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MATTERS OF MOMENT

SUFFICIENT time has now passed to make it clear that the unfortunate events at Geneva in March have done no harm to the cause of the League of Nations in Germany.

Britain and the Council

IN view of the importance of the attitude taken by the British representative on the Commission which is to consider the constitution of the League Council, the following statement made by the Prime Minister during the debate in the House of Commons on March 23 is of especial interest:—

“I will deal with the questions which the right hon. gentleman the member for Spen Valley put about the constitution of this Commission.

“The first question was ‘Does the Government accept the principle that the decision of the Council can only be taken by unanimity?’ The answer is ‘Yes.’ ‘Will the Government use the League machinery?’ ‘Yes, certainly, every time it is appropriate.’

“... There is no undertaking now so far as the work of this Commission is concerned to try to put any particular Power in a permanent seat on the Council. It

is equally open to the Commission to recommend that the number of seats shall remain as they are. It is perfectly open to the Commission to report to the League of Nations that the constitution of the Council shall remain as it is now or that it shall be increased by whatever they suggest. It is a perfectly open question."

Brazil's Attitude

NOT much is known of any development in the attitude of Brazil regarding a permanent seat on the League Council. Some interest, however, attaches to an article which has appeared in the *Cologne Gazette* from its correspondent at Rio de Janeiro. It is there stated that after a good deal of excitement manifested during the Geneva discussions in March, comparative calm now prevails, and certain papers, even those by no means opposed to the Government, are complaining that the interests of the country have been sacrificed to the personal views of the Foreign Minister, Senor Pacheco. This view is expressed in particular by the *Jornal do Brasil*, which as long ago as the middle of March pointed out that Brazil's obduracy had alienated from her the sympathy of the whole world, including the other Latin-American States. The paper in question realises that one result of Brazil's attitude is that she will certainly not be re-elected to a non-permanent seat on the Council, and it suggests that the right policy is neither to vote against Germany nor to remain in the League. This would mean adopting an attitude similar to that threatened by Spain. On the other hand, the *Jornal do Brasil* declares explicitly:—

"Brazil's interest did not call for such obduracy. Logically, we ought to have yielded at the last moment, when Spain gave way, and the South American States urged us to do so."

This is, of course, an isolated expression of opinion, which must not be taken for more than it is worth; but it appears to be worth something, particularly if it is true that various other papers definitely opposed to the Government hold similar views, though they are prevented by a censorship from expressing them.

Argentina and the League

IT is very unfortunate that Congress in the Argentine Republic should have got so completely at cross purposes with the President and his Ministers as it seems to have done, because their differences are directly responsible for postponing the day of the Argentine's return to full co-operation with the League of Nations. Year by year Congress has declined to adopt the budget, and the country has, therefore, been living on the taxes imposed in a budget of several years ago and re-imposed annually by executive decree. That means that the new appropriations which the President desires, to cover the expenses of delegates to Geneva, are not being granted. There is some suggestion that an expedient may be devised to enable Argentine delegates, representing the Cabinet, if not Congress, to attend the Committee on the Re-organisation of the Council, but there is a good deal of doubt about this. In any case, it is increasingly clear that the Argentine Republic's attitude towards the League is much more a matter of internal than of external politics. A full Argentine delegation, representing the Government, employers and workers, is to attend the forthcoming International Labour Conference.

Russia and Geneva

IT is, of course, to be regretted that the Soviet Government should have decided to decline an invitation to attend the preliminary meetings of the League Commissions on Economics and on Disarmament, on the old ground that so long as their dispute with Switzerland remains unsettled Russians are not prepared to attend any meetings held on Swiss soil. It is, however, palpably fantastic to suggest that the fact that the meeting of the League Commission is to be held at the seat of the League indicates that there is no real wish for Russia's participation. Geneva is the obvious place for all League meetings to be held, and the Assembly has repeatedly passed resolutions deprecating excursions to towns in other countries. Other non-members of the League, like the United States and Germany, are perfectly ready to send representatives to Geneva, and it is not to be desired that the League should indirectly mix itself up in a dispute between Russia and Switzerland by moving this meeting out of Switzerland at Russia's request. At the same time it is, of course, deplorable that the reason for Russia's refusal should exist, and no doubt the correspondence that has passed will provide additional reason in the mind of the Swiss Federal Government for making every reasonable concession with a view to effecting a settlement—though there is much more propaganda than argument in the Russian letter.

America and the Court

A VERY harmless, and indeed reasonable, resolution of the last meeting of the League of Nations Council on the subject of America's proposed entry into the Permanent Court of International Justice seems to have annoyed a certain section of opinion in the United States quite unduly. America, it will be remembered, has decided to adhere to the statutes of the Court subject to a number of reservations, one of which lays it down that the Council shall not seek any advisory opinion from the Court on a matter affecting the United States without the United States' consent. There is pretty general feeling that to admit this limitation of the Council's powers would create a serious precedent, for the Council, charged as it may be with the settlement of disputes of every kind, must be at liberty to seek legal advice if it requires it without first getting the express permission of the disputants themselves. Since this point obviously needs discussion, it is clearly more reasonable to invite the United States to discuss it with the forty odd members of the Court together rather than to communicate diplomatically with each one of them separately. America, however, has decided not to attend such a Conference, and the existing members of the Court will therefore have to decide in her absence what attitude to adopt regarding her proposed reservations.

Emigrants and the I.L.O.

SIR THOMAS ROYDEN, the Chairman of the Cunard Line, at the recent annual meeting of the Company, protested against any action by the International Labour Organisation in regard to emigration. Regulations concerning the carrying of emigrants are, he asserted, in the hands of the

Board of Trade in this country, and the Board is doing its work extremely well. Such a criticism appears to argue some confusion of mind as to the relations of the British Government to the I.L.O. Any action the I.L.O. takes it takes because the British and other Governments concerned desire it to do so. It is impossible that there should be one policy dictating the attitude of the British Board of Trade and a different one urged by the British Government at Geneva. In point of fact, the Convention which the International Labour Conference will have before it in May aims at simplifying, not complicating, the inspection of emigrants, and it was the British Government which rightly insisted at the Rome Emigration Conference in 1924 that the I.L.O. should remain the body primarily charged with this important question. The International Shipping Conference meeting in London a few days later adopted a resolution deprecating the multiplication of organisations and coming down in favour of the Maritime Committee of the League of Nations. Co-ordination is, no doubt, necessary, but emigration is a matter so closely associated with the whole question of labour conditions that the case for entrusting it to the I.L.O. is strong.

The League on the Wireless

JUDGING by the number of times the suggestion is made that the Union should arrange for addresses on the League to be broadcast, it seems clear that it has not yet become an established habit for our members to "listen in" on the evening of the second Friday in every month, when talks on the League are regularly given on the wireless. The British Broadcasting Company, which is, of course, very sensitive to public opinion, was quick to recognise the persistent desire among listeners-in for well-informed talks upon the League and its manifold activities. Accordingly, the B.B.C. now reserves a regular place once a month in its programmes for League topics. With the co-operation of the Union it has already broadcast many talks from well-known authorities on international affairs, including Lord Cecil, Lord Meston, Sir Arthur Salter and Major Hills, the Vice-Chairman of the Union. These talks invariably produce a large crop of letters addressed either to the speaker or to the Union's Headquarters asking for more information. The dates of the next three League addresses to be given from 2LO have been fixed for May 14, June 11 and July 9.

Information for All

COMPLAINTS are not uncommonly heard of the useless information amassed by what are known as the "highly-paid bureaucrats of Geneva." The answer obviously is that if the information is not wanted it will no longer be compiled. The figures published in the annual report of the Director of the International Labour Office seem to show that this state of affairs has not yet been reached. In 1922 the Office received 180 requests for information on international industrial problems. In 1925 the number rose to 687. In 1923, 20,578 letters were received from different countries, and in 1925, 32,300. In 1924, 8,691 publications were sent to

the Library, but last year there were 10,485. It is interesting to find that Great Britain heads the list of countries which have asked for information, closely followed by Germany, France and Switzerland. Governments appear to be chiefly interested in workers' insurance, health questions and safety, and unemployment. The employers want to know about comparative wages in different countries, health and safety, weekly rest-day and holidays with pay, while the workers ask questions about general working conditions, weekly rest and holidays with pay, and insurance. Even Turkey, not yet a member of the I.L.O., is corresponding with the Office. In 1924, four letters were received from Turkey, but in 1925, this number had risen to 107—an over 200 per cent. increase in one year.

Esperanto or Babel

THE language difficulty at Geneva, and indeed in every international Conference there or elsewhere, is all too familiar, and it is not surprising that the demand for one language that should form the common medium of communication is steadily growing. The League itself has investigated the claims of Esperanto, but has been in the main non-committal regarding its adoption, though it did in 1924 recommend the official recognition of Esperanto as a language which might be used *en clair* in international telegraphy. The Executive of the League of Nations Union, at the instance of its Education Committee, has just adopted a resolution endorsing the British Association's provisional choice of Esperanto as an international language, on the grounds of its neutrality, its simplicity, its scientific principles, the rapidity with which it can be learnt and the extent to which it is already being used. The resolution concludes:—

"The League of Nations Union would welcome a pronouncement by the League of Nations urging the Governments of States Members to encourage the teaching of Esperanto in the schools, and a proposal that the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation be requested to suggest, if necessary, any improvements which would make Esperanto more effective as a means of communication between the nations."

Empire Day and the League

LETTERS which have appeared in the daily Press from Mr. H. S. Syrett, Chairman of the City of London Branch of the League of Nations Union, have drawn very necessary attention to the desirability of taking some account of the League of Nations in connection with addresses and celebrations on what is known as Empire Day, May 24. The suggestion is far too often allowed to gain currency that there is some secret or open antagonism between the ideals and interests of the League and the ideals and interests of the British Empire. The precise contrary is, of course, the fact, and no strong exception can be taken to the phrase sometimes too lightly bandied about that the British Empire is the best League of Nations. So far as it goes there is much truth in that, and the Empire could do no better service to the League than by helping it to solve international problems in the spirit in which inter-Dominion relations are for the most part conducted. An article on another page of this issue suggests further valuable lines of thought on this important subject.

ABYSSINIA AND THE COUNCIL CHANGES THE SPECIAL COMMISSION MIGHT MAKE

IT was highly gratifying that a special correspondent of the *Abyssinian Argus* should have called on the Editorial Staff* of HEADWAY to seek their views regarding the composition of the League of Nations Council, particularly since the *Abyssinian Argus* has not yet been founded, and its special correspondents are therefore non-existent.

"My country," observed the distinguished visitor, in a slightly dusky voice, "yields to none in its enthusiasm for the ideals of the League of Nations, and it is at this present moment giving striking evidence of its moderation and restraint by being, as I believe, almost the only member of the League which is not endeavouring to obtain a permanent seat on the Council."

"This matter of permanent seats," he continued, "is causing some little perplexity in my country, where the constitutional basis of the League of Nations is perhaps not as fully appreciated as it should be. If you could be good enough to give me a brief outline of the situation, in order that I may embody it in a leading article in my paper, should my paper ever come to birth, you would lay the whole of Abyssinia, from the Regent downwards, under the deepest obligation."

"The League Council," responded the Staff of HEADWAY, after acknowledging in fitting language the compliment thus paid him by the Abyssinian nation, "consists, as you are, of course, aware, of ten members, four of whom—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—hold permanent seats, while the other six are, in the words of the Covenant, 'selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion.' These six are at present Spain, Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Uruguay."

"But why," intervened the visitor, "in a democratic body like the League should there be permanent members of the Council at all? Why are not all ten members elected freely by the Assembly?"

"The fact," rejoined the Staff, accepting, with suitable acknowledgments, an Abyssinian cheroot, "that so widely versed a student of international affairs as your talented self should put such a question is proof of the distance we have travelled in ideas in the past twelve years. Down to the Great War no one ever thought of an international council consisting of anything but Great Powers exclusively. That was the case with the great historic European Congresses, Vienna, Berlin, Algeciras and the rest, and when the framers of the Covenant met in Paris they took it for granted that the Council of the future League would consist of Great Powers alone. It was only when the smaller States declared that they would not join the League at all unless they were represented on the Council that four seats out of the original nine were granted to them."

"How four out of nine?" the envoy from Addis Ababa interrupted.

"Because there were to be five permanent seats, allotted to the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and only four to which the Assembly could elect. The United States, however, failed to join the League, and consequently the permanent seats were reduced to four, while the League itself in 1922 increased the four non-permanent seats to six. The total number of the Council to-day is, therefore, as I stated, ten. As to whether the permanent seats should be abolished altogether, there is more to be said for that in theory than in practice. The Great Powers have, after all, special

responsibilities as members of the League. They pay a heavier financial contribution, and on them more than on their fellow members would fall the responsibility of enforcing decisions of the League, if they ever had to be enforced. And over and above the actual burden laid on them by the Covenant they have in practice, as in the guarantee given to the Austrian loan, shown themselves ready to recognise their responsibilities.

In any case it would be idle to propose the abolition of the permanent members at the present time, because, under the terms of the Covenant, they could only be abolished by their own consent, and some, at any rate, of them would quite certainly not give their consent to-day. As the League develops the situation may perhaps change, but account must be taken of realities, and the realities to-day consist of the fact that Great Powers do exist, and that there are good reasons why, if they are members of the League at all, they should always be members of its Council."

"But what, after all," came another pertinent interruption, "is a Great Power?"

"There, undoubtedly, you raise a certain difficulty. To define a Great Power is none too easy, but the essential thing is that everyone knows what the recognised Great Powers are. As a speaker in a recent Geneva debate in the House of Commons observed, 'you may not be able to define an elephant, but you know one when you see it.' The Great Powers to-day are the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan. Those seven, and no others, have an acknowledged claim to the title."

"Then you think all seven should have permanent seats on the Council of the League?"

"Yes, quite certainly, when they are members of the League. That was the original idea of the framers of the Covenant, and nothing has happened to suggest that it be abandoned. As it would no doubt be the view of the Assembly that the elected members should be quite as numerous as the permanent, or even slightly outnumber them, you would get ultimately seven or perhaps eight non-permanent members, making a total Council membership of fifteen at the outside. That is quite large enough for any body charged with the delicate functions that fall on the Council, and, in particular, for a body that has to take its decisions by unanimity."

"Then you are not in favour of giving permanent seats to anyone except Germany, Russia and the United States?"

"Decidedly not. If you determine to give permanent seats to the Great Powers and to them alone, you have a definite principle to follow. Once depart from that and every year some new claim to a permanent seat will have to be argued out, a refusal inevitably meaning a certain disappointment and bitterness, and the claim being supported, also inevitably, by a great deal of bargaining and 'secret diplomacy' beforehand."

"Is that the view of the British Government?"

"Fortunately, it is. The Prime Minister has made that quite clear in the House of Commons, and the pledge Great Britain had given to support the claims of Spain has now been officially withdrawn."

"But what about an increase in the number of non-permanent members?"

"That, of course, is on quite a different footing. As we have seen, the number of non-permanent members must ultimately be at least seven or eight, and if it should seem desirable to increase it to that number forthwith, no serious objection could be raised to that.

OUR OWN FUTURE

It is a good thing to get all important regions of the world represented, and also to get States with varying types of mentality on the Council. To have seven or eight seats to dispose of instead of six would make that a little easier."

"But how long are the non-permanent members to sit? Are they to be elected year by year?"

"The method of election year by year has been followed hitherto, simply because general agreement could not be reached on any other method. Almost everyone, however, holds that it is desirable to elect a State for a longer period than twelve months. Three years is the term generally approved, and in order to ensure that most of the States suitable for Council seats should get their chance of election sooner or later, it is held that a State after having sat for three years should not be eligible for the next three."

"But do you not feel that there may be cases in which it would be a serious loss to the Council for a State to have to retire at the end of three years?"

"There may be, and for that reason the rule should not be absolutely rigid. It might, for example, be enacted that if the Assembly by a 75 per cent. vote expressed its desire that a State should hold its seat even after three years, its disqualification should be cancelled."

"And what," asked the Abyssinian envoy, gathering up a gigantic linen umbrella with a knob the size of a cocoanut, "is your view about the unanimity rule? Have recent events proved that the League is unworkable so long as that rule survives?"

"A little reflection will, I think, shew that the abolition of the unanimity rule is out of the question. For what would it mean if you did in fact abolish it? Decisions would be taken by a majority vote, and great States like Britain (or Abyssinia) might be compelled, because they happened to be in a minority, to take action which neither their Governments nor their Parliaments, nor their peoples, would approve. If any such compulsion as that had been contemplated when the League was formed, there would have been no League at all, for the simple reason that no one would have consented to join it."

"Can nothing then be done," pursued the visitor, with his hand on the door handle, "to prevent the deadlock which occurred at Geneva in March recurring?"

"Something might. While the unanimity rule must for the reasons we have discussed continue to apply in all ordinary cases, its object is to safeguard nations against being involved in definite action of which they disapprove. But changes in the constitution of the Council lay no new responsibility on existing Council members and do not touch their vital interests. When, as was the case in March, a single State, by breaking unanimity, frustrates what is clearly the almost universal desire of the whole Assembly, some way out of that difficulty ought to be found. In cases of that kind, and perhaps in others which could be clearly defined, provision might be made for the Assembly, by at least a three-fourths vote, to give an effective decision on a matter on which the Council had failed to reach unanimity. Any new rule or amendment of the Covenant laying that down would have to be framed with singular care, for any tendency to whittle down the unanimity principle unduly would be strongly and justly resisted. But some slight relaxation sufficient to avoid a repetition of the incident of March ought to be practical politics."

With a salaam on the approved African (not the less impressive Indian) model, the eminent Ethiopian investigator departed, leaving the Staff—it is hardly numerous enough to be referred to as staves—marvelling at the inferiority of Western courtesies to such prostration,

THE future of HEADWAY is a question which from time to time occupies the minds of those primarily responsible for the production of HEADWAY.

That is not to suggest that there is anything precarious about the paper's future. On the contrary, the circulation is well established, with a constant though gradual tendency to increase, and financially HEADWAY is an asset rather than a liability to the League of Nations' Union. It is rather a question of how the paper can best serve its purpose.

Various suggestions regarding that are constantly being received and all of them are given attention. At the present moment there is one in particular on which the views of readers of HEADWAY would be of peculiar value.

It has been represented that what the League of Nations' Union in this country needs is a weekly, not a monthly, journal. The arguments advanced for this are briefly that League of Nations questions are now figuring largely in the daily Press, and that incidental to this is the fact that criticisms are expressed or mis-statements inadvertently made which ought to be dealt with at once by the organ of the League of Nations' Union. The very necessity of waiting sometimes for three or four weeks till the next monthly issue of HEADWAY, it is contended, makes the contents of that issue appear out-of-date and less interesting and attractive than they otherwise would be.

This theme could be developed. The value of an efficient weekly paper, roughly on the lines of the present HEADWAY, though no doubt with changes and improvements, would be enormous. It would influence public opinion in a way that no monthly journal can, it would enable some of the less important, but extremely interesting aspects of the work of the League to be dealt with adequately, and it would mean that readers of the paper were kept supplied with information not merely up-to-date, but complete. Such a paper would, indeed, have, to some extent, to enlarge its scope. It would not be possible or desirable to confine it as strictly as is the case at present to activities of the League itself. It would rather be a review of foreign affairs from the point of view of the League of Nations, and with its guiding principles supplied invariably by the Articles of the Covenant.

That is one side of the shield. But the other is, for practical purposes, more important. Great as the value of such a paper might be, the responsibility it would entail would, at first at any rate, be even greater. It would mean serious financial risk, which could not even be contemplated unless there were strong reason to believe that not merely would such a paper be theoretically welcomed, but that a fair proportion of the present readers of HEADWAY would continue to be readers of a weekly HEADWAY, the subscription to which would, of necessity, be very considerably higher than the subscription to the present monthly paper. It would probably mean a total payment of 12s. a year, or 1s. a month, instead of the present 3s. 6d. per annum.

We, therefore, invite a brief expression of opinion from readers of HEADWAY on the question of whether in their view the issue of a weekly journal should be seriously considered. The matter is no further advanced than that, and it might be found that even though the demand for a weekly paper is considerable, the difficulties in the way of producing it would be insuperable. That, however, should not be the case, and clearly, since the matter has been raised and is under informal discussion, the first and essential course is to obtain the views of existing readers of HEADWAY. Please, therefore, write to the Editor, however briefly, expressing your views as between the present monthly HEADWAY and a new weekly HEADWAY of the nature indicated here.

* To be strictly accurate, on 66 2/3% of the staff.

A MAN WITH A GUN

By REAR-ADMIRAL J. D. ALLEN, C.B.

THE expression "Armaments" includes, among other things, the construction and equipment of battleships, guns, tanks, torpedoes, mines, submarines, and all the many other appliances for killing and mutilating people and for defence against other countries which have provided similar appliances for the same purpose. Hence the competition in Armaments which has been going on for so many years between the principal countries of the world. The reason, the only reason, for these Armaments is mutual mistrust and suspicion. Thus it follows that if you can reduce mutual mistrust and suspicion you can reduce your armaments in proportion. The greater the mistrust and suspicion the greater will be the armaments, and the more you can reduce mutual mistrust and suspicion the more you can reduce armaments.

Now, suppose you had a neighbour who treated you with mistrust and suspicion, and supposing you often passed this neighbour on a lonely road at night, and supposing you discovered that he always carried a loaded revolver in his pocket, you might quite reasonably in self-defence take to carrying a loaded revolver in your own pocket. When he found this out his mistrust and suspicion of you would increase. Then one dark night you bump up against him or tread on his toe; out come the revolvers, and somebody gets shot. This represents the sort of thing that has been going on among the great countries of the world for many years past.

Of course, there must always be many things like aeroplanes, poisonous gases, etc., which are needed for other purposes than war, and which could at short notice be converted to be used for war—*i.e.*, for deliberate destruction and killing. The only remedy for that is goodwill and an absence of mistrust and suspicion. You might abolish table knives and forks, because they could be used for killing people. It would be a great mistake to let people get the idea into their heads that reduction of armaments would impede or obstruct progress in science or chemistry. There is no need for anyone to think that. But there are certain definite appliances which are only used for war, and are of no use whatever for any other purpose. Now, at the present time, appliances such as battleships, guns, torpedoes, mines, tanks, bombs, submarines, etc., are only required for war against other countries similarly armed. For instance, imagine two countries, A. and B. Suppose each has got 10 battleships, 100 guns, 100 torpedoes, 500 mines, 100 tanks, 500 bombs, 40 submarines. A. will not reduce any of these appliances because B. has got them. B. will not reduce any of these appliances because A. has got them. Then a little later the Government of A. is advised by its War Staff that B. is better prepared for war than A. is, and so the Government of A. makes some addition to its Armaments. As soon as this becomes known to the War Staff of B. it advises its Government to make additions to its Armaments as a precaution because of A.'s additions. Directly A. hears of this he makes further additions, and so it goes on.

The competition in Armaments between these two countries has started, and it goes on and on, continually increasing. All this time science, research and experiments are making these appliances more effective, more deadly, and more expensive. When there are more than two countries taking part in this competition it merely stimulates the competitors to still further increases of Armaments. Then secret alliances, treaties and ententes come in between various groups of countries and the whole business of Armaments goes on getting worse and worse. All this leads inevitably to war.

That illustrates more or less what was going on in the world previous to 1914. It did lead to war, which lasted for more than four years. Unless and until the Governments of the world come to some mutual agreement as regards definite limitations of Armaments the same competition is bound to go on. Now, there is not the slightest reason why these Armaments should not be reduced provided that all the Governments agree to a proportional reduction. Yet how difficult it is to get the Governments of the world to make a start in reduction of Armaments. In other words, mutual mistrust and suspicion still have the upper hand. We must also remember that it is the duty of the War Staffs and the Naval, Military and Air Force advisers of each Government to oppose vigorously any reduction of Armaments. It is their duty.

What, then, is going to do it? The answer is "Public Opinion." When a sufficient number of people vigorously opposes the present large scale of Armaments, and when the Governments of the world can feel confident that they have the whole-hearted support and goodwill of public opinion behind them, then they can really go ahead and get on with a reduction of Armaments.

There is one other point to be borne in mind. The battleship "Rodney" has just been launched, and she costs seven million pounds. Now, if a man had just bought a new suit of clothes costing, say, ten pounds, he would be very reluctant to throw it away until he had worn it a few times, and got some use out of it. Similarly, any Government must naturally be reluctant to scrap a new battleship until some use has been made of her.

So this reduction of Armaments is not going to be done in a hurry. It will take some years, and that is all the more reason for making a start as soon as possible. The sooner a start is made the sooner will the people of the world be released from the present intolerable burden of expenditure on huge Armaments. Every man and woman in the world can do his or her bit towards attaining this inestimable benefit by supporting the League of Nations in trying to get Armaments steadily reduced by common agreement.

A MONTH'S HARD WORK

MAY at Geneva will be a month of quite unusual activity. There can indeed rarely have been a period of four to five weeks of so much importance to the League as the following diary of coming events will show:—

April 26.—Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference opens.

May 10.—Special Commission on the Enlargement of the Council opens.

May 12.—Passport Conference opens.

May 17.—Committee on Double Taxation.

May 18.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference opens.

May 26.—Opium Commission.

May 26.—International Labour Conference.

Lord Cecil will represent Great Britain on the two important Commissions on the Enlargement of the Council and on Disarmament. The British members of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference are Sir Arthur Balfour, Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, Mr. W. T. Layton and Mr. Shaw. The Passport Conference will be attended by Mr. Robert Sperling, the British Minister at Berne; the Opium Commission by Sir Malcolm Delevingne. The British delegates to the Labour Conference have not yet been appointed.

OUR TWO-FOLD LOYALTY EMPIRE DAY AND THE LEAGUE

By R. F. CHOLMELEY, M.A., *Headmaster of Owen's School, Islington*

IT is an established practice to devote a short period in schools on Empire Day to observations upon the nature of the British Empire, in order that the coming generation, together with their teachers, may, under the benign influence of a holiday, be led to reflect for a few minutes upon the dignity and the responsibility that belong to our great inheritance. We are now asked to see how we can combine, on that day and as part of the same celebration, the thought of the British Empire with the thought of the League of Nations. It must be admitted that to some minds these two are fundamentally incompatible; to them the British Empire is nothing if not an independent, sovereign body whose decisions are its own affair and nobody else's, whereas the League stands for the control of everybody by everybody else. This has to be borne in mind, but an Empire Day address ought not to be controversial, especially where children are the audience; we must be content with presenting the facts, and trusting them to do their work; no other kind of propaganda is either rational or, in the long run, effective.

Presenting the Facts

What are the facts about the British Empire that ought to be remembered on Empire Day? Not, I think, mainly the facts of its origin; it is not pride in the exploits of our forefathers that stands chiefly in need of stimulating to-day, but a recognition of the responsibilities that they have laid upon us. Here we are; and what are we going to do about it? There is plenty of time in the course of the year to show how the British Empire came to be what it is; on Empire Day the main question is, What is it? Is it just one of the Empires which again and again throughout recorded time, and earlier, have grown up and risen to splendid heights, only to crumble and decay? Or is it something different—so different that we have the right, provided that we can grasp the law of its nature, to expect for it a permanence that nothing else that ever called itself an Empire could achieve?

A Changing Empire

Evidently greatness in itself offers no security; science tells us that in nature, animate and inanimate alike, there is always a limit to the bulk which can be supported by a given type of structure, and a twelve-foot giant would be unable to stand up without breaking his legs; while, as for the roc, it might have sat on its egg, but it could never have flown a yard with it except on the lift of a hurricane. Does not this doctrine of the limit apply in some measure to every kind of structure, whether the elements of the structure are bones or beams or human minds? Is it not the failure to keep on developing, varying, even revolutionising the structure that was to carry the ever-increasing weight of Empire that accounts for all those collapses? No doubt idleness, extravagance, luxury, and all sorts of paltry vices had their effect; but the fundamental vice was the vice of immutability. If this is true, as I think it is, it seems to me to be particularly worth teaching, above all on Empire Day, because the great difference between the British Empire and all other Empires, ancient or modern, lies in the fact that the structure of the British Empire is not only capable of change, but constantly changing; and the task of the next and of each successive generation is to hold on to that fact and to serve the Empire in the light of it. To concentrate upon this fact with all that it implies is

not to belittle the spirit of adventure; not only is the spirit of adventure a great spirit, but it is as necessary as ever it was; if the cardinal virtue of the Imperialism of to-day is the virtue of service, the right exercise of that virtue in dealing with the bewildering variety of problems arising from the needs, the fears, and the hopes of countless races, representing almost every conceivable stage of civilisation, calls for as much adventurousness, along with as much practical wisdom, as human nature is likely to provide.

The Real Issue

Is there anything in all this to prevent us from adding on Empire Day to our thoughts about the British Empire some reflections upon the League of Nations? Surely it is not only desirable, but almost inevitable, that we should do so, if only for the reason that the League, imperfect as it is and is likely to be until perfection becomes attributable to human institutions, stands for an attempt to apply to the organised nations of the world at large the principles that are the living principles of the British Empire. Do not let us waste time in asking ourselves whether the League of Nations is yet really a League of Nations; the question that matters is not so much what it is now as what it is capable of becoming. The practice of the League has been imperfect; the Covenant stands in need of amendment, granted; is it conceivable that seven years should have found the world possessed either of a temper proof against temptation or of a perfect instrument for making that temper effective? If half the world went Bolshevik and the other half Fascist to-morrow, it would still be worth while to remember that there are 55 nations to-day pledged to the preamble to the Covenant, and discussing every kind of question openly together on that basis. Whatever may happen to the Covenant, or to the Council of the League, or to the Assembly itself, for better or worse, in the future, there is something achieved already without which the record of political thought and endeavour since 1919 would be infinitely poorer than it is.

The Light to Steer By

Let us for a moment consider the preamble to the Covenant:—

The High Contracting Parties—

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security—

By the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

By the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

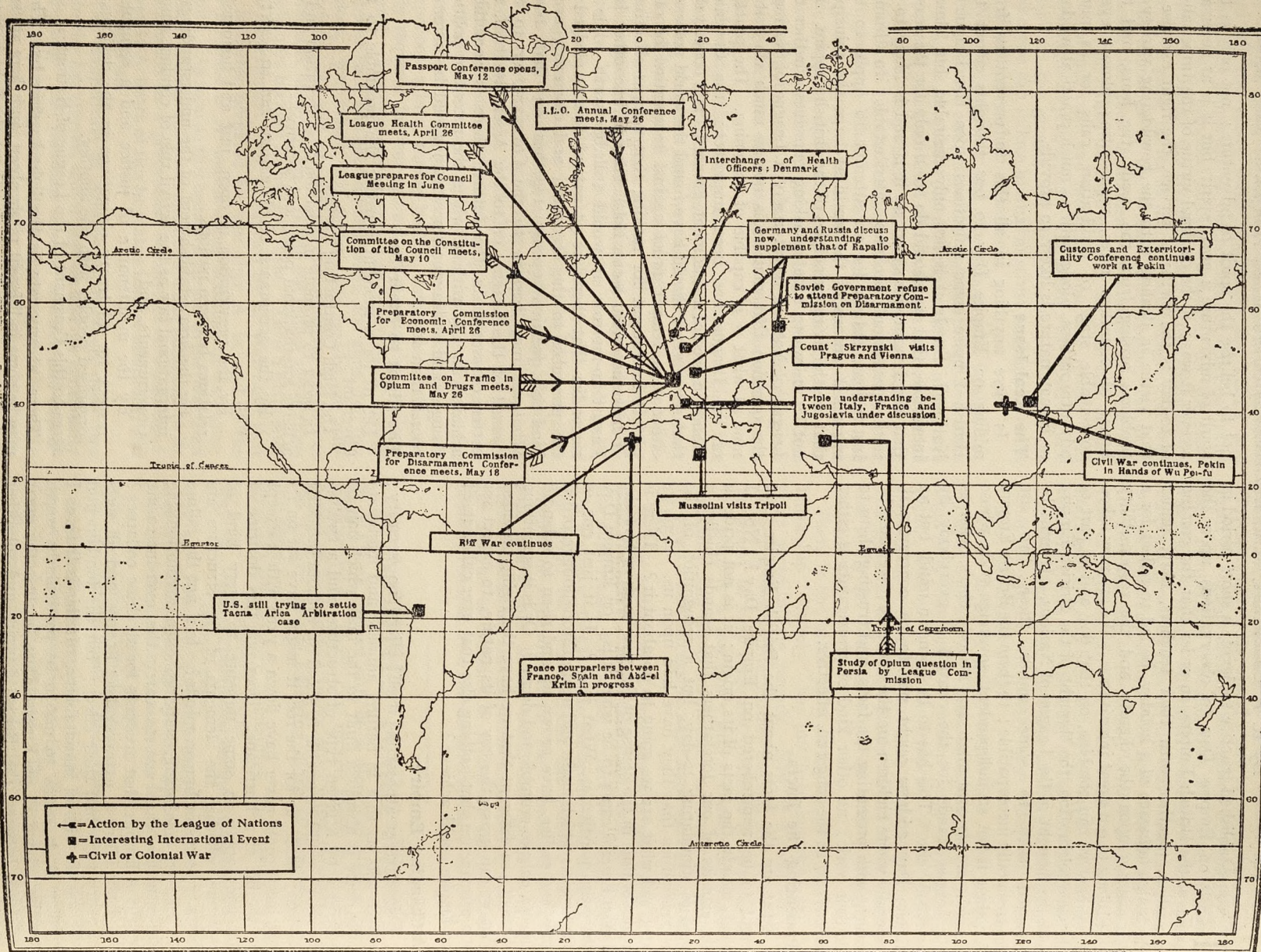
By the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

By the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

There, at any rate, is the light to steer by. There may be some indifferent pilots about, and there are sure to be uncharted perils; but at least the light is there; and on Empire Day we shall do well to remember that we helped in setting up that light, and that among the 42 original signatories of the Covenant are the British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India.

LEAGUE AND WORLD AFFAIRS AT A GLANCE. APRIL-MAY, 1926



HEADWAY

WHY DISARM?

WHAT PROFESSOR MURRAY THINKS OF PROFESSOR BAKER

PROFESSOR BAKER'S eagerly expected book* is out. It shows the same qualities as his book on the Protocol; the same mastery of its subject; the same seriousness and strict attention to business; the same frankness in facing and stating fairly all objections, and the same preference for drastic methods and perfectly definite obligations. For example, the form of disarmament he unhesitatingly prefers, if only Governments would agree to it, is that already imposed upon Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. He would like all nations to accept, *mutatis mutandis*, the Disarmament Clauses of the Peace Treaties, with their minute specification of every detail of armament and organisation, and their insistence on strict international inspection. Again and again, in discussing alternative plans, Professor Baker reminds us that the elaborate, drastic and detailed plan is in practice the simpler. Loose ends, generalities, and loopholes always make for trouble.

The book is a preparatory study of technical problems, working to the same object as the Preparatory Conference on Disarmament which is to meet in Geneva in May. The object is to secure that, if ever a time arrives when all the nations—or all the nations that matter—are really prepared to make an effective treaty for the limitation and reduction of armaments, they shall not have their will thwarted by the mere obstruction of interested experts or the presence of unconsidered technical difficulties. The book will serve a double purpose in demonstrating to the uninformed pacifist that there are such difficulties, and to the expert that they can be overcome.

Is Peace Practical?

The goal set before us is not in the least chimerical or "idealistic." The South Americans are not conspicuously more angelic than the rest of the world. But their scale of armament is vastly below ours, below even that of disarmed Germany. The United States and Canada are not inhabited by exceptionally un-virile races. Yet their three thousand miles of frontier is unguarded by a single soldier. It is our own age and continent that is abnormal in its armaments. Middle-aged men to-day are sometimes shocked at the mental outlook of the generation that has grown up during the war, and consequently regards war as a normal thing. Yet they themselves regard as normal a degree of preparation for war which by all previous standards in human history is quite monstrous. Up to about 1860 Europe was content with small professional armies on the eighteenth-century scale. In 1854, for instance, the British Army, all told, cost £7,300,000, and the Navy £6,600,000; total under fourteen millions. Last year they came to a hundred and fourteen millions—with some items left out. But Mr. Baker gives a more startling figure still. In the ten years from 1898 to 1908, when the race in armaments had begun, the expenditure of the leading European nations on armaments increased at the rate of ten millions a year; during the years from 1908 to 1914, when the race was at its hottest, the increase amounted to a hundred millions a year! That, taken collectively, was obvious insanity; and it led, as it was bound to lead, to disaster. Europe,

in Lord Rosebery's phrase, was "rattling back to barbarism."

Taken collectively, it was insanity; taken nation by nation, it was mere precaution. "If my neighbours increase their armaments against me, what am I to do? I can propose a general agreement to stop the increase; but some hail the proposal with delight as a sign of weakness, showing that they need only hold on another year to have the whole world at their feet; others would be ready to make the agreement, but they cannot trust their neighbours to keep it if it is made, and their neighbours equally cannot trust them. The agreement proves impossible. There is nothing for it but to arm and be ready to fight." So came the war; and so, if the process continues, will come another.

Distrust and Security

Why cannot the nations of Europe agree to disarm? It is reasons of policy that prevent them, not any real technical difficulties. The will for peace is not yet universal. There is plenty of revulsion from war; plenty of fear of war. But neither of these makes a firm foundation on which to build. It is possible that no Government wants war; indeed, there are only two who could possibly be suspected of wanting it. But most want various things which are incompatible with peace. They want an unattainable degree of "security," as if any security in human affairs could be absolute. They want prestige. They want to "encourage the military spirit," and to improve recruiting. They insist on making patriotic speeches full of military metaphors. They make war on one another's trade and industry. They are actually competing in guns and aircraft. They keep up their spies and their secret services. They press forward their researches into new gases and new weapons of destruction; and they keep the results of the researches secret. Their military and naval classes, though trained to a high standard of honour in other respects, think it no dishonour to lie and plot in the supposed military interests of their country. No wonder the nations do not trust one another!

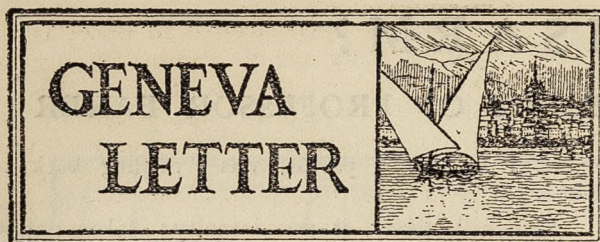
A Change of Will

Disarmament, the end for which we are working, is not a single treaty or a single series of measures. It is a vast change in the moral and mental atmosphere of multitudes. Every individual man is a creature of changing moods, at the mercy of innumerable currents of feeling and information and propaganda. And a nation consists of millions of these changing creatures, all different and—as Carlyle would have us add—"mostly fools." They are moving on the whole in the right direction. We are winning them. But we must be patient and expect to work hard.

The great task of Disarmament is psychological. It is to make the nations less afraid of each other instead of more afraid; to give them reason to feel, not absolutely secure, but more secure; to relax the tension instead of increasing the tension. If ever there were Free Trade throughout Europe, as there is throughout the United States, the prospects of Disarmament would be one hundred per cent. higher. But meantime a sensible and detailed and practical plan for limitation and reduction must be thought out, explained and made familiar to the public mind of every nation in Europe. That is the purpose served by Professor Baker's powerful and stimulating book,

GILBERT MURRAY.

* "Disarmament," by Prof. P. J. Noel Baker (Hogarth Press, 12s. 6d. nett.)



HEALTH—RECONSTRUCTION— DISARMAMENT—RUSSIA

GENEVA, April

THIS has been a month of relative calm after the hectic March days of the special Assembly and before plunging into the heavy programme of the next two months.

The Health Committee begins on April 26, and will in some sort be a preliminary to the big Health Conference which is beginning in Paris in May, and will be decisive in the future development of the relations between the League Health Committee and the older organisation, the International Public Health Office at Paris. Those who believe in the League should make it their business to see that international public health activities are concentrated in the latter, and be on the alert to frustrate any reactionary moves tending to substitute the permanent Committee of the office for the League organisation.

The Peril of Tariffs

The Preparatory Committee of the Economic Conference is also meeting on April 26. The impetus to the Economic Conference came from three sources: The demand of Italy and other nations some years ago for some form of rationing of raw materials; the proposals of Loucheur and other leaders of heavy industry in France for amalgamations and combines with their opposite numbers in Germany; the Layton-Rhyst report on Austria, which brought out the necessity for a lowering of tariff barriers and increase of economic co-operation in Central Europe if prosperity is to return to the new states. There are other factors, such as the desire of increasing groups in Germany on both economic and political grounds to bring about something like a European customs union, and the parallel tendency of the peasant class in the new states, which has won political power, and is recovering from the fever of post-war nationalism, to get industrial products cheap, and sell their own products in the dearest market, unhampered by tariffs, export taxes and embargoes.

Security and Arms

The month of May will see the meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference and the Commission on the composition of the League Council. Not too much must be expected of the former—in fact, at the time of writing, strong rumours are current that the French Government may ask for a further postponement in view of Russia's absence, and the consequent impossibility of bringing about any measure of disarmament in East Europe. But at least the Committee when it meets should make clear the elements of the problem, the views of the different countries and the possibility of working out a practical programme in the course of further meetings. Disarmament is at bottom psychological, largely political and mixed up with social and economic problems that can be solved only indirectly as the result of the general development of the League.

Germany and the Council

Germany has just announced her willingness to take part in the work of the Council Commission without affecting her freedom of decision as regards entering

the League. The German representative will probably be Dr. Gaus, the legal adviser to the German Foreign Office, and the expert who took part in the preparation of the Locarno Treaties at the preliminary Conference in London. The Spanish representative is Senor Palacios, an old Assembly delegate, a jurist and Spanish Minister to Berne. The Swiss are sending M. Motta, also an experienced League delegate, and as much a jurist as a politician. This makes it fairly clear that the members of the Commission will have semi-expert status. So far as Great Britain is concerned, it is to be hoped that the rumour of Lord Cecil's appointment is correct. The Commission will probably report to the June meeting of the Council, which it is to be hoped will publish the report and put it on the agenda of the Seventh Assembly without comment.

Russia's Attitude

Chicherin has sent a note declining the invitation to the Disarmament Conference which beats even the Bolshevik record for calling a spade an adjectived shovel. What he hopes to gain by this sort of thing is difficult to see. Probably the Bolsheviks, who are as ill-informed as they are fanatic, really believe that the Geneva failure was a deadly blow to the League, that Europe is about to break up into hostile groups once more, and that a world-war ushering in the long-delayed world-revolution is again a possibility. Russia is attempting to conclude conciliation and "neutrality" treaties with her European neighbours on the model of the Russo-Turkish Treaty, and is generally displaying interest in European politics on an anti-League basis. If Germany comes in September there is no doubt that Russia's attitude will change once more, particularly if the French and British Governments make a determined effort this summer to settle the question of Russia's debts to them and the promotion of trade with Russia.

U.S.A. and Court

The United States is apparently preparing to refuse to attend the proposed September Conference for discussing the reservations attached by the American Senate to adherence to the Statute of the Court. One of these reservations in effect dictates to the Court what procedure it shall adopt for advisory opinions, and forbids it to entertain a request for such an opinion from the Council or Assembly except by leave of the United States (possibly to be obtained only from the Senate!). Mr. Coolidge has just stated that American reservations will "strengthen the independence of the Court." The rest of the world is likely to take some convincing on this point, and in the meantime the prospects of America's adhesion to the Court within any calculable future are not dazzlingly bright.—Z.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE UNION

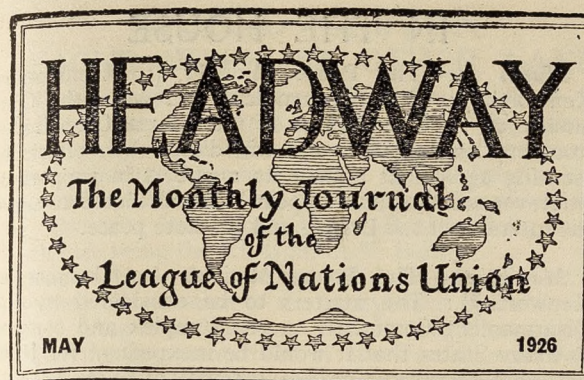
IN reply to a letter from Lord Cecil about the alleged effects on the League and the Union of the special Assembly meeting last month, the Prime Minister sent the following reply:—

10, Downing Street,
March 31, 1926.

MY DEAR CECIL,

I have already said in public that there is no ground for thinking that the League has been seriously shaken by recent events in Geneva. Its continued existence is as well assured as it is necessary, and I hope that the Union will continue its admirable work in support of the League, which has my best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,
STANLEY BALDWIN.



MAY AT GENEVA

THIS month's Geneva meetings may have far-reaching effects on the future of the League. In all there are four, so far as the League as distinct from the Labour Office is concerned—one of them a genuine conference and three the sessions of highly important commissions. The Economic Commission, which opened on April 26, will almost certainly run on into May, and the Council Reconstruction Commission, the Passport Conference, and the Disarmament Commission, begin on the 10th, 12th and 18th of this month respectively.

On the Passport Conference there is little need to dwell. It is one of those valuable minor activities of the League which, when they succeed in their endeavours, do much to remove annoyances and diminish friction. Passports will not be abolished in the immediate future, because a number of countries, Great Britain among them, are against the abolition; but a good deal of the red tape, and some at any rate of the expense involved in the passport system, will, it may be hoped, be substantially reduced by international agreement, the cost of visas and the difficulty in obtaining visas being two points which require particular attention.

More important are the opening sittings of the Commissions on the Constitution of the Council and on Disarmament. With regard to the latter, there would appear to be some reason to sound a note of warning against excessive expectations. There is a persistent, but unfortunate, practice of referring to this meeting as a conference. It is, of course, not a conference, nor anything of the nature of a conference; it is the first meeting of a Preparatory Commission which will certainly hold many such meetings before the ultimately hoped-for Conference heaves in sight. At this first meeting of all very little more than the formulation of concrete plans for future work can be expected. That fact to some extent mitigates the regret inevitably felt at the absence of representatives of the Soviet Government. If vital decisions were likely to be taken regarding Disarmament this month, the abstention of Russia would be a far more serious obstacle than it need be as things are. The critical point in the Disarmament campaign still lies some way ahead, and it may still be hoped that before that point is reached the difficulties which keep Russia from Geneva may have been dissolved.

The work of the Council Reconstruction Commission is much more immediately urgent, for something has to be settled one way or another regarding the Council by September, when the Assembly meets. The rock on which the March negotiations split was, of course, Brazil's refusal to see a permanent seat allotted to

Germany unless one were allotted to Brazil as well. The Spanish difficulty and the Polish difficulty were both disposed of in the end—unsatisfactorily, it is true, but still disposed of. Neither of them is likely to cause serious trouble in September. About Brazil's attitude nothing is known. Further reflection, and the protests which the Argentine Press has loudly expressed against Brazil's claim to speak for South America as a whole, may have produced a change of front at Rio de Janeiro. While it is likely enough that nothing definite regarding that will be known till the September discussions actually open, the meeting of the Council Commission ought to give a pretty clear indication of how things are going, for decisions will have to be voted on regarding which the Brazilian member of the Commission must declare himself one way or the other.

Is, to begin with, the number of permanent members to be increased at all, apart from the admission of Germany, and ultimately of the United States and Russia? If it is not, then clearly the claim of Brazil and the reason of her opposition to Germany falls to the ground. On this point Great Britain's attitude, at any rate, is to all appearance clear. The pledge to Spain has been definitely withdrawn, and the British representative on the Council Commission will go to Geneva with his hands entirely free. The fact that that representative is Lord Cecil is matter for profound satisfaction. He will go, moreover, to stand for a principle on which the Cabinet—to judge from the Prime Minister's statements in the House of Commons—holds fixed views, viz., that the Great Powers, and only the Great Powers, should hold permanent seats on the Council. Germany, Sweden, Belgium and other Council States have already declared for that principle, and it may be doubted whether either France or Italy would seriously oppose it. Brazil, Spain and Poland, on the other hand, obviously might. Here, therefore, will be a test of Brazil's future attitude.

Another question that may quite well arise is whether, in view of changes in the Council constitution, it would be wise to start with a clean slate, and elect in September a set of non-permanent members who should take office then and there. That would involve ending the term of office of the existing members in September, instead of on December 31. This would be a slightly arbitrary proceeding, but the circumstances go far to justify it. If it were carried out, the need for any such clumsy expedient as the double resignation of Sweden and Czechoslovakia, contemplated last March, would be unnecessary, and Brazil's power to delay the attribution of a permanent seat to Germany would be terminated in September, instead of lasting on to the end of December. Another incidental result would be that Poland might, and almost certainly would, enter the Council as a non-permanent member at the same time as Germany entered it as a permanent. Germany, however, having rightly acquiesced in March in the possibility of Poland's election then (in place of Czechoslovakia), can clearly make no objection to her election in September.

The outlook is obscure, and there is no very obvious basis for the rather confident optimism that appears to prevail in some quarters regarding the outcome of the Council Commission's deliberations. But if, as all the signs indicate, the British Government is sending a delegate to Geneva to defend a position for which the League of Nations Union has always stood, then it is the business of the Union to throw all the weight it commands behind the Government in this matter,

POINTED QUESTIONS

Q.—Have the penalties imposed by the League been accepted with a good grace?

A.—The only penalty actually imposed by the League was the indemnity of £45,000 adjudged payable by Greece to Bulgaria as compensation for the famous invasion of Bulgarian territory in October, 1925. The fine was imposed in December, 1925, and had been fully paid by the beginning of March, 1926. This was, strictly speaking, a compensation for actual damages done rather than a penalty imposed under Article 16 of the Covenant.

* * *

Q.—Do not Spain and Brazil stand committed to the election of Germany to a permanent seat on the Council?

A.—Spain is certainly committed, and has never threatened to vote against Germany, though she has hinted very broadly that she would withdraw from the League if she were not given a permanent seat herself. The letter addressed by Brazil to Germany in reply to the latter's enquiry as to her attitude was generally assumed to mean that Brazil would vote for Germany. It contained, however, one ambiguous passage; and in any case was followed after an interval of more than twelve months by a further note indicating that Brazil would only support Germany's claim if her own similar claim to a permanent seat were admitted. Brazil, therefore, clearly does not hold herself committed to the election of Germany.

* * *

Q.—Under what conditions can the League of Nations intervene to obtain peace in China?

A.—Broadly speaking, the League exists to regulate the relations between nations, not to concern itself with the internal affairs of a particular nation. If the civil war in China took such a form as to involve conflict with another State—e.g., with one of the Powers enjoying certain rights in China, either China herself or the other Power concerned could raise the matter at Geneva under Article 11 or 15 of the Covenant. Even as things are, the situation in China could be discussed under Article 11.

* * *

Q.—Does the League concern itself with the supply of raw materials?

A.—The League has never done so. The question of the internationalisation of raw materials was raised by the Belgian delegate at the First Assembly, but was not pursued. It was manifest at that time that any attempt by the League to control the world's supply of raw materials would be resented by the chief producing States. The Canadian delegate voiced his opinion energetically.*

* * *

Q.—Does the League concern itself in any way with tariffs, and has it taken any action?

A.—The League has not as yet concerned itself with tariff questions, though reference was made to them in M. Loucheur's speech to the Sixth Assembly, proposing the convening of an Economic Conference. He suggests that, among other things, the alteration of customs tariffs since the war and the new system of import and export prohibitions had helped to bring about the present state of economic unrest. At another point he says "we are disturbed to see in Europe a competition in customs tariffs which may be compared with the tendency towards the competition in armaments before the war."

* Those who wish to pursue the subject further would do well to consult a Report on Raw Materials by Professor Gini, published at Geneva, and obtainable through Messrs. Constable & Co., 10 and 12, Orange Street, London.

IN THE HOUSE

March 29.—The Prime Minister (to Commander Kenworthy): H.M. Government will enter the Conference on the Constitution of the League Council free from any engagement, and will direct their efforts to securing agreement among its members in support of whatever solution may appear best calculated to serve the interests of the League and promote peace.

March 29.—The Prime Minister (to Commander Kenworthy): The matters to be considered by the Disarmament Committee are so complex and concern so many States that it would be inexpedient for H.M. Government to issue precise instructions to its delegate in advance of the meeting of the Committee.

April 1.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Morris): The questionnaire on disarmament, issued by the Council of the League, is of a highly technical nature, and is under consideration by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. The Government is not prepared to adopt the suggestion that a Committee of the House of Commons, consisting of members of all Parties, should be set up to consider the replies of the British experts to the questionnaire, and to make such recommendations as the Committee think desirable before the answers are sent to Geneva.

April 14.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Colonel Day): The total amount of unpaid contributions to the funds of the League of Nations on August 31, 1925, was 5,771,096 gold francs. The countries responsible for these unpaid contributions were Bolivia, China, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Roumania and Salvador. The percentage of the total amount of the League budget payable by Great Britain in 1926 is 11.2 per cent. The sum due from Great Britain is paid in quarterly instalments which have been paid up to date.

April 14.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Commander Kenworthy): Viscount Cecil will be the British representative on the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament. He will be assisted by the representatives of the Foreign Office, Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry. Special steps have been taken with the object of associating the Dominion Governments with the work of the sub-committee of Imperial Defence appointed to advise on all questions connected with the meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

April 19.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Capt. Garro-Jones): None of the contracting parties to the Locarno Treaties has yet deposited its ratifications of the Treaty with the League of Nations. There is no doubt that all the Governments concerned will ratify.

April 19.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Sir F. Wise): His Majesty's Government has agreed to the mandate of the Caroline Islands being assigned to Japan. By the terms of the mandate no military or naval bases may be established nor fortifications erected in the territory.

April 21.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Hannon): I understand that on December 1 last 140 British subjects, excluding the Nationals of the self-governing Dominions and India, were employed in the Secretariat of the League, and that there has been no appreciable change in this number since that date. All appointments and all terminations of appointments in the League Secretariat are regularly submitted by the Secretary-General to the Council of the League, on which His Majesty's Government are represented.

(Some of these replies are summarised.)

WORLD OPINION
LEAGUE WORK IN OTHER LANDS

Two important questions, the constitution of the League Council and the programme of the coming Preparatory Commission for an Economic Conference, were considered by committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies which met at Brussels last month, the British delegate in each case being the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes.

One of these Committees had been specially set up to study the question of the enlargement of the Council of the League of Nations. After a long discussion, in which the representatives of the French and Polish Societies put forward arguments in favour of a moderate enlargement of the Council, while the rest of the representatives were in favour of no enlargement, the following two resolutions were passed:—

(1) The Federation expresses the recommendation that Germany be, in any case, admitted next September in the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on the Council.

(2) The Federation recommends that, with the exception of the seat accorded to Germany, the number of seats in the Council be not at present increased. (Adopted, six to two).

A further resolution was also passed to the effect that the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant adopted by the Second Assembly should be ratified without delay by all States, and that the system of rotation, already recommended by the Sixth Assembly, be embodied in a definite text and put into force without delay.

The other Committee, presided over by Mr. Barnes, was a Sub-committee appointed to study and report on the problems likely to be raised by the League's forthcoming Economic Conference. A report of the meeting has not yet been received, but it is understood that certain recommendations were forwarded to the I.L.O. and that provision was made for a further meeting of the Sub-committee if necessary about the end of May.

Owing to recent events at Geneva, the Tenth Plenary Congress of the Federation will not be held at Dresden this year. Up to the time of going to press it is not certain where the Congress will take place.

In Northern Europe

The question of organising some direct communication between the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland for the purpose of furthering work for the League of Nations is before the Committee of the Dutch Union. The suggestion is that chosen representatives from each country should travel to and fro, encouraging co-operation between the different peoples. The Committee are seeking the opinion of Scandinavian friends on the matter. The subject has been treated sympathetically in Finland, one of the leading Helsingfors papers welcoming the idea.

Germany's Rôle

The German League of Nations Union has published a supplement to its journal *Volkerbundsfragen*, in which Dr. O. Junghann reviews the German Union and its position in the Federation of League of Nations Societies. He foresees that the Union will be an important factor in public opinion when Germany enters the League, and that it will then also play a correspondingly increased; useful rôle within the Federation. The Union's membership is steadily increasing, and it now has a Minorities Committee, an Economic Committee, a Disarmament Committee and a Propaganda Committee at work, while a Committee for Theological and Ethical Matters and a Woman's Committee, which will interest itself in education, are in process of formation.

Other Fields

Italy.—The *Rassegna della Previdenza Sociale*, published in Rome, devotes several pages to reviewing the Conference on Social Insurance held in London in November last, and gives prominence to the fact that its summoning was due to the initiative of the British League of Nations Union.

Palestine.—A note in the *Palestine Bulletin* (March 15) states that the "B'nai Brit" organisation has decided to establish a League of Nations Society in Jerusalem. A similar society is already established in Tel-Aviv.

South Africa.—Miss Winifred Holtby, who is making a tour of South Africa, sends a detailed report of her activities in Natal. She visited Durban, Maritzburg and Ladysmith and addressed public meetings in each of these places. "The Durban Branch," says Miss Holtby, "impressed me as being thoroughly well organised and keen."

A COMPLETE GUIDE TO WAR

THE Disarmament and Economic sections of the League Secretariat have just published a new edition of the "Armaments Yearbook" (*1925-6, price £1; Constable & Co., Ltd., 10/12, Orange Street, London, W.C.). It is a bulky volume of 1,100 pages of the latest information, fully documented upon: (1) The Armies, Navies and Air Forces, (2) the Military Budgets, (3) the industries capable of being used for war purposes, of 57 countries. Among these are the U.S.A., Germany, Soviet Russia, Ecuador and Mexico, not yet members of the League. There are no statistics for Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt and Arabia.

The book is a boon to the expert, for it collects under one cover a mass of valuable facts and information which he is able to sift to good purpose, but would, otherwise, be unable to obtain for himself. It will be indispensable, for instance, at the forthcoming meetings of the League's Preparatory Committee on Disarmament.

The ordinary reader will find here all kinds of interesting facts about the world's armaments. Indeed, there is a distracting variety of detail, which, however, has two advantages. It shows clearly that disarmament is a far more intricate problem than is often believed. But at the same time it shows equally clearly that so much money is spent on armaments, and that there is so much inflammable material lying about that the problem must be solved, or the whole of civilisation is likely to be snuffed out. The statistics in section (2) give an appalling picture of what is the cost of a peace that has to be "prepared for war." Those in section (3) drive home the grim lesson of the war that there is now no distinction between the soldier and the non-combatant, and that the whole nation comes under fire once war begins.

In one way the figures are disappointing. For some reason—technical or political—no common standard is provided by which to compare the monographs on the armaments of various countries. There is no clear analysis of the forms of military service and recruiting—a serious omission from the point of view of any real Disarmament. The Budget figures, too, are not based upon the same calculations, and do not, therefore, "admit of the comparison of one country with another."

It is much to be hoped that the League Secretariat will publish in a simple, handy form an authoritative guide to the main lessons that may be drawn from this unique mass of figures. In the meantime the Yearbook is valuable, if not indispensable, to anyone who would try to understand what is involved in carrying out that reduction of armaments to which all members of the League are pledged.—M. F.

* Can be consulted in the League of Nations Union Library.

HUMAN EXPORTS EMIGRANTS, SHIPPERS, AND THE I.L.O.

THE attention lately called in this country to the existence of £3 passages for emigrants to Canada, and the effect that attractive offer is having in drawing able-bodied men and women from the crowded labour markets of England to the open spaces of the half-populated Dominions, has done something to awaken interest in the vast movements of workers from Europe to America going forward month by month in unbroken streams. Emigration from Great Britain is a small matter compared with emigration from many continental countries, notably Poland and Italy and Germany. British emigrants, moreover, travel usually by British ships, and are not much mixed up with fellow-passengers of other nationalities. Boats from the Continent, on the other hand, may carry a tale of emigrants drawn from more than a dozen countries, all herded together in the steerage, differing in race and language, and, what is much more important on a crowded journey to North or South America, differing equally in their standards of decency and civilisation.

Who is to care for the welfare of so mingled an assemblage? Each country has its own emigrant regulations, and emigrant ships are inspected at the ports where they touch, but it often happens that one country is not satisfied with the verdict of inspectors belonging to another, and is rightly concerned that every provision should be made for the welfare of its own particular nationals. Reason would seem to suggest that some one international body should first set an international standard for conditions on emigrant ships, and, secondly, try to make some provision for an international inspection that will satisfy everyone.

Cutting Down Formalities

These considerations and others not much less important have led the International Labour Organisation to take up the whole question of the treatment of emigrants on shipboard, and a special session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in June is to be devoted to the question of the simplification of the inspection of emigrants, the specific objects of the Conference being "to lay down rules by which it might be possible to simplify the administrative formalities connected with the inspection of emigrants proceeding overseas, so as to avoid the duplication and the disputes regarding competence which have hitherto resulted from the fact that inspection has been carried out by officials belonging to various different States."

This question has assumed more importance than it might otherwise have done from the fact that various British shipowners have raised objection to the matter being handled by the International Labour Office at all. There would appear to be some misapprehension as to what is intended, for the object of the I.L.O. is to make things easier, not more difficult, for shippers, by reducing overlapping and cutting down the number of inspection authorities, if possible, to one.

Why the I.L.O.?

It is necessary, nevertheless, in view of the criticisms which have been made, to consider the fundamental question of whether the I.L.O. should in fact take up the question of emigration at all. The first and obvious answer to that question is that undoubtedly some international body must, and that such a body should represent governments as well as shipowners, and possibly also representatives of the classes from which

emigrants are drawn. It is clear that the I.L.O., with its triple representation of governments, employers and workers, comes nearer than any other to fulfilling those requirements. The charter of the I.L.O., moreover, in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, charges the Organisation with "the protection of the interests of the workers when employed in countries other than their own." From that to the protection of the interests of workers when on their way to employment in countries other than their own is a very short step indeed.

The I.L.O. has, in fact, been dealing with questions affecting emigration in one way or another ever since it came into being, and when an attempt was made, through a Conference summoned by the Italian Government at Rome in 1924, to substitute some other organisation, the British Government secured the passage of a resolution laying it down that the matter should not be taken out of the hands of the Labour Office. This year in particular the fact that the ordinary session of the Labour Conference is to deal with various maritime questions, and that a number of maritime experts from every country will, therefore, be on the spot, supplies an excellent reason why the comparatively simple Convention which has been drafted regarding the treatment of emigrants should be discussed with the assistance of the experts in question.

One Ship, One Inspector

The Convention itself is brief and straightforward. Its main purpose is to secure that every ship defined as an emigrant ship should carry one official inspector (who might be, as the British Government suggests, the ship's doctor) appointed by the government of the country whose flag the vessel flies. Failing that, some other government should by agreement appoint an inspector. The inspector, who would, of course, have no right to encroach in any way on the authority of the ship's master, would protect the rights of the emigrants under the law of the country whose flag the vessel flies and under their contracts of transportation, and after each voyage would make a report to the government to which the vessel belongs, that government forwarding it in due course to the governments of any other country which had emigrants on board. There is also a suggestion of the provision of interpreters, and of some qualified woman in cases where more than a certain number of women or children are among the emigrants.

Whatever may be thought of these proposals, no one can call them drastic. The provision made for safeguarding the welfare of emigrants is the least that can be expected, though there may be room for some difference of opinion as to the best means of providing these safeguards. That is what will be discussed at the Conference in June, but since various shipowners have raised definitely the question of the competence of the Labour Office to deal with emigration at all, it may be observed that of twenty-two governments who were consulted by the Labour Office regarding this particular Convention, and on the basis of whose replies the Convention has been drafted, not a single one cast any doubt on the competence of the I.L.O., nor, indeed, has that competence been challenged at any moment during the six years in which the Office has been dealing with different aspects of the emigration question.

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

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE BASIS OF PEACE—LAW OR THE SWORD?—THE LEAGUE AT WORK

Paths to World Peace, by Bolton C. Waller (Allen & Unwin, 5s.). "This book must largely be devoted to criticism of current ideas concerning peace and the League of Nations." For all that, Mr. Waller, as befits the winner of the Filene Prize, is to be numbered among the peacemakers, and his guise as an attacker of the League is a very thin disguise. His criticism is not only well intentioned, it is given with all the sincerity of a firm believer in the aims and principles of the League; it has the none too common merit of being constructive. The only persons whom his criticisms will irritate are those who repeat with a bland, Coué-like complacency, "The League's at Geneva, all's right with the world." Mr. Waller is a realist-idealist and an idealist-realist by turns; at one moment his idealism will be brought to earth as he steadily faces facts and present circumstances; at another he is lifted out of the entangling slough of realities by a strong idealism, by a true winged victory of the spirit over matter.

It not unnaturally follows that this book is unlike very many others with which authors and publishers seek to satisfy an apparently constant demand for information about the League. It goes below the surface and beyond the commonly supposed limits of the League, and lays hold of the first principles on which permanent peace and a better international order can be established; these principles he believes should not have as their immediate object the direct prevention of war so much as the building up of a universal society of which peace will be the automatic product. Of this new society, order and liberty will be the twin distinguishing marks, since "liberty without order is anarchy, order without liberty is despotism." Yet their combination is the hardest task of international politics to which the League must set itself. For, as Mr. Waller points out, by "order" we must understand "security," and by "liberty" such things as "national self-government," "self-determination" and "racial equality."

There is a danger, however, at the present time that an exaggerated and false idea of State sovereignty should displace the war-time watchword of self-determination, and one of Mr. Waller's chief misgivings about the Protocol is that it would tend to stereotype the map of Europe with its present impossible frontiers for all time; "a state which refused to be conciliatory would be assured of all its possessions in perpetuity." On the other hand, in contrast with the Holy Alliance, since "the modern world changes rapidly, the League can and must change with it." What some of these changes must be Mr. Waller enumerates; he believes there must be more devolution if leading statesmen are to take a leading part in the League's work, and he is strongly in favour of a reorganization of the League by regional grouping. It is probable that more will be heard of this idea, and it is a mark of political wisdom to look always a little ahead of the present, at the possibilities and necessities of the future, rather than on an irremediable past.

Space will not allow us to follow Mr. Waller into what he has to say upon such subjects as arbitration or the codification of international law. He is often challenging, never superficial, and his thought is clear and penetrating. If our praise of his book seems keyed too high, this has been done deliberately, not that it is undeserved, but because we believe that it should be read with attention by every member of the Union, to the advantage of themselves, the Union and the League.

RIGHT AND REASON

The Victory of Reason, by W. Arnold Forster (The Hogarth Press, 2s.). This little book, which the author too modestly describes as a pamphlet on arbitration, begins with a letter from Benjamin Franklin in 1784 on the practice of duelling. In this letter the old ambassador in France states that duels decide nothing, and holds up to the scorn of reason the man who for an offence against his imagined honour "makes himself judge in his own cause, condemns the offender without a jury, and undertakes himself to be the executioner." The case for arbitration as against the decision of international disputes by war could not be summed up better, and Mr. Arnold Forster gives us a concentrated commentary and exposition of his text. A preliminary survey of the subject takes the reader from earlier arbitration treaties to the days of the Protocol and then Locarno; a second chapter starts with the Permanent Court and the compulsory and optional clauses regarding its jurisdiction, and brings us again to the Protocol. Concluding chapters deal shortly with non-legal disputes and sanctions.

It is, of course, impossible for anyone within the limits of 90 pages to develop at any length an argument on so complex a subject as this, but Mr. Arnold Forster has done well in giving us, at any rate, a good outline and suggestions for further study. We are not sure that in arguing for compulsory arbitration from the examples of the success of arbitration treaties in the past sufficient weight is always given to the fact that these treaties have been signed by nations who have already been on the terms of existing and sometimes long-standing friendship, and that they have been put into operation to decide cases which were not likely to lead to war; it does not follow that arbitration would be equally successful between nations who were mutually suspicious of one another; compulsory arbitration is the product rather than the producer of goodwill. Nor is the case really strengthened by citing the half-million signatures attached to a petition last year urging the Government to accept the principle of compulsory arbitration; statesmen prefer scales to a footrule, to weigh names rather than to count them.

Mr. Arnold Forster has stronger reasons for reprobating the arguments put forward by the British delegates at the Assembly of 1925, and here he is at his best. The weakness of the British case in refusing on the ground of precedent to accept an arbitration treaty with Switzerland, including questions affecting honour of vital interests, is amusingly illustrated by the retort courteous of the Uruguayan delegate, who pointed to a treaty between Great Britain and his own country, ratified in 1919, in which no questions were reserved. Mr. Arnold Forster speaks to the point when he says that sanctions in the present state of international politics must be tied up with any general system of arbitration, and that the refusal of arbitration must be included in the test of aggression. Even if the Geneva Protocol be never actually revived, reason demands that its principles must be accepted if the victory of right is to be secured; in support of this theme this book supplies many useful arguments.

THE GROWING GENERATION

How the League of Nations Works, by Kathleen E. Innes (The Hogarth Press, 1s. 6d.). We are rapidly approaching the time when the schools of the world will be filled by boys and girls to whom the years of the

Great War, as a personal experience or memory, will be no more than any other war of which they read in their history books. Yet in their hands lies very largely the question of war or peace in their own days. How to secure that their whole influence shall be for peace and international friendship and understanding is for their parents and teachers a problem outweighing almost every other. Mrs. Innes has already helped towards its solution in her former admirable handbook, *The Story of the League of Nations*; she has now carried her work further, and in *How the League of Nations Works* she tells boys and girls what have been the activities of the League during the years of its existence. She rightly does not attempt here any critical examination of the defects which experience has shown to exist in the League's machinery; she wisely confines herself, as she says, to telling the facts in a straightforward and connected way. Thus, in ten short chapters, we can read how the League stops wars, works for the reign of law, fights disease, helps distressed people, native races, workers and children. Mrs. Innes' task has not been easy; she warns us that some of her details may be "dry," but she has avoided the danger of being "sloppy" and sentimental, and it cannot be said that she has presented her facts in an uninteresting way. In nearly every chapter she singles out one or more incidents which illustrate the point which she wishes to make, and the attention of her readers is focussed by a concrete example. If she has occasionally taken a little too much knowledge on their part for granted, that will be remedied by the questions they will be quite ready to ask of their teachers, for we take it that this second handbook, like the first, will be largely used as a basis for study of the League in schools; for that purpose it is admirably suited.

A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR

Papua of To-day: An Australian Colony in the Making. By Sir Hubert Murray, K.C.M.G. (P. S. King & Son, 21s.) The human side of modern colonial enterprise has Putumayo at one end of the scale and Article 22 of the Covenant at the other. Natives have been exterminated by influenza and saved from famine. Europeans have worn themselves out in protecting the native, and have worn the native out in exploiting his labour. It is a queer contradictory story. Will posterity judge us by the amount of wealth we have extracted from the earth or by the number of aborigines we have left alive? If the former is the test many men will be commemorated with statues who were fortunate in escaping jail. If the latter is the test, Sir Hubert Murray will take his place with the great administrators. The Lieutenant-Governor of Papua since 1908, Sir Hubert anticipated by many years the principle and practice of Article 22. The well-being and development of the natives have been the first cares of his administration. "I think that it was with genuine horror," says Sir Hubert, "that the first investors realised that the native interests would actually be considered . . . that native evidence might be believed in Court, that a native might get a verdict against his employer . . ." Land and labour are the two points on which the interests of investor and aboriginal are likely to diverge, and on which the former is likely to get the better of the latter if the administration is not vigilant. Sir Hubert Murray has been vigilant.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- "The Limited Market." P. W. Martin. (Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.)
 "World Education." Edited by G. C. Pringle. (Educational Institute of Scotland.)
 "How We are Governed." Geoffrey Whiskard. (Harrap, 1s. 3d.)

READERS' VIEWS

THE LEAGUE AND PARTY

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Is it not possible to bring the question of the League of Nations still further out of the arena of party politics, and secure a greater measure of continuity in our international policy? Although there are gratifying evidences that many of our political leaders are prepared to make sacrifices to keep League of Nations questions out of the party quarrels, the temptation to make party capital out of such questions is still strong. It cannot be said that there is any substantial difference between the political parties as to the League of Nations. Certainly such differences of opinion as do exist cannot be said to follow party lines, but so long as no definite step is taken to distinguish the League of Nations policy and, indeed, foreign policy generally, from the other questions on which party politicians are engaged, the same weight cannot be thrown, and the same moral authority obtained as if League of Nations questions were above or outside ordinary party politics. The Government of the day must be responsible, but is it not possible for the present Government, by nominating one of the official opposition leaders as its third delegate to the Assembly, to contribute something to a desirable end? This would be a welcome demonstration of the spirit of the League of Nations. The example of Sweden in the recent controversy at Geneva is surely worthy of emulation.—Yours, etc.,

DAVID CRAWFORD,

213, West George Street, Glasgow, C.2.
 March 29, 1926.

A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS?

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—In "Christianity in Politics," by the Rev. H. W. Fox, the author suggests that the time has arrived when the League of Nations might set up a Commission on Religious Co-operation similar to that on intellectual co-operation. If this were done it is, of course, obvious that the term religion could not be confined to Christianity, but, to quote from Mr. Fox's book, "That session of the Assembly which gives its approval to the formation of a Commission on Religious Co-operation will become the most noteworthy in the history of the League, and that State member which has the courage and confidence to propose such a commission as this will have deserved the best both of the Church and of the world."

I should like to add that non-Christians are in some cases at the present time drawing so close to Christianity and are so full of its spirit that we might feel assured of their hearty co-operation. May I give three instances of what I refer to? The first is from the speech* of H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar at the League of Nations Union Dinner, October 25, 1923:—"There is an Empire which exists to-day—an Empire that is greater than the greatest that has ever existed before—an Empire that was founded on the higher principles of justice—an Empire that rules the hearts of a large portion of humanity. It is the living Empire of your great prophet Jesus Christ. What is the lesson that He has taught? He lived for a great principle, and He sacrificed everything, including Himself, in order that humanity may march to a higher plane for a definite purpose."

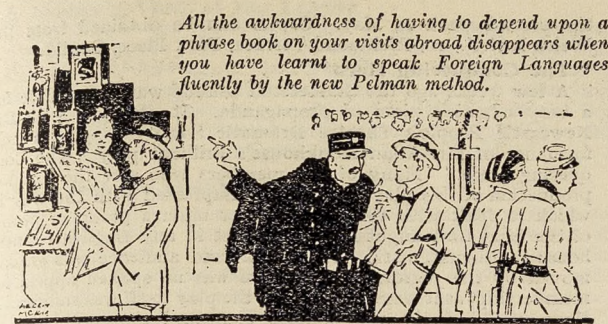
My second instance is from a speech by Mahatma Gandhi at the Calcutta Missionary Conference at its meeting in July last year, in which speech, in referring to the line, "Where only man is vile," in the well-known missionary hymn by Bishop Heber, he observed, "I wish he had not written those lines. From my experience of the masses of India I have not been able to say that here, in this fair land, man is vile. He is not vile, he is—I wish to assure you—just as much a seeker after God as you and I are, possibly more so."

And, lastly, the following is from a speech by Keohab Chandra Sen: "It is Christ that rules British India. . . . England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet to conquer and hold this vast Empire—none but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it."

It may be objected that the Christian world is not yet ripe for so much liberality of mind as is involved in Mr. Fox's suggestion, and I would venture to add, such true Christianity; but it never will be ripe unless someone has the courage to make the first start. Has it not always been the few in the first instance that have led the way to any reform, and, it may be, have died like their Master, Christ, before seeing the result of their labours? Will not the League of Nations Union act the part of the few in this case by advocating the appointment of such a commission as Mr. Fox suggests, and by pressing for it as opportunity may offer?—Yours, etc.,

Hillsborough, Petersfield. ARTHUR A. PEARSON.

* Printed in Leaflet No. 135.



THE FINEST WAY OF LEARNING LANGUAGES.

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French in French, Spanish in Spanish, Italian in Italian, German in German.

without using a word of English.

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General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes: "I find that the Pelman method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."

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"Since I began the Pelman Course I have learnt more French than in eight years spent at school and college. The Course is without doubt the best method of learning a Foreign Language. The study has been a pleasure."

These opinions are confirmed by men and women all over the country—and in other countries as well—who are learning to speak, read, write, and understand French, German, Italian, and Spanish by this new "direct" plan. Here are a few typical letters which have been received from people who have adopted this method:—

"I find your method excellent, and it has been of untold help to me during my time spent on the Continent." (D. 121.)

"Your methods are such that I derived much greater pleasure from my first visit (unconducted) to France than could otherwise have been possible. The knowledge gained was invaluable in successfully surmounting awkward situations which otherwise might have been embarrassing." (N. 153.)

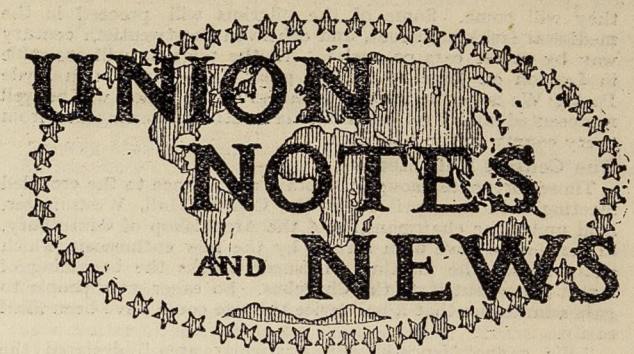
"I consider your method the most delightful ever invented, and, next to living in a foreign country itself, the most effective." (W. 388.)

A great advantage of this new method is that it enables you to learn a Foreign Language in that language. There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart, and there is no translation from one language into another. Hence you avoid the "hesitation" which is almost unavoidable when a Foreign Language is learnt by the old obsolete method.

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

The new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in four little books entitled respectively "How to Learn French," "How to Learn Italian," "How to Learn Spanish," and "How to Learn German."

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Arms and the Union

The first step in the League's new attempt to solve the great problem of armaments will be taken when the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference meets on May 18, with Lord Cecil as the British representative. Whether any real progress is made at Geneva depends largely on the public opinion expressed in the various countries. The Union is putting the question of the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in the forefront of its programme for 1926. With the co-operation of the Churches a great meeting in support of Disarmament was held in the Central Hall on April 19, and a report of this appears elsewhere. A second meeting is to take place in the Queen's Hall, on May 5, when Lord Cecil, Lord Grey, Mr. Clynes and Professor Murray will speak on the reduction and limitation of armaments.

At Geneva, where the British delegation to the Sixth Assembly of the League was accused of holding back when other nations wanted a more vigorous League policy, Lord Cecil explained that the Government could not go beyond British public opinion. Lord Grey, speaking in Salisbury soon afterwards, agreed, but added, "That is why the League of Nations Union exists." It is the Union's business to see that Lord Cecil is not held back by public opinion when he represents the British Government on the Preparatory Committee. The object of the Queen's Hall Meeting is to demonstrate and increase the support of public opinion for the forward policy which Lord Cecil will then be able to pursue at Geneva. The London Branches have been asked to do their utmost to make the meeting a great success, and are responding splendidly. Applications for tickets are pouring in to Headquarters, but no one need be deterred from going by the fear that there will not be room, for those who cannot get into the Queen's Hall will be able to hear the speakers in a neighbouring hall which has been engaged for that purpose.

Geneva in June

The list for the I.L.O. Conference Party will close very shortly after the appearance of this number of HEADWAY, so that readers who intend to go, and have not notified Headquarters, should send in their applications by return of post. The names so far collected include an Admiral, a Member of Parliament, an officer of the Salvation Army, a number of employers and trade unionists, representatives of the three political parties, and members of the Union. It is nothing, therefore, if not representative! The party leaves London on May 29, the fee for one week being 9½ guineas, and for two 13 guineas. Lectures by members of the staff of the I.L.O. and delegates to the Conference are being arranged, and will probably include the following subjects: The constitution of the I.L.O.; tasks ahead of the I.L.O.; British industry and the I.L.O.; international regulation of hours of work; the international coal situation; Asiatic labour conditions and the I.L.O.; maritime conditions and the I.L.O.; labour conditions in mandated areas; social insurance and the I.L.O.; the international economic conference; tasks before the League.

The agenda of the Conference itself, which pales into insignificance before such a comprehensive programme, is described on another page.

The Peace Makers' Pilgrimage

"There is something in the idea of being a pilgrim that touches even a twentieth-century post-war imagination," writes the *Manchester Guardian* in reference to the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage, "and although the peace pilgrims will be journeying to a Hyde Park demonstration instead of a saint's shrine, and their objective will be the glorification of life, not death, they will probably be equally moved by that human combination of spiritual fervour and traveller's joy that used to turn a mediaeval pilgrimage into something between a religious exercise and a summer holiday."

Nothing quite like the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage has been held before and its possibilities as a dramatic affirmation of a belief in world-wide peace have seized the imagination of thousands of women throughout the country. Early this month the great march will begin—from Edinburgh and Carlisle in the north, and from Penzance and Brighton in the south, from Cromer in the east, and Swansea in the west,

they will come. Some of the pilgrims will proceed in the mediæval fashion on foot, and others in the twentieth century way by motor cars or cycles. All the pilgrims will assemble in London on June 19 for the great demonstration in Hyde Park. We hope the women members of the Union will be well represented and that we shall have strong contingents from every county in the Kingdom.

The Central Hall Meeting

Those fortunate enough to obtain admittance to the crowded meeting held on April 19 at the Central Hall, Westminster, held under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, cannot fail to have been struck by the new enthusiasm which characterised the meeting. It surely marks the beginning of a real movement from the Churches. So eager were people to gain admittance that a hall twice the size could have been filled easily.

"We cannot fence-in any particular area," declared the Bishop of Manchester, "as belonging to religion, while excluding it from the rest." The Church, the Bishop declared, ought to supply to the country a great body of partisans of goodwill, determined to say and do nothing that could be represented as an attack upon anybody else except upon ill-will wherever they might find it.

Dr. Maxwell Garnett sounded the call to the Church from the international standpoint. It was the duty of the Church, he said, to help to create a sense of world citizenship.

Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., late Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, spoke on the industrial side of the subject. He pointed out that Christ came to preach not merely personal salvation but social salvation too.

Dr. F. W. Norwood had to reply to these challenging speeches on behalf of the Churches and his answer took the form of a call to unity in the Churches.

The Union may confidently anticipate great things from this meeting.

A Year's Work in Glasgow

We frequently have occasion to mention in these columns the work of the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council. The annual report which the Council has just issued sums up the results of these activities during the last twelve months. The most tangible outcome is 1,450 new members for the Glasgow Branch during 1925, which brings the total membership to 7,978. There are now 18 fully-fledged Branches attached to the District Council, with a total of approximately 4,000 members.

The outstanding event of last winter's work was the visit in October of Lord Cecil, which was the beginning of a constant series of meetings for every type of audience. A special feature has been made of drawing-room gatherings, and hostesses have been very generous in lending their houses for this purpose. There has been a gratifying increase in the amount of space given to League of Nations news in the local press, and monthly articles are being supplied by the District Council to twenty newspapers, including the *Glasgow News*, *Times* and *Citizen*.

A very welcome contribution of £51 12s. 10d. was made to the funds of the Council by Miss Christina Menzies, as a result of her production of the play "Peter's Mother," at the Lyric Theatre last March.

Help from the Rising Generation

A delightful performance of the Union's pageant play "The Family of Nations" was recently given by the members of the Junior Branch at the County School, Heanor. As is always the case, the children greatly enjoyed acting in the play, and gave the large audience an opportunity of hearing about the work of the League in very pleasant circumstances.

Junior Branches are often deterred from producing League pageants because of the difficulty and expense of obtaining the necessary costumes, and we are glad to be able to announce that the Junior Branch at Heanor has offered to lend the costumes, maps and flags used in their production to any school or other institution that would like to borrow them, for a small fee, which would be passed on as a donation to the Union.

Partly from the proceeds of the pageant and partly through the sale of stamps, the school has been able to hand over to the Derbyshire County Branch a cheque for £11 2s. 6d.

A World Wireless Message

"We, the boys and girls of the Principality of Wales and of Monmouthshire, greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every other country under the sun. Will you, millions of you, join in our prayer that God will bless the efforts of the good men and women of every race and people who are doing their best to settle the old quarrels without fighting? Then there will be no need for any of us, as we grow older, to show our pride for the country in which we were born by going out to hate and to kill one another. Long live the League of Nations—the friend of every mother, the protector of every home, and the guardian angel of the youth of the world."

This is the text of a wireless message of the children of Wales, which is to be broadcast this year on May 18, the anniversary of the Hague Conference. It will be sent out from Leafield Station, and replies are expected from all parts of the world. An appeal is being made to all head teachers in elementary and secondary schools to read the message to their scholars during

the second week in May. Copies can be obtained from the Welsh L.N.U., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

"The Conquering Hero"

A few weeks ago the Sunderland branch was responsible for a very effective piece of propaganda. It arranged with the Newcastle People's Theatre Dramatic Society to give a performance of Mr. Allan Monkhouse's brilliant play "The Conquering Hero." Many of our members who saw the London production of this play were deeply impressed with the way in which it dealt with the effect of war upon a group of people of the kind that might have been met in any English country house in August, 1914. The Sunderland audience was greatly moved by the performance. There was no spoken appeal for membership, as it was thought that the play itself was sufficiently eloquent; but the programmes contained an appeal and a membership form.

In Wordsworth's Country

As a special contribution to the funds of headquarters, the Ambleside branch has just sent a cheque for £25. The gift is especially welcome, as it is made quite independently of the branch's quota to the Council's Vote.

The report for 1925 records that Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, a grandson of the poet, took the chair at one of the branch meetings.

"Out of the Mouths"

A correspondent writes: "During the March meeting of the Council I was speaking at a little village in Kent. At question time the chairman, who was the Rector, asked me to explain the constitution of the Council and the objections to Poland being granted a permanent seat. After I had replied, a village woman got up and said she had come to the meeting understanding the situation, as her daughter, a schoolgirl of 14, had had it thoroughly explained to her at school, and had passed the information on to her family."

A League Dramatist

Miss Mary Pendered, who is already known to many of the Union's Branches as the author of several League plays, has just added to her laurels by her latest play, "The Quaker." This was produced at Rushden and Wellingborough a few weeks ago with great success. The local Branches took a prominent part in organising the performances, which were given to crowded and enthusiastic audiences. At Wellingborough Miss Pendered was called before the curtain and made a short speech, in which she paid a warm tribute to the work done by the Rushden and Wellingborough Branches. In spite of heavy expenses, a substantial profit was made on the production, and this was shared between the local Library and Headquarters.

Re-organisation in Cornwall

The annual report of the Lelant District Branch describes a system of re-organisation which should lead to very efficient working. The district has been divided into four regions, each with a local secretary, who co-ordinate their work in one central committee, together with the Branch chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and auditor. This division of labour makes it possible to reach small or outlying villages which might otherwise be overlooked, and paves the way for further extensions, or for a division into two should the Branch grow to an unwieldy size. The investment of £1 in literature to be distributed free for propaganda purposes should be a sound one.

Dabney Prize for Students

British University students will be interested to hear that it has been decided to extend the Dabney Prize Competition, offered under the auspices of the American School Citizenship League, to the students of the colleges and universities in all countries. Hitherto the competition has been limited to the universities of the United States. The conditions and the amount of the prizes will be issued in June.

April Branch Letter

Last month's letter from the secretary of the Union to the Branches began by quoting the following message which Lord Cecil sent to the Blackpool Branch: "Recent events at Geneva make it more desirable than ever that all who stand for peace and the League of Nations should redouble their efforts in support of the League, for it would be folly not to admit that the League has received the most severe blow that it has endured since it came into existence." The letter pointed out that so far from the Geneva setback having an adverse effect on the Union, it has enrolled more new members than was the case in the corresponding period of 1925.

The seventh annual meeting of the General Council of the Union is to be held at Bristol on June 22 and 23.

For Philatelists

Readers with leanings towards stamp-collecting may like to know that the Dutch Government issued a special stamp-die which was used exclusively at the Grotius Exhibition last June. The Committee that organised the Exhibition can now supply portrait postcards of Grotius stamped with this die, and also stamps bearing the Grotius impression. The postcards cost 30 cents each and the stamps 50 cents. Orders should be sent to the Secretary, Vereeniging voor Volkenbond en Vrede, Jan van Nassastraat 93, The Hague.

A Soldier's View of the League

The Union has just published a new penny pamphlet "Finishing off the Job." It is written by an ex-serviceman who signs himself "Ex-Gunner" and is a plain, rather blunt appeal to ex-soldiers to complete the work begun in 1914 of destroying militarism. The pamphlet is illustrated with pictures of the League's Council, of infantry going "over the top" and of the third battle of Ypres in progress on the Menin Road.

Disturbing the Countryside

Villages to-day are much less isolated from the world than large towns were a hundred years ago. Thanks to the zeal of the Oxford branch, the inhabitants of the sleepest villages in Oxfordshire have had tidings of the League of Nations, and, what is more, they have had it in the twentieth century manner, by means of the cinema. The Union's film, "The Star of Hope," toured the villages of Charbury, Shipton, Burford, Cropredy, Lynsham, Bletchington, Witney and Thame. "All were delighted with the reception of the film" is the report received, while Mr. A. H. Griffiths, the Education Secretary of the Red Triangle of Village Clubs, says, "As to the film itself, my own personal feeling is that it is really excellent for its purposes. It is restrained without being dull, and has a judicious mixture of pictures and diagrams, which give it variety throughout. It was a great pleasure to me to show it."

A Truly Model Assembly

The Model Assembly held at Goodmayes last month was a great improvement upon the original held at Geneva in March, for it unanimously adopted a resolution moved by the "Prime Minister of Great Britain" admitting Germany to the League. The motion was seconded by M. J. Hervier, of the Polytechnic de Paris. The gift of tongues appears to have descended upon Goodmayes, for members of the branch who assumed German, Spanish, Belgian and Italian nationalities for the occasion spoke in their "native" languages. The whole affair, which was organised by the Branch Secretary, Mr. Joyce, was an unqualified success.

Boosting the I.L.O.

The first delegates' conference ever organised by the League of Nations Union in the London area was held on April 17 in the Caxton Hall, under the joint auspices of the London Regional Federation and the Labour Organisations Advisory Sub-Committee.

As an innovation it was a decided success. 250 delegates were present from 10 co-operative societies, 20 women's guilds, 45 labour parties, 11 trades councils, 10 district councils of large trades unions, 10 Brotherhoods, 24 League of Nations Union branches, and from the Co-operative Union, Co-operative Party, Southern Co-operative Educational Association and the London Congregational Union. In addition to the delegates, who were all officially representing their organisations, there were about fifty visitors keenly interested in the work of the I.L.O. Among those present on the platform were the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Mr. E. L. Poulton, Capt. W. S. Sanders (I.L.O., Geneva), Mr. A. Pugh, the 1926 President of the British Trades Union Congress, and Mr. C. S. Ammon, President of the London Federation of Brotherhoods.

This method of interesting representative organisations in the I.L.O. ought to be more widespread in Union circles. Wherever it has been tried the results have been beneficial to an extent that cannot be measured merely by membership.

A Veteran Secretary

Few branch secretaries can equal the record of Mr. H. Samson, J.P., who has been secretary of the Hastings and St. Leonards branch for the last seven years. He took a prominent part in creating the branch, and it is mainly as a result of his unflinching enthusiasm and energy that it is to-day one of the strongest branches, both from the point of view of membership and finance on the south coast. But Mr. Samson's activities have not been confined to Hastings; he has done an enormous amount of missionary work in Sussex and Kent, and his willingness to help on any occasion has been of the greatest value to the Union's organiser in that district. Unfortunately, Mr. Samson has now been compelled to resign the secretaryship, to the great regret of both the branch members and headquarters. In his retirement he will have the satisfaction of knowing that he has been one of the pioneers who have helped the Union to the position it holds to-day.

Some Suggestions for the Holidays

Have you seen the very attractive leaflets which the Union has just issued, giving all the details about our holiday con-

ferences at Cambridge and Geneva this summer? If not, write for copies at once.

The Geneva Institute will be strengthened by a contingent of about twenty-five men and women drawn from the Adult School Union, a further group of twenty representatives of the British Legion, a series of groups organised by local branches, a particularly large group being expected from Stoke-on-Trent.

Every branch should endeavour to see that at least one of its members attends either the Cambridge summer school or the Geneva Institute.

Children's Lantern Lecture

The approach of summer may be considered an unsuitable moment for the production of a new lantern lecture; but slides do not deteriorate in the damp of an English July and August, and they will be available for the Union's autumn campaign—as a matter of fact, they are available now. There are about 45 slides, and the lecture is designed for children.

Lectures on the I.L.O.

A course of six public lectures, specially designed to help Union speakers, is being given at the London School of Economics, Clare Market, Aldwych, by Mr. E. Beddington Behrens, Ph.D., M.A., on the work of the International Labour Office. The first lecture will be held on Friday, May 6, at 5 p.m., Mr. Phillip Kerr secretary of the Rhodes Trust, will be in the chair. The lectures are weekly at the same hour.

Points from Annual Reports

The City of Oxford Dramatic Club has very generously undertaken to give performances to a number of village Branches, so as to enable them to raise their quotas to the Council's vote by pleasant means instead of by begging.

During last winter the Topsham Branch formed a working party. The profits on the sale of the garments made were handed over to the Branch funds.

The Perry Bar Branch increased its membership in 1926 from 33 to 173, mainly as a result of the successful Armistice Week Campaign.

Members of the Hastings Branch keep up a regular correspondence and exchange literature with League of Nations Societies in Austria, Czechoslovakia, America and France.

The Council's Vote

We are glad to be able to report that contributions are still being received from Branches towards the Council's Vote for 1925. The following should be added to the lists previously published of those Branches

that have completed their quotas for last year: Salem Congregational Church (Bradford), Crowle, Cobham, Gillingham (Kent), Grange-over-Sands, Hitchin, Sittingbourne.

The following Branches deserve special commendation for having completed already their quota for the present year: Bude, Billingshaye, Croston, Heversham, Low Row, Nafferton.

New Corporate Members

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership:—
 ABERDEEN: Cults U. F. Church; Crown Terrace Wesleyan Church.
 ALLERTON: Sandy Lane Wesleyan Young Men's Society.
 ALTRINCHAM: Bank Street Wesleyan Church.
 ASHFORD: P.S.A. Brotherhood; Wesleyan Church.
 ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE: Hurst Brook U. M. Church.
 BECKENHAM: Elm Road Baptist Church.
 BEDWORTH: Brotherhood.
 BIDEFORD: Baptist Church.
 BIRMINGHAM: Ebenezer Church C.E. Society.
 BLACKBURN: Paradise U. M. Church; Trinity Wesleyan Church.
 BRADFORD: Clayton Baptist Church; Daisy Hill P. M. Church; Thornton Wesleyan Men's Class; Tong Parish Church.
 BURLEY: Wesleyan Church.
 CAMBORNE: Rotary Club.
 CATERHAM: Congregational Church.
 CHELTENHAM: The Royal Wells U. M. Church.
 CHESHUNT: Bishops College.
 COLCHESTER: Harwich Road Women's Adult School.
 DEAL AND WALMER: Women's Freedom League.
 DODBROOKE: Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
 DUMFRIES: Co-operative Women's Guild.
 DUNS: Rural Institute.
 EDGBASTON: Bristol Road Wesleyan Church.
 EDINBURGH: Edinburgh and District Brotherhood Council; New North Church Women's League of Service; North Merchiston Y.M.C.A.
 EPSOM: Brotherhood; Wesleyan Church.
 FALMOUTH: Wesleyan Church.
 FRINTON: Frinton and District Brotherhood.
 GERRARDS CROSS: Congregational Church.
 GLASGOW: Bridge Street U. M. F. Church Women's League of Service.
 GLOSSOP: Fitzalan Street Unitarian Church.
 GOMERSAL: Grove Congregational Church.
 GRAYS: Baptist Tabernacle Church.
 GREAT HARWOOD: Congregational Church; Mount Zion U. M.

Church; Wesleyan Church. GREAT HORTON: Wesleyan Church. HANGING HEATON: Common Side Sisterhood. HARLESTON: Congregational Church. HUDDERSFIELD: Brunswick Street U. M. Church. HULL: East Park Baptist Church; Swanland Club Y.W.C.A. KINGSBRIDGE: Council School Old Boys' Association. LANCASHIRE and CHESHIRE: Federation of C.E. Holiday Homes (The Comradeship). LEEDS: Burley Wesleyan Church. LEICESTER: Charles Street Baptist Church; Robert Hall Memorial Baptist Church. LEIGH (Lancs): Bedford Wesleyan Church. LIVERPOOL: County Road Wesleyan Church. LONDON REGION: ACTON: Congregational Church; BALHAM: P. M. Church, Ladywood Road; BOW: Bow Road Wesleyan Church; CAMBERWELL: St. Marks with St. Hilda; CHARLTON: Sunfields Wesleyan Memorial Church; CLAPTON: St. James' Church; CROUCH END: Park Chapel (Congregational); CROUCH HILL: Presbyterian Church; CROYDON: London Road Wesleyan Church; ELMERS END: Congregational Church; HAGGERSTON: Wesleyan Mission Women's Meeting; HARROW: Division Conservative and Unionist Association; N. HACKNEY: St. Barnabas' Church; HENDON AND WEST COLINDALE: Brotherhood; HIGHAMS PARK: Baptist Church; HIGHGATE: St. Anne's Parochial Church Council; ILFORD: Men's Meeting; LEYTONSTONE: Harrow Green Baptist Church; RICHMOND: New Richmond Brotherhood; UPPER HOLLOWAY: Sisterhood; WALHAM GREEN: Wesleyan Church; Whitehall Park Sisterhood; WINCHMORE HILL: Wesleyan Church; S. WOODFORD: Holy Trinity Church. LONGTON: Meir Road U. M. Church. LOUGHBOROUGH: Independent M. Church. LUTON: Bury Park Brotherhood; Union Chapel P.S.A. MACCLESFIELD: Langley Wesleyan Church. MANCHESTER: Albert Hall Wesleyan Mission; St. Wilfrid's Church, Newton Heath. MIDDLESBROUGH: Grange Road U. M. Church. NAIRN: High U. F. Church Young People's Guild. NEWBOLD: Wesleyan Church. NEWCASTLE: Forest Hall Presbyterian Church. NORTH KELSEY: Wesleyan Church. NORWICH: Wesleyan Reform Church. NOTTINGHAM: Gregory Boulevard Congregational Church; Trent Boulevard Wesleyan Church.

OLDHAM: Shaw Wesleyan Church. PAIGNTON: National British Women's Total Abstinence Union. PETERCULTER: Kirk Session of Parish Church. RAUNDS: Wesleyan Church. READING: Broad Street P.S.A. Brotherhood. REDLAND: Redland Chapel, Redland Green. ST. DOMINICS: Wesleyan Church. SHEFFIELD: Attercliffe Wesleyan Reform Church; Upper Chapel; Wesleyan Mission. SHEFFORD: Men's Own. SHREWSBURY: Ebenezer U. M. Church. SILSDEN: P. M. Church. SOUTHPORT: Victoria Wesleyan Church, Blowick. SPALDING: Wesleyan Church. STEWKLEY: P. M. Church. STOKE-ON-TRENT: Parish Church. SUDBURY: Brotherhood. SUNDERLAND: Herrington Street Wesleyan Church. THORPE - LE - SOKEN: Baptist Church. TORQUAY: Y.M.C.A. WARRINGTON: The Church of Our Lady, Latchford; Church of the Sacred Heart; St. Alban's Catholic Church; St. Benedict's Catholic Church; St. Mary's Catholic Church; WATFORD: Men's Own Brotherhood. WEST HARTLEPOOL: St. Luke's Church Council. WEST THORNEY: Social Club. WESTON-SUPER-MARE: Emmanuel Church; Rotary Club; U. M. Church. WISBECH: Brotherhood; Outwell Wesleyan Church. WITNEY: Wesleyan Church; Wesleyan Women's Bible Class. WOLVERHAMPTON: Waterloo Road Baptist Church.

WELSH NOTES

The Fifth Annual Conference of the Welsh League of Nations Union is to be held at Llandrindod Wells at Whitsuntide, May 24-27. The general theme of the Conference will be "The Way Forward," and it will open on the evening of Whit Monday with an informal gathering at which the President, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, will welcome the delegates and representatives of the Branches, and at which the Honorary Director, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, will speak on "The International Situation."

The meeting of the Executive Committee on Whit Tuesday morning will be followed at 2.15 p.m. by an open discussion conference, under the Presidency of the Lord Bishop of St. Davids, on "The Work of the Branches and District Committees." In the evening of the same day, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Percy E. Watkins, Principal Sir Harry Reichel and Captain Frederic Evans will speak on "The Educational Approach to International Peace." The League of Nations Union Film "The Star of Hope" will be shown at the close of this meeting.

On Wednesday morning the annual meeting of the Welsh National Council will be held when the President will take the chair, and in the afternoon of the same day a Discussion Conference on "The League and Labour" will be opened by Captain Lothian Small, of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The Rt. Hon. Thomas Richards has consented (circumstances permitting) to take the chair. On Wednesday evening Mr. David Davies, M.P., will preside over a public meeting at which the speakers will be Baron Von Rheinbaben, Member of the German Reichstag, and Mr. Fred Llewellyn-Jones. The series of meetings will close on Thursday morning with an Open Discussion Conference on "The Way Forward."

Evidence of the keen interest taken abroad in the work of the Welsh League of Nations Union is forthcoming in an appreciative article on the Honorary Director's Report of his recent visit to America conveying the Memorial from Welsh Religious Leaders to the Churches of Christ in America, which appeared recently in *Y Drych*—the Welsh American Newspaper.

Five thousand copies of the Spanish version of "The Suggestions for the consideration of Teachers," which were drawn up by a Sub-Committee of Welsh Teachers under the aegis of the Welsh Advisory Education Committee, are now ready at Madrid for distribution in Spanish-speaking countries.

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