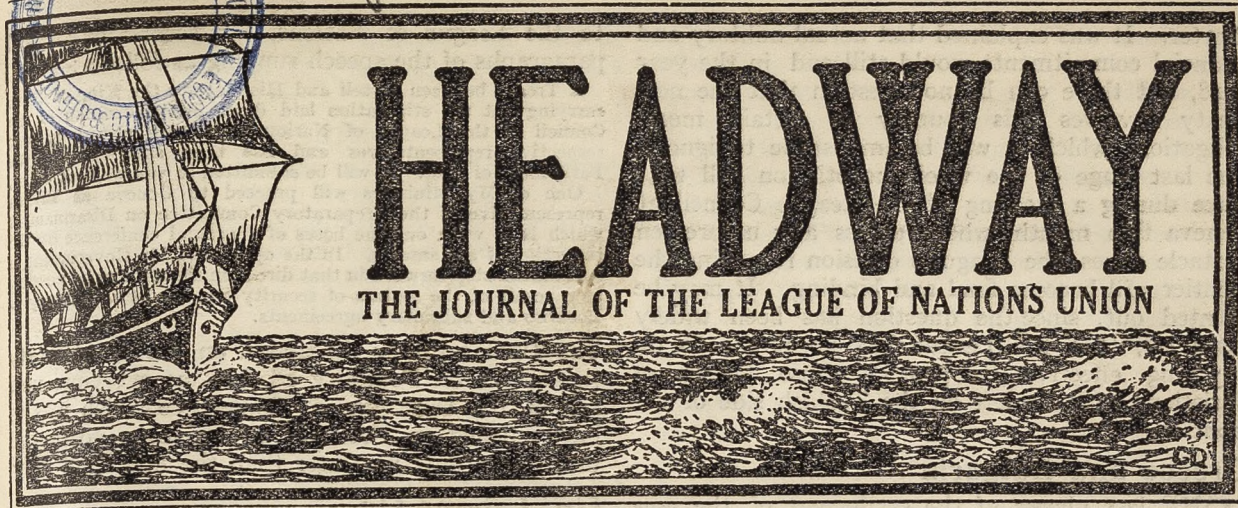


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MATTERS OF MOMENT

WITHIN a fortnight of the appearance of this issue of HEADWAY Germany should be a full member of the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on its Council. Down to the very end difficulties regarding her admission have persisted, for the not unnatural effect in Berlin of the rumour that Spain, Poland and Brazil would be raised to the status of permanent members simultaneously was to foment a demand that Germany should decline to go into the League after all. Fortunately, this danger has been averted, and there is likely to be no hesitation or difficulty on Germany's side. It is due to the Chancellor and Foreign Minister to say that they have handled the whole situation with much tact and ability, and have succeeded in expressing by their speeches and actions a good deal of the spirit of which we heard so much at Locarno. The League, with Germany as a member, will be in some respects a different League, but in almost all respects a stronger and a better League. If in regard to certain questions the presence of Germany at the Council table may provoke some misgivings, in regard to the great mass of questions her advent inspires nothing but hope.

What M.P.'s Think

IN this connection the meeting of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee held at the House of Commons on February 22 deserves a moment's notice. The comment of one experienced Commons man who was present and observed that

he had rarely attended a more remarkable meeting at the House, is not without its justification. The meeting was large and absolutely unanimous, with a solidarity which cut clear across all party lines. A strong resolution declaring the rooted opposition of the Committee to any proposal to enlarge the League Council at present apart from the admission of Germany, was moved by a Conservative, Sir Ellis Hume-Williams, K.C., the Chairman of the Committee, seconded by Mr. Tom Shaw, a former Labour Minister, and supported by a number of speakers both Liberal and Conservative. Other Labour ex-Ministers were present and warmly approved the resolution, though they took no part in the discussion. The value of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee and its independence of Party have never been more clearly or more satisfactorily demonstrated.

The Last of Iraq

THE last stage but one in the Iraq negotiations is represented by the debate in the House of Commons on February 18, when, by a large majority, the House approved the ratification of the new treaty contracted between this country and Iraq. The treaty has been concluded in conformity with the League's requirement that as a condition of the allocation of the Mosul vilayet to Iraq Great Britain should undertake to continue its present relationship with the new State until Iraq joins the League of Nations as a full member, or for the next twenty-five years, whichever period may be the

shorter. It was explained that actual military and financial commitments would still end in the year 1928, but there can be no question that the new treaty involves this country in certain moral obligations which it will be impossible to ignore. The last stage of the whole negotiation will take place during a meeting of the League Council at Geneva this month, when, unless any unforeseen obstacle arises, the League's decision regarding the frontier will become final and binding. It may be pointed out, since the question has been widely discussed, that the League has no power to do anything effective to protect those bodies of Christians who are left on the Turkish side of the frontier.

Greece and Bulgaria

THE last phases of the settlement of the now famous dispute between Greece and Bulgaria are being peacefully carried out, in accordance with the League's intentions. Greece by the appointed day had paid to Bulgaria half the indemnity of £45,000 and had obtained Bulgaria's consent to the postponement of the payment of the other half for a period of a fortnight. Meanwhile, the two countries have come to a complete agreement on the adoption of the League Council's proposal that Swedish officers should be appointed to organise the two frontier forces. Accordingly, Colonel Siefert will take service for this purpose with the Bulgarian Government, and Colonel Lindh with the Greek. Full provision, therefore, seems now to be made, so far as was possible for the League Council to make it, for the adoption of permanent safeguards against such an incident as led to the trouble in October.

Can We Disarm?

THE postponement of the first meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission on Disarmament which was to have been held on February 15 was foreshadowed in the last issue of HEADWAY, but the decision not to hold the meeting has, nevertheless, given rise to considerable anxiety. No very clear reasons for the postponement have been adduced, and it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that last September's enthusiasm for progress along the road of disarmament—an enthusiasm fully reflected a few weeks later at Locarno—has in the interval been considerably chilled in some quarters, at any rate. The March Council will now have to fix a new date for the meeting, and there will be widespread disappointment if an early day is not chosen and adhered to. A disarmament plan will be hard enough to formulate even if the will to it is present. If even the will to disarmament does not exist—and there is disquieting talk in France about Locarno not having provided much security, after all—then the prospect is indeed sombre. So far as this country is concerned, no better counsel can be given it than is embodied in the important interview with Lord Cecil on another page of this journal.

The King's Speech

THE King's speech read at the opening of the present session of Parliament at the beginning of February contained unusually extended references

to the League of Nations, the second and third paragraphs of the speech running as follows:—

A Treaty between Myself and His Majesty the King of Iraq, carrying out the stipulation laid down in the decision of the Council of the League of Nations, has been signed by our respective representatives and has been approved by the Parliament of Iraq. It will be submitted to you without delay. One of My Ministers will proceed to Geneva as British representative of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament which is to work out the bases of a general conference on the reduction of armaments. In the opinion of My Government, a substantial step forward in that direction should now be possible as a result of the system of security created by the Treaty of Locarno and subsidiary agreements.

The Parliamentary discussion on the Iraq Treaty took place on February 18, but, as everyone now knows, the Disarmament Conference which was to have opened on February 15 has been postponed until some date not later than the middle of May.

Go, Labour On

AN interesting sidelight on the importance of sustained propaganda is cast by a report issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on the progress of the prohibition movement in that country. The battle was to all appearances won when the prohibition amendment in the Constitution became effective in 1921, but in actual fact it is clearly not won yet. To enact prohibition is one thing. To enforce it is another. Hence the following final paragraph in the last of the 80 pages of the report:—

"A new opportunity is at hand. The crisis that has developed in the enforcement of prohibition calls for a frank facing of facts and a new assumption of responsibility. The Federal Government has announced a right-about-face on enforcement policy. That is the Government's task. It is not its task to change the minds of the people. Religion and education must do that. Nothing but energetic and sustained educational effort can atone for past negligence."

It would be hard to find a more complete justification for the continuance and intensification of the work the League of Nations Union has been doing for the past six years and more. To see that a sound national policy is adopted is one thing. To keep successive Governments scrupulously true to that policy is every whit as important and often more difficult.

The 48-hour Week

THE Minister of Labour, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, is to receive a deputation from the League of Nations Union on March 2 on the subject of the ratification by Great Britain of the Washington Hours Convention. Ratification, with or without reservations damaging to the original agreement, does appear to be at last in sight. It has latterly been the attitude of the British Government that this country cannot ratify the agreement unless other countries which are industrial competitors to Great Britain ratify also. The German Chancellor has announced that Germany will ratify if Great Britain, France and Belgium do the same, while Italy has already ratified conditionally on similar action being taken by Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland. Bills providing for ratification in France and Belgium are at present before the Parliaments of those countries. In the hope of securing the necessary uniform action, the British Minister of Labour has invited representatives of France, Italy, Germany and Belgium to meet in London some time in March, together with M. Albert

Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, and endeavour to reach agreement on the question.

Rounding on the Critics

TWO leading Labour writers, Mr. Norman Angell and Mrs. Swanwick, have lately published extremely sound articles, the one in the *Daily Herald*, the other in *Foreign Affairs*, on the attitude of the general public and of the Labour Party in particular towards the League of Nations. Both the writers can on occasions be severe critics themselves of the League and its work, but they are still more severe on the painfully familiar type who spends his time condemning the League's alleged weakness without lifting a finger to help it to be strong. Mr. Angell dwells with force on the questioner at meetings who has no use for the League because it has not adopted as a main plank in its scheme the single tax, or the Douglas credit scheme, or whatever favourite idea for the reformation of the world happens to be simmering in the questioner's brain at the moment. Mrs. Swanwick, painting on a rather larger canvas, castigates the objector who boycotts the League because it is "an association of capitalist Governments," and still more the Labour leaders who fail to grasp the great opportunities that exist for using the League as a means of effecting those very purposes for which Labour stands. Mrs. Swanwick's final sentence embodies a profound truth.

"It should be obvious," she writes, "that 'the League' can of itself do nothing. *What the League does is done by us and by others through its machinery.* If we are too quarrelsome, or too greedy, or too stupid, or too idle to use the machinery for good, it can easily be used for evil. Any organisation can be wangled if the wangers are the only people who interest themselves in it."

Admirable words. Why leave the devil the best tunes?

Danzig and the Saar

THE map which appears on another page of this issue of HEADWAY will recall to any who are a little hazy in their geography the present position of those two areas in Europe, Danzig and the Saar, for which the League of Nations holds a special responsibility. Both of them are at present experiencing changes, for which the Council of the League is responsible. The new Commissioner of Danzig, Dr. von Hamel, appointed by the Council at its December meeting, took over his duties and entered into residence at Danzig in the middle of February. At its impending meeting, which opens on March 8, the Council will have to appoint the new members of the Saar Valley Governing Commission and nominate a new Chairman for the Commission. Of the existing five members, two at least and probably three are certain to be re-appointed, but the French Chairman, M. Rault, who has held office since the League came into existence, will certainly not be nominated again. A great deal of importance will attach to the choice of a successor, who is likely to be a national of a State which took no part in the War.

The League's Home

IT seems very difficult to reach any final decision on the subject of the new Assembly Hall at Geneva, the architects persistently aiming at a

more ambitious scheme than the Assembly is willing to approve. The compromise made in September was that an attempt should be made to sell the existing Secretariat and construct a completely new block of League buildings, including Assembly Hall and secretarial offices, on a larger and admirable site rather further up the Lake than the present Palais des Nations. The Secretariat, however, was not sold, and as a consequence it was intended that the Assembly Hall should be built on an adjacent and rather restricted site and the existing Secretariat be enlarged. The jury of architects, however, which met at Geneva a few weeks ago is still discontented with that proposal and argues that the site chosen is unsuitable and that the Assembly Hall ought to be built on the larger lake-side property already referred to, so as to leave room for future extensions, when needed. The special Assembly convened for this month gives a convenient opportunity for the whole matter to be disposed of forthwith. It would otherwise have to wait another six months—till September.

The Rights of the Native

THE decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation that the I.L.O. shall take up the whole question of native labour is a very important as well as a very satisfactory development. It is a direct consequence of the discussions in the League's Temporary Commission on Slavery and of the further discussions at Geneva last September when that Commission's report was considered. How far the I.L.O. will go in the matter remains to be seen and it would be premature as yet to be adopting such sanguine and rather grandiloquent phrases as "a native labour charter." If broad principles to govern the employment of native labour everywhere can be formulated a sound and solid foundation for further action in the future will have been laid. Meanwhile it is interesting to observe that the last remnants of slavery are being stamped out in Burma. No official countenance is, of course, given to the survival of such an institution under the British flag, but old customs die hard in one or two of the remote valleys where white men hardly ever penetrate. In December, a small expedition visited one such region and arranged by friendly agreement with the masters for the redemption of almost all the slaves there.

Australia's Apathy

A BRITISH visitor who has just returned from Australia has been recording his impressions in two very interesting articles in the *Times*. The fact that the chief proprietor of the *Times*, Major Astor, M.P., had in fact returned from Australia shortly before the articles appeared may or may not be a mere coincidence. It is interesting, in any case, to note that the diarist observes that among his notes "strangely enough there is no entry of an Australian having mentioned the League of Nations or discussed the state of Europe or even that of the Far East." This limitation of interest on the part of Australians is indeed curious, though the writer could certainly have penetrated into circles where keen interest is taken in the League.

GERMANY'S ENTRY WHAT THE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL WILL DO

GERMANY'S application for membership of the League of Nations is now an accomplished fact. On Wednesday, February 10, a document reading as follows was handed to Sir Eric Drummond, at Geneva, on behalf of the German Government:—

"With reference to the German memorandum of September, 1924, to the Governments represented in the Council of the League of Nations; to the German Note of December 12, 1924, addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations; and to the reply of the Council of the League of Nations thereto of March 14, 1925; and with regard to the attached copy of the Note of December 1, 1925, from the Governments participating in the Locarno agreements; I have the honour, in accordance with Article 1 of the League's statutes, to apply herewith, on behalf of the German Government, for Germany's admittance to the League of Nations.

I respectfully request you to place this application on the agenda of a meeting of the League of Nations as soon as possible."

The various allusions in the application demand a word of explanation. The German memorandum of September, 1924 (eighteen months ago) expressed Germany's readiness to enter the League if she could be assured on certain points, the principal among them the allocation to her of a permanent seat on the Council. A question on the latter point was put by the German Government to every State then a member of the Council (because their unanimous approval was necessary), and the Note of December, 1924, to which reference is made, summed up the replies, all of which were favourable, but laid stress on the fact that Germany still had difficulties about Article XVI of the Covenant (Sanctions). The Council's Note of March 14, 1925, attempted to meet these difficulties, but did not give Germany full satisfaction, the Government at Berlin only being reconciled to Article XVI after explanations had been given by the Allied Powers at Locarno last October as to the interpretation they themselves set upon the Article.

Everything is now in train for Germany's actual admission to the League. At a brief special Council meeting held on February 12 arrangements were made for a special Assembly, which will meet on the afternoon of Monday, March 8, the Council having begun its normal March session on the morning of the same day. Two separate tasks have to be discharged, one by the Assembly alone, and the other by the Council and Assembly in harmony. The first is the admission of Germany to the League, for which a two-thirds majority of the Assembly is needed. This cannot be done in a single sitting, for it will be necessary for the Assembly to appoint committees to examine Germany's eligibility under Article I of the Covenant in regard particularly to her army, navy and air forces and to her execution of her international obligations.

When these committees have reported favourably, the Assembly can proceed to vote, and the German delegates will then take their places on the floor of the Assembly Hall. Then, and not till then—in that Germany will not till that moment be a member of the League—it will be possible for the Council to recommend that its number be increased from 10 to 11 by the addition of one permanent seat, and that that permanent seat be allotted to Germany. A resolution to this effect must be carried unanimously; and, in spite of certain rumours and alarms, there is not much doubt

that this will duly happen. The resolution then has to be endorsed by a clear majority of the Assembly, and there is, of course, no doubt that the majority will be obtained.

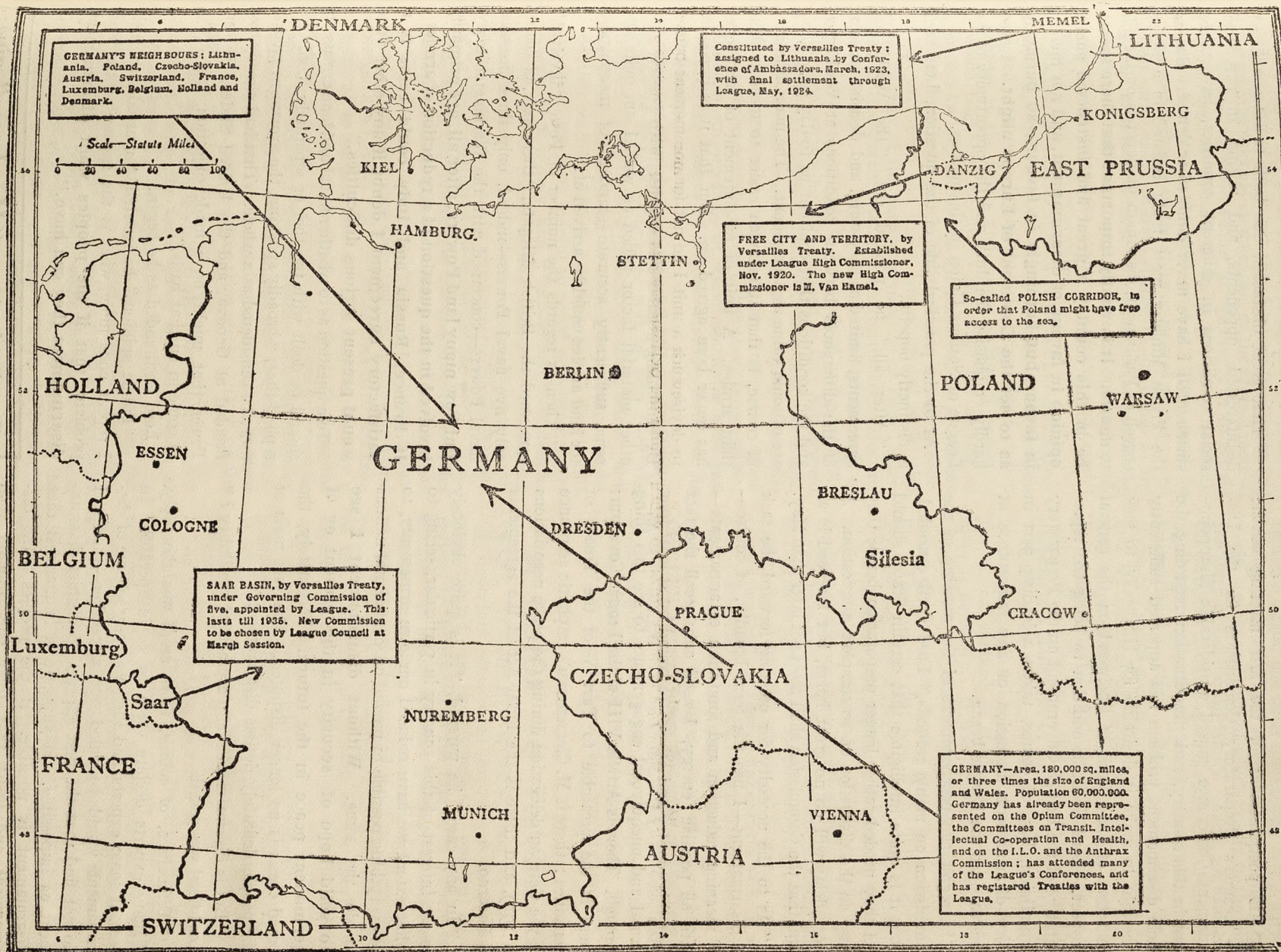
That completes the process of Germany's admission both to the Assembly and Council, and a German delegate, in all probability the Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, will take part in the rest of the Council's proceedings, which, incidentally, are of particular interest this time to Germany, as one item of the business on the agenda is the appointment of the Saar Valley Governing Commission.

One other small matter connected with Germany's entry will have to be disposed of: the sum Germany will pay annually as her subscription to the League funds has still to be determined, and this year, though not in future years, the Assembly must also decide how the money is to be expended. Normally it will, of course, fall, like all other national subscriptions, into the general total of the League Budget. The Budget for 1926 has, however, already been passed by the Assembly, and this year's German subscription, therefore, stands outside it. The money is likely to be needed to pay the salaries of German officials, including an Assistant Secretary-General, who will immediately be appointed on the League Secretariat, and there is little doubt that the Assembly will at once approve the expenditure of Germany's subscription in this way.

The Assembly, which will meet as usual in the Salle de la Réformation, will probably be sitting intermittently during most of the second week in March, and the Council is hardly likely to enter on its more serious business until the German delegate is ready to take his seat.

INDIA'S NEW OPIUM POLICY

IN his speech to the Council of State on February 16, the Viceroy of India made a very important announcement on India's future opium policy. What it amounts to briefly is that it has been decided by the Government of India, subject to confirmation by the Legislative Assembly, to abolish gradually all exports of opium except for strictly medical and scientific purposes, so that in the course of a few years—the exact period has not yet been determined—all export of Indian opium except for these purposes will be suppressed completely. Hitherto India has been content, in strict accordance with the terms of the Hague Convention of 1912, with a certificate from the Government of the importing country that the opium imported from India was required for "legitimate" purposes. Some governments of importing countries placed an extremely broad interpretation on the word "legitimate," and India, quite reasonably, contended that it was impossible for her to interfere in the internal affairs of another State and declare that, though the Government of that State had said the opium was needed for legitimate purposes, it was in fact being used for illegitimate. In spite of this India has, however, absolutely forbidden all export to Persia and Macao, because the Government of India was convinced that opium going to those destinations was either being smuggled out again or otherwise improperly used, and she now proposes to accept completely as regards her exports of opium the thesis pressed so hard by the American delegation at Geneva early last year, that no opium should go out of the country unless there was a certainty that it would be used for medical and scientific purposes only.



THE LEAGUE'S NEW MEMBER

HEADWAY

DO WE WANT TO DISARM? LORD CECIL ON THE PEOPLES' DUTY

THE postponement of the first meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference caused considerable disappointment in this country, and the situation regarding the whole disarmament problem has appeared sufficiently uncertain to make it desirable for HEADWAY to seek the views of Lord Cecil of Chelwood on the general prospect. Lord Cecil, in addition to being the representative of the British Government on the Preparatory Commission, has, of course, taken a leading part in every disarmament discussion of any importance at Geneva since the League began.

"I regret the postponement of the meeting of the Commission on many grounds," Lord Cecil conceded, "but it is quite intelligible that certain States should feel they needed rather longer preparation before they enter on the discussion of so complex a question. A short delay will do no great harm, but I regard it as vital that the Commission shall meet not later than May.

"As to the necessity for pressing forward the task of disarmament—I use the term broadly, of course—as meaning reduction and limitation of armaments—with all possible energy, I need only recall the fact that this country and others are bound by at least four formal and unequivocal engagements to see this thing through. There is Article VIII of the League Covenant; there is the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles; there is M. Clemenceau's emphatic assurance to the German delegation during the peace negotiations in 1919, and there is the Final Act of the agreements of Locarno.

"In any case," he pursued, "it is quite obviously to the interest of this country in particular, seeing to what extent we have reduced our own armaments, to do everything possible to prevail on Continental nations to do the same. **Without disarmament I see no solid hope of security in the present or of permanent peace in the future.** Fortunately, the broad thesis is no longer disputed. The vast mass of the people definitely desires disarmament."

"But is disarmament really a practical possibility?" Lord Cecil was asked.

"Difficulties, of course, there are," was the reply. "Many experts declare them to be insuperable. In fact, if some experts had their way any scheme of disarmament would be ruled out altogether—though I do not find that the best experts do dismiss disarmament as impossible. In any case it is manifest that disarmament is possible. If the peoples want disarmament and insist that their Governments shall bring it about it will be brought about. **The question is, do the peoples really want disarmament, and if so, how much do they want it?**

"That great obstacles, due both to interested and disinterested opponents, and arising in part from social conditions in different countries, have to be surmounted I have never doubted or denied. But, as the Prime Minister most truly insisted in a recent speech in Parliament, disarmament depends on the will to disarm. **It is vitally important that there should be in this country a great and instructed public opinion in favour of disarmament, and not merely in favour but burningly in favour—so burningly as to set the Continent of Europe alight.** I need hardly emphasise the duty and the opportunity of the League of Nations Union in this matter."

As to the practical side of the question, Lord Cecil is distinctly hopeful.

"After all," he pointed out, "the Washington agreements, limited as they were, and decisive as some of the differences between conditions at Washington and the conditions that confront us to-day seem to be, are of some value as a precedent. The main difference, of course, is that it is much easier to measure fleets than armies. A unit of measurement of land forces has never been agreed on. But that it is impossible to devise such a unit I do not for one moment believe. By combining number and expense, with possibly some other material factor added as well, I am quite sure some sufficiently accurate standard of measurement for land armies could be arrived at.

"Then as regards the number of Powers involved," continued the British delegate, "there were, of course, only five naval Powers—indeed, only three first-class naval Powers—concerned with the Washington treaty. **But how many land Powers, after all, are primarily involved in the question of a reduction of armies? If France, Russia and Italy could come to a satisfactory agreement I doubt if any other State would present serious difficulties.**"

To a question as to whether naval and land armaments should be dealt with together or separately, Lord Cecil replied that, "broadly speaking, the armament problem must be considered as a whole. That had already been decided at Geneva, and the United States, the only Power that might have made objection, had agreed to come in on that basis."

Lord Cecil ended as he began.

"Public opinion," he insisted, "must declare itself. I repeat once more, what is the essence of the whole problem, that **if the peoples want disarmament, disarmament they can have.**"

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

THE SCHOOL AND THE LEAGUE

By Dr. J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT

TO make any great change in human institutions—whether it be to get rid of international war and regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs, or whether it be to get rid of duelling, or whether it be to get rid of alcoholic drinks—involves a two-fold process. There must be an *external* change in the rules or laws of society; and there must be an *internal* change in the minds of the people, or at least in the minds of most of the people who matter. If the first change is made without the second, the result is laws which cannot be enforced and treaties which are only scraps of paper.

Accordingly, the League of Nations Union has striven ever since the Covenant of the League of Nations was signed, and even before that, to bring about such a change in the hearts and minds of British people as would tend, not merely to encourage the making of treaties for international co-operation and the prevention of war, but also to give reality to the treaties when made.

In particular, the Union has concerned itself with the training of the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs. It has sought to remedy the evil of allowing boys and girls to leave school, and go out into the world supposing it to be such as they had learned about in the course of history lessons that ended with 1914. It has endeavoured to persuade, first, the teaching profession, and then the authorities which manage or inspect the schools, that every future citizen should learn something at school about the aims and work of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.

This organised body of knowledge is most naturally taught in history lessons, as will be seen from the reference to the Union's publications made below; and the Union has prepared, or helped to prepare, suggestions for teachers showing how this may be done. But the Union has been careful to avoid professing expert knowledge of history, and it has refused to undertake the revision of school history books. It has instead asked the help of the Historical Association, who have issued a list of text-books which present English history in its proper relation to the history of the world. Moreover, under the direction of the chairman of the Film Committee of the Historical Association, the Union has produced a cinematograph picture which gives in outline the most essential facts concerning the origin and work of the League. Notes for teachers have also been prepared to suggest how the film may be used by a teacher to acquaint his pupils with the facts about the League, and how, by giving some half-dozen lessons in school, he may turn this instruction into education by setting his pupils to work on this new knowledge so as to make it into an integral part of their organised thought, and thus to affect their whole outlook on the world.

After history, geography is the school subject most concerned with the facts which the Union aims at making known. Thus, the Union has urged that, while still at school, pupils should be made to realise the conditions of life, as well as of individuals and communities, among the nations of the world and especially among those peoples with whom the people of Great Britain have most in common. In this connexion the absence of a suitable wall map to show the territorial changes in Central and Western Europe since 1914 soon became evident. In co-operation with Messrs. George Phillip & Son, the Union prepared a map to meet this need. It shows clearly both the old and the new political boundaries as well as demilitarised zones,

plebiscite areas, internationalised waterways, and the like. Copies of this map are quickly finding their way into many secondary schools and into an increasing number of elementary schools.

It is not, however, with history and geography alone that the Union has been concerned. They have their bearing upon all school subjects, each of which has its world aspect, and each of which points to the unity of the story of the human family. Thus, for example, all the elements of our English speech, like all the elements of our blood, come from abroad. Our modern science is international in origin. And so with art; the great styles of English architecture—Saxon, Norman, Gothic and Renaissance—all come from overseas; they are little chips of the great European block. All this has been well set forth by Dr. Gooch in an address on "The Unity of Civilisation," delivered under the Union's auspices to a Conference of Teachers in January, 1924.

But, in order to bring about a changed world outlook so that international co-operation shall be regarded as the normal method of conducting world affairs, still more is necessary. If war between civilised states is to be abolished in our lifetime, these matters need to be linked closely to the central purpose of every young life. They ought, therefore, to be intimately related with the teaching of civics, of morals and of religion.

The education given by the best schools is by no means confined to the class-room. Often on the Union's suggestion, and sometimes with its help, some of these schools have arranged debates on international affairs; or they have organised a Model Assembly, such as exists among the secondary schools of Liverpool and Colchester, and such as proved successful in Oxford, where each of some forty different countries was represented by undergraduates in an Assembly meeting two or three times a term for the discussion of world problems; or they have formed Junior Branches of the League of Nations Union. It is in secondary schools, most of whose pupils leave at the age of sixteen, that these Junior Branches are most successful. They now number 295, and their work is of varied character.

A GUIDE TO TEACHERS

THE TEACHERS' WORLD, one of the most important educational journals, is to be warmly congratulated on an excellent number devoted entirely to the subject of the League of Nations in the schools. In an introductory message to this number, Viscount Grey says: "A recurrence of the catastrophe of 1914 can only be avoided if future generations are brought up with a conception of war that takes account of the experience and lessons of the great war. . . Modern war is a catastrophe to be avoided by all nations, and it is essential to future peace that the youth of nations should be brought up so to regard it. . . Much—perhaps everything—will depend upon whether youth is taught, now and hereafter, rightly to understand the object of the League of Nations, the reasons for its existence and the necessity to use and strengthen it."

The number contains an article by Mr. S. Sherman, head of the L.N.U. Education Department, setting out the reasons for necessary changes in modern school teaching, a statement as to the sympathetic attitude of the Board of Education, local education authorities and teachers' organisations, an account of the variety of material prepared by the Union for teachers and children, as well as programmes and schemes of work already carried out in schools to foster League ideals.

Interesting articles by teachers on the place of the League of Nations in the teaching of history, geography and literature, a new League play and song, a map and diagrams go to make up a publication which is invaluable to every teacher.

A DANGER AVERTED

VERY grave disquiet was created throughout Great Britain and in many other countries when it became known at the beginning of February that an attempt was to be made, simultaneously with the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and her election to a permanent seat on the Council, to secure permanent seats also for three other States—Spain, Poland and Brazil. The arguments against the adoption of any such proposal are manifold, but the most unfortunate aspect of the whole affair was the undisguised campaign carried on in the French Press for the election of these three States to permanent seats, avowedly as a means of counteracting the influence it was believed Germany would acquire as a result of entry into the League and into permanent membership of the Council. Such a campaign, coming within two months of the signature of the Locarno treaties and before those treaties had been actually ratified by any single signatory except Germany, was a gravely disturbing symptom. None of the three States in question can make a good claim for election to a permanent seat, though two of them have rightly held places as non-permanent members, and the third, Poland, ought to be elected to that position next September. To increase the number of permanent seats on the Council beyond the seven which the framers of the Covenant originally intended for the seven Great Powers—Great Britain, America, France, Italy, Japan, Germany and Russia—would mean either reducing the non-permanent element, which is elected by a free vote of the Assembly, to a position of minority and subordination, or else enlarging the Council to such a size that the qualities of harmony and confidence which have been so successfully established would be most gravely imperilled.

Unofficial opinion on this subject in Great Britain has been all but unanimous. With the exception of an indeterminate leading article in the *Morning Post*, the whole of the Press has been emphatic in its denunciation of what must be called the French proposals. The *Conservative Times* and *Daily Telegraph*, *Observer* and *Spectator* have spoken in language as strong as the *Liberal Manchester Guardian*, *Daily News* and *Nation*, or the *Labour Daily Herald*. In many other European countries feeling has been just as strong, and on February 15 it was announced explicitly that the Swedish Cabinet had decided that its representative on the Council of the League should vote against the proposal to add Poland, Spain and Brazil to the permanent members. This means that the proposal cannot be adopted, for unanimity among members of the Council is necessary for any increase in the number of its members.

The Executive of the League of Nations Union was summoned to a special meeting on February 11 to consider the situation, and adopted the following resolution, which was widely circulated:—

"The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, while welcoming unreservedly the impending entry of Germany into the League of Nations and her election to a permanent seat on the Council, views with profound concern the proposal further to increase the number of permanent members of the Council, and unanimously urges His Majesty's Government, in view of the grave perils to which the whole League would be exposed as the result of a sudden and unconsidered change in the fundamental constitution of the Council, to resist by all means in its power any further increase in the number of permanent members at the present time."

The League of Nations Parliamentary Committee also took the matter up at a meeting called on February 22, when a strong resolution was unanimously adopted protesting against any further increase of the Council.

IN THE HOUSE

February 4.—Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Ponsonby): "I believe the reason for the postponement of the Disarmament Conference to be due to the wish that Germany should take part in these important discussions as a member of the League, and the hope that by a short delay the present obstacles to the participation of Russia may be removed."

February 9.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Major Hills): "The King's instruments of ratification of the Opium Agreement and the Dangerous Drugs Convention and Protocol signed at Geneva on February 19, 1925, will be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for deposit within a few days."

February 10.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Forrest): "The Secretary-General of the League was prepared to receive offers for the purchase of the site and buildings of the Secretariat up to December 15 last. No offer fulfilling the prescribed conditions was received up to that date, and the proposal to sell has lapsed."

February 10.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Sir F. Hall): "The approximate totals of the contributions paid by Great Britain, France and Italy, respectively, towards the expenses of the League of Nations, since its inception, are as follows: Great Britain, £431,888; France, £396,041; Italy, £337,736. These expenses include the cost of the International Court of Justice."

February 11.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald): "The application of Germany for admission to the League has opened the whole question of the composition of the Council, and is giving rise to claims in other quarters. But until those claims have been formally preferred, and the arguments both for and against have been heard, it is impossible to reach any final decision as to the course which will best serve the interests of the Council and the League generally. On a matter which is to be the subject of debate and decision by the Council and Assembly, and on which a good deal of difference of opinion may at first exist, it is desirable that full weight should be given to the feeling which may be found to prevail in those bodies and to the arguments which may be adduced in their discussions. It would defeat the whole object of such common consultation and destroy the usefulness and influence of the League, if the representatives of this and other countries were bound in advance by rigid instructions which rendered any common agreement impossible."

February 11.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "The restrictions in force in nearly all countries, including this country, on the admission of aliens, makes it necessary for travellers to carry authoritative proof of their identity and nationality. In the circumstances I do not feel able to press for the abolition of passports at the forthcoming Conference to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations."

February 17.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "The gendarmerie in the Saar Valley provided by the Treaty of Versailles will number 1,005 men by the end of March. The strength of the French troops now in the Saar is less than it was a year ago."

February 17.—Sir Austen Chamberlain (to Colonel Gretton): "H.M. Government has already informed the League of Nations that in their opinion the terms of Article 18 of the Covenant are not applicable to the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The Government has consistently taken the view that neither it, nor any Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League are intended to govern the relations *inter se* of the various parts of the British Commonwealth."

(Some of these replies are summarised.)

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE March Council of the League which opens at Geneva on the 8th of the month will, of course, be notable before all things for the fact that Germany will take her seat at the Council table for the first time. Apart from that the meeting promises to be of a routine character, but will involve several decisions of some considerable importance.

The first item on the agenda is the appointment of the chairman and members of the Governing Commission of the Saar Basin. It will be remembered that the French member of the Commission, M. Rault, has been appointed chairman year after year since the Commission was first formed, but the definite understanding was arrived at twelve months ago that this year a President of some other nationality should be chosen. There are likely to be other changes in the constitution of the Commission, and in view not only of Germany's entry into the League, but of the new relations between that country and the Allied Powers established at Locarno, the Saar Commission discussions are likely to attract a good deal of attention.

So, it may be expected, will the consideration of the report of the special meeting which the Permanent Mandates Commission held in Rome in February, to discuss the disturbances which have arisen under the French mandatory régime in Syria. The nature of the Council discussions on this subject will no doubt depend on the character of the Mandates Commission's report.

The Iraq question, which was not finally disposed of at the December meeting of the Council, will have once more to be considered, probably for the last time. The Council in December allotted the Mosul vilayet to Iraq, subject to the conclusion of a satisfactory treaty between Great Britain and Iraq, assuring a continuance of the British interest in the fortunes of the new State. That treaty is expected to be submitted to the Council forthwith, and if it is approved, as it doubtless will be, the decision regarding the frontiers will be made absolute and final.

The only other entry of the first importance in an agenda of 26 items is that regarding the date of the first meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. That meeting, which was to have been held on February 15, was postponed at the instance of five members of the Council, the other five subsequently concurring, and it was left for the Council to fix the date afresh and to consider other aspects of the Disarmament question that may arise.

AMERICA JOINS THE COURT

ON January 26, the United States of America took a step for which supporters of the League of Nations in that country have been working for the last five years. The Senate, with whom the ultimate decision lies, adopted by 76 votes to 17 a motion approving America's adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Such a resolution requires a two-thirds majority of the Senate, the total membership of which is 96. Sixty-four votes, therefore, would have been sufficient to secure the adoption of the motion.

What, however, is almost as important as the main decision is the series of reservations attached to it. Advocates of America's entry into the Court would, of course, have preferred a plain resolution with no reservations at all. That, however, could not have been carried, and the question that arose is how far the reservations the Senate insisted on attaching to its motion have robbed America's action of value. The general opinion in instructed circles in this country is that few of them are open to serious objection. America throws the whole of her moral authority behind the Court. She will

take part with the Assembly and Council of the League in the election of judges when the need for electing any judges arises, and she will incidentally, though this is a trivial matter, bear her share of the expenses of the Court, which for a country like America are likely to amount to round about 40,000 dollars (£8,000) a year.

Now for the principal reservations:—

(1) *There is to be no legal relation between America and the League.* That reservation was expected, and is of no consequence.

(2) *America's consent, like that of every Member of the League, must be obtained to any alteration in the Statutes of the Court.* That is natural and reasonable. So is the provision that America shall be able to withdraw from the Court at any time.

(3) *America can only appear before the Court in accordance with a special or general treaty* (which needs a two-thirds majority of the Senate). This means a slow and cumbersome procedure, but the world, after all, is thinking much more of America as a supporter of the Court than of America as a litigant before the Court.

(4) *The Court shall give no secret advisory opinions.* The Court's own rules already provide for this.

(5) *The Court shall not, without the consent of the United States, give an advisory opinion on a case which concerns the United States.* This reservation would be viewed with misgiving if it were taken as a general precedent, for it would unduly fetter the freedom of the Council to seek legal advice from the Court on any question whatever.

Altogether, therefore, though naturally everyone would have preferred adherence without reservations, adherence with the reservations as they stand must be regarded as distinctly a step forward on America's part. It represents as large a step as the Senate is prepared to take at the present time, but both President and people are in advance of the Senate, and there are signs that, speaking generally, the tide in America is flowing slowly towards the League, though it would be a profound mistake to assume from anything that has happened so far that the day when the United States will be sitting as a full Member of the Council and Assembly is yet in sight.

VISITORS FROM HOLLAND

"Our two main difficulties are getting people to come to meetings and raising funds to carry on our work. There seems to be so much apathy among the people."

THIS statement was made not, as one might suppose, by a League of Nations Union branch secretary, but by the President of the Dutch League of Nations Society, who was recently on a visit to England, with the two secretaries of his society, to study the Union's work and methods—a singularly enterprising mission, which other foreign societies might well imitate. Their representatives would be very welcome here.

Partly because Holland escaped the war, and partly because she believes so profoundly in arbitration, that she can hardly realise it needs to be advocated. League work makes no compelling appeal to the Dutch. But the officers of the Dutch Society, which at present numbers about 5,000, are keen on their work, and already they observe signs of awakening interest in the League. For, after all, as one of the secretaries said, "Holland has signed the Covenant, and naturally wishes to fulfil her obligations. This she cannot do unless the people understand what the League stands for and what are the terms of its Covenant." And so, having gained all the information they could from the Union (both at Headquarters and at Oxford and Manchester) the President and secretaries returned to their country to devote themselves to the work.



GERMANY—THE COUNCIL— THE LAWYERS

GENEVA, February

THE approaching entry of Germany into the League is the dominating question in international politics to-day. It is now seen to be not only the first step in the application of the Locarno Agreements, but the acid test of the sincerity of the signatories. The subject has been so exhaustively discussed in the Press that it is needless to go into details. But it is obvious that the method of rushing through a fundamental change in the constitution of the League (by making Poland, Spain and Brazil permanent members of the Council) at a skeleton Assembly, summoned only to admit Germany, and after a few weeks of secret intrigue, is wrong. It is equally obvious that the motive in advocating these changes before Germany comes into the League, is bad, for it is quite frankly intended to counteract the effects of Germany's admission by artificially preserving French predominance on the Council.

As the Council must be unanimous to make any such proposal, it suffices for the British Government to take a firm stand (following the lead of Sweden who, not for the first time, has shown itself the most loyal Member of the League), to kill this intrigue. This requires courage and a genuine desire to make a real thing of professions of loyalty to the best interests of the League.

Once Germany has been admitted, however, there is a strong case for putting the question of the composition of the Council on the agenda of the next Assembly. The League has grown in the last five years. Germany's entry and the Locarno Treaties mark a new epoch in world politics and a shifting of the centre of interest from West to East Europe. Three of the present temporary members (Belgium, Brazil and Spain) have been in the Council since the League came into existence and it is high time there was a change. The proposals of various Assemblies for rotation and the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant voted by the Second Assembly, have remained in abeyance and should be brought into force. Briefly, it may be said that the increase of permanent members to five by the admission of Germany would seem to justify an increase of the temporary members to seven next September, thus raising the total membership of the Council to twelve, a number which is not excessive in view of the growth of the membership of the League and the increase in the Council's functions. Of these seven temporary seats, three should, as at present, belong to the Spanish-Portuguese-Latin-American group of States, one to the small European States (the Scandinavian States, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland), and two to the East European new State group (Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, the Succession States, and the Balkans). The remaining temporary seat would be for the Eastern nations.

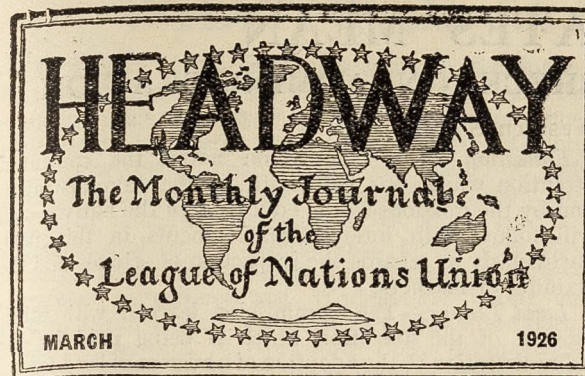
In view of the importance of East European questions in the near future, of her position in the heart of Europe, and her size (27½ million inhabitants), Poland has a strong claim to be a temporary member from next September. Her present Prime and Foreign Minister combined (M. Skrzynski) is a strong League man who has both in the Assembly and at Locarno pursued a wise and conciliatory policy.

The Russo-Swiss conflict seems to have reached a deadlock and the Council in March will be faced with the very difficult and thankless decision of whether to hold the Preparatory Committee of the Disarmament Conference outside Geneva and so risk offending Switzerland and ministering to Russian intransigence, or to hold it here and so condemn it to partial futility, owing to the absence of the Soviet Union. The decision will depend to some extent on whether the Swiss in the meantime have shown themselves conciliatory and the Russians intransigent or *vice versa*. Possibly, too, it would not be a bad thing to have the first couple of meetings without Russia in order to settle preliminary differences and give time to get over the particular difficulty with Switzerland. A number of meetings of the Committee will be necessary before the Conference can be prepared and there is no reason why the whole subject should be tackled at the first meeting—a "piecemeal approach" may prove the more feasible method.

The last month has been relatively calm at Geneva. The most important meeting has been that of the Committee of Jurists "For the Progressive Codification of International Law." The object of this Committee, whose title is somewhat misleading, is to suggest what subjects might be dealt with by international conventions so as to ensure an approximately equal attitude toward them in all states. For instance, there is the question of the limits of territorial waters, where there is no uniform and universally accepted doctrine between nations. There are also conflicts of nationality rights. (In the United States, for instance, a foreign woman marrying an American does not acquire American nationality until she has spent a year in the States, whereas she does lose her own nationality upon marrying. The resulting situation in our present passport-ridden world may be imagined!) Fishing rights and in general the conservation of the natural resources of the high seas is another subject where some form of standard practice in different states established by international conventions is obviously desirable. The legal position of international private associations who have no money-making purpose is a question being studied by the Committee and is of considerable interest to, e.g., the Federation of League of Nations Societies. The status of diplomatic agents needs overhauling since it was last fixed by the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle. The legal status and functions of consuls is a more modern problem of the same nature. The status of merchantmen owned or subsidised by the State, of international commercial societies, and so forth, are all questions that have, like Topsy, "just grown" in the last quarter of a century and given rise to many anomalies and ambiguities that require the concerted action of all States and the establishment of international conventions.

In other words, the Codification Committee is really a sort of drafting committee whose proposals are to be discussed by special conferences of Government representatives and worked up into conventions which will establish new legislation in their respective fields. This is only one of the ways in which the activities of the League are building up the structure of international society to fit modern economic and cultural developments.

X. Y. Z.



PUBLIC OPINION

THE discussion which has filled so many columns of the Press of this and other countries in the past three or four weeks on the proposed addition of three permanent members, apart from Germany, to the League of Nations Council has many aspects deserving a moment's consideration. As to the merits of the case, opinion in Great Britain has been all but unanimous. The resolution of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, printed on another page, appears to express the almost unbroken opinion of this country. The only visible exception to the general rule has been a superficial and cynical leading article in a newspaper notoriously hostile to the League of Nations. There is no question of canvassing in detail the individual claims of Spain, Poland and Brazil to permanent seats on the Council. The matter goes deeper and rests on broader bases than that. It is necessary, first of all, that the Council should be small enough to preserve that spirit of harmony and that confidence of its members in one another which has in the main marked its proceedings in the past. It is eminently desirable at the same time that the non-permanent members should not be out-numbered by the permanent. There is a good deal to be said for giving a bare majority to the non-permanent, not because majorities actually matter, as such, within the Council—every decision of importance has to be unanimous—but because it is doing bare justice to the Assembly, which, after all, is the main organ of the League, to give it control of the composition of at least half the Council, through the right it exercises of electing the non-permanent members. What this means in terms of actual numbers is that if the original intention of the framers of the Covenant is some day realised and seven permanent seats are held by the seven Great Powers, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, America, Germany and Russia, and the non-permanent seats are by that time increased to eight (they are now six), the Council will number in all fifteen members. That is abundantly large enough, and it would be a grave mistake, by increasing still further the number of permanent members, either to reduce the non-permanent members to a minority or to inflate the Council as a whole to quite unmanageable proportions.

These considerations have been given full weight in Great Britain and need not be further laboured here. What is more important for immediate purposes is to take note of the remarkable expression of public opinion against any tampering with the accepted principles on which the Council has been constructed. Never in the history of the League has the Press of all parties devoted such attention to what is, after all, a question of the League's internal politics, fundamental though that question admittedly is, and never before has public opinion asserted itself with a force and unanimity calculated to have a direct effect on the policy of the Government. This is a fact of the first importance.

It is perfectly true that in regard to League of Nations policy as in regard to much else in national life, the Government which a country has placed in power by its free vote at the polls must be given a reasonably free hand in the conduct of the country's affairs. To decide precisely within what limits that doctrine should operate is not always easy. All that can be said is that when there are clearly cases in which the Government is in danger of running counter to the manifest desires of the great majority of citizens, the great majority of citizens must find some means of making their convictions felt. In this particular instance there was at any rate serious reason to fear that the Government might be disposed to approve proposals which the country as a whole most emphatically condemns. In an entirely proper way, by means unexceptionably constitutional, public opinion has in fact expressed itself, and there is no question that the effect on the Government's policy has been considerable. On the part played by the League of Nations Union in this matter, there is no need to dwell at length. The resolution passed by the Executive Committee did manifestly, as has been said, both express and give a lead to opinion throughout the country. A similar resolution adopted by the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee was in some ways of even greater value on account of the manifest weight of the Members of Parliament who comprise that body. Individuals prominent in the League of Nations Union movement in various ways exerted efforts for which they have been abundantly rewarded by the result. And in many ways the most satisfactory feature of the whole campaign, if so it is to be called, is the admirable spirit shown both by the reluctant critics of the Government's policy and by the Ministers primarily responsible for that policy.

The net conclusion is that the whole discussion has done real good. To take first of all the narrow view, it has demonstrated the real power which the League of Nations Union commands, both through its organisation and through its individual members, to mobilise public opinion when it needs to be mobilised. The greater that power is, or grows to be, the more prudent and restrained must those who control it be in the use of it. In the present case no reproach can lie against them. In the second place the discussion of the Council question in the Press has focussed public opinion in a new way on the League and in particular educated vast masses of people who knew nothing of the League's machinery or the essential features of its constitution. That in itself is a matter of considerable importance, because there is little question that the composition of the Council will have to be further considered and further modified yet. The unfortunate practice has grown up of re-electing some of the non-permanent members so regularly that three at least of them have held their seats as long as the permanent. That cannot go on for ever, but it may matter a good deal precisely what steps the Assembly takes to ensure proper rotation among the elected members of the Council. The Union is making a special study of that question and will, no doubt, issue some statement on it before the next Assembly meets. It is not to be assumed, of course, for a moment that the views of the Union in this country will in themselves carry decisive weight with the Assembly, but if Unions in every country were as strong as ours and applied themselves simultaneously to the study of the same problems, their joint conclusions, if they reached anything like unanimity, would obviously be a factor to be reckoned with at Geneva. We have not reached that point yet. But we may at least permit ourselves a modest measure of congratulation on what has been achieved—not in this country alone—by a decisive expression of public opinion, in the shaping of which the League of Nations Union played no discreditable part.

WHAT MANDATES MEAN

HOW THE LEAGUE KEEPS A CHECK ON ADMINISTRATION

A SPECIAL meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations opened at Rome on February 16. This meeting was called to examine a report which the French authorities promised to submit on conditions prevailing in the mandated territory of Syria during the year 1925, a period which covers, of course, the serious disturbances which broke out in Damascus and elsewhere some three months ago. Owing to the date at which the meeting is fixed, it will be necessary to hold over any report of it till the next issue of HEADWAY.

Meanwhile, in view of the importance of deciding how far the mandate system does involve a real check on administration, it may be of interest to quote a few entries from the report of the last regular meeting of the Mandates Commission. At this meeting reports were submitted by the representatives of the Mandatory Powers in regard to the Cameroons, Ruanda-Urundi, the Pacific Islands and Western Samoa, the respective Mandatories being Great Britain, Belgium, Japan and New Zealand.

Cameroons

Liquor Traffic.—The Commission would be glad of information as to the reason of the increase in the quantity of gin imported in 1924.

Education.—The Commission will continue to follow with interest the intentions of the Government with regard to the training of native teachers, the inspecting of schools, the increase of educational facilities for girls, and the supervision or closing of "hedge schools."

Public Health.—The Commission would be interested to know how the Mandatory Power proposes to develop public health work in the territory, and whether it intends to employ midwives and nurses for this purpose and in order to check infant mortality.

Ruanda-Urundi

Police.—The Commission would be glad to receive information about the composition of the police forces and details of the expenditure for this purpose.

Education.—The Commission hopes to find in the next report clear indications concerning the general educational policy of the Administration, and particularly the measures taken for the training of native teachers.

Public Health.—The Commission notes with satisfaction the increased credits included in the Budget for 1925 for the extension of the public health service in the territory. It will follow with interest the efforts of the Administration as regards the further development of the health services, both by the appointment of additional European medical officers and assistants and by the training of native medical assistants.

The Commission is concerned to note the very high mortality obtaining during 1924 amongst the prisoners in the Urundi prisons (66 deaths out of an average of 250 prisoners).

Pacific Islands

Labour.—The Commission would be glad to receive further particulars about the methods of regulating the production and sale of sugar-cane. It would also appreciate an explanation of the regulations concerning the punishment inflicted for breach of labour contracts.

Education.—The Commission appreciated the fullness of the part of the report dealing with education. It would be glad to be kept informed of the progress made as regards the system of training native teachers in the Islands.

Public Health.—The Commission noted with much satisfaction the liberal provisions in respect of medical officers and hospitals,

Western Samoa

Education.—The Commission noted the continued attention which was paid both by the Administration and by the missions to the education of the natives, and will follow with interest developments in this field, particularly as regards the inspection of schools and the training of teachers.

Land Tenure.—The Commission learned with much interest of the attention which is being paid by the Administration to the adoption of a system of land tenure for native lands which will facilitate the transition from communal to individual ownership.

It was understood from the accredited representative that information would be furnished concerning the proportion of the Crown Estates land which is cultivated, capable of cultivation and uncultivable.

These extracts are sufficient to indicate at all events that the Mandates Commission enters on its task with marked thoroughness. The effect of such comments is that the mandatory may be counted on to do everything possible to meet all reasonable criticism before its next annual report to the Mandates Commission is submitted.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

THE Union has persuaded no less a person than the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University to be the author of its latest leaflet on the ABC of the League. Professor Murray has written it specially in the hope of arousing the interest of certain sections of the population which so far have not been moved by our other leaflets. It is refreshingly simple, and so well printed that it creates readers as it goes. The title is "The League of Nations" (No. 189) and the price 2s. 3d. per 100 copies.

Two new pamphlets have been published on the I.L.O. The first, "The Seventh I.L.O. Conference and the I.L.O. in 1925" (No. 187, price 1d.), gives an account of the work of the Seventh I.L.O. Conference and a survey of the progress of international labour legislation during 1925, with special reference to the action taken by the British Government.

The second is a four-page leaflet, "What is the International Labour Organisation?" (No. 188, price 3s. 6d. per 100). It contains the text of the Labour Covenant, a simple account of the machinery of the I.L.O., and a list of the actual conventions and recommendations adopted during the years 1919-1926. It should be of great value in helping to let the general public know the functions and work of the I.L.O.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

ON February 11 a very successful reception was given at South Kensington to about 150 South African students who had been touring through Europe and England. Their hosts were the Hospitality Committee of the Union and the University of London. Speeches were delivered by Major Hills (Vice-Chairman of the Union), the Duchess of Atholl and Dr. Flowers, who had acted as guide to the party round Europe.

Some of these students were the guests of the Hospitality Committee at lunch at Pinoli's restaurant on February 9th, when Professor Gilbert Murray was speaking, and in returning thanks, the leader of the touring party prophesied that the work already undertaken in South Africa for the formation of University League of Nations Societies would soon be successful.

WHAT THE I.L.O. REALLY DOES

MEETINGS of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office will henceforth be open to the public. This decision was taken at its last meeting on January 29 by a large majority, the Workers Group in particular being unanimously in favour of full publicity for the proceedings. This change should no doubt be of value in bringing public opinion to bear on the various problems of international labour organisation and the attitudes which the different groups—Government, Employer and Worker—are taking in regard to them, but it has sometimes been questioned whether the records of Governing Body debates are not too technical to be of much general interest. A glance at the Agenda of the last session should set this doubt at rest. Perhaps never before has such a varied and interesting collection of problems confronted the Organisation. While the two coming Conferences in May and June are to discuss Emigration regulations and Maritime problems respectively, it was the duty of the Governing Body at this meeting to draw up the programme for the 1927 Conference. Of the five topics suggested it chose three—Health Insurance, a discussion which should end in the adoption of an international standard of health insurance similar to the Conventions on Workmen's Compensation adopted last year; the fixing of an Industrial Minimum Wage in the less organised industries where wages are exceptionally low; and the study of the principles governing Freedom of Association, the law and practice regarding the constitutions and functions of the Trade Unions in the various countries. At a time when the Eastern States, India and Japan in particular, are working out their systems for the organisation of labour, this last item should be of great interest. Other problems beyond the fixing of next year's Conference agenda were also before the Governing Body. They include questions of such outstanding importance to this country as the International coal situation, and the coming Conference of the Ministers of Labour of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain on the Hours of Work Conventions. The protection of native labour in Mandate and dependent areas, the representation of Intellectual Workers at the I.L. Conference, and the co-operation of the I.L.O. with the work of the International Economic Conference concluded this very varied agenda.

A World Minimum

The decision of the Governing Body to place before the Conference the question of the possibility of securing an international minimum wage in certain industries is, for instance, of importance. The workers have always hoped that the international regulation of wages as well as of hours of work would be possible. The collapsed currencies of a post-war Europe made any such effort out of the question. The present scheme is less ambitious, since it proposes to include only the less organised and the home industries—those industries, in fact, which by their very nature make it impossible for the workers to combine sufficiently to secure a decent standard of living by the ordinary machinery of collective bargaining. Under this heading come such trades as millinery, dressmaking, pins, buttons, hooks and eyes, shirt making, chain making, laundry work, box making, etc., and some of the distributive trades. "Sweating" in these industries has been largely exterminated in this country by the institution of Trade Boards. Since 1909 Joint Boards of employers and workers have been set up for about 60 of these unorganised industries, and have been very successful in raising the standard of conditions. Similar methods of establishing a minimum wage for such industries will be studied by the Conference in 1927.

in order that they may be, if possible, instituted in a number of other countries besides our own.

Fascist Trade Unions

One of the constitutional points raised before the Governing Body was the position of the Italian workers' delegate in the Organisation. For three years running the workers' group at the Conference has refused to accept the credentials of the Italian workers' delegate, declaring that the Fascist Government did not allow the Italian workers any "freedom of association," and that the Fascist Unions were not therefore representative of the workers of Italy in the sense demanded by the Treaty of Peace. Recent trade union legislation in Italy is not likely to alter the opinion of the workers' group at this year's annual Conference, and Italy is, therefore, faced with the prospect that her workers' delegate may be perpetually refused admission to the Committees of the Conference, and also election to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. Some concession was made by the Governing Body on this occasion on the suggestion of the Indian Government delegate (Sir Louis Kershaw) who proposed that delegates should be allowed to attend Committees, even though their Group may refuse them the right to vote. The question of election to the Governing Body is to be referred by the Italian Government to the Permanent Court of International Justice for its decision as to the interpretation of the Peace Treaty. The Fascist Government will no doubt maintain that as the majority of Italian workers belong to Fascist Trade Unions, those Unions are, therefore, the most representative workers' organisations in the country, and entitled to nominate the worker's delegate to the I.L. Conference.

Enforcing Conventions

The enforcement of conventions was a question raised by the British Government delegate. The standard of factory inspection in this country is admittedly higher than that of some of our competitors in trade, and it is natural that British industry should want the most precise information possible as to the way in which other Member States of the I.L.O. are applying the terms of conventions they have ratified. The Treaty provides that each State should make an annual report on the steps which it has taken to enforce the terms of ratified conventions. Such reports were meant to provide an opportunity for discussion and the cross-questioning of Governments at each annual Conference, but it has been felt for some time that the machinery set up by the Treaty was not being used to the best possible advantage in this respect. The Governing Body, therefore, decided unanimously that a special Committee should be set up by the next Conference to consider and report upon the whole question. This makes a second line of approach to the problem of securing efficient enforcement of these international agreements. Previous efforts include the work of the Fifth I.L. Conference which devoted a whole session to the study of the problems of factory inspection, another important aspect of the question.

Native Labour

Lastly, the decision of the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to draw up a Report on Native Labour and the regulation of its conditions should be of interest to all those who followed the fate of Lord Cecil's Slavery Protocol at the last Assembly. It was indeed his suggestion that the I.L.O. should consider the possibility of framing conventions to protect coloured labour in Mandate and dependent areas, and contacts between the I.L.O. and the Mandate Section of the League should become even closer than before by this step.

BOOKS WORTH READING THE LEAGUE AND REALITY

International Relations as Viewed from Geneva, by Professor W. E. Rappard (H. Milford, 1rs. 6d.). With all the plethora of words that are written and spoken about the League it is difficult for any one to strike out a new line of thought. But Professor Rappard has managed to do this. In the lectures delivered by him last summer at Williamstown, which appear as the latest volume of a now well-known series, he defines the League as being really three Leagues in one; there is the League to execute the Peace Treaties, there are also the League to promote international co-operation and the League to outlaw war. It is the second of these three Leagues that Professor Rappard calls "the true *Société des Nations*, that Society of Nations which exists much less by virtue of any organisation than by reason of the fact that, for good or for evil, this is a co-operative world in which isolation is impossible even for the most self-sufficient and the most powerful." Of this League he claims that in every true sense of the term the United States is already a member. Too often the League has suffered from unbalanced enthusiasts; Professor Rappard, for all his enthusiasm, is frankly critical, just because he believes "its fundamental principle to be so sound that it will stand the test of the most unsparing critical analysis. . . . If it could only thrive and prosper on a diet of illusions, misconceptions and official optimism, well, then, it could and should not live at all."

What criticism does this first-hand observer offer? Of what dangers or dangerous tendencies does he warn us? In the first place he points out that his first League, that to execute the peace treaties, by the very terms of those treaties, consists of the Council, and that that Council possesses only one independent, impartial and disinterested member; the others are or were belligerents, or else under the influence of belligerents. If this fact has weakened the League, as Professor Rappard thinks, he considers nevertheless that it has had the opposite effect upon the treaties. In the second place Professor Rappard seriously bids us beware of placing overmuch confidence in the sanctions by which war is to be outlawed, the economic blockade or combined military action. He draws attention to the ambiguous wording of the clauses of the Covenant in this respect, and to the fact that the subsequent official interpretations of these clauses have so whittled down their strength that "to-day no responsible European statesman would venture to stake his reputation or the security of his country on the potential protection of the League in case of international disturbance." Nor is his opinion of the progress of disarmament much higher. It is in the Hague Court that Professor Rappard sees the greatest chance of outlawing war, since its purpose is to establish the reign of law which must precede any outlawry of war or any practical development of sanctions.—H. W. F.

ANARCHISTS AT LARGE

The International Anarchy, 1904-1914, by G. Lowes Dickinson (Allen & Unwin, 1rs. 6d.). Mr. Lowes Dickinson accumulates in five hundred pages proofs of what might be considered a self-evident proposition. But there are many persons who have only read the surface of history, and many others who are only beginning their acquaintance with it. For these latter, in particular, the race of younger students, Mr. Lowes Dickinson has written what he unashamedly admits is history with a moral. It is unnecessary to say that he writes

brilliantly; if at times he is cynical, his cynicism bears the stamp of conviction without the sting, and in the ten years of his period he singles out for careful study, in great measure from first-hand documents, the critical landmarks which point to the moral and mental anarchy that seethed beneath the outward order. After following Mr. Dickinson the reader will have gained a very shrewd idea of—shall we say?—the obscurities of statesmen. The whole theme is too long to deal with here adequately, and we can only single out two or three points which have closer reference to the League. In his chapter on the successive Hague Conferences, there is a sorry story of eyewash and lip-service, in which the chief actors, as quotations from their writings show, cut a poor figure of insincerity, deceiving no one. Their preconceived ideas and pious resolutions could not stop war, and were, perhaps, not so meant; where self-interest consciously or unconsciously dominated the scene, war was bound to come. These are the facts as Mr. Dickinson reads them. The present product, the post-war situation, is the same in kind, he would have us believe, still anarchy, since the human mind is very, very slow to change. He is anxious that we should learn the lesson that has been "taught with uncompromising thoroughness," although he doubts whether the policies of States give any evidence that it has been learnt. It is in the League, developed "into a true international organ to control, in the interests of peace, the policies of all States," that he sees the one way of escape from the pit; the Protocol, closing existing openings for war, and all that it implies, the removal of economic barriers and the discontents of minorities, above all, general all-round disarmament, these form his gospel. So he concludes, and we almost hear him sigh with the prophet, "Who hath believed our report?" The coming generation will prove whether he is to it Isaiah or Cassandra.—H. W. F.

APPLIED HISTORY

England and the World (Unity Series, No. VII.), edited by F. S. Marvin (H. Milford, 1rs. 6d.). No one who studies the progress of modern education can leave out of account the "Schools" of one kind or another which call to us every vacation. They have become a feature of great promise in our national life, and not least in importance among them is the Unity History School, which held its ninth meeting last year. The main idea of this course, as indeed of all the others, was that "the history taught to all the nations of the world should have an international as well as a national bearing;" the lectures which are embodied in this volume, therefore, contain an historical survey of the place of England in the world from Roman times to the present day, and also face some of the practical problems arising from it. It is enough to say that the nine lecturers were persons of the calibre of Professor A. J. Grant and Dr. G. P. Gooch, in order to commend their work to the teacher as well as to the general reader.—H. W. F.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"America and Belgium." Thomas K. Gorman. (Fisher Unwin. 1rs.)
 "A History of Roumania." N. Iorga. (Fisher Unwin. 1rs. 6d.)
 "Family Income Insurance." J. L. Cohen. (P. S. King. 1s. nett.) With a preface by Miss Eleanor Rathbone—an essay which attempts to justify the view that family endowment should be regarded as a branch of social insurance, and to outline a scheme calculating the estimated costs of different rates of benefits. This should be of interest to all those who have read the study on "Family Allowances," published last year by the International Labour Office.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

RUBBER AND QUININE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Information given in HEADWAY should be absolutely reliable, so it becomes worth while pointing out rather small mistakes.

I think there is a mis-statement on p. 26 of this month's HEADWAY, in your paragraph on quinine: You say "nine-tenths of the best quinine is in the hands of a Dutch trust, which deliberately keeps the supply rather below the level of the world's need in order to maintain prices." Then you compare this with the policy of the rubber planters. I think there is a difference; the action of the rubber planters was taken to reduce an over-production of rubber, which would certainly have ruined them by now if nothing had been done. Now that a normal market for rubber has suddenly reappeared, the output is being increased to its maximum as fast as could have been arranged under the circumstances; if this is not found enough increase in supply it will be an exceedingly slow business for new plantations to come to a productive age, as is well known. I think that under these circumstances the case of rubber is on quite a different footing from that of quinine as stated by you.—Yours, etc.,

New College, Oxford.

J. W. LAWRENCE.

[It may be true that the object of the Stevenson rubber restriction scheme was, in the first instance, to check the effects of overproduction; but it is equally true that it has been kept in operation till production has fallen well below demand.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

"GETTING IT ACROSS"

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Under the heading "Getting it Across" in the February issue of HEADWAY you make reference to meetings organised by various Labour authorities. While agreeing wholeheartedly, as an enthusiastic member of the Chorlton Branch of the Union, with the sentiments expressed, I feel I must take exception to the fact of your not mentioning meetings held under the auspices of Liberal organisations.

I can confidently assert that no political body is more enthusiastic in the cause of world peace and League interests than Liberals; you will notice, also, from the enclosed syllabus that my Association gave a meeting on the subject of "International Security."

If it will not trespass too much upon your space, I should like you to give publicity to this letter, or at least part of it, and I hasten to assure you that anything my Association can do to further the interests of the Union will be done gladly and willingly.—Yours, etc.,

L. WILSON COXON,

Secretary.

Chorlton-cum-Hardy Young Liberals Association.

[We give publicity to this letter with the greatest pleasure, particularly as it supplies extremely welcome information.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

HIEROGLYPHICS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Would it not be well if you inserted a glossary of terms in HEADWAY (shall we call it "H") as the number of societies and movements indicated solely by initial letters is becoming overwhelming, and it must be somewhat puzzling to new members to realise what they all mean. In the current number of "H," for example, we find: O.T.C., C.I.C., C.O., P.M. & G.M., L.N.U., G.H.Q., I.L.O., W.E.A., S.D.N., and so forth.

This lingo may be well understood by the savants at headquarters, but what about the poor and ignorant outsiders who go to swell the ranks of the L.O.N.?

Since drafting the above I have come across the announcement on page 34 of "H," which shows that even University students are bewildered by the multiplicity of abbreviations fostered by the L.O.N. To the above list therefore, may be added those he mentions, viz., N.U.S., N.U.S.S., C.I.E., I.U.L.N.F., E.S.R., I.S.S., I.A.C., B.G., and B.U.L.N.S.—Yours, etc.,

Melrose, Hurst Road, Horsham. F. SOUTHWELL CRIPPS.
 February 4, 1926.

[If contributors are willing to save our space by using abbreviations far be it from us to check so laudable an impulse. Most of them are clear enough in their context.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

WINCHESTER AND HARROW ON THE O.T.C.

WINCHESTER'S OPINIONS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Mr. Badley's article in your January issue ignores the whole aim and object of the O.T.C. He makes the not uncommon mistake of supposing that it exists for the sake of training private soldiers and drill-sergeants, and not, as its name implies, officers—that is, leaders. He also appears to be ignorant of the literature of his subject and of the whole trend of military training since the war. To take some quotations almost at random, "Section Leading in Attack and Defence" (1923) says, Chap. I, Sections 2, 3, "No great or even mediocre military leader has ever existed who did not possess what is described as 'character' . . . The chief qualities that go to make up 'character' are: (i) Unselfishness; (ii) Loyalty; (iii) Determination." Infantry Training, Vol. I, Section 4, para. 2, "The development of initiative in all subordinate commanders is of vital importance. Anything likely to tend to its suppression must be avoided." An article in the Army Quarterly, July, 1923, on "The Art of Command," by Major-General Wauchope: a Commander "may consult freely and often with his subordinates, but a decision once given, there must be no further discussion."

The first two of these quotations are taken from handbooks that are in the hands of every boy who takes Certificate A, and, as far as the two units of which I have had experience are concerned, that is now the vast majority. For the small minority of boys who go through a course of training in an O.T.C. without either taking Certificate A or earning promotion, some of Mr. Badley's criticisms may be justified; but he builds an imaginary edifice and then shows that it can be easily demolished. For instance, he says that the O.T.C. exists to give physical training. I have seldom heard this argument used and it is clearly unsound. Military training can teach a boy to stand still, to walk erect and look friend and foe in the face, but physical training is another department of education, which does not, as a rule, enter into the single hour per week devoted to the O.T.C.

I will not dwell much on the value of the O.T.C. to the individual except just to say this, that it is only in the O.T.C. training that a boy who is not prominent athletically or intellectually can acquire self-confidence, not "swagger," in dealing with others who have probably no reason for respecting his orders, except his position in the "hierarchy of command." The vital qualities of self-control and self-confidence, in keeping a clear head and giving firm and definite orders on parade are much the same as those required, say, for public speaking or for leadership in other walks of life, as chairman of a board of directors, for instance. However democratic one may be, one must admit that there are occasions on which leadership is required and decisions must sometimes be made on the spur of the moment which cannot be referred to a committee or decided by an appeal to a majority vote. How would Mr. Badley and those of his training act in a crowded hall with one exit when the hall was found to be on fire? Would they show the discipline that he wants, "the self-control and realisation of the part that each has to play in carrying out a common purpose," by proceeding to elect a committee to consider in what order they were to go?

But that brings me to another aspect of this matter, and that is the value of the O.T.C. to the country and to the League of Nations. Mr. Badley thinks that the ideal of public service can be inspired in the daily life of the school. Of course most boys learn to take an "active and honest part in functions of self-government," so far as their own school is concerned. How is that public service? Apart from the O.T.C. I know no other department of school life in which a boy voluntarily undertakes work for his country and learns the lesson that there are public services for him to perform which may be distasteful, but are expected from him by a country which relies largely upon the goodwill and voluntary efforts of individuals for a large amount of unpaid work.

Finally, so far as the League of Nations is concerned, and the ideal of disarmament for which it stands, it is because of the existence of this potential reserve of officers that the British Empire can be protected and policed by a comparatively small professional Army. Having this reserve in the background, it can make its counsels of moderation heard with respect in international affairs, where influence must still for many years to come depend upon might as well as right. The O.T.C. definitely does not breed the "militarist spirit" which looks forward to war as a source of pleasure and promotion. Its members, for the most part, acquire a distaste for "militarism" and leave school to enter peaceful occupations with no relish for war as such, but prepared to act in a national emergency and in a just cause.—Yours, etc.,

R. M. WRIGHT,
Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commanding Winchester College O.T.C.
Late Commanding Eton College O.T.C.

HARROW'S VIEWS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—The articles which have been appearing in HEADWAY form an interesting study in psychology. The writers who have attacked the O.T.C. in Public Schools as an institution fostering militarism dislike the O.T.C. and dislike militarism. The opposing writers equally dislike—or certainly believe that they dislike—militarism, but like the O.T.C. Both parties go through the psychological process known as "rationalisation," and fit their arguments to suit their prejudices; the one party attempting to prove that the effect of the O.T.C. is in a militarist direction, the other that it is nothing of the sort.

And neither side proves its case. Nor ever can. For there are schools and schools, O.T.C. contingents and O.T.C. contingents, just as there are soldiers and soldiers. I yield to no one in my admiration for many of my soldier friends, and the splendid qualities which their lives and actions show. But it is ludicrous—it is at any rate for anyone who has been on active service ludicrous—to attempt to maintain that all British officers are of the stuff that Sir George Aston seems to think they are, or that a British officer alone of all officers in the world is never a militarist. Of course, he sometimes is. Equally, of course, he often is not. And the same is true of French officers, or German officers, or any other military officers all across the world. And the officers who hold commissions in the O.T.C. are in their temperament and outlook, equally varied with the "Regulars." Some of them delight in war, teach boys to admire the doctrines of force and slaughter as being the only practical methods of settling quarrels or managing a world, and scoff at League of Nations' ideals as being unworkable, unpatriotic, sentimental, soft. But equally it is true that many of them do no such things, and look upon the work of the O.T.C. simply as good discipline in an undisciplined age, and good preparation for young manhood in case of their country's need. And it is probably true to say that the latter is the predominating type.

My own impression about the effect of the O.T.C. is that as a disciplinary factor it is excellent, as a teacher of soldierly qualities it is often valuable, as an incentive to militarist views it is negligible. At the same time it does seem to me overwhelmingly true that, inasmuch as the O.T.C. is now an integral part of the life of all Public Schools, its existence does make it a more difficult thing to get boys to believe that the idea of settling international differences by any other way except by the old bad way of war is anything more than a fantastic dream of somewhat emasculate folk. It seems to me inevitable that the majority of boys listening, as they do periodically, to stirring addresses from magnificent be-plumed and be-medalled inspecting generals, who tell them what fine work they are doing in fitting themselves to be ready for war in case of need, must be led to think that the ideas for which the League of Nations stands are a very milk and water business.

Sanity of view about the whole question is a most difficult affair. There is so much that calls for admiration in the work of the O.T.C., so much with which the most pacifically-minded must wholly agree; yet there is much that seems to militate against the new spirit which the League of Nations and its Union are struggling to teach the world to-day. There is at any rate only one safe opinion about the different articles that have appeared in HEADWAY, and it is that each side has got hold of a portion of the truth.

One thing is quite certain. The work of the O.T.C. since the war has made us to-day—as far as the supply of likely officers is concerned—the nation best prepared for war in the whole world. Yet it is probably true to say that, if and when the next great war does occur, the infantry soldier will scarcely figure in it at all. This fact it is that makes so much of the detail of O.T.C. work infinitely puerile. The soldier denies this, for it is one of the most pathetic delusions of the military mind that the next war will always be like the last. I suppose that the old die-hard school of Agincourt bowmen went on for many a long day talking of the urgent need of archery practice in the same way as our officers of to-day talk to the cadets of the O.T.C. of bayonet practice, arm drill, and fire control.

But no writer has yet brought against the O.T.C. the one really serious charge against it which can be made. Which is, that it fosters (I do not say teaches) the belief that for any body of individuals to do exactly the same thing in exactly the same way at exactly the same time is—not merely a necessary piece of disciplinary machinery, or simply an interesting and pleasing spectacle as an example of harmonious work—but actually an admirable performance and a virtue in itself. The O.T.C. does much good and a little harm, but this final enormity is the only real evil with which it can be charged.—Yours, etc.,

D. B. KITTERMASTER,
House Master in Harrow School,
President of Local Branch of L.N.U.
Harrow.

OUR MEMBERS' HOTEL LIST

THE British are a race of travellers. Othbere and Wulfstan, the Norse navigators of King Alfred, Frobisher, Drake and Hawkins, Willoughby and Mungo Park, Livingstone and Captain Scott are the ancestors of our modern tourist. Captain Cook led the way for Thomas Cook. We cannot all make the North-West Passage, or beat six weeks into the gale through Magellan, but we can at least try to see the sun rise on Mont Blanc. We have a chance of seeing the shadows upon the Juras, or the mist creeping across Romney Marshes to Rye Harbour.

For those of our Foundation (L1) Members who wish to travel, we publish below the list of hotels at which they can obtain a discount, on their hotel bills, of 10 per cent. at foreign and 5 per cent. at English hotels. Those intending to avail themselves of this discount must apply to 15, Grosvenor Crescent for a special card to be presented at the hotel. A special feature this month are the Convoys Tours, organised and conducted by retired naval officers. The spirit of Drake and Hawkins is irresistible. The British navy follows the ancient tradition, and we can entrust our Foundation Members to no better care.

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

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

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HOTEL SIMMENTHAL.—Open all the year. Most modern Hotel. Tennis. Garage. Pension summer from 8ff. Winter from 10ff. Ice rink.

UNION NOTES AND NEWS

Visits to Geneva

Have you ever kept pace with the Secretary of the Union in a climb up the Salève outside Geneva? It is an attempt that everyone with a sound heart and wind should make. There are few who have succeeded, it is true, and those few will have something to boast about to their grandchildren when they are asked: "What did you do in the Great Peace, grandpapa?" There will be at least two opportunities this year—at the Summer School and at the Assembly Tour. See the advertisement on this page.

There is also a party to visit the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation, and this will include instruction and recreation. Lectures on insurance and anthrax-poisoning and night baking will alternate with picnics on the Lake of Geneva. Students will be able to compare the whiteness of white phosphorus with the eternal snows of Mont Blanc, and will see employer and employed mixing just as the Rhone and the Arve mix below the lake.

Geneva in summer is the centre of the international world. It is also a very fine centre for local excursions. All you have to do is to turn to page 59, read the advertisements, and post your cheque. It is perfectly simple.

Meetings for Speakers

In response to frequent requests from speakers that they should be given opportunities for exchanging views on the work of the League, a series of evening meetings is being organised. They will be held at 8 p.m., at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, from where

tickets of admission can be obtained. It is proposed that a well-known authority on League matters should first address the meetings on subjects of general interest to speakers; questions and discussion will follow. At the close of the debate coffee, for which a small charge will be made, will be served in the library.

The following meetings have already been arranged: March 3, "The League and the Union," speaker, Lord Cecil; March 17, "Disarmament," speaker, Professor P. Baker; March 31, "The Entry of Germany into the League," speaker, Mr. Wilson Harris.

Our Film

It would, perhaps, be a slight exaggeration to compare the popularity of the Union's film with that of, say, the latest Chaplin success, but there can be no doubt that it is much to the liking not only of people interested in the League, but also of the general cinema-going public. The most recent evidence of this comes from the East of Scotland District Council. In its area the film has been booked for eighteen towns during February and March, and it will be shown over 40 times. Requests for bookings are coming in for April, one from a town where the film has already been exhibited, asking for the use of it for four consecutive nights. As a rule the film is exhibited in cinema theatres, and permission is given for a short speech on the League to be made.

The Clackmannan Education Authority booked the film for a week, and arranged for about 3,500 children and teachers to see it.

Grimsby's Eight Hundred

Miss Bennett, the excellent secretary of the Grimsby Branch, has just returned from a three months' tour in N. America, to find the Branch membership has been increased by over 800. This has been achieved mainly as a result of the Armistice Week campaign. The brunt of the work involved by this special effort fell on the shoulders of Mrs. Partington, Miss Muriel Hunter and Mr. Arthur Cook. They were assisted by a small band of willing and indispensable helpers, one of whom, Mr. J. P. Cade, succeeded himself in enrolling more than 80 new members. Headquarters sends them all its hearty thanks and congratulations.

According to the organisers, the small blue books issued free by Headquarters, containing six membership forms, were a great asset during the campaign. One of these books was sent, together with an I.N.U. brass badge, to every member before the week began with an appeal to obtain at least six new

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY TOURS

Parties will leave London for Geneva, September 3rd, 9th and 15th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. INCLUSIVE FEE, London—London, £11 11s. APPLY EARLY to Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, or direct to ORGANISER OF TOURS, Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Under the auspices of THE LONDON SPIRITUALIST ALLIANCE, Ltd., 16, Queensberry Place, South Kensington, S.W.7

A LECTURE BY MISS LIND-AF-HAGEBY
on MARCH 11, at 8 p.m., at the GROTRIAN (late Steinway) HALL, 115, Wigmore Street, W.1.
SPIRITUALISM AND THE MODERN MIND
Chairman—Mr. HANNAN SWAFFER
Tickets, 2/6 and 1/6; at the Hall, or from 16, Queensberry Place.
All people with open, progressive minds should hear a statement on a subject of importance and increasing popularity.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE Treatment and Instruction by experienced practitioner.—Write BM/BDE6 London, W.C.1.

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

International Social Progress

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

"This is a valuable book. . . . Nothing so comprehensive has yet been attempted on so compact a scale."—*The Times*
"Filled with sound reasoning and crammed with little-known facts."—*Daily News*

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD., 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1

SUMMER SCHOOLS

A Holiday Conference in Geneva

The Geneva Institute of International Relations is a Summer School organised by a Joint Committee of the League of Nations Union, the American Non-Partisan Association and the Secretariat of the League.

August 14th to 21st

LECTURES, SOCIAL FUNCTIONS EXCURSIONS

FEES (including travel from London, accommodation and lectures)

10 Guineas for one week
11½ Guineas for ten days

A Summer School at Trinity College, Cambridge

July 30th to August 6th

FEE (including accommodation and lectures) 4½ Guineas

LECTURES, SOCIAL FUNCTIONS EXCURSIONS

"I.L.O." Summer School

A visit to the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva

May 29th to June 6th or 13th

FEES (including travel from London, accommodation and lectures)

9½ Guineas for one week
13 Guineas for fortnight

LECTURES, SOCIAL FUNCTIONS EXCURSIONS

All Applications to
15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1

subscribers. The response exceeded all expectations, and many members applied again and again for more books of forms.

Sheffield's Annual Meeting

There were several encouraging features in the report presented at the annual meeting of the Sheffield Branch. It showed an increase of 100 members during 1925, and a bank balance of £40. After the business side of the meeting had been concluded, Mr. Israel Cohen, the general secretary of the Zionist Organisation, gave an address on the Palestine Mandate. In sending us a report, the chairman, Mr. Freeborough, speaks of "the remarkable power of Mr. Cohen's address. Our members were simply delighted with the informing statement from the Jewish point of view."

The S.S. "League of Nations"

One of the most welcome lists of subscriptions and donations that the Union has ever received has just come from the captain, officers and crew of the s.s. "Eldon," through the West Hartlepool Branch. The League enthusiast on the boat is the chief engineer, Mr. E. M. Hall, a member of the local Branch, who has already sent in two similar lists. The present one includes the captain of the boat, the second officer, the third engineer, two stewards, the boatswain (Swedish), the donkey-man and his wife, one French sailor, two Greek and six Arab sailors, a Trinity House pilot and a coaling agent. This is not the extent of Mr. Hall's activities. When he was unemployed, he succeeded in obtaining no less than 100 new members for the West Hartlepool Branch.

Sceptics' Night

"Disbelievers, doubters and enquirers" were invited by the Maldon and Coombe Branch to attend a meeting on January 25 to ask questions on the League. Mr. J. H. Harris guaranteed to supply satisfactory answers. The novel character of the meeting drew a good audience, and after a few preliminary remarks, Mr. Harris spent a strenuous two hours replying to hecklers. The inventors of this new type of meeting are to be congratulated on the success of the enterprise. Other Branches please copy.

Darlington's New M.P.

The new M.P. for Darlington, Mr. Arthur Shepherd, was some time ago the Honorary Secretary of the Reeth Branch of the Union. He has always been a keen supporter of the League and can be relied upon to champion its cause in the House.

An Example from the Isle of Man

We should like to congratulate the Trinity Presbyterian Church Branch, Isle of Man, on having achieved the distinction of being the first Branch to have paid the whole of its quota to the Council's Vote for 1926. It is an example which we should be delighted to see every Branch follow.

February Letter to Branches

The letter sent at the beginning of last month by the Secretary of the Union to the Branches did not refer to any domestic matters except the publication of three new pamphlets, details of which are given on another page.

The main purpose of the letter was to point out that recent events, such as the impending entry of Germany into the League, the decision of America to participate in the World Court and to be represented at the Disarmament Conference, should inspire us all to greater effort to achieve the objects for which the Union stands.

A special letter was sent to all branches on February 16 calling attention to the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee concerning the proposed increase in the number of permanent members of the League Council, and urging every Branch to arrange a meeting at which this matter could be explained.

The Day's Work

This is how the Chairman of the Leeds and Wakefield District Council, Councillor Horrell, spent a recent Sunday in the Yorkshire Dales. In the morning he gave an address on the League at Reeth, a little town north-west of Richmond. From there he went to the village of Healaugh, where he spoke at an afternoon meeting, and then on in the snow to Keld, a remote hamlet over twenty miles from a railway station, and consisting of nine houses all told. There he spoke to a gathering of farmers and their wives, farm lads and milkmaids, who had tramped through the snowstorm to the little Chapel. His reward was forty-seven new members for the Union.

Tunbridge Wells' Loss

The only matter for regret in the otherwise very satisfactory report just issued by the Tunbridge Wells Branch is that it records the resignation of Mr. H. T. Weeks, who has held the Honorary Secretaryship since the Branch was formed. It is largely owing to his unflagging enthusiasm that the Branch has made such excellent progress. He will be very greatly missed.

Canterbury's Armistice Harvest

Some indication of the amount of work which the members of the Canterbury Branch put into their last Armistice Week campaign is given by the following figures. During the house-to-house canvass, envelopes containing Armistice leaflets, membership cards and notices of the three public meetings were delivered at 5,277 houses by 54 voluntary workers. The

membership cards were all collected again before November 21. The result justified the effort expended, for 457 new members have actually paid their subscriptions and 198 renewal subscriptions have been received.

An Original Toast

At the Annual Luncheon of the Berwick and Borders Branch of the National Farmers' Union, the toast of "The Navy, Army, Reserve Forces and the League of Nations" was proposed by the Chairman and responded to by Major G. G. Rea (Chairman of the Wooler Branch of the L.N.U.) and Mr. P. M. Henderson. This is the first time we have heard of the old pre-war defences of our country and the new post-war one being coupled together.

A New Lantern Lecture

A really simple lantern lecture on the work of the I.L.O. has been prepared by the Union. It describes the necessity for international labour organisations by means of a series of pictures showing the extent to which we depend on the labour of other countries for the simplest needs of everyday life. The creation of the I.L.O. by the Treaty of Peace, and its achievements then follow, a number of slides illustrating conditions of labour in India, China and Japan. The hiring fee is 5s. plus carriage both ways.

The Union's Library

Those members who are unable to use the Union's library during the daytime will be glad to know that arrangements have been made for it to be kept open until 8 p.m. on Wednesdays.

A League Cross-word Puzzle

The cross-word puzzle experts at Headquarters have recently been spending some of their hard-earned leisure endeavouring to solve an ingenious League puzzle issued by the York Branch. If any Branches would like to purchase copies, together with solution cards, they should apply to Miss Gunn, 28, Stonegate, York.

Another Challenge

A short time ago Mr. Louis H. S. Goldschmidt, of Hampstead, undertook to obtain at least fifty new £1 members of the Union. He has more than fulfilled this guarantee, and has now sent us a further undertaking to secure during the present year at least two hundred new subscribers for the Union. He has done this in the hope that ten other members will do the same. We appeal to our readers to back up Mr. Goldschmidt's splendid work.

The Council's Vote for 1925

We are glad to be able to state that the Council's Vote money received in 1925 was between £300 and £400 more than the amount contributed in 1924. But it should be explained that, in accordance with the promise given to Branches, certain special gifts sent direct to Headquarters last year have been placed to the 1925 Council's Vote account.

The following Branches and Districts have completed their 1925 quotas since the February HEADWAY was published: Ambleside, Brimpton, Birmingham District, Burnley, Bedford, Broompark Congregational Church, Bentham, Branksome, Bognor, Bradford, Coseley, Colwall, Chippenham, Carlisle, Canterbury, Crowthorne, Caterham, Chesham, Cambridge Town, Cokermonth, Exeter, Ebenezer Welsh Church (Bedminster), Eastbourne, Frinton, Farnham, Farnborough, Guernsey, Gravesend, Hillhouse Congregational Church (Huddersfield), Halifax, Hatfield, Harlow, Heathfield, Hythe (Kent), Iping, Kendal, Kettering, Keswick, Kirkby Lonsdale, Keighley, Lelant, Littlehampton, Lazonby, Leamington, Leatherhead, Malvern, Meltham, Macclesfield, Mansfield, Middlesbrough, Mottisfont, Newquay, Nottingham, Ongar, Oxted, Preston District, Pangbourne, Rushden, Reading, Saffron Walden, Shanklin, Staple Hill, Salem Congregational Church (Leeds), Sheffield, Scunthorpe, Sandy Lane (Bradford), Stourbridge, Staveley, Stapleton Road (Bristol), St. Anne's-on-Sea, St. Albans, Thrapston, Tadworth, Thame, Torrington, Wolverhampton, Wooburn and Bourne End, Whitchurch (Hereford), Wetheral, Walsall, Wincanton.

Scottish News

Lord Cecil's visit to Glasgow last October gave a great send-off to the winter's work of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch. The pace has been well sustained, and up to the end of January the local panel of 35 speakers had addressed nearly 300 meetings. Three model assemblies have been organised, and a Branch has just been formed at Glasgow University as the outcome of a meeting addressed by Lady Frances Balfour and Lord Home. Many local organisations are giving very practical support.

The Glasgow Foundry Boys' Association has undertaken to organise a League of Nations Sunday. A resolution passed at the Annual Meeting of the British Women's Temperance Association has resulted in practically every branch of the B.W.T.A. in the district, including an address on the League in its winter syllabus. Thanks to the interest shown by the local literary societies, women's guilds and Rural Institutes, there has been a large increase not only in individual membership, but also in corporate membership.

Dr. Garnett, the Secretary of the Union, will visit Glasgow on March 19 and 20, when he will speak at the University, at a public meeting arranged by the Branch and at a teachers' meeting.

We regret it was inaccurately reported last month that the Berwick Branch had trebled its membership during Armistice Week. Actually this was achieved by North Berwick.

Notes from Wales

On February 16 a particularly well-attended meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council was held at Shrewsbury, under the chairmanship of the President, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, who was supported by the Lord Bishop of St. Davids and Mr. John Hinds. Great regret was expressed at the inability of Mr. David Davies, M.P., the chairman of the committee, to be present, and at the absence through illness of the honorary director, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., to whom the committee had hoped, at this meeting, to extend a hearty "welcome home" after his important mission to the Churches of America. A vote of condolence with the relatives of the late Mr. J. E. Powell, of Wrexham, was passed, and warm tributes were paid to the great service rendered by the late Mr. Powell to the cause of World Peace.

The Committee expressed its great gratitude to the honorary director for the report of his mission to America, and emphasised the far-reaching effects of that mission. It was resolved that copies of this report be circulated as widely as possible in Wales and Monmouthshire. Mr. Fred Llewellyn-Jones, B.A., LL.B., in an eloquent address, moved a resolution on the subject of "Minorities." The accounts for the year 1925 were submitted, and the budget for 1926 approved. Resolutions, bearing on the limitation of

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS						
Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	...	432,478
Feb. 20, 1926	...	...	...	...	...	523,650

BRANCHES		
On Feb. 20, 1926, the number of Branches was	2,216,	
Junior Branches	316, and Corporate Members	1,601.

armaments, the optional clause, and the membership of the League Council were passed.

The paper read by the Rev. Gwilym Davies at the Welsh Advisory Education Committee on "The League and the Schools of the World," has now appeared in printed form. Readers of HEADWAY, specially interested in education, can obtain a copy of the pamphlet on application to the Welsh National Council, 10, Richmond Terrace, Cardiff.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum):

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

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

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

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

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

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