



Vol. VII, No. 12

[Published by the League of Nations Union.]

December, 1925

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.]

Price Threepence

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	221	GENEVA LETTER	230
GREECE AND BULGARIA	224	AFTER LOCARNO	231
ARBITRATION. By "A Union Member" and Prof. Gilbert Murray	225	A SECURITY PACT FOR THE WORKERS	232
GENEVA: AN INDIAN VIEW	225	ON PASSPORTS	233
THE EFFECT OF THE O.T.C. By the Rev. Hon. E. Lyttelton	226	THE LEAGUE IN THE SCHOOLS	233
THE TANGIER REFUGEES. By Sir Charles Hobhouse	227	IN THE HOUSE	233
THE MOSUL RULING	228	STATESMEN OF TO-MORROW	234
THE CECIL PEACE PRIZE	228	OVERSEAS NOTES	234
THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL	228	BOOKS WORTH READING	236
THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS. IX.—GT. BRITAIN, CHINA AND OPIUM	229	READERS' VIEWS	237
		BOOKS ON THE LEAGUE	238
		UNION NOTES AND NEWS	239

MATTERS OF MOMENT

The British Delegation

M WILLIAM MARTIN'S criticism of the British Delegation which we published in our last issue as an example of a point of view commonly held in advanced League circles abroad has evoked some letters of protest. If the writers will look back to last HEADWAY, and see the explanation at the head of M. Martin's article, and the leading article in which we give our own criticism, they will, we hope, find most of their objections answered. Put broadly, the fact was that, while all Europe wished to move in the same general direction, the Government of Great Britain was purely Conservative, while those of most other countries were in various degrees Radical or Socialist. Consequently, while the British thought the others were hurrying too fast, the others thought Great Britain was refusing to move.

One point, however, needs a word of explanation. Some persons have imagined that M. Martin's phrase about "The Two Lord Cecils" contained a reflection on our President's honour and sincerity. Such an idea certainly never entered our mind, nor, as far as we can judge, M. Martin's either. The contrast was simply between Lord Cecil as delegate for South Africa, absolutely free and unattached, leading and inspiring the Assembly, but without authority to bind any Government; and Lord Cecil as a member of a British Cabinet, bound by the

ordinary and inevitable trammels of that position. This does not mean that we regret his being in the Cabinet. A horse running free on the veldt is a more inspiring, but perhaps a less useful object, than the same horse dragging a large and extremely valuable pantechinon. As to the general ethics and politics of that situation, they are convincingly stated in Lord Cecil's own recent Rectorial Address to the University of Aberdeen.

The Public and the League

A FULLER account of a speech delivered by Lord Grey at Salisbury in the middle of October than was available when the last issue of HEADWAY went to press contains one passage which needs to be both quoted and underlined. Dwelling on the personal strength of the delegations both the French and the British Governments had sent to the recent Assembly at Geneva, Lord Grey observed that the British delegation had been criticised for being backward as compared with those of some other States. The explanation given was that the delegation could not run ahead of public opinion. That was a sound argument, but it was in itself a reason why public opinion should be matured and ripened, and grow stronger and stronger. If Governments were being held back from promoting the work of the League because they feared public opinion would not support them, public opinion

must be developed. That was why the League of Nations Union existed to encourage and form a public opinion which would support the Government in pursuing a League of Nations policy, and make possible one year what had not been possible in the previous year because people were not prepared for it. All that can be said about that admirable statement is that there is nothing to be said about it. It embodies the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, leaving nothing to add or to subtract.

The League and China

THE very natural idea of invoking the League of Nations to assist in clearing up the chaos in China has been revived by the *Nation*, which points out, with justice, that the root of the whole trouble is the necessity of arriving at some practical working agreement on finance between the provinces and the central government at Peking. The success of the League in Austria and Hungary, the *Nation* suggests, is a very good reason for thinking that it would have, at any rate, a fair prospect of being able to intervene with satisfactory results in China. It would be a little rash to assume that success in a comparatively small field means of necessity success in an almost unimaginably vast one; and in any case, as the *Nation* itself recognises, an essential condition of any intervention would be that the initiative should be taken by China itself. The speech made by Mr. Chao Hsin Chu at the last Assembly, on Article 19 of the Covenant as applied to the revision of various treaties between China and the Powers, appears to indicate that China would be not entirely averse to moving in the matter, and the prestige and ability of the League's Financial Commission is to-day such that it must be regarded as at least as capable as any other body existing of a businesslike attempt to reduce the financial chaos in China to order.

The Syrian Troubles

IT would be affectation to disguise the fact that recent events in Syria have caused great exercise of mind to anyone interested in the right working of the mandate system. That is probably as much as it would be either wise or fair to say at the present moment. The British Prime Minister has spoken of the need of appreciating sympathetically the difficulties which a friendly mandatory State has had to face in the discharge of a delicate task. How far French administration can be held responsible for the situation which arose in Syria, and particularly in Damascus, in October and November must be decided later when all the facts are available. As it is, the High Commissioner of Syria, General Sarrail, has been recalled to Paris and has reported to the Government and to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber. The Mandates Commission of the League, which was meeting at Geneva during the early stages of the trouble in Syria, rightly took the view that it would not be content with a report on Syria which ended at December, 1924. It has, therefore, decided to hold a special meeting in February, at which the French Government has readily agreed to submit a report which will cover recent events in the mandated territory

M. de Jouvenel's Post

MEANWHILE, wide interest has been aroused, particularly in League circles, by the appointment of M. Henry de Jouvenel to succeed General Sarrail as High Commissioner. The appointment of a civilian as successor to a soldier is of some significance in itself, following as it does a precisely similar move in Morocco, where M. Steeg has taken the place of General Lyautey. It may be assumed also that the French Government was anxious to demonstrate its desire to maintain complete harmony with the League in the administration of its mandate, and has chosen for Syria a man who is almost better known than any of his countrymen at Geneva. M. de Jouvenel has been regularly included in French delegations to the Assembly; he has more than once represented his country on the Council, and he has throughout taken an active part in the work of the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission. His feelings towards Great Britain are friendly, and it is noteworthy that he found time before leaving for Syria to come to London for a brief discussion with the British Foreign and Dominions Ministers. It is equally noteworthy also in the same connection that the disturbance in Syria appears to have had no unhappy effects on the adjacent British mandated territory of Palestine.

A Hint to Public Schools

A GOOD many headmasters, themselves personally friendly to the League, might with much advantage institute a custom now firmly planted at the City of London School. The school supports a flourishing League of Nations Union branch of its own, but once a year the whole of the Upper School is assembled during a school period to hear an address on the meaning and principles of the League. Last year the address was given by General Sir Frederick Maurice, and this year—on November 10—by Mr. Wilson Harris. The headmaster, who regularly takes the chair himself, explained on the latter occasion that such addresses were arranged because he was anxious that no boy should ever leave the school without having had an opportunity to understand fully what the League of Nations was and what it stood for. This annual address is followed by a businesslike appeal for members of the school branch of the Union. No doubt something of the same kind is done at other schools. No doubt, equally, it might with much advantage be done at many where it is not.

Wireless and the Facts

THE writer of a letter in our correspondence columns makes an interesting suggestion regarding the use of wireless as a means of securing publicity for the claims of both sides in the case of an international dispute. The actual plan he outlines seems open to quite fatal objections, but the possibilities of wireless in connexion with the League are well worth exploring none the less. The idea of an international daily paper has been in many people's minds at different times and is not much nearer realisation to-day than it ever was. But the advent of broadcasting brings a substantial percentage, at any rate, of the benefits an international paper was intended to achieve within the range of possibilities. To touch only on the

particular matter raised by our correspondent, the opportunity of circulating agreed statements, or, at any rate, impartial League statements, of the contentions on both sides of a dispute might well be seized with advantage under certain circumstances. On a much less ambitious level the inclusion of a limited number of League communiqués in the daily news bulletin broadcasted in different countries might be extremely useful—provided, of course, that only questions of real interest or importance were dealt with.

The Cecil Prize

THERE appear in another column of this issue particulars of the very generous uses to which Lord Cecil has decided to put the £5,000 voted to him last year as the first recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Peace Award. The institution of a Cecil Peace Prize will ensure the annual concentration of some of the best brains in the university generation of the day on the immediate problems of the League. In addition to that, however, Lord Cecil has placed £1,000 at the disposal of the members of the Secretariat to promote various forms of recreation with which it may be assumed that the "members of section" and others lighten their toil. Of this, £550 are to go to tennis, £450 to golf and £50 to the staff library, an allocation which might seem enough in itself to inspire another public debate between Lord Balfour and Mr. L. J. Maxse on the rival merits of the two games of which they are respectively devotees. Ought tennis to have had that extra £100 or ought it not?—essentially a question which cannot be left where it is.

Russia and Locarno

A RATHER widespread misapprehension appears to prevail in certain circles in this country regarding not merely the effect of the Locarno agreements on Russia, but the motives of their authors in that regard. The answer to persons disturbed about this is simple. Important as Locarno is, it represents a merely local agreement, affecting certain parts of Europe which do not include Russia. What Germany originally proposed was an agreement into which she herself, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium should enter regarding the Rhine. Poland and Czechoslovakia were subsequently brought in, primarily on account of France's treaty relations with those countries. That in itself is sufficient reason why Russia was not at Locarno, and it is to be noted that the French Foreign Minister, M. Briand after his return to Paris, said publicly that whenever Russia was willing to go to Locarno to make a similar agreement he was ready to go there to meet her. It is Russia's willingness that is in question in regard both to Locarno and to Geneva. The door of the League of Nations stands wide open to admit her on the same terms as any other State, but Russian politicians and the Russian Press never tire of declaring they will never come near the League at any price. That being so, it is fantastic to suggest that the admission of Germany to the League means the formation of a hostile bloc against Russia. To admit that would be to invest Russia with a general veto on the consolidation of Europe. So far from that, the growing influence of the League may give an increased sense of security to any

State which rightly or wrongly entertains any fears of Russian aggression, but does it in a way which gives Russia no shadow of excuse for supposing that anyone has any thought of aggression against her.

Plain Speaking

COUNT TELEKI, a former Prime Minister of Hungary, has lately delivered in the Hungarian Diet a speech to which a rather special importance attaches in view of the fact that its author has just been serving the League as one of the three commissioners in Mosul. The gist of the speech was that it was still uncertain whether the League was to be a mere alliance of victors or something more—a point on which the speaker entertained grave misgivings; that, on the whole disarmament and security as between conquered and conquering nations meant "our disarmament and their security"; that the relations between Council and Assembly were confused and confusing; that the League Secretariat was influential and was animated by political motives; that though Hungary had certainly benefited financially through her association with the League, little or nothing had been done for her in the matter of minorities; and that, in short, it was a very open question whether she should remain a member of the League or not. Count Teleki's words are worth this brief summary, for he was at one time (like many other people) Prime Minister of Hungary, though his name to-day would be unknown if the League had not brought him into the public eye by inviting him to go to Iraq on its behalf. The reasoned criticisms of Count Apponyi, the chief Hungarian delegate, at the last Assembly were couched in a very different vein.

Dr. Nansen as Rector

THE choice by St. Andrews of Dr. Nansen as its Lord Rector is a pleasant tribute to internationalism, which honours alike the Scottish University and the Norwegian explorer. The fact that Dr. Nansen's opponent was Mr. John Galsworthy must have faced the voters with an almost impossible decision; and though there could be no dishonour for Mr. Galsworthy, or anyone else, in being beaten by Dr. Nansen, the victory of Dr. Nansen over such a rival is the more striking. Great Britain in general will benefit by the decision of St. Andrews in that it will secure us at least one welcome visit, when the Lord Rector comes to deliver his customary address. If he times it wisely, he can stop on the way and learn from his friend, Lord Cecil, the Rector of Aberdeen, how such things are done.

A Royal Charter for the L.N.U.

THE League of Nations Union has just been granted a Royal Charter. After acknowledging the energy and success with which the Union has carried on its work, the Charter states that "it would conduce greatly to the successful prosecution" of the Union's objects if it were incorporated. This appreciation of its work by the King in Council is a significant event in the Union's history, and we hope it will mark the beginning of a great forward movement. The need for strengthening the League by an increased membership of the Union was never greater.

GREECE AND BULGARIA

THE COUNCIL'S INTERVENTION AND ITS MORAL

"WITHOUT the League," said *The Times* in a leading article on the recent controversy between Greece and Bulgaria, "it is quite certain that both powers would by now be locked in a death grapple, to the great content of Moscow and the Third International and to the dismay of Western Europe."

This is an interesting commentary on one of the most businesslike pieces of work the League has so far set to its credit. There are many morals to be drawn from the handling by the Council of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute; but before the morals come the facts, and the facts must be briefly reproduced here. On Monday, October 19, firing broke out in a desolate region on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier in Macedonia. As to who began it, there are, of course, two flatly contradictory stories, as there always are. What, at any rate, is certain is that firing, once begun, went on for some days, and that on the Greek side artillery and aeroplanes were brought into action, Greek detachments penetrating some eight kilometres or more into Bulgarian territory and shelling the Bulgarian town of Petrich and other points in the same neighbourhood. The Bulgarians, according to their own account, which has not been challenged, except by the Greeks, carefully avoided making any reply to this limited invasion.

Greece meanwhile, accusing the Bulgarians of having shot a Greek sentry, which they indisputably had done, though whether there was justification for the act or not is still undetermined, presented a twenty-four-hours ultimatum calling for apology, indemnity, and punishment of guilty officers. At this point Bulgaria appealed to the League of Nations, and it is here that the proceedings deserve study in detail. They could be followed more clearly if set out briefly in diary form:—

October 23 (Friday).—Bulgarian appeal, under Article II of the Covenant, received at Geneva at 6 a.m. The Secretary-General, after telephonic consultation with M. Briand, Acting President of the Council, summons a meeting of the Council for Monday, the 26th, at Paris. M. Briand telegraphs to both parties emphasising their obligations as members of the League to submit their dispute for peaceful settlement.

October 26 (Monday).—Council meets in Paris, Mr. Chamberlain having travelled from London, Signor Scialoja from Rome, M. Unden from Stockholm, M. Hymans from Brussels and M. Veverka (replacing Dr. Benes) from Berne. Greece and Bulgaria are represented by their Ministers in Paris. After general discussion, the Council adopts unanimously a resolution presented by Mr. Chamberlain calling on Greece and Bulgaria to declare within twenty-four hours that orders for withdrawal of their troops behind the frontiers have been given, and to declare within sixty hours that the operation has been completed. British, French and Italian officers already in the Balkans instructed immediately to visit the scene of conflict and report.

October 27 (Tuesday).—Greek and Bulgarian representatives agree to withdrawal of troops. Both representatives invite Council to investigate the whole conditions out of which the incident arose.

October 28 (Wednesday).—Greek and Bulgarian representatives announce that orders for withdrawal were given as required by Council. Report received by telegram from British, French and Italian officers on the spot that withdrawal was being duly carried out.

Council appoints Commission of five under chairmanship of Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador at Madrid, to proceed at once to the Balkans and investigate both origin of recent conflict and general conditions out of which it arose. Commission to report to December meeting of Council.

October 30 (Friday).—Allied officers at scene of conflict announce complete withdrawal of troops satisfactorily effected.

Such, in extremely brief outline, is the story of the action of the Council in regard to the dispute. Certain points need to be emphasised here as they have rightly been emphasised by others in the daily Press of most countries. To begin with, as M. Briand stated in the Council, the idea that to summon the Council and get it into operation is a slow and cumbrous process can no longer be entertained. The actual summons to the Council meeting was sent out within six hours of the receipt of Bulgaria's appeal, and the Council could have met even earlier than it did, but for the necessity of leaving time for some of its more distant members to reach Paris. As it was, M. Unden, the Swedish Foreign Minister, had to travel by air.

The second point to underline is the thoroughness with which the Council did its work. M. Briand made it clear that, before any question of rights and wrongs was discussed, fighting had to stop. That was the reason for the 24 hours' ultimatum, for such it in reality was, to both Greece and Bulgaria. That primary object having been achieved, the Council was free to deal with two larger questions: first of all, who was responsible for the actual outbreak; secondly, what steps could be taken to prevent a recurrence of such episodes in the future. Here the ready co-operation of three of the principal States represented on the Council proved invaluable, for the immediate instructions given by the British, French and Italian delegates to the Military Attachés of their legations in the Balkans enabled actual representatives of the Council to be at the scene of action some 24 hours after the Paris decision was taken.

Another point of extreme importance was the readiness of all members of the Council, with the exception of Dr. Benes, who found himself detained at Prague, to leave their own work and go at a moment's notice to Paris to carry out their duties as guardians of the peace of Europe. What the Greco-Bulgarian dispute has shown, before all things, is that the work of organising and preserving peace has been set on a business basis, that the members of the Council take a high and serious view of their responsibilities, and that the machinery constructed for the preservation of peace is working precisely as the most optimistic of those who constructed it intended it should work. It is, of course, perfectly true that the situation in the form in which it came before the Council presented few difficulties, and it would be folly to claim that, because an incipient war between two small Balkan States could be finally checked in less than a week, the Council is proved thereby capable of dealing with equal facility with any and every problem that may come before it. What can, however, be said with assurance is that this dispute and the treatment it has received has provided the Council with experience which may prove invaluable in the day when it finds itself confronted with some more exacting test.

ARBITRATION
SHOULD GREAT BRITAIN SIGN THE
OPTIONAL CLAUSE?

AN article in last month's HEADWAY, embodying a statement drafted by Prof. Gilbert Murray, as comment on Mr. Chamberlain's explanation of his reasons for declining to sign the Optional Clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, has elicited from a well-known member of the League of Nations Union a letter of polite expostulation against some of Prof. Murray's arguments. Prof. Murray has been offered, and has availed himself of, the opportunity of replying forthwith, rather than waiting till the December issue of HEADWAY appears. The two letters are as follows:—

SIR,—In your article on "Arbitration" in the November HEADWAY, you quote part of a published letter from Mr. Chamberlain, giving reasons why neither this Government nor its predecessors has surrendered the option under Article 15 of the Covenant, to choose, on occasion, to go to the Council of the League instead of to the Permanent Court of International Justice for settlement of its justiciable disputes with other States.

You quote also a statement by the Chairman of the League of Nations Union, criticising Mr. Chamberlain's arguments. I confess that I have read this with some astonishment, for it seems to me that it could be so interpreted as to contain implications against the good faith of successive British Governments, which Prof. Murray cannot have meant to convey.

It is, of course, a fact that the League Council, not being a judicial body, can take into consideration the political factors which may underlie any dispute, and also the political results that may spring from any particular settlement of it. This may explain why Mr. Chamberlain says that some disputes which might be taken to the Court are nevertheless "of such a nature that they may be more suitable for settlement by the procedure of the Council than by the decision of the Court."

Prof. Murray's paraphrase of this argument gives it so different a meaning that there is little trace of the original spirit left: "Mr. Chamberlain," he says, "argues that it may sometimes be more convenient to the British Government to evade a strictly legal decision and take the dispute to the Council." Prof. Murray goes on to point out the "convenience" of this course for a Great Power who is a Permanent Member of the Council. He alludes to the danger of "intimidation and chicanery" to which a small State may be exposed in its disputes with a great one. He also bids us remember that the influence of Britain on the Council is so great that she could probably reduce an adverse report to nullity.

However this may be, I cannot see in Mr. Chamberlain's letter any evidence that he or his predecessors have been actuated by the considerations of power and convenience that seem dominant to Prof. Murray. Rightly or wrongly, the Foreign Secretary keeps the right of choice deliberately given to every State by the Covenant, declaring that the British Government believes disputes are thus more likely to be peacefully settled. There is surely nothing in the British record with regard to arbitrations in the past to justify any suggestion of less honourable motives behind this policy.

A UNION MEMBER.

SIR,—I am extremely sorry that my statement, as abstracted in HEADWAY, should have left such an unfortunate impression on a Member of the Union. Nothing could be further from my mind than to imagine that either the Foreign Office or Mr. Chamberlain was actuated by any sinister motive in their refusal to accept the Compulsory Jurisdiction of the Court in legal disputes. At the same time I do think that the refusal is a false step, and one which will give rise to misunderstandings.

It is not a question of good faith. It is all a question of establishing confidence. If we sign the Optional Clause weaker nations will know that we are always ready to accept a legal decision on a legal dispute. If we refuse to sign they will not know it. I fully hope that, when the time came, we would submit to the law quite as readily as

other nations. But, as a matter of fact, we are deliberately keeping our hands free to choose between the law and some other form of "peaceful settlement." I do not say, or think, that we intend to act as Italy did over the Corfu question, in avoiding reference to the Court, and preferring the Ambassadors to the Council as an organ of "peaceful settlement"; but we are keeping ourselves free to act in that way if we like. And that is not the way to inspire confidence.

I realise that, from a strictly professional point of view, the Foreign Office may be perfectly right. It may consider itself the business adviser of the British Government, bound simply to advise as to "British interests," in the obvious and narrow sense of that term. If consulted on the question of the Optional Clause, it may reasonably say—as, in fact, it does say—"A strong Power in dispute or negotiation with a weak Power has certain advantages; to sign the Optional Clause is, in a certain class of disputes, to deprive Great Britain of these advantages. Therefore, it is contrary to British interests to sign the Clause."

The general voice of the weaker nations would answer: "These advantages—prestige, influence, power of intimidation and the like—are only too real. We know them well. They are all unfair advantages, and they always tend to prevent our obtaining justice in disputes with any stronger nation."

This I am sure they would say. And I hope they would go on to add: "We are troubled at this refusal of Great Britain, and yet not absolutely discouraged. For, when twenty-three nations have already agreed to accept the reign of law in the sphere of law, and when there are seventeen separate arbitration treaties to the same effect signed by Powers such as France and Belgium and Germany, we cannot believe that a Power like Great Britain and a Foreign Minister like Mr. Chamberlain will permanently continue outside the general concord—thoroughly honest, no doubt, both in act and in intention, but jealously retaining, as we think, the right to use unfair advantages if they wish."

GILBERT MURRAY.

GENEVA: AN INDIAN VIEW

IN an article in the current number of the "Asiatic Review," there appears an interesting article by the Maharajah of Patiala on the League of Nations. The Maharajah was, of course, one of the Indian delegates at the recent Assembly, and his impressions of Geneva are of considerable interest. He was struck, first of all, with the value of the personal contacts established. "As it seems to me," he writes, "it is no small thing to call together in a single hall the members who, by their official position and the power which it has placed in their hands, are authorised to speak for almost half the world. The mere fact that they meet, talk, walk and dine together cannot but encourage harmony, smooth over difficult questions and conduce to friendly arrangements."

The Maharajah's second impression was based on the fact that "the League performs for public opinion the task which a lens performs for light. It receives it, transmits, it and concentrates it upon the point where it produces the maximum effect." He finds the balance between the Great Powers and the small to be well sustained, and repudiates the idea that the Great Powers rig everything from behind the scenes, and that the small States are "mere puppets dancing at the bidding of a hidden hand." At the same time the Indian prince, impressed as he is by the enthusiasm that prevails in the Assembly, is conscious of "the risk that it may be stampeded into unreflecting idealism, and thus commit itself to views or programmes of a character likely to affect deleteriously its own influence and reputation." He finds a corrective to this, however, in the work of the committees, on whose value he lays great emphasis, mentioning that in regard to two matters of considerable importance to India he found it more effective to maintain his case in committee (which he did successfully) than to carry it straight to the Assembly platform, where compromises are less easily reached.

THE EFFECT OF THE O.T.C.

By the Rev. HON. EDWARD LYTTLETON, D.D., late Headmaster of Eton.

WITH Locarno in our minds and the prospects of the Germans joining the League of Nations, and also our own dealing with Armistice Day, it seems natural enough that there should be a fairly widespread misgiving as to the effect of Cadet Corps in our larger schools. Are not boys trained to shoot straight, not primarily to develop a faculty, but to prepare to kill as many enemies as possible in case of war? Is not this simply a form of piling up armaments, which, like all other such forms, inevitably bring war nearer to us? And does it not plant a reliance on brute force in the susceptible hearts of the adolescent citizen which will bear evil fruit hereafter?

Could anything savour of common-sense more palpably than this reasoning? Often I have heard it reiterated in tones of deep conviction generally by women keenly set on peace. Among the other sex are some who agree with the diagnosis of the effect of the Cadet Corps, but support the movement all the more energetically on that account: but furtively, with no waving of banners.

Now all this talk trickles or bubbles out of our lips owing to a deep-seated delusion about boys. It is commonly believed that they are different from men. They are not. They are remarkably like men, and are always striving to be still more like than they are; and moreover, for this very reason, among others, they are very unlike each other. So much of generalization is indisputable. Hence we have to ask if adult Englishmen habitually harbour opinions which would seem to be the logical outcome of the influence of their surroundings, and at once we recognize that they do not. England was always a pacific country, anyhow since the time of Henry V, and never was more pacific than she is now. Yet the maintenance of this pacific temper, or perhaps we should say its growth, synchronizes with an enormous development of militarism in our surroundings. We are really a military and naval people now, paying, cheerfully on the whole, for a vast paraphernalia which has no meaning whatever except as a preparation for fighting. Meanwhile we abominate war with a livelier loathing than we have ever betrayed for anybody or anything since time began. It matters nothing what have been the reasons: the fact is glaringly evident that adult Englishmen are possessed by strong emotions, which are often the very contrary of those which are suggested by their environment; or by common talk of others; or even by their own utterances. If this is so, it is absurd to suppose that our boys will behave in a clean contrary fashion.

Eton and Norman Angell

Consider a fact or two. Anyone unacquainted with schoolboys would be likely to suppose that the elder boys at such a school as Eton would give evidence about 1912 of a bellicose spirit fostered by the very remarkable growth of the Cadet Corps for more than 30 years previously. By 1912 it had reached a grand number, was favoured by public opinion and by the school arrangements; also it was consecrated to real hard work, having discarded all the old notion of a dull and rather silly pastime varied by occasional field-days which were treated as picnics. Just about that time Norman Angell's book "The Great Illusion," made a considerable stir. The elder boys at Eton competed for the Essay Prize, the book being the subject. Twenty-eight competitors sent in long and exhaustive lucubrations after reading the volume and being completely bowled over by Mr. Angell's arguments. They were

markedly pacific to a man. It must be remembered that this took place just when the influence of the O.T.C. was at its height.

A parallel illustration is afforded by the institution of the Eton Beagles. At intervals during the last 40 years sundry soft-hearted men and women have added largely to the Headmaster's correspondence by urging him to put a stop on this sport without delay, on the ground that it was intolerable to think of youngsters being encouraged to be cruel at the most impressionable age. (I must remark in passing that from various quarters I used to get urgent letters harping on various ages in young lives from 1 to 25 as being the climax of impressionability. Some might infer from this fact that all these years are equally malleable: and that the youth of England can be pulled in any direction their elders please. It will be a black day for our country if ever this should prove true of English boys over 13 years of age!) Well, let it be carefully noted that just during the decades when beagle hunting was most encouraged a strong humanitarian temper developed among the boys; their old attitude of indifference or cruelty to animal suffering having wholly passed away. I cannot here give proofs of this assertion beyond that a similar revolution in sentiment is noticeable between 1820 and 1880 among adults. But during those years the malign influence of fox-hunting, etc., etc., was at its height.

Thinking Through Doing

It is, in short, very easy for onlookers to talk wisely about the effect of environment on character, but the subject is profoundly obscure. One generalization seems sound. If an employment is in itself wholesome, no matter what its ostensible significance may be, it is most unlikely that it can foster anything so mad and diabolical as a predisposition to warfare.

Hence we have to ask how far the institution of Cadet Corps in the large boarding schools has worked beneficially; not forgetting that the evidence so far given in respect of militarism will still be considered doubtful by some; presumably those sentiments tend to be too strong for their judgment. Leaving the question of militarism on one side, what has been the educational effect of the O.T.C.? Without any hesitation whatever I assert that it has been good in proportion as it has met with encouragement and co-operation from the authorities. It trains young fellows to think through doing, and it is only a small minority who can learn to think in any other way. It has been a pitiable blunder in our school training that we have egregiously over-rated the sharpening of the logical analytic training given by Arithmetic and Grammar, while we have ignored the demand of all healthy children for knowledge of their fellow-creatures in their habits, their hopes and their antecedents; and also for knowledge of the wondrous Universe we dwell in. That omission has rendered many hours of class teaching a waste of time, so that the objection to military training that it interferes with class teaching, besides being very doubtful as to fact, is irrelevant. No boy however bookishly inclined can get anything but good from a field-day or even from the ordinary drill in the Sandhurst gymnasium. Observation, alertness, responsibility for quick decision and quick inference, above all obedience, besides all the splendid physical effects, these are some of the desirable features of our O.T.C. work; and if anybody supposes that a very slight curtailing of our class-teaching is a serious objection he knows very little either of the unskilfulness of the latter or of the O.T.C. I am quite confident that the military training is entirely free from the taint of militarism, and that in its positive influence it is one of the most wholesome agencies in education that has yet been devised.

THE TANGIER REFUGEES

CAN THE DISTRESS IN MOROCCO BE RELIEVED?

By SIR CHARLES HOBHOUSE

Sir Charles Hobhouse, at the request of the L.N.U. Executive, has recently visited Morocco in company with Miss Ruth Fry, of the Society of Friends' Council of International Service. In the following article he indicates the situation of the refugees in Tangier, and the steps that may be taken to succour them.

THE military and hygienic value of Tangier are not generally known, and are not essential to this article. It may, however, be proper to say that in the days of present artillery range, the possessors of Tangier could deny the entrance, or the exit, of the Mediterranean to any naval force, and that its position at the junction of the Atlantic and Mediterranean endows it with an equable climate unrivalled in Northern Africa. For fifty years, thanks to these qualities, it was a bone of contention between England, France and Spain, but since 1904, when an arrangement was come to between these countries, the city and a small surrounding district have been transferred to an international zone. Since 1924 an international administration has functioned in the city and territory.

A few words seem also to be necessary to explain why fighting in the Riff began, how long it has continued, and why refuge was sought and found at Tangier. The highland territory of the Riff is part of the country assigned to Spain on the virtual partition of the country in 1904. The Riff has always been independent in fact, though generally in theory subordinate to the Emperor of Morocco. Morocco was frequently in fact, and sometimes in theory, at war with Spain. So when in 1906 Spain set out to conquer the Riff she ought to have known the hornet's nest she was putting her hand into. The result for Spain of almost incessant fighting for eighteen years with alternate advance and retreat, victory and defeat, was a semi-fortified line not far from the sea.

Enter the French

Two years ago events in Eastern and Southern Morocco brought the French to the edge of the Riff. An undefined boundary permitted or required an advance into the Riff proper, and this was followed by a campaign in which the French were driven back with heavy losses. Now the Riffis are an aggregation of hill tribes, distinct and independent of each other, but welded for the time being by the necessities of the struggle for independence, and by the genius of Abd-el-Krim, into a practically homogeneous army. Their country is a mountain some twenty miles square, inhabited by the Riffis and their fellows, the Jebalas, and merging into plateaus held by tribes of similar character and origin. Of these latter some were friendly, some hostile to the national cause or leader. One thing, however, every tribe, every village had in common. This was the certainty that sooner or later, the tide of war would sweep across it, and the weaker and older men would be left houseless and landless, and the women and children would be homeless and foodless widows and orphans. In such event their one sure refuge was the international zone of Tangier. Here they were safe from pursuit by Riff, Spaniard or French, and if food was lacking they could at least die in peace.

Such knowledge and reasoning drove them at the commencement of last year in considerable numbers to the walls of the city, and here they were received with that hospitality which is enjoined on all Moslems to their co-religionists. But the trade of Tangier is mainly with the hinterland, and from this the city was nearly entirely cut off, partly by the disturbed and unsafe and uncultivated state of the inland territory, and partly by the deliberate policy of the French and Spaniards, which diverts trade to their own coast towns.

Thus the local and indigenous sources of relief were soon dried up, and the unhappy refugees were thrown on the charity of the Christian population of the city. Owing to the change in the diplomatic status of the town, that population was neither so numerous nor so affluent as it had been. The zeal and knowledge of Miss Drummond Hay, daughter of the well-known British Consul-General, accomplished the task of maintaining these waifs until she had, in June, to go to England, when the work fell into the capable hands of Mr. Elson, a Canadian settled in Tangier as a missionary for many years, and liked and respected by everyone. For the work he did the funds were mostly found by the British Red Crescent Society, under the ægis of Mr. Ameer Ali.

Flour for the Week

Such had been the history, and such was the condition of the refugees when Miss Fry and I landed in August. By that time their numbers had reached some 6,000, of whom 2,000 were men, mostly old and infirm, and some 4,000 women and children. The men, except those actually ill, were not considered as eligible for relief, which could not, indeed, be provided for more than half the women and the children. As most of the refugees were related by blood, and all by religion, to the Moors living in the international zone, the latter provided shelter of a sort in the villages of the zone, and this arrangement dispensed with the necessity of providing, at least in the spring and summer months, overhead shelter. Similarly, the summer heat rendered sufficient the scanty rags with which alone most of the refugees were partially covered. Notwithstanding the saving in expense effected in these two items, the funds available only provided a ration of 4 lb. of flour a week as a maximum allowance to a woman with a family. A grown girl, or woman with but one child, got about 3 lb., or even less.

The distribution of food took place twice a week in a garden about two miles from the city, and here came soon after dawn the refugees from the villages where during the rest of the week they sheltered. The average attendance was 900-1,000, each of whom received a ticket entitling the bearer to relief once a week. Much care had to be taken that the same person did not secure a ticket for the second distribution as well, but the natives helping Mr. Elson were wonderfully quick at detecting any attempt to obtain a second ration, and probably but few escaped scrutiny or detection. Miss Fry and I had both seen famine in Russia and India respectively, and we were agreed that, though just previous to our visit hunger typhus had been prevalent and fatal, the refugees were suffering from privation and ill feeding rather than from actual famine. But we were also agreed that only the relief food stood between these miserables and famine, and that if funds failed, as they threatened to do, the end could not be far distant.

Let me sum up the position as it presents itself to me. Until England, France and Spain partitioned Morocco, and subsequently obtained European approval of the division, hunger and want was neither general nor permanent amongst the Moorish tribes. To-day over some 20,000 square miles of Morocco fighting and privation and destruction is practically permanent and general. The refugees are the visible material result. They have been kept alive by the charity of local and other Moslems, supplemented by a certain amount of Christian assist-

ance. But these funds are small, inadequate and near the point of exhaustion. The French Government are not indisposed to help if England and Spain will cooperate. Readers of HEADWAY might spare perhaps, something towards a fund for relief,* but they may also help to move our Government to relieve misfortune, for which predecessors of theirs have considerable responsibility.

THE MOSUL RULING

As everyone knows, the decision the League Council was to have taken in September regarding the northern frontier of Iraq—to give the Mosul controversy its accurate description—had to be deferred because there was a doubt as to the precise procedure the Council ought to follow. The actual phrase used in the Treaty of Lausanne spoke of the dispute between Great Britain and Turkey as being simply "referred to the Council of the League of Nations," not submitted to it under any particular article of the Covenant. The Turks having withdrawn their original pledge to accept whatever verdict the Council might give, and shown signs of an intention to challenge its jurisdiction, it became essential to get an authoritative ruling from the Permanent Court of International Justice as to the Council's precise position. Mr. Amery, the British representative on the Council concurred in the general view that such a ruling was to be desired.

Accordingly, the Council, at the end of September, put two questions to the Court:—

1. Was the Council's decision to be an arbitral award, a recommendation or simple mediation?
2. Must the decision be unanimous, and might the two interested parties vote?

The Court met at The Hague to consider the matter in the latter part of October, the Attorney-General, Sir Douglas Hogg, and Sir Cecil Hurst, of the Foreign Office, being in charge of the British case. On November 21 it gave its decision, at a public session, to the effect that:

1. The Council's decision is binding and final.
2. It must be given by the unanimous vote of all members of the Council other than the two interested parties.

This ruling completely clears the ground, the latter part of it disposing entirely of the Turkish arguments based on Lord Curzon's inaccurate statement at Lausanne, that the votes of the interested parties would be counted in reckoning unanimity. The Council will now, no doubt, give its final ruling on the main issue at its December meeting, for there should be no serious difficulty in reaching a unanimous decision.

THE CECIL PEACE PRIZE

LAST year Viscount Cecil received the first award of the American Woodrow Wilson Foundation (£5,000) in recognition of his work for international peace. He has now generously decided to devote part of the award to founding a peace prize of £100 which will be offered yearly for an essay on some subject connected with the maintenance of international peace, and having some bearing on the principles or work of the League of Nations. It is open to all students, without distinction of sex or nationality, of any university or university college in Great Britain or Northern Ireland who have not yet taken their degree or attained the age of 25 years. The subject for the year 1926 is: "In what direction would you wish to see the League of Nations develop?" The essay may be sent in to the

*Gifts of money and also of clothing should be sent to the Society of Friends' Council of International Service, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

Secretary, Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 50, Russell Square, London, W.C.1, so as to arrive on or before November 1, 1926. Each essay, which should be typewritten, must be headed with a motto and accompanied by a sealed envelope having the motto outside, and the name and address and the university or college of the candidate inside, together with a note of his university standing. There is no limit of length prescribed, but it is suggested that a length of 10,000 or 12,000 words would generally be sufficient.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE thirty-seventh session of the League Council will open at Geneva on December 7, almost immediately after the signing of the Locarno Treaties. It promises to be one of the most momentous sessions ever held by the Council. The agenda is a very heavy one and deals with such a variety of subjects that, in addition to the ten States represented on the Council, the delegates of another dozen nations will be in attendance.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, the main interest will be concentrated on the Mosul dispute, on which the Council, now that the legal points referred to the Court have been cleared out of the way, can proceed to give its final decision.

A second and very important political question is the final settlement of the recent frontier dispute between Greece and Bulgaria. The Council will have before it the report of the special Commission which it sent, under the presidency of Sir Horace Rumbold, to the scene of action to inquire into the responsibilities of the affair, and to assess, if necessary, any indemnities or reparations. A section of the report likely to be of special interest will discuss measures whereby in future such incidents might be avoided.

It is possible that the next Council meeting may result in a move towards the solution of the League's greatest problem, the reduction of armaments. The Sixth Assembly asked the Council to survey the ground for the calling of a world conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments. In order that the full Council may have data to work on, a sub-committee of the Council, which will have the advice of experts from other member-States of the League, will meet some days before December 7 to make preparatory inquiries. One of the first points to be decided is whether the proposed League Disarmament Conference will deal with naval as well as land and air armaments or only with the two latter. The difficulty is, of course, America's attitude. It would be worse than useless to discuss naval armaments at Geneva if Washington was not represented.

Another legacy bequeathed to the Council by the last Assembly is the question of calling a world Economic Conference. The idea was launched at Geneva last September by M. Loucheur, and its advent was rather in the nature of a bombshell. The Council, with the help of the experts of the League Secretariat, is now going to study the various schemes, in particular that of the French Government, and will almost certainly decide on the holding of such a Conference.

These are the outstanding items on the agenda, but they do not exhaust the interesting subjects down for discussion. Although the League control of Austria's finances is almost at an end, there are some questions that remain to be settled. The evergreen question of minorities figures once again on the agenda, and the Council is to discuss the situation of the Jews in Hungary and the restitution to the Armenian refugees by Turkey of their deposits in foreign banks in Smyrna. Another of the Council's tasks will be to appoint a new High Commissioner for Danzig, as the present one, Mr. M. S. MacDonnell, completes his term of office next February.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

IX—GREAT BRITAIN, CHINA AND OPIUM

By CLINTON FIENNES.

OPIUM is a drug made from the juice of the poppy. Used in small quantities under doctor's orders it can be the basis for most valuable medicines—notably morphia, the great deadener of pain. But opium used in other forms and on a large scale can be as harmful as alcohol used in the same way. And unfortunately opium is so used by millions of people in Asia and by tens of thousands in Europe and America. In Asia it is smoked. In Europe and America it is taken in the form of a prepared drug, such as morphine or heroin. So far as the numbers of opium victims go the opium-smokers form by far the larger problem, for in most European countries and in the United States the law is now sufficiently strong to keep drug abuses fairly well in check.

In the matter of opium-smoking China is the great problem. Though opium is grown largely in Turkey and Persia and India it is smoked very little, if at all, in those countries, almost the whole of the crop (except in India) being exported. In China smoking, which was prevalent throughout the Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, was almost unknown a hundred years ago. A little poppy was grown, chiefly for medicinal purposes, but it was after 1800 that opium began to be forced into China by European merchants. The Dutch and Spanish seem to have been the first to trade in opium, but the East India Company (British) soon took a hand. In the year 1800 the Chinese Emperor Kia-king declared it illegal either to import opium or to grow it in China, but no one paid any serious attention to his edict, and the trade went on steadily increasing.

These conditions continued till about 1834, when Great Britain, which did more general trade than any other nation with China, sent Lord Napier to Peking to try and arrange for the clearing away of obstacles to commerce. He, however, died, and in the time of his successor, a Captain Eliot, China suddenly decided to enforce her regulations against opium. A large consignment of opium was seized from foreign merchants, the British agent acquiescing. Further trade difficulties, however, arose, and war broke out. From Great Britain's point of view, it was a trade war, not specially an opium war (though it has since come to bear that name), and so authoritative and impartial an observer as John Quincy Adams, a former President of the United States, declared that opium was a mere incident in the dispute. The treaty which followed the war said nothing about opium, and its importation into China remained illegal, though smuggling continued on a large scale.

The Second Opium War (so-called) was the result of an incident between Chinese vessels and a British sloop, and had nothing particular to do with opium. Neither did the treaty that followed deal directly with opium prohibition, but one part of it provided for the appointment of a commission to revise the whole Chinese customs tariff. The commission when it met fixed a duty on opium at a certain figure, which meant, of course, that on payment of the duty opium could be imported. In that way the prohibition on import was indirectly removed, and since it was out of the question to allow foreigners to send opium into China and not allow Chinese to grow it, all restrictions on production and consumption disappeared.

That state of things lasted till about 1905, when a powerful opium reform movement, based largely on the conviction that China could never be really efficient so long as her vitality was sapped by opium-smoking, began to make itself felt. That raised at once the

problem of stopping opium imports, for you could not suppress growth inside China so long as opium was coming in from outside. The question accordingly arose whether opium imports could be stopped without risking grave trouble with the country principally concerned—India. India's point of view on the matter was reasonable enough. There would, she argued, be no advantage to China, and considerable disadvantage to herself, if the result of her decision to stop sending opium to China was simply to make the Chinese people smoke Chinese opium instead of Indian. Out of discussions on these lines there emerged an agreement very creditable to both sides. India undertook to reduce her shipments of opium to China by 10 per cent. every year, provided China would reduce her own production of opium at the same rate. The result of that arrangement, if both pledges were duly carried out, would be that after ten years—that is by 1917—no Indian opium would be going into China, and opium production inside China itself would have ceased altogether.

Both pledges were in fact carried out. More, indeed, was done than had been promised, for by 1913 China had practically suppressed opium production altogether, and India, gratuitously agreed from that moment (1913) to stop it altogether. The actual loss to the Indian Treasury as a result of the loss of the opium trade was about £4,000,000 a year, but in addition to that a heavy loss, of course, fell on the growers as well. In a few years China was practically free of the opium vice, but political disorders broke out in 1918, and the Central Government at Peking soon became powerless to enforce the prohibition decrees it had issued. Everywhere poppy-growing began again, many of the provincial governors actually encouraging it, because it enabled the growers to pay heavy taxes into the provincial treasuries. By 1925 seventeen out of the eighteen provinces were growing poppy.

China was not the only sufferer from this, for large quantities of Chinese opium were being smuggled into Indo-China, the Straits Settlements and other European Possessions in the Far East. That, indeed, was the problem that faced the Opium Conferences called by the League of Nations in 1924. At the first of the two conferences the question of stopping opium-smoking in the Far East was considered, and every representative of a Far Eastern State where smoking continues insisted that it was impossible to stamp it out so long as smuggled opium from China was pouring across their frontiers. As for China itself, no improvement in the opium situation could be hoped for till the political situation was stabilised, and of that there is no sign whatever at present.

All that the First Opium Conference felt able to do under the circumstances was to agree on a series of regulations designed to give governments a slightly more effective control over the opium evil in their territories and to decide that, as soon as "the poppy-growing countries" (meaning China) had so far regained control over production as to remove the danger of smuggling the consuming countries in the East should begin reducing consumption in such a way as to end it altogether in fifteen years at the outside. A League Commission was to determine when the danger of smuggling out of a poppy-growing country was ended.

Such, in brief, is the nature of the British Empire's relations with China over opium. Now the matter is on a new basis, for both countries are acting as members, and within the framework, of the League of Nations.



November, 1925.

THE seventh session of the Mandates Commission aroused an unusual amount of interest owing to the little war going on in one of the mandated areas (Syria) and the uncertain position in another (Iraq). In both cases the Mandates Commission decided to postpone consideration of the question. In the case of Iraq it did so in pursuance of a proposal made by the British Government, which pointed out that so long as there was a frontier dispute about one quarter of the whole mandated area (namely, about the Vilayet of Mosul) it was difficult to examine the way in which this area was being administered. The Commission adopted the view that since the dispute was *sub judice* before the Council of the League, since its effects were being felt throughout the territory and among all the inhabitants, and since the Commission did not wish to appear to anticipate a decision which must be rendered in entire independence and impartiality by the League, it would not examine the report concerning Iraq until these obstacles had been removed.

The League and Syria

In the case of Syria the Commission decided to hold an extraordinary session in February, on the promise of the French Government to submit a report on the present situation not later than January. This decision was reached only after considerable discussion and with full knowledge of the kind of criticism which has since been actually made. The matter is worth dwelling upon, for it aptly illustrates the nature and limitations of the mandates system. The Mandates Commission has no kind of executive power; it cannot compel or order a mandatory State to do anything. It is merely an advisory Commission to the Council, and exists to inform the Council of the League whether the mandatory Powers are discharging their trust in accordance with Article XXII of the Covenant. Most of the mandatory Powers are themselves members of the Council, and the whole procedure merely serves to exert moral pressure by mobilising public opinion both within and without the mandatory States. In the case of any disturbance in a mandated area, such as, for instance, the so-called Bondelswart rebellion and the present miniature war in Syria, all the Mandates Commission can do is to call for full information, and then, after digesting this information, to express an opinion to the Council on the way in which the mandatory Power has been observing Article XXII of the Covenant, by which it is bound. The Assembly may then also, if it sees fit, discuss the matter in connexion with the report on the work of the Council during the preceding year.

A Coming Enquiry

It is difficult to obtain a report on a situation such as that in Syria without a little delay. Moreover unless France proposes to abandon her mandate under armed pressure from the inhabitants, a policy which has nothing to do with the fulfilment of the mandate under Article XXII of the Covenant, and is consequently beyond the competence of the Commission, and which in any case would be obviously disastrous, the one thing to do at present is to restore order in the disaffected area. The Mandates Commission is not competent either constitutionally or practically to help in this task. But the moment order has been more or less restored the

mandatory Power will have to appear before the Commission to give full explanations and submit to a searching inquiry as to just how and why the rebellion occurred and what measures the mandatory Power proposes to adopt for discharging its trust in future. There has obviously been something wrong with French policy in Syria to lead to this position, but the time to cross-examine the French Government on the point is not while they have their hands full with the rebellion. That time will come, however, and the record of the Mandates Commission shows that the result will be a real probing of the situation, and not a mere white-washing performance.

The December Council

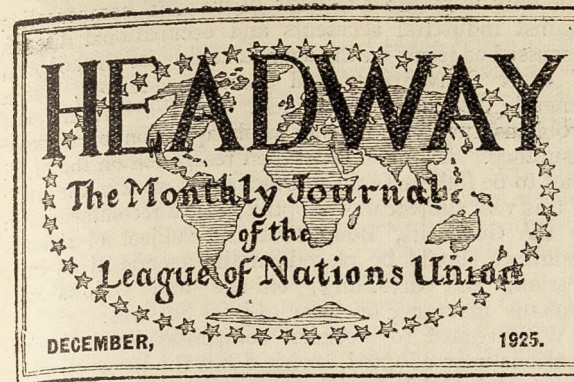
Preparations for the Council meeting on December 7 are already in full swing. This meeting will have before it the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court on the Council's competence in the Mosul question, and will then presumably go ahead with the question itself. The report of the Committee sent to investigate the relations between Greece and Bulgaria in connexion with the recent *fracas* should also be of interest.

The French Government's proposals concerning the Economic Conference suggested by the last Assembly will be discussed by the Council, and it will probably be decided to set up a preparatory committee composed of representatives of the economic, financial and transit organisations of the International Labour Office, of the International Chamber of Commerce, and possibly of the International Co-operative Alliance, and the Federation of Trade Unions. There will also be room for a few "private members" on the committee, to allow of German and American representation. The Committee of the Council will make a preliminary study of the question of preparations for a disarmament conference, to be convened when the Council is satisfied that a sufficient degree of "security" has been attained, and will also consider the machinery for making these preparations.

A Minority Policy

Before I close the Congress should be mentioned that was held on October 14, 15 and 16 in Geneva by the representatives of some 30,000,000 organized minorities drawn from every country in Central, East and Southern Europe (except Switzerland). There were several remarkable points about this Congress, namely, (1) that the minorities themselves have taken the initiative in hammering out a constructive policy based on the League and the minorities treaties; (2) that this policy gives up Irredentism and is directed to securing full cultural, economic, and, where possible, political autonomy within the existing frontiers of Europe. The predominant view at this Congress was that the problem of mixed populations could never be solved by re-drawing frontier lines, since it was geographically and economically impossible to realise the ideal of the homogeneous nation-state in modern Europe. The problem could be overcome only by policies of tolerance and autonomy and by international co-operation. Certainly Poles, Germans, Czechs and Slovaks, Jews, Hungarians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Danes, Lithuanians and others from what are generally considered mutually hostile political camps managed to work together harmoniously; (3) moreover, an Executive Committee was appointed, a permanent office is being set up and provision made for recurring conferences, so that this congress is only the beginning of a big and permanent movement which may, if wisely handled and properly encouraged, go a long way to solving the problem of Irredentism in Europe.

It is possible that events in Germany may move fast enough for the Council to discuss the question of a special Assembly, but this does not at the moment seem likely. A special Council a month later to discuss a special Assembly in its turn seems more probable.



AFTER LOCARNO

FAILING some unforeseen contingency, the series of agreements initialled at Locarno on October 16 will be formally signed in London on the day on which this issue of HEADWAY is due to appear. From what we said last month as to the value both of the actual Locarno accords and of the spirit which made their conclusion possible, there is nothing to subtract. Subjected as the agreements have been to detailed criticism from every quarter and in every country, they have stood the test without exposing to the handful of their opponents any weakness important enough to provide basis for a serious attack. That the Nationalists in Germany should be against the agreements is almost in itself a recommendation to men of moderation and agreement in Germany itself as in other countries. So far as the accords have been justly criticised in Great Britain, it is on the ground that they go not quite far enough, not that they go too far. Germany, France and Belgium have all concluded arbitration treaties under which they agree to accept the peaceful settlement of every kind of dispute, with no reservation of matters of vital interest or national honour. This country has concluded no arbitration treaties and its reservations on vital interest and national honour it still resolutely maintains. That fact must not go unobserved while the Locarno treaties are under discussion. There is no need to enter into it more deeply here beyond observing that it is a little perplexing to find British statesmen eulogising the French and German Governments for taking a step the British Government declines to take itself.

But the Locarno agreements, as Mr. Austen Chamberlain has insisted in almost every speech he has delivered on the subject, are no more than a beginning. They cover only a certain region of Europe, extensive though that region is. They aim, moreover, only at creating security and leave to another body at a later date the task of proceeding from the second to the third term of the Geneva trilogy, and on security basing a definite scheme of disarmament. That is the immediate business that faces the League of Nations now. Dates in this connection have fallen fortunately. The Sixth Assembly in September decided to set on foot preliminary studies into methods of disarmament against the day when a sufficient degree of security should have been achieved to make disarmament a practical proposition. The Locarno Conference in September, by carrying through the arbitration treaties and the pact of guarantee, did, according to the express declaration of its signatories in the final protocol of the conference,

so far establish security as to hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article VIII of the Covenant. The signatories, moreover, pledge themselves to endeavour to carry through to a successful issue and embody in a general agreement the endeavours in the field of disarmament already initiated by the League.

The date for the signature of the Locarno agreements is December 1, the date for the meeting of the League Council's Committee on Armaments, December 3, and the date of the meeting of the Council itself December 7. Everything, therefore, is in train for unhindered progress in the field of actually effecting a reduction of the armies and navies of the world. A fear was expressed at Geneva in September lest the attainment of security and the consequent creation of a new spirit in Europe should find the League unprepared with any Disarmament plan. That has very nearly happened. If the Council and the various Committees created for this purpose procrastinate it will happen yet. It is no longer a question of disarmament in the comparatively distant future. The conclusion of the Locarno agreements and the entry of Germany into the League have not only made a limitation of armaments possible but have left the League without defence or excuse if it fails to achieve such limitation. That does not mean, of course, that a Disarmament Conference can be held next month. Possibly it cannot even be held next year, for the work of preparation will be extensive and delicate, but that work must be set in hand forthwith. No delays beyond what the actual nature of the question to be handled necessitate can be countenanced. The League has been discussing disarmament long enough. Hitherto there have been good reasons why no practical action could be taken. Henceforth, to all appearance, there are none—for it cannot be seriously contemplated that the United States would adopt an attitude of uncompromising aloofness on matters where her co-operation would be essential. So far as our own country is concerned, the fact that Lord Cecil is to be the British representative on the Council Committee on Disarmament is of the best possible augury.

In one department of the field of armaments indeed the question has become more immediate than in any other. The demand in this country for the abolition of submarines should not be slackened till the whole question has been dealt with at Geneva. What the whole question entails is a matter for experts in the first instance to suggest, though it must be for laymen in the last instance to determine. Certainly it means more than the mere elimination of submarines. Though Great Britain might have good reason to be content with that, there is no possibility whatever of other States agreeing to it. The submarine means more to them than it does to us, and if they are to surrender an arm on which they set considerable value this country will have to be ready to reply with a sacrifice represented by the drastic limitation of other types of vessel than submarines. Here again, it may be repeated, dates fall opportunely. The renewed demand for the abolition of the submarine—a demand with which the United States of America identifies itself—gained expression just a fortnight before the League Council Disarmament Committee was due to meet. It is earnestly to be hoped that the representatives of Great Britain on that Committee and on the Council will see to it that the submarine question is given a foremost place among the subjects to be immediately discussed.

A SECURITY PACT FOR THE WORKERS

THE word "security" has already a definite place in the language of post-war diplomacy, and it bids fair to become as important a feature in the world of industry to-day. The worker demands freedom from the fear of destitution in case of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age, and the principle of insurance against these risks is rapidly spreading from State to State.

Apart from its general interest in workers' insurance, the International Labour Organisation has a definite duty to perform in this field, for the Peace Treaty definitely lays upon it the duty of "the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment and provision for old age."

Further, the elimination of unfair competition in the world markets depends not only on equivalent standards of working hours and conditions, but also on making the burdens of industry equivalent. That the establishment of a system of social insurance is a heavy charge to a State may be seen from the fact that Germany spends over 1,500 million marks a year in this direction and Great Britain over £130,000,000. The inequality of such a burden is certainly likely to press upon the State which has adopted social insurance when competing with the State which has neglected it. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the study of this subject is a paramount duty for the International Labour Organisation and its permanent office at Geneva.

During the first five annual Conferences, the International Labour Organisation touched the problem from various angles. Different aspects of unemployment maternity insurance were discussed at Washington in 1919, while at Geneva in 1921 States were recommended to extend maternity, sickness and other insurance systems to agricultural as well as industrial workers. The inclusion of foreign workers in accident compensation schemes was the principle of a Convention adopted at the Seventh Session of the Conference last May. Finally, an unemployment indemnity for shipwrecked seamen and the institution of a general system of unemployment insurance for seamen were provided for in Convention and a Recommendation adopted at Genoa in 1920.

There was, however, always the feeling that this tackling of the subject, almost at haphazard, in its individual aspects was not the most satisfactory solution. The problem of social insurance was recognised as one which should finally be approached with a comprehensive plan. The first step was therefore taken in this direction in the setting up of an International Correspondence Committee of experts on social insurance from all countries.

The next step was the publication of comprehensive reports on the various aspects of the subject. A great deal of time has been spent on producing these reports, involving as they do comparative analyses of the different national laws and regulations, but their issue marks an important milestone in the collection of information on such industrial problems. It is an unique effort in the production of comparative international information—an effort which would have been hardly possible in the days before the setting up of the International Labour Office as an official centre for the collection and distribution of information—and is essential for the adoption of world decisions on the comprehensive plan mentioned above. Different reports deal with unemployment, sickness, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases, together with a general study of the world problems of social insurance taken as a whole.

With this preparation, the Seventh Session of the Conference approached the question in a new spirit.

Not only were the questions of workers' compensation against industrial accidents and occupational diseases discussed as items on the agenda calling for the adoption of draft Conventions and Recommendations, but a general discussion was held on the international problems involved in the whole question of workers' insurance. A long and detailed resolution on the broad lines to be followed by the Office in its work in the study of this vast subject was adopted; also a recommendation to the Governing Body that the subject of sickness insurance should be placed on the agenda of an early Session, and invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance on those of later Sessions.

With regard to workers' compensation, draft Conventions were adopted, laying down the terms on which States should base their systems for compensation for personal injury due to industrial accidents and for incapacity arising out of those occupational diseases which were specified in the draft Convention. Recommendations were also adopted as to the minimum scale of workers' compensation, the jurisdiction in compensation disputes, and the addition of diseases to be covered by national legislation to those scheduled in the Convention.

Important progress has therefore been made in 1925. The task is a long one, but the foundations are solid and the results will be progressively valuable to humanity. It is difficult now to look back to the time—not very far distant—when the words "workers' insurance" were unknown to our statute book, and there will be the same feeling, in the future, when, thanks to the patient work of the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations, logical and comprehensive social insurance is a commonplace throughout the world.

A Joint Chamber in the Saar

A Chamber of Labour has lately been created in the Saar Valley, to advise the Governing Commission on all questions affecting the improvement of conditions of labour. Broadly speaking, it will deal with those matters which in a larger shape come under the purview of the International Labour Office, and its constitution also provides that decisions of the International Labour Conference shall be communicated to the Chamber, which will consider how far they are applicable in Saar territory. The Chamber consists of eighteen representatives of employers and eighteen of workers. The association thus established between the I.L.O. and the Saar is a fulfilment of the constantly-expressed desires of the Saar workers.

The 48-hour Week

Joint action by masters and men in favour of a 48-hour week is sufficiently rare to invest with a special interest the joint deputation of employers and employed who waited on the Minister of Labour, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, on November 10, to press on him the desirability of ratifying the Washington Hours' Convention. What was desired was ratification not by Great Britain alone, but by other competitive countries at the same time. The Minister of Labour, in his reply to the deputation, undertook to make further attempts to secure joint action by the countries concerned.

Insuring the Worker

It is impossible in this issue of HEADWAY to do more than mention the fact that the conference on Social Insurance organised by the League of Nations Union duly opened at the School of Economics on November 23 according to plan. Some of the highest authorities from Germany, Italy, Austria and elsewhere took part in the discussions, as well as those best qualified to speak in this country. The conference will be dealt with in the next issue of HEADWAY.

ON PASSPORTS

THE Transit Committee of the League recently set up a sub-committee to explore the possibilities of mitigating the passport and visa nuisance. The difficulties in the way are the control of immigration and the supervision of undesirable aliens. The total abolition of the passport would mean that the honest citizen travelling for business or pleasure would be on the same plane as the dark and sinister anarchist, whose sole luggage consists of an automatic pistol and a dozen sticks of dynamite. The task of the League is to find some half-way house which would allow the unhampered entry, for example, of the crowds of foreigners who wish to visit London to admire the Albert Memorial, and yet detain the individuals whose minds have such an anti-social warp that they wish to destroy that symbol of hereditary monarchy. Everyone who has travelled abroad since the war will wish all success to the Transit Committee. From the time the would-be traveller faces the flash-light photographer, who will in 30 minutes (guaranteed) produce a passport photograph calculated to make even a butcher scream, to the time when he lands at Dover at the end of his journey, he is haunted by the passport bogey. First, there is a form to be filled up, giving the birthplace of paternal grandfather, route to be followed if travelling in Asia, any change or changes of surname and so forth. Then a visit to a Mayor, Magistrate, Provost, Surgeon or Notary Public for certificate of fitness to hold a passport. Armed then with form, photographs, and seven and sixpence, the victim proceeds to the Foreign Office. After which the journey round London for visas begins.

It is an odd circumstance that Foreign Legations and Consulates always seem to close just as I arrive for a visa. Perhaps I am unlucky, or perhaps my appearance is such that a hasty glance through the letter-box convinces the clerk in charge that it would be safer to close the office until police assistance can arrive. Which ever it may be, the fact remains that it takes me about three visits before I hit the correct hour, and then I usually find I have left my passport at home or the Consulate wants six copies of my photograph, or I have forgotten to get the passport endorsed for the right country.

When every formality has been completed, when a barrister-at-law has certified that I have a mottled complexion and was born in the Sahara desert, when a photograph of a low, criminal type has been circulated among the Consulates, when every fee has been paid, then the troubles are only just beginning.

Every traveller knows the sudden clutch at the heart-strings when someone casually asks, "Have you got your passport?" the terror of losing the precious and accursed document. At certain frontiers an official collects all the passports and vanishes with them. He is absent apparently for hours. Time drags on. Perhaps he was a bogus official, and has stolen them. Perhaps he has forgotten about them. Perhaps we shall be stranded here for days, and there isn't a hotel, and it's pouring with rain and night coming on, and I can't speak the language, and my money is all in Ruritanian ducats instead of Paphlagonian moldores . . . the official always does come back, but the travellers are nervous wrecks by that time. There is one train journey in Europe—from Danzig to Kovno—where passports are examined six times in eight hours—by the Danzig police on leaving the Free City, by the Polish police on entering Poland, by the Polish police on leaving Poland, by the German police on entering East Prussia, by the German police on leaving East Prussia, by the Lithuanian police on entering Lithuania. Few there are who have undertaken this journey and arrived sane at the end.—X. Y. Z.

THE LEAGUE IN THE SCHOOLS

A STRIKING and highly important step, making for the spread of knowledge of the League among children, has just been taken by the Executive Committee of the Association of Committees to Local Education Authorities.

The Association itself represents Education Committees throughout England and Wales, and its initiation in the matter of League teaching will, therefore, have a direct and far-reaching influence. What the Executive Committee of the Association has done is to address a letter to all Education Authorities, recalling to them the declaration of Mr. Edward Wood, when President of the Board of Education, approving a resolution of the League Assembly urging that instruction on the existence and aims of the League be given to children in all States-members of the League.

So far, the letter continues, over 200 Education Authorities in England and Wales have arranged for such instruction to be regularly given, but about 100 have as yet taken no steps at all. It is the latter which are now appealed to particularly, though the stimulus applies no doubt to those who are doing well but might do better, as well as to those who are not doing at all. What is suggested is that each Authority should write to the several schools in its area, pointing out the importance of the subject and adding the following observations:—

(1) Lectures in school hours by regularly accredited representatives of the League of Nations Union will be permitted.

(2) Pamphlets on various aspects of League work, and the periodical entitled "League News," can be obtained from the L.N.U.

(3) The formation of junior branches of the Union in schools is to be encouraged.

Further suggestions include the organization of lectures for teachers, the addition of standard works on the League to teachers' libraries, the inclusion of L.N.U. lantern slides in the slide collection of the Education Authority and regular statements on the League on Armistice Day.

The whole movement initiated by the Executive Committee of the Association of Education Committees is most welcome and promises results of great value.

IN THE HOUSE

November 16.—THE PRIME MINISTER (to Sir Frederick Hall): "Article 6 of the decision of the Council of the League of Nations of September 27, 1924, provides that in the event of Iraq being admitted to the League of Nations the obligations assumed by His Majesty's Government will terminate. That is the juridical position as it stands to-day. I am unable to make any precise statement as to the date upon which Article 6 will be operative."

November 18.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Harmsworth): "The mandatory powers in Palestine, Syria and Iraq have obviously a common interest in the maintenance of peace and good order, but there is no special statement to be made on the subject."

November 18.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN (to Sir Walter de Frece): "There is no foundation whatever for the suggestion that English may no longer figure as one of the two official languages of the League of Nations."

November 18.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Campbell): "No information is yet available as to what Powers have ratified the Opium Conventions of last February."

November 18.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Ammon): "The Council of the League of Nations has been invited by the last Assembly to make a preparatory study of the question of Disarmament, with a view to convening a Disarmament Conference. Under those circumstances, it would be premature for His Majesty's Government to take the initiative in summoning a new Washington Conference to discuss the abolition of submarines."

November 19.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Captain Garro-Jones): "I cannot say what questions connected with Disarmament may be raised at Geneva, or whether they will include the question of a humanitarian revision of international marine and air law."

[Many of these replies are summarised, and do not, therefore, represent the actual words used by the Minister concerned.]

STATESMEN OF TO-MORROW

THE candle lighted at Geneva this summer is burning in universities throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom, and will not soon be put out. Reports from the ardent but impecunious branches of the British Group of the I.U.L.N.F.* tell of three phases of activity. First, by tea, as at the London University Branch Committee, or by coffee, as at Newcastle-on-Tyne, or by dancing, as at Manchester, the solidity of a Branch and the social contact of its members has been promoted. Then a public address has been given by some notable speaker, but while many universities have been most fortunate in this respect, the more distant, like Aberdeen and St. Andrews, find that busy orators fight shy of their country—yet St. Andrews has shown its attitude to "internationalism" by electing Dr. Nansen Lord Rector. The third phase is that of close study of current international affairs, either in study groups or by debates. In this, the visit of Professor Zimmern's emissaries, MM. Balinski, Jundzill and De Menasce, who are already in that home of successful study groups—Wales—should prove a great stimulant. The Executive, which has just met at Bristol, was anxious that all Branches should, at some point, discuss either the prospective Economic Conference or "From the Pact to the Protocol," with a view to bringing out a joint report.

The Group is not content to pursue the even tenour of its way. Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham and Liverpool are preparing for an inter-varsity debate as to whether the League needs a military force. At London and Oxford, as in previous years, the stranger within our gates will be exploited for international assemblies. Edinburgh will hold its annual "Model Assembly" in January, and Bristol last month reproduced in a most realistic manner the scene in the "Salle de la Reformation" at Geneva. There Miss Lim, of China, in a straightforward appeal, showed us "the inmost parts of us," and Mr. Silcock, formerly of the West China Union University at Chenghu, gave the assembled delegates the benefit of his expert knowledge, and moved, as delegate for Great Britain, a resolution against extra-territoriality. M. de Menasce spoke for France, Bristolians, representing various countries, made eloquent and well-informed speeches, and the Polish delegate, Juddski, convinced an amused audience of the iniquity of a passport system which had prevented Balinski from arriving in time for the meeting.

* The I.U.L.N.F.—The International University League of Nations Federation.

OVERSEAS NOTES

International Federation of League of Nations Societies—An interesting and significant step was taken by the Council of the Federation at its autumn meeting at Lausanne, on October 28 and 29, when the invitation of the German Society to hold the next Plenary Congress of the Federation at Dresden was accepted. This will take place at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1926, and will last at least six days. Hitherto the Congresses have been too short to allow of full discussion.

M. Dollfus, of Switzerland, who made his mark as Chairman of the Political Commission of the Warsaw Conference, was elected President of the Federation in succession to Sir Willoughby Dickinson.

A permanent Commission of the Federation was established to deal with all matters relating to the I.L.O. and social legislation. Certain societies have been asked to study and report at the next Congress on the questions of disarmament, slavery and the French proposal for a League Economic Conference.

It is interesting to note that a few days before the Conference opened, the Italian Minister at Brussels went to the Federation office, and said that he had had a letter from Signor Mussolini, asking that the discussion of German-speaking minorities in Italy should be postponed until the Italian delegate (Signor Giannini) arrived at Lausanne.

Austria.—The Austrian League of Nations Society which has formed a special section (working in close co-operation with the Austrian Willkommen Klub) for the promotion of visits of foreigners to Austria, has obtained a promise from those of its members who are at the head of hotels, or sanatoriums or other business enterprises to give special facilities to visitors. Further particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Holland.—The Netherlands League of Nations Peace Society has just started a monthly journal, "The League of Nations" (De Volkenbond), whose first number appeared in October, devoted to League questions and international affairs generally.

Japan.—The Japanese League of Nations Society (address Kyochokai Buildings, Shiba Park, Tokio), in co-operation with the Tokio Education Authority, is organizing an International Children's Handicraft Exhibition in Tokio, to be held next January. Exhibits, either in pictures, clay-modelling, wood carving, machines, paper work, and the like from schools in Great Britain would be very much welcomed. It is proposed at a later date to bring this exhibition to Great Britain.

Sir Henry Lunn, who is giving the George Washington Birthday address before the Sulgrave Manor Institute in New York in February, will subsequently visit Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, and lecture in those countries on the League.

URGENT

Are you willing to send your HEADWAY abroad after you have read it? If so, will you please communicate with the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

THE POUND MEMBERS

WE publish below the second list of hotels at which "Pound Members" can obtain a discount on their hotel bills of 10 per cent. at foreign and 5 per cent. at English hotels. Those intending to avail themselves of this discount must apply to 15, Grosvenor Crescent for a special card to be presented at the hotel. The Swiss hotels contained in the list should have a special attraction at this time of year when the Christmas holidays are approaching and winter sports are in the air. This discount scheme is designed, as we explained in our September issue, to assist Pound Members to travel, and to encourage others to become Pound Members. It is part of the great campaign which has just been opened

to put the finances of the Union on a sound, democratic basis. The future of the Union lies with the rank and file. If the Union has any vitality, it ought to be supported by the small contributions of thousands. If it has no vitality, it ought to shut up shop. Fortunately, there is overwhelming evidence that the Union and the cause of the League are gaining ground everywhere throughout the country. As we write, reports of Armistice week continue to pour in with their glowing descriptions of meetings, and their accompanying flood of new members. If the members, old and new, will each contribute a mite (or a pound), then the finances of the Union will be put on a sound basis, and the work will go on with even greater impetus.

The attention of members is called to the undermentioned list of hotels, at which all fully-paid £1 members can obtain a rebate on their bills of 10 per cent. at foreign and 5 per cent. at British hotels for themselves, family or party, on presenting their Special Membership Card at the time of paying the bill.

GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND

ENGLAND—

BEXHILL

WILTON COURT HOTEL.—Sunny South, facing sea; 40 rooms; A.A. & R.A.C. appointed; excellent cuisine; electric lift; billiards, garage. Phone 477. Write for illustrated booklet.

CARLTON PRIVATE HOTEL.—Finest position on sea front; near three golf links; personally recommended. Phone 464. Night porter.

BRIGHTON

THE KING'S HOTEL.—Reconstruction now complete. Hot and cold water all bedrooms; central heating; lift; electric fires; own farm.

CHESTER

WASHINGTON HOTEL, City Road.—Not licensed; conveniently situated close to General Railway Station; garage adjoining.—G. ERNEST SHARP, proprietor. Also of Cartmell's Hotel, Colwyn Bay.

HASTINGS

THE ALBANY HOTEL (Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd.).—Finest position on Front. 150 rooms. A.A. and R.A.C. Telephone: 761.

MATLOCK

CHATSWORTH HYDRO.—Tel.: 9. Finest position, 800 ft. high. Nearest hydro to golf links. 100 bedrooms. Excellent table and most comfortable. Write for free illustrated souvenir.

PAIGNTON, S. Devon.

REDCLIFFE HOTEL.—Two miles south Torquay. Ideal summer or winter residence, every comfort. Golf, tennis, central heating, 100 rooms, garage.

RYE

GEORGE HOTEL.—The principal hotel, excellent cuisine, service and comfort. Two fine golf links near. Garage. Telephone: 14.

BELGIUM

YPRES

SKINDLES HOTEL.—Opposite station. The leading hotel in the Salient. Hot and cold running water. A.A. and R.A.C. appointed. English speaking staff.

SWITZERLAND

AIGLE (Vaud)

HOTEL BEAU SITE.—English Family Hotel. Nearest Golf Links and Station. Garage. Large Garden. Pension from 10 to 13ff. Open all year.

BERN

HOTEL JURA.—Comfortable Family Hotel. Near Station and centre of town. Central Heating, Electric Light. Lift. Pension from 12ff. Tariff on application.

CHATEAU D'OEX (Vaud)

GRAND HOTEL PENSION BEAU-SEJOUR.—Under personal management of proprietress. A first-class hotel which especially caters for a good English clientèle.

GSTAAD B.O.

GRAND HOTEL BELLEVUE.—(Gstaad on the line Montreux-Interlaken).—First-class Hotel. All winter sports. Private Rooms with bath. Terms from 20ff.

HILTERFINGEN (Lake of Thun) B.O.

HOTEL BELLEVUE AU LAC.—New Hotel. Rooms with running water. Private suites with bath. Pension from 12.50ff. Open all the year. Garage.

INTERLAKEN B.O.

HOTEL ROYAL ST. GEORGES.—Leading First-class English Family Hotel. All the latest comforts. Running water in all rooms. Garage.

LAUSANNE

LAUSANNE-PALACE AND BEAU-SITE.—Leading first-class Hotels in centre. Magnificent Park. Extensive views. Tennis. Golf-links. J. Baumgartner, new Manager.

HOTEL VICTORIA.—Only first-class Hotel near Station. Leading Anglo-American Hotel. Every room private Bath or Dressing Room. Large Garden. Moderate charges.

GRAND HOTEL DE LA PAIX.—First class. Finest situation overlooking the Lake of Geneva and the Mountains.

HOTEL EDEN.—Rooms from 5ff. Pension from 12ff. Near the Station.

HOTEL DE LAUSANNE AND RESTAURANT.—Place de la Gare. Running water. Special terms for long stay. Room from 5ff. R. Stettler.

MONTREUX—GLARENS

HOTEL MIRABEAU.—Well-known house. Excellent French cuisine. Large shady garden on the edge of the lake. Garage. Madame Béreneck, proprietress.

MONTREUX—TERRIET

HOTEL BONIVARD.—First-class English Family Hotel. Quiet and most sheltered position in Territet. Running water in bedrooms. Billiards, Tennis. Pension from 12ff.

MONTREUX

HOTEL CHATEAU BELMONT.—First-class English Family House. Quiet and elevated position. Pension from 14ff. Special arrangement for families.

HOTEL SPLENDID.—Only Second-class Hotel in Central position. Every comfort. Near Station and Landing Stage. Excellent cuisine. Pension from 11ff. M. Julien, Manager.

HOTEL SUISSE AND MAJESTIC.—First-class Hotel. Most convenient for station, lakeside and pier. Most up-to-date first-class hotel in Montreux.

HOTEL BEAU-RIVAGE.—On Lake. Superior second-class English Family Hotel. Pension terms, 12-13ff. incl. Open all year; central heat; lift.—A. X. CURTI, proprietor.

SPIEZ B.O.

SCHLOSSHOTEL SCHONEGG.—First-class Hotel. Magnificent position. Tennis. Garage. Golf. Private baths. Pension from 14ff to 20ff.

HOTEL DES ALPES.—Family Hotel. Open all the year. Beautiful situation. Garages. Central heating. Tennis. Golf. Pension from 11ff.

VEVEY (Vaud)

PARK-HOTEL MOOSER.—Entirely renovated, running water. Numerous suites with bath. Tennis. Garage. Terms from 13.50ff.

VEVEY—MONT PELERIN

HOTEL DES ALPES.—Hotel Pension des familles. Beautiful situation. Comfort and excellent cuisine, combined with very moderate charges.

YVERDON-LES-BAINS (Lake Neuchâtel)

HOTEL DE LA PRAIRIE.—Premier family Hotel. Running water and rooms with private baths. Garage. Tennis. Pension from 11-15ff. Booklet on application.

ZWEISIMMEN B.O.

HOTEL BRISTOL-TERMINUS.—Leading English hotel on the Montreux-Interlaken Railway. 3,500 ft. above sea. Summer and winter sports. Tennis. J. Hubler.

BOOKS WORTH READING

A HASTY reading of Miss A. A. W. Ramsay's *Idealism and Foreign Policy* (Murray, 21s.) might lead one to ask whether any idealism existed in foreign policy during the period of 1860 to 1878, with which she deals. Miss Ramsay has had access to Foreign Office archives which have been hitherto unpublished, and she makes good use of her material; but it all goes to show that in all the countries with which she is concerned there was a smallness of mind, a narrowness of outlook and a concentrated sense of self-interest, little consonant with the modern and, dare we say, more true conception of idealism.

But Victorian idealism was not of that kind, and Miss Ramsay carefully defines what it was. While it attempted "to guide the conduct by reference to certain and intellectual principles," it was kept separate from facts which might have been observed, there was "an inability or disinclination to test the value of these ideas by a careful comparison with real and material conditions." This fatal error blinded those who followed it to the very meaning of idealism, and produced the effects from which Europe is still suffering. These results followed almost inevitably from imagining that you can practise idealism to serve the interests of any one class or country; the practice led to a delusion which was comforting for the moment; but a narrow idealism at best, it did not deceive England's neighbours, and brought in its entail a terrible awakening. Even the idealisms of Free Trade and Colonial expansion, as Miss Ramsay points out in her later chapters, were at root purely selfish, whatever other reasons might be urged on their behalf. The strongest advocates of peace did not hesitate to urge the necessity of an overwhelmingly strong Navy to defend their idealism; Cobden was ready to spend millions for this purpose, and it never seems to have occurred to any statesman of that period that peace might be secured by inquiry into those deeper and wider principles of international relations which we are now coming to understand. This volume dealing with past events deserves to be thoughtfully read, because it has a direct bearing on the problems of to-day.

Mr. Kenneth Maclennan, the secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies, in *The Cost of a New World* (Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1, 2s. 6d.), deals with the twin facts of the modern expansion of Christianity, and of an ever increasing material development. His new world is that of Africa and the East, and he points out in careful detail the effects which the rise of modern democracy, the growth of nationalism, the industrialisation of the Orient, race consciousness and, not least, the youth movements of to-day are producing in countries remote from Europe. He does not shrink from facing facts, however disturbing they may be to our equanimity of mind. Undoubtedly the facts which he presents and which are a result of the accurate observations both of himself and of others who are equally qualified to judge of their value, are extremely disquieting; the book does not provide, and is not meant to provide, pleasant reading. But Mr. Maclennan does not leave us at the edge of the abyss. He asks, "Must the Old World then thus go stumbling on through the ruins, must material progress continue to promote evil conditions within each nation and produce international conflicts and bitter race rivalries?" Then he points out that all this can be changed if human personality is placed before international or individual self-interest. This is the idealism, not of the Victorian era, but of the twentieth century; it rests upon the recognition "that life's contacts—social, economic and political—do not end on a material plane, nor can they rest on it; they touch the spirit of

man, and the question is whether in Christianity we can offer to the world what it needs most to-day—a religion which wins in its solitary hours of devotion power to realise itself in the market and the senate, and the embassy, and the home and the foreign mission field." To this question Mr. Maclennan answers "Yes," and gives convincing reasons for his answer.

In *Information on the Reduction of Armaments* (Allen & Unwin, 10s.), to which General Sir Neill Malcolm contributes an introduction, Mr. J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, junr., has compiled a most useful survey of the progress which has been made in recent years towards disarmament. The information which he supplies is almost entirely contained in the documents which have been prepared by the League of Nations, though Mr. Wheeler-Bennett does not, perhaps, show quite clearly enough his own part in putting these documents together. But he has succeeded in his object in giving "the essential facts in the history of disarmament discussions from the Peace Conference of Paris to the present day." As he reminds us, the end is not yet, and the Locarno Treaty opens up a new vista of hope with which he has not been able to deal. The effect which he produces is that this most difficult problem of disarmament is being tackled with a new determination and in a different spirit from anything that has been known in the past; progress must inevitably be slow, but its slowness is itself a sign that no illusory short cuts are being taken which must lead to disappointment, and the information provided in this book will do valuable service in forming public opinion on the subject.

The Challenge of Peace, by Lady Margaret Sackville (Allan & Sons, Glasgow, 4d.), provides an attractive and serviceable League of Nations pageant. It has been successfully produced by girls' clubs, and has the advantage of being adapted to a varying number of performers and "turns." Full instructions for production are given, and it is well worth the attention of those who are seeking a pageant play of this kind.—H. W. F.

The White Chateau, By Reginald Berkeley. (Williams & Norgate, price 1s.) "The White Chateau" was specially written by Captain Berkeley to be broadcast on Armistice night. Technically, it is an experiment in wireless drama by an expert in stage drama. Humanly, it is a powerful and moving indictment of war. Just as Egdon Heath is the real hero of the "Return of the Native" and the silver mine of Conrad's "Nostromo," so the Chateau is the hero of this play. In its breakfast-room the happy Belgian family is surprised by the Black Skull Hussars, and the son of the family tried by court-martial and shot; from its walls the Commander-in-Chief of the invading army issues his orders for battle and tries to direct the storm; from a trench in its garden the infantry officers watch the 15-inch howitzer shelling a machine-gun hidden in its ruins; the Chateau becomes the assembly-point for assaulting waves of infantry; and, later, when the assault has moved on, a casualty clearing station. In the last scene, the daughter of the Belgian family and her English husband have returned to rebuild. The spirit of the Chateau speaks to them in the trench-seamed garden, and asks them is it worth while to build it up again. "If the League of Nations becomes a fact, your victory will be secure. If it remains a phrase, your destruction will be accomplished through it . . . the next time will be the last time. The civilization of Europe will vanish."

Captain Berkeley has written a play which should be read by every member of the League of Nations Union, and should be given by those who are members to those who are not. When its lesson is grasped, the work of the Union will be completed and wars will be impossible.

THE PRINCE LEARNS SPANISH

A Language which is Easy to Learn—
and the Easiest Way of Learning It

It was stated by a leading newspaper correspondent that the Prince of Wales, during his tour in South America, spent some of his time learning Spanish. "He filled many sheets of foolscap with exercises"—so ran the dispatch—"and sent out and bought an advanced Grammar."

This is an example which is being widely followed this Winter. One is not surprised. Not only is Spanish one of the most important commercial languages in the world, but it is an exceedingly easy language to learn. The quickest and simplest way of learning it is by the new Pelman method of teaching Spanish, Italian, German and French. You will be surprised how quickly and easily you will be able to master the Spanish language once you have started to learn it by the Pelman method.

The following letters from people who have adopted this new method of learning Spanish prove the truth of this:—

"It is much easier and more interesting than any other method by which I have studied. I can speak with facility with the Spaniards in our office." (S. F. 101.)

"When I began this Course I could not read a single sentence in Spanish. Now I have no difficulty in reading any book." (S. G. 105.)

"I have just finished the Spanish Course, and I am immensely pleased with it. It has been very interesting all the way through, and I now seem to know Spanish about six times as well as I do French, although I spent about six years at school on that, and only about six months on this." (S. P. 122.)

"I have now completed the Spanish Course, and I find that I can speak Spanish with ease, and am surprised at the progress I have made in such a short time—both in reading and speaking." (S. M. 181.)

Spanish is not the only language you can learn by this new method. You can learn French, German and Italian in precisely the same way. You can learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart. There is no translation from one language to another. Hence you avoid the "hesitation" which is almost unavoidable when a Foreign Language is learnt by the old obsolete method. By the new plan you learn to speak the language like a native.

NO GRAMMATICAL DIFFICULTIES.

Best of all, perhaps, those grammatical difficulties—those pages and pages of rules and exceptions which preface most systems of learning languages—are swept aside by the Pelman plan. You are introduced to the language itself from the very beginning, and you start learning to speak, read, write and understand it from the first day.

To this there is an important consequence. Many people start learning languages. Few continue to the end. They become bored with the grammar, and they give up in disgust. But the Pelman Institute has made the study of a Foreign Language as interesting as any game of skill. The method will fascinate you, and as a result you will go on with it until you have acquired a real, practical working mastery of French or Spanish or German or Italian, and will be able to read, write, speak and understand the particular language in question with perfect ease.



Full particulars of this method are given in four little books entitled respectively, "How to Learn French," "How to Learn German," "How to Learn Italian," and "How to Learn Spanish." You can obtain any one of these books gratis and post free by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 286, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. Call or write to-day.

READERS' VIEWS

A MOSUL OFFER

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—When Mr. Amery offered on behalf of Great Britain to accept the mandate for Mesopotamia for another 25 years, before the Council had made up its mind over the vexed Mosul dispute, he put the Council in a most invidious position, and brought a most unfair influence to bear on the Council's decision. The Council seemed now forced to accept Mr. Amery's proposal, or to give Great Britain a very nasty slap in the face.

This proposal of Mr. Amery's, made as it was and when it was, is a most disturbing matter, and I have been looking in vain for your comments on the incident. As I see it, no greater shock to Great Britain's prestige in the League of Nations has been given it since the League started. People everywhere will say that Great Britain is so anxious to have a mandate for 25 years, because there must be important interests at stake, and if this opinion gets abroad that nations are using the League of Nations for their own selfish ends, we are within measurable distance of the collapse of the League. On such a vital matter to the League as this, why is HEADWAY so strangely silent?—Yours, etc.,

35, Srafton Road, Ilford,

W. E. EVANS.

[The writer is under a misapprehension. The League Commission which visited Mosul recommended that the province should remain part of Iraq, provided Great Britain was willing to continue her association with Iraq for another 25 years. It was that proposal which Mr. Amery, very reluctantly and with some reservations, accepted.—ED. HEADWAY.]

WIRELESS AND THE PACT

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—When there exists a state of tension between two countries which may eventually lead to war, it usually happens that the ordinary citizen of either country is well posted by his Press as to his own rights and wrongs in the dispute, but has very little opportunity of learning the other country's case.

This state of things is obviously wrong, but it is equally obviously the object of either Government to encourage it, so as to obtain a solid "Patriotic" front against the potential enemy.

I should like to suggest that the League of Nations should at once get the consent of all its signatory Powers to agree that, in such an event, wherever there is a national wireless broadcasting system, they will not only permit, but themselves arrange for such a system to transmit for an adequate time (say, half an hour daily for seven consecutive days) the (possible) enemy's statement of her case, either through her own representative or else through the League of Nations. In this way the citizens of each country would have at least an opportunity of using their own judgment as to the justice of the dispute, and there would be some check on any Jingo or provocative action by their own Government.

In countries where there is no national wireless system, it should be made a condition in the granting of any broadcasting licence that the company should, in such a case, put their system at the disposal of the Government for such a purpose.—Yours, etc.,

WIRELESS.

REFUGEES IN GREECE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Last year there was a generous response to the appeal which Lord Cecil, as President of the Imperial War Relief Fund, made to members of the League of Nations Union for clothing to be supplied to the refugees in Greece. The representatives of the Save the Children Fund in Athens and Salonica distributed that clothing on the Imperial War Relief Fund's behalf, and they are again sending us most urgent appeals for help in this direction. There are many thousands of refugees who have yet to be settled on the land by the League of Nations Commission; there are many thousands more, mainly widows and orphans, who fall outside the scope of the Commission altogether, and most of them are in sore need of clothing this winter. Many come for miles across the mountains of Macedonia to our feeding centres in the hope of receiving a garment or two, and often have to be turned away because there is nothing left to give.

The Imperial War Relief Fund is closing down, and with its full sympathy and goodwill the Save the Children Fund is carrying on the work alone. May I venture to repeat Lord Cecil's appeal, and ask that gifts of clothing may be sent with as little delay as possible to the address of the Save the Children Fund, c/o Messrs. Davis, Turner & Co., Short's Gardens, Drury Lane, marked "For refugees in Greece"?—Yours, etc.,

26, Gordon Street, Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.

ATHOLL.

THE B.B.C. AND THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I wish to draw the attention of readers of HEADWAY to the excellent publicity given by the British Broadcasting Company to the work of the League of Nations.

On October 9 there was broadcast a splendid address by Sir Arthur Salter. In November we are to hear Viscount Cecil,

Mrs. Hugh Spender, and (at Bournemouth) Admiral Mark Kerr. Information about the League will therefore be received in many homes where probably, but for the wireless, it would never have entered.

The B.B.C. is only able to gauge public opinion by the correspondence it receives, and I suggest that all who appreciate its services in the cause of International Peace should write thanking it for its actions in this direction.—Yours, etc.,
48, New York Terrace, York, A. STANLEY PAGE.

TWO VIEWS OF DISEASE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I strongly object to the League of Nations taking up the broadcasting and discussion of diseases, because fear is the seed of every disease, and I object to this League, formed for other reasons, spreading disease.—Yours, etc.,

Crestweeke, Winchester. ELIZABETH C. S. BETHUNE
(Lady Bethune).

REAL RECRUITING

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—In further reference to my offer to obtain fifty £1 members of the League of Nations Union in nine months, I should like to say that I have obtained over half this number in ten days, and therefore think my guarantee should be to secure them in weeks instead of months.

I may add that if I thought I should only succeed in obtaining fifty members I would not dream of putting in the amount of work I am, as I am hoping my efforts will be the means of obtaining very many more.

I trust to hear that other readers will make similar offers.—Yours, etc.,

LOUIS H. S. GOLDSCHMIDT.
15, Heath Street, Hampstead,
London, N.W.3.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- "Reminiscences." Emily Kinnaird. (Murray. 5s.)
"Things and Ideals." M. C. Otto. (Harrap. 5s.)
"Modern Thinkers." Edgar Singer. (Harrap. 5s.)
"The Scrajivo Crime." M. E. Durham. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)
"Greater European Governments." A. L. Lowell. (Milford. 7s. 6d.)
"Problems of Philosophy." G. W. Cunningham. (Harrap. 8s. 6d.)

The English translation of the Locarno Agreements has been published by the Union in pamphlet form (price 2d.). Speakers will find this new publication especially useful for reference purposes.

Notice to Advertisers.

All communications concerning Advertisement space in HEADWAY should be addressed to—
THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,
FLEETWAY PRESS, Ltd., 3-9, Dane St., Holborn, W.C.1.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AUTHORS WANTED.—Poems, Plays, Novels, Children's Stories, etc. Known or unknown writers.
CLAUDE STACEY, LIMITED, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2. Established 1910.

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

A POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The World's Industrial Parliament

"An excellent and necessary little book."—*Times*

"A valuable little book. . . Deserves to be widely read."—*Glasgow Herald*

By E. M. OLIVER
2s.
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD., 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1

BOOKS ON THE LEAGUE

BELOW is a list of some useful books on the League which may be borrowed from the League of Nations Union Library. The books are lent free—though voluntary contributions are welcome—to members of the Union up to the limit of three works for one month, while branches, study circles and corporate members may borrow up to 30 volumes for a period of three months, the carriage both ways being borne by the borrower.

- Alexander, H. G.—The Revival of Europe: Can the League of Nations help? 1924.
Butler, Sir G.—Handbook to the League of Nations. 2nd ed. 1925.
Fanshawe, M.—Reconstruction: Five Years' Work by the League of Nations. 1925.
Fisher, H. A. L.—An International Experiment. 1918.
Fisher, Irving.—League or War? 1923.
Posdick, R. B., and others.—The League of Nations Starts: An Outline by its Organisers. 1920.
Harley, J. E.—The League of Nations and the New International Law. 1921.
Harris, H. Wilson.—What the League of Nations Is. 1925.
Illustrated Album of the League of Nations, 1925.
Innes, K. E.—The Story of the League of Nations for Young People. 1925.
Keen.—Towards International Justice. 1923.
Paish, Sir G. (ed.).—The Nations and the League, by the representative writers of seven nations. 1920.
Percy, Lord Eustace.—The Responsibilities of the League. 1920.
Pollock, Rt. Hon. Sir F.—The League of Nations. 2nd ed. 1922.
Sarolea, C.—Europe and the League. 1919.
Sweetser, A.—The League of Nations at Work. 1920.
Taft, W. H.—Taft Papers on the League of Nations. 1923.
Temperley, H. W. V.—The Second Year of the League. 1922.
Williams, Roth.—The League of Nations To-day. 1923.
Williams, Roth.—The League, the Protocol and the Empire. 1925.
Wilson, Woodrow.—Case for the League of Nations. Ed. H. Foley. 1923.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- Bourgeois, L.—L'œuvre de la Société des Nations (1920-1923). 1923.
Marvin, F. S.—The Evolution of World Peace. 1921.
Woolf, I. S. (ed.).—The Framework of a Lasting Peace. 1917.
Woolf, I. S. (ed.).—International Government. 2nd ed. 1923.
York, E.—Leagues of Nations, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. 1919.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Now ready REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF AUSTRIA

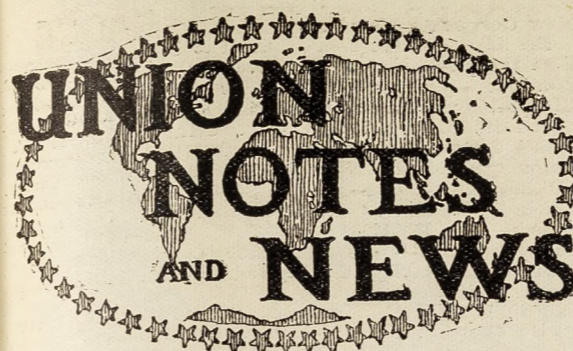
by W. T. LAYTON and CHARLES RIST

6s. net

Manchester Guardian: "There can be no question but that the wide dissemination of the report is of the highest importance from the international political point of view."
Send for complete list of League of Nations publications from

CONSTABLE & CO., LTD.

10-12 ORANGE ST., W.C.2.



The Results of Armistice Week

Armistice week this year has been a great event in the history of the Union. Thousands of new members have been enrolled, and from all quarters we are receiving overwhelming evidence of the new wave of enthusiasm for the League which is spreading through the country. No doubt the chastened mood in which many thousands of people approached the last Armistice Day made them more receptive to the ideals for which the League of Nations stands. The Locarno treaties also have had a marked effect. The new hope that they have offered of real peace has reawakened the keenness of many whose faith in the League had flagged. But when all is said and done, it is the Branches who are chiefly responsible for the enormous amount of ground gained by the Union during Armistice week. Unfortunately, we are able to mention the efforts of only a few of our Branches. Anything like an adequate summary would fill pages of HEADWAY, but the brief accounts it is possible to publish may serve to indicate the amount of hard work, enterprise and self-sacrifice which an army of voluntary workers have cheerfully given.

Remembrance Sunday and the League

In many districts the campaign began by the observance of the Sunday before Armistice Day as League of Nations Sunday. Hundreds of churches of all denominations held special services; in some cases they were united services in which the various ministers and clergy took part. In Derby on Armistice Sunday the Branch organised a great civic demonstration, which was preceded by a procession, in which the Mayor and officers of the borough and the representatives of practically every interest in the town took part. Two united services were held, and, in addition, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., spoke to packed congregations at two Free Churches. This splendid effort was followed on Armistice Day by a special children's campaign, which resulted in addresses on the League being given to every school in the Borough, and many in the County.

Newbiggin-on-Sea, a little town in Northumberland with seven thousand inhabitants, made a unique effort on Armistice Sunday to help the cause of the League. In the afternoon seven hundred Sunday School scholars marched with bands from their different churches to the Co-operative Hall, where a United League meeting was held. Immediately after the Children's Demonstration the British Legion took possession of the Hall, and held a Remembrance Service, attended by over one thousand people, where addresses on the League were given by Miss Ainsworth and Captain Sulby. On November 11 a public meeting, organised by the Branch, attracted a large audience.

House-to-House Canvasses

A very large number of Branches responded to the appeal of Headquarters, and organised house-to-house canvasses during Armistice week. This is the more remarkable, because to be effective, such a canvass entails an enormous amount of organisation. Hull's house-to-house campaign—its third—was initiated on Armistice Day at a mass meeting, where Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., was the chief speaker. The slogan is "World Peace starts from your Door," and emphasis is being laid on the personal responsibility of every citizen. The activities of the Grimsby Branch during its League week included over twenty meetings, and a Pageant Play at the local theatre on November 7, for which all the reserved seats had been sold on October 15. Manchester organised a special membership week. Lord Grey addressed a thronged demonstration in the Free Trade Hall on Armistice Day, and a kiosk was erected in Piccadilly for enrolling new members. Birmingham also held a most successful intensive week.

Thanks to the energy of the Nottingham Branch, six thousand citizens of that town received by post on the morning of Armistice Day an appeal for funds, and a copy of the special Armistice pamphlet issued by Headquarters. One of the Presidents of the Branch, Mr. J. D. Marsden, offered to double every subscription paid during Armistice Week, and the members have piled up a large bill for this generous friend of the Union. Indeed, the response has been such that the handle of the Branch cash-box has given way under the strain. Bulwell, a suburb of Nottingham, has just formed a Branch, mainly owing to the efforts of Mr. Neate, and although only a few weeks old, it embarked on a most successful League week. At Leicester every member received a personal letter from the secretary, Mr. Hancock, asking for new members. Good results are reported.

London's Week

London's Armistice Week effort, in which most of the 200 Branches in the Metropolitan area co-operated, deserves a paragraph to itself. The most important meeting was that held at the Central Hall, on Armistice Day, at which the Bishop of London took the chair, and Lord Parmoor, Mrs. Wintringham, Capt. Walter Elliot, M.P., and the Rev. A. A. Green, of the Hampstead Synagogue, were the principal speakers. This demonstration was preceded by an organ recital. At the City Temple on November 10, a special League of Nations' Service was held, at which Dr. R. C. Gillie preached. The Bishop of Kensington was the preacher at the service held at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on November 13. Lord Phillimore addressed a public meeting at North Islington, and Dr. Nitobe, of the League Secretariat, was the principal speaker at Croydon's demonstration. At Chelsea, on Armistice Day, two performances of the mystery play, "The Unknown Warrior," were given. The Hampstead and St. John's Wood Branches joined forces in organising a debate on "Can the League stop big wars?" opened by Mr. Wilson Harris and Mr. Leo Maxse, at which Mrs. Wintringham took the chair.

The Union's Film

The number of League meetings held during Armistice week must run, at a conservative estimate, well into four figures. In the Manchester area alone there were over a hundred. The demand upon Headquarters for speakers was unprecedented. Every Branch, naturally, wanted stars whose names would draw. Unfortunately, the supply of speakers of this calibre is limited, and the majority were booked for Armistice meetings months ahead. But many Branches who could not get first-class

speakers found the Union's film a compensating attraction. At a town's meeting held at Southall, where it was shown, the audience registered its appreciation by passing a resolution congratulating the Union "upon its splendid film." Branches are reminded that the film can be hired for a fee of one guinea, plus carriage.

The November Branch Letter

Here is a summary of the letter sent to Branch Secretaries last month. The next meeting of the General Council of the Union will be held on December 16, and it is expected that Lord Grey will speak. This meeting will be followed by a special one to make the necessary alterations to the rules consequent upon the granting of a Royal Charter to the Union.

Professor Gilbert Murray has sent a letter to all £1 subscribers, urging them to try to enrol their friends as members. In future, organisers of meetings will receive a special communication from Headquarters, asking them to bring the need for an increased membership before their audiences.

The new rule relating to the division of Branch subscriptions will come into operation on January 1, 1926. It provides that Branches shall remit to the Central Office three-quarters of every membership subscription, provided always that the balance remaining to the Branches is never less than 9d. out of any subscription.

Changes in the East Midlands

A pleasant little ceremony took place at the last meeting of the Committee of the Nottingham Branch. For some time, Miss Tynan, in addition to her work as the Union's Regional Representative in the East Midlands, has been acting as Secretary to the Nottingham Branch. She is now leaving to take up new duties at Headquarters, and the Branch marked its appreciation of her services by presenting her with a gold wristlet watch. She also received a pair of opera glasses from the staff at the local office.

Miss Tynan's place as Regional Representative will be taken by Mr. A. Gordon Bagnall, who is a former President of the

Oxford Union. He has twice visited America as a member of a League of Nations debating team. Readers may remember the account of his experiences in the U.S.A. which he contributed to the last number of HEADWAY.

A New District Council

The Gloucestershire District Council was definitely launched at a meeting held at Cheltenham last month, attended by over fifty representatives from Gloucestershire branches. Its area covers the whole county, with the exception of the part for which the Bristol and District Council is responsible. The Lord Lieutenant, Earl Beauchamp, has consented to become the first President. Judge Macpherson is Chairman, and the Honorary Secretary is Mr. Stuart-Bond, of Cheltenham College.

Woking's Enterprise

Fifty-five dolls dressed in national costumes, representing the member States of the League, were the chief feature of a novel exhibition organised by the Woking Branch, which resulted in over two hundred new members. The dolls were exhibited in the window of an empty shop, which had been lent free to the Branch. Each was connected by a ribbon to a central notice urging the reader to join the Union. Passers-by, attracted by the window, were invited inside where other exhibits were shown and the Union's literature was on sale. Several branches have already borrowed the dolls, which were dressed by the pupils of the Woking County School, for similar exhibitions, and if any others would like to do so they should apply to Mr. H. C. Ransom, Rydens, Mount Hermon Road, Woking.

How the Union Helps

Immediately after his return from Geneva, where he had represented Great Britain on the Mandates Commission, Mr. Ormsby Gore addressed a large meeting organised by the Stafford Branch. During his address Mr. Ormsby Gore said: "I believe that the British League of Nations Union, in concert with similar societies throughout the world, has done a tremendous amount of work in the initial years of the League, and that without the Union in this country, and similar associations elsewhere, we could not have got half the distance we have already gone." This tribute is a great asset to the Branch Secretary, Mr. Amies, in his campaign to obtain new £1 members.

A Good Steward

The following extract from a letter from Miss Constance Maynard, formerly Principal of Westfield College, needs no comment: "A little money has come to me unexpectedly, and as I want to be 'a good steward,' and as there are few things I love more heartily than the League of Nations, I enclose you this cheque. It is to go to any part of the wide and generous services of the League that you think best."

Christmas Gifts

The Union's new children's pageant play, "The Family of Nations" (price 1s. 6d.) is proving a good seller. The attractive appearance given to it by Miss Canziani's charming picture of children of all nations, which is reproduced in colour on the cover, has prompted many people to buy copies as Christmas presents. The mounted copies of the picture, ready for framing (price 1s.), are also very popular. The Union's Pocket Diary for 1926 is going like the proverbial hot cakes, and members are advised to send for copies early, as the stock is limited. They cost 1s. 6d. each net, but a discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed on orders of not less than six copies. The London Regional Federation of the Union has produced a Wall Calendar for 1926. Copies can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, at a cost of 7s. 6d. per dozen. Single copies can be supplied at 9d. each, the price at which it is suggested they should be sold by branches. The name and address of the local secretary can be inscribed in the space at the foot of the Calendar at an extra charge of 3s. for fifty.

Peace Sunday

It is hoped that churches throughout the country will again observe the Sunday before Christmas as Peace Sunday. A circular letter urging that this should be done is being sent to all Anglican clergy and Free Church ministers by the Union in conjunction with the Peace Society and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. The letter will be accompanied by some notes for sermons prepared by Dr. Gillie.

The Council's Vote

As we go to press, the total amount received towards the Council's Vote is just short of £10,000. This, it will be seen, is but half the total. Districts and branches who have not already paid their full quota are urged to do so at as early a date as possible, so that things may be "all clear" at the end of the year. In addition to those mentioned in previous issues, the following branches have already completed their 1925 quotas in full: Ambleside, Berwick-on-Tweed, Bishop Auckland, Bucklebury, Budleigh Salterton, Dawlish, Frome, Harold Wood, Hartlepool, Harehills Lane, Hassocks, Kirkby Stephen, Maidstone, Sandown, Scarborough, St. Austell, Tamworth, Thursby, Weeton, Wigton.

New Corporate Members

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the publication of the November HEADWAY:—ADDISCOMBE: Wesleyan Church. BARROW-IN-FURNESS: Hindpool Road Congregational Church. CAMBRIDGE: Victoria Road Congregational Church. CHESTER-LE-STREET: Bethel Congregational Church. DORKING: Congregational Church. EDMONTON (LOWER): Congregational Church. FOLKESTONE: Sisterhood. FORFARSHIRE: District Union B.W.T.A. GERARDS BRIDGE: Congregational Church. GILLINGHAM: B.W.T.A.; Women Citizens' Association. HALIFAX: Lightcliffe Congregational Church. HAYLING (SOUTH): Congregational Church. HOLMFIRTH: Wesleyan Methodist Circuit. HULL: Fish Street Memorial Church. ILKESTON: Divisional Labour Party. KEMPSTON: Parish Church. KINGSBRIDGE: St. Edmund's Parochial Church Council. LEEDS AND DISTRICT: League of Unitarian and other Liberal Christian Women. LEICESTER: Independent Labour Party. LONDON: International New Thought Alliance; The Theistic Church at the Eolian Hall; CARFORD: Trinity Congregational Church; PECKHAM: Women's Co-operative Guild; ST. PANCRAS: Rotary Club; STREATHAM: Congregational Church; United Methodist Church; UPPER NORWOOD: All Saints Church. LOUGHBOROUGH: Baxtergate Baptist Church. MAIDSTONE: St. Paul's Parochial Church Council. MORETON-IN-THE-MARSH: Congregational Church. NEW BRADWELL: Baptist Church. OXFORD: Cowley Road Congregational Church. PAIGNTON: Labour Party. PLYMOUTH: Labour Party. RAWTENSTALL: Kay Street Baptist Church. THEALE: Congregational Church. WEYBRIDGE: Congregational Church. WISBECH: Castle Square Congregational Church.

NOTES FROM WALES

The Welsh National Council arranged this year for two wreaths to be laid as a national tribute to the sons of Wales who fell in the war. By consent of the Chapter, a Welsh wreath was laid on the tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey on Saturday, November 7.

The second wreath was laid at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor on Armistice Day, by Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O.

In each case the ceremony was simple but impressive, and was witnessed by a large gathering of Welsh people.

The President, Mr. Peter Hughes Griffith, visited the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth during the first week in November, addressing enthusiastic meetings at Treherbert, Porth and Griffithstown; many other meetings were held in Armistice Week.

An appeal will be made this year again to the churches of Wales and Monmouthshire for a collection to be made on Christmas Sunday, or as soon after as possible, towards the missionary and educational work of the Welsh Council.

The Welsh Memorial to the Churches of America is now ready. It contains an impressive list of signatures of leaders in the religious bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire. The Memorial will be presented to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., at a meeting to be held at Detroit, Michigan, on December 10.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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

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

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

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.
Telegrams: "Freenat, Knights, London."
Telephone: Victoria 9780.

All communications respecting advertisements must be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1, and not to the offices of the Union.