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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE official announcement that both Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot intend, if in office at the time, to attend some part of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September was not entirely unexpected, but is none the less welcome. It is the kind of announcement that ought to have been made long before by the predecessors of both Prime Ministers. Mr. Lloyd George toyed with the idea of attending the Assembly in 1922, even despatching his private secretary to Geneva to spy out the ground, and in 1923 there was always the chance that Mr. Baldwin might motor over from Aix-les-Bains. But he never did, and the Assembly so far has been attended by Prime Ministers of secondary Powers only. Now it is left for Mr. MacDonald to break a bad tradition. He has already had a glimpse of the Assembly at work, for he came over last September for a day from Evian, and what he saw evidently gave him the taste for more. It may be assumed that with the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France present, the Prime Ministers of Italy and Belgium and other European States will make a point of attending also. The Fifth Assembly, therefore, promises to be something of a landmark in the history of the League.

ON another page will be found the full text of a reply given in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister to Captain Terrell on the subject of the admission of Germany to the League of Nations. It may, perhaps, be permitted to observe that Mr. MacDonald has put the matter in precisely the right perspective. It is the regular rule that nations apply for membership of the League, and the suggestion commonly made that Germany should be invited by the Assembly itself to apply is open to the gravest objection. Nothing, for example, could be more unsatisfactory than for a nation to be invited to join the League, and then attempt to make conditions, which it would neither be possible for the Assembly to accept nor dignified for it to argue about. The Prime Minister has indicated that the British Government is entirely in favour of Germany's admission, and there can be no serious doubt that the Chequers conversation of June 22nd resulted in approximate agreement between Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot on the point. Certainly, the desirability of Germany's entry cannot be too much emphasised. At the same time, it would be extremely undesirable that Germany should be led to suppose that the League can only limp on half-heartedly without her. In point of fact, it is doing extremely well as it is.

THE movement towards practical reduction of armaments has received something of a check through the decision of the League Council to refer back to the Fifth Assembly the whole question of an international conference to discuss the extension of the Washington Naval Agreements to those nations not represented at Washington in 1921-22. It will be remembered that a conference of experts, all of them admirals, met at Rome in February to prepare an agenda for the Conference, but the Council has decided—it could hardly have done otherwise—that the differences revealed were so fundamental that the admirals' deliberations provide no basis for a conference. It would, of course, have been possible to have asked the experts to meet again and consider the matter further, but the British Government, among others, was opposed to this suggestion, as there was no prospect that any better result would have been reached. The Washington principle, which was to stereotype on a lower scale the proportions between different fleets existing at a given moment, finds small favour with most States. On the other hand, the attempt to base naval or any other forces on a nation's needs, or its conception of its needs, opens the way to interminable argument. What the Fifth Assembly will do cannot be predicted. It will, at any rate, have a month to consider the matter in, whereas the Council had only a week.

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THERE is nothing on which the League may more justly be congratulated than the reconstruction work it is carrying out in different parts of Europe, notably in Austria, Hungary and Greece. The recent Council meeting gave an opportunity for progress in all three fields to be reviewed. In Austria the League's scheme, as Dr. Grunberger, the Austrian Foreign Minister, observed at the League Council table, has attained complete success. The crown has been stabilised, the budget has been balanced, the external loan raised to help the Government through its difficulties proved more than sufficient to meet the country's needs. All that is wrong with Austria is that she is spending too much money and raising too high taxes to cover her outgoings. As her volume of trade has increased the budget total originally fixed by the League has revealed itself as undeniably too low. It will consequently be raised, but not to so high a figure as the Austrians themselves desire. As to Hungary the reconstruction project is being floated there under the most hopeful auspices. The loan required is being raised entirely in Europe without American help, and most of the reforms required by the League are already being carried out by the Hungarian Government. If the League did not go to America for money it did go there for a man, and Mr. Jeremiah Smith, of Boston, who took up his duties as the League's Commissioner-General on May 1, has made an admirable impression both at Budapest and at Geneva.

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THE payment by the Argentine Republic of the contributions due to the League of Nations since the Argentine Delegation left

the First Assembly in 1920 is a welcome sign of the return of this important Latin-American Republic to full co-operation with the League. Whether an Argentine delegation will be present at the coming Assembly seems not quite certain, but there is reason to expect it will. Argentina was strongly represented at the International Labour Office Conference last month. It is to be noted that the payment of the Argentine subscription is no mere administrative act, as the money had to be voted by the two chambers of the Argentine Parliament. The vote therefore represents the views of the people, and not merely of the Government, on the League of Nations. As for the actual sum, which amounts to well over £100,000, it arrives most opportunely just at the moment when the building of a permanent conference hall has become a matter of urgency. The ground for the hall has been given, and there is an honourable understanding with the donors that the building shall be proceeded with as soon as possible. With the present Secretariat now fully paid for and the new Labour Office well under way there is every reason for going forward with the Conference Hall. The actual decision must be taken by the Assembly, but it is satisfactory to note that the Council has recommended that plans for the hall be got out forthwith.

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THE Lyons Conference of the Federation of League of Nations' Associations is being held just too late to enable any account of the proceedings to appear in this issue of HEADWAY. The most interesting business before the Assembly is the application for membership from the League of Nations' Societies in Canada and the Irish Free State. The agenda covers a variety of subjects, the most important perhaps being the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, with the amendments proposed by the League of Nations' Union. The report of the Commission on Propaganda and School Textbooks is another matter on which attention will be focussed, while the Economic Commission has the whole question of the Dawes' report before it. Among other matters which the League of Nations' Union has inscribed on the agenda are the Opium Traffic, the League's part in the execution of the Treaty of Lausanne, and a suggestion that the next annual meeting of the Federation should, if possible, be held in Germany, the German Society having been a member of the Federation for the past two years. Naturally, the fact that this year's meeting is to be held in the city with which M. Herriot, the present French Prime Minister, has been so closely associated, invests it with importance as well as interest, though whether the French Premier will find that his political engagements admit of his attending any part of the Federation meetings must remain problematic.

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ON the advantages and disadvantages of Wembley as a meeting-place for the Union Council, opinions seem to differ, but whether because of Wembley or in spite of Wembley there is no doubt about the Council's success. The numbers were satisfactory. So was the quality of the discussions.

So, on the whole, was the attention paid to the meeting by the Press, *The Times* in particular giving considerable space to the proceedings on both days. But a more re-assuring sign of health than any of these was the character of the representation from the Branches. Mild critics occasionally suggest that headquarters has too much say in determining Union policy and the Branches too little. If that is so it is really not the fault of headquarters. The cause is the failure or inability of Branches to be adequately represented at Council meetings where Union policy is thrashed out. At Wembley last month there was neither failure nor inability, and the contact between Branches, particularly the more distant Branches, and Grosvenor Crescent was closer and more general than ever before.

* * * *

THE question whether Putney and Tooting are to have fresh bread for breakfast or stale would not seem to be a matter that much concerned the League of Nations. But it does, and lively discussions on the subject have marked the recent sitting of the International Labour Conference. The point that interests the Labour Office is not what the public shall eat, but when the bakers shall work. Does the interest of the community demand that this particular section of workers shall turn night into day and day into night, to the detriment, not necessarily of their health, but certainly of their family life? A great many countries have answered that question definitely in the negative, and have prohibited night baking by law. Among these are Germany, France, Soviet Russia, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Others, including Great Britain, have, in reply to a Labour Office questionnaire, declared in favour of prohibition, and though this is not a case in which international competition makes uniform action by different States necessary, there is a good deal to be said for the view that the setting of a general standard by international agreement would stimulate reform everywhere. Some of the master-bakers declare the change would ruin their business, which it might do if it stopped the public from eating bread. So long as bread remains a necessity of life, and any legislation hits all bakers alike, it is hard to see where real injury will be done.

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THE dignity of the Council of the League of Nations is not, perhaps, an affair of the first moment, but neither is it a thing to be altogether disregarded. Most persons who have attended Council meetings with any regularity will agree that a good deal of room for improvement in their conduct existed. On any occasion of interest the body of the room was filled with a mingled mass of journalists and the general public, and members of the Council had to fight their way to the table, where they were pressed in on every side by members of the Secretariat who ranged themselves in double rows round the walls. Dr. Benes has signalised his first presidency of the Council by changing all that. Decency and order have been imported into the Council's proceedings. The room has been divided by ornamental wooden railings into three

sections, one for the Council itself, whose members now enter by a special door, one for the Press and a few selected visitors, and the third, at the back, for the public, who are admitted only by ticket. Smoking is now banned, a carpet has been laid on the parquet floor to deaden sound, and new double doors exclude the buzz of conversation in the hall outside. The Council members and their secretaries, to be better seen and heard, sit on a slightly raised dais. These may seem to be details, but they make a great deal of difference to the right holding of an important meeting, and Dr. Benes is to be congratulated on the reforms he has initiated. When the new conference hall is built it will no doubt include a specially constructed Council Chamber.

* * * *

SPAIN happens to be concerned in two questions in which League intervention is being sought without much prospect of success. One is that of Catalonia. That ancient province of Spain has a culture and civilisation almost the oldest in the Peninsula, and Catalonia, which has always demanded a large measure of autonomy, is now apparently pressing for complete independence from Spain, and has presented an appeal to the League of Nations for its intervention in the matter. Manifestly, the League of Nations cannot intervene in what is for better or worse an entirely domestic question; nor, it is to be imagined, can the Secretary-General even accept the appeal and transmit it to Members of the League. The other and rather more doubtful question is that of the war still continuing between Spain and the Riffs in Morocco. Here, no doubt, Spain would claim—and probably with complete technical justice—that this is also an entirely domestic concern. That raises interesting questions of which the League may sooner or later have to take cognisance. Whether the fact that a European nation has in the past declared a protectorate over people of another race who have never accepted this suzerainty removes the question for ever from the sphere of action of the League is a matter on which discussion will, at any rate, be instructive.

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LITHUANIA having now definitely acquired full sovereignty over Memel Territory, is setting about its development with commendable energy. The Lithuanian Telegraph Service points out that the Memel watering-places are attractive, cheap and accessible; and apart from that the full acquisition of a port is turning the minds of the Government to nautical possibilities. The President of the Lithuanian Seamen's Union has prepared a report on the subject, in which he urges official support for the project of purchasing a training ship forthwith for the education of boys in deep sea navigation. It is also hoped to procure a few commercial vessels for coastwise traffic with Lithuania's neighbours. It seems likely, therefore, that the Lithuanian flag is for the first time to become a familiar symbol on the high seas. Such development is all to the good, and it will be all to the better if Lithuania shows itself capable of building up such merchant marine as it needs without attempting at the same time to waste money on vessels of war.

WHAT THE LEAGUE COSTS.

By SIR HERBERT AMES.

(Financial Director of the League.)

HAVING held for close on five years the position of Financial Director at the League of Nations, I have seen a good many vicissitudes in the League's balance-sheet. There were times in the old days when the funds in the bank ran very low, and it was often a question of whether payments that had to be made could be covered from the funds in hand. That, fortunately, has all changed. The League's finances to-day are prospering, and such moments of anxiety as used to occur from time to time are now rare indeed. I remember when we were about to make the initial move from the League's first temporary offices in London to its permanent headquarters at Geneva, the Secretary-General remarked that the largest hotel in Switzerland would not be too big for the League's headquarters. We accordingly purchased the principal hotel in Geneva for a sum of about £225,000. I am glad to be able to say that the whole of the cost of the building is now paid off, together with the cost of its contents and of the land on which it stands, and we have still in hand a substantial sum that can be used towards the cost of the new permanent building for the International Labour Office, now in process of erection.

Apart from our income for our current expenses, we have now in hand a working capital of £100,000, which proves extremely useful in the early part of each year before the annual payments from the Member States come in, and which enables us to meet our obligations in that period without borrowing at the bank. With regard to the actual budget, it stands at about £1,000,000, not a large amount when it is considered that the burden is distributed among 54 States, and the money expended on three distinct organisations—the Secretariat proper, which uses some 55 per cent. of the whole, the International Labour Office, whose needs account for another 30 per cent., and the Court, which usually requires about 10 per cent., the remainder being used for the acquisition of property and the building-up of a working capital fund. It has been argued by some supporters of the League that the annual budget should increase as the League's work expands. In point of fact, much more work is being done to-day for the same money. The staff is learning its work, organisation is more efficient and we have grown more skilful at purchasing in the cheapest market. It seems likely, therefore, that a million pounds will remain roughly the budget total for several years to come.

With regard to the apportionment of the cost between the different members of the League, the search for a reasonable basis has occupied much attention in recent years. The original draft of the Covenant provided that expenses should be apportioned on the Universal Postal Union scale. That, however, soon proved unworkable. A scheme under which Great Britain, Australia, Abyssinia and China all pay the same contribution worked well enough when those contributions were (as in the case of the U.P.U.) so small that it was worth no one's while to protest, but such a scale applied to a budget of a million pounds is another matter. Article VI of the Covenant has accordingly been amended so as to give the Assembly power to fix the scale of contributions, and sufficient ratifications are now deposited to bring the amendment definitely into force. But even then, the principle of the basis of payment had to be decided. If it were purely capacity to pay, it would be found for example that Great Britain would have to pay 5,400 units to Liberia's 1. That was much too wide a range of difference, and the extremes now run

from 90 down to 1. Great Britain originally paid 95 units, but these are now reduced to 88, since the Irish Free State has been admitted to the League as a separate paying member. Each unit is just under £1,100 (according as the rate of exchange varies). Great Britain's contribution is, therefore, about £95,000. The unit is nominally the gold franc, but as no continental franc is actually on a gold basis, American dollars have had to be taken as guide. Great Britain's contribution therefore, varies upward or downward, according as the exchange on New York moves.

The League is getting good value for its money. Take, as an example, the Minorities Section, whose accounts I have lately had occasion to examine. There are in existence 13 Minorities Treaties, under which the League is charged with supervision of the treatment of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. These minorities are divided into some 50 groups, and the Council has been called on not fewer than 69 times to deal with minority questions. Yet the cost of the Section at Geneva dealing with these questions—a Section charged in addition with all the business arising from the League's responsibility for the Saar Valley and Danzig—is no more than £11,000. Take, again, the Financial and Economic Organisation—the Section that rescued Austria, that rescued Hungary, that is turning a million homeless Greek refugees into self-supporting citizens, the Section that has arranged numerous international conferences of the first importance, conferences on financial reform, on Customs, on Unfair Competition, and the rest—the whole cost of that Section, exclusive of conferences, is £35,000 a year. The Transit Section, through whose agency five important international Conventions making for the free movement of trade by land and water have already been drafted, costs £12,000 a year, roughly £1,000 a month. This Section is of special importance to Great Britain, with its immense interest in overseas trade, and it is to be observed that for an expenditure of which Great Britain's share is £100 a month, work worth millions is being done to smooth the way of trade and communication throughout the world. One or two further illustrations may be cited more briefly. The Upper Silesian question, as everyone knows, was finally decided by the League after the country had been in military occupation for many months, and the Supreme Council had failed to reach agreement on it. The cost of that settlement was to the League itself £2,500, and to each of the two countries principally involved (Germany and Poland) £1,200. The whole cost of a permanent settlement enabling all Allied troops to be withdrawn was, in fact, less than the cost of two weeks of the military occupation thus abolished. The story of Austria is too familiar to need repetition, but it may be observed here that as a result of a total League expenditure of £6,000, of which Great Britain's share is roughly £600, a British loan of £2,000,000 to Austria was converted from a hopelessly bad debt into an absolutely sound security. That £2,000,000 would pay Great Britain's contribution to the League for twenty years to come.

It is not unfair, moreover, without impressing the point too far, to draw some comparison between the cost of the League to the nations of the world and the cost to them of the armaments they feel it necessary to support. At present they are spending on armaments £600,000,000. That would keep the League going for well over 600 years. If the nations could be prevailed on, as a result of the League's existence, to cut down not more than 1 per cent. of their expenditure on armaments, that would be more than six times enough in itself to keep the League running on its present basis.

THE LEAGUE COUNCIL.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

THE keynote of the June meeting of the League of Nations Council was tranquillity. That did not mean that the business was unimportant, or that matters that ought to have been thrashed out went undiscussed. What it did mean was that the League machine, particularly the Secretariat and the various technical commissions, is working so smoothly and effectively that the Council when it meets has little to do but give formal approval to decisions already provisionally taken elsewhere.

That is true particularly of such a body as the Health Organisation. It was in some ways matter for regret that the report of that body—containing as it did a record of most interesting work undertaken or projected in regard to malaria, to the world supply of quinine, to the establishment of an Asiatic sub-office at Singapore, to the further investigation into the amount of opium and cocaine needed per head for purely medical purposes—should have passed largely unobserved because the Council felt it unnecessary to spend time over work already done manifestly well.

The President of the Council this time was Dr. Benes, of Czecho-Slovakia, who, besides discharging the technical side of his duties very competently, inaugurated new and much more orderly methods of conducting the Council's business generally. The British representative was, as usual, Lord Parmoor, and M. Léon Bourgeois, after a long absence, returned to sit as French delegate. With him was M. Henry de Jouvenel, who may or may not be thus indicated as M. Bourgeois' natural successor. With M. Hymans, who is now Foreign Minister of his country, M. Branting and Signor Salandra, both former Prime Ministers, the Council, so far as personnel goes, fully maintained its standard of prestige.

The work this time fell into two or three clearly defined categories. There were decisions to be taken and progress to be registered regarding the League's humanitarian activities, its economic enterprises and its internal affairs, and there were, as usual, various disputes to be dealt with in one way or another. And on a slightly different footing, affairs in the two areas specially entrusted to the League, the Saar Valley and Danzig, had to be reviewed. Danzig, in the end, went off the agenda altogether. A number of differences between the Free City and Poland were down for discussion, but, as the result of a visit of a member of the Secretariat to Danzig just before the Council meeting, all these questions were amicably settled by direct negotiation. In the matter of the Saar two questions were raised, one concerning the continued presence of French troops in the area and the other regarding the working of the new customs régime that, under the Versailles Treaty, comes into operation in 1925. Neither of these is urgent and the discussion of both was postponed till the next Council meeting, the new French Government not having so far had time to give adequate thought to the Saar.

In the humanitarian field reference has been made already to the Health Organisation's report and action taken regarding it. The new Advisory Committee on Slavery was definitely appointed. Sir Frederick Lugard is the British member, and the Committee will meet for the first time at Geneva on July 9. The question of the refugees, both Russian and Armenian, was discussed at length and the difficulties of either raising funds to support them or finding work for any large number was emphasised. It was felt that at the point now reached the main problem was one of employment and that the International Labour Office could better handle this than the Council. The I.L.O. was accordingly invited to take up the work and a conference between representatives of the Council and the I.L.O.

Governing Body on the subject was arranged. The Uruguayan member of the Council suggested that there was considerable scope for emigration to Latin America. The Albanian famine was also discussed. Originally the League was asked to raise £15,000 for this purpose, and it has actually raised £16,000. More, however, is required and other States are being asked to contribute.

In the dispute category three questions came up. Two were old, and concerned Germans and Poles in the Posen area. Both had been before the Court, which had in each case given general decisions in favour of the Germans, and it was for the Council to get the awards worked out in practice. In the case of the Germans who claimed Polish nationality under certain Treaty clauses, the Council achieved considerable success at its March meeting by securing the agreement of both sides to the reference of all doubtful points to arbitration. The arbitration proceedings are now in progress and the final awards are about to be given, but the Germans complain that numbers of the German applicants are meanwhile being evicted by the Polish authorities. The Polish representative at the March Council promised this should not take place, and his successor at the recent meeting repeated the undertaking, the liveliest passage in the whole sittings being provoked by Lord Parmoor's successful endeavour to strengthen the Council's report on this point. The other dispute, regarding the so-called German colonists in what is now Polish territory, had a very satisfactory outcome, the Polish Government having agreed, as the result of League intervention, to pay a lump sum (rather over £100,000) as compensation to the colonists improperly evicted from their holdings.

All the League's reconstruction undertakings, namely, those in Austria, Hungary and Greece, were passed in review. Regarding Greece, no decisions were needed; the work is proceeding and the money in hand will last till the autumn. The only question here is whether various sections of Greek politicians are co-operating as they should with the League in the work it has undertaken for Greece's benefit. In the case of Austria a curious problem has arisen, to which the Council had to apply its mind. The scheme has in a way been too successful, in that the Budget has been balanced long before the League's Financial Committee expected or desired. This has only been done through a very heavy increase of taxation, and expenses have not been reduced as the League considers they should be. The Austrian Foreign and Finance Ministers came to Geneva and discussed the whole matter, and their views have to some extent been met. The Council agrees to increase the figure of 350 million gold crowns at which the Budget was intended to balance, but the extent of that increase will not be decided till a report has been received from a delegation of League experts now appointed to go to Vienna and examine the situation on the spot. League control, of course, still continues.

The most important and the most satisfactory news, however, was regarding Hungary. The League's High Commissioner at Budapest, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, of Boston, came to Geneva and presented his first month's report to the Council. It was encouraging in every way and showed that the Hungarian government is doing everything necessary to carry out its part in the reconstruction scheme. What puts the success of the scheme practically beyond doubt is the fact that European financiers have now given the League assurances which make it clear that the whole of the external loan required (10 to 12 million pounds) will be raised without difficulty, American co-operation, which was once thought essential, being thus dispensed with. When it is remembered that, unlike the Austrian loan, this transaction has no guarantee of foreign Governments behind it, the result is matter for much congratulation.

Finally, the Council on its last day dealt with two or

three matters of considerable importance. A statement was made on the future of Iraq by Lord Parmoor, on behalf of the British Government, but it was rather of a provisional character and the matter will come up again at the next Council in August. The British Government was also responsible for raising the far-reaching question of the control of the armaments of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. Under the Peace Treaties this matter stands on the same footing as the control of armaments in Germany, and any decision taken in the one case will obviously act as a precedent in the other. The British Government takes the view that the time has come for the Inter-Allied missions of control in Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria to be abolished and the League to take responsibility for any investigations that may be needed in the future in regard to the armaments of these countries. This was unanimously agreed on, and the Permanent Advisory Commission (consisting solely of military, naval and air experts) has been asked to prepare a scheme under which the League might carry out this work. The matter will therefore come up again at the next meeting of the Council and may well form the most important business its members have considered.

On another armament question the position is less satisfactory. It has been felt that the divergence among the naval experts who met at Rome in February to prepare the ground for a general naval disarmament Conference was so fundamental that the whole matter must be reconsidered. It is therefore referred to the Fifth Assembly and will accordingly be discussed at Geneva in September.

MUSSOLINI AND THE LEAGUE.

A GOOD deal of uneasiness was caused in this country by a *Times* report of an important speech by Signor Mussolini in the Italian Chamber at the beginning of June. According to this version, the Italian Prime Minister observed curtly, "I have no faith in the League of Nations." Fortunately, Signor Mussolini appears to have used no such words.

What he did say, according to a report that has reached us from an official source, was as follows: "It has been asked what do you think of the League of Nations? The reason for the question is that the Speech from the Throne made no mention of this international organisation. It is necessary for us to remain in the League of Nations if only by reason of the other nations which form part of the League. If we resigned it would give these nations considerable satisfaction. They would deal with their business and discuss their own interests without us, and perhaps to our detriment."

It has been asked what the League will become; whether it is something serious, or merely an embryonic attempt destined to fail; whether it is capable of becoming a super-State—this I rule out altogether; whether it annuls the authority of individual States; whether it can have a super-army—which is impossible. All these matters are subjects of discussion. To-day problems are discussed and decisions taken within the body of the League of Nations. Italy, therefore, cannot absent herself from its deliberations."

No one can describe this as an enthusiastic eulogy of the League, but it must be remembered that Signor Mussolini was concerned simply with justifying Italy's continued participation in the League's work in face of the criticisms of his more impetuous Fascist friends, who thought she should leave it altogether. Coming from such a quarter the declaration that a Great Power cannot afford to be outside the League is satisfactory enough. It may be observed, moreover, that Italy has taken the lead among Continental Powers in providing money for Hungarian reconstruction under the League's scheme.

THE I.L.O. CONFERENCE.

THE sixth annual Session of the International Labour Conference opened in Geneva on Monday, June 16, and has continued too long to make it possible in this issue of HEADWAY to do more than touch on the opening sittings of the Conference.

Delegates numbering 124, with about 150 advisers, from 39 different States, were present when M. Arthur Fontaine (France), the Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, declared the Conference open. He referred to the heavy amount of work before the delegates in that there were four items on the agenda and two special reports to be studied.

The items on the agenda include night-baking, weekly rest day in glass factories, accident compensation for alien workers and the development of facilities for the use of workers' spare time. In connection with the last subject, the British Government has suggested that the subject is too large to be dealt with at one Conference and recommends the study of one particular aspect like adult education.

The Conference has also before it a report on anthrax prevention and another on world unemployment, showing the progress of the crisis in the different countries between 1920 and 1923. This last report will undoubtedly give rise to very important discussions in the Conference itself.

Committees composed of an equal number of delegates from each of the groups (Government, employers, and workers) were set up by the Conference to study each of these six questions in detail and report to the plenary body. The first week was spent in these individual meetings, apart from the formal opening sittings of the full Conference.

It is interesting to notice that Herr Brauns, of the German Ministry of Labour, was in Geneva at the opening of the Conference, while M. Justin Godart, the French Minister of Labour, was expected to arrive at the beginning of the second week. The raising of the question of the eight-hour day and Germany's position with regard to the lengthening of hours and reparations was expected in the general discussion on the Director's report on the work of the International Labour Office.

FOREIGNERS IN ENGLAND.

THE Hospitality Committee of the Union frequently receives requests from foreign students and others for information as to the possibility of their being received in English families for a short period, either as paying guests or in return for similar hospitality in their own families.

In particular, the National Union of Students has written asking for help in the matter of finding accommodation for students anxious to spend a vacation in England. In most cases they desire free board and lodging, and are ready in return to give instruction in their own language. A certain number of individuals, mostly Germans, make the same request. In the case of students, exchange visits are often easily arranged. The French National Union of Students is particularly active in providing opportunities for British students to go to France for short periods, living with private families as guests in exchange for a few language lessons. It appears for some reason to be much more difficult to find families in this country willing to receive foreign students in the same way.

If any readers of HEADWAY would be disposed to offer such hospitality, either for payment or otherwise, perhaps they would be good enough to communicate with Lady Gladstone, Chairman of the Hospitality Committee, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.



GENEVA, June 17.

THERE is a certain difficulty in sending a letter from Geneva covering the period of the Council meeting, but without making general reference to it. As the proceedings of the Council are being described elsewhere in HEADWAY, I must perforce draw upon such other topics as may be discovered.

It may, perhaps, be safe to say, without encroaching upon other grounds, that there is a new carpet on the Council Chamber, that the Council now sits on a slightly raised platform, that the arrangements for the admission of officials, pressmen and general public are more orderly, and that the Council Chamber and the environs have been made much quieter, and therefore much more agreeable whilst the Council is in session. It may also, perhaps, be safe to say that M. Bourgeois, with the public spirit, both national and international, which characterises him, has attended the Council, and so avoided an awkward interregnum in France's representation during the Ministerial and Presidential crisis. That is about as much as one must say directly about the Council.

There is, however, a point which arises out of the Council's decision to take note of the draft budget for next year and to refer it to the Assembly, leaving complete freedom to the States represented on the Council when the budget is considered by the Assembly. This is the normal practice. The way the budget of the League is handled, however, presents some curious features. The various organisations of the League, such as the Economic and Financial Committee, the Health Committee, &c., agree upon their estimates, which are prepared in detail by the various sections of the Secretariat. These estimates go before the Supervisory Commission, which plays the role of a kind of Geddes Axe Committee, and invariably cuts the budget down, sometimes quite arbitrarily and sometimes, no doubt, with justification. The budget then goes to the Council, which does not give it a moment's consideration, but passes it on automatically to the Assembly. It then comes before the Fourth Committee of the Assembly which is a kind of Super-Geddes Axe Committee, and then finally reaches the plenary Assembly itself, which for budget purposes is like presenting a budget to a House composed of nothing but the Opposition. There is no body like that of the Government defending its own budget, and the extent to which any defence goes is that the members of the Supervisory Commission occasionally defend their reductions in the sense that they endeavour to prevent them from being further reduced. This scarcely seems a satisfactory method. While the Council has been congratulating itself on the fact that the draft budget is less than the current budget, it is a curious thing that this should come about just at the moment when the two biggest powers in the League are proclaiming their intention to strengthen the League to its fullest extent, and to use it on all possible occasions.

In considering the process by which the final figure of the budget is arrived at, it is not possible to pretend that the money is not economically voted and economically spent, for the control both of estimates and expenditure is most thorough and elaborate. If any

Governments imagine that the League can develop largely with the expenditure of less money than in the past, they will almost certainly be greatly deceived. In the past, a good deal of covert hostility to the League has actuated professions of economy, and it has frequently happened that those States which have been most vocal in their admiration for the principles of the League—the Assembly floor is always strewn with perorations of this kind—are the ones which have at the same time been most active in restricting its financial resources. This is a point which cannot much longer escape the attention of those Governments which are sincere in their desire to promote the activities of the League.

One other matter with a financial aspect deserves a little thought. We are watching with satisfaction the walls of the new International Labour Office rising beside the Lake on a site generously presented by the Swiss authorities. It is to be hoped that the work of construction will not end when the last tile has been laid on the I.L.O. roof. It will be remembered that the Swiss have also provided another piece of land immediately adjoining the League Secretariat for the erection of a permanent Assembly Hall. The need for such a building and the committee rooms and Council Chamber which it would contain is urgent, and what is wanted is that when the army of builders has finished with the Labour Office it should march down the Rue de Lausanne and start in on the Assembly hall. It is unlikely at the best that rapid progress will be made, the hope being that the Assembly of this year will authorise the putting up of plans to competition, so that the Assembly of 1925 could give instructions for the building to be proceeded with at once. Even so, it is doubtful whether the Assembly of 1926 could hold its meetings there. Fortunately, the finances of the League at the present moment are such that the expenditure could be met without difficulty.

To return once more to the forbidden subject, everyone has been expressing regret for the absence of the Austrian Chancellor and for the cause of the absence. He has become a familiar and sympathetic figure at the Council meetings. A new figure, and one which will undoubtedly create an atmosphere of cordiality and respect, is that of the Commissioner-General for Hungary, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, an American, modest, shrewd, and with a lively sense of humour, who has begun his task by attracting to himself the friendship and regard of all those with whom he is associated in Budapest. This is something on the credit side.

On the debit side, though in a somewhat different category, there are many who regret that this will probably be the last occasion upon which Mr. Philip Baker will act as the personal assistant to the British representative on the Council. Mr. Baker, who has a knowledge of the work of the League equalled by very few people, occupied the same post in relation to Lord Cecil when he acted as representative of the British Government, and he continued with Lord Parmoor after the accession to power of the Labour Government. His amazing zeal and enthusiasm have been appreciated by everyone, not only among League of Nations' Union circles in England, but also in Assembly, Council and Secretariat circles in Geneva. It is to be hoped that his new duties in England will not prevent him from maintaining his contacts with Geneva.

There remains only to record the visit this month to the Secretariat of Mr. Douglas Fairbanks, the famous American cinema artist, who came specially from another part of Switzerland to visit the League. He displayed a great interest in all its proceedings, furnished himself with a great deal of information and proceeded from the ground floor to the fourth storey with a rapidity which no one has yet been able to explain.

POLAND AND THE LEAGUE.

By L. GANKITCH.

IN Poland no great interest has been shown in the League of Nations till recently. It is true that the daily press and the reviews have published series of articles on the League, meetings have been held, courses on the League have been given in the high schools, various books have been published. But all these manifestations bear no relation to the importance of the Polish problems dealt with at Geneva, for example, Upper Silesia, access to the sea, minorities, Vilna, &c.

This disproportion between the interest which the Polish public manifested in relation to the League and the rôle the latter was called to play in Polish political life results from the fact that down to the end of 1920 Poland was compelled to devote all its efforts to the struggle against the Bolsheviks. After that time, before they could interest themselves in important international problems, the Poles have had to think of the political, economic, intellectual and social organisation of their country. They have had to create every kind of organisation necessary for their existence, and train public servants of every kind. The State itself had to organise itself completely, to put in order its constitution, its laws, and so forth. These manifold duties, which entirely filled the mind of the average Pole, hardly left time for an active interest in the League and its problems to be developed.

The Polish Government was the first element in Poland to interest itself in the affairs of the League, and it from the beginning had given proofs of the importance it attached to this international organisation. Poland has brought before the League many questions to be decided, and has accepted all its decisions, even those which it considered unfavourable to it. Since the transfer of the Secretariat to Geneva, Poland has had a permanent delegation at the seat of the League. The interest which the Polish Government took and still takes in the League is beyond question.

As to public opinion, absorbed at first by other problems, it is beginning to develop an increasing interest in the League, and that interest is growing with the progress of the domestic life of Poland. Interest in the League originated among University students, and in particular among those of the two high schools of political science, at Cracow and Warsaw. It can hardly be claimed that it is a feeling of enthusiasm which has directed the youth of Poland towards the League. It is rather the case that under the direction of certain professors they have laid themselves out to study and familiarise themselves with the new methods of settling international problems.

Next to the Universities, one finds interest in the problems of the League mainly among the political groups of the Left. Gradually the opinion has been created in these circles that the League, with all its defects, has marked an advance in the settlement of relations between States, and that its methods are superior to the old diplomatic methods. Without any question, interest in the political circles of the Left was increased by the fact that the Liberal and Progressive parties throughout the whole world have declared themselves in favour of the League. The sympathy of these sections of opinion for the League has lately undergone a development, and instead of its being

platonic as at present, they demand now on the part of the Polish Government a policy directed towards upholding and developing the prestige of the League. Apart from certain Conservatives who follow the work of the League with attention and do not grudge it their moral support, all the other political groups of the Right exhibit towards it reserve and distrust.

Finally, in the Press of these sections, *i.e.*, of the Right, a certain rather tactical change regarding the League has been observed, dictated in all probability by the fear of seeing the relations between Poland and the League, so to speak, monopolised by the parties of the Left. The Nationalist press has declared officially that it was not opposed to the League, and that it appreciated its value. While speaking of these little manoeuvres of the groups of the Right, we must admit equally that the groups of the Left endeavour to manifest perhaps rather excessively their sympathy for the ideas of the League, and that they use this demonstration as strategy directed against the Right.

Even in circles which have declared themselves openly in favour of the League, serious criticisms are formulated against its organisation and operations. Some of these criticisms are shared by practically the whole of Polish public opinion. Between the League and Polish public opinion many differences have arisen. In matters which interest Poland directly the League has repeatedly pronounced unfavourably to the Polish thesis. Poland has accepted the decision of the League, but no one in Poland has been convinced that the Polish thesis was ill-founded. According to public opinion, the League has been too inclined to let itself be influenced in its decisions by juridical considerations, by the letter of treaties or obligations, by the abstract interpretations of international law, without considering whether in these special cases dealt with by it such an interpretation is not being exploited for the benefit of a bad cause and to the detriment of justice. Two cases in point are the matter of the German colonists in Poland and the question of the nationality decrees. The source of such differences will only disappear when public opinion is satisfied that the chief rôle of the League consists in securing the strictest execution of international engagements.

There is some feeling also that the Council of the League has not fully carried out the obligation imposed on it by Article IV of the Covenant to invite any State interested in a particular discussion to become a member of the Council for the purposes of that discussion. What it does is merely to invite the representative of the State in question to sit temporarily at the table and state his case, after which the Council takes its own decision on the point and relies on its prestige to get the decision executed. The States not represented on the Council are thus reduced to a position of mere advocates of their own cause, without enjoying real collaboration with the League. It is felt in Poland that to stimulate a fair and more effective movement in favour of the League among the States not represented on the Council, they must be assured in the League a position equitable and in full conformity with the Covenant, and there must be no appearance of there existing in the League States which direct, *i.e.*, the Council, and States which are directed. In the League all States should be treated on a footing of equality.

M. HERRIOT AND THE LEAGUE.

THE declarations of the new French Ministry on foreign affairs, particularly the League of Nations, are of so much importance that it is worth while publishing in HEADWAY a textual translation of the passages on this subject in the inaugural declaration of the new Prime Minister, M. Herriot, to the Senate and Chamber.

The Prime Minister spoke as follows: "It remains for us, gentlemen, to explain to you our policy on foreign affairs and on French security. On the military side we propose a reorganisation suggested by the experience of the war and dictated by the needs of the country. This reorganisation, which includes a reduction of military service, must be accomplished in such a way that France shall at no time find herself exposed or weakened by it.

"France repudiates expressly all thought of annexation or conquest. What she seeks is security in dignity and in independence. What she seeks is peace, for herself first of all, but for all other nations equally. We must speak without possibility of misunderstanding. Our democratic Government will firmly defend the rights of our country as they are laid down in the Treaties. We are entitled to Reparations; we seek them in the name of justice. The new international order at which we aim could not be founded on an injustice. But as soon as Germany has put herself in line with the Treaty in regard to Reparations and security, the question of her entry into the League of Nations will rest with her alone.

"We believe, too, that in the interest of peace the disarmament of Germany must be controlled by the common effort of the Allies, and at the earliest moment possible by the action of the League of Nations. We must solve problems of security by pacts of guarantee, placed themselves under the control of the League. We declare that our Government will use every effort to give to the nations who must be guided by the example of France a sincere and enduring peace. We shall do our utmost to encourage and stimulate in all peoples that democratic spirit which we profess ourselves. We shall do all in our power to strengthen the League of Nations and all international institutions of information and friendship and arbitration. We shall pursue a policy of equitable commercial agreements. To attain the result at which we aim we shall strengthen first of all the bonds which join us to our Allies and our friends. We shall endeavour to understand their interests and their needs, as we shall call on them to understand ours. We shall prove to them so convincingly France's loyalty and will for peace that they will join with us to assure those guarantees of security which the Experts' report provide.

"For the sake of peace we shall do more than this. France knows not the meaning of hatred. It is enough for her to base herself on justice. Our Government can show no weakness regarding those who in Germany have not ceased to do violence to Treaties and to maintain, with a spirit of revenge, ideas of a monarchic restoration. But it desires to see the democracy of Germany strengthened. It agrees forthwith to measures of conciliation. The suspensions of penalties accorded by the authorities in the occupied area will be transformed into definite pardons. The amnesty will be applied to political prisoners, with the exception of those who have been prosecuted for attempts against the safety of our troops."

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS.—II.

By CLINTON FIENNES.

THIS article, despite its title, is not primarily about the League at all. It is more about the Union. The reason for writing it is a letter received in relation to last month's article in this series. It runs as follows:—

"I suggest that the 'League for Beginners' series should contain at least one article on the relation between the League and the Union, and should deal with such questions as these:—

"I support the League; why should I support the Union also?"

"There has been and is plenty of international diplomacy which has had no support of any Union. Why does the League require such support?"

"What precisely is the financial relationship between the Union and the League? In other words, how do I support the League by subscribing to the Union? What is done with my money?"

"Does the League in any way recognise the existence of the Union?"

"Do such Unions as ours exist in countries other than Britain? If so, which. If not, why not?"

"If the Union aims at creating and informing public opinion, why is not this branch of the Union's work condemned as an attempt to influence international diplomacy in a way hitherto unprecedented? Has it not been the custom hitherto for diplomatists to resent interference by the public, on the ground that the public can have no adequate knowledge of state affairs?"

"Are any portion of the League's finances provided by the Union funds?"

In view of such questions, which, after all, represent probably what not one reader but some hundreds or thousands want to know, it will be as well to get the relation between the Union and the League clearly stated before going further with a discussion of what the League itself is doing.

Firstly, on the financial side. "Are any portion of the League's finances provided by the Union's funds?" None whatever. The League, as the article in last month's HEADWAY made clear, is an association of the Governments of civilised States, who have bound themselves by treaty to work together for certain ends. The organisation needed to achieve those ends is paid for, naturally enough, by the Governments that created it. An article on another page of this issue, by the Financial Director of the League of Nations, shows exactly what the Governments are paying, and how the total cost of the League is distributed between them.

"Do such Unions as ours exist in countries other than Britain? If so, which? If not, why not?" The broad answer to this question is "Yes." To give the full list of the companion societies in other countries would be tedious. It is enough to say that such societies exist in France and Belgium and Japan, in Switzerland and Holland and the Scandinavian countries, in Roumania, and Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia, in Greece, and even in countries not yet members of the League, such as Germany and the United States. There are similar movements of greater or lesser strength in all the British Dominions, and individual League of Nations groups are in existence in India, the Sudan and elsewhere. The "If not, why not?" question, therefore, hardly needs an answer. There are still a few countries with no movement corresponding to the League of Nations' Union. The reason is not entirely clear. Sometimes it is apathy; in one or two cases a general lack of faith in the League; but it is hard to think of

any country of consequence, with the possible exception of Spain, which is without a League of Nations movement of its own.

Another question: "I support the League; why should I support the Union also?" The answer to that is surely clear. By supporting the Union you support the League in the most effective way possible. Through its Parliamentary Section, its Intelligence Section, its Press Department, its Overseas Section, its Women's Advisory Committee, its Labour and Educational Sections, and others too numerous to detail here, the Union is putting the case for the League ceaselessly, and in a large measure successfully, before practically every section of the population of the country. The work might no doubt be done better; it will no doubt be done better as time goes on. But at any rate it is being done, and the League would hold a very different position in the mind of the British people were it not for the efforts of the Union, as exerted for the last five or six years.

As to what is done with your money, it goes to keep the Union machinery running. The staff at headquarters draws salaries. If able men and women are needed, they must be paid approximately what they could earn anywhere else. Through the headquarters machinery, through the regional organisers who keep headquarters in touch with local branches throughout the country, through the Overseas Section, which maintains connection with similar movements in other countries and with the Federation of all such movements, having headquarters at present in Brussels—through these and other agencies your money is enabling facts about what the League is attempting and what it has achieved to be laid systematically, and it is hoped persuasively, before the public, not only of this, but of other countries.

But is this right? Doubt apparently exists on that point. Hence this question: "If the Union aims at creating and informing public opinion, why is not this branch of the Union's work condemned as an attempt to influence international diplomacy in a way hitherto unprecedented? Has it not been the custom hitherto for diplomatists to resent interference by the public, on the ground that the public can have no adequate knowledge of state affairs?" It may have been true that in the past diplomatists have resented interference by the public, but that is no reason why the public, which in a democratic State is ultimately sovereign, should allow the diplomatists, who are ultimately its servants, to do what they like.

But in point of fact past custom is no longer relevant. The reason why the educational work of the Union is not to be condemned as an attempt to influence international diplomacy is that the Union is concerned with nothing more nor less than pressing for the loyal and unflinching execution of obligations into which this country has solemnly entered. When our plenipotentiaries signed the Covenant of the League in 1919 they committed this country to a specific and definite policy in relation to its neighbours. Certain things it undertook to do, as, for example, to take common action with other countries in various humanitarian fields, and to submit its disputes to some form of conciliation or arbitration. Certain things it undertook not to do, as, for example, not to go to war till every conceivable alternative to war had been explored along the lines expressly laid down in the Covenant.

These undertakings bind not merely the particular administration whose representative signed them, but every Government that holds office in this country, till the Covenant of the League is denounced, which it may safely be said will be never. But Governments are sometimes a little slack in fulfilling their obligations. Even though they are anxious to fulfil them, it

strengthens them greatly to know that public opinion is with them. The Union is creating and educating public opinion.

Such is the difference between the League and the Union. The League consists at present of 54 States, whose Governments, as has been said, have bound themselves to pursue a common policy laid down in the Covenant of the League. The Union at present is an organisation of some 400,000 members in this country alone, existing to assure any Government in office at Westminster of the support of the people of the country in pursuit of a resolute League policy. The distinction is clear, and no more need be said regarding it.

[By a typographical error in the last article in this series the number of States members of the League in 1920 was given as 142. It should, of course, have been 42.—ED. HEADWAY.]

IN THE HOUSE.

May 20.—The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (to Major Tudor Rees):

The estimated total cost of the League for 1923 was £1,018,000, of which the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland was £102,400, or 10.1 per cent. The contributions of the Dominions and India amounted to £162,800, or 16.0 per cent.

May 26.—Mr. CLYNES (to Captain Berkeley):

Naval disarmament in Germany is practically complete. The Government are anxious to withdraw the Naval Commission of Control as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the supervision of German armaments remains in the hands of that body.

June 5.—The MINISTER OF LABOUR (to Mr. Watson):

The Budget of the I.L.O. for 1924 was rather over £300,000, and the Budget for 1925 shows an increase on that amount of about £3,500, being a reduction of £18,000 on the original estimate.

June 5.—The MINISTER OF LABOUR (to Mr. Maxton):

The question of the transfer of relief work in connection with Russian refugees from the League of Nations to the International Labour Organisation is under the consideration of the Government.

June 16.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Commander Kenworthy):

The Turkish delegate at the Constantinople Conference having declared himself unable to consider the British Government's proposals regarding Mosul, no other course remained open to the British Government but to submit the matter to the League of Nations as provided in the Treaty of Lausanne. The Government will shortly address the League of Nations on the subject.

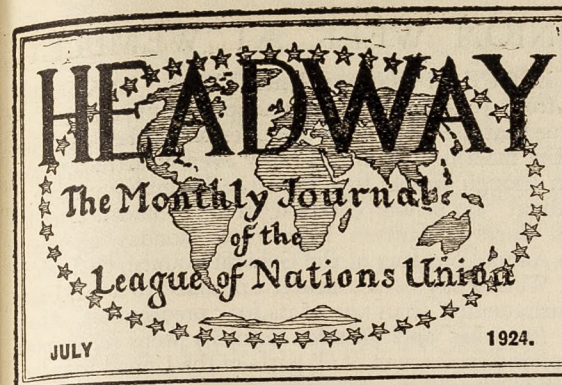
June 16.—The PRIME MINISTER (to Captain Terrell):

Germany has hitherto made no formal application to enter the League of Nations. The procedure is that nations desirous of becoming members of the League make an application to that body to that effect. The League does not invite nations to become members. His Majesty's Government are certainly in favour of the admission of Germany to the League at the earliest possible moment, and would welcome her application for admission.

June 18.—Mr. PONSONBY (to Sir Harry Britain):

Seeing that a number of the Powers represented at the 1920 Conference on Passports have not yet adopted the recommendations of that Conference, it is useless to request the League of Nations to make suggestions of still wider scope, such as the total abolition of visas.

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



THE LEAGUE AND THE EMPIRE

SPRINKLED through newspaper reports of speeches on the League there appears from time to time the loudly-applauded declaration "the greatest League of Nations is the British Empire." Orators like the Duke of Northumberland and M. Leo Maxse lay down the dogma in terms and tones which suggest that the Empire and the League are hopelessly opposed to one another, and that because the Empire exists the League is useless. But when a speaker like Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a by no means hostile critic of the League, says the same thing he clearly means something different from the Duke who now directs the "Morning Post."

It is worth examining what Mr. Chamberlain and others who use similar language do mean by their comparison. Obviously, their words are not to be taken literally. As a matter of mere magnitude the British Empire is not greater than the League of Nations. The League contains fifty-four States, of which the British Empire, its self-governing Dominions and India, form seven. The part can never be greater than the whole.

Clearly, then, the word "great" must denote something other than mere size. The British Empire, the claim must run, is something morally greater, more cohesive, more enduring, than the League of Nations. That thesis is well worth study, not so much with a view to deciding whether it is true as to deciding why it is true. For true it unquestionably is. The worst service any supporter of the League could do his cause would be to challenge Mr. Austen Chamberlain or even the Duke of Northumberland or the Earl of Birkenhead when they dwell on the value to mankind of that great experiment in international government known as the British Empire. We may not all desire to thump tubs about the Empire, but there it is, and whether as British citizens or merely as dispassionate students of the facts of history, we may rejoice in the contribution made by statesmen and administrators of our race to the art of governing undeveloped and welding together developed races.

But if the League has much to learn from the Empire—and that is the only point of emphasising the comparison at all—let us not be led away into searching for resemblances where no resemblances exist. The first and strongest link of Empire is racial. Adventurous Englishmen, and Scotch and Irish, sailed overseas and carved out settlements on the coasts of Virginia and Massachusetts, on the shores of the St. Lawrence, in Table Bay, round Sydney Harbour, in Coromandel. They fought the natives, they fought the French, they fought the Dutch, and gradually, by means sometimes to be admired and sometimes not, they planted the English flag and imposed obedience to the will of the English King and Parliament round the shores of the seven seas of the world.

There is nothing there to furnish moral lessons to the League. It might, indeed, with far more profit turn to the thirteen colonies which severed themselves completely from British rule and came voluntarily together

in a federation closely similar in character to the looser bond forged by the States who created the League five years ago. Where the Empire at present surpasses the League is in the nature of the bond that links its several parts to one another. That, of course, is conspicuous most in the case of the self-governing Dominions. Their loyalty to the Empire and to Great Britain as the heart of the Empire is something intangible, indefinable, something in the last resort defying analysis. Up to a point it is easily enough explained as a bond of race, but something beyond that, and perhaps above it, is needed to account for a French Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Canada and a Dutch General Smuts in South Africa. Then there is India. So far as the more far-seeing citizens of that great country desire a place within the Empire, they desire it because an element of freedom inherent in British rule which satisfies them, that in spite of the difficulties incident to a period of transition, they will realise in co-operation with the rest of the Empire a destiny it would never be in their power to achieve alone.

But the British Empire, after all, does not consist of the Dominions alone. An essential part of it are the Crown Colonies, where great masses of men of alien race live at present under a government they have little share in controlling. But that is not a fixed and permanent state. Slowly the negroes of Africa are being educated to bear their responsibilities. Witness the developments in progress in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. In Ceylon the process has been carried further, in some of the West Indian islands further still. Here, at any rate, we have a working model for the League. If it can create in the mandate territories under its supervision conditions such as prevail in the best-governed British colonies it will have made an admirable beginning with its work. If it can improve on them it will have made an admirable continuance.

At such points resemblance between League and Empire can be traced, and the experience of the Empire be turned to the profit of the League. But let us not be too easily led away by words. The similarity between the British Empire and the League of Nations is very limited. To suggest that the two institutions are like one another, but the Empire the better of the two is utterly false. In the League there is lacking the essential tie of race. There is lacking the bond of historical tradition. There is lacking very frequently the link of common interest. The difference in truth is far greater than the likeness.

All that can be said, perhaps, is that sufficient similarity exists to make it worth while to carry the similarity further. If somehow the spirit of joint co-operation for a common end can be developed in the League as it has been gradually developed within the Empire, then beyond doubt the League will be the stronger and the more effective for it. To a large extent that spirit exists already. The Assembly of the League of Nations, having regard to the number of States participating and the variety of the interests represented, is a far more remarkable body than the Imperial Conference.

Comparisons, in a word, between two such institutions are of the most doubtful value. Much depends on the spirit in which they are made. On the lips of nine speakers out of ten in the present day they are superficial and unconsidered. For serious students of politics the subject is well worth further study. But for practical purposes all that can with profit be said is that the British Empire, whether it is like the League or not—perhaps because it is like it, perhaps because it is unlike—has a contribution greater probably than any single State to make to the League's prosperity. It is already making that contribution, and nothing further can be asked than that it keep its feet on the road in which they are set.

VARIED VOICES.

King Albert of Belgium, at Namur, June 15.—

"The League of Nations is asserting itself as a great moral force. It is necessary to have confidence in it and uphold those who are loyally seeking for means to bring about a peaceful settlement of differences between nations."

Signor Mussolini, in Italian Chamber, June 7:—

"For the benefit of those who reproach me for my attitude towards the League of Nations, I repeat that I desire the League to become nearer and nearer to perfection. The League has to-day the gravest problems to settle, including the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary. Decidedly we must remain in the League."

M. Edouard Herriot, to M. Blum, June 2:—

"The peace for which we shall labour with all our strength will be, in my view, effected only on the day when France, faithful to her democratic spirit and the obligations she entered into during the war shall have fortified and extended the rôle of the League of Nations and of international institutions like the tribunal at the Hague, or the International Labour Office. The League itself will only be capable of playing the part we look for and save us from the horrors of war when it includes all peoples ready to respect it."

President Coolidge, at Arlington Cemetery, May 30:—

"I am one of those believing that we will be safer and will meet our duties better by supporting the Court and making every possible use of it. I feel confident that such action will make a greater America."—*Daily Telegraph*, May 31.

M. T. E. Salvesen, President of the Baltic and White Sea Conference at The Hague, May 6:—

"In the League we have a unique machinery for dealing with many of the great problems of our commercial existence."

M. Paul Boncour, French Socialist Leader, to *Daily Herald* correspondent, May 20:—

"From the standpoint of foreign policy a close collaboration between France and England is a matter of course, but above and beyond such private alliances and ententes I hope to see develop a vast policy of alliance within the League of Nations. The League of Nations must be the corner-stone of our foreign policy of to-morrow."—*Daily Herald*, May 22.

Dante, "*De Monarchia*":—

"Whence it is manifest that universal peace is the best for all those things which are ordained for our blessedness. And that is why there rang out to the shepherds from on high, not riches, not pleasures, not honours, not length of life, not health, not strength, not beauty, but peace. For the celestial soldiery proclaims, 'Glory to God in the highest; and on earth, peace to men of good will.' Hence, also, 'Peace be with you' was the salutation of him who was the salvation of man. For it was meet that the supreme saviour should utter the supreme salutation. And likewise his disciples saw good to preserve this custom, and amongst them Paul, as all may see in his salutations."

UNION WEEK AT WEMBLEY.

LEAGUE of Nations Union Week" at Wembley, from June 16 to 21, was unexpectedly successful. It is true that the attendance dwindles on the last day; but all the meetings up until Friday evening attracted more than enough people to justify the Wembley venture.

About 300 school children from Willesden attended Miss Currey's lantern lecture on Monday afternoon. The Annual Meeting of the General Council, on Tuesday and Wednesday, was a nearer approach to a real Union "Parliament" than any of its four predecessors. About 250 Branches and District Councils were represented, supplying spokesmen of all parts of the United Kingdom. Debates were keen, and much useful work was done.

Those who had had to do with previous Conferences at Wembley were sure that, after Wednesday, the proceedings would "fizzle out." The event proved otherwise. The hall was crowded when Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice began his lecture on "The League of Nations Union and Armaments" on Thursday morning. His masterly analysis of the present International position made a strong case for the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. "The League of Nations has produced a plan, and any Government or people that destroys that plan without putting a better one in its place is committing a grave international crime." In the opinion of the lecturer, there was a very gloomy future for Europe if we in England were unwilling to bear our share of the burden of guaranteeing peace to those who were afraid. Mr. J. R. Griffin followed General Maurice with a striking account of the "will to peace" of ex-service organisations, particularly the British Legion. Thursday morning's session was concluded by Mr. W. O'Molony, who set out lucidly and luminously the work of the Federation, and the sister League Societies abroad. In the afternoon, Miss Janet M. Stephens (North Staffs), Rev. P. H. Gabb (Milford-on-Sea), and Mr. R. Poole (Ilford), initiated the discussion on "The Branches' Work."

Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale began Friday's proceedings with a remarkable address on "America and the League." She explained some of the intricacies of American politics, pointing out that the people of the United States had never really voted against the League of Nations. She was not optimistic of an early change in the situation, but she saw real hope in the steady progress of the various organisations supporting the League from a non-party political angle. This address was followed by a discussion on "Publicity."

The session on Friday afternoon opened with a stirring speech from Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., Minister of Labour. "When we give as much scientific thought to the human factor in industry as we have been giving to the machines of industry, we shall automatically solve all our problems of housing, education, unemployment, and unrest," declared Mr. Shaw, who then went on to point out that, in his opinion, the work of the International Labour Organisation was the greatest move in this direction so far recorded. He intended to use all his influence to place the I.L.O. Conventions before Parliament as soon as possible, whether he agreed with them or not.

Saturday was "Education Day." In the morning, Dr. Maxwell Garnett presided for Professor C. K. Webster, who spoke on "The League in Universities, Colleges, and Schools." Dr. Garnett forecast the possibility of the evolution of some flexible form of world federation, which, in his opinion, was the only absolute guarantee against aggression. He preferred the healthy internationalism of Geneva to the cosmopolitanism of Moscow. Professor Webster referred to the emotional idealism that followed the War as a "wasting asset." There was increasing need for continuous instruction on the League in all schools, colleges, and universities.

There had been a considerable improvement in the standard of history teaching; but there was still much to be done. Professor Webster thought that the Union should concern itself more with getting the League put on the curricula rather than with suggesting in what form or way it should be taught. Miss Winifred Jay, of Central Foundation School, and Mr. Matthews, of the N.U.T., contributed usefully to the discussion that followed Professor Webster's address. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. F. J. Gould gave a fascinating demonstration lesson to school children.

THE L.N.U. COUNCIL.

THE month of June has been made noteworthy by meetings of the League Council, the I.L.O., the Permanent Court, and the General Council of the League of Nations Union. The last body held its deliberations at Wembley, in order that the delegates might combine some pleasure with their business. Whether or not the Conference Hall, in which they met, can challenge comparison with the Salle de la Réformation in other respects, it certainly vies with it in badness of acoustics.

The proceedings opened with the presentation by the Chairman of a very encouraging report on the year's work. The Union's membership has increased to 390,000, and its financial future is assured. "I am full of pride," he said, "in this organisation. It is a society of which members and officials have every right to be proud." Turning to wider issues, the Chairman mentioned some of the international problems which must confront the world in the near future, such as the treatment of minorities, the effects of growing industrialism in the Far East, and the very great danger arising out of the training of black races in modern methods of warfare. These are problems in the treatment of which societies such as ours, just because they do not represent any official opinion, can be, and ought to be, in advance of governments and of the League itself. Upon us rests the responsibility of securing their discussion in a frank and friendly spirit before they become a menace to the world's peace.

A number of important resolutions were passed by the Council. The first, after welcoming the Experts' Reports as a step in the right direction, declared that the League machinery was the best available for securing a final solution of the Reparations problem, and pressed for the admission of Germany to the League with a permanent seat on the Council. In this connection a delegate called attention to a statement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons to the effect that the Government are in favour of the admission of Germany to the League at the earliest possible moment, and would welcome her application for admission. Another resolution declared that the disarmament of Germany should be investigated by the League, and that if she proves to have fulfilled her obligations future supervision of German armaments should be left in the hands of the League. It is worth nothing that this month's Council of the League, in discussing the disarmament of the other ex-enemy countries, has perhaps paved the way for such a step.

The Council urged that the export and import of opium for other than medicinal and scientific purposes should be completely prohibited. The adoption of such a principle would not interfere with the right claimed by India to grow opium, in excess of that required for "legitimate purposes," for her people to eat as a remedy for malaria, but would ensure that the opium thus grown should not be exported for smoking. A further resolution dealt with the very unsatisfactory position of minorities in Turkey under the Lausanne Treaty, and expressed the hope that the League would not undertake obligations with regard to their protection

without ensuring that it had the means to carry it out. The Ealing Branch proposed a resolution urging the Government to sign the compulsory jurisdiction protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice. After a discussion, in which the reasons which make it difficult for this country in particular to do so were pointed out, it was agreed to pass the resolution and follow it by a deputation. The Chairman suggested that it would be possible for the Government to adhere with reservations which would completely safeguard our interests. A proposal that a knowledge of Esperanto be made compulsory for candidates for branches of the Civil Service which deal with international affairs was dropped when it was pointed out what a large number of Government Departments come under this category.

By far the most hotly-debated question of the whole session, as was expected, was that of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The Treaty was accepted by the last Assembly and sent to the Governments of all member States for their comment. Whether the one practical attempt at disarmament which has yet been made is to prove abortive depends entirely on whether they can be induced to give it their serious consideration. A special sub-committee of the Union has studied the Draft Treaty with great care, and the Executive proposed that the Government be urged to approve it subject to amendment on the lines which they propose. Lord Cecil himself was present to defend the Treaty and explain the amendments, which are intended to make the definition of "aggressive warfare" more satisfactory. Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., proposed an amendment expressing the hope that, in view of the changed political conditions in Europe, it would be possible to secure a solution of the problem more in accordance with the spirit of the Covenant. The extreme optimism which can deduce a new heaven and a new earth from a change in the French Government passed unnoticed in the debate which followed. Mr. Mosley's supporters based their arguments on the recognition by the Treaty of regional alliances which they condemned as a return to the methods of force and the balance of power. The Chairman and Viscount Cecil both pointed out that defensive alliances are permitted by the Covenant itself; that, granted the possibility that they may be turned to unlawful purposes, they are better controlled by the League than uncontrolled; that there is nothing intrinsically wrong in a treaty, and that to recognise them is not, as one speaker suggested, tampering with vice. In summing up, Lord Cecil warned the meeting that, in his opinion, if the League does not succeed in putting into force some scheme for disarmament, whether this Treaty or another, and that soon, it will have failed to justify its existence. He pointed out that Mr. Mosley's amendment offered absolutely no constructive alternative to the Draft Treaty. The Executive resolution, amended so as to ensure that the Government should not accept the Treaty without consultation with the Dominions, was carried by a large majority.

Turning to domestic affairs, the Council resolved that it should hold one meeting a year outside London—a proposal which has apparently been made before, but not acted upon since the Birmingham meeting in February, 1922. There are many good reasons in its favour: the difficulty, for delegates from the North, of coming to London for two or three days; the greater publicity which the Union could obtain from provincial papers; better opportunities for the entertainment of delegates than exist in London, where they are apt to be billeted so far apart that they cannot easily meet informally after the day's business is done.

A proposal that the Union should affiliate with the National Council for the Prevention of War was rejected by a large majority.

BOOKS WORTH READING:

A NEW volume from Professor William McDougall is always welcome. His *Ethics and Some Modern World Problems* (Methuen & Co., 7s. 6d.) is stimulating and challenges thought; his suggestions, even where they do not command agreement, cannot be lightly set aside. His main thesis here is: "The fact that our civilization has developed on a dual ethical basis, has been governed by ethical principles of two very different systems which have never been harmonised, but rather have been in perpetual conflict." These two systems he calls National and Universal; neither of them by itself will suffice, the one leading to such disasters as the Great War, the other to universal stagnation and decay. But each is necessary, and Professor McDougall attempts their harmony, a true Internationalism as opposed to an easy-going Cosmopolitanism, a true patriotism as opposed to an aggressive chauvinism, and with this in each nation a political organisation which shall "enable it effectively to play its proper part among its fellow-nations"; the organisation which is claimed as the best is a representative democracy on an aristocratic basis. It can be easily seen that such a theme gives ample room for argument, and in the early chapters which diagnose generally the present situation the author is at his best. The world has gone wrong and the psychologist points out not merely the self-evident surface causes of its mistakes, but the underlying reasons which are not so obvious. For remedy the first step must be the linking together once more of Politics and Ethics; "we have to ask not only—How should men act and live? but also—What manner of man is best fitted to the best life?" and the formula suggested, with each word carefully chosen and defended, as the corrective and unifying principle of all that is best in the hitherto conflicting systems runs as follows: "Our goal must be the highest happiness of the greatest number enduring throughout an indefinitely prolonged future."

It is, however, when Professor McDougall comes to details that he is less satisfactory. In his discussion of Universal Ethics he suggests too close an identity of it and Christian Ethics; in stating an extreme view he hardly does justice to the wide difference which exists between that Christian view of life which results from man's actions being chiefly influenced by his allegiance to God and, on the other hand, the humanitarian or cosmopolitan idea which rests upon an application of the Sermon on the Mount only to the relations of man to man, leaving God out of account. Nor is his proposal to secure the propagation of those best fitted to rule and lead a nation and to avoid the overbreeding of the unfit ever likely to come within the range of practical politics; the division of society into three classes between which intermarriage is penalised and of which only the highest has a voice in government is purely fantastic, and not what we expect from a writer who professes to face realities. It was not to be expected that in dealing with modern world problems the League should be left aside. In the author's opinion "the instituting of the League was too large a change to be made at a single step"; its influence "must always be imperfect and uncertain as a substitute for international morality." He is entitled to his opinion, but he puts forward a false antithesis. He would be content with a World Court with representation according to national expenditure on education—a basis that is not free from serious objection—and with an efficient air-force to secure the effectiveness of its decisions, all other aerial navigation, military or commercial, being absolutely forbidden. The proposal is intriguing, but it would be interesting to speculate to what extent

Professor McDougall's ideas have been influenced by his residence in the United States; it may be doubted whether if he were still at Oxford he would have shown more than once so unphilosophic an anti-German and pro-French bias, and whether he would have committed himself in his closing paragraph to the statement that "British financiers and economists play with the idea of bringing financial pressure to bear on France by attacking the exchange value of the franc." By little touches like this the philosopher shows that he is human after all, and his book is one which should by all means be read.

Of the five lectures by Mr. J. H. Whitehouse, headmaster of Bembridge School, and Dr. G. P. Gooch, published under the title *Wider Aspects of Education* (Cambridge University Press, 4s. 6d.), two are intimately concerned with the League. In the first, Dr. Gooch, in speaking of world citizenship, argues that the League is no mere post-war expedient, but "the consummation of the whole historic process . . . the logical, the natural and the rightful stage of the long process through which the human race has passed in attempting to organise the common life of man." From this text he passes to a survey of the complex streams of human development, with special reference to those which have fertilised this country, and urges that the League is the true path to citizenship of the world, that membership of the League "brings with it duties just as definite and just as important as our membership of the British Empire and our English citizenship." Incidentally he calls attention to the fact that while the League is no new conception—a Dutch professor has traced no less than twenty-nine distinct systems for an association of nation between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries—yet during the past century not one single thinker of any note put forward the idea of the League; arbitration was the goal for which they then worked, only to find the disappointment of their highest hopes.

Everyone's Affairs, by Dr. Robert Jones (Sidgwick & Jackson, 2s. 6d.), is an altogether delightful primer of citizenship; it is, moreover, a model of sound educational method. Starting with the statement that "it is our business to know our business," the author deals with the workings of the world, but more with the workings of its minds than of its machinery; the beginnings of history and of government, work and politics, trade unions and newspapers, rent, rates and taxes all find their proper place and are treated in living relation to Everyman. He asks questions and sets problems without giving his own answers and solutions; these he rightly leaves to the reader. In an admirable last chapter on internationalism he enforces the distinction between patriotism, and, with Dr. Gooch, he places the League in its right place among the inevitable changes of history. Dr. Jones is of necessity brief in the treatment of his subject, but he is everywhere vivid and practical and his words are assisted by Mr. Milner's attractive diagrams. It should be everyone's affair, certainly every teacher's and every young citizen's affair, to read this book, and its price puts it within everyone's reach.

A short notice cannot do justice to Mr. J. H. Oldham's long-expected volume, *Christianity and the Race Problem* (Student Christian Movement, 7s. 6d.). The subject is worthy of Mr. Oldham's experience and ability, and he writes with a common sense that is lacking in many Christians. If pessimists forebode that the next world war will be inter-racial, an appreciation of the guiding principles he sets forth will do very much to avert such a catastrophe. There is no aspect of the problem, biological, political, economic, social, which is omitted and, each is stated with know-

ledge and the utmost fairness. Everyone who has the least interest in mandated territories or in British tropical dependencies must give this book his most careful attention.

ALSO RECEIVED.

Studies in Polish Life and History, by A. E. Tennant (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.). The contents ably justify the title; the author, no mere propagandist and, where necessary, frankly critical, explains much that is at least puzzling in the present behaviour of the Polish Government. The book will help to restore the old friendship of Great Britain and Poland.

Six Short Plays, by John Galsworthy (Duckworth, 5s.).
The Empire at War, Vol. I, by Sir Charles Lucas (Milford, 15s.).
H. W. F.

Correspondence

L.N.U. AND I.L.O.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the April number of HEADWAY it was stated that "it is beginning to be recognised that the International Labour Organisation, whose work seems at first sight a little prosaic beside the variety of tasks which fall to the Assembly and Council, is really an extremely interesting organisation." Some of us had realised the interest of the I.L.O. before HEADWAY made this surprised and—to judge by the rest of the issue—half-hearted confession of lukewarm faith; but perhaps it was the novelty of the idea which led to the May number devoting almost 5 of its 37 columns to subjects connected with the I.L.O. Nevertheless, by June all interest seems to have faded silently away. I find one book review, one passing reference in connection with the Wembley Exhibition Pavilion—by the way, I see that we are to hear nothing about the I.L.O. at the meeting on June 20—one question in Parliament, and the Agenda of the forthcoming I.L. Conference, expressed with a brevity worthy of a less prosaic paper.

What has become of the "extreme interest"? You tell us that the proceedings of the Opium Committee are of great importance, and I do not dispute it. Is not the question of night baking (or even unemployment) at least as important and (surely this will appeal to HEADWAY) as full of humanitarian interest? Could you not have told us a little more about probable developments at Geneva? But perhaps I am unique in finding interest in matters which affect the lives of so many people in this country. Perhaps I am wrong in thinking that the Conference lately organised by the L.N.U. on unemployment aroused more interest than any other of its activities has ever done. If that be so, let me take quite another subject.

I see that you do take an interest in the Refugee question. Am I wrong in thinking that there is a proposal to hand over the Russian refugee organisation to the I.L.O. more or less as the only alternative to its abolition, and that the proposal is meeting with British opposition? Can HEADWAY give us neither news nor a lead? Yet the matter will be settled in June.

I could extend almost indefinitely the list of important events connected with the I.L.O. upon which HEADWAY is silent, but I will add only two. First, the current issue contains half a column of "Geneva Publications"; not one I.L.O. publication is mentioned—were there none in May? Second, you say that the outstanding feature of the Report of the Reparation Commission was the absence of reference to the League—was it not of interest to the League that Reparations were discussed last January by the Governing Body of the I.L.O.?—yet I can find no reference to this in HEADWAY.

To what are these continuous omissions due? To stupidity or design? If I continued my list of instances, should I appear guilty of an attempt to circumvent your Editorial policy? What else can I believe?

But if it be policy, I must conclude that the official organ of the L.N.U. has no use for the I.L.O., and gives it just so much attention as not to appear to treat it as the

Dawes Report treats the League. Perhaps the occurrence of the word "labour" is too much for HEADWAY; if so, then I and other shocking folk who care as much for social as for racial justice must look elsewhere for our news.

I find further food for thought in the fact that the L.N.U. itself has apparently published in four years some 150 pamphlets, of which no more than three have to do with the I.L.O.; of the three, one is entirely out of date.—Yours, &c.
W. ARCHER HODGSON.

Torrington Lodge,
Claygate, Surrey.
June 10, 1924.

P.S.—In my own opinion, all the activities of the League depend in the end on satisfactory labour conditions, the securing of which is the task of the International Labour Organisation; the importance of this task certainly more than justifies the size of the I.L. Organisation, in comparison with the other institutions of the League.

MANDATES AND LIQUOR.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I see, at page 113 of HEADWAY, a reply of the Colonial Secretary in the House, quoted as follows:—

Article 22 of the Covenant does not provide for the prohibition of alcoholic liquor in Mandated territories, but for prohibition of "abuses such as the liquor traffic"—i.e., of the traffic in cheap distilled liquors, commonly known as "trade spirits."

Would you kindly set out for us Article 22 in full? For certainly if it in so many words does provide for prohibition of "abuses such as the liquor traffic," it provides for prohibition of the liquor traffic. If it only meant to provide for prohibition of trade spirits, etc., it would have prohibited merely "the abuses of the liquor traffic."

2. I should be very glad if you could give us a map of Africa, showing what has been done in Africa as to the drink problem; and also if you would give us information as to what has happened in Mandated territories.

Yours, &c.,
J. THEODORE DODD.

Oxford.
[The relevant passage in Article 22 of the Covenant reads as follows:—

"Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League."

On what ground abuse of the liquor traffic is defined by the British Government as meaning simply the traffic in trade spirits is not clear, unless it be that these spirits are the only form of liquor within the natives' limited purchasing power.

The suggestion contained in the second paragraph of our correspondent's letter will be considered.—ED., HEADWAY.]

SPAIN, THE RIFFS AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I call attention to the article in *The Times* of Monday, June 9, by their correspondent at Tangier, on the imminence of further fighting between the forces of Spain and the Riff mountaineers in Morocco?

Is not this an occasion when the League of Nations might intervene and so prevent further bloodshed between a civilised Power like Spain and the Riffe, who, though uncivilised, are, in many respects, a fine race?—Yours faithfully,
HENRY GURNEY.

[Some State would have to raise this question under Article XI of the Covenant. Spain would then contend that it was a matter of domestic jurisdiction, and this claim would have to be referred to jurists.—ED., HEADWAY.]

OVERSEAS NEWS.

THE Annual Conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be in progress at Lyons as this number of HEADWAY appears. It is obvious, therefore, that an account of the meeting must be deferred till our next issue. This year's Conference is particularly important, in that it is being held in a town of which the present French Prime Minister has so long been Mayor, and supporters of the League in France are hoping for a considerable access of strength to the movement as a result of the Conference and the publicity likely to be given to its deliberations. British delegates were expected to include: Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Sir Walter Napier, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. G. N. Barnes, Major David Davies, M.P., the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Captain Berkeley, M.P., Admiral Drury Lowe and others.

Lord Cecil has just completed a most successful lecturing tour in Scandinavia and Holland. At the invitation of various societies, including the Anglo-Swedish, the Anglo-Norwegian, the Anglo-Danish and the Anglo-Dutch Societies, and the League of Nations Society in Holland, he delivered lectures, mainly upon subjects in connection with the work of the League of Nations, at Gothenburg, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and at the University of Upsala. In each of these places he had large and enthusiastic audiences.

Professor Ruysen, the Secretary of the International Federation of Voluntary League of Nations Societies at Brussels, has lately paid a visit to Ireland, where he gave an address to a very well attended meeting, which was followed the next evening by an interesting discussion on many phases of the League itself and on the International Federation of Societies. He also had conversations with various members of the Government, of the Senate and of the Dail.

Mr. Frederick Whelen is at present engaged in an extremely successful tour through Canada, undertaken at the request of the Canadian League of Nations Society. He has taken in his route Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Brantford. One typical Sunday he spoke in St. James's Cathedral, addressed three Sunday schools, and finally spoke to a mass meeting of over 300 in a theatre in the evening, the speech on this occasion being broadcast. Mr. Whelen is expected to go as far as the Pacific Coast, and reports received from the Canadian Society speak of the great value of his addresses.

Extremely useful propaganda work has been undertaken by the Malta branch of the Union, recently formed by Mr. W. Carridice. A particularly interesting meeting was held on H.M.S. "Marlborough," by permission of the Captain. Mr. Carridice addressed a meeting of about 500 able seamen, together with a number of officers, on the open deck of the ship. After a 40 minutes' address, something like an hour and a quarter was devoted to questions, and subsequently Mr. Carridice was invited to the officers' mess, where another two hours' discussion on the League and its work took place. A number of seamen on the "Marlborough" joined the Union, and as the former will be distributed to other ships, the work of education could be spread with some success.

It has been decided to form a new branch of the Union at Lovedale, Cape Province, South Africa, where interest in the League is growing steadily.

The British Government has on two successive Fridays introduced Bills to give effect to the White Lead and Seamen's Indemnity Conventions (I.L.O.). Both have gone to Committees.

GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

Documents.

Austria, Financial Reconstruction of. Fifteenth Report by the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations for Austria. (February 15th to March 15th, 1924.) C. 176, 1924, II. 1s. net.

Hungary, Financial Reconstruction of. Agreements drawn up by the League of Nations and signed at Geneva on March 14th, 1924. Together with the Documents and public Declarations relating thereto. C. 185, M. 53, 1924, II. 1s. 6d. net.

Assembly, The.—Agenda of the Fifth Session of the Assembly. A. 3, 1924. 3d. net.

Danzig, Free City of. General Report by the Secretary-General for the period October, 1923-March, 1924. C. 181, N. 54, 1924. 1s. 2d. net.

Health.—The Prevalence of Epidemic Disease and Post-Health Organisation and Procedure in the Far East. Report presented to the Health Committee of the League of Nations, by F. Norman White. C. 167, M. 43, 1924, III. 6s. net.

Interim Report on Tuberculosis and Sleeping Sickness. In Equatorial Africa. C. 8, M. 6, 1924, III. 4s. net.

Health Committee.—Minutes of the First Session held at Geneva, from February 11th to 21st, 1924. C. 10, M. 7, 1924, III. 4s. 6d. net.

Intellectual Co-operation: Committee on.

Enquiry into the conditions of Intellectual Work. Second Series. Intellectual Life in the Various Countries.

Austria.—Conditions of Intellectual Work and Workers, by A. Dopsch. Brochure No. 6. 1s. 6d. net.

Belgium.—Notes Intended to Serve as a Contribution to a General Statistical Survey of Popular Education. Brochure No. 7. 6d. net.

United States of America.—The Principal American Foundations, by Henri Reverdin. Brochure No. 11. 4d. net.

France.—Preservation and Dissemination of Artistic Taste. Report by Julien Luchaire. Accompanied by a letter from M. Emile Nale. Brochure No. 15. 4d. net.

Greece.—The Elevation of Legal Studies, by A. Andreades. Brochure No. 19. 6d. net.

Czecho-Slovakia.—The Universities, by A. de Halecki. Brochure No. 38. 4d. net.

Memel Territory, The Status of. C. 159, M. 39, 1924, VII. 4s. net.

Pamphlet Issued by the Information Section of the Secretariat.

Covenant of League of Nations. 3d. net each, £1 per 100.

Saar Basin.—General Report by the Secretary-General for the period October, 1923-March, 1924. C. 171, M. 46, 1924, I. 2d. net.

Periodicals.

Monthly Epidemiological Report of the Health Section of the Secretariat. No. 64, March 15th, 1924. 1s. net.

Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, No. 4, 1924. 1s. 6d. net.

International Organisations, Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of. Compiled by the Section of International Bureaux. No. 7, April, 1924. 1s. 3d. net. Annual subscription, 5s. net.

Treaty Series.—Publication of Treaties and International Engagements registered with the Secretariat of the League. Volume XX., 1923, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4. 12s. net.

[To be obtained in Great Britain from or through Messrs. Constable, 12, Orange Street, W.C.2.]

The Permanent Court of International Justice is at present considering a dispute regarding a pre-war contract (including electric light and traction and water power in Jerusalem) arising under the Palestine Mandate. The next case deals with a small dispute over the Albanian-Slav frontier.

When You Visit

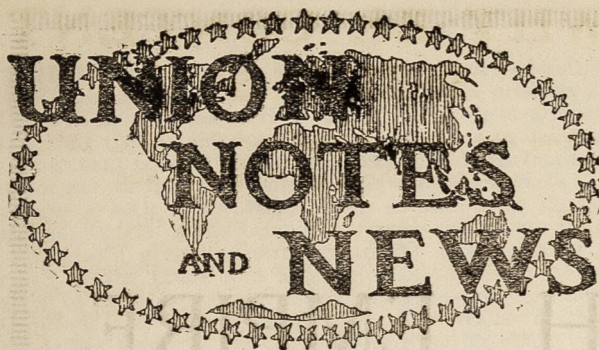
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A Children's Demonstration.

A feature of Tottenham Branch's annual report that deserves special mention is a demonstration organised among school-children by a number of head-masters and head-mistresses. The demonstration was held in Bruce Castle Park, by kind permission of the Tottenham Council, on Saturday, June 14. The meeting in the park was preceded by a procession from the Town Hall to the place of meeting, consisting of a large number of children representing all the States members of the League. Some of these children were dressed in the national costume of the State they represented, while others carried the flags of various League members. Art, domestic and industrial occupations and other phases of our national life, were also represented by tableaux arranged on motor-lorries.

New Branch at Rochdale.

A new Branch has just been formed in connection with Ogden Baptist Church, Rochdale, and the keenness of its supporters promises well for the future. Most of them—they number at present about 50—are mill operatives, who are entering into the movement with great enthusiasm.

How Birmingham Spreads League News.

Birmingham District Council have their own publicity and propaganda committee, which keeps the League and the Union well before the eye of the city. Letters are sent to the press when necessary in reply to articles affecting the League; lantern lectures and meetings have been arranged; and—an original and enterprising feature—copies of HEADWAY have been sent gratis since October last to the leading clubs and hotels in Birmingham. Each copy bears a gummed slip setting out the objects of the Union, and giving the address of the District Office. Thus the path of the converted reader is made easy. An article by a Birmingham lady, giving her impressions of the last Assembly, was published in the *Birmingham News*, and extracts from it in the daily press. All the local papers published Professor Gilbert Murray's memorandum on the Greco-Italian dispute. The increase in the District membership in the course of the last year has been most satisfactory. In all it now includes 22 Branches with a total of 3,988 members, as compared with 2,500 a year ago. Northfield, in particular, has made a splendid advance; a house to house canvass there has resulted in bringing the numbers up from 104 to 364.

News from Scotland.

The Scottish National Council met at Glasgow on May 17, and received the reports of its various sub-committees. The report of the Education Sub-committee showed that the campaign in the schools carried on in the North and North-east District was not unique. All over Scotland

efforts are being made, in conjunction with the Educational Institute of Scotland, to press the necessity of League teaching for school-children. In the Glasgow area 1,500 teachers have become members of the District Branch. In the Aberdeen area 11 out of 13 Education Authorities have agreed to instruct their teachers to give regular lessons on the League. The sub-committee has also arranged for an autumn school to be held at the Dunblane Hydropathic during the week-end from October 3rd to 6th, at which it is hoped that Mr. Basil Mathews will speak.

Aberdeen is to the fore, as ever, in the acquisition of new members. In the course of the year the membership of the district has been doubled. Glasgow, which made a tremendous forward move in the autumn, on the occasion of Lord Birkenhead's famous address, has kept up the pace by adding 600 members since the New Year.

Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart., C.B., was re-appointed chairman, and Professor W. P. Paterson, of Edinburgh, vice-chairman, of the Council for next year.

Further Quotas.

The Sevenoaks Branch was inadvertently omitted from the list, published in HEADWAY, of Branches which had paid their quota to the Council vote. Since the publication of the list, the Hastings and St. Leonards Branch has completed its 1923 Council's vote quota.

A New Lantern Lecture.

Sir Herbert Ames, the Director of the Financial Section of the secretariat, gave a lantern lecture on the League at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, on June 11. Sir Herbert is now on his way to Canada and the United States, where he intends to deliver his lecture in a number of towns. He gave an exhaustive survey of all the fields of activity covered by the League. Intermingled with the pictorial slides were others giving the important articles of the Covenant,

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
June 21, 1924	...	...	...	...	390,543

BRANCHES.

On June 21 the number of Branches was 1,840. Junior Branches 175, and Corporate Members 776.

short summaries of the work done by some of the technical organisations, maps and charts illustrating the political work of the League and such achievements as the typhus campaign and the repatriation of refugees. The pictures included views of Geneva, of the Peace Palace at the Hague, and of some of the countries whose destinies have been influenced by the League. Sessions of Assembly and Council, of the various Committees of the Assembly, and most of the important conferences that have been held by the League were also shown. Sir Herbert's own intimate knowledge of the working of the League made the lecture particularly interesting.

Co-operators and the League.

The Co-operative Exhibition, held in connection with the recent Co-operative Congress at Nottingham, has given the local Branch of the Union an opportunity for most useful propaganda. A large number of Secretaries of Branches throughout the country visited the Union's literature stall, and a leaflet which was printed at the suggestion of Mr. F. S. Perry, M.P. for Kettering and a member of the L.N.U. Executive Committee, was distributed to delegates on the first day of the Congress. Thanks are due to co-operative movement in general for its sympathetic attitude to the Union, and to Mr. Neate in particular for his splendid service at the literature stall.

Life in Germany.

The Congleton Branch is holding a series of six meetings dealing with the various countries of the world. The first, at which Germany was under consideration, was

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Read and notice the wonderful changes which have taken place since this novel was written. A few remainder copies of "HARCOURT," by A. Curtis Sherwood, can be obtained, post free 2/6 each, from the address—
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addressed by Miss D. Cross, who has recently returned from Germany and was able to give a first-hand account of the economic conditions in that country.

A League Sunday.

With regard to the campaign amongst the Scottish churches mentioned in our June number, 1,100 ministers, not 400, were circularised.

The World Alliance and the L.N.U.

In order to co-ordinate so far as possible the work of the League of Nations Union and the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, a Liaison Committee between the two bodies has been formed which will meet at regular intervals and discuss common problems, with a view to effecting the most fruitful co-operation practicable.

Points from Speeches.

Welsh National Council at Llandrindod Wells—"The success of a District Committee depends on its organisation. The success of a Branch depends on its Secretary."

At the recent Union Council meeting, Mr. Brayshaw, of Idle, Bradford, remarked that he and his colleague had addressed 180 meetings during the last year as a result of their visit to the Geneva Summer School.

Broadcasting as Propaganda.

A good example of sound organisation of local meetings was mentioned during the Wembley Council meeting. At a Demonstration at Highcliffe Castle, on 24th May, two afternoon meetings were held, one at 3 o'clock and one at 6 o'clock, at which Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Colonel Wilfred Ashley and the Labour Candidate for Pournmouth spoke. In the evening General Seely and Mr. Laurence Houseman addressed a meeting. Arrangements were made by which six speeches on that day were broadcast throughout the Pournmouth area, with remarkably good results. For instance, sixteen people in one household listened to the speeches and promptly enrolled as members.

What France is Thinking.

A meeting designed to draw together representatives of progressive political thought in France and England was held at the Union headquarters in the latter part of May, and addressed by Professor Bouglé, President of the French Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, an association numbering some 300,000 members in France. The Ligue is non-party, and had no particular electoral ticket at the recent French elections, but it stood for a belief in republicanism and peace, and approves the Leftward move in the Chamber. Professor Bouglé gave a clear account of the aims of the Left in France, and his address, at which the chair was taken by Professor Gilbert Murray, was followed by an interesting discussion.

WALES AND THE LEAGUE.

The third annual conference of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations' Union was held at Llandrindod Wells during Whitsun week, and delegates were present from Branches in all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire and the interest and enthusiasm bore eloquent testimony to the growth of the League of Nations' movement throughout the Principality.

On Tuesday afternoon a public conference took place under the chairmanship of Councillor Dudley T. Howe, J.P., of Barry. Professor Theodore Ruysen, Secretary General of the International Federation of League of Nations' Societies, and Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Overseas Committee of the League of Nations' Union, described the progress of the League of Nations movement on the Continent of Europe.

In the evening there was a crowded public meeting, at which the chairman was Miss E. Matthews, J.P., of Amlwch.

Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths and Miss Elined Prys, members of the delegation from the Women of Wales to the Women of America, told the story of the Memorial signed by nearly 400,000 women in Wales and in Monmouthshire and of its presentation at a great meeting in the United States attended by the representatives of over 50 women's organisations in America. Replies are being continually received from a large number of American organisations expressing their indebtedness to the women of Wales for the initiative which they had taken.

The annual meeting of the Welsh National Council was held on the Wednesday morning, when the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's was elected President, and the retiring President, Mr. David Davies, M.P., was elected Vice-President for the year 1924-1925.

In the discussion following the presentation of the annual report, Mr. John Hinds, the Lord-Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire, urged that Branches composed of Welsh people living outside Wales should be more intimately associated with the Welsh National Council of the Union.

The Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., the Honorary Director, in presenting the annual report, said that in proportion to population Wales was now first of all countries of the United Kingdom. They could not in Wales, he said, improve their position, but they could and would improve their figures.

It was decided to appoint Mr. David Samways, B.A., on the staff of the Welsh National Council, as Organising Secretary.

On Wednesday afternoon there was a conference under the chairmanship of Mr. T. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C., of Colwyn Bay. At this conference Mr. J. L. Rogers, of Caersws, spoke on "The Work of a Rural Branch." Mr. W. R. Brookes, of Llandudno, on "The Work of a District Committee," and the Rev. Gwilym Davies submitted a scheme for the winter's work. These papers were stimulating and full of interest, and valuable suggestions were made as to the better carrying out of the Union's work in the country generally and the suggested programmes of Branch work are sure to prove most useful.

After the conference Mr. and Mrs. David Davies entertained the delegates to tea at the Grand Pavilion.

The series of meetings and conferences was brought to a close on Wednesday evening by a magnificent meeting, of which the newly-elected President of the Council was chairman. The speakers were the Right Hon. Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., and Professor C. K. Webster.

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Co-operative Guild. CHORLEY—Trinity Wesleyan Men's Bible Class. EDINBURGH—Centre of the College of Nursing; The Presbyterian Committee of the Girls' Auxiliary U.F. Church. FALMOUTH—Congregational Church. GLASGOW—John Knox and Tradeston U.F., Y.M.C.A. HAMPSHIRE—Free Church Federation. HAMILTON—The Teaching Staff of Burnbank School; The Teaching Staff of Woodside School. IPSWICH—Crown Street Congregational Church. KENDAL—The British Legion (Ivy Leaf Club). KETTERING—Co-operative Education Committee. LEADGATE—Wesley Guild. LEITH—The Council of Leith Battalion of the Boys' Brigade. LIMPFIELD—Branch of the British Legion. LIVERPOOL—Brotherhood Movement; High Park Street Wesleyan Church; Spiritualists' National Church. LONGSIGHT—Free Christian Church; Presbyterian Church. LYTHAM—Ansdell Baptist Church. MAIDENHEAD—Brotherhood. MANOR PARK—Romford Road Wesleyan Church. NEW BARNET—Holy Trinity Parochial Church Council. NOTTINGHAM—Federation of the C.E.M.S. PHILADELPHIA—St. Oswald's Church. PORTSMOUTH—Portsmouth and District Christian Endeavour Union; Wesley Young Men's Institute, No. 1. READING—London Road Liberal Christian Church; Reading and District Free Church Council. REDHILL—Congregational Church. SALE and ASHTON—Labour Party. SHREWSBURY—Coton Hill Congregational Church. SOUTHFIELDS—Wesleyan Methodist Church. SOUTH NORWOOD—St. Luke's, Woodside, Men's Fellowship. STAKEFORD—Primitive Methodist Church; War Memorial Institute; Women's Section of the Labour Party. WALLINGTON—Congregational Church. WALLSEND—Labour Party. WANSTEAD—Grove Road Congregational Church. WIDNES—Labour Party.

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

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