agreement, though it would appear to be on every ground against Germany's interest. The recent German Note is on the whole sufficiently encouraging to justify the hope that Germany prefers to take her place in the great society of nations on the basis of the Covenant.

FROM LONDON TO WARSAW FRUITS OF THE FEDERATION CONFERENCE

THE fact that the International Federation of League of Nations Associations had decided this year to hold its annual Conference at Warsaw, meant a longer journey than usual for the British delegates. In spite of that the delegation was as numerous, and it may reasonably be claimed as influential, as those from any of the countries nearer to the seat of action. Members made their way from London to the Polish capital by different routes, some, for example, by Ostend, and some by the Hook of Holland, while one or two made the journey out, as many did the journey home, by sea the whole way between England and Danzig.

The visit to Warsaw was an instructive experience in itself, quite apart from the hours spent, sometimes rather reluctantly, in the University buildings where the Conference sittings actually took place. The city itself is full of interest, whether by reason of the bridge which the Russians blew up during the war and which is not yet fully open for traffic; or of the church which the Russians built just before the war and which the Poles are hard at work pulling down; or of the streets, many of which are pitted with water-filled holes into which the dashing Ford taxis splash unexpectedly, though it is fair to add that many miles of thoroughfare have been put into excellent repair; or of the overflowing hospitality of the inhabitants of Warsaw, official and otherwise, who considered no effort excessive in their endeavours to make the brief sojourn of the visitors agreeable.

The time was too short to see one-tenth of what everyone wanted to see, but there was an opportunity at any rate to explore the remarkable Jewish quarter and for those so minded to take a glass of something nameless in what is reputed to be the oldest wineshop in Europe. Finally mention must above all things be made of the wonderful day in Pomerania arranged for most of the English delegation on the day after the Conference ended. The bulk of the other delegations went southwards to Cracow, but the English delegation, having already accepted an invitation to Danzig, had to turn their faces north, and, as the result of a generous Polish invitation, they were able to make most of the journey by road through Pomerania, visiting incidentally an agricultural exposition which demonstrated strikingly the resources of the region, and an hour or two later a magnificent thirteenth century cathedral in the historic Vistula Gothic style in the village of Pelplin.

But after all neither the British nor any other delegation went to Warsaw for a joy-ride, and most of the delegates found the actual Conference hard enough work while it lasted. It may be asked what the importance of such a gathering is. To that the answer is twofold. The contacts established in themselves mean a great deal, partly as between citizens of different nations, all of some intelligence and with some interest in political affairs; and partly and mainly as between men and women engaged in different lands in the same work of making the ideals and achievements of the League of Nations known and of mobilising public opinion in support of the League. That is why in reality the technical side of the Conference may be regarded as of more importance than the merely political resolutions it adopted, though in the latter case there is ground for considerable satisfaction in the unanimity reached by the British, French, German, American and other delegations on such a question as the Geneva Protocol.

The resolution adopted on that subject, consisting of a rephrasing by the French of a draft submitted by the British League of Nations Union, declared the Protocol to be "the most satisfactory system so far adopted by the Assembly of the League for the full realisation of the objects of the Covenant and in particular for a general reduction of armaments, and expressed a hope that the Sixth Assembly would continue to concern itself with the application by stages of the system of arbitration, security and disarmament, the following points in particular being emphasised:—

- (a) Signature with any necessary reservations of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice;
- (b) Conclusion of agreements for the reduction of armaments;
- (c) Recognition that every war of aggression is an international crime; and
- (d) Exact definition of aggression and of sanctions.

An interesting addendum, moved by the American delegation and unanimously adopted, expressed the hope that the United States might be willing to declare that its Government could always be counted on to observe at least a benevolent neutrality towards League members co-operating against the State guilty of aggressive war in violation of its pledges.

The difficult question of emigration and the treatment of foreigners generally was referred back to a standing Commission for further inquiry, with a warm expression of appreciation of the results already achieved, and an opium resolution was unanimously adopted re-affirming the principle that the cultivation, manufacture, traffic in and consumption of opium and other noxious drugs should be completely suppressed except for purely medical and scientific purposes, and urging all governments concerned to sign and ratify the Opium Conventions adopted at Geneva this year. Minority problems were, as usual, complex and delicate. The most important resolution adopted was one put forward by the British League of Nations Union urging that in future the Report of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on the work of the Council during the present year should include a full list of all Minority petitions received with the dates of their receipt, a brief indication of their contents and a note of any action taken in regard to them.

The discussions in the Education Commission were, as always, lively. Here again, apart from a number of resolutions of quite considerable intrinsic importance the aim of which is to stimulate smaller societies to the kind of educational activity of which much is seen in Great Britain and France, special attention was paid to education more strictly so termed. It was decided in particular that each national society should be asked as a matter of routine to furnish each year to the Federation reports on any work in progress in their respective countries making for the education of youth or indeed of adults in regard to the League of Nations and its activities. Each society is also asked to include regularly in its delegation to the Annual Conference at least one educational expert, so that the Education Commission of the Conference may debate and declare itself with real authority. As the result, moreover, of a feeling that the League itself might well show more interest in the all-important question of Education, a resolution was adopted requesting the League to form an Advisory Committee on Education, together with an Education Section of the Secretariat.

Delegations were present from three countries not yet members of the League, the United States, Germany and Turkey. The British contingent, which numbered well over 20, included Sir Willoughby and Lady Dickenson (Sir Willoughby was Chairman of the whole Conference), Lady Gladstone, Sir Walter and Lady Napier, Dr. and Mrs. Maxwell Garnett, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Miss Mary and Mr. Geoffrey Haworth, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Delisle Burns, Mr. R. E. Allen, the Reverend Gwilym Davies (Secretary of the Welsh National Council), Captain Thomas, Mr. Frederick Whelen, Miss Herdman, Mr. Scott, Mr. Capper Johnson, Mr. A. G. Macdonell. It should be added that Captain Lothian Small, who was to have gone as a British delegate, was temporarily lent to the Federation as Assistant Secretary just before the Conference and was at the Conference itself definitely confirmed in that office.

IN THE HOUSE

July 1.—**Mr. Austen Chamberlain** (to Mr. Johnston): His Majesty's Government considers that a conference on extra-territoriality in China in accordance with the agreement concluded at Washington in 1922 is a better method of procedure than the submission of the question to the League of Nations under Article 19 of the Covenant.

July 1.—**Mr. Austen Chamberlain** (to Commander Kenworthy): It is anticipated that the report of the Iraq Commission will be ready for consideration by the meeting of the League of Nations Council in September.

July 1.—**Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland** (to Captain Woodcock):

The publications of the International Labour Office are regularly placed in the library of the House. I will consider whether copies of the daily records of the International Labour Conference could not be placed there also.

July 1.—**Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland** (to Captain Woodcock):

It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to propose the submission to the International Court of the question whether the Night Baking Convention falls properly under Part 13 of the Treaty of Versailles.

July 6.—**Mr. Amery** (to Captain Benn):

In September, 1922, the League of Nations approved a definition of the western frontiers of Transjordan. The frontiers between Transjordan, the Hedjaz and Nejd have never been precisely defined, nor can they well be done so long as hostilities continue between Nejd and Hedjaz.

July 5.—**Mr. Austen Chamberlain** (to Mr. Johnston): Detailed allegations regarding the existence of chattel slavery in the Sudan have been received by His Majesty's Government, and have been placed before the Slavery Commission of the League of Nations. Meanwhile, the Governor-General of the Sudan has been requested to devote most careful attention to this question.

July 16.—**Mr. McNeill** (to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald): His Majesty's Government will be represented at the Assembly of the League of Nations in September by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Cecil of Chelwood, Sir George Grahame, G.C.V.O., His Majesty's Ambassador at Brussels, Duchess of Atholl, Mr. A. M. Samuel and Sir Cecil Hurst, K.C.B.

July 20.—**Mr. Ormsby-Gore** (to Captain Wedgwood Benn):

The provisions of the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty will be extended to Mandated Territories as soon

as the Treaty is ratified and due regard will be had to the terms of the Mandate which provide that all States, members of the League, shall have equal economic opportunity. This has been extended to include America also.

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

THE PRESS AND THE LEAGUE

FROM time to time the question of the publicity given to League of Nations and League of Nations Union news in the Press of this country, both local and national, is raised in branch committees or in the Executive of the Union itself. It is desirable to realise at once that while much may be done to make the way of the Press easy by providing papers with information of intrinsic importance, nothing can be done to make the Press publish what in one sense or another it does not desire to publish. Broadly speaking, an efficient newspaper will always publish news of intrinsic value, and usually decline to publish articles and paragraphs which interest a small number of enthusiasts for a particular cause, but make little impression on the general public.

It is, in any case, a matter of interest to observe from time to time the treatment a particular event receives at the hands of the different London newspapers. An opportunity for applying this kind of test was, as it happens, provided by the Queen's Hall meeting addressed at the end of June by Lord Cecil, Lord Grey, Mr. Clynes and Professor Gilbert Murray, at which letters were read from Mr. Baldwin, Lord Oxford and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. A glance at cuttings from the London Press taken quite haphazard yields the following results: The *Daily Mail*, in a paragraph of 5 in., quoted the salient passages from Mr. Baldwin's letter, and ignored the speeches altogether, except for that portion of Professor Murray's observations which was punctuated by the explosion of one of the electric light bulbs, an incident which the speaker happily took up by saying that "if the British Empire, heedless of explosions—(laughter and cheers)—frankly accepted responsibilities from which it could not escape, then it lay with the British Empire to secure the future peace of Europe." The *Daily Chronicle* gave a straightforward report of rather over 13 in.; the *Daily Herald* did substantially the same. The *Daily News*, in addition to giving the principal place in its columns to a report which covered some 38 in., devoted a leading article of some 14 in. to the meeting. The *Times* gave some 18 in. in a rather inconspicuous position; the *Daily Telegraph* gave rather over 20 in., and the *Morning Post* between 9 and 10, a good deal less than half being devoted to the speeches and the rest concerned with Mr. Baldwin's letter.

The *Westminster Gazette* ran to some 17 in. The *Star*, which, as an evening paper appearing the following day, could not, of course, give a report of the meeting, devoted its leading article of about 10 in. to League news. The *Daily Mirror* gave altogether 3 in. The *Evening News*, in one edition, reproduced the *Daily Mail's* report; and among provincials the *Birmingham Post*, the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Nottingham Journal* gave notices of differing prominence. Needless to say, the treatment given to a single meeting by the different London papers is no real guide to the general treatment of League subjects by such papers, but actual tests like this are of some small value, and are, therefore, worth applying from time to time.

DAYS IN DANZIG

IF you look at an ordinary map of Europe, you will find a pink Poland somewhere in the middle of it, and up at the top left-hand corner of Poland come on a little patch of purple or some other colour labelled "Free City of Danzig." Everyone who knows anything about the League of Nations knows something at any rate about Danzig. Responsibility for the administration of the Free City has nothing whatever to do with the League Covenant. It is one of those awkward jobs, like the government of the Saar and the guardianship of minorities, pushed on to the League by the Treaties of Peace. But at any rate there Danzig is, and the first discovery the casual visitor to it makes is that it is quite different from what might be reasonably supposed. You are prepared to find that a free city may after all not be quite free; but you do at any rate expect to find it a city. That is why it comes as something of a surprise to pass the double frontier-post separating Poland from Danzig territory and find you are simply passing from Polish meadows and cornfields to Danzig cornfields and meadows. It is true, of course, that you get to the city in the end; but the Free City territory, as a whole, stretches something like 40 miles in one direction and something like 30 in the other. It includes, as has been indicated, considerable agricultural land and more than one seaside resort along the coast, linked more or less to the city itself by a string of suburbs, but all the same quite self-contained and with their own individual existence. Zopot, which was enjoying a "Sports Week" when a party of English visitors from the Warsaw Conference visited it in July, is known not merely in Danzig, but throughout Germany.

Danzig itself, to tell the truth, is almost better known as a problem than a port. Hanseatic merchants centuries ago made it a port, and the Treaty of Versailles made it a problem. Lying as it does at the mouth of the great Polish river, the Vistula, it is a manifest outlet for all Polish sea-borne trade. By that shewing, it ought to be Polish, and so the peace-makers intended, in the first instance, it should be. But Danzig itself happens to be German through and through, and the reluctance to create another little minority group of over 300,000 people under Polish sovereignty in the end prevailed. A compromise had somehow to be found. If you left Danzig under Germany, the Poles might expect every kind of difficulty regarding the use of the Port. It was decided, therefore, to remove Danzig from German sovereignty without giving it actually to Poland. The city was to govern itself, Poland was to be given certain rights calculated to ensure her the unimpeded use of the waterway and the docks, and, since the city was not large enough to figure among the nations of the world, her foreign affairs were to be looked after by Poland.

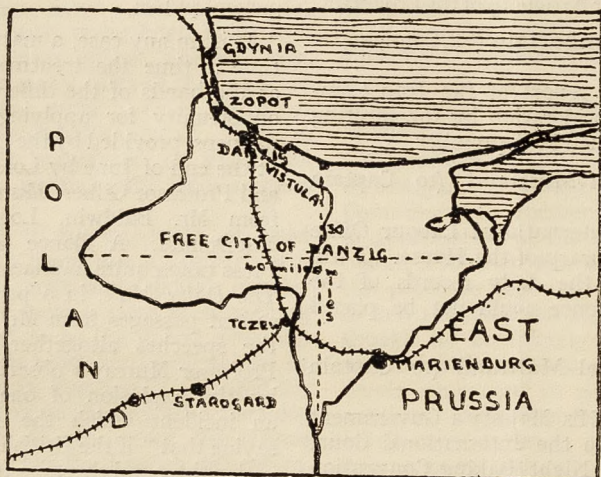
Apart from the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles on these matters, an elaborate special treaty between Danzig and Poland was drawn up a year later, and under these two instruments the Free City of Danzig lives to-day. To pretend that this arrangement works without

friction is to display either dishonesty or ignorance. There is friction of varying degrees all the time, with plenty of faults on both sides. Something of that was foreseen, and it was arranged that a High Commissioner, appointed by the League of Nations, should live at Danzig to do his best to smooth over difficulties between the two parties. When he had done his best without success, either side could appeal to the League of Nations Council. Under that system Danzig lives. The High Commissioner, in point of fact, does get perhaps 80 per cent. of the troubles settled on the spot; but the other 20 per cent. waste a great deal of the League Council's time, and new machinery was created at the Council meeting in March, designed to increase the prospects of a settlement out of Court.

The most recent subject of contention has been the right of Poland to put up her own letter boxes in Danzig for a postal service between the Free City and Poland. There you can see them to-day, on the railway station wall and elsewhere, bright in the red and white which forms the Polish national colours, with a green-jacketed Danzig policeman stationed at a little distance, to prevent attempts on the part of an annoyed populace to pull the boxes down. This trouble, however, is quieting off, and the satisfaction of the Poles at the announcement that their boxes are legal finds some counterpart in the satisfaction of the Danzigers at the declaration that, at any rate, the boxes are to be allowed only in a limited area called the Port, not over the whole of the Free City.

Danzig in itself is abundantly worth description, altogether apart from the special political interest created by its connection with the League. There can be few German cities so rich in storied memories. The interior of the Council building, or Rathaus, in particular, is a storehouse of treasures so fascinating that a day devoted to its detailed examination is not an hour too much to give. Then there is the great Marienkirche, with its wonderful Memling picture of "The Last Judgment." Then, too, there is the river and the port, round which most of the English members of the Warsaw Conference were taken by representatives of the Free City, passing the shipyard where the "Homeric" was built, down to the outflow of the river into the Baltic by the Westerplatte, where, by an agreement about which much has been heard at Geneva, Poland is to have the right to land munitions for immediate conveyance into Poland itself.

Danzig altogether seems too beautiful a city to be made an object of contention. But geography and politics have done their work, and the League of Nations is thus presented with one of its thorniest problems. But not too much must be made of the little troubles that seem so constantly to crop up. After all, it is only the troubles that are heard of, and the steady and prosperous day-to-day life of the community goes unrecorded and unnoticed. Without the League of Nations such an experiment could, of course, not be worked. With the League of Nations it is still possible to hope that friction will gradually diminish, and Poland and Danzig both feel themselves able to exercise all reasonable rights to their own satisfaction and without hostility to one another.—H.W.H.



TIME OFF FOR THE BLACKS

By L. P. MAIR.

"If they're left alone," said my neighbour suddenly and without warning, "they go to the bad. I don't believe in all this nonsense about the blacks. Time off, indeed! Shortening their working hours! What are blacks for?"

We were sitting under the shade of a cement seawall, where the pebbles were large enough and smooth enough to be not too uncomfortable, and the wall itself provided a back.

"All this nonsense about mandates," the portly lady went on, "Mandates, indeed! Don't tell me the British Empire isn't good enough. What was it what's-his-name called it? Oh, yes, the White Man's Burden. The White Man's Burden, that's what it is; looking after the blacks and seeing they're kept in order."

"Do you really think they're as bad as that?" I ventured. "They are human beings, after all. They must have possibilities."

"Rubbish!" she said. "They're a lower order of creation, made to serve the white man, just like dogs. They should stay in the place that was made for them."

"That," I said, "is a view which hadn't struck me. It opens up interesting speculations. I suppose its application is universal. In that case at what point should we have stopped? Perhaps the whole lot of us have been tempting Providence by not remaining anthropoid apes."

I confess I had indulged a malicious hope that she would not understand me. But I was totally unprepared for her answer. "Young man," she said, "you ought to live in Tennessee."

I was crushed, and relapsed into silent contemplation. But in a moment she seemed to relent slightly and I heard her say, "We have developed them. Taught them to work. Why didn't Britain take over the whole lot, instead of letting this League of Nations meddle? We won the war, didn't we?"

"Not alone," I reminded her. "And not in order to annex territory. We kept on saying so, and when we came to the Peace Conference we made a few attempts to live up to it. The mandate system was one of them. And the man who had the biggest hand in it was General Smuts, who knows a good deal about—they aren't all black, are they?"

"Yes, they are," said she firmly, "coal black. I've seen 'em at Wembley."

I have not been to Wembley. I had no idea it was so instructive. I must go.

"He thought, I think," said I, "that you couldn't absolutely trust even the British Empire to do the right thing in every case. He was convinced of one thing—that where Europeans govern the backward peoples of other continents they should govern first and foremost in the interests of the peoples themselves. I think you'll admit that, if they've got to stay put, surely they have a right to their own homes."

"They don't know how to make the best of them. Look at all the"—she glanced at her paper—"natural resources that were wasted till the white men discovered them—rubber, cocoa, gold, and diamonds, too."

"That's just it," I cut in quickly. "You've hit it. The world does need those natural resources, and the backward peoples don't know how to make the best of them. But what we've got to guard against is the danger that the white men may think of nothing but his own dividends, and disregard the welfare of the natives at work on their plantations."

"But that's what they're for—to work," she interrupted. "That's what I keep telling you. That's what we've taught them—good, solid work. We've cured them of their natural idleness. And when they

won't work, why, there's nothing for it but the lash. They don't understand any other language. My brother was out there, so I know."

"Mine enemy's dog," rose to my lips as I thought of some of the incidents that have come to light in the reports of the mandates and slavery commissions. But I felt that Lear would be wasted on her, and said nothing.

"You know, it's not like white men," she assured me. "Blacks don't feel pain. They're different. My brother saw a dervish sticking a knife into himself, and it didn't hurt him a bit. It saves them from their own vices—drink and that."

"Who do you suppose," I asked her, "taught them 'drink and that'?"

At this she did look shocked. "Do you mean to say—" she began.

"Yes," I said, "that's what the white man has done for the native. And that's one of the things the mandate system is meant to stop. Countries which hold mandates under the League are bound not to allow the liquor trade in those territories, and they're obliged to put down certain other profitable pursuits that a Government which isn't under any pledge might be tempted to wink at—the arms traffic, for instance, and the slave trade."

"Yes; but you could do all that and still keep them in their places. What I don't like is the way they're encouraged to be disrespectful. Reports to the League are all very well, I suppose. But we ought to make our own reports. The idea of letting them send up petitions: Petitions, indeed! They ought to be thankful for all that's done for them."

"British justice," I said sententiously, "has always stood for hearing both sides."

"Nonsense!" she snapped. "Both sides when both sides are grown men, perhaps. But these people are like children. They don't know what's good for them."

"Then isn't it only fair," I suggested, "that they should have a chance of having what they don't understand explained? And isn't it fair that the world should be quite satisfied that the measures which upset them really were for their good? Very few men are above losing their heads and acting unjustly at times. And if that kind of injustice is condoned and allowed to become a precedent, it's a poor look-out for the people who have to live under it. Take the Bondelswart rebellion."

"Yes, I know," she said. "A nigger had the cheek to get up at Geneva and criticise a British Dominion. That's the kind of thing that oughtn't to be allowed."

"I thought it was a most striking instance of the real fellowship of nations that the League stands for. I suppose he understood more than any other man in the Assembly what the poor Bondelswart felt about it. And for the first time in history a member of his race was face to face with the representative of the country responsible for it on a footing of perfect equality, and could say just what he thought."

"There you go again," she said. "You won't see how bad it is for these blacks to be given ideas above their station. They've no business to think they can talk to whites on a footing of perfect equality. Perfect equality, indeed! That's what your League of Nations teaches them—Indians and Chinese and Japs and all, just the same."

I was hesitating between a number of possible arguments—when a pathetic figure came toddling up the beach weeping bitterly. "Daddy," she wailed, as soon as she got within earshot, "Peter was trying to pick a sea—sea—enemy, and he's fallen into that big pool!"

I pleaded a pressing engagement, and fled.

GENEVA LETTER



GENEVA, July.

A GREAT calm has descended upon Geneva—not, it is to be hoped, the calm before a storm, but a much-needed pause for breath between the fever of the Arms Traffic Conference, the Council meeting and various committees, and the burst of activity preceding the Sixth Assembly.

The only events to record this month are the completion of the interchange of health officials held in Yugoslavia, the Geneva stage of the prolonged Latin-American interchange, a meeting of the Mandates Commission, the second session of the Committee on Slavery, and the appointment of the Committee for delimiting the Port of Danzig.

The Yugo-Slavian interchange is interesting from two points of view: In the first place, this is the first time one of the new States has been the scene of this form of League activity, thus demonstrating that the interchange system can give something not only to States that are forming their health administrations, but even to old and well-established countries. In the second place, the Director of the Public Health Service in Yugoslavia, Dr. Stampar, himself took part in the interchange, and came to Geneva for the final Conference. Dr. Stampar enjoys the reputation of being a kind of "Napoleon of public health" in his own country—he has held his position from the coming into existence of the new State, has secured considerable freedom of action and funds, was able to persuade his Government to claim part of its reparation dues from Germany in up-to-date hospital supplies, instruments, ambulances, etc., and has done quite extraordinary work in organising the health service of his country, founding epidemiological institutes, hospitals, etc., and conducting a large-scale campaign against malaria. He is a keen supporter of the League and its health organisation.

Singapore.

The ten members of the Latin-American Interchange began last March in Cuba, have been through the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Holland and Belgium, and are taking in Switzerland, France and Italy before concluding.

While on the subject of public health, it may be mentioned that the British Government have informed the Secretariat that the administration of the Straits Settlements is prepared to contribute \$5,000 a year to the work of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau at Singapore. This is an early and gratifying sign of the willingness of the Governments concerned to take over the support of this Bureau on the expiration of the Rockefeller subvention.

The Mandates Commission held another very solid and "meaty" session. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say very much on its conclusions until they have been approved or otherwise by the Council, but there is no doubt that mandatory powers are fairly "put through it" by the Commission, whose members have an inexhaustible thirst for information and a formidable mass of data at their finger-tips, and who, moreover, show a keen desire to put the interests of the natives first, as laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant. At the

same time, the Commission is not a collection of cranks, but a body of colonial experts who are quite aware of the difficulties with which the Mandatory Powers have to contend, and of the need of making the mandatory system a success by a spirit of mutual helpfulness and "reasonableness."

What is a Slave?

Two important general decisions were taken: one making clear that loans, advances and investments in mandated territories enjoy the same security as similar transactions in colonies or metropolitan areas, and the other extending to mandated territories the provisions of special conventions concluded by the Mandatory Power, so far as such provisions are in conformity with the terms of the mandate and of the Covenant.

These two measures will facilitate the economic and social development of mandated territories.

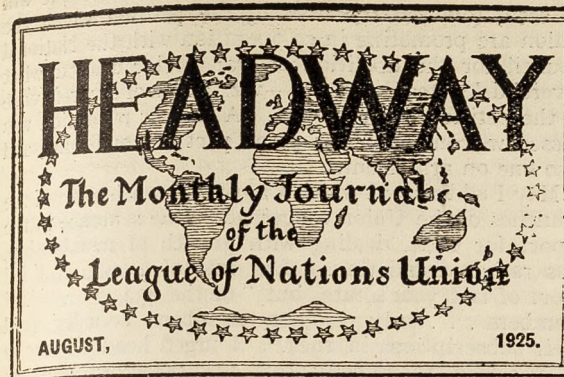
The Slavery Committee is still at the stage where it is discussing what sources of information it may avail itself of (whether only official or both official and private, and if the latter, what kind of private information), and the scope of its subject—to put it colloquially: "When is a slave not a slave?" The truth is, that what with systems of polygamy, adoption, collective labour and payment under responsibility of a village chief, labour as a method of paying off debts or obtaining security, etc., it is really very difficult to say where slavery ends and some form of relationship considered legitimate by Europeans begins.

The Post Box Problem.

It will be remembered that the Court decided that the Poles were within their rights in establishing a postal service within the Port of Danzig but pointed out that nobody knew exactly what the Port of Danzig was as distinguished from the rest of Danzig. Consequently, the Council asked the President of the Transit Committee, together with the Rapporteur on Danzig of the Council, to appoint a Committee of three experts to define the limits of the Port of Danzig. These appointments have been made, and consist of: (1) The Secretary-General of the Central Committee for Rhine-land Navigation and former legal adviser to the Navy Department at Brussels; (2) the former President of the Waterways Sub-Committee of the Transit Committee; (3) the former President of the Harbour Board of Danzig; and (4) the Director of the Post Office at Amsterdam. Thus, if the limits of the Port of Danzig are not satisfactorily defined, it will not be for lack of a varied and imposing assortment of international talent.

Among unofficial or semi-official League activities "*en marge*," so to speak, may be noted the summer schools organised both by Geneva University and the International Federation of University Students, under the active guidance of Mr. A. E. Zimmern. The Geneva Institute of International Relations will have held its summer school also by the time these lines appear in print. In addition, the habit of arranging parties, who visit the Secretariat, and are given a short lecture with questions and answers to follow, once or twice a week, seems to be growing on various institutions and societies, in England and elsewhere. And, of course, the American tourist in his millions is with us as ever—in fact, more so than ever. As though this were not enough, Geneva has been chosen as the seat for some kind of vast gymnastic display, which is collecting hordes of husky young men to this home of peace and high-brow activities.

So that the Geneva notion of a quiet time must be taken in a "Pickwickian"—or, if you prefer to be up-to-date, in an Einsteinian sense.—Z.



GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

WHAT are the prospects of Germany's joining the League of Nations in September? No more important question than that presents itself in any quarter of the field of international relations to-day—even at a moment when the problems of China and Russia are as insistent as every reader of the newspapers must realise them to be. Germany's entry to the League, indeed, matters supremely, for the very reason that both the China question and the Russian question will take different shape and a different perspective when they are viewed in relation not to a divided Europe, but to a Europe united and working in continuous co-operation. Between now and the beginning or middle of September Germany's decision will have to be made, and it is, therefore, well worth while considering the factors that are likely to determine her action.

Some, indeed, of those factors there is little profit in discussing, for they consist of those internal conflicts and antagonisms which in this country we can in no way influence, and which we cannot even fully understand. If the German Nationalists, for their own purposes, succeed in preventing the German Government from entering the League of Nations, that will be a disaster we must simply deplore but which we can do nothing to avert. But other factors are easier to comprehend and, on the whole, easier to handle. Germany, speaking generally, does not like the League. She has from the first regarded it as a creation of the Treaty of Versailles and an instrument of the Allied Powers. Some colour has been lent to these suspicions by various events in the Saar and elsewhere; though, even in the Saar, no detached observer will endorse for a moment the exaggerated charges brought regularly by large sections of the German Press, and in regard to the transfer of Eupen and Malmédy and the Upper Silesia adjudication no valid case against the League has ever been made out at all.

It is easy enough, nevertheless, to understand Germany's hesitation about accepting membership of the League; though, with a quite astonishing blindness to the obvious, her leading men appear to have failed altogether to realise how effective her voice might have been at Geneva in drawing attention to any alleged grievances if she had seized the opportunity that has been open to her any time these two years and longer to enter the League and take her place on the Council. Even now most prominent Germans appear to be taking a regrettably unimaginative view of the League. What they fail to realise, and what is the essential truth, is that the whole European situation and atmosphere will be changed—and for Germany more than anyone—when once her representative finds himself sitting regularly among the Permanent Members at the League Council. Those Permanent Members will then be five in number—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

The Japanese representative, naturally, stands a little aloof from purely European questions (and a large proportion of the questions the Council has to handle are purely, or largely, European), while Italy's influence for the moment, at any rate, is not what it was in international affairs. It is manifest, therefore, that the predominant voices at Geneva, so far as any voices are predominant there at all, will be those of Britain, France and Germany. That means a wholly new position for Germany in Europe, the more so since the regular participation of the British and French Foreign Ministers in the League Council's work has given the Council itself a greatly increased importance.

Germany, it may be repeated, has so far failed to realise the possibilities thus opened up for her. She is, on the contrary, still apprehensive of finding herself at Geneva in a position of isolation. That fear, to anyone familiar with the methods and atmosphere of Geneva, is hardly intelligible. For isolation, except in one single contingency, is unknown at Geneva. The traditions set by the Covenant exclude it, and co-operation has become far too firmly established a habit for any nation ever to be kept in the cold. Except, as has been said, in one single contingency, isolation is possible if a nation insists on isolating itself by departing from the spirit or letter of its Covenant pledges and declining that co-operation on which the whole fabric of the League of Nations rests. Italy was temporarily isolated at the time of the Corfu crisis, but she was isolated by her own act, and it would be by her own act alone that Germany would ever be in danger of finding herself at odds with her fellows. If she comes into the League in the spirit of the League, she will find a place waiting, not for an alien, but a friend.

There is, none the less, one objection which Germany, as her Note of July 20 indicates, still professes to find insuperable. A year ago she enquired whether, if she entered, she would be accorded a permanent seat on the Council. Having been reassured on that point, she then raised the question of Article XVI, under which, in the event of the imposition of League sanctions being necessary, all League members pledge themselves not merely to join in a financial and economic boycott of an offending State, but if need be "to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the Covenants of the League." That fills Germany with a concern, in part, at any rate, quite genuine. "We," the Germans say, "are unarmed. Suppose Russia attacks Poland. As League members, we may be called on to join in imposing sanctions. We may, in particular, be called on to let the French march through our territories to help the Poles. We have no love for either Poles or French, and to let this happen would make us the enemies of the Russians, with whom we are particularly anxious to live at peace." There is a good answer to this, but it is making real trouble in Germany, and the Russians are doing their best to make the trouble worse. On the League side the position is delicate. There can be no question of making a special exception for Germany, as she originally suggested. She must come in with equal rights and equal obligations. On the other hand, Article XVI is admittedly in a fluid state. Its amendment is under constant discussion. To pin Germany to its precise wording at a moment when the precise wording is almost certain to be changed may not be the highest statesmanship. Even between now and September some *modus vivendi* on this point ought to be possible. For this single obstacle to keep Germany out of the League would be the worst disaster.

THE UNION COUNCIL

THE sixth annual meeting of the Council in Liverpool in June gave me my first experience of such a conference. From first to last the meetings were, I thought, maintained at a high level.

We were favoured in many ways. The weather throughout was perfect and the arrangements made by the Liverpool and Merseyside District and its good Secretary, Mr. Minto, were much appreciated. The special Cathedral service on Monday afternoon gave us a good start, and the public meeting in the evening at the Central Hall, at which Professor Gilbert Murray took the place of Viscount Cecil, who was detained in London, and spoke finely on the Franco-German Pact, was an acknowledged success. The business sessions at the Royal Institution went well, and were generally informative and helpful. The women delegates intervened to good purpose, and only once were the men appealed to by one of their number to say whether they were speaking for or against the resolution! The Lord Mayor held a reception for us at the Town Hall on Wednesday afternoon, when Viscount Cecil spoke to a large audience on the international position, referring in his address to the beneficent possibilities of the Pact. Again, on Wednesday afternoon, the Lord Mayor welcomed us in the Council Chamber—a beautiful and dignified room—for our last business session, and we had the pleasure of hearing him intimate his intention to become a member of the Union, so we are certain of at least one recruit to our forces! There were excellent reports of the meetings in the local press.

The dominant impression that was left with me by the meetings was one of appreciation for the wise leadership of the Union. Viscount Cecil's devotion to the cause is well known, and Professor Gilbert Murray (Chairman of the Executive Committee), who presided at the business sessions, is a guide and counsellor whom it would be difficult to equal. His conduct of the proceedings was beyond praise. His first-hand knowledge of Geneva and international affairs, by which he so readily and gracefully illumined the topics discussed, his tact and patience and his quiet humour (for example, in dealing with one delegate's suggestion of want of "ginger" and "punch" at the Union's headquarters) won all hearts. His references from time to time to the policy of the Union were, I thought, altogether admirable. I might perhaps epitomise them thus: "We shall turn neither to the right hand nor to the left in the pursuit of our main objects. We are entirely a non-party organisation, and we shall actively co-operate with all bodies and persons working for the same objects along different lines, while we shall refrain from fusion or affiliation which we consider would be a hindrance. We shall gladly accept anything which we can regard as a step in the right direction, and as not inconsistent with the foundation principles of the League—for instance, the proposed Pact—while we shall continue to work whole-heartedly for the full attainment of the ideals for which we stand."

Space forbids my dealing at any length with the business transacted. The officers and members of the Council were elected for the ensuing year, and a number co-opted, including representatives of special interests—Religion, Education, Trade and Industry, etc. Mr. Norman Angell was perhaps the best known new name on the Executive Committee. Several resolutions were passed, one to simplify the apportionment between branches and headquarters of members' subscriptions, one to secure a larger measure of autonomy to University and College branches of the Union, and one (not on the agenda) moved by Admiral Drury-Lowe urging the Government to accept the principle of arbitration in all international disputes, and as a first step to sign at once the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent

Court of International Justice. This resolution, it will be seen, followed the lines of the petition which the Union are promoting in co-operation with the National Council for the abolition of war, and remedied what several delegates had notice—viz., a lack of any reference to the petition in the report. A further resolution was passed welcoming the proposed pact on conditions, and also one on armaments.

May I add a word which I hope will reach some of the branches of the Union concerned. One sentence in the report for 1924, dealing with growth of membership, was rather disquieting. Our rate of growth just fell short of last year's rate, but "of the 432,478 recorded members . . . only 240,000 members actually paid their subscriptions in 1924." I urged headquarters to take action to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Only some 55 per cent. of the members are paying members, which, on the basis of the lowest subscription, involves a loss of funds of some £10,000 a year. One realises, however, that the necessary work must be done locally. Will the branches see to it that such a position no longer obtains when the next report comes to be written. Half a million paying members should be our aim this year, and it will be accomplished if we ponder Viscount Cecil's words at Liverpool: "The cause of the League of Nations is the most important cause, at any rate in the political world, that any of us can put our hands to."

A. NETTLETON,

Chairman, County Hall (London) Branch.

THE UNION AND THE PACT

LANGHAM Place on the evening of June 25th was a comforting sight to those who despair of this country's interest in international problems. Three-quarters of an hour before the Union's meeting was due to begin the Queen's Hall was crowded out, and although an overflow meeting of 700 was held in the Regent Street Polytechnic, many had still to go empty away. The purpose of the meeting was to inaugurate the Union's arbitration campaign. The speakers were Lord Cecil, Lord Grey, Mr. Clynes and Professor Gilbert Murray, while messages were read from the leaders of the three political parties.

Lord Grey's speech was described as the finest he has ever made, and some extracts from it must be given for the benefit of those whom distance, holidays or hot weather kept away. Lord Grey was particularly emphatic in his warning that the Pact is not in itself going to cure all the ills of Europe, and that even this first step has many difficulties in its way.

"If something good comes of these German proposals, if they are realised in a Rhineland Pact and arbitration agreements between France and Germany and ourselves and other nations, then the greatest practical step towards securing the peace of Europe will have been made that has yet been made since the Armistice. But if nothing comes of them . . . then what is the situation going to be? France will fall back on the old policy of separate alliances. . . . What will the German policy be? The German policy will be to get up a separate combination on her side against the French combination as a counterpoise to it. And then you have them again beginning that same system of different groups, counterpoises, defensive separate alliances, which you had before the war, and it will make another war certain. . . ."

"But, remember, the German proposals, even if the best comes of them, are only going to cover a partial field. . . . I agree that the outcome of these negotiations is not to be a sort of supplement or second string to the old policy of separate alliances, but a real substitution for them—a really new departure in French

THE WORKING OF MANDATES

THE amount of work before the Mandates Commission is now so great that it has to be divided between two sessions, one in July and one in October. The natural line of division is between the "A" mandates, where the control of the mandatory is more in the nature of advice in assistance and organisation, and the time when they will be ready for self-government is not too remote to be for practical purposes irrelevant; and the "B" and "C" mandates, which concern peoples far more backward, and in some cases highly civilised. The two classes present, of course, entirely different problems.

It is the "B" and "C" mandates that are under discussion as these words are written. The precedent on which the South African Government was congratulated last year, of sending "the man on the spot" to answer questions on his own report, has not been followed on this occasion, the nearest approach being that Mr. Mansfield, the District Commissioner of the Gold Coast, is speaking on the administration of Togoland.

The difficulty about describing the work of the Mandates Commission is that it is just as essential, if the Commission is really to get at the facts, for its sessions to be held in private as it is necessary, if the world is to know how its collective responsibility for the backward peoples is being carried out, for full reports to be afterwards published. This means that one cannot size up the Commission's work till some time after it has been completed, and the minutes printed, as will in due course be done.

The few details which are already known indicate the careful way in which the Commission goes into details. South-west Africa has been a centre of interest ever since the unhappy Bondelswart incident, and its report this year describes a new development—a plan for establishing a Legislative Council made up of 24 British subjects, half nominated by the Administrator and the rest elected by the white population. The duties of this Council will be to deal with technical questions of agriculture, health, public works and so forth, which the very primitive Hottentots are incapable of organising for themselves. It is not to have any powers to legislate in native affairs.

Health questions always occupy some of the Commissioner's time, for in most cases the mandatory governments found health conditions appalling. A very high mortality among native workers in the diamond mines of South-west Africa caused it some anxiety, while in French Togoland it inquired particularly into the sanitary conditions of workers on the railway lines.

An important point of general principle has been under discussion—how to reconcile the theoretic possibility that a mandate might be revoked or transferred by the League, with the practical difficulty of inducing business men to invest capital in works for a government whose tenure seems to be uncertain. Lastly, in preparation for the October session, petitions are being heard from some bodies in the "A" mandate areas, and a questionnaire applicable to these mandates is being drawn up.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Permanent Court of International Justice." Alexander P. Fachini. (Oxford University Press.)
"Rebuilding Europe." Ruth Rouse. Student Christian Movement, Russell Square, W.C.1.

UNION REPRINT

"Four Years' Work of the I.L.O." (No. 153). Issued with two new charts showing progress of ratification of International Labour Conventions, 1919-23.

policy. That should be made quite clear. The thing should be real, and not a make-believe. . . . I would not make it a condition of Germany's entry into the League of Nations that this Rhineland pact or security pact or treaty of arbitration should be signed. I would wish that the door of the League of Nations be open for Germany to come in, freely and unconditionally, as she likes. But if these negotiations do lead to a security pact and an arbitration treaty, then I do think it is essential they should be completed by Germany coming into the League.

"And that takes me to a wider field. Let us suppose the best comes of these negotiations on the German proposals for security between Germany, France and her neighbours. That is still not going to be a substitute for a thing like the Protocol. The problem which the Protocol was designed to solve will still remain. . . . At the present moment the Covenant of the League of Nations is too vague. . . . It is because you have to make people feel that the Covenant of the League is a reality that you cannot put the Protocol aside and do nothing more.

"I would like a clear declaration from the British Government—a clear declaration to the world . . . that there are only two things in future for which this country will undertake any obligation to fight. One of them is the defence of our own country. The other is the Covenant of the League and the principle and practice of arbitration. . . ."

"The future of Europe matters to us as it never did before. . . . Let us support this Government in using all its diplomatic efforts to establish in Europe . . . the principle and practice of arbitration which is the principle and practice of the Covenant of the League, and to displace, by the faith which we shall create in that principle and practice, the ruinous expense of armaments and the hazards of future war."

PEACE AND THE PRINTER

THE Union's new pamphlet, "Organising Peace," had a success at an earlier stage than is usual with most publications. The master-printer took it home to read, and was so pleased with it that he gave special orders to have it printed with great care, and ordered twelve copies to send to his friends. Printers are famed for their intelligence, so this is a really strong recommendation. The pamphlet is a new departure, for it has an illustration opposite nearly every page. It gives a full account of the origins and need for the League, its constitution and machinery—not forgetting, of course, the I.L.O. and the Permanent Court—with a summary of its principal achievements and an explanation of the Union, not always grasped even by believers in the League, why such believers should join the Union. The pamphlet costs 3d., and can be obtained in the form of a lantern lecture, with the slides shown in the illustrations.

The other publication which the Union has issued this month is a leaflet, which costs 2d. per copy, but is worth its weight in gold, for it contains a full report of Lord Grey's speech at the Queen's Hall meeting on June 25. Extracts from that speech are given on another page of HEADWAY; but everyone who is interested in the most pressing question of the moment in international affairs should buy the "Pact and Protocol" leaflet and read the whole speech. Lord Grey is one of the greatest authorities on international questions and one of the most earnest searchers after world peace, and his words ought to be carefully read by everyone who did not have an opportunity of hearing them spoken.

I.L.O. NEWS

The Director in South America

ON June 29th the Director of the I.L.O. left Geneva for South America. The visit is the result of suggestions made by Government, employer and worker delegates from several of the Latin American Republics during the 1924 and 1925 sessions of the Conference, and is an important indication of the increased interest which is being taken in the I.L.O. in this part of the world. Nine S. American States are members of the Organisation, but their representation at the annual Conferences has in the past been very irregular, and in only three cases have there been complete delegations (two Government representatives, one employer and one worker) from these countries. At the recent Conference, however, nine States were represented—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, Argentina and Chile sending complete delegations. Again, during the years 1919-24, no ratifications of Conventions were registered by the S. American Republics. In the report made to this Conference, however, it was seen that Argentina, Brazil and Chile had recommended ratification of a number of Conventions, so that legislation on these lines should follow.

The Hours Protocol

At the Conference, negotiations for a common ratification of the Hours Convention were foreshadowed, and this month has seen some advance. The Ministers of Labour of Belgium, France, Germany and Great Britain are to meet, but where or when we do not know. It seems certain only that the negotiations are proceeding on British initiative, and are being conducted in co-operation with the I.L.O. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland was in Frankfurt on June 11th, and met the German Minister of Labour there. On July 18th the French Chamber of Deputies passed unanimously a Bill for the ratification of the Convention, provisional on that of Germany. The measure has now to be referred to the Senate before adoption. Further steps will probably be delayed till the autumn.

Labour in the Far East

An important new development in Japan is the setting up of a new "Association on International Labour," with a special Commission which will deal with the application of International Labour Conventions, and will "prepare plans for hastening their ratification." The list of its members (Industrial and Labour Information, XV, 2) show that the Association has powerful support, not only from students of economic questions, but from employers' and workers' organisations. It is attempting also to get into touch with League of Nations Societies all over the world, and in particular with their Labour Departments. It should thus prove a valuable instrument for stimulating public opinion in Japan, and also for collecting and publishing information as to conditions of labour in that country.

As to China, there has probably never been such a flood of light thrown on industrial conditions in Shanghai and elsewhere. Mr. Chamberlain has announced in the House that neither this British Government, nor any other to come, will fail to do its best to raise the level of labour conditions in China whenever its influence may be made to prevail. The Report of the Child Labour Commission has been widely read all over the country, and the Government Blue Book (Cond. 2, 442), drawn up by the British Consular officers in China at the request of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, has just been published. Summaries of both these documents can be obtained from this office.

Ratifications Registered

The total number of ratifications of I.L. Conventions is now 159, with 34 more authorised but not registered.

The latest additions are important as they include the first four to be ratified by Germany—Unemployment, Employment for Seamen, Right of Association for Agricultural Workers and Workers' Compensation (Agriculture). The first French ratification has also been registered—Night Work for Women.

OVERSEAS NOTES

America.—Interest in the League is growing in America. There may still be much hostility, but there is a great deal less apathy. A lecturer on the League writes: "Every move of the League is being watched and frankly approved or condemned as the case may be."

A resolution providing for America's adhesion, with reservations, to the Permanent Court, which was passed by Congress in March, is to come before the Senate on December 17th. By way of smoothing its path, Professor Manley O. Hudson has prepared two replies to Senator Borah's criticisms, which are published by the Non-Partisan Association, together with other arguments in support of the Court.

The tercentenary of Grotius' great work on International Law was celebrated by a series of lectures at Columbia University.

Austria.—Dr. Friedrich Hertz has prepared a paper on education for peace in which he advocates the introduction of a new subject into schools, called "the study of mankind." Under his scheme children would be taught something of the culture and the leading men and women of foreign nations; they would learn to understand the language, customs and points of view of different nations, and would be taught forbearance in their attitude towards foreigners and how to deport themselves tactfully in their presence and in foreign countries.

Khartoum.—A lantern lecture for children taken back from London by the Secretary of the Khartoum Branch, has been found very useful. It has been shown to a number of schools, both girls' and boys', and the audiences covered an unusual number of nationalities; among them Sudanese, Egyptian, Greek, Italian, and Armenian. It is hoped to repeat the experiment in the winter.

A £3,000 GRANT

After protracted negotiations, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust has decided to make a grant of £3,000 to the League of Nations Union for the development of the Library. The actual payment is to be spread over a period of three years, £1,500 being made available the first year, £1,000 the second, and £500 the third.

One stipulation, to which the Union has readily agreed, is that during these three years, and possibly longer, any reasonable applications for books received through the Central Library for Students should be acceded to. The selection of books to be acquired with the funds provided by the Carnegie Trust is being proceeded with immediately, and plans for the organisation of a lending, as well as a reference, library are being pushed forward.

It is reported from Buenos Aires that the Commission of Foreign Affairs in the Argentine Chamber is favourable to the return of the Argentine Republic to full co-operation with the League of Nations. It may be hoped, therefore, that an Argentine delegation will once more be seen in September in the seats it last occupied at the Assembly of 1920. Argentina has, as is well known, voluntarily paid the League the whole of her arrears of subscriptions.

THE END OF AN EXPERIMENT

THE first Annual Report of the British Group (I.U.L.N.F.), just published by the League of Nations Union, is the bare record—little more than the working notes—of an experiment started at Oxford eighteen months ago with a view to finding some cure for the ill-health that seemed to be overtaking League of Nations Union work in the Universities. There were those in some Universities who remembered when their Branch of the Union in the robust days of 1919 and 1920 had been the largest and most vigorous of all societies, and they felt that it was slipping into obscurity, in danger of becoming the refuge of the faddist, for some an amusement, and for others no more than a means of emotional expression.

Whether they were optimistic about a happier world or whether they felt the despair of disillusionment, the ex-Service men who thronged into the Universities at the end of the war were one and all determined that there should be no repetition of the tragedy of the past four years through any failure of theirs to do all they could to prevent its recurrence. Huge student congresses in America rose in revolt, refused to discuss the routine questions of institutionalism in religion and civics arranged for them and demanded to get to grips with the burning questions of war and peace and the League. Soon they were streaming to Europe in unprecedented numbers to discuss their plans with students here. Our friends in France inaugurated a great *Confédération Internationale des Etudiants* which now includes the students of ex-enemy countries and of nearly every continent, vast sums of money were raised in this country and in America for student relief work in the famine-stricken countries, and the Universities, at least in so far as they consist of their younger members, became more consciously international than they had been even in the Middle Ages.

That generation has gone, but much of their work remains. At Geneva in August there is to be a great gathering of students from countries which contributed relief, and from those that received it. The work of European Student Relief has made bonds of friendship which will not easily wear thin. Again, only a few weeks ago Lord Haldane opened in London the new Headquarters and International Student Club Rooms of the National Union of Students. That organisation grew out of a need for some central body which could act internationally for the students of this country, and although there are no ex-Service men left on its new Council, it was evident at the recent meetings of the Council that the work of the Union will be pursued as vigorously as ever. Everyone who realises the possibilities for developing international consciousness through foreign travel will welcome the increased activity and efficiency of the Tours Department which it runs for students.

There is, however, a danger lest we sometimes forget about these student tours that, however important it may be for medical students to study new methods of surgery in Vienna, for engineering students to visit German factories, and for Irishmen to study agriculture in Denmark, or however pleasant it may be merely to go "sightseeing," we are not necessarily the better internationalists for the experience. True, the National Union arranges for students going abroad to have the chance to get to know students of the countries which they visit; but we seem to have heard of a party of foreign students who came to Oxford and preferred American films to a public lecture, and syncopated dance music to a Union Debate, and we wonder whether they went away any better able to understand and tolerate the Anglo-Saxon. The really important thing would seem to be to bring together students keen on the same things and interested to think out the same

international problems, and that is exactly what the British Group has tried to do through its international assemblies in this country, and by sending students abroad to the Conferences of the International Universities' League of Nations Federation.

The men coming up to the Universities to-day are just as ready to respond to an ideal as those of 1914 or of 1919, but they do not realise the urgency of the problems that have to be solved. There is a good deal of general benevolence: not enough realistic policy. In many large international student conferences the outward manifestation of friendship hides all sorts of acute political problems: they are ruled out of order and not discussed, but unless they can be reconciled now, one day they will break loose, for often they are based upon inherited, deep-rooted, racial differences and instincts. That is why, in the courses which he has organised at Geneva this year for the I.U.L.N.F., Professor Zimmern has given so much attention to the study of the culture and institutions of the various nations.

That was the experiment launched at Oxford eighteen months ago; to see whether by bringing the students of this country into more direct touch with the students of other countries and with the political problems of those countries it would not be possible to bring home to the University undergraduate of to-day some idea of the bigness and the urgency of the work which the League of Nations is already tackling and must tackle even more intensely and on a wider scale in the future. If that could be done then the only study of the League, and even of its departmental activities, could no longer be deemed a merely pleasant pastime for the well-intentioned.

Now, the British Group has tried to convey this point of view to every undergraduate in the country, to emphasise it wherever a conference of students has met, and to assist the work of other Groups abroad is recorded in the report just published; and upon the results so far accomplished the Committee will have to decide whether to go forward in their work in faith that the material means will not be lacking.

In the meantime the Branches are in no doubt as to the decision: even in the summer term, in spite of the weather and examinations, their activity was maintained. An international student rally at Aberystwyth, an international assembly at London, concerts at Edinburgh to raise money for sending delegates to the Geneva Conferences—from all directions news arrives of renewed effort. Already eighty students from this country have arranged to go to Geneva during the vacation, so that they may be better fitted for the work next year, and next month we hope to give some account of the work which other students from this country who were at Geneva last year are doing for the League in the United States and in South Africa at the present time.

Pacifism and the League of Nations. Francis E. Pollard. (Friends' Bookshop). Price 2d. The attitude of the majority of pacifists to the League is often misunderstood and often ignored, and too few writers on the subject have based their case on a real knowledge of actual facts. Mr. Pollard's pamphlet, "Pacifism and the League of Nations" is, therefore, a welcome contribution. It is a clear and thoughtful account of the attitude of the pacifist movement since the creation of the League in 1919 to the present day. While confirmed in his distrust of the work of the Peace Conference, he yet admits that the League is "the one instrument obtainable at the moment by which a war-stricken and angry world could find its way to life and peace." He lays stress on the value of the humanitarian work of the League, and makes an appeal to other Pacifists for open-minded consideration of its achievements.

BOOKS WORTH READING

The World After the Peace Conference. By Arnold J. Toynbee. (H. Milford. 5s.)
Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923. By Arnold J. Toynbee. (H. Milford. 25s.)

The British Institute of International Affairs is laying the world under a great debt. If a lack of mutual understanding and a failure to appreciate the point of view of other nations are fertile, though indirect, causes of war, then by the opportunities which it affords for free discussion and by the publication of accurate and authoritative information, the Institute is doing much to remove these causes. Already it has been responsible for publishing Mr. Temperley's *History of the Peace Conference*, and now it is continuing its task by the issue of an annual Survey of International Affairs. Of the two volumes which are the subject of this notice, the first serves as a link between Mr. Temperley's work and the series of the Survey; the second is overtaking lost ground, since the subsequent volumes will appear as soon as possible after the close of the single years with which each will deal.

Back to the Facts

The official preface makes clear the objects which the British Institute has in view: "Speeches and articles," it says, "are the main factors in moulding public opinion on foreign affairs. They are usually prepared by political leaders and publicists, who thus discharge, under heavy pressure, a function of vital importance. . . . Their greatest need is not to discover the secrets of diplomacy, most of which have to be revealed in due course, but rather to obtain access to and to keep track of the information which is published in overwhelming quantity. The primary object of these publications is to enable speakers and writers to gather in the time available for their task the factual material, carefully checked, upon which to base the advice which they may offer to the public." But if the British Institute is thus attempting to supply what is a national need, it has taken the first step towards achieving its object in entrusting the work to Mr. Arnold Toynbee. No better choice could have been made, and Mr. Toynbee has accomplished his part with conspicuous success; he has approached his subject in the scientific spirit of the true historian, and even if he has any special predilections or bias, he does not allow them to obtrude themselves unduly in his pages.

The World Drama

In his first volume he sets the stage for the world drama which has been, and is being, played before our eyes. He shows us the world in a state of political flux; the system of modern territorial great powers developing out of the two mediæval non-territorial Great Powers, the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire; these great powers changing and enlarging their ambit and establishing the Balance of Power and the Concert of Europe; then the system coming to an end with the war of 1914, and a new horizon breaking upon our sight and centring upon the League of Nations. Mr. Toynbee points out that for the success of the new experiment "two conditions were essential: first, the organization must respect the traditional susceptibilities of sovereign states in general, and great powers in particular; secondly, there must be a certain homogeneity of type, structure and outlook among the members." He deals at some length with the difficulties, such as nationalism, the establishment of the economic equilibrium and opposing states of mind, which threatened the development of the League, and whose issue was still uncertain at the end of the year 1923.

Conferences Galore

The first volume is thus introductory, and the contemporary Survey proper does not begin until the

second. The method of treatment is here analytical, and it begins with a summary of the proceedings of the eighteen international Conferences and of the sessions of the League Assembly and Council during the period under review. The five parts which follow deal respectively with Western and Eastern Europe, the Islamic World, Tropical Africa and the Far East, including the Pacific. It is unfortunate that limitations of space have made it necessary to defer the international relations of the American Continent, except so far as the Washington Agreements are concerned, to subsequent volumes, for the present volume is thus robbed of its completeness. Each geographical section is prefaced by a short general introduction, and, without doing injustice to Mr. Toynbee's scheme, it may be suggested that these introductions may with profit be read continuously by the general reader. But undoubtedly the part of the book most important to those political leaders and publicists whom the promoters of the Survey have in mind is contained in the sub-sections which deal in detail with every important international circumstance of the years 1920-1923.

Baltic Changes

Two or three examples may be taken at random. There is the question of the position in which the Scandinavian States found themselves owing to the complete political change which had taken place on the eastern shores of the Baltic; the disappearance of the German Navy, the Russian revolution, and the consequent formation of the five Baltic States had created a new situation: why did Norway, Sweden and Denmark feel that their fate was more secure in their membership of the League than in any Baltic Union, after the mode of the Little Entente? Again, take the story of Bessarabia—a story which has not yet reached its end—much history lies hidden there which Mr. Toynbee unfolds in such a way as to make it clear that there is no simple solution of the international difficulties which this province has raised. In the same way, the financial chaos of Austria and the Janina murders are set out with their equally complicated issues. Crossing to Africa, Abyssinia's application for membership of the League is seen to be not unconnected with the enquiry into the question of slavery, which was on the agenda of the Fourth Assembly simultaneously. Lastly, an admirable illustration of the working of the mandate system is given in connection with German South-West Africa, and the investigation into the suppression of the Bondelzwart rising, where the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

The Ubiquitous League

In this review but little reference has been made to the specific activities of the League as they are recorded in the Survey; the truth is that the League runs through the whole like a golden thread; it calls for no special attention, for it is there all the time. But this much may be said: even though Mr. Toynbee is writing of a period which ended in 1923, he gives signs that public opinion, and, still more, political opinion, is working towards an international mind and a common outlook in co-operation and not in conflict between the several parts. Not the least pregnant of his sentences is the following, which has an universal application, although it is taken out of its immediate context: "The crude, anthropomorphic metaphor which speaks of 'France,' 'Great Britain,' 'the United States,' 'Japan,' and other governments, peoples and countries, as though they were personalities with that degree of mental unity which exists in an individual human being, is a mere convenience of language which slurs over the infinitely complex play of opinion in a vast community." To give unity of purpose to that complexity of opinion is the task to which the League is pledged.—H. W. F.

READERS' VIEWS

SOURCES OF FRICTION

To the Editor of HEADWAY:

SIR,—While welcoming heartily the present negotiations with Germany relative to the proposed Security Pact, and while wishing them every success, it remains that no real security is possible without mutual good will, and that it is therefore of importance to remove as far as possible the sources of friction between France and Germany. Now, there are three provisions in the Treaty of Versailles which may at any time lead to trouble:—

(1) Article 80, Section 6, Part III, of the Treaty regarding Austria.—If there were any danger to be apprehended from Austria uniting with Germany, to prohibit Austria from doing so is the best way to foster a desire for union, which, after all, can only be prevented by force if strongly desired on both sides. I see no reason, however, to suppose that Austria is likely to wish to be absorbed in Germany, and I am inclined to believe that, if she did, the present Austrian republic would have a steady and pacific effect upon German policy; it therefore seems to me that it would be advisable to abrogate Article 80 altogether.

(2) The Saar Basin.—Unless the effect of the proposed Security Pact should be to guarantee the retention of the Saar Basin by Germany, thereby superseding Chapter III, Part III, of the Treaty, the plebiscite provided for in the Treaty should be taken at once instead of waiting for the expiration of the period of 15 years, since, so long as the future sovereignty of the district remains unsettled, France will always be suspected by Germany, rightly or wrongly, of endeavouring to use her present position there to alienate the inhabitants from their old allegiance; and this question being settled, Germany should, if possible, raise a loan to buy the mines from France without delay.

(3) Danzig and the Polish Corridor.—This unfortunate arrangement, by which East Prussia is cut off from the rest of Germany, has been, and must continue to be, a perpetual source of friction. It has been urged in its defence that Poland must have access to the sea, though Switzerland and Czechoslovakia get on very well without it, except in so far as the latter is provided for by Articles 363 and 364 of the Treaty; but, if necessary, could it not be arranged for Poland to have a bounded area in a seaport on the North Sea where she could import and from which she could export goods freely, with the right of the transport of such goods under bond to and from Poland? Some such arrangement, on the lines of Articles 363 and 364, might surely be possible; but to leave matters as they are seems likely to lead to perpetual trouble.

I venture to offer the above rough suggestions in the hope that the League of Nations Union may consider whether they could not take up, at least, (1) and (2), and press for their consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, since such concessions, if made as a free act of grace, might do much to bring about the good will which is so essential for real security, while, as regards (3), I only submit the suggestion offered above *faute de mieux*, and in the hope that some one may be able to suggest some better solution of the present difficulties.—Yours, &c.,

Hillsborough, Petersfield.
July 8, 1925.

ARTHUR A. PEARSON.

THE LEAGUE'S TRUE PLACE IN THE WORLD

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—With regard to Mr. Philip Kerr's plea for hard thinking? in the June HEADWAY, and Dr. Maxwell Garnett's comment, in the following issue, may I submit one or two observations?—History never simply repeats itself, and a world-wide organisation, such as the League of Nations should eventually become, and which has its origin in a unique revulsion of the civilised conscience against a uniquely fratricidal war, can have no exact precedent among confederations of the past. The League has already, among its other services, succeeded to a very large extent in substituting public for secret diplomacy, and with the aid of its Permanent Court, it tends to become for its members a final arbitral authority.

The League's best friends are not, however, those who rest satisfied with its present tentatively and timidly framed constitution. It is still a League of Governments rather than a League of Peoples. It should be made both by the delegation of democratically elected representatives to the Assembly.

Again, the League's acknowledged function being the promotion of the peaceful co-operation and common well-being of nations, it should neither remain as loose a confederation of Governments, as it now is, nor become a super-State. It should certainly have a more clearly recognised authority and the power to act in many more spheres of international interest. Among the chief of these is the transfer of goods and money, whether by Governments or corporations or individuals from one country to another. An efficient League of Nations should facilitate international commerce and finally supplant private speculators in the control of international finance. It should work for the

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19 OUNCES WEIGHT Three ounces heavier than an umbrella.



Thrown over the arm, the 19-oz. "Mattamac" is almost weightless. It can be carried easily over the arm, or put into your pocket when the Sun shines. In the Holiday Suit Case it takes up very little room.

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made and reserved exclusively for "Mattamac" Stormproofs, is a light-weight, closely-woven, intensely-strong and compact-folding material. It is tough, "clean" wearing and absolutely waterproof—so waterproof that even wind-driven rain cannot penetrate a "Mattamac."

7 SHADES & 40 SIZES

The unbelted "Mattamac" is made for Adults at 29/6 (no extra charge for the largest adult sizes), and for Children at size prices.

Conduit Street, its birth-place, and the Overcoat Centre of the World, is represented in the graceful, tailored "hang," wide skirt, easy Raglan shoulders and roomy "under-arms."

Each "Mattamac" has wind-strapped adjustable cuffs, perpendicular pockets, lined shoulders, is conscientiously finished in all details, and is guaranteed to be made entirely from the genuine all-weather-proof "Mattac" (Reg'd.) Fabric.

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You can satisfy yourself about a "Mattamac" in actual wear. Each Coat is sent out on the understanding that it can be returned within seven days of receipt in exchange for the full purchase price should you so wish. You can safely order your "Mattamac" straightaway without waiting for the Booklet to reach you.

"MATTAMAC" ART BOOKLET, POST FREE.

Send a postcard for the "Mattamac" Booklet "142L" and Colour Patterns of "Mattac" Fabric. This Booklet illustrates Town and Country Models for Adults Unbelted (29/6), Belted Models (32/6), Sporting Models (from 29/6) and grown-up-style Models for Children of all ages at size prices.

"Mattamac" Stormproofs can only be obtained from the "Mattamac" Show-rooms and Branches, from our accredited Provincial Agents, and through the Post from the Conduit St. Headquarters. If unable personally to inspect Models, send order with remittance, or write for "Mattamac" Booklet "142L" to Pearson Bros., the Sole Makers of "Mattamac" Stormproofs:

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"MATTAMAC" BRANCHES NOW OPEN AT:—
20, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. (10 doors West of St. Paul's);
117, Oxford Street, London, W. (Opposite Bourne & Hollingsworth's);
157, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C. (2 doors from Lime Street);
129a, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. (2 doors from Ashley Place);
British Empire Exhibition, "Mattamac" Kiosk, Lakeside East No. 6;
and at 134, New St., Birmingham. (Next door to Grammar School.)
400 PROVINCIAL AGENCIES HAVE AMPLE STOCKS

standardisation of currencies, if not for a single currency issued by a League of Nations Bank.

That, indeed, would be the most practical guarantee of peace possible. But, for the more immediate tasks, Germany's inclusion in the League is probably the most important. Next should come the solemn undertaking by member States to substitute arbitration for war. The burden of the present obligation to go to war in defence of the Covenant would be vastly reduced by such an explicit outlawry of wars. But what about sanctions? An Assembly to represent the peoples of the world, profoundly interested in peace as most of them are, and not merely the Governments temporarily in power in the member States, would be a far stronger sanction than the present piling up of should-be useless armaments.—Yours, &c.,
SOUTHAMPTON. CHARLES F. HOOPER.

SHANGHAI INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Having lived in China for 20 years and been a resident of Shanghai for some months of that time, I may perhaps be allowed to explain some of the difficulties of the present system of government in the International Settlement at Shanghai. It is not surprising that people in England find it difficult to understand this system, for quite a number of the foreign residents in the Settlement have themselves very hazy ideas on the subject.

There has been a tendency to regard the foreigners of the Settlement as being callous towards the question of Child Labour, in that on two occasions when meetings have been convened to approve the Regulations submitted by the Council, the number present was insufficient to form a quorum. It is not generally recognised, however, that the fault for this lies in the obsolete "Land Regulations" under which such meetings are convened. These may have been adequate in the earlier days of the Settlement, but are absurd now. It would be safe to say that in very few places in England would reforms be adopted if the presence was required at a certain hour (in person or by proxy) of a third of the voters—for that is what the "Land Regulations" stipulate. The attendance at both meetings in Shanghai was very commendable. At the first meeting 622 votes were represented, and at the second, 725. But even this latter figure was 177 votes short of the quorum required.

It should be understood that this particular matter of Child Labour is by no means the only subject which has been held up for want of a quorum. As a matter of fact, no such quorum has been obtained for several years, and special regulations

which the Council have earnestly desired to be passed have been blocked in this way. This is a crying evil, and the only reason why it is not rectified is that nobody seems able to suggest any reasonable method of reform. The only practicable method is to place the International Settlement of Shanghai directly under the League of Nations, which shall exercise control without being hampered with these obsolete "Land Regulations."—Yours, &c.,
G. W. SHIPWAY.
"St. Davids," William Way, Letchworth, Herts.

THE UNION AND OUR DELEGATES

The following resolution was passed by the Executive Committee on July 16:—

"That H.M. Government be reminded of the following statement made by the late President Wilson at the inauguration of the League: 'When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation on the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of official representatives here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. . . . Therefore we thought that this was a proper and very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere in that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation instead of being confined to a single official body with which they might or might not find themselves in sympathy.' The Union trusts that H.M. Government will bear these considerations in mind when selecting the British Delegation for the League's Sixth Assembly."

WANTED—Women Writers!

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What the League of Nations Is By H. WILSON HARRIS 2s. 6d.

This book explains in clear language, in small compass, and at a modest figure, what the League of Nations is, and what it is doing.

The League, the Protocol, and the Empire By ROTH WILLIAMS 5s.

Author of "The League of Nations To-day."

"A vast amount of useful information."—Daily Herald

The World's Industrial Parliament A Short Popular Account of the International Labour Office By E. M. OLIVER 2s.

"An excellent and necessary little book."—Times

International Social Progress The Work of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations By G. A. JOHNSTON 10s. 6d.

"This is a valuable book. . . . Nothing so comprehensive has yet been attempted on so compact a scale."—Times.

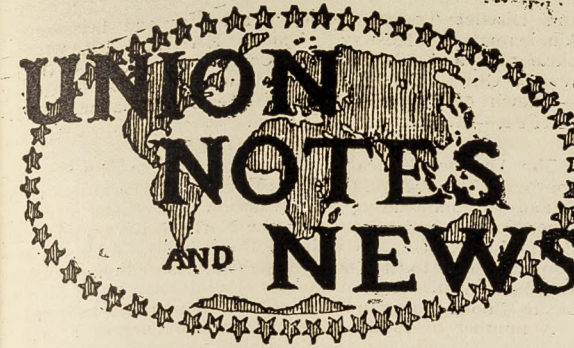
The Geneva Protocol of 1924 By SIR JOHN F. WILLIAMS, K.C., C.B.E. 1s.

"May be warmly recommended to all serious students."—Manchester Guardian

The Neuroses of the Nations The Neuroses of Germany and France before the War By C. E. PLAYNE 16s.

The stress of life produces group neurasthenia. The war of 1914 is seen coming as a consequence of the abnormal mentality which prevailed in the two countries and throughout Europe. Nations are shown drifting into the war in consequence of their obsessions.

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What the Council Did

A meeting of the General Council is so very much "Union Notes and News" that some mention of its results must appear in these columns whatever other space may be provided for it in HEADWAY. Delegates will have already carried home to their branches Lord Cecil's inspiring words: "It is not too much to say that without the Union the League might not have survived, and it is almost certain that it would not have achieved the very remarkable success which has fallen to it." They will also remember there is good news of a less interesting and more practical kind. A really simple sub-division of the membership subscription was adopted by the Council. In future, branches will keep a quarter (but not less than 9d.) of their branch members' subscriptions, and will pay the balance to Headquarters, which will bear the cost of literature. In order to compensate Headquarters for the abolition of the present threepenny capitation fee, the Council's Vote will be increased by £5,000 per annum.

The New Appeal

In its infancy the Union owed its existence to the munificence of a few wealthy men. By their aid it has been able to increase its membership to nearly half a million, and the time has now come for those members to make themselves responsible for providing the bulk of the Union's funds. The Council, therefore, authorised the issue of a new appeal similar to that which was made in February, 1924, and which produced more than £20,000 in cash and promises. The new appeal has been sent to subscribers of 10s. a year and upwards who joined the Union since the appeal of eighteen months ago, or who did not respond to that appeal. Members are urged to give generously and, in spite of the necessary holiday delay, to give quickly. In the words of the Appeal Letter: "It rests with public opinion, and especially at this moment with British public opinion, to decide if the good work which the League has already done is to be continued and expanded. We ask you to help us in our task of helping the League, and through the League, our children's children."

Better Pamphlets

The July number of HEADWAY contained an appeal to Branch Secretaries to send us a list of the ten most useful publications of the Union arranged, if possible, in order of merit, so that our future pamphlets may have the best possible chance of meeting a wide variety of tastes. We have only had ten replies to this request, and we, therefore, hope that all members will be able to meditate further on this subject during the holiday months.

York Remembers the Covenant

The signing of the Armistice is kept by the mass of our members as a solemn anniversary, but the date of the signing of the Covenant, an even more momentous event for the League of Nations Union, is apt to be forgotten. The celebrations of its sixth anniversary (June 28th) by a huge open-air demonstration at York, was perhaps all the more striking for this very fact: The York market place was crowded with some thousands of listeners, while from two different platforms, presided over respectively by the Lord Mayor and the Archdeacon of York, Professor Philip Baker, the Sheriff of York, Mr. Servington Savery and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, made speeches commemorating the event. Professor Baker, himself a witness of the signing of the Covenant, recalled "the passionate hopes" with which men had seen the birth of the League of Nations. The sixth anniversary found them ready to take another step forward, and he called upon the people of England to be ready to do their part to secure peace in Europe by arbitration.

Mr. Rowntree spoke of the widespread labour unrest threatening the world. Employers who wanted to see better working conditions were in competition with those who were paying lower wages and working longer hours. The International Labour Organisation of the League was working to get the countries of the world to act simultaneously in improving the conditions of the world's workers, and the people of England must help the I.L.O. "to lift the burdens from those burdened workers."

The meeting ended with the singing of hymns by a choir of three hundred voices and with the unanimous passing of a resolution pledging the gathering to support world peace through the League.

We congratulate Miss W. E. Gunn, the Honorary Branch Secretary, on the organisation of such an inspiring and interesting event.

Teachers and the League

A series of meetings especially for teachers were held at the end of June at various centres in Worcestershire. The Education Committee gave their teachers a special half-holiday so that they could attend and hear what the League has done and how they could help to spread the idea. A great deal of literature was sold, and many new members made of teachers in out-of-the-way country districts, who otherwise could never have got to a meeting on the League. The Dean of Worcester and Mr. Marvin were the principal speakers.

Scottish Council School

The Scottish National Council of the League of Nations Union has again chosen Dunblane for its autumn school (October 9th to 12th) and an interesting programme has been arranged. Mr. Whelen will give a review of the 1925 Assembly and will also speak on the work of the International Labour Office. Captain Walter Elliot will discuss the Geneva Protocol; Mr. J. H. Harris, the League and Backward Races; Professor

W. Wilson, M.A., LL.B., the International Court of Justice; and Professor H. W. Hetherington, International Citizenship. Applications should be made to Mr. David Crawford, 213, West George Street, Glasgow, as soon as possible.

"Headway" Overseas

Will members who are prepared to post their copies of HEADWAY to foreign countries send their names to the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

East and West

An interesting Summer Conference is being held by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at Kipling Hall, Scorton (near Richmond), Yorkshire, from July 31st to August 7th. The special problems of China and India, the Industrial Relations of East and West, the Spirit of Reconciliation in Asia, and the International Movement will be discussed. Dr. Hodgkin, Dame Adelaide Anderson, Mr. H. S. Polak, Mr. T. P. Sinha and Mr. N. M. Joshi will speak.

Pageants and Plays

June is typically a month of open-air Pageants, and we have interesting accounts of performances in aid of the Union from four of our Branches.

At Penzance on June 18 and 19, the girls of the Church of England High School gave "The Earth and her Children"—a charming display of acting, singing, and dancing—in the grounds of the school. There was a large attendance on both days and the audience was addressed on the work of the League of Nations Union.

Leamington Garden Fête attracted such crowds that extra chairs had to be hurried to the spot by motor van. The chairman, Mr. T. Welham Clarke, opened proceedings with the remark "All intelligent people belong to the I.N.U." and the very clever skit "Too much League," written by the members of the Leamington Branch, would seem to lend support to his assertion. The scene was laid in a mental home full of patients deranged by contact with the League; a Branch Secretary in relentless pursuit of shilling subscriptions being naturally the most distressing case! A Pageant Play, "The Pipes of Pan," was also produced by Miss C. Woodward, assisted by 5-year-old actresses from the Leicester Street Infant School.

Burnham-on-Sea filled the Town Hall for a performance of "Peace on Earth," a series of striking tableaux in which the spirit of the League calls the Fifty-five Member States of the League to her help. This was followed by "The Sacred Fire," a morality play in 4 acts, which was realistically produced and acted.

The Inverness Branch attempted perhaps the most ambitious dramatic feat by producing scenes from "The Alchemists,"

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
July 23, 1925	...	...	...	...	477,338

BRANCHES

On July 23, 1925, the number of Branches was 2,133, Junior Branches 262, and Corporate Members 1,240.

by Ben Jonson, and "Northanger Abbey," by Jane Austin. Provost Petrie took the chair and the Town Hall was well filled. The acting of the pupils of the Inverness Royal Academy appears to have been of a very high order, and Miss Sarah Walker's Orchestra was voted enthusiastic thanks.

The Geneva School

The closing date for application to join the Geneva Summer School is drawing near. There is still a disappointing number of names on our list, although the American Society are sending over a large contingent of some 100 members. The fact that the applications to join the Assembly Tours are much more numerous makes us think that members do not realise that they have probably an even better chance of seeing the inner workings of the League at the Summer School than they do in the crowded days of the Assembly. They have certainly more opportunities of coming in contact with members of the League Secretariat and the I.L.O. staff. We hope, therefore, to see our list swell suddenly at this belated hour.

Miner's Meeting

Anxiety over the present crisis in the coalfields seems to have sharpened rather than dulled the interest of the mining villages in the League and the I.L.O. At Hucknall, on July 6th, a towncrier went round the streets announcing a meeting upon "a subject of vital importance to all citizens" in the market square. When Mr. Gillinder arrived to take the meeting a crowd of some 300 strong were already gathered waiting for him. After a speech of an hour-and-a-quarter from Mr. Gillinder, there was a discussion of three-quarters-of-an-hour more. The efforts of the I.L.O. to internationalise conditions of labour roused keen interest among the crowd.

Smith and Sons Join Up

A branch of the Union has recently been formed in connection with Messrs. W. H. Smith & Sons' Newcastle Branch. It seems to be doing good missionary work, for the Secretary writes: "You will be pleased to know that the interest among our staff is increasing, and people are talking to their friends outside the firm and getting them to join branches outside."

Guernsey Breaks the Record

We recently congratulated a branch on securing renewal subscriptions from 92 per cent. of its membership. Guernsey has done better still, for in a branch with a membership of 172 out of a total population of 188, 95 per cent. of the members have renewed their subscriptions. This success is due to the method of house-to-house canvass recommended in HEADWAY.

Holiday News

While Branch Secretaries are probably turning their minds to schemes for well-earned rest, less burdened members must see to it that holiday opportunities do not slip by. In seaside places there are often gathered people who, in the ordinary course of life, attend no meetings and show little interest in international affairs. Short open-air meetings on the sands or in the market place may be the best possible way of enlisting them as members of the Union.

Again, the summer is, of course, a time when large numbers of young men and women, students, teachers and others, are available for speaking. Three Cambridge undergraduates have already been despatched from Headquarters with a caravan in which to tour the villages of Kent. There are more counties and innumerable caravans!

Council's Vote

At the time of going to press £5,552 9s. 2d. had been received at Head Office this year as Councils' Vote money. In addition to those mentioned in previous issues the following branches have completed their 1925 quotas: Crediton, Greystoke, Hull Municipal Training College, King's Sutton, Kingswood (Bristol), Mawdsley, Potherdale, Rockcliffe, Sheffield (Queen Street), Totnes and West Wight. Kingswood has paid its 1924 and 1925 quotas, and Armley and Sandown their 1924 quotas. We hope that other branches and districts will make a special effort to send in as much as possible of their quotas before the holidays.

Corporate Members

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

BIRMINGHAM—National Union of Clerks; Trades Council. BOHARM—Parish Church; United Free Church of Scotland. BRIGHTON—Dome Mission. BRISTOL—Eastville Park United Methodist Free Church. BURTON-ON-TRENT—Constitutional Club. BYKER—Women's Co-operative Guild. CARLISLE—Warwick Road Presbyterian Church. CROSBY—Independent Methodist Church. EDINBURGH—St. Bernard's United Free Church. EGREMENT—Wesleyan Methodist Church. GATESHEAD—Women's Co-operative Guild. GLASGOW—Dennistown B.W.T.A. HANDSWORTH—Divisional Labour Party. HOCKLEY HEATH—Umberslade Baptist Church (Christ Church); HUDDERSFIELD—League of Young Liberals. HULL—Park Street Unitarian Church; JARROW—Brotherhood; LONDON—Canonbury—Claremont Central Mission Women's Own; Clerkenwell—Working Men's Club and Institute Union,

Ltd.; Wandsworth—Women's Liberal Council. LEICESTER and District Trades Council; Leicester and Leicestershire Amalgamated Hosiery Union. MARKET DRAYTON—Cheshire Joint Sanatorium Committee. NORTHWOOD—Wesley Guild. SOUTHPORT—Church of Christ. STANLEY—Branch of Engineers and Firemen's Association. WEST-CLIFFE—St. Georges Men's Own.

WELSH NOTES

The Anglesey Education Committee has passed a resolution approving the teaching of the principles of the League in the Schools; recommending the formation of a Junior Branch in every School, and authorising the North Wales organiser, Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., to visit all the Schools. Addresses have also been given to the County Teachers' Associations of Anglesey and Carnarvon. A good number of additional Junior Branches of the Union are now in course of formation in these two counties.

A number of Public Meetings and Conferences, as well as meetings of religious organisations, have been addressed in South Wales. Daffodil Days have also been arranged in many centres.

It is a source of great encouragement to note the prominence given by some religious assemblies in Wales and Monmouthshire to the cause of the League and to the establishment of Branches of the Union. It would be still greater encouragement if every religious body had as an integral part of its organisation a League of Nations Committee responsible for furthering the cause of the League and of the Union within its area, and for reporting periodically on the progress made.

A number of replies have been received to the Welsh Children's Wireless Greeting sent out on Whit Sunday. Among those who answered it were M. Lion Bourgeois, M. Paul Hymans, and Signor Mussolini, while a large number of French Schools and individual French children replied to the message. A response from America was received this year for the first time. It was written by a little girl in the highest class of an elementary school, and reads as follows:—

REPLY TO THE MESSAGE OF THE WELSH CHILDREN

We, school children of the United States of America, answer the hearty cheer of the boys and girls of the Principality of Wales and of Monmouthshire on the commemoration of Good Will Day with the hope that all the children on the face of this earth received their message and pledge themselves to learn, and, when old enough, to vote for peace under all circumstances. May the Almighty God give courage to the people working for this great cause, multiply their numbers, encourage them, and protect them, for they are the most wonderful people of to-day, the people who are giving up their lives for good will and peace restored and perpetuated.

For the children of Public School, 6, New York City.
IRENE TURKEVICH.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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