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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT will be seen that this issue of HEADWAY devotes considerably more space than usual to the activities of the International Labour Organisation. No apology is needed for that. The I.L.O. is an integral part, and an extremely important part, of the League of Nations. There is too much tendency to consider the two bodies as separate and distinct from one another, with the result that both in this country and elsewhere there is a tendency for one section of students of international affairs to interest themselves very much in the League and very little in the Labour Office, or very much in the Labour Office and very little in the League as such. Some broadening of vision, which by no means prevents a reasonable concentration of attention on one of the two organisations in particular, is to be desired. In this issue the transactions of the June Labour Conferences at Geneva naturally fall to be dealt with at some length, though the second conference, devoted to hours and conditions of work at sea, took place too late in the month to receive more than this passing reference here. Fuller details will be given in the August HEADWAY. Meanwhile the articles we publish from very competent authorities on the Geneva discussions regarding emigration conditions and on standards of labour in Oriental countries will keep readers of this journal posted in respect of the principal recent developments of the International Labour Organisation's work.

An Indian L.N.U.

INDIAN newspapers just to hand give particulars of an important move which has just been made at Simla with a view to co-ordinating the work of all the Indian branches of the League of Nations Union and forming a new and comprehensive Indian League of Nations Union, which will be affiliated, very properly, not to the British Union at all, but to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels. The Organising Committee of the new Indian Union is very influential, the members including the Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir Basil Blackitt, Mr. S. R. Das, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir Ali Imam, the Maharajah of Burdwan, and many others. The Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, who, as Mr. Edward Wood, sat as delegate for Great Britain, both at the Council and Assembly of the League, and was a member of the Executive of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, is known as a strong supporter of the League, and can no doubt be counted on to give his full blessing to the new Indian Union.

An Armenian Home

THE endeavours to find a national home for Armenians in the Russian Soviet Republic of Erivan are not prospering. It will be a profound misfortune if the time and thought given to this project by Dr. Nansen and those who have co-operated with him should go for nothing, but it has

to be recognised that, under present conditions, the prospects of raising a loan for Armenian Settlement through the ordinary processes of the market are almost hopeless, and at a time of financial stringency it is futile to expect Governments to guarantee a loan which is, on the face of it, not a business proposition. The financial position of the Soviet Government of Erivan is complicated, for an official report presented to the League makes it clear that the budget of Erivan depends ultimately on the Central Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at Moscow. Any guarantee for a loan must, therefore, go back to Moscow, and the guarantee of the Russian State Bank is, in fact, offered. Rightly or wrongly, however, the money markets in London and elsewhere do not attach financial value to such a guarantee and are not prepared to lend money on the strength of it. It is pointed out with some justice in the report in question that there are many wealthy Armenians scattered all over the world, and it ought not to be difficult, on application to them and to men of substance of other nationalities, to raise privately on a kind of half-philanthropic, half-business basis the amount immediately required, which is not more than the very moderate figure of £1,500,000. If that money could be found, the League no doubt would be prepared to accept responsibility for the efficient execution of a settlement scheme.

Words and Deeds

CYNICS who hear from time to time that such-and-such a number of ratifications of I.L.O. conventions has been received are apt to ask with some justice how far the conventions are in fact being carried out. The I.L.O. itself has felt this question worthy of consideration, and at its recent conference it took the really important step of appointing a standing committee of experts on Labour legislation, who will examine in detail the reports which Governments render year by year as to the execution of conventions, and will have power to call for further information on points which are not clear. They will then report on the observance of conventions to the Director of the Labour Office, who will present these reports to the Annual Conference, and the Conference itself will name a committee of its own, consisting of employers and workers, to consider what action, if any, shall be taken to bring influence on a State which is doing something less than its duty in this matter. The procedure, which corresponds to some extent to that of the Mandates Commission of the League, is regarded by those best qualified to judge as an innovation calculated to produce results of substantial importance.

Problems in the Saar

THE new President of the Saar Valley Governing Commission, Major G. W. Stephens, made an interesting departure last month, when, during his own absence at Geneva, where he was attending the meeting of the League Council, he appointed as chairman of the Governing Commission in his absence Herr Kossmann, the Saar member of the Commission. This is the first time the Saar member has ever acted as chairman, and the innovation is the more interesting in that it has always

been intended that during the last few years of the Commission's existence the Saar member should preside over its deliberations. At the actual League Council meeting no Saar question of importance came up, as the difference of opinion existing between members of the Governing Commission as to the desirability of removing French troops from the area altogether is not to be considered till the September meeting of the Council, when Germany will presumably be present to take a hand in the conversations.

America and the Court

IT appears extremely unlikely now that America will become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the immediate future. The opinion appears to be almost universal that, welcome though her adhesion would be, the reservations which she has attached to it are such as the other members of the Court could not accept. It will be remembered that the resolution carried through Congress laid it down that the Court should not give to the Council of the League an advisory opinion on any subject in which the United States claims to have an interest unless the consent of the United States has been previously obtained. It has always been the practice, and a very valuable practice, of the Council to seek the highest legal advice—in other words, the advice of the Court—when it needed it, and no restriction which fettered its freedom to do that in the future could be favourably considered.

Good Morals and Good Business

LORD BURNHAM, in spite of the responsibilities falling on him as President of the Second Labour Conference at Geneva last month (a position, incidentally, which he has held twice before), found time to offer most welcome hospitality to the very interesting party of employers, trade unionists, students of international affairs and others who visited Geneva under the auspices of the Labour Department of the League of Nations Union. The speech he delivered at the luncheon which he gave to the party at the Hotel des Bergues made a considerable impression by reason of its instructed and emphatic appreciation of the work of the International Labour Organisation and the stress laid by the speaker on the leadership Great Britain might beneficially exert along roads of industrial reform, in which this country has always been a pioneer. Ideals and interest were well mingled in his declaration that "in the I.L.O. we have a moral association in the real sense, appealing not only to the conscience but also to the interests of mankind. British employers are concerned in the greater success of the organisation, because, apart from any altruistic reasons, it will prove of great benefit to themselves."

More Reconstruction

BULGARIA, it seems, is to have its refugee loan very much on a model of the Greek. The total amount required will be much smaller, the estimate being about £2,250,000, but that money, if wisely spent, ought to create order and prosperity in districts in which disorder and distress very largely prevail, owing to the fact that refugees coming across the frontier, mainly from Greek Macedonia,

have no money with which to establish themselves on the land, even if land is granted them by the Bulgarian Government or from other sources. The loan negotiations have been singularly difficult, owing to the political objections some of Bulgaria's neighbours have made to the negotiation. But the obstacles appear to have been successfully surmounted, and there is every reason to believe the loan will go through. Bulgaria, however, has still to signify her acceptance of certain conditions attaching to it, and the Reparation Commission, which has first claim on all Bulgaria's resources, must, as it did in the case of Hungary, consent to the allocation of certain specific revenues for the service of the loan. The League, therefore, though it has successfully carried to a conclusion its Austrian and Hungarian enterprises, still finds new work to do in the field of reconstruction, and there are at least two other countries in Europe which may yet apply to Geneva for the kind of help already so effectively given elsewhere.

New Tasks for the League

ONE of the penalties the League of Nations pays for its existence is the tendency of everyone with a grievance that needs putting right to try and refer the matter to the League. Within limits that is sound enough; but the League, it must be remembered, deals properly with those questions only which are genuinely international in character, and proposals to impose new tasks on it must be judged in the light of that principle. Two very different fields in which it has been suggested within the last month that the League's aid should be sought are in connection with the suppression of bribery and the creation of a library of films. The latter proposal, which emanates from the British film industry, may very legitimately interest the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which, has, indeed, had the matter already brought before it by other agencies. Whether the suppression of bribery, which is a matter calling primarily for domestic legislation in individual countries, can reasonably be brought within the scheme of the League's work is more doubtful. At the same time, it is clearly the business of the League to bring up international standards to a uniform level so far as it can, and the problem of bribery and secret commissions is common to practically every country member of the League. A resolution calling the attention of the League to the whole question was passed at the International Congress on Bribery held in London last month.

The League's New Home

THE first steps towards the construction of the new Secretariat and Assembly Hall of the League of Nations have actually been taken. The plans are, as is known, to be thrown open to competition among architects of every State member of the League, and it is, of course, only fair that architects of each country should receive full particulars at the same time. The approximate date fixed for this was July 25th, and as some countries are as much as six weeks distant from Geneva by post, while others are no more than six hours, particulars have had to be despatched at intervals during the last few weeks. The first batch went to countries like Australia and New Zealand, the

last will probably go to Switzerland itself and contiguous European countries. As it is, of course, impossible for distant architects to see the site for which they are designing buildings, elaborate pictures, with every tree and undulation marked, have been prepared, and a Tasmanian should stand almost as good a chance in the competition as a Genevese himself.

India's Advance

IT is right that public attention, particularly the attention of all interested in the Opium Commission of the League of Nations, should be drawn to the announcement made by the India Office in the middle of June to the effect that the diminution of the export of opium from India, except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, will be carried out at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, so that after 1935 not an ounce will be going out for smoking or for conversion into illegitimate narcotics. This declaration should cut the last ground from beneath the feet of American critics, so far as Indian export is concerned. It remains, however, to press for further measures of restriction in those Far Eastern dependencies of Great Britain where Indian opium has so far been imported for purposes which were certainly not medical or scientific. To replace the Indian product by new exports from elsewhere would be indefensible. Reduction of export from Calcutta must mean reduction of import into, let us say, Singapore.

Towards the 8-hour Day

SOME progress is being made in the matter of the ratification of the eight-hours day (or, rather, the 48-hours week) agreement as a result of the recent Conference of Ministers of Labour in London. Belgium actually carried her ratification during last month's I.L.O. Conference at Geneva, and Italy had ratified already conditionally on similar action being taken by Britain, France and Germany. It remains, therefore, for the latter three States to do their part, and at the present moment Great Britain appears to be the most backward of the three. Germany and France both have Bills on the subject before their respective Parliaments, but Great Britain, on the plea that all attention here is occupied by the strike trouble, has so far deferred any legislative action at all.

Egypt and Geneva

INTERESTING possibilities are opened up by the announcement in the speech from the throne in the Egyptian Parliament that Egypt intended to apply for membership of the League of Nations. What is in doubt, of course, is how far Egypt can claim to fulfil the conditions laid down in Article I of the Covenant. Her international status is obscure, the broad fact being that she was a protectorate on which independence has been voluntarily conferred by the suzerain, subject to certain reservations, which may or may not be held to render her something less than fully self-governing in the sense of Article I. That is much more likely to be the case so long as the reservations are enforced against Egypt's will. If she accepts them freely, the situation will be much simpler.

SPAIN, BRAZIL AND THE LEAGUE WHAT HAPPENED AT GENEVA LAST MONTH

A GOOD many students of League affairs in this country who followed with difficulty the confused negotiations of last March at Geneva find themselves thrown into fresh perplexity by the developments of June. Statements appeared broadcast in the public Press to the effect that Spain and Brazil had in more or less veiled language announced their intention of withdrawing from the League, but just why and how they had done it no man knew. This article is an attempt to explain.

It will be remembered that the last act of the Council before it adjourned last March was to appoint a special committee to consider the whole future composition of the Council and report. That committee duly sat in May, Lord Cecil being the British representative, and its principal decisions were duly chronicled in last month's HEADWAY. One vital point on which the Commission was virtually agreed was that permanent seats on the Council should be reserved for the Great Powers. With regard to the non-permanent seats, they were to be increased from six to nine, and each State elected was to sit for three years. That meant that three seats would fall vacant each year; and though there was to be a general rule preventing any State from being elected for two consecutive terms, an exception might be made, if a two-thirds majority of the Assembly approved, in the case of three out of the nine. In other words, with the approval of the Assembly, three out of the nine non-permanent members might be re-elected time after time, thus obtaining what is loosely described as a semi-permanent position. In addition, it was agreed that three of the nine places should go to Latin-American States. Thus, under the new system there would be nothing to prevent Spain and Brazil—particularly the former—from continuing to sit almost indefinitely on the Council.

Latin Discontent

What the June Council meeting was expected to disclose was whether that arrangement would satisfy Spain and Brazil. It soon became evident that it would not. The Council lasted four days, the first two of which were made notable by the fact that the Brazilian member of the Council did not appear at all. The Spanish representative was indeed present, but he was only a comparatively junior Chargé d'Affaires from the Legation at Berne, the regular Spanish Council member, Señor Quinones de Leon, having been rather pointedly summoned to Madrid at the very moment when the Council was in session. These developments naturally gave rise to a good deal of unconfirmed rumour; but when the Brazilian representative, Signor Mello Franco, duly took his accustomed place on the third day, it began to look as if the illness he had pleaded as an excuse for his former absence had been physical after all.

The fourth day, however, brought the bombshells, such as they were. The Spanish delegate, Monsieur Quer Boul, having asked leave to make a short statement, read the following curious declaration:—

"I have the honour to inform the Council that the Government of His Catholic Majesty, in spite of the desire which it has expressed on every occasion to associate itself with the ideas corresponding to the general aspirations of the League of Nations, has not hitherto considered it possible to proceed to the ratification of the Amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant. It desired by so doing to maintain its capacity of belonging to the Council by means of successive re-elections until the time should have come for the designation of Spain as a Permanent Member of the Council. The Spanish Government has not failed to make declarations to this effect on all occasions with the most

perfect sincerity. As the present situation prevents the presence of Spain at an election, and as the reason which has prevented Spain from ratifying the Amendment to the Covenant has thus disappeared, the Spanish Government has now decided to proceed to the ratification of the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant."

Mistaken Satisfaction

These observations, read in a not very audible voice, were received by a chorus of congratulation and satisfaction, in which M. Paul Boncour, for France, followed Sir Austen Chamberlain for Great Britain, Signor Scialoja followed M. Boncour, and so on. What had been grasped was that Spain proposed at last to ratify the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant. What had not been grasped was the fact that the words: "as the present situation prevents the presence of Spain at an election" were only an obscure way of saying that Spain proposed, if not to resign from the League altogether, at any rate to go into the same complete retirement as the Argentine Republic. Article 4, it should be explained, provides that the non-permanent members of the Council "shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion." The amendment to the article provides that the Assembly shall limit its own discretion by adopting rules which shall prevent a non-permanent member, if it has served one term on the Council, from being immediately re-elected for a second consecutive term. Spain has hitherto refused to ratify the amendment, because she hoped to go on being re-elected each year for ever. Ratification by all members of the Council is needed, and has been obtained, except in the cases of France and of Spain. France stated in May that she was prepared to ratify, and Spain's willingness to do so will bring the amendment at last into effect.

By the afternoon session the real meaning of the Spanish note had been grasped, much to the relief of the Spanish delegate, who was seriously alarmed by the congratulations of the morning, since he feared that his Government would conclude that he had not discharged his mission adequately. To remove any possible doubt on the question, he added during the afternoon session that Spain could not accept the secondary position to which she was relegated by having the offer of a semi-permanent seat held out to her, and that her attitude remained unchanged.

Brazil Explains

So much for Spain. Then came the turn of Brazil. Her delegate, Señor Mello Franco, whose intentions had throughout been in doubt, gave notice that he would make a statement at the end of the meeting. His declaration, when it came, was lengthy and elaborate. It traced the whole history of Brazil's connection with the League from the moment the Peace Treaty was signed, emphasised her unswerving devotion to the principles of arbitration, protested that the action she had decided to take was based not in the least on any private ambitions, but on her concern for the proper representation of the American continent, and concluded with the intimation that she felt it necessary to resign her seat on the Council and was handing a document embodying that resolution to the Secretary General.

The reading of this statement was listened to with close attention, the Brazilian delegate displaying increasing emotion as he proceeded, and beating the air with his forefinger to emphasise his successive points. Various members of the Council expressed their deep regret at the course Brazil proposed to take,

an especially notable speech being that of the Chairman, Señor Guani, the representative of Uruguay, who, speaking as a Latin American, expressed agreement with Brazil's claim for fuller representation for Latin America, but stated that his country was quite content to achieve this end by other means than those suggested by Brazil—i.e., by the allocation to South America of three non-permanent seats. Uruguay was, he added, against any increase of permanent seats, apart from the Great Powers, and hoped that some day they would be abolished altogether.

The session was robbed of what was intended to be a dramatic dénouement. Twice—or as some say three times—the Brazilian delegate rose with the intention of shaking hands with his colleagues one by one and making a spectacular exit from the Council Chamber. Each time, however, he was frustrated by the tact of the Chairman, who first raised certain small points which had to be considered, and then suddenly declared the whole session adjourned.

Two Years' Respite

The statement handed to the Secretary General contained Brazil's definite resignation from the Council and an intimation that at an opportune moment she would give notice also of resignation of her membership of the League. The opportune moment arrived swiftly, for the papers of June 15th contained the text of a telegram received at Geneva on the previous day giving to the Secretary General the necessary notification under Article I. of the Covenant, which lays it down that "any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention to do so, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal." There remain, therefore, two years during which Brazil will remain technically a Member of the League, but during which, if her present intentions are executed, she will presumably take little or no active part in its affairs. Much, however, may happen within that period. The fact that President Bernhardes of Brazil, who is personally largely responsible for the policy pursued at Geneva, is to be succeeded at the beginning of November by Dr. Washington Luiz, said to be a man of more moderate views, may possibly turn out to be an important factor in the situation.

Spain has so far not given similar notice of intention to withdraw from the League, and the statements made by her delegate on June 10th still remain open to diverse interpretations. With regard to her action in ratifying the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant, her purpose would appear to have been to put herself right in every respect with the League before she ceased active co-operation with it. It is to be observed that the fact that Brazil will be absent from the next Council meeting removes the last visible obstacle to the entry of Germany in September.

[A leading article on this question appears on p. 131.]

"LEAVE WELL ALONE"

WHAT READERS THINK ABOUT "HEADWAY."

IN the May number of HEADWAY the proposal to convert the present monthly journal of the Union into a weekly—of necessity slightly different in character—was laid before readers, who were asked to express their personal views on the subject. A large number have done so, and to all of them cordial thanks are due. It has, of course, been impossible to acknowledge individual letters, but every one has been carefully read, and all criticisms and suggestions duly weighed.

It was definitely stated in the original notice on the subject that no change from monthly to weekly publication would even be seriously considered unless it were found that something like a general demand for the

alteration existed. It is now clear that there is no such demand. The replies received, round about 200, are few in proportion to the circulation of HEADWAY, which is over 75,000, but it may be assumed that the few are reasonably representative of the many. Many letters, moreover, represented the considered opinion of a branch committee. And out of the 200, roughly three out of every four favour the continuance of HEADWAY in its present form. The typical opinion is succinctly and decisively expressed on a postcard from the Earl of Cavan, late Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who writes "Stick to monthly publication."

Beneficial Contacts

That, in itself, is sufficient, in the absence of any overruling considerations on the other side, to dispose of the idea of attempting a weekly issue at the present moment. But more than that must be said of the letters received on the subject. Many readers went to the trouble of writing at length, establishing as much by the tone as by the content of their letters just the kind of contact most desirable and most beneficial between those who edit and manage a paper and those who read it.

The main reasons for preference for a monthly are, as might be expected, fears lest the necessarily increased subscription should result in a reduction in circulation, and consequent financial loss; and a very widely-held view that there are far more weekly papers already than most people have time to read. About four readers suggest that as HEADWAY usually goes into the waste paper basket unread anyhow there is no reason for invoking those indispensable receptacles four times a month instead of once. On the other hand, ten times as many express an appreciation which we are bound to recognise, in some cases at any rate, as entirely beyond our merits.

To be told that HEADWAY in its present form could not be improved on is gratifying, but cannot blind us to our own defects. There is always room for improvement, and, surprising though it may seem, we are constantly trying to improve. There are some apparently obvious changes for the better which are not made because there are reasons—mechanical or financial or otherwise—by no means obvious, which preclude them. There are others which are not made because no one has thought of them. That is where suggestions from readers are so valuable.

Duty or Diversion?

To the criticism that HEADWAY is not as "popular" as it might be constant attention is paid, but certain considerations in that connection must be borne in mind. Some features of the League's work—e.g., health, opium, women and children—are admittedly more popular than some of the political and economic activities of the League. If HEADWAY gave disproportionate prominence to the former it could easily be made more popular than it is. But such a policy would be a profound mistake, and against it we resolutely set our face. It is the claim of HEADWAY that it is the only journal in this country giving an adequate and fairly-proportioned account of League activities, and the extent to which the paper is in request in the United States and the Dominions shows how much the fulfilment of that task is appreciated.

It has to be frankly recognised that one and the same paper cannot appeal equally to the reader who has been studying the League intelligently for six years or more and the reader who first began to understand what it was last week. Finally, and, perhaps, this is the crux of the whole matter, while every endeavour has been and is being made to keep HEADWAY as light as it reasonably can be, the view taken undisguisedly by its producers is that for all who concern themselves seriously with the League the reading of the paper should be not so much a diversion as a duty. If it can be made a pleasure as well so much the better.

PATAGONIA PROBES

HAVE THE DISARMERS GOT A MOVE ON ?

"BUT what," said the gentleman from Patagonia, with furrowed brow, "is really happening about disarmament?"

"Quite a lot is happening," replied HEADWAY'S bright young omniscient, "particularly in the last six weeks, since the Disarmament Commission began its sittings."

"For example? And in precise language?"

"For example, and in precise language—the Council having appointed the Disarmament Commission, the Commission duly sat from May 18 to 26, discussed all the questions referred to it by the last Assembly, put some of them in a different shape, gave answers to one or two itself, and referred the rest to one or other of its two sub-commissions, the military and economic."

"That sounds well enough as a matter of machinery," observed the sub-tropical visitant, a little dubiously, "but what does it all amount to anyway?"

"Well, it does amount to something. Everyone knew this business would be slow going at first. People who are keenest about it, like Lord Cecil, always said that. But at any rate you have got the machinery for working out a practical disarmament scheme created, and a beginning of working out—grinding out, if you like—an actual scheme has been made. Soldiers and sailors and airmen are doing it, or trying to do it, at this moment at Geneva."

"Has anything about the Disarmament Commission's meeting appeared in HEADWAY?"

"No, it hasn't. The Commission very unwisely failed to inquire when HEADWAY went to press, and as a result fixed its meeting too late for the June issue. But if you want to know what the Commission did I can tell you."

"I want to know other things first. What's the use of a commission which doesn't include Germany, doesn't include the United States, and doesn't include Russia?"

"Probably very little. But this particular commission does include Germany and does include the United States. Both of them sent fully accredited delegates to its first meeting. Russia declined, but there will be plenty of time for her to think better of that before we get to the ultimate Disarmament Conference."

"And how far has the Commission carried us towards the Conference?"

"Well, as I say, it has made a start. At its May meeting it first of all set up two technical sub-committees—one on the military side of the problem and one on financial, economic and other aspects of it, who will have to do most of the donkey work and report the results to the Commission for final decision. Then it took the seven questions—you remember the seven questions drawn up at Geneva and approved by the Assembly last September—which have to be answered before you can discover whether the reduction of armaments can really practically be carried through, and if so, how."

"And did it answer them?"

"Yes and no. Mostly no. Almost all of them needed to be tackled first by experts, and the members of the Commission were mainly politicians. What it did was to work through them all, elaborate one or two, put others into a slightly different form, and then turn

them over to the soldiers or the economists to tackle between then and the Commission's next meeting."

"The No part of that's plain enough. What about the Yes part?"

"As to the Yes part, the Commission has, to take one example, given its own definite answer to the question, 'Is it practicable to limit the ultimate war-strength of a country?' the answer being in the negative, on the ground that it is obviously neither possible nor desirable to restrict industrial efficiency, even though that efficiency might be turned into military channels in war-time."

"In Patagonia," pursued the visitant, "we seem to have heard about some new French proposal on security. What was that?"

"It was French, but it wasn't really new," answered Omniscience. "The French, as we are told about once a week, are a logical people, and when you remind them they have got security under Article XVI. of the Covenant they become extremely anxious to know exactly how Article XVI. is going to work. As a matter of fact, no one knows exactly how it will work, because no one has ever yet tried to work it. The English way is to say, 'Wait till the trouble turns up. It'll all come right on the night.' The Frenchman, on the other hand, is all for working out his plans in advance. He plays the war-game on paper before he plays it in the field, and he wants to do the same with the peace-game. Accordingly the French delegates on the Disarmament Commission put in a memorandum suggesting that the methods of applying Article XVI.—that is, of calling the Council together at almost a moment's notice and of giving immediate effect to any decisions the Council may take, and so forth—should be seriously examined forthwith."

"What did the Commission do about that?"

"It sent it up to the Council, as being essentially the Council's own business. The Council talked about it in June, but decided to hold over a full discussion till September, when, incidentally, the odds are that Germany will be sitting at the Council table. One or two other things went up to the Council, too, including a very interesting proposal from Finland, that the Council should try and persuade a few well-to-do Powers to promise it credits at short notice, so that loans could immediately be made to a small State (or a larger one for that matter) if it were attacked by an aggressor in violation of the Covenant."

"And now the experts are talking."

"They are—the military, naval and air experts. When they and the economists have worked out answers to all the Commission's questions—they are not making any very startling speed so far, but some of the questions take a powerful amount of answering—the Commission will meet again and decide whether the ground is sufficiently cleared to get a definite, workable, disarmament scheme into shape."

"Do the experts think that can be done?"

"Some certainly do. Some possibly don't. The real question is whether the nations really want to disarm."

"And do they?"

"?" replied Omniscience, with an eloquent shrug, while he dexterously executed that singular manoeuvre which novelists call turning on one's heel.

INDUSTRIAL ASIA

HOW GENEVA IMPROVES CONDITIONS IN THE EAST

The following article, by an able observer, compelled for official reasons to remain anonymous, gives a general outline of one of the most important discussions at the I.L. Conference at Geneva last month. It may be added in this connection that the Conference decided that an office of the I.L.O. should be opened in India, corresponding with those already existing in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Washington and Tokio.

THE Conferences of the International Labour Organisation invariably arouse much interest and frequently promote much feeling and excitement. The personality of the Director of the Organisation, Monsieur Albert Thomas, is in itself so striking and his enthusiasm so impetuous that the entire Conference quickly comes under his sway. Monsieur Thomas is a great orator, and when he intervenes or makes an appeal few can withstand the force of his oratory and his evident sincerity. The speeches made at the Conference generally reach a high level. This is mainly due to the fact that the speakers, whether they be representatives of Government, of employers or of workers are men who are intimately concerned with the subjects under discussion and each question is viewed in turn from this high standpoint. There is consequently much clash of opinion and frequently heated discussions become the order of the day. It is no uncommon thing, for instance, for the worker of a particular country to attack his Government on the one hand because of its slow progress in labour legislation, and the employers on the other, for their lack of responsiveness to the needs of the workers.

Perhaps the most interesting spectacle at the Conference at Geneva last month was furnished by what may be briefly described as the Indo-Japanese debate. In the course of discussion on the Director's report, speaker after speaker from India and Japan rose to ventilate the existing difficulties and shortcomings in social legislation in their countries. Even in an international gathering the appearance of these Asiatic delegates is always distinctive and interesting, and in this case the speakers, specially those from India, displayed a surprising mastery of the English language and were able to hold the attention of a full house. The Indian delegates spoke with eloquence and feeling of the difficulties which now confronted their country because of their fidelity to the obligations contracted at the famous Washington Conference. It will be remembered that apart from the eight-hour day recommended at Washington, that Conference reaffirmed a much earlier international convention, prohibiting the employment of women and children at night. Owing to their comparatively recent industrial development, special concessions were made for India and Japan. India was asked to limit the working hours to sixty in any one week, and Japan to fifty-seven.

The hours of work convention is still a live issue in the West, where the establishment of an eight-hour day by legislative enactment has not yet become a *fait accompli*. It is to be hoped that the meeting held in London last March, which was attended by the Labour Ministers of the five chief industrial countries of Europe, will expedite ratification in all Western countries. The burden of the Indian complaint was that after the Washington Conference India, without losing time, passed legislation making sixty hours a week the legal maximum and also prohibited the employment of women and children at night. Japan passed an amended Factories Act in 1923, but it was not to come into force until promulgated by the Executive Government, and nobody knew when this promulgation was to take place. Moreover, this Act made no provision for regulating the hours of adult males, while in the case of women and young persons ten or eleven hours a day was

permitted. There was only very partial prohibition of the employment of women at night, and even this prohibition was not to take effect for three long years after the Act was put into force.

These arguments were forcibly stated by the Indian employers' delegate, while Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai, the Indian workers' delegate, drew attention in eloquent language to the wider implication of the subject. He warned the workers of the West that their interests were also involved since their hard-won liberties might well be thrown into jeopardy if conditions in the East were allowed to lag far behind those obtaining in the West. Sir Atul Chatterjee, the Indian Government delegate, speaking as one Eastern to another, pleaded with Japan not to forget that Japan had given full accord "to the charter of social liberty embodied in the Peace Treaty," and that the peoples of the East had always been noted for their devotion to social and ethical ideals.

This threefold attack aroused Mr. Mayeda, the Japanese Government delegate. While declaring, with caustic humour, that he was not in any way attacking the Government of India, he congratulated it on ratifying the Unemployment Convention without establishing a single labour exchange. That these international debates are not fruitless was proved by an important announcement made by Mr. Mayeda that the Japanese Factories Act would come into operation on July 1 this year. This may be small comfort to the Indian mill-owner, for Japanese women will still be employed at night for three further years; but it is an undoubted achievement for the International Labour Organisation. Mr. Mayeda was followed by the employer and the worker from Japan; and it is interesting to note that a Chinese Government delegate also participated in the debate. His speech was mainly a plea for the good intentions of China, since the Chinese people themselves had no part or lot in the exploitation now going on in the new mills at Shanghai, to which Miss Bondfield had drawn attention in the course of her forceful intervention in the debate in support of the Indian argument. The Japanese worker made a new point in condemning the continuance of women's labour in underground mines in Japan, and one would have liked to ascertain the views of the Indian Government delegate in regard to this as it affects India also.

The fact that all these countries thought it worth while to argue their case before the Conference is clear proof of the importance they attach to the International Labour Organisation Conferences and their increasing recognition of the influence of world public opinion. Nor are they wrong in their judgment. The International Labour Organisation has created an unusually powerful moral atmosphere which is a source of great strength to countries that are sincerely desirous of making social progress.

The wholesome effect of these Conferences does not cease when the Conference terminates. Very important reforms have been achieved in countries that are struggling to raise the standard of living of the working classes. This has notably been the experience of the East. The International Labour Organisation may, in truth, take no small credit for the very remarkable advance in labour legislation in India since the Washington Conference. The hours of work have in that vast

country been reduced to 60 in one week, night work for women and children has been prohibited, the mining age of half-timers has been raised from 9 to 12, and all workers have been given one day of rest every week. In Japan the minimum age of employment has been raised, night work for women and children will be prohibited after a three-year period, and there are evident signs that further labour legislation will come at no distant date. China has also appointed factory inspectors, and loses no opportunity to point out that the Shanghai factories, erected by foreign capitalists, enjoy immunity from Chinese factory regulations.

The lot of Eastern workers is now being progressively improved, and it is well to remember that in this matter a special responsibility rests on Western employers, for many of these factories in India, China and other Eastern countries are owned and managed by people of European race, and Eastern workers are justly claiming that the necessary adjustments and standards of well-being which are the privilege of Western workers should also be accorded to them; and they look to the International Labour Organisation for help in making industrial conditions in their countries consonant with their moral and religious ideals, of which they are justly proud.

PROTECTING THE MIGRANT

THE I.L.O. SETS NEW STANDARDS

THIS Conference may be described as semi-maritime. It had not the full sea flavour of Genoa in the past, nor was it, like its immediate successor, the ninth Conference, concerned with the conditions of seamen. But the fact that the only Draft Convention proposed to it dealt with the simplification of the inspection of migrants on board ship had brought together so large a number of delegates representing maritime interests that from the first a special atmosphere was created. The weather signs were not too propitious at the outset. The shipowners, skilfully led by Mr. Snedden, the British Employers' delegate, and supported by the employers' group generally, put up a determined attack on the competence of the Office to deal with questions relating to the transport of emigrants, and it looked for a little while as though we might have to face a repetition of the difficulties of 1921 when a similar disallowance of the powers of the Organisation was pressed in respect of agriculture. (Alternatively, it was pleaded that the conditions on board emigrant ships had much improved of late years, and that in any case the simplification proposed would not make them any better; but the main stress was on the argument that the I.L.O. should keep its hands off a forbidden subject). The case was, however, intrinsically weak, and M. Fontaine had no difficulty in proving its weakness. Not a single Government in replying to the Office *questionnaire* had so much as hinted that the I.L.O. was exceeding its powers in this matter. And had not the Rome Migration Conference explicitly defined an emigrant as "a person who left his country in search of work"—a person, therefore, clearly within the scope of that purpose for which the I.L.O. exists? The motion to declare the Office incompetent was lost, and a Commission of 48 set to work on the draft Convention.

It emerged as a short and sufficient measure of "simplification" indeed: compelling no State which has not a system of travelling inspectors in its emigrant ships to institute such a system, but requiring that if an official inspector is carried there shall be one such inspector only, appointed by the Government of the flag under which the vessel sails. Any State can by ratifying the Convention rid itself of the confusion and neutralisation of effort which inevitably follows on the

presence of four or five inspectors of differing nationalities and nominally equal authority on board an emigrant ship. At the same time special agreements between States allowing for the appointment of non-official inspectors to look after national groups is provided for. In some cases this provision may be of great importance. Where the customs of the emigrants differ markedly from those of their fellow-voyagers, or their language is one rarely spoken outside their homeland, the presence of a person qualified to act as interpreter or as intermediary with the official inspector or the authorities of the ship will often serve to mitigate hardships and prevent friction. Even greater is the appeal when the emigrants are women travelling alone. It is not always remembered that many such women are very young; that they are leaving their own country, possibly their village, for the first time; that they are commonly without experience of the world which will put them on their guard against the perils of new and exciting surroundings among total strangers, with whom they may be associated for weeks on the voyage. The Conference showed its appreciation of their position by adopting a recommendation that in any emigrant ship carrying 15 or more women or girls unaccompanied by a responsible person, there should be a qualified woman in charge, having no other duties on board, to care for their welfare, and report to the authorities of the immigrant country on arrival, with a view to helping these travellers into the posts most suitable for them. The resolution was carried by 89 to 19 with the warm support of the British Government and the British Workers' Delegates, after two women experts, the technical advisers to the British and Danish delegations, had put the case for it with wise modulation and excellent judgment.

A word or two must be said of the general proceedings. The debate on the Director's Report centred mainly on ratification of conventions—why it was so slow and what could be done to quicken the pace—with particular reference to the Hours of Work Convention and the recent London Conference. To the general satisfaction, a telegram from Brussels was read, stating that the Belgian Chamber had ratified the Eight Hour Day Convention "without any reserves." There was great cheering upon this—and, in the minds of some British observers the question—"When shall we be able to say as much?"

This year, moreover, as invariably, an acute discussion arose as to whether the credentials of the Fascist Trade Union delegate from Italy should be accepted, objection being, of course, taken on the ground that he was not representative of real Italian trade unionists. He was ultimately admitted, but the workers' delegates refused to permit his appointment to any committees.

The British delegates were, for the Government, Mr. Humbert Wolfe and Mr. J. E. Baker (no Minister being present at all); for the employers, Mr. R. Snedden, of the National Confederation of Employers' Associations; and, for the workers, Mr. Arthur Pugh, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Trade Union Congress.

The Conference closed with the inauguration of the new Office, in which the staff had already been at work for some weeks. It is a plain building, adequate and suitable for its purpose, happily free from the grave drawbacks of the old temporary home of the I.L.O. The I.L.O. deserves this better workplace. To one who had not seen it at work for two years and a-half, no experience of the Conference was more welcome than the abounding evidence of its advance in knowledge, unity of purpose, and sureness of touch. The I.L.O. is growing up to its great task.

OPIUM UPROAR CHINESE DRAGON CLAWS BRITISH LION POISONING CIVILISATION, ACCUSES CHU BRITISH DELEGATE COUNTER- CHARGES PEKING*

NOT many Englishmen know what Hai Tung is. Not many Chinese knew what it was till a comparatively few weeks ago. But anyone who followed the proceedings of the Opium Advisory Commission at Geneva last month learned rapidly quite a lot about it. It provided a good example of the service the Opium Organisation of the League is doing in bringing to light various scandals, and formed incidentally the occasion of a rather startling outburst on the part of the Chinese delegate against Great Britain.

The facts about the Hai Tung Pharmacy—for the building in question suddenly transformed itself from a private house into a pharmacy when the moment had come for receiving into it a large consignment of morphine and heroin—were declared by the British delegate, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, to be as follows. The so-called pharmacy is situated at Shanghai. Towards the end of last year there arrived at Shanghai, addressed to the pharmacy, a consignment of morphine and heroin sufficient to supply all the hospitals in China for 12 months (consisting actually of 100 kilos of each drug), transmitted from Germany on a certificate from the Chinese Government that they were needed for legitimate purposes.

When the consignment reached Shanghai, the head of the Customs was so impressed by its size that he held it up for some months, pending instructions from Peking. At Peking the British Minister, who had got wind of the matter, made representations to the Government, which, however, decided to allow the drugs to be brought in, explaining that the intention was that they should only be released for use in limited quantities over a definite period. As a matter of fact, the whole consignment had been released before this statement was made, being distributed over no more than two or three hospitals and one or two so-called pharmacies.

This statement by the British representative created a scene. Mr. Chao Hsin-chu, the Chinese delegate, protesting in the strongest language against the circulation of such statements, and in particular of a letter on the subject written by the Anti-opium Association of China. He admitted that the Chinese Government had authorised the import of the drug and claimed that part of it represented the needs of one hospital for the next 10 years. Great Britain, he alleged, had issued many import certificates for large quantities of raw opium to manufacture morphine and other dangerous drugs in order to enable her nationals to make money by poisoning the people of the world. The opium wars had been fought to compel China to take opium from England. (Here the Chinese delegate was recalled to the point by the chair.) China had suffered much from a foreign interference which was almost intolerable. The Secretary of the Anti-opium Association of China was an Englishman, who had helped to interfere in China's domestic affairs. Was it

* Since some readers occasionally complain that HEADWAY is dull we have tried here the experiment of a headline or two on the model of the average American daily paper.

any wonder that an anti-British movement should exist in China?

Mr. Chu was reported as concluding by saying that no Chinese could be a loyal citizen who was not anti-British.

But the Hai Tung affair illustrates only one of the many aspects and one of the many ramifications of the illicit drug traffic. Far nearer home than China, consignments of morphine and cocaine are being smuggled into European countries to debauch their populations. Can anything more be done to stop that? A very interesting answer to that question was supplied at the meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee by one of its new assessors, Col. Arthur Woods, who, as a former Police Commissioner for New York City, brings an entirely new kind of experience to bear on the problem. What Col. Woods said to the Committee was, in effect, "Let the police of different countries act internationally." Then drug smugglers will be tracked down. Otherwise they will in four cases out of five get clear.

What actually happens now? The police of country X, according to Col. Woods, may get news that drugs have been smuggled out of that country to be shipped illegally to country Y. They tell their Foreign Office. Their Foreign Office tells the Ambassador of country Y, the Ambassador cables or writes to his own Foreign Office, which in due course informs the Y police authorities. By the time this sedate routine has been carried out the drugs have been safely landed and the smugglers get well away. "Give the police a chance," says Col. Woods, and he recommends periodical conferences at Geneva of the chief police officials in each country engaged in detective work on the drug traffic. There is an idea there that might be a good deal developed.

The essential basis of League co-operation is the establishment of direct contacts between the men who are actually doing the same job in different countries.

STAMPING OUT SLAVERY

THE League campaign against slavery is making what looks like hopeful progress. To begin with, efforts to persuade the International Labour Office to take up the whole question of native labour, especially forced labour, have proved successful, and a resolution approving the decision of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to set such an inquiry on foot was, on the motion of the British Government delegate, adopted at last month's General Conference by 78 votes to 3.

As for the convention on slavery presented to the Assembly last year by Lord Cecil, there is every hope and intention that it will be put into final form and actually signed during the Seventh Assembly next September. Meanwhile the Secretary-General of the League has received from the British Government an admirable statement of policy on the whole subject. The Foreign Secretary urges that slavery shall be definitely placed on the same footing as piracy as an international crime, which means that any slave-trader may be seized on the high seas by the warships of any nation and dealt with by the courts of that nation. The British Government also supports (as it did not last year) Dr. Nansen's proposal that States should submit to the League periodically statements of the steps they are taking to carry out the slavery convention. It would also have been ready to support Dr. Nansen's other proposal, that the I.L.O. should be asked to take up the whole question of forced labour, but that is now unnecessary as the I.L.O. has already taken this step.

ZIMMERMAN AND SMITH A GOOD END TO A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

*Zimmerman and Smith have gone away,
They have taken ship to sail across the sea.
Austria is on her feet to-day
And just the same is true of Hungaree.*

SO writes one of the most modern and minor of our poets, irrepressibly, in regard to the decisions taken at the June Council of the League of Nations. The lines call, perhaps, for a word or two of annotation. Dr. Zimmerman, a distinguished Dutchman, formerly Burgomaster of Rotterdam, has been since the end of 1922 the League's Commissioner-General at Vienna, charged with supervising the working of the League's reconstruction scheme in Austria. Mr. Jeremiah Smith, a well-known corporation lawyer from Boston, has since the latter part of 1923 filled a similar position for similar purposes at Buda-Pesth, the capital of Hungary.

And now—to be exact, on June 30—Zimmerman and Smith have gone away. They may not have gone physically precisely then. It takes a Commissioner-General a day or two to pack his bags.* But they have gone technically, and the office of Commissioner-General exists no more. Why not? Because

*Austria is on her feet to-day,
And just the same is true of Hungaree.*

That way of putting it would almost suggest that Austria was at one time on her head. As a matter of fact, that is very nearly true. At any rate, she was financially upside down, which is very much the same thing. These are moments for reminiscence, and Sir Austen Chamberlain was fully justified at the last Council meeting, when the machinery of financial control in Austria and Hungary was being scrapped because the job was done, in recalling some words used by Lord Balfour in September, 1922, in regard to the almost complete impossibility of the task that faced the League in regard to Austria. The country had tried to straighten out its own affairs and failed. It had turned to the Supreme Council of the Allies for help, and the Supreme Council had shaken its portentous head and passed the buck, as they would say in the Senate of the United States of America, to the League of Nations. If the League had been merely wise it would have refused the responsibility, for all the time Austria's affairs had been drifting into a condition of almost absolute hopelessness. But, remembering that at the First Assembly a swarthy South African delegate of the name of Cecil had concluded a memorable address by quoting from a fellow-revolutionary the adjuration "de l'audace, encore de l'audace et toujours de l'audace," it decided to substitute audacity for wisdom and take Austria on.

The results are known to the world. The League triumphantly succeeded where by all rules and precedents it ought to have failed. It lifted Austria on to her feet and held her perpendicular with gradually diminishing support till she was able ultimately, first to keep a precarious balance unassisted, and then walk and run and all but dance. The story has been told often enough in HEADWAY and elsewhere, and only a few outstanding features of it need be recalled to memory here. When the League took over, the Austrian crown was going to pieces day by day. You could exchange 25 crowns for £1 before the war. By the end of 1922 it took 33,000, and that figure only meant the last record touched by a currency that changed its value day by day and always for the worse. No one was fool enough

* Receptacles, not garments.

to save, knowing that every crown he put by might be worth only half a crown in a month's or a fortnight's time. Every workman and every Government servant (and Austria, representing all that remained Austrian of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, was swamped with superfluous Government servants) was clamouring incessantly for higher wages because his old wages would buy less every day. Sooner or later the inevitable refusal of those requests would have led to revolution, and if there had been revolution in Austria, at least three countries, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, would have made it their business, separately, to rush in and clear up the mess, and the odds are that they would have met with a clash somewhere in the neighbourhood of Vienna. And since Central Europe was a very different place in 1922 from what it is in 1926, a blaze would have resulted that would have needed all, perhaps more than all, the pumps and hydrants the League could command to put it out.

The story of what the League did do has been told in the 40 reports Dr. Zimmerman has rendered to the League Council month by month. All has not been plain sailing. There have been downs as well as ups. The process of complete restoration has taken a little longer to carry through than was originally expected. But it has been carried through. The Austrian crown, which when the League intervened was dashing down the hill at a pace which left the German mark standing, has since that very moment been the most stable currency in Continental Europe. The League's carefully drawn programme of diminished expenditure and increased taxation has been duly executed. The Budget balances. Commercial treaties with neighbouring States have been concluded and others are at this moment under negotiation. Not everything is prospering, for all Europe is suffering from a trade slump from which Austria is no more immune than other countries. But so far as public finance is concerned, and that is what the League had to deal with,

Austria is on her feet to-day.

The story of the Hungarian scheme can be told in a sentence. It was modelled on the Austrian and has worked out like the Austrian, only in all respects a little better. Starting a year later, it has achieved its result at the same moment. According to the League programme the deficit on the Budget in June, 1925, should have been 100 million gold crowns. Actually there was a surplus of 63 million. Since then there has been no slipping back, and a large part of the loan raised to tide Hungary over her immediate difficulties has never had to be used at all. Consequently, in spite of political complications which at times looked threatening, Hungarian control, like Austrian, was ended on June 30.

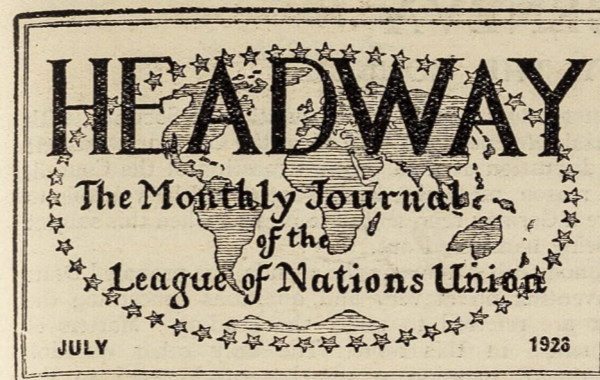
And so

Zimmerman and Smith have gone away.

Does anyone ask why

They have taken ship to sail across the sea?

The reason in the case of Mr. Jeremiah Smith is obvious. He lives at Boston, Mass. It is true that no Atlantic lies between Austria and Holland. But Dr. Zimmerman is going to America to deliver one of those courses of lectures that make millionaires of indigent Europeans. And HEADWAY, with great respect, as it takes leave of two men whose names will have a permanent place in League history, adds its tribute of admiration and appreciation of the work they have done in Central Europe.



LEAVING THE LEAGUE

THE impending retirement of Spain and Brazil from active participation in the work of the League of Nations has naturally caused some perplexity and a good deal of disquiet. An attempt has been made to dispel the former by an article on another page explaining as clearly as may be what actually happened at Geneva last month. With regard to the latter, it cannot be altogether dispelled. To suggest that the withdrawal of countries like Spain and Brazil from the League matters nothing to anybody is either blindness or folly. Spain will be missed and Brazil will be missed, if those countries do actually leave the League. Spain's importance is derived from the fact that, largely detached as she is from Europe by her geographical position behind her mountains, she can be expected to bring to bear on most European problems a certain impartiality and detachment of mind, which represent precisely the qualities it is most necessary to cultivate at Geneva. Brazil, as geographically the largest of the Latin American States (it is often forgotten that the country covers actually a greater area than the whole of the United States), occupies naturally a position of uncontested influence both in her own continent and outside it. The retirement of two States of this character from the League is not a trivial matter.

That having been said, let it be added at once that the retirement of two States of this character in no way threatens the existence, and only to a small extent limits the future activities, of the League. Neither does the action of these States in withdrawing because they cannot obtain permanent seats lend the smallest countenance to the argument that the Council and Assembly should have granted them permanent seats rather than lose them from the League. To adopt that attitude would be sheer suicide. It would be yielding to what is, in effect, blackmail, and it would be a direct encouragement to other countries with even weaker claims than Spain and Brazil to take the same line at any moment. The fact that, even in face of the threat of withdrawal by Brazil and Spain, the Council never dreamed for a moment of going back on its previous decisions, is the most reassuring feature of the whole affair. And there is both sound sense and solid truth in the observation of a leading British newspaper that it is no small testimony to the position of the League that it can face with equanimity to-day action that might have caused its disruption no more than two or three years ago.

What the League will lose and what the League will gain by the time the question of Council seats is finally settled cannot yet be computed. Brazil has given formal notice of withdrawal from the League.

That withdrawal cannot take effect for two years, and within that time many factors in the whole situation may have changed. Spain has not yet given any such notice, nor is it clear from what are no doubt the intentionally obscure statements of her spokesmen whether she intends to take that extreme step or not. If she does, the same considerations apply in her case as have just been suggested in regard to Brazil. Meanwhile, there seems no reason whatever to doubt that Germany will be duly admitted to membership of the League, with a permanent seat on the Council, at the earliest possible moment after the opening of the Seventh Assembly in September. It may be said at once that, so far as influence and effectiveness in the world is concerned, a League with Germany and without Spain and Brazil is in a stronger position than a League with Spain and Brazil and without Germany. That does not diminish the general regret that the League should not at one and the same moment include all three States. It is reasonable to hope that it still will, for even if Brazil or Spain should actually break away it will be open to either of them to return to the League at some later date, and it is as well to remember that, though our concentration on the anxieties of the moment is natural, a matter of five years or ten years is a space almost negligible in the slow unfolding of world-history.

There are, of course, other considerations to bear in mind. Will, for example, the defection of Brazil mean the defection of other Latin American States? It possibly may. Latin America has interests of its own, and perhaps not quite sufficient account has been taken of them at Geneva. Certain States like Bolivia and Peru have absented themselves regularly from the Assembly, largely on account of antagonism to their more powerful neighbour Chile. But there are few signs at present that Brazil's action is likely to have much effect on those South American republics which do regularly attend the Assembly and take an active part in its proceedings. They are more likely to adopt the wise and public-spirited attitude of Uruguay. How, again, will the action of Spain and Brazil affect public opinion in the United States? To speak frankly, that question is hardly worth troubling about at the moment. The United States of America has its own views about the League, and nothing anyone outside the United States can say or do is likely to have much influence there.

So far as that country is concerned, the right course for the League, beyond any question, is to go steadily forward with its work, basing its policy throughout on the assumption that the co-operation of the United States will not be forthcoming. If it is forthcoming unexpectedly, so much the better; but the time for hesitating and holding back, in the hope that America may after all decide to come into the League, is long past. That, indeed, is the moral of the whole recent trouble at Geneva, and it applies not merely in relation to the United States, but in relation to every other country in the world. The League has its principles and its policy. Let it stick to both, undismayed by the changes and chances of the moment. Consider them what M. Briand calls "growing pains," or consider them, if you will, as something more serious. In neither case must they for a moment deflect the League from its course. Never was there greater need than there is to-day to inscribe over every portal at Geneva the exhortation Lord Cecil long ago addressed to the Assembly in the five words "Be just and fear not."

JUNE AT GENEVA

EXPEDITIOUS WORK BY THE COUNCIL

THE meeting of the League of Nations Council held at Geneva last month was the fortieth of the series, a reminder in itself that the League is steadily building up a history of its own. The Council was attended, as usual, by the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France, Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand, but certain other changes at the table were noticeable. M. Unden, so prominent at the meeting of March, had disappeared, owing to the fact that the Government in which he was Foreign Minister had been defeated and resigned. His successor, M. Lofgren, had so recently taken up his duties that he did not come to Geneva himself, his place being taken by M. Sjöborg, the experienced and capable head of the Swedish Foreign Office. Coming events were further foreshadowed by the fact that for the first two days of the meetings the seat of the Brazilian delegate was empty, while Spain was represented, not by her regular delegate, Señor Quinones de Leon, but by a substitute drafted in from the Spanish Legation at Berne. It was only after considerable effort that Spain was persuaded to send anyone at all. Uruguay presided.

Though the Council lasted only four days, it had many important questions to deal with. Some of them, indeed, such as the successful winding up of the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Schemes and the threats of Spain and Brazil to resign from the League if they were not given permanent seats on the Council, are so important that they have been treated separately elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY. It only remains here, therefore, to summarise the lesser activities carried through with considerable expedition by the Council in the days between the 7th and the 10th of June.

More Help for Refugees

The Report of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission shows that the work initiated under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry Morgenthau and continued by Mr. C. P. Howland is progressing steadily and satisfactorily. As has been expected for some time, the loan of 1924 has not proved sufficient for the settlement of an army of refugees considerably larger than the original estimate, and it is likely that a supplementary loan of no great magnitude will be issued in the latter part of the year under the auspices of the League. The continued success of the Greek scheme is particularly satisfactory, in view of the decision taken by the Council this time to endeavour to float a similar loan of £2,500,000 for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria, provided Bulgaria fulfils certain reasonable conditions laid down by the League Finance Committee.

Entries regarding the Disarmament Commission and the Preparatory Commission for the Economic Conference looked formidable on paper, but in point of fact the Council did little more than take note of the work these Commissions are doing. That course is becoming more and more the regular League method. The Council does not divest itself of responsibility, but it surrounds itself with Committees so competent that it is usually fully justified in adopting their reports, even on questions of great importance, without a discussion of more than a few minutes' duration. That was particularly true this year in regard to the Austrian and Hungarian reconstruction schemes and the proposed Bulgarian loan. A series of Committees had thrashed out all details of these questions and succeeded in removing the last difficulties, it being left to the Council merely to approve and register the conclusions thus reached. It should be added, in regard to Disarmament, that consideration of an important French

Memorandum on the whole question of Security, with special reference to Article 16 of the Covenant, was left for discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Council, one reason, no doubt, being that it will be valuable to have a German representative present when this subject is being hammered out.

Among other items on the agenda, the proposed Draft Convention on Slavery and questions concerning the Saar are referred to under the heading "Matters of Moment" in this issue. The only other question calling for mention was a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by M. Briand inviting the Council to consider the possibility of securing an international convention embodying measures for the more effective repression of crimes like the recent Hungarian bank-note forgeries. Though Hungary was not mentioned in the French Note, it was clear that what had taken place in that country was the cause of the communication, and many of the proposals set before the Council—as, for example, that all States should undertake to punish forgers of foreign currencies as heavily as forgers of the national currency—were of considerable interest.

PEDESTRIANS FOR PEACE

FOR the last six weeks or longer, the country has been blue with showers of little handbills bearing a map of England and a part of the subsidiary country to the north, showing the roads by which Peace Pilgrims have converged, or were converging, on London for the final and big demonstration, which duly took place—*incredibly* enough in fine weather—on June 19. From Dundee in the North, Penzance in the West, the Isle of Wight in the South, and Cromer and Yarmouth in the East the pedestrians took their varied ways to the appointed rendezvous. To be entirely honest, they were not pedestrians all the way. Otherwise the Welsh contingent, for example, could hardly have covered its first 150 miles within five days. For the most part they were pedestrians going in and out of towns, and motorists in between. Not quite all the actual programme could be fulfilled on account of the strike, which affected this, like many other arrangements.

The reports received from different points on the circumference indicate that uniform success has been achieved for the purpose of the pilgrims, which was to demonstrate for arbitration, security and disarmament, not merely in the abstract, but by urging the Government to ratify the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to submit a definite programme of disarmament to the Disarmament Commission at Geneva.

Numbers of societies officially identified themselves with the pilgrimage, among them the League of Nations Union, whose branches at the different centres co-operated actively in the organisation of meetings, and whose Executive had a good deal to do with the drafting of the resolution put at every meeting held, and in almost all cases carried without a single adverse voice. It ran as follows:—

"We, members and supporters of the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage, believing that law should take the place of war in the settlement of international disputes, urge His Majesty's Government to agree to settle all disputes by conciliation or arbitration, and by taking the lead in the proposed Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, to show that Great Britain does not intend to appeal to force."

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

AN IMPRESSION

BRISTOL, June 22, 1926.

A HEALTHY realism struck the detached observer almost at Bristol. Here, in a world of tottering Parliaments, is at least one hardy survivor of the parliamentary epoch, in which people say what they believe; in which no guillotine cuts short honest discussion; and in which almost every section of opinion in a great nation-wide society finds unfettered expression. If branches as a whole could see how truly they can contribute through this Council to the achievement of their Union's purpose, more, surely, than one in twelve would bestir themselves to find a delegate's rail fare once a year, even when trains are bad!

Body and soul were well catered for at Bristol, and if as a deliberative organ the Council appeared there at its best, this was not a little due to Colonel Wyatt's and the Bristol Committee's admirable provision of hospitality; and, we believe, to the fact that many Council members did not fail to seek Divine guidance for their work, some at Bristol Cathedral on the eve of the meeting, others next morning at the Catholic pro-Cathedral. May this happy precedent be followed on future occasions.

Professor Murray boldly faced the facts in a great speech on the afternoon of June 21. Neither he nor the others who joined in discussing the Union's foreign policy could be accused of that ill-founded optimism, which before now has befuddled the Union. "It is still a race between the forces of life and peace and the forces of death," was his summary of the present situation. After paying a tribute to the combined sincerity and diplomacy of Lord Cecil—and there is something sadly unfamiliar about a Council meeting without him—the Chairman passed the year 1925-6 in review. It had been a stiff year for the Union; not because of any striking disaster to the League, which like a striking success, always meant an accession of members to the Union; but because of the prolonged disappointment, caused by the rejected Protocol and the failure to realise the hopes raised by Locarno. The manoeuvres that had frustrated Germany's admission, so confidently expected last March, had disillusioned many, and could not fail to increase the difficulty of enrolling new members at the usual rate.

Yet though this had been externally a blow to the League, there were compensations for those who looked deeper. The spontaneous protest of British opinion against dishonouring the undertaking given to Germany; the discovery made by the Germans that the great majority of the Assembly delegates at Geneva were exasperated at the obstacles raised to impede their country's entry; and the way in which this adverse wind had united the loyalists of the League in all nations—all this had done nothing but good. Hence there was no need to take tragically the withdrawal of Brazil and the retirement of Spain from the Council. These false steps, dictated as they had inevitably been by wounded pride, could be retraced; it was even probable that they would be, if, with Germany's admission next September, the League becomes the accepted instrument of international life for all Europe west of Russia.

Lord Cecil, in a letter to the gathering, had hinted at the possibility of Germany's entry being even now impeded by the action of Powers definitely hostile to the League's principles. The Chairman faced this possibility, remote as it may be, and ended by emphasising the danger to the League implied in the

growth of "military despotism," which he believed to be entirely incompatible with the foundations of that institution.

The moral of all this is that the Union's work at home and abroad is ten times more necessary now than the most far-sighted could have seen it to be in 1919. Its influence abroad, as Sir Willoughby Dickinson reminded the Council, exerted largely through the Federation of League of Nations Societies, is of paramount importance. A *coup d'état* in Greece, while he was in Athens on the Federation's business; a vast military parade at Zagreb, while he was similarly engaged there; and the Pilsudski revolution at a time when he was sitting in committee at Danzig—these were sufficient instances from his wide experience of the incredible difficulties under which laboured the Union's colleagues in those countries. Without the Union, where would the Federation be?

Yet maintenance of the Union's organisation at home at full strength is a *sine qua non* of its influence abroad. Hence the more-than-parochial value of a most-painstaking discussion at Bristol on how to reinforce the Union both morally and materially. The Chairman, presenting the annual report, pleaded for more £1 members as a financial necessity: he stressed the need of far more efficient methods of enrolling members at meetings; of more open-air meetings; of a serious effort to secure the renewal of subscriptions—for nearly half were not paid in 1925. To retain the interest of the main body of members, the Council took the important step of authorising the publication for them of the popular news-sheet monthly. To prepare the membership of the future it approved a wide extension of the Junior Branch system. To stop the leakage of present subscriptions it discussed with great care the organisation of collectors responsible for subdivisions of each branch's area. HEADWAY received the usual devastating onslaughts, but also enlisted such vigorous defence that it was judged best to refer back to Committee the question of its reform. Such also was the fate of Lady Selborne's able, but debatable, proposal of the postal-ballot system for the election of the Executive.

And in all this healthy heartsearching, this furbishing of the Union's armoury, took part with unusual vigour spokesmen from the great towns—London and Bristol, for instance, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Carlyle, Reading; from the universities, as Oxford and London; from the village branches in the South and West Country, in the Midlands, and even—a few—from the distant North—and many more of whom so short a space forbids mention. It is this active collaboration of such very varied elements for the common good, and their sturdy way of facing unpleasant as well as encouraging facts, that makes one feel confident that the Union is in fine fettle for the conflict which lies ahead.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Child Education Cut-Outs." 2 portfolios. (Evans Bros. 5s. each.) Each of these portfolios contains twelve sheets of models in colour, together with an illustrated booklet showing how the models are made up. The sheets are coloured, and those giving pictures of children of other lands are particularly attractive.

"The Liberation of Mankind." (Harrap & Co. 7s. 6d.) Hendrik van Loon.

"Stabilisation of Employment of the United States." (I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series C.11). A report prepared by Mr. J. R. Bellerby, a member of the Unemployment Section of the I.L.O. on the experiments made in the U.S.A. to stabilise price level and so to prevent those alternating periods of trade booms and depressions which cause the current crises of unemployment.

"Official Bulletin of the I.L.O." (Volume 11, No. 2.) It contains among other things an interesting account of the work done by the I.L.O. Organisation in connection with the protection of native labour.

OPENING THE NEW I.L.O.

BY ONE WHO ASSISTED

WE were apprehensive when they handed us our tickets for the ceremony—"Séance Solennelle," they called it, "d'inauguration du nouvel édifice du Bureau international du Travail"! It was rumoured darkly that there were to be speeches at this solemn séance, speeches from 10 in the morning till late in the afternoon, and probably by every delegate from every member-State! It was to be a "historic occasion," and we were fortunate, they said, to be in Geneva at the time. We felt constrained to attend, and later we were glad, for there was a simplicity and precision about the proceedings which was reassuring, and in some ways appropriate to the most matter of fact of the organs of the League. Indeed, the massed hydrangeas in which the Governing Body sat embowered on the platform gave the only note of pomp and circumstance.

The Conference Hall was overflowing—half Geneva, the delegates to the Eighth International Labour Conference which had just closed, and the shipowners and seamen who had just arrived for the Ninth Session which was to open the day after, and, over and above, a sprinkling of distinguished visitors from the Council of the League. One disappointment came early when it was announced that Sir Austen Chamberlain would not be able to speak for the "British Commonwealth," but we listened instead to a rather beautiful speech by the German Minister of Labour, Dr. Brauns, who reminded us of Germany's companionship in the work of the I.L.O. since its earliest days. Belgium followed with a practical demonstration of her enthusiasm—the ratification of the Hours of Work Convention, adopted by the First Conference of the Organisation in 1919—then tributes from Canada, France, India, Italy, Japan, and a representative of the South American States, and then a sheaf of wires from other Governments, Norway, Denmark, Esthonia, Spain, Poland, Latvia and others. Next a procession of the god-fathers of the I.L.O.—Mr. George Barnes, who had travelled to Geneva for one night only, to bespeak a blessing on the Organisation which he was largely responsible for creating; Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy-Director of the office, one of his colleagues at the Peace Conference, who regretted the absence of the United States from the assembly, and Lord Burnham, M. M. Adatci, Dr. Benes, Mgr. Nolens, also former Presidents, while the Conference remembered with real regret the death of M. Branting, Chairman of the Sixth Session in 1924. The ceremony of the morning culminated in the presentation of the keys of the building to the officers of the three Groups—Government, Employer, and Worker—of the Conference. Three keys, as M. Fontaine said, that each Group might guard the principles and statutes of the Office, but only one gate through which all were to pass together to co-operate in the work. The Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the I.L. Office, as always, the most eloquent speaker on the platform, brought the morning to a close. Twenty-two speeches in the course of two hours, but we were still glad we had come!

In the afternoon we were at the great gates of the park of the new Office, and when they rolled back upon their hinges miraculously at the touch almost of the new keys, the crowd poured across the court and into the hall. We were pushed from room to room, through the hall of the Governing Body, panelled with Indian wood

and English money, and on to the landing which looks into the sunny court. If the outside of the building looks grey and arid, there is a real charm about this inner courtyard, with its lawn and fountain-basin. Most beautiful of all, perhaps, is the lake from the front windows—a wonderful site for the first new building of the League, which, having praised and condemned, we left to start its new career.

IN THE HOUSE

June 7.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Dalton) (who asked whether there was any reference in the Mosul Treaty to Turkey's joining the League of Nations): "The Treaty will certainly be registered with the League of Nations."

June 7.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Campbell): "Two Danish officers have taken the place of earlier members of the Neutral Commission appointed by the League of Nations to observe conditions on the Turko-Iraq frontier, with a view to the maintenance of peace."

[NOTE.—The presence of these officers was subsequently found to be unnecessary owing to the conclusion of the agreement between Great Britain and Turkey regarding Mosul.]

June 10.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Buxton): "The League Council has appointed a Committee to consider proposals with a view to the pacific settlement of disputes as a basis for discussion at the June session of the Council. A report was not received from Great Britain early enough to give the British representative at the June Council specific instructions on the matter."

June 14.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Commander Kenworthy): "I have no information about Egypt's reported intention to apply for membership of the League of Nations, and cannot define the attitude of His Majesty's Government in circumstances still purely hypothetical."

June 16.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Sir Frederick Wise): "The task of Dr. Zimmerman, the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Vienna, as defined in the original agreements of October, 1922, has now been completed, and no new High Commissioner will be appointed. Dr. Zimmerman's service in this capacity calls for the highest appreciation."

June 16.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke): "His Majesty's Government have received no official notification of the withdrawal of Spain or Brazil from the League, though, according to a Press telegram, Brazil has handed in a formal notice of withdrawal. With regard to making up the contributions hitherto paid by these two States, I cannot anticipate the decision the League may take in two years' time."

June 17.—Lord Eustace Percy (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "A circular was issued in 1924 to local authorities and others recommending to their favourable consideration the resolution of the fourth Assembly of the League of Nations with regard to the explanation of the work of the League in elementary and secondary schools. Such instruction is not compulsory, but in an increasing number of schools the question of the League of Nations is brought into the general teaching curriculum."

[Some of these answers are summarised, and do not therefore represent the Ministers' actual words.]

Don't destroy "Headway," give it to someone else.

OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES

BEFORE this issue of HEADWAY is in circulation the Tenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will have been held at Aberystwyth, studying, as usual, most of the questions which are at present engaging the attention of the League of Nations, in particular Minority Procedure, Migration and the Constitution of the League, while the British League of Nations Union submitted an important resolution on Disarmament. Among the delegates expected at Aberystwyth were Mr. Theodore Marburg, formerly U.S. Ambassador at Brussels, from the United States; Professor Handelsman and Count Los from Poland; Count Bernstorff, former Ambassador at Washington; Frei Herr von Rheinbasen, a member of the Reichstag, Professor Moritz Bonn and Count Montgelas from Germany; M. Emile Borel, former Minister of Marine, and Professor Aulard from France; Professor Andreades from Greece; Dr. C. D. Chang and Dr. Scie Ton Fa, representing the Chinese Society; Mr. Bolton Waller, and eleven other delegates from Ireland. The British delegation included Mr. David Davies, M.P., Lady Gladstone, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Mr. Norman Angell, Mr. George Barnes, Sir Arthur Haworth, Admiral Drury Lowe, Professor Zimmern, the Bishop of St. Davids, Professor Baker, Professor C. K. Webster, and Mr. T. F. Lister, Chairman of the British Legion. The Chairman of the Federation this year is M. Roger Dollfus, Deputy of Switzerland.

What a Lunch can do

The South Australian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union has been carrying on effective propaganda by means of weekly lunches. Mrs. Darnley Naylor, a member of the Executive of the Branch, writes as follows:—

We found that people would not come to public meetings in numbers big enough to warrant us asking busy men and women to give addresses, so we tried to gather ordinary members together at lunch time, and we have had remarkable success, our numbers frequently reaching 100 at a lunch. We do not have a private room, as we find that other people lunching in the café stay to listen to the address, and we have often had those people apply for membership afterwards.

Once only have we encountered noisy opposition, and as they went no further than making a noise, and we happened to have a speaker that day with a fine bass voice, we apparently won the day, as those same men have been quiet on recent occasions. We have just received the cheering news that Mr. Mander, B.A., Director of Tutorial Classes W.E.A. in Auckland, N.Z., who was at several of our lunches at the beginning of the year, when he was in Adelaide on vacation, has started the same thing (once a fortnight to begin with) in Auckland.

We have a table there on which one of our members spreads the latest literature for sale, and some of us are there to receive subscriptions of either old or new members. The only café that will take us under these conditions is not large enough to keep a staff of waitresses big enough for the extras on this one day, so I head a band of volunteer waitresses, and we really are getting on quite nicely now.

We invite newspaper reporters, and pay for their lunches, so as to get a full report in each of three papers each week, and this we consider well worth while, as these reports are read by the people "out back," who otherwise would know nothing at all of the League or our educational work.

Progress in India

Mr. S. Davies Watkins, who appealed in the February HEADWAY for literature to help the cause of the League of Nations Union in Madras, writes to express the most cordial thanks for the response his article elicited. He mentions that a Branch of the Union has now been formed in Madras, and that a public meeting was recently held in the Banqueting Hall of Government House, at which the Governor, Viscount Goschen, presided, and Dewan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai spoke on the need for a Branch of the Union in the city.

"On the proposal of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Law Member," the letter continues, "a branch of the

Union was duly formed in Madras, with Lord Goschen as President, and Dewan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai as the Honorary Secretary. The committee includes the Maharaja of Bobbili, the Raja of Panagal, the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Madras, Lady Coutts-Trotter, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, a distinguished member of the Geneva Assembly in the past, and Mr. R. Littlehailes, the Director of Public Instruction."

STATESMEN OF TO-MORROW

THE next three months will be a lively time for the University Branches of the Union and others who attend Summer Schools and the like. Space forbids anything like full reference to the various fixtures of July, August and September, but here at least are the more necessary details:—

July 9-14: University Branches hold their Annual Meeting in Bangor; 45s. for five days; one day up Snowdon; still a few vacancies, but early application to Grosvenor Crescent necessary.

July 12 and 26, August 9 and 23: Fortnightly courses arranged by Professor Zimmern at Geneva on international questions. Cheap fares of £3 12s. from London to Geneva and back. Special terms in Geneva pensions from 6s. 6d. a day board and lodging. First fortnight mainly problems of the British Empire, lecturers including Professor Coupland of Oxford, Professor Lehfeldt of Johannesburg, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sir Jagadis Bose.

August 14-21: Geneva Institute of International Relations (which has evolved out of the Union's Summer School).

First Week of September: Annual Congress of the Fédération Universitaire Internationale pour la Société des Nations. Professor Zimmern will lecture daily throughout the month on the current work of the League, and there will be lectures by League delegates every evening at the Athénée.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE LEAGUE

IT has lately been represented to the Union, by a very distinguished former Headmaster, that the business of promoting Union Branches in Public Schools ought to be pushed ahead with activity. As a matter of fact, a good deal is being done in that direction already. The Union, for example, is constantly providing speakers to give addresses at Public Schools, and reprints of a recent leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* on "Education and the League" have been sent to the Headmaster of every Public School. Eight important schools, namely, Eton, The Leys, Mill Hill, Sedbergh, University College School, City of London, Holt and Bootham have formed Branches of the Union. Each have led, in turn, to the holding of regular lectures, discussions and debates on League problems.

The Leys School has five House Groups—one in each house. Each group elects its own officials and holds its own private meetings. The idea of the house society or group system is that each house should prepare a report on a given subject to do with the League, to be read by the house secretary at a general meeting of the society. Last term the subject for discussion was the admission of Germany to the League. Mill Hill has set aside a room in the school which they call a "League of Nations Room," containing maps, diagrams, pictures, books, etc., relative to the League. The Branch at this school was inaugurated by the showing of the film. The Sedbergh Branch held an interesting Model Assembly, when a successful attempt was made to reproduce the actual Sixth Assembly of the League held last September. The Branch at Holt School organised a League Exhibition.

The Headmasters' Conference has just appointed Mr. N. L. Jacks, the Headmaster of Mill Hill, to represent it on the Union's Education Committee. This will promote closer co-operation with Public Schools.

BOOKS WORTH READING

WAR SALVAGE: THE CAMPAIGNS THE QUAKERS CHOSE

A *Quaker Adventure*, by A. Ruth Fry (Nisbet & Co., 10s. 6d.). The Quakers have always been adventurous, and have carried their spirit of adventure alike into their concept of religion and its practice. This record of nine years' work of relief and reconstruction in Europe during the War and afterwards differs from all other books which owe their birth to the War. Nearly all of these one lays down with a sigh of relief, and relegates to an unrequited shelf. It is true that *A Quaker Adventure* provides ghastly and necessary pictures of what war means to the civil populations of invaded and devastated countries; ruined homes, starvation, disease and death were the *raison d'être* of the work which it describes; nevertheless one reads with a feeling of profound thankfulness that Great Britain and the United States should have produced a body of more than two thousand men and women whose conscientious objection to war was not expressed in passive resistance, but in constructive heroism which demanded the highest powers of organisation, an uncomplaining endurance of suffering and privation and self-sacrifice even to death.

The publishers describe the book as fascinating and important; their statement is not an exaggeration. Its fascination we will only note in passing. Miss Ruth Fry has made full use of her gift of vivid language, and has selected telling incidents from the letters of workers in the many units which were sent out by the Society of Friends; the illustrations also really illustrate the text.

In Nine Fields

But the importance of the book calls for fuller attention. The work of the Friends for a ruined Europe was carried out in nine countries, each of which is dealt with separately. All the needs of these countries were very great, but their conditions varied widely. In France, Belgium, Holland and Germany civil government was more or less effective and stable; in Poland, Austria, Hungary and Russia, on the other hand, the physical sufferings of the people were aggravated by political chaos produced by external or internal causes. In each field of the Quakers' work, however, the local and central authorities almost invariably welcomed the relief organisations, and assisted them to the utmost of their powers. In a time of war the position of pacifists might have been extremely difficult if it had not been recognised that the Quakers, as a Russian official letter put it, were "psychologically incapable of espionage." Any initial suspicion quickly gave way to the friendliest co-operation and to requests that the Quakers should undertake additional work and responsibilities.

Able Amateurs

If the conditions of the countries in which the work was carried on were various, so was the character of the work itself. It ranged from rescuing babies out of bombed towns to building wooden houses, from providing food, shelter and confidence for destitute and panic-stricken refugees to establishing maternity homes, from mending ploughs and threshing-machines to arranging the exchange of hostages, to say nothing of all that was done in schools of every kind, in hospitals and prisons, in distributing clothing, milk and flour to those who would have perished without its supply.

Much of the work was of necessity begun experimentally and by amateurs, but in nearly every instance the experiments proved successful, and the amateurs became skilled workmen. It must be noted that the underlying principle of the Society of Friends in Europe has been not only relief, but reconstruction, not only

reconstruction but the establishment of new and better conditions of life, which should be permanent. In this attempt again they were successful, for when the time came that outside assistance was no longer needed they were able to leave behind not only memorials of their work in the shape of buildings, but also local organisations which undertook to carry on much of the work in the same spirit as that which inspired its founders.

What is the result of all these nine years' labours? It certainly cannot be measured by the large sums of money which were given, in the number of patients relieved in hospitals, or in the number of meals provided or of homes re-established. The true result will be more far-reaching; Miss Fry does not permit herself to say much on a subject on which it is too early yet to prophesy, but what she is able to say in regard to Germany may be taken as true of the effect produced in other countries where the Friends have done their work. "They see no real end at all. . . . They have seen the birth of an embryonic movement which may or may not prove to be something analogous to the Society of Friends in this country. Its organisation matters not at all, but what matters is that the seeds of love instead of hatred may germinate and bear abundant fruit. I believe that all those who have had any part in this work in Germany have felt the answering love which it has aroused as a very wonderful experience, and through all the denunciations of that nation which they hear so frequently repeated, they know that they have clear proofs of that other Germany which is unknown perhaps to the politician, the journalist or the merchant."

It should be added that Viscount Cecil contributes an introduction, and Professor Rufus Jones an epilogue, in which each in his own vein says exactly what should be said in regard to this book and the work which it records.—H. W. F.

TABLOID FACTS

The British Commonwealth in the Post-War World, by Alfred Zimmern. (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1s.) The trouble about Mr. Zimmern is that he can get more ideas into 25 pages than the ordinary man can assimilate in 25 years. Hence the impossibility of reviewing this lecture in 100 words. Mr. Zimmern begins with the Protocol, compares Continental with British internationalism, sketches European public opinion in its present state; the strategy which must underly a future war takes him easily to naval supremacy, thence to industrial supremacy and American business methods. The foreign policy of the Dominions, tariffs, Wembley, the English-speaking Union, racial equality—all in 25 pages. Anyone reading this lecture will have something to think about for half a lifetime.

ALSO RECEIVED

The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law, by M. F. Lindley, LL.D. (Longmans, Green, 21s. net.)

Italy, by Count Antonio Cippico. (Humphrey Milford, 10s. 6d. net.)

Children's Courts, by W. Clarke Hall. (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d. net.)

The Building of Europe, by J. S. Hoyland. (Milford, 2s. 6d. net.)

The Extraordinary Assembly, by H. M. Swanwick. (Union of Democratic Control, 6d.)

Episodes and Reflections, by David Hunter. (Privately printed.)

READERS' VIEWS

"Headway" is glad to give whatever space is possible to letters from readers, BUT PLEASE KEEP THEM SHORT

A MANDATE FOR GERMANY?

SIR,—The interesting review of Dr. Heinrich Schnee's "German Colonisation, Past and Future" in the May HEADWAY says, "It is certain that sooner or later Germany will ask for a mandate over part, at least, of the territory she has lost; the record which Dr. Schnee presents goes far to justify the granting of this demand and to remove any fears that may exist as to its results both upon the territories themselves, and in the promotion of the spirit of peace and goodwill." A close reading of Dr. Schnee's book suggests the following reflections upon this conclusion:—

(1) As regards peace and goodwill in Europe, the case is good. Germany's national pride would be soled, an important gain. Her commercial position would be in no way affected. As a League member to be, she will have economic equality in the mandated areas. As a mandatory she would be prohibited from reserving access to their raw materials for her own citizens. No one can tell what turn would be taken by public opinion in the mandatory countries.

(2) "The results upon the territories themselves" must be the paramount consideration from the League of Nations standpoint. The mandatory system is mainly concerned with native welfare. None will dispute that a transfer of government from one race to another, involving different administrative, judicial and social systems, is a harmful shock, and one which native populations should not be asked to suffer twice in a short period unless the change would be vastly for the better. Does Dr. Schnee, as representing Germany's most advanced opinion on native government, prove that the change would be for the better? He praises his country's scientific work in the colonies. This is just, particularly in regard to laboratory work. He blames its relative neglect by post-war mandates, and his blame is deserved. But he ignores the financial aspect, assuming that Germany would have spent as much money after the war as before it on science and amelioration in her colonies. To put it mildly, this is unlikely. Could Germany now offer such a loan as Great Britain is proposing to make for railway development in Tanganyika?

(3) More important, the underlying—almost the unconscious—assumptions of the book vitiate its arguments. Dr. Schnee employs the *tu quoque* regarding individual acts of cruelty. But his method of skating over the question of forced labour for private enterprise reveals more than it conceals—he does not mention South West Africa, for instance. He entirely omits consideration of pay for forced labour for public works, that he declares to be essential. He speaks no word of native land tenure. Inevitably, like all believers in forced labour, he advocates the use of the whip. "Efforts to substitute punishment by fines or imprisonment produced most discouraging results." It is notable that in every British and colonial mandated area the pre-war labour system has had to be radically reformed by legislation to reach mandatory standards, and the whole punitive system has been lightened. This is because free and decently paid labourers do not need to be flogged for running away.

(4) The question of whether the present Mandatories are fulfilling their obligations is one for the Mandates Commission. But the case for Germany's receiving a mandate—and personally I consider there is much to be said for such a suggestion—is not strengthened by a book which takes for granted conditions considerably below the mandatory standards, themselves, after all, not an ideal, but a minimum.—Yours, etc.,

12, Gt. Ormond Street.
June 18, 1926.

FREDA WHITE.

AUSTRALIAN APATHY

SIR,—The diarist of the *Times* has been exceptionally unfortunate. Had he followed the movements of his President and co-delegates, he would have observed that Lord Burnham and Mr. Bowerman addressed a large audience in Sydney at a meeting arranged by the Union of N.S.W.

Mr. Bowerman also spoke at a crowded lunch, organized by the League of Nations Union of South Australia; and, but for the miscarriage of a letter, Lord Burnham (so he assured me) would have spoken as well.

One of the delegates said bluntly that the members of the Conference had not met the right people. This statement seems to be true of the *Times* diarist.—Yours, etc.,

The University, Adelaide. H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

[The reference in this letter is to a quotation from an article in the *Times* by a visitor to Australia, who wrote, regarding the diary he kept when there, "Strangely enough there is no entry of an Australian having mentioned the League of Nations." ED., HEADWAY.]

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"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 "142 N" to Pearson Bros., the Sole Makers of "Mattamac" Stormproofs:

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A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS?

SIR,—The Letter under the above title, from Mr. Arthur A. Pearson, which was published in the May number of HEADWAY, calls for a more detailed reply. The League of Nations Union is, and has been for some years, working to organise religious co-operation as an aid to the solution of problems dealt with by the League of Nations.

The idea is not a new one. An attempt was made to embody an article acknowledging religious equality in the Covenant, but the proposal had to be dropped, as the difficulties then proved insurmountable. In 1919, however, a "Society for the Formation of a League of Religions" (to promote universal righteousness, brotherhood and peace) was started in London. This later merged its work in that of the League of Nations Union, as the Religions and Ethics Committee. Outside the Union there are independent groups working for the same end, both at Geneva and elsewhere.

Your correspondent quotes the suggestion of the Rev. H. W. Fox, that "the time has arrived when the League of Nations might set up a commission on religious co-operation similar to that on intellectual co-operation." This really raises two questions: First, should a commission on religious co-operation be set up; and, secondly, if so, when?

As regards the first, the Religions and Ethics Committee exists to secure an answer in the affirmative. In the past, undoubtedly, religion has tended to be a source of discord. Co-operation has been limited to groups which professed the same belief to the exclusion of all others. Even to-day some powerful religious bodies refuse to co-operate corporately with those of other faiths. But, in our opinion, religion should be the unifying force to-day and in the future. There is a foundation of fundamental principles common to all religions and ethics, and if the points of difference are set aside a basis of common agreement will be found on which to build religious co-operation.

Mr. Pearson very rightly says that: "It is, of course, obvious that the term religion could not be confined to Christianity." This is a vital point. The majority of the inhabitants of the world are not Christians. It has sometimes been urged, even in high places, that the League of Nations should be Christianised. Those who did so probably only meant that the influence of a religious appeal to which Christians would respond should be brought to bear at Geneva, and did not intend to exclude all other religious influences. But in these days of religious and racial antagonism, the non-Christian races would certainly interpret such a move to mean that the ideal of a League of Nations would be changed to their detriment to a League of Christian Governments. Although, as Mr. Pearson correctly points out, non-Christians are in some cases drawing towards Christianity, it must not be forgotten that the vigorous young nationalist movements in Asia and Africa to-day for the most part trend strongly in the opposite direction. In their judgment, Christianity is identified with Western culture, which is now impinging so forcibly on other, and frequently older, civilisations, and is therefore hotly opposed. Religious co-operation, from a League of Nations point of view, can only become possible when the right of every community to hold and to live up to its own belief is fully acknowledged.

This brings us to the second question, whether the time has arrived when a commission for religious co-operation can be set up at Geneva. Some—probably the majority—will say that the time is not yet.—Yours, etc.,

M. F. WREN,

On behalf of the Religions and Ethics Committee.

GENEVA ROAD

SIR,—The idea of transferring the home of the League to any other centre than Geneva is, according to an article in the April HEADWAY, disposed of once and for all.

Geneva has become the symbol for all the principles and activities the League embodies.

In order to keep the home of the League prominently in the mind of the people, I would suggest that every branch of the L.N.U. in the United Kingdom, and other bodies interested in the cause of Peace, recommend to the public authorities in their town that a road be named after it, i.e., Geneva Road, and that it be a stopping place on a tramway or omnibus route, if possible.—Yours, etc.,

Hampton Park, Southampton.

UNKNOWN SOLDIER.

[An admirable suggestion, but to be employed with discretion. Before such a proposal is put before a local authority it is always well to make sure of effective backing on the part of influential members of the authority itself. Moreover, it is always easier to give names to new roads than to change the names of old ones.—ED., HEADWAY.]

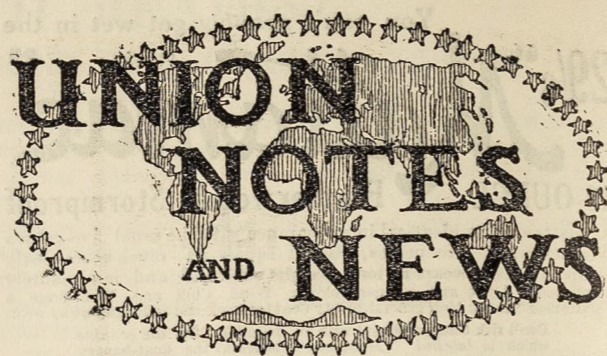
THE OTHER MR. SHAW

SIR,—On looking through HEADWAY and the article on the Economic Committee at Geneva, on page 107, I note you say the delegates included Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P. This is not correct. It was Mr. Arthur Shaw, J.P., Secretary of the National Union of Textile Workers, Bradford.—Yours, etc.,

Carlton Avenue, Batley.

BEN TURNER.

June 10, 1926.



The Secretary in his June Branch letter draws attention to two rather serious matters regarding our membership. In the first place, the letter points out that in most regions the percentage of new £1 members to the total number of new members enrolled is decreasing rather than increasing. Of the ten regions shown in the table, only three show an increased percentage; the rest all show a decrease. The other matter to which attention is drawn is that roughly only 40 per cent. of the registered membership at the beginning of 1925 paid their subscriptions during that year. Yet few, if any, of the 60 per cent. who did not pay their subscriptions had become actively unfriendly to the League. Whilst it is pointed out that some Branches, including very large ones, collect more than 90 per cent. of their membership subscriptions, and that by proper organisation it would be possible to collect far more than 40 per cent. of these subscriptions throughout the Union as a whole, it is urged that Branches should not neglect the even more important task of obtaining new members.

What about This?

THE ABERDEEN BRANCH RAISED OVER £200 AS A RESULT OF A RECENT FLAG DAY.

A Library Joins Up

The Committee of the Public Library at Batley, Yorks, has just been accepted as a Corporate Member of the Union. Several hundred other public libraries might well do the same.

The Summer Sag

The summer sag in Union membership is due to the absence of open-air meetings. Some Branches, however, have seized the opportunity which long summer evenings bring, and at seaside towns and other pleasure resorts open-air meetings are being held on the beach or in any other convenient open space. Harrogate has been one of the places to take the lead in this matter, and its annual report speaks of great success following a week's open-air campaign last summer.

The Younger Generation

Dr. Lytton addressed nearly 600 boys and girls attending private schools in Bexhill at the beginning of last month. It is hoped that a number of Junior Branches will result from the meeting, which was held in the grounds of Lady Ermytrude Malet's house, and followed one for adults, at which 76 new members were enrolled.

Spreading the Gospel

A boy belonging to a Junior Branch in North Hackney emigrated in March, with the other members of his family, to New York. Shortly after his arrival he wrote to the Branch secretary: "Here in school we had a debate on the League, and I am glad to say I won a complete victory for our Cause. Now in my civics class we have started a League of Nations Society. Our teacher is treasurer and I am the president."

Edmonton Essays

The local Education Committee has accepted the suggestion of the Edmonton Branch of the Union that all school children should write essays on the League. The essays so far have been remarkably good.

Big British Legion Meeting

Mr. Frederick Whelen addressed a large meeting of the British Legion in Norfolk last month, when ex-service men once more showed their keen interest in the League. Mr. Whelen asks why British Legion meetings should not become a regular feature of our work.

A Caravan Tour

The East of Scotland District Council arranged a caravan tour from the 21st to the 30th of last month in East Fife and East Perthshire to take the League message to rural areas. The programme included meetings in fifteen different towns and villages, all of them new ground from the Union point of view, with the exception of Perth.

Two Ideas for Junior Branches

At the Empire Day celebrations at an elementary school at Southall, the League of Nations' Union flag was saluted along with the Union Jack, when girls of the VIIIth Standard presented a League of Nations' play.

A suggestion has been made that League of Nations' supporters should present their old school—or any other—with a

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY TOURS

A party will leave London for Geneva, September 3rd to 10th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. INCLUSIVE FEE, London—London, £11 11s. APPLY AT ONCE to Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, or direct to ORGANISER OF TOURS, Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

PEACE PAGEANT PLAY.—"THE HEART'S DESIRE"—post free 1/2 each.—Rev. A. E. ROSE, The Manse, Rothwell, Nr. Leeds.

prize to be awarded for essays on League subjects. We welcome the idea, and pass it on.

An "All-in" Policy

The Harrogate Branch seems to have adopted an "all-in" policy on its committee, for almost every conceivable interest appears to be represented on it. The Town Council, the Education Committee, the Conservative and Liberal Clubs, the Co-operative Society, Churches of various denominations and women's societies, all have their representatives. With such a representative committee one is not surprised to learn from the report that the Branch has had a most successful year.

Winchester has a similar plan, for on their committee there are representatives of the Congregational Church, the Workers' Educational Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Brotherhood, the Teachers' Association and the Trades' Council and Labour Party.

Much Wenlock Wakes Up

Much Wenlock, a small west Midlands town, has hitherto shown scant interest in the League. The town sat up and took notice, however, on the occasion of a pageant held there recently in which a League of Nations car figured. In the car was a figure symbolising Peace, surrounded by children representing the different races of mankind. Several banners were displayed round the car, one of which bore the legend: "Peace through Co-operation," and another, "The League is the Hope of Mankind."

Nine per Cent. Members

Stanbridge and Tilsforth, two small Bedfordshire villages affiliated to the Leighton Buzzard Branch, have roped in 9 per cent. of the total population as members. With a population of 542 they have over 50 members, and more are coming in. A good deal of the success is undoubtedly due to the fact that the secretary and committee are very enterprising. Last month an entertainment was arranged which included a League of Nations' procession round the two villages. Practically the entire school took part and all the 55 Member States of the League were represented.

Unionists and the Union

At the Annual Conference of the Women's Unionist Association, Lady Elveden, the chairman, urged all members to support the Union. "I hope," she said, "that all Unionist women will take an interest in the Branch, if there be one, of the League of Nations Union in their own locality. I think it would be a disastrous pity if that Union became a Party organisation, and if the Unionist Party do not show a real and live interest in the League of Nations Union, it is bound to become the organ of the opposing parties."

Such a message needs underlining. The Union is essentially non-party, and will always be so in outlook and endeavour. But it can only be non-party in the best sense if it is supported by all parties equally.

Other Countries and the League

Wise secretaries have already made their plans for the autumn. The Hampstead Garden Suburb and Golders Green Branch has arranged a programme of lectures of unusual interest. The course will consist of fifteen lectures on "The Attitude of Nations to World Problems, with Special Reference to the League of Nations." The lecturer in practically every case will be a national of the country concerned. A charge of 10s. 6d. is made for the full course or a shilling for a single lecture. The place is the Hampstead Garden Institute; the lectures begin in October, and particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. C. Elsmore, Arden, Hampstead Way, N.W.11.

Points from Annual Reports

The Tottenham Branch arranged League talks in two Sunday schools. Why not get your Branch to do the same?

A good bank balance decided the St. John's Wood Branch to spend part of it upon an intensive membership campaign. Results to follow.

The Bury St. Edmund's and District Branch are hoping to get the County authority to bring forward the aims of the League in the monthly circular, and to ask all teachers to place the principles of the League before the elder children in the secondary school.

Ferne Park Baptist Church, as a Corporate Member of the Union, sets a splendid example, for 820 of its members and congregation belong to the Branch there as individual members.

The Union Film at Work

Though there are many aspects of the work of the League of Nations which, unfortunately, do not lend themselves to illustration by film, there are many that do, and the welcome which the Union's film, "The Star of Hope," continues to receive is proof of the value of this method of education. The film has lately been shown to the executives of the Assistant Masters' Association and of the National Union of Teachers and to the London branch of the Head Masters' Association. In all cases it was well received, and appreciative comments have appeared in the *Journal of Education* and the *Schoolmaster*. The film has also been exhibited to over 1,000 lads on the training ship "Exmouth," destined for the Royal Navy. At Sheffield the Education Committee, at the instance of the Education Depart-

ment of the I.N.U., has arranged to have the film shown to the pupils in the senior classes of all the council schools in the town, which means some 10,000 children. The teachers concerned had a special view of the film a week earlier so that they could give preparatory lessons to the children on it. Further lessons will be given after the demonstration, and it is hoped, by means of a carefully prepared questionnaire, to ascertain from the teachers the real educational value of the film. The Board of Education is watching this experiment with interest. A revised version of the film will be available in the autumn, and arrangements are also being made for the preparation of films illustrating the life and conditions in different countries.

Scotland Active

In the area of the North and North-East of Scotland District Council eleven new Branches have been formed since September, bringing the total up to forty-three. The number of meetings addressed in Aberdeen and District during the winter session—including an address by Lord Cecil, a tour by Mr. Fred Whelen, a series of lectures on International relations, broadcasted talks, and meetings at which the League Film "Star of Hope" was shown—was considerably in excess of 100. Special deputations have been organised to church presbyteries and several churches have joined the Union as Corporate Members.

Much time has been spent in devising means of raising funds. A function which had been arranged to take place on St. Andrew's Night had, unfortunately, to be cancelled owing to the death of the late Queen Alexandra. This, however, was followed by other and more successful events—a Burns' Night Concert, at which over 2,000 people were present; a tour, by which the Arts League of Service performing under the auspices of the District Council enabled a number of outlying Branches to raise their quota; and a Flag Day which brought in over £241.

The District Council is now engaged in organising a World Fair to take place in September. It is rumoured that thousands are being talked of.

WELSH NOTES

The Welsh Council has been looking forward to the pleasure of extending a warm welcome to Wales to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The town of Aberystwyth is also co-operating most heartily in the arrangements which are being made for the reception of the guests from abroad. Amongst the social fixtures are receptions by the Mayor and by the Principal of the University College of Wales; an official luncheon given by the Welsh Council and a pilgrimage to Tregaron, the birth place of Henry Richard, the Welsh Apostle of Peace.

On the week-end of June 19-21 the Executive of the Advisory Education Committee met at Gregynog Hall and amongst those present was Miss Helen Clarkson Miller, the Chairman of the Education Committee of the Non-Partisan League of Nations Association. Miss Miller gave a most interesting account of the educational work which was being done by the sister society in New York. In spite of the depressing industrial conditions which prevail in Wales the response of the branches to the Daffodil Day appeal was full of encouragement—especially in Anglesey and South Cardiganshire.

Replies are being received daily from abroad to the Welsh Children's Wireless Message for the League of Nations sent out for the fifth year in succession on May 18—Goodwill Day. What Sir George Paish once described as "the happiest inspiration since the Armistice" is now becoming a world-idea and is destined to world-wide adoption.

The annual report of the Welsh National Council for 1926 has just been issued. It is a booklet of 64 pages with the title of *Pioneering for Peace*.

New Corporate Members

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership:—

ARBROATH: Wesleyan Methodist Church. BATH: Walcot Wesleyan Church. BOSCOMBE: Congregational Church. BOWDON: Wesleyan Church. BRADFORD: Crossley Hall Congregational Church; Horton Bank Primitive Methodist Church; Practical Psychology Club. BRAMPTON: Congregational Church. BROADSTAIRS: Queen's Road Baptist Church. BUDE: Wesleyan Church. CHESHAM: Wesleyan Church. CHESTER: King's School; Queen's School. DERBY: Littleover Primitive Methodist P.S.A.; Psychology Club. DORFORD: Baptist Church. DORKING: Wesleyan Church. EARLSDON: Wesleyan Church. EASTBOURNE: Brother-

hood. ECCLESHILL: Wesleyan Chapel. EDINBURGH: Moray Knox United Free Church. ELLESMERE PORT: Wesleyan Church. FARNBOROUGH: North Camp Wesleyan Church. GLASGOW: Paisley Road U.F. Church Women's Guild. GRANGE VILLA: Primitive Methodist Church. GRAYS: Grays and District Labour Party and Trades Council. GREAT HORTON: Primitive Methodist Church. GREAT WAKERING: Primitive Methodist Church. HALIFAX: Girl Guides. HIGH WYCOMBE: Booker Wesleyan Church; Victoria Street Wesleyan Church; Wesley Church. HANDSWORTH: Hamstead Road Baptist Church. HINDLEY: Wesleyan Church. HITCHIN: Nightingale Road Roman Catholic Church. HUDDERSFIELD: Crossland Moor Wesleyan Church. HULL: Brunswick Wesley Church. ILKESTON: Bath Street Wesleyan Church; Glove and Warp Fabric Makers' Association; Trinity Church. KETTERING: Urban District Education Committee. KINGSBRIDGE: Wesleyan Church. KING'S LANGLEY: Primrose Hill Baptist Church. LANCASTER: Lancaster and District Free Church Council. LEEDS: Cavendish Road Presbyterian Church; Woodhouse Lane United Methodist Church. LETCHWORTH: Norton Parochial Church Council. LONDON REGION: CLAPHAM: Broomwood Wesleyan Church. CLAPTON: Clapton Branch of B.W.T.A.; Wesleyan Church. CROYDON: Beulah Baptist Church. EALING: Primitive Methodist Church; St. Mary's Church; West Ealing Congregational Church; West Ealing and District P.S.A. HITHER GREEN: Wesleyan Church. HORNSEY: Hornsey and District Free Church Council. ISLINGTON: Congregational Church; Green Lanes Wesleyan Church. OLD FORD: Wesleyan Church. PALMERS GREEN: St. John's Church. SOUTHGATE: Labour Party. TOTTENHAM: Tottenham and Edmonton Congregational Church; Tottenham Synagogue; North Tottenham Liberal Women's Association. WEMBLEY: Wesleyan Methodist Church. WEST NORWOOD: Brotherhood. LOUGHBOROUGH: Woodgate Baptist Church. MEOLS: Presbyterian Church. NETHERFIELD: Wesleyan Church. NEWCASTLE: East End Y.M.C.A. Club. NEW WHITTINGTON: Wesleyan Church. NORTHAMPTON: Northampton Group of Auxiliary Movement. NUNEATON: Wesley Church. OLDBURY: Early Morning Adult School. OXFORD: United Methodist Church. PENDLEBURY: St. Augustine's Brotherhood. PETERCULTER: Kirk Session United Free Church. QUEENSBURY: Baptist

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	...	...	...	...	...	432,473
June 24, 1926	...	...	...	...	...	557,772

BRANCHES

On June 24, 1926, the number of Branches was 2,332, Junior Branches 375, and Corporate Members 1,946.

Sunday School. RUSHDEN: Park Road Wesleyan Methodist Church. SHOEBURYNESSE: Primitive Methodist Church. SAFFRON WALDEN: Parish Church. SOUTHPORT: Leyland Road Wesleyan Church; Marshside Road P.M. Men's Guild; Mornington Road Wesleyan Church; Portland Street Congregational Church. SOUTH SHIELDS: Frederick Street Wesley Guild. STAPLE HILL: Hebron United Methodist Church. STOCKTON-ON-TEES: Jewish Community. STRATTON: Wesleyan Church. STROUD: John Street Baptist Church. WARWICK: Women's Liberal Association. WELLINGBOROUGH: Wesleyan Church. WEST STANLEY: National Union of Teachers. WILPSHIRE: Wesleyan Church. WINWICK and ALDINGHAM: Women's Liberal Association. WITHINGTON: Wesleyan Church. WOUBURN: Wesleyan Church. YORK: Centenary Wesleyan Chapel.

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Foundation membership, HEADWAY, and all pamphlets issued, minimum, £1. Ordinary membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, minimum 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire, 5s.). Membership, 1s.

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.

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