# HEADWAY

*A Review of the World's Affairs*

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## THE MONTH.

IT is commonly said that from the moment when a faith finds concrete expression in a written creed, its scope tends to become limited. By stereotyping truth the spirit is smothered in the grave-clothes of the letter. There is a good deal to be said for this view. On the other hand, a faith unexpressed in concrete terms tends to lose much of its vitality. What is needed is a periodical restatement of a creed. In a changing and, in spite of backslidings, progressive world, the expression of unchanged principles is bound to vary with altered conditions. It is with this thought in our minds that we approach the Resolution on Future Policy which the League of Nations Union has adopted at its recent General Council. The statement is not the last word to be said on the subject. It is not, and does not profess to be, a final expression of opinion; but it does voice the essential needs of the moment. Whether the whole of the programme outlined is possible of immediate or early achievement is not the main point. What is essential is that any statement of policy should keep always in view the ideal of the League and its needs. It is the old story of the waggon and the star.

Problems of disarmament naturally bulk large in the statement, but it is recognised that if States, particularly Continental States, are to be asked to reduce materially their land armaments, it is necessary to give them a *quid pro quo* in the shape of an effective security against invasion. Hence it is urged that in order to reassure those States who are reluctant to limit their armaments for fear of attack by their neighbour, a joint and several defensive alliance should be proposed, open to all Members of the League, as well as to Germany, Russia, and the United States, on the condition that armaments are reduced to an agreed level. The advantages of this scheme over the proposed Anglo-French Pact are obvious. It would give France the security which she rightly demands without resuscitating the old discredited system of the balance of military power, with its inevitable result—a restarting of the race for armaments.

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At the same time it would do much to conciliate American opinion by carrying out one of the conditions upon whose fulfilment depends Europe's chances of obtaining help from the United States. Before such help can be given, or even contemplated, Europe will have to set her financial and economic house in order by balancing her Budgets, agreeing upon a reasonable reparations scheme, and drastically reducing her military expenditure. Here, at any rate, is a practical plan for carrying out the third condition. As regards the first, it is to be hoped that Genoa will be productive of a practical scheme for reconstruction. The invitation to that Conference of Germany and Russia shows that statesmen are at last realising that the interdependence of States is a fact which cannot be ignored without injury to the whole world. The starving

millions of Russia, the hordes of unemployed in Great Britain alike point the inevitable moral, that when one member suffers all the others suffer with it.

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Whether the Conference will meet at Genoa on March 8th as originally planned is uncertain. The French Government urges postponement in order that the Allied Powers may come to a complete understanding beforehand on various points which the Cannes resolution of January 6th left undefined. M. Poincaré also is careful not to allow Geneva to be overshadowed by Genoa, and to this end urges the participation of the Labour Organisation in the Genoa Conference, and emphatically rejects in advance any attempt to substitute Genoa for the League in the tasks which the Peace Treaties have attributed to the latter organisation. Whether or no this support of the League is due to motives of self-interest rather than to a real change of heart, the fact itself is to be welcomed. If the latter prove to be the case, there should be no difficulty in obtaining France's participation in the disarmament proposals of the League.

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The general question of reparations is still under review. The Reparation Commission decided at Cannes that instead of paying, as had been previously laid down, £25,000,000 on January 15th, and £12,500,000 on February 15th, Germany should hand over £1,550,000 every ten days, and in the meantime should draw up a programme of financial reform indicating how she intended to meet her reparation obligations. This programme was handed to the Reparation Commission on January 27th. As regards payments in cash and kind, the only concrete proposals are (1) a statement that the sum of £20,000,000, the balance from the ordinary Budget, is available for a cash payment, and (2) the Wiesbaden Agreement and an expressed readiness to enter into similar agreements with other claimant countries.

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At the time of writing no reply has been made by the Reparation Commission. We venture to express the hope that, when the reply is forthcoming, it will be based on the principle, which has been endorsed by leading bankers and financiers time after time during the past few months, that Germany must only be asked to pay a sum which commonsense proves she can pay without ruin to herself and injury to her creditors. The League of Nations Union urges that the amount and the method of payment of reparations by Germany should be determined by a tribunal to be appointed by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Provided that this scheme were agreed to by our Allies, this country should offer to make large concessions as to our claim for reparations, and to cancel Allied debts. An important condition of the whole scheme is that the machinery of the League of Nations should be employed for associating the whole world in the problem.

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Now that the Washington Conference is over it is possible to review in perspective the very remarkable results that have been achieved. There is, first, the Five-Power Naval Treaty, which, in the words of Mr. Hughes, "absolutely ends all competition in naval armaments." By this Treaty the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, agree to scrap 68 capital ships of a total tonnage of 1,861,643. A ten years' holiday in capital ship building is begun, but it is provided that as soon as possible after eight years the United States, in consultation with the other Powers, shall call another Conference to consider needed changes. The Treaty itself is for fifteen years, expiring on December 31st, 1936. Included in the Treaty is an agreement between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan to maintain the *status quo* in regard to fortifications and naval bases in their Pacific islands. Broadly speaking, this article establishes between the United States and Japan a broad neutral stretch of the Pacific, and withdraws the armed frontiers of these Powers one from another in such a way as to reduce the possibility of friction to a minimum.

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The Pacific Pact, substituting a Four-Power understanding for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, must be considered in conjunction with the Naval Disarmament Treaty. To quote the report of the American Delegation, laid by the President before the Senate, the Four-Power Treaty "submitted a friendly conference in place of war as the first reaction from any controversies which might arise in the region of the Pacific; it would not have been possible, except as part of a plan including a limitation and a reduction of naval armaments, but that limitation and reduction would not have been possible without the new relations established by the Four-Power Treaty, or something equivalent to it."

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In turn the Four-Power Treaty leads on logically to the Nine-Power Treaty with regard to China. Here again it is impossible to improve on the admirably clear and succinct language of the American Delegation's report. "The new relations declared in the Four-Power Treaty could not, however, inspire confidence or be reasonably assured of continuance without a specific understanding as to the relations of the Powers to China. Such an understanding had two aspects. One related to securing fairer treatment for China, and the other related to competition for trade and industrial advantages in China between the outside Powers." The Nine-Power Treaty accordingly embodies an agreement on both these grounds and is further supplemented by various ancillary Treaties designed to secure the rights and interests of China. The return of Shantung by Japan and of Wei-Hai-Wei by this country provide tangible proof that the declarations of mutual confidence and goodwill expressed in the Four-Power Treaty are something more than mere words.

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But when all is said and done, the achievement of Washington is beyond what can be expressed in the clauses of Treaties. Over and above such obvious blessings as the definite association of the United States with the other nations of the world in the cause of peace, the building up of an enduring friendship between the United States and the British Empire, and a changed attitude towards China, the Washington Conference means the inauguration of a new era. "You have halted folly," said President Harding in his final address to the delegates. Nor is this all. Mankind has not merely been halted in the fool's race towards destruction, but has been turned into a new and less perilous road. The significance of Washington lies in the fact that it does literally mark a turning-point in



the history of inter-state relations. The peoples of the British Empire will recognise with the warmest gratitude and pride how much of this happy result is due to their delegates to the Conference, and in particular to Mr. Balfour, who has crowned his long and distinguished public career by the part he has played at Washington. The Prime Minister's enthusiastic welcome to Mr. Balfour—"great statesman, great patriot, great gentleman"—will find an echo in every heart.

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It is difficult to translate in £ s. d. the actual saving to this country effected at Washington, but the figure is probably not less than 21 millions. This is the "cut" proposed by the Geddes Committee, who went to work without any information as to how the Government intended to adjust the Naval Estimates in consequence of the Washington decisions. On the Army and the Air Force the "cuts" proposed are respectively £20,000,000 and £5,500,000. This represents a cut of 23 per cent. on the total defence expenditure, as compared with a 33 per cent. cut on education. And it still leaves our expenditure on the fighting Services about twice what it was in 1914.

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Few historic occasions could equal the solemn simplicity of the formal opening of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Peace Palace at The Hague by the Queen of the Netherlands, on February 15th. The simplicity of the Judges' oath is extraordinarily impressive: "I solemnly declare that I will exercise my powers and duties as a judge honourably and faithfully, impartially, and conscientiously." Dr. Loder of the Netherlands has been elected President and Professor Weiss (France) Vice-President. The other nine Judges are Senator Altamira (Spain), Professor Anzilotti (Italy), Senator Barboza (Brazil), Senator de Bustamente (Cuba), Lord Finlay (Great Britain), Professor Huber (Switzerland), Professor the Hon. John B. Moore (United States), M. Nyholm (Denmark), and Professor Oda (Japan). It is, of course, too early to expect the Court to deal with cases. This will come later in the year. The French Government has, however, a matter which it wishes to submit to the Court, namely the question as to whether the International Labour Organisation is competent, and if so, to what extent, to deal with questions of agricultural labour. At its next Session the Council of the League will decide whether the opinion of the Court shall be asked on this matter.

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The Court is competent in all cases which are referred to it by both parties to a dispute. A compromise on the question of compulsory jurisdiction—on which strong views were held by many States—was, however, reached by attaching to the Statute of the Court a special Protocol binding the States which sign it to accept compulsory jurisdiction among themselves. Up to the present eighteen States have signed this Protocol, but none of the Great Powers are among their number. In addition to this the Court has competence to deal with certain cases specially provided for in the various treaties of peace—notably in questions concerning labour and transit—irrespective of whether the parties concerned agree to refer the matter to the Court.

In this connection very special interest attaches to the Treaty of Arbitration between Switzerland and Germany, which was signed last December. It is the joint work of Dr. Gaus, of the German Foreign Office, and Professor Max Huber, the Swiss Judge on the International Court. The Treaty is on the lines of the Statute constituting the Permanent Court as originally passed by the Hague jurists, before the deletion of the compulsory jurisdiction clause. Accordingly the German-Swiss Treaty provides for the compulsory judicial settlement of all conflicts concerning the interpretation of a treaty, any question of international law, the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and concerning the nature and extent of the reparation to be made of such violation. Switzerland is one of the States which has signed the compulsory jurisdiction Protocol of the Permanent Court. Germany, being outside the League, is unable to sign either the Protocol or the Statute of the Court—though there is nothing to prevent her for having recourse to the Court in any case of dispute—but her adherance to the Treaty with Switzerland is welcome evidence of her attitude towards one of the greatest achievements of the League.

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A testimony to the work of the League in connection with minorities comes from Bromberg. The Deutschtum Association in that town appealed to the League Secretariat last November against the eviction decree of the Polish Government, which was to come into force on December 1st. The three members of the League Council who form a Committee for the protection of minorities considered the appeal, which was also sent to the Polish Goverment, and the result has been the postponement of the date of eviction till May 1st, 1922, so that the Council may have time to study the question.

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In our Correspondence Columns a good deal of space is devoted to a discussion on the question of representation in the Assembly of the League. Some of our correspondents urge that the three national representatives in the Assembly should be elected directly by a special national election on P.R. principles. Others see in this course a danger of dissociating the delegates from the Government of the day, with the probable result of weakening instead of strengthening the Assembly's power by lessening the authority of the national delegates. It appears to us that the best way to increase the authority of the meetings both of the Council and the Assembly is indicated in the recent statement of policy by the League of Nations Union. The attendance of the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister at important meetings of the Council, the formation of a League Department in the Foreign Office and of an interdepartmental standing committee for League affairs, would effectually increase the League's authority. As regards the Assembly the Union suggests that the British representatives should be a Minister of the Crown, who should give the British vote, and two others approved by Parliament to represent the public opinion of the country. There should rather be two or three substitutes also representatives of public opinion. Of these at least one should be a woman, and of the popular representatives at least one should represent the wage-earning community.

# THE PACT.

THE attempt made at Cannes to negotiate a pact in which Britain would guarantee France against an unprovoked attack by Germany has been far from a success. In England the project has aroused much misgiving; in France the general negotiations in which the discussions of the pact took the most prominent place proved so unpopular as to bring about the fall of M. Briand. M. Poincaré has indeed continued the discussion, but upon lines which scarcely indicate that he either expects or desires a favourable solution. As, however, the negotiations are continuing, and that in a most dangerous form, it is important that we should be clear in our minds, first what Britain meant to offer; secondly, what France really desires; and thirdly, what kind of pact, if any, can be entered into without betrayal of the general principles on which the League of Nations is founded.

The British Government had certainly a dual motive. We may credit it with a sincere desire to allay any real and well-founded anxieties that may exist in France as to her national security. Those anxieties, however, were not less acute at the time when the United States made it clear that they would not ratify the dual pact of guarantee drawn up at Versailles. At that time the British Government was not prepared to undertake the obligation alone. The course of European affairs from that date to this, and the documents published at Cannes bearing not only upon the terms of the pact, but also upon the conditions attached to it, show quite conclusively what were the reasons for the Government's change of attitude. The policy of France has rendered sterile all our plans for the pacification and reconstruction of Europe. Whether the point at issue has been land disarmament, naval disarmament, the land-hunger of Poland, the mitigation of the impossible reparations burden placed upon the shoulders of Germany, or the re-entry of Russia into the circle of European Powers, France has met our wishes either with opposition or with a policy of delay. Certain episodes at Washington, coupled with the urgent necessity in which Britain found herself to reorganise the economic structure of Europe, rendered this position no longer tolerable. The offer of the pact was therefore made, and conditions were attached to it providing that, at least so far as the Genoa Conference, naval questions, and Eastern questions were concerned, the policy of France should be brought into alignment with that of Britain. The pact itself was to last only for ten years, and was to commit us solely to the defence of the soil of France against direct and unprovoked aggression.

It should be noted that the pact as originally drafted committed us scarcely any further than we are committed already. The Treaty of Versailles compels Germany to abstain from military preparations within a fixed distance from the Rhine; it also provides that the Allies shall occupy territory on the Rhine for fifteen years. When we signed and ratified that Treaty we presumably pledged ourselves to uphold it. It is possible therefore for the cynic to argue that so far were we from offering anything new, we were actually whittling away pledges we had already undertaken. Moreover, our statesmen have surely encouraged France to believe that if she were attacked as in 1914, a circumstance the possibility of which they doubtless and justifiably regard as singularly remote, she would find us by her side. To say the least of it, there was a suspicion of a hint, in the conditions attached to the pact, that unless her policy changed in certain important particulars, she might not find us by her side.

The offer, whatever its value, did not satisfy France. M. Poincaré desires that the pact should be turned into a mutual alliance, committing us not only to a guarantee of the integrity of the soil of France, but to a guarantee of France against any possible consequences of her policy, past and future, towards Germany. The British people, of course, will never endorse such a bond. The net results, therefore, of the negotiations up to date are these. France asks the impossible; we have offered something which has the appearance of being more than a little insincere. Such, we may add, are likely to be the results of an attempt to negotiate a treaty which foreshadows the possible co-operation in arms of two peoples, when the project is born, not of the unity of the two peoples, but of the disunion of their policies.

Yet the need remains. An isolated France cannot be a wise and may be a dangerous France. The British people, moreover, does not desire that France should be, or should feel herself to be, in undeserved danger. Without at least her passive co-operation the reconstruction of Europe will be difficult to the point of impossibility, and M. Poincaré opposes many of the conditions attached to the pact as strenuously as he strove to extend the terms of the pact itself. It is necessary to begin again and on fresh lines. The security of any individual nation in Europe can no longer be based on its own armed strength. Sectional alliances only give rise to compensating alliances on the part of the Powers against which they are aimed. We need therefore, and France needs, to look for security not to armies but to mutual disarmament, and to international arrangements which are not sectional but general. The Covenant of the League pointed that way; Washington has followed it. The Anglo-French-American pact negotiated at Versailles ignored it; the Anglo-French pact now under discussion ignores it in fact, though it may pay lip-service to it in words. Europe requires the kind of treaty the League of Nations Union has suggested, namely "a joint and several alliance" open to all the European Powers which will consent to reduce their armaments to an agreed level; a treaty, in short, which will foster a general peace, and not a pact inspired by fear of a particular war.



# GENOA AND GENEVA.

THE International Conference summoned by the Supreme Allied Council to meet in Genoa on March 8th to consider the consolidation of peace and the economic reconstruction of Europe seems to have been attended from its inception by a series of misfortunes, and at the time of writing it appears to be uncertain whether it will be possible to hold the Conference on the date originally fixed. It is not our purpose here to enumerate these misfortunes or to discuss whether they are merely accidental or really attributable to something inherent in the project. We mention them only because they afford an extremely cogent illustration of the difficulties which beset any effort towards international action, and point a moral to those, friends and critics alike, who are disappointed that the League of Nations should be unable to set the world right in a day. Nor do we desire here to discuss whether or not the League of Nations could or should have been invited to organise the Conference; in face of the event, such a controversy is bound to be fruitless. But whether the League of Nations can contribute anything to the deliberations of the Conference is another question, and is worth serious consideration.

We wish to call attention to one direction in which, in our belief, material help could be given to the statesmen and the experts in economics and finance attending the Conference by that part of the organisation of the League of Nations which is known as the International Labour Office. The problems to be set before the Conference are partly political and partly economic. In these days of world dislocation it is particularly hard to say where politics end and economics begin. But if there be one thing clear and definite about the Conference it is that the promoters intended the Conference primarily to find a solution for the present paralysis of production and trade throughout Europe, and so to bring about a reduction of the appalling volume of unemployment from which not only Europe but the whole world is suffering. It is in the gripping of this tremendous problem that Geneva might give valuable aid to Genoa. One of the functions assigned to the International Labour Office by Article 369 of the Treaty of Versailles was "the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour." In the course of the two years of its existence the International Labour Office has accumulated a vast amount of information concerning the problem of production and employment. It has acquired considerable experience in the gathering, checking, and scientific presentation of this information. In particular, it has been pursuing for upwards of a year an exhaustive special inquiry, conducted by an expert of high standing, into the various aspects of industrial production throughout the world, and we understand that the results which are shortly to be published will provide a solid volume of exact data.

Whatever may be the arguments for or against official association of the League of Nations with the Genoa Conference, commonsense suggests that it would be unwise for the organisers of the Conference not to avail themselves of any assistance, however slight, they might derive from a store of facts and experiences so unique. We are glad to note that the International Labour Office has not hesitated to lend its services freely to the meeting. Our readers will recall that, at the third session of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva a few months ago, unemployment was discussed as an international problem and one susceptible only of an international solution, and a resolution was adopted by the unanimous vote of the Governments, employers' and workers' representatives present at the Conference, calling on the International Labour Office not only to make special inquiry into the national and international aspects of unemployment, in co-operation with the Financial and Economic Section of the League, but also "to take every step in its power to secure the summoning of an international conference which shall consider remedies of an international character to put an end to the crisis of unemployment." The decision of the Supreme Council to convene the Genoa Conference obviously changed the situation, from the point of view of the International Labour Office, and accordingly the Governing Body of the Office at its last meeting came to the conclusion that it would be wiser to offer its co-operation to the Supreme Council than to seek to organise a separate and rival conference. The resolution embodying this decision is worth quotation in full, for it indicates plainly the readiness and cordiality with which the Office made its offer. It is as follows:—

> Whereas the International Labour Conference at its session at Geneva, 1921, unanimously adopted a resolution proposing the summoning of an international conference to examine the remedies of an international character to put an end to the unemployment crisis;
>
> Whereas, also, the decision of the Supreme Council to summon the Genoa Conference fulfils in a considerable degree the desire expressed by the Geneva Conference;
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> And whereas the task of the Genoa Conference is to secure the economic reconstruction of Europe, a task which must include problems concerning labour, and one with which in particular the question of unemployment is closely connected:
>
> The Governing Body, in conformity with its usual procedure of establishing connection with international institutions which deal with questions with a repercussion on its activities, invite the Director of the International Labour Office to place himself in touch with the Supreme Council with the following end:
>
> (*a*) To inform the Supreme Council that the Office is ready to give all assistance possible, and to place at the disposal of the Conference the experience and information of the Office in labour and industrial matters;
>
> (*b*) That with a view to giving the Conference the most effective assistance possible, the Governing Body shall arrange that representatives of each of its groups, Governments, Employers, Workers, will, with the Director, place themselves at the disposal of the Conference to give any assistance in their power.

It would be incredible if an offer made in such a spirit were not accepted, and whether or no the League of Nations is entrusted with any large part in the preparation and conduct of the Conference, we firmly hope that means will be found to utilize the resources of at least this part of the machinery of the League. Incidentally, it cannot but be of advantage to the Conference that it should be associated, however indirectly, with an organisation which enjoys in an appreciable measure the confidence of the workers as well as the employers and Governments of Europe.

# THE FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE.

By Lord Robert Cecil.

*[In the following article the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union expounds a progressive policy for the League. The principles he enunciates have been crystallised in the resolutions printed at the end of the article, which were recently adopted by the General Council of the League of Nations Union.]*

THE League of Nations has proved itself efficient and already has done a good deal of useful work, but the greater international problems have yet to come within its purview. The Supreme Council is clearly in decline, and the new French Premier has joined the ranks of those who dislike the rather incoherent diplomacy by conference. You must have organised machinery ready to act automatically for bringing the Powers of the World into consultation when emergencies or danger threaten the peace of the world. This is provided by the League.

Then again the experience of conferences is that these not infrequently increase friction between nations. At the Supreme Council, for instance, you cannot have that thoroughgoing international atmosphere which was such a feature of both the League Assemblies. I do not think you can make progress in real international co-operation without the League spirit, and this can only be achieved by some definite organisation of the world on the lines laid down in the Covenant.

While the Council and the Assembly of the League should be much more than diplomatic conferences they should have at their back the whole force and experience of the Foreign Office and all the trained diplomatic intellect and instinct we can command.

The representation of this country both at the Council and at the Assembly is in need of strengthening. A Minister of the Crown should certainly attend the former, while there should be an authoritative Minister also at the Assembly. There should be in addition, delegates representative of general public opinion. I think both the wage earners and women should be represented. The moral authority of the League depends on the extent to which it has the public opinion of its various Member States behind it.

The vital part of the policy for which the League of Nations Union should press is that the League should be the keystone of our foreign policy. The League must be all or nothing. The door must be left open to admit the States outside. Constant vigilance must be exercised in seeing that the various duties of the League are discharged. The Mandatory system, now only partially in force, should be applied without delay. The protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities also leaves a good deal to be desired, and we must take care that the beneficent proposals of Prof. Gilbert Murray at the last Assembly are not in vain.

But the most important problem of all is that of disarmament. Article 8 of the Covenant imposes this duty directly, and it has not yet been carried out. The broad principle is to dispense with armaments for offensive purposes and restrict defensive armaments to as low a scale as possible. I have no faith in regulations for limiting or controlling the employment of armaments once they exist. Disarmament is the best instrument to make war as impossible as we can.

We welcome the Washington Conference and rejoice at the results it has achieved. But naval disarmament would not secure the peace of the world. We have to tackle military disarmament if we are to tackle the question of disarmament at all.

Land disarmament presents many difficulties. The danger of secret armaments, and the possibility of double attack are two. It is next to impossible to lay down figures commanding general assent which will by themselves give to every nation the security to which it is entitled under the Covenant. You have got to provide security alternative to national armaments. This appears inevitable.

It was the view taken at Cannes whence emerged the proposal for an Anglo-French pact. This I think, in form at least, is undesirable. M. Poincaré regards it as humiliating to France. But a more important objection is that it perpetuates the present grouping of the powers. You must get Germany to co-operate in the West, or she will look to the East. I cannot approve any return to the old system of partial grouping of the Powers. I greatly prefer a general obligation resting on the whole of the Powers of the world to come to the assistance of any Power which is attacked. Whatever obligation we undertake with regard to France we should be ready to undertake with regard to any other Power in Europe.

We should require as a condition of any such Treaty that those who enter into it should reduce their armaments to an agreed standard.

The economic reconstruction of Europe is closely allied to disarmament. There are two grave objections to the Genoa Conference. The first raised by Lord Grey is that it ought to be under the League and worked with the League machinery. The second objection is that two of the most important Powers are hesitating to take part. The United States Government wants to rule out allied indebtedness, and the French would ban discussion of reparations. Now you cannot deal with the economic situation in Europe unless you solve the reparation question. The economic arrangements of the Treaty of Versailles have been of very great injury to Europe. The effect upon Germany can only be a permanent estrangement from Europe and a continuous effort to evade Treaty obligations. The effect in France has been worse. The false expectation of limitless wealth from Germany has been most demoralising. Both the imposition of what was in effect an indeterminate indemnity, and the inclusion of pensions in reparations, were grave mistakes—both committed at our instance.

But we must not waste time abusing France. We are as much concerned as she with the provisions of the Treaty. We should be ready to show our good faith and reasonableness by making extensive concessions to France in return for an adjustment of her claims. The question of how much Germany can pay should be left to a tribunal to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations Union advocates a New Policy because the League is a living organism and it must progress or decay. It must have a policy; it must have a future. The responsibilities of the Union extend with its power, and if it is to discharge its duties to the country, it must be ready to declare not only what the League is but also what it ought to be.

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Resolutions on Future Policy adopted by the General Council of the League of Nations Union at Birmingham.

1. The League machinery has shown itself efficient, but in view of the important work which awaits it, it needs strengthening.

2. The British Government should therefore—

(a) Formally lay it down that the League is the keystone of its Foreign Policy and so inform all its representatives abroad.

(b) Make it an avowed part of British policy to extend the Membership of the League so as to include as soon as possible the United States, Germany, and Russia.

(c) Take all possible measures to increase the authority of the meetings of the Council and Assembly; for this purpose—

(i) The Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary should attend important meetings of the Council and the Foreign Office should be the Department charged with the carrying out of the League policy of the Government.

(This might be accomplished by making the League Minister, who should be in the Cabinet, an Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He might also be Chancellor of the Duchy and he should have a room in the Foreign Office. There might also be an interdepartmental standing committee for dealing with League questions of which the Assistant Secretary of State or his deputy should be Chairman and which should have members representing the War Office, Admiralty, Board of Trade, India Office, Colonial Office. A member of the Cabinet Secretariat should be its Secretary.)

(ii) The British Delegates at the Assembly should be a Minister of the Crown, *e.g.*, the Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, as the case might require, who should give the British vote, and two other approved by Parliament to represent the public opinion of the country. There should also be two or perhaps three substitutes also representative of public opinion. At least one of the two representatives should be a representative of wage-earners and at least one of the representatives or substitutes should be a woman.

(iii) The British Government should also urge that in accordance with the spirit of Article 7 of the Covenant all important Commissions and Committees of the League including the Temporary Mixed Commission dealing with Disarmament should include women amongst their members.

3. The limitation of armaments contemplated by Article 8 should be pressed forward. In order to re-assure those States who are reluctant to limit their armaments for fear of attack by their neighbours, a joint and several defensive alliance open to all members of the League, as well as to Germany, Russia, and the United States on condition that armaments are reduced to an agreed level, should be proposed.

4. The provisions of the various Treaties designed for the protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities should be made effective and the necessary steps for this purpose should be pressed on the Council and Assembly of the League.

5. The Mandatory system should be forthwith brought into full operation in Africa and provisionally in Asia.

6. We should offer to make large concessions as to our claims for Reparations and to cancel Allied debts provided our Allies would agree that the amount of Reparations to be paid by Germany, and the method of payment should be determined by a tribunal to be appointed by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

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# HOW THEY LIVE IN GENEVA.

By One Who Lives There.

THE Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office in Geneva, so far as their social aspect is concerned, are probably unique in the world. The nearest parallel of them, and it is a very rough one, would be the official community at a place like Simla when the Indian Government moves there in the hot season, and is away from the business atmosphere of Calcutta. Official life at Simla, however, is after all, a coherent thing. There is no mixture of nationalities, and for the bulk of the Government officials' residence there is temporary. In Geneva you have in both these offices permanently resident officials, because only a small proportion of them ever travel to conferences held outside Switzerland, and a mixture of nationalities which is already considerable, will become more mixed still as resignations and so on give the opportunity to those who are responsible for appointments of making the Secretariat as closely as possible a mirror of the League itself. At the beginning, owing to the fact that the League was born in Paris and spent its first months of effective life in London, there was a tendency for appointments to go rather more than could be strictly justified on an average to either English or French people—a tendency helped, no doubt, by the fact that English and French are the official languages of the League, and that every official of it is expected to be able to use one habitually and to understand both

There are marked differences between the social atmosphere in the League Office and the Labour Office. Partly from a sense of humour, and partly because of a genuine desire to get the right atmosphere into his staff, M. Albert Thomas has had the officials of the International Labour Office organised as a trades union. They have a kind of Soviet which deals with staff questions, involving even questions of dismissal in certain cases, and in all cases of disciplinary action in the staff. Although, of course, M. Thomas does not abandon his final right to take a decision, he does, in fact, regard himself as being bound in all cases by the advice of a committee of the employees of the offices to whom everyone has a right of appeal, and who are allowed to, and do, act as a kind of arbitration between himself and the staff as a whole. The communal aspect of the Labour Office goes further, because they have a common dining-room, a common system of transport between their office building, which is some way out from Geneva, and the centre of the town, and a general habit of co-operation and community which does not, perhaps, exist to the same extent in the League of Nations. It is the habit, for instance, of everyone in the Labour Office to go backwards and forwards by the Labour Office Motor Omnibus Service as they live in the town, and M. Thomas is generally to be found lunching in the communal dining-room, and sauntering about the grounds of the office with whatever member of his staff he happens to meet, afterwards.

The League Secretariat is conducted in a slightly different way, partly because of its larger size, partly because its sections deal with a number of very different matters involving the appointment of men and women of very different types and training, instead of the simple coherent subject-matter of the International Labour Office. There is, perhaps, less solidarity. There is a Staff Association, to which all members of the Secretariat belong, and which has a committee elected by the Secretariat as a whole, representing all grades of it, and each member being considered as an individual, and not in his official capacity. This association has sub-committees, which arrange a library, entertainments, out-of-door sports, discussions and debates, parties for winter sports, and for such travelling as can be done within easy range from Geneva, and so on. It also has a section which buys co-operatively from France coal and food-stuffs for the households of the members of the Secretariat, who have found that living can be made a little cheaper that way than with the high prices in Geneva. It would, however, not be true to say that the personnel of the Secretariat of the League has really become international in the strictest sense. One of the difficulties which have so far stood in the way of a real social life being formed is the tendency of French people, who are much more domestic, to keep by themselves in their own houses or flats, and with English people, who have more sense, perhaps, of common action, to take that common action in forms of activity which are unfamiliar, and not, perhaps, easily understood by other people. It is, for instance, possible to see on a notice board of the Staff Association, a note saying that a debating society is going to be formed, and that Oxford and Cambridge men would be preferred, and a good deal of the sport is of a kind unfamiliar to other countries. There is, for instance, a pack of beagles, which causes mild wonder and even incredulity in the mind of the Swiss peasant. No hare, I think, has yet been found. On the other hand, in things which are more susceptible to international friendliness and co-operation, such, for instance, as music, a great deal has been done, and the concerts run by the Staff Association have been both good and popular.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, February, 1922.

I FULLY subscribe to the spirit of your editorial note on my last letter. Rigid defence of institutionalism as well as onslaughts on tactical opportunism can be carried too far. Granted there is fundamental agreement on the objects to be obtained, it is obviously wise to adopt what seems the most practicable machinery for the purpose. That is why all sound supporters of the principles of the League welcomed Washington, and that is why all believers in international friendship and good sense would like to see the economic reconstruction of Europe come out of Genoa. But I feel that in all the discussions upon Genoa there is a tendency to take rather too superficial a view of what Genoa implies for the League, and a readiness, sometimes perhaps a little naïve, to accept at their face value the reasons given by statesmen for holding the Genoa Conference outside the orbit of the League.

I have great respect for any expression of League opinion from so staunch an upholder of it as Lord Grey, and I do not think that my last letter was greatly at variance with his views. I think he said that America's opinion should first have been asked before it was decided what form the Genoa Conference should take. If America had then said, " We will have nothing to do with a League of Nations Conference, but will actively participate in a conference called outside the League," then I agree it would have been difficult to resist. But I should like to go deeper than this. I consider that the one sure and certain way of turning America away from the League is for those who form the League to show plainly to America that they themselves have little regard for it. They invite America to forget the League, they encourage the Soviets to refer to it with hilarious contempt as a phantom. If they had played the part of loyal members they would have gained respect for it instead of taunts. Russia says she will do business with something that is a hard fact ; America also would do business with something that is a hard fact. Neither of them will do business with something that is to be eternally regarded as a tender plant, and the story of Genoa is merely a continuation of the whole story from the beginning.

America has said all along that it is for Europe to put its own house in order ; and Europe has its own machinery for putting its house in order if it would only use it. Instead of this, for the ostensible purpose of attracting America, they choose to ignore it, and continue, with persistency and surprising lack of dignity, anxiously inviting America to come over and help. The way to get America into fruitful co-operation with Europe is for Europe to put itself on its own legs, or at least to show some serious effort to do so. America is very vitally interested in European economics, and she would soon co-operate in a sensible business plan. The thing to do is to make Europe a going concern, and this could be achieved within the League of Nations if the members of it seriously wanted to make the League a going concern as well.

Why I take so serious a view of Genoa, at the same time allowing for the plausible reasons given in its favour by its sponsors, is that the history of the relations of the States Members of the League with the League organisation has been a long series of Genoa-like incidents. That is why I say that the reasons for this should be brought out into the open, and that supporters of the League should not be too easily led astray by arguments which appear to have some force but which are not the real grounds for the attitude taken. If Europe puts no stock into its own concern, it is no use expecting America to do so. C.

## THE LEAGUE IN THE SCHOOLS.

IN this number of HEADWAY, a good deal of evidence has been collected showing the growing interest of educational bodies in the League of Nations. This is not altogether surprising in view of the attitude towards the League and towards the educational work of the League of Nations Union of the President of the Board of Education. In a message to the first Summer School of the Union in 1920, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher said :—

> " The task of the Union must be mainly educational, for the League which was created in order to save the world from future war, can only flourish upon the soil of civilised and instructed opinion."

Many Education Authorities have already taken steps to introduce the League of Nations into the schools.

The Central Welsh Board Circular, January 13th, 1921, advises the head teachers of County Schools to bring before their pupils the objects and the importance of the League, and recommends to their sympathetic attention the " valuable suggestions " contained in a memorandum issued by the League of Nations Union. The Board suggest that a whole or half-day be devoted to a peace celebration on November 11th in each year.

The London County Council arranged for a mass meeting of teachers to hear an address on the League by Lord Robert Cecil in 1920 and 1921. Courses of lectures for teachers on History and the League are being given, and general lectures and tutorial classes have been given at the L.C.C. Evening Institutes.

At Canterbury the City Council unanimously agreed to a children's League of Nations meeting being given in school hours. At Bournemouth and many other places the Education Authorities arranged for talks to children on the League of Nations to be given at schools under their charge. The West Bromwich Education Committee agreed that a lesson on the League should be given to all the scholars in the elementary schools. At Newport League of Nations principles are to be taught in schools during history and geography lessons. Primary schools in Maidenhead and in Hyde are to include League of Nations lessons in the curriculum. Yeovil Education Authorities have authorised that one afternoon per month be devoted to League of Nations instruction.

In Kent the Education Committee has given permission for a speaker from the League of Nations Union to give an address on the League to their Advisory Committee, and inserted an article on " Teachers of the League of Nations " in the November issue of the *Kent Education Gazette*. The Bristol Education Authority authorised a half-holiday on Empire Day and reference to be made to the League and its objects in an address. The Derby Borough Education Committee has decided to have a League of Nations Day in every school on Armistice Day. The County Council is recommending to head teachers to make reference to the League on Armistice Day. In Aberdeen the City Education Austority has authorised lectures on the League at Continuation Schools.

In Birmingham on Armistice Day the Director of Education distributed 1,000 of the " Text of the Covenant " to teachers. The Berwick Education Committee asked for pamphlets on the League for distribution in its schools on Armistice Day and Empire Day. The Dumfriesshire Education Committee has given permission for literature on the League to be sent to the principal teachers in centres where Continuation Classes are being held, and has instituted lectures on the League in these classes.

The Bolton Education Authorities, in co-operation with the local branch of the League of Nations Union, carried out an elaborate essay scheme for the sixty-one primary and four secondary schools under its charge. At the prize distribution over 3,000 children were present and 189 prizes were given.

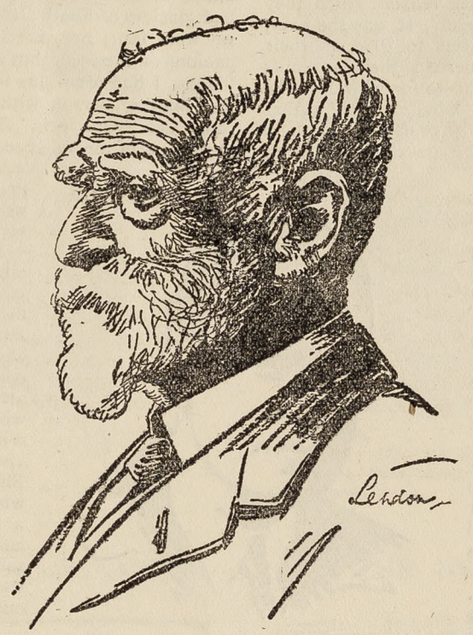


# Makers of History.

## LORD BRYCE.

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY.

WHEN William of Orange died it is said that the little children of the Netherlands cried in the streets. The other night in London, when the news arrived of the death of Lord Bryce, all the audience at a vast meeting rose to their feet and stood in silent mourning, and I see that the same spontaneous demonstration occurred in many parts of the United States, in Belgium, in Norway, and in Switzerland. I have seen no news of other places, but one can imagine the thrill of grief that is running through village after village in Macedonia and Armenia at learning that the oppressed of the world have lost their greatest champion.



To those in the League of Nations movement Lord Bryce must be specially remembered as the centre of the very first group that dared, in the beginning of the war, to formulate and pursue the ideals of the League of Nations. A most valuable centre he was. His immense knowledge of law and history added authority to his advice ; his clear pronouncement on the justice of the British cause in the war helped the movement greatly against the charges of being " pacificist " or " pro-German "; while his unique influence in America made possible a great deal of frank consultation between friends of the League on both sides of the Atlantic at a time when it was particularly valuable.

The obituary notices dwell on Bryce's many-sided achievements as statesman, writer, savant, explorer, and philanthropist, on his unfailing sympathy with youth, and his generous friendships with brilliant men scarce half or a third of his age. But to say that he was many-sided is to tell only a fragment of the truth. People sometimes said he was " Victorian " in the strenuous simplicity of his character. At other times they spoke of Burke and the " great minds " that are needed to manage " great affairs." To me he used to seem an illustration of what the Ancients meant by " virtue " or " excellence." His was an all-round " excellence " after the classical model. Like an ancient philosopher he held firmly all the " cardinal virtues " of wisdom, justice, temperance, and fortitude. He moved steadily with a *mens sana in corpore sano*.

Intellectually, he used to say that he owed much to his education at the University of Glasgow. It was Scotch education of the old style, seven solid subjects with no modern indulgence in " alternatives " or " predilections "; Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy and English. It was a wonderful diet for strong intellects, and Bryce absorbed and digested it all. Geology and Botany, and other parts of " Natural Philosophy," remained always an instinctive interest to him, while his knowledge of the whole domain of letters was extraordinary. I remember once hearing a long argument between Bryce and another great man of letters, in the course of which, besides doing his own share of the work, Bryce provided his opponent with all the dates that he wanted, most of the historical facts, and practically all the quotations, including several from Homer, Dante, Goethe, and one from a primitive Icelandic poem unknown to me. He must have been helped in his acquisition of knowledge by his exceptional vigour and bodily health. He was a great walker and climber. His powers of observation never flagged ; and when he was over eighty his voice was as clear and ringing, and his sight and hearing to all appearances as keen as those of most men in their prime. It was characteristic of him that he used these advantages prudently. Very characteristic is the story that when quite a young man he was informed by a doctor that he had a weak heart. He immediately proceeded to train it by a course of mountain climbing. He became a great Alpinist, and his heart served him effectively for eighty-three years. Bryce had a perfectly simple way of seeing what was right, and immediately doing it. His sense of duty and his religion formed an essential part of his daily life. People have sometimes attributed his epoch-making success as Ambassador to the United States to some peculiar degree of tact, but I think that to judge this is rather to miss the point. It was not tact, it was real goodness that won him the affection of so many Americans of the most diverse attainments and characters. He had no touchiness or exclusiveness. He had abundant interest in human nature. Bores did not bore him. Ignoramuses taught him new facts. He was interested in everything, and anyone who was trying to do good, however humbly, could be sure of his sympathy. He would travel a thousand miles to open a Wesleyan Hall or a mechanics' reading room. When there, he would make a speech that would delight an audience of working men and he would return next day to delight equally a learned society or a conference of international lawyers.

It is probably his international position by which he stood out most from his contemporaries. All over the world men knew his name and believed his word. In the recent orgy of mendacious propaganda which has swept over human society, I have known people, Americans and Swedes, for instance, who said that their people did not know what to believe ; they must wait and find what Bryce said was the truth. And in the most remote parts of the world, in India, in Finland, and the Caucasus, people who were suffering injustice and wanted redress used to send envoys to tell Lord Bryce about it. And when the suppliants or inquirers reached him, though they might be disappointed, they were never either deceived or rebuffed. He never held out false hopes or administered false comfort On the other hand, he never lost courage or acquiesced in convenient injustice. His patient wisdom was at the service of all who aspired and all who suffered.

# SHACKLETON.

By Clennell Wilkinson.

IT was well observed by Master Edward Hayes, captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*, in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland in the year of grace, 1583, that "we cannot precisely judge what have been the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering." The trouble is that we get no help from the discoverers themselves. In 1922, even more, perhaps, than in 1583, they are men of action, not of words. Asked (by the publisher) to explain their motives to an admiring public, they hesitate, stammer, and begin to hunt about for some reason which they think will appeal to an ordinary man. It was the habit of Edward Hayes's contemporaries to give as their object the advancement of commerce; their attempts upon the North-West Passage, and so forth, were to be regarded by posterity merely as laborious and rather risky trade transactions. So they gave us to understand in Hakluyt's pages. But it would be absurd to talk about bringing back bullion from the Polar regions; in 1922, therefore, when all the still undiscovered parts of the world are close to the Poles, science, not commerce, becomes the lure. The Antarctic voyages of Shackleton and Scott are spoken of in the Press (not, it must be confessed, without some encouragement from the explorers themselves) as though they were merely scientific experiments of an unusually dangerous character. No one believes either story. We know that Drake and Raleigh were not simply out for money. To represent Scott and Shackleton as inspired research workers in the cause of science—even the science of geography, which they both loved—is to praise their heads when we ought to be praising their great hearts. It is not even true to say that they went to the Antarctic because it is, in many ways, more interesting and more picturesque than the Arctic—because the icebergs are so much bigger, and the animal life so much more abundant—though that in itself is true. They went because no one had been there before. They went, inspired by the pure spirit of adventure, to see a place that no one yet had seen, to set their feet, if possible, upon the axis of the earth, where no human foot had trod.

Who can doubt that the Elizabethans were inspired by similar motives? But at the end of their wonderful century there were no more continents to discover, except the ice-bound continents of the Poles. These were their legacy to us, and Ernest Shackleton carried on their tradition. The link between him and his great forerunners is closer than the general public is fully aware of. Study the style of his last book, "South" (Heinemann), written in diary form. It is of "homely and rough-hewen shape," as Hakluyt himself described the diaries of his voyagers. Simple, plain English, without embroidery or bombast, telling its simple, moving tale. The piety, too, of the old mariners appears again in this twentieth-century adventurer. It will be remembered that at the end of the 1914-1917 expedition, after the loss of the *Endurance*, Shackleton and his men were marooned on Elephant Island. Their position was desperate, because, as they fully realised, there was no chance at all of any search being made for them there. Shackleton determined to cross (in a two-foot boat) eight hundred miles of stormy Polar sea to the island of South Georgia, on the *other* side of which were human habitations. With five companions he started, and reached the island after a fortnight of horrible misery in the open boat. After landing, three of them could go no further. In a plainly written but curiously eloquent chapter, Shackleton describes how he and the remaining two (Worsley and Crean) struggled across the island. After incredible hardships they miraculously reached their goal. Shackleton says:—

"When I look back on those days I have no doubt that Providence guided us, not only across those snow-fields, but across the storm-white sea that separated Elephant Island from our landing place on South Georgia. I know that during that long and racking march of thirty-six hours over the unnamed mountains and glaciers of South Georgia it seemed to me often that we were four, not three. I said nothing to my companions on the point, but afterwards Worsley said to me, 'Boss, I had a curious feeling on the march that there was another person with us.' Crean confessed to the same idea. One feels 'the dearth of human words, the roughness of mortal speech,' in trying to describe things intangible, but a record of our journeys would be incomplete without a reference to a subject very near to our hearts."

It did him no harm with his men. What they thought of him is well illustrated by a passage in the diary of one of the Elephant Island survivors who was rescued when Shackleton got back to the island, after three unsuccessful attempts. The writer tells how, when the boat put off from the relief ship, the half-starved survivors on shore looked eagerly for Shackleton's sturdy figure, and when they saw it, "we burst into a cheer, and then said one to another, 'Thank God the boss is safe'—for I think that his safety was of more concern to us than our own."

The expedition of 1914-1917 failed in its main object, which was to cross the South Polar Continent from sea to sea. Neither Amundsen nor Scott had done that; and no one has done it yet. The 1907-1909 expedition remained Shackleton's greatest achievement as an explorer. One of his sledging parties reached the most southerly point attained up to then—100 miles from the South Pole—and discovered the existence of the great mountain ranges south of McMurdo Sound, of which we have since heard so much from Scott. Another party reached the South Magnetic Pole for the first time. A very large amount of surveying was done on this expedition. Many new peaks and glaciers were discovered, and forty-five miles of new coast-line extending from Cape North. Scientifically the expedition was better equipped than any of ts predecessors, and the scientific results were correspondingly important; for Shackleton, though a born adventurer, never forgot that those who put up the money for his expeditions had other objects in view. In this respect he was as conscientious as his Elizabethan forbears.

But this is ancient history. The great effort was to be the present expedition, which even Shackleton's death has not been allowed to interrupt. The memory of the great explorer is secure in his country's keeping; but it may be that Commander Frank Wild, his second-in-command and his confidential friend—Wild, whose cheerfulness and resource held together that party on Elephant Island for four and a half months of abominable privation—may yet succeed in setting up the monument which, of all others, he would have desired by bringing the present adventure to a successful conclusion.



# Cartoons of the Month.

## BACKWARD OR FORWARD?

*Bulletin* [*Sydney.*

## THE ALTERNATIVE.

*Bulletin* [*Sydney.*

MARS: "Ho, ho, my little men, found something else to differ about, have you? Well, I'm still in business."

## DIPLOMACY—OLD AND NEW.


*Telegraaf* [*Amsterdam*

The League of Nations to the diplomatists: "I can't understand you: you have such a queer way of going about."

## THE NEW MINISTRY.

*Rire* [*Paris.*

"These Frenchmen! They are always changing their Governments, but their views remain the same."

"These blessed Englishmen! Their Government is always the same, but you never know what their views are going to be next."

# Correspondence.

*(We do not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by our Correspondents.*—ED.)

## JEW AND ARAB IN PALESTINE.

*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the *Sunday Times*, of January 1, I read an article by Rosita Forbes, which is headed "Palestine, Zionist Domination, Great Britain Pays," also have carefully reread Leonard Stein's statement in the January number of HEADWAY, in which he protests too much to be convincing. The instances he gives of co-operation between Arabs and Jews to me prove nothing conclusive, and Colonel Bramby's statement which he quotes may be read between the lines as evidence against the cordial co-operation which Mr. Stein claims to be the case.

His quotation from the *Zionist Bulletin* of August 20, 1920, *re* labour in road-making, suggests to the practical man that the scheme is open to serious criticism, and one would rather like to know what are the conditions now, eighteen months after. Mrs. Forbes states that the Jew road-maker is paid twice the amount the Arab gets if you consider the work done. She also speaks of the heavy taxation, the importation of arms by Jews, and Bolshevik propaganda.

In any case, I would urge readers of HEADWAY to look over the two articles mentioned, and perhaps, as in my case, they will find the article by Rosita Forbes the more convincing of the two. But the mandate to be a success in the future must rest on justice and fairplay for all, irrespective of race or creed.

J. T. MUSTARD.

Stamford Hill.

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*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am greatly obliged to you for giving me an opportunity of reading Mr. J. T. Mustard's interesting comment on my recent article. I am not conscious of having "protested" at all. The whole burden of my argument was that while relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine are less cordial than they have been, and ought to be, there are concrete examples of co-operation which suggest that those relations would rapidly improve if only mischief-makers would refrain from embittering them—a condition which still remains to be fulfilled. Among the mischief-makers, I am sorry to have to include Mrs. Rosita Forbes, whose article in the *Sunday Times* is little more than a stale *réchauffé* of familiar misstatements which have been repeatedly exposed. The Government does *not* pay the Jewish road-workers "twice the amount the Arabs get." All contracts are awarded by open tender, and as a matter of fact, little Arab labour is or has ever been obtainable for this particular class of work. Taxation is *not* abnormally heavy; it is appreciably lighter than it was under the Turk. It has, in any case, nothing whatever to do with the Zionists, who have not the smallest voice in the matter, while its proceeds go to the benefit of the Arabs out of all proportion to their number, the Jews providing largely for their own medical and educational services. The Jews are *not* Bolsheviks. The official Haycraft Commission on the Jaffa riots reports (p. 21) that "not only the Jewish *bourgeoisie*, but the overwhelming mass of Jewish labour, would have nothing to do with the Communists, and regarded them with unfeigned hostility." It is reckless misstatements of this character (I could enumerate many others if space were available) which help to poison Arab-Jewish relations. For a further reply to Mrs. Rosita Forbes, I must refer Mr. Mustard to the letter from Mr. Israel Cohen in the *Sunday Times* of January 15. He will find, if he looks into the matter, that her article contains hardly a single allegation which is not either inaccurate or irrelevant.

Yours obediently,

LEONARD STEIN.

Great Russell St., W.C. 1.

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## A SUCCESSFUL APPEAL.

*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have just forwarded to Headquarters a cheque for £150, as the first instalment of our special effort towards the Fund of the League of Nations Union, and perhaps you will be interested to know that our effort has been a great success, as I hope to send a further amount shortly which will bring the subscription well over £200.

We have had a house-to-house canvass of all the places in our area, and left at each house a collecting envelope with four leaflets giving brief accounts of the work of the League. We also enclosed membership forms, with a result that nearly 200 members will be added to our roll. The response in most places has been very encouraging, and we feel quite satisfied that where people understand what the work of the League is, they are quite prepared to support it. The success we have had from the larger subscriptions has been also very gratifying, proving that among the business and professional men there is the same conviction that the League is worth their practical support.

We commenced the Branch just a year ago, and have now about 700 members.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. LAYCOCK,
Crosshills and District League of Nations Union.

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## REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY.

*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—In your January issue, Mr. W. Arnold-Foster quotes Lord Robert Cecil's opinion that the leading delegate to the Assembly should be a Minister, though the others should be "chosen from the general body of citizens as particularly representative men." In the same correspondence column you kindly gave publicity to an appeal, in which nine others joined with me in advocating the direct popular election by P.R. of all three delegates. If the latter plan were adopted, it is to be presumed that the delegate who received most votes would be the one to record his country's vote, though I, personally, do not think he should do this without the consent of one at least of his colleagues.

The question is, would the essentially democratic and independent character which the general adoption of our plan would give to the Assembly "disengage the responsibility of the Governments of the day?" On the contrary, I believe that the added prestige of the Assembly would make it extremely impolitic for any Government to resist its decisions. It must always be remembered that the League's function is not to govern the peoples, but to promote right relations between their existing Governments. The Assembly's supreme authority on strictly international affairs should, I think, be frankly conceded, with the proviso that any national Government might appeal to the Court of International Justice on the technical question of what is of properly national-domestic, rather than of international, concern.

The Assembly, as at present constituted, is much too like a large edition of the Council. It should become more of a true Parliament, with practically legislative powers; while the Council, on which the leading nations would continue to be represented by prominent Ministers, should be its recognised Executive, for negotiating the more immediate issues which concern the preservation of international harmony. International law is stiill an infantile and largely inchoate product of civilisation, and the Assembly should be the chief organ for insuring its healthy growth. To that end a strong and world-representative Assembly is imperatively needed

Yours, &c.,

CHARLES E. HOOPER.

Southampton.

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*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—The "appeal for a stronger Assembly" in the January HEADWAY deserves the earnest consideration of the League of Nations Union.

The League of Nations has failed if it becomes an association not of peoples, but of Governments: and the fatal tendency of such associations to become diplomatic and official rather than representative of whole peoples is already recognisable, in ours, in the choice of our delegates to the Assembly last year, and in the expressed desire (indicative of a felt need) that the Assembly's powers, as against the Council's, should be strengthened.

The differentiation of peoples from their Governments is not merely a palpable fact: it is a justifiable fact. Until, in the case of Great Britain, our movement is recognised as one of the whole people, not merely an official function, there will be reason for the mistrust which is unhappily obvious in America and in Germany, two countries whose abstention must lamentably weaken us. But that mistrust could not but die if it were known that the British people were wholeheartedly supporting, and forcing their officials to support, an effort to avert war and the preparations for war. Nor would it be possible to exaggerate the good effect of calling on the whole electorate to appoint delegates. Nothing could so surely bring home to every man the reality of the startling change which the League has inaugurated, or a sense of the responsibility of citizenship such as he has never yet felt.

Mr. Arnold-Forster's objection that this method would "disengage the Government of responsibility" is not fatal. No such body of delegates could possibly go to the Assembly without consultation with the Government. Even if no Minister (which is highly improbable) were among the delegates chosen on P.R. principles, the delegates so chosen would so effectively reflect the popular opinion which the Government is also supposed to reflect, that conflict would be unlikely. If there were such conflict, it is scarcely doubtful which party should prevail. For we want to focus the moral opinion of the world, not of Governments, which may be out of sympathy with their peoples, or may represent only a passing emotional phase; and P.R. is obviously the method, *par excellence*, of eliciting the real and abiding opinion of a country.

In no case are the delegates plenipotentiaries. Mr. Arnold-Forster's fear of erecting a super-State prompts him to advocate the only means whereby such a State would arise. For his method presupposes ratification of a decision of the Assembly by Parliament; ours only implies it if Parliament and delegates are both really representative.

I hope that the question may be brought before the branches of the League of Nations Union.

Yours, &c.,

Rayleigh, Essex. B. G. M. BASKETT.

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*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—Referring to the joint letter in your January number over the signatures of Mr. W. H. Bayley and nine other gentlemen, suggesting an alteration in the representation at the Assembly, it seems to me that their proposal would inevitably weaken and not strengthen the influence of the League.

For one thing, I do not think the plan is practical in some cases. How could it be carried out in China and India?

But the main objection is of another kind. The strength of the League resides in the very fact that it represents the Executive Governments of the nations which are members, and it is these Governments who alone are able to pledge their people and to embody in practical legislation the decisions of the Assembly. The effect of the proposals would be to divorce the League from Government connection and render it in that degree an academic body, whose decisions could be ignored by the Executive Governments. After all, the Governments of the various member States which are democratic, are elected by the people, and it would be difficult to improve on such men as Mr. Balfour, Mr. Fisher, Lord R. Cecil, and others.

May I suggest that the great and pressing need of the hour is, not so much to alter the Assembly, as to explain the League and its need and its work to an indifferent and uninformed people?

The mischief is, not that people object to the Constitution of the League, but they care so little about the whole subject—that is where Covenanters can find their work.

Yours, &c.,

Bath. W. J. AINSWORTH

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*To the Editor of* HEADWAY.

SIR,—A letter in the January HEADWAY suggests that popular election of delegates would strengthen the League Assembly. It seems to me that it would have a contrary effect.

We must have on the Assembly men who really represent and feel in themselves the best ideals of their nation. They could not be found by popular vote. A glance at some of the men we send to Parliament should leave no doubt of that. The election atmosphere is all wrong—a thing alien to the spirit of the League. Who would suggest that we elect our Prime Minister and Cabinet by direct universal vote? The League delegates are in somewhat the same position.

The present system has secured us a delegation which no one can want improved. The immediate need of the League is unceasing work and support from those who believe in it, not doubtful experiments. Popular energy can find no better expression than in insisting that its representatives compel the Government to make full use of the noble instrument it helped to create, in whose action we can be sure of frankness, cleanness, and open-heartedness.

Yours, &c.,

Oxford. W. T. G. AINEY.

[*We comment on this question in our editorial notes on p. 43.*]

# Book Reviews.

## WAR MAKING AND PEACE MAKING.

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR. By RAYMOND POINCARÉ. (Cassell. 12s.)

PEACELESS EUROPE. By FRANCESCO S. NITTI. (Cassell. 12s.)

BOTH these works derive their importance from their authors rather than from their contents. M. Poincaré, President of the French Republic throughout the war exposes, not for the first time, the responsibility of the German Government for the war. Sr. Nitti, a signatory but not an author of the Peace, exposes, not for the first time, the responsibility of the French Government for the peace.

M. Poincaré's exposition of the origins of the war is based almost entirely on diplomatic documents which have been already published, and the case made out by him is so familiar that it is unnecessary here to summarise it. The curious may turn to his descriptions of his own conversations with the Tsar in the summer of 1914; they will find nothing recorded but what is strictly proper and commonplace. Nor do his references to the Allies depart from a tone of official courtesy. It is a little surprising that he should have troubled himself to compile a record which has been adequately made before by minor personages. Probably he wished to repudiate the suggestions which have been made that he himself fostered an aggressive policy.

Sr. Nitti also is careful not to draw on his private information, but he reproduces certain documents, notably a memorandum by Mr. Lloyd George, dated March 25th, 1919, which, though made public by M. Tardieu, are not well known in England. That memorandum, by the way, urged that while anyone could make a peace which would last thirty years, since the hatred of war would endure in the generation that had experienced war, what was needed was a peace that would bear no wars of revenge, a peace therefore that could appear reasonable to the vanquished; we must make peace like impartial arbiters, not like victors; we must not transfer Germans to alien rule or demand impossible reparations; above all, we must create a League of Nations, and so trust it that our armaments shall be diminished; to this League Germany should be admitted. Sr. Nitti's suggestions for the reconstruction of Europe follow the same lines: (1) Let the League admit the defeated countries and take over the powers of the Reparation Commission. (2) Let the League then, under Clause 19 of the Covenant, invite its members to revise the Treaty of Peace; (3) Let the inter-allied debts be anulled and the indemnity be reduced; (4) Let Germany be invited to co-operate in the pacific reconstruction of Russia. He sees in the persistence of the war spirit, both in France and elsewhere, the great obstacle to these measures. But France cannot possibly hope alone to dominate Europe. She must be assured against German aggression, but she must also withdraw from her present policy. By the joint efforts of the three progressive States of the Continent, namely, of France, Italy, and Germany, can Europe be saved, and by no other means.

Perhaps the greatest quality to be perceived in "Peaceless Europe" is the ease with which Sr. Nitti's imagination embraces the idea of the nations' interdependence. In M. Poincaré's writings—as in those of the ex-Emperor of Germany—nations are idealised into personalities, virtuous or malignant, self-sufficient and solitary. There is even a touch of pathos in M. Clemenceau's references to "young nations" like Poland, ingenuous boys. America, again, is only 120 years "old." France, being much "older," has a wider historical understanding. The Italian has no patience with this. Europe is one, the world is one. This little continent, he writes surprisingly, is only about the size of Canada, and yet it contains "probably" thirty sovereign States besides historical curiosities like Monaco and San Marino. The political units of Europe were too small before the war. What an error, he cries, it was to make these smaller! The intentions of the author are here superior to the argument.

It would be unjust to base a comparison of these two statesmen on their books; to represent the one as meditating with intelligible bitterness the past, while the other regards the present and the future. It would be equally unjust to pretend that Sr. Nitti has done more than endorse with his own authority opinions widely current. That, however, is one of the functions of a politician. He is asked to recognise rather than originate ideas. "Peaceless Europe" is not an epoch-making work, and it contains certain grave misstatements. One of the most remarkable is the oft-repeated assertion that ex-enemy States "have not been permitted" to join the League of Nations, whereas in point of fact Austria and Bulgaria are both members, and Germany would certainly have been admitted at the last Assembly had she applied. But the book is boldly written, carefully documented, and rich in liberal sentiments and constructive zeal. It has, moreover, the great merit of including in brief compass a history of the peace making, criticisms, both economic and political, of the terms, and a description of the present state of Europe.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## INTERNATIONALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

CHRIST AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILL. (Morgan & Scott. 6s.)

CHRISTIANITY AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY. By the Revd. E. H. F. CAMPBELL. (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.)

THESE two recently published books have a common aim. In his introduction to the first, Lord Robert Cecil says that the author "urges that in the adoption of Christian morality, as the keystone of our national policy, lies our only hope of salvation." In similar words Professor A. H. McNeile describes the thesis of Mr. Campbell's book as being that "the Christian morality is the only secure basis of the unity of nations as of individuals." Both authors thus go back to first principles and emphasise the importance of the fact that world security and peace cannot be sought either in a Balance of Power or in economic self-interest, but in the application of Christianity to the relations between nations to the same extent as it governs the relations between individuals. It is interesting to note that while each write from a Christian point of view, both admit that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is not exclusively Christian—Miss Picton-Turbervill finding it in the pre-Christian teaching of Buddha, and Mr. Campbell in the school of Voltaire and Rousseau—yet claim that it only possesses driving force in the higher Christian morality.

The theme is, however, treated differently in the two volumes. Miss Picton-Turbervill confines herself more exclusively to the primitive sources of the Hebrew prophets, Christ and St. Paul, pointing out in a striking manner how the principles which guided their teaching and attitude in regard to the comparatively small international affairs of their times can and must be applied to the wider conditions of to-day. The Balance of Power and the dangerous spirit of a narrow nationalism were vital questions in the days of Isaiah and Christ. There is also an interesting and useful chapter on the place of religion in politics.

Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, covers more ground, and starting from pagan conceptions of international law traces the growth of the Christian conception of international relations through the middle ages and the period of the Renaissance down to modern times. In a closing chapter he deals with the essentially Christian principles which underlie the League of Nations, and our only complaint is that Mr. Campbell would have made his case still stronger if he had brought his information about the activities of the League up to date. Both books should be widely read by the Christian public. H. W. F.

## THE STORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT PARIS: THE STORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE, 1918-1919. Edited by COLONEL HOUSE and CHARLES SEYMOUR. (Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.)

NO one who desires to understand the principal questions of current international politics, and to base that understanding upon a knowledge of the facts, can afford to ignore "What Really Happened at Paris." The book consists of eighteen lectures delivered by members of the American delegation to the Peace Conference. The final decisions rested with others, but these decisions were largely based upon facts and opinions furnished by these men "who sat in conference day by day with the heads of States," and who here tell the story of the peace negotiations.

Perhaps the most interesting contributions to this valuable collection of new facts are contained in the lectures by Mr. Clive Day on "The Atmosphere and Organisation of the Peace Conference," by Mr. T. W. Lamont on "Reparations," by Mr. T. H. Bliss (military representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council) on "Disarmament," by Mr. D. H. Miller on "The Making of the League of Nations," and by Colonel House on "The Versailles Peace in Retrospect."

Mr. Clive Day's bird's-eye view of the Peace Conference shows with unmistakable clearness that the Covenant of the League of Nations occupied a unique position in the Peace Treaty. It is not merely that the League Covenant forms the first chapter of the Treaty, but rather that, in its origin and in the manner of its handling by the Peace Conference, it had so little in common with the greater part of the Treaty.

Mr. Keynes argues in his new book that if war pensions had not been included in the reparation payments which the Peace Treaty required from Germany, the amount of German reparations would have been reduced by two-thirds, and brought within Germany's capacity to pay. Mr. Lamont, in the book before us, describes how President Wilson was persuaded to support the inclusion of pensions in the reparation bill. "Some of us," writes Mr. Lamont, "were gathered in his library in the *Place des Etats Unis*, having been summoned by him to discuss this particular question of pensions. We explained to him that we could not find a single lawyer in the American delegation that would give an opinion in favour of including pensions. All the logic was against it." But the President would not agree. He wanted to brush aside verbiage and get at the root of things. Though his intellect was against it, his heart was with Mr. Lloyd George, who said "You mean to say that France is to be compensated for the loss of a chimney pot in the devastated district, but not for the loss of a life? Do you set more value upon a chimney than you do upon a soldier's life?" On which Mr. Lamont's comment is that the argument was appealing, but not necessarily sound.

Mr. Bliss' lecture on "The Problem of Disarmament" is one of the most forceful essays on that subject that has yet appeared. "The Peace Conference," he writes, "recognised a limitation of national armaments as the very corner-stone of the foundation that it was attempting to lay for a lasting peace, and in two very important chapters of its final treaty—in the League Clauses on disarmament and on the preamble to the military peace terms—it pledged itself to do what could be done to bring it about."

Mr. Bliss comments that "when Germany affixed her signature to one side of the last page of the Treaty, twenty-seven other nations of the earth, including all the Great Powers, signed it on the other side." If Germany's neighbours are satisfied that she is doing her part, it is their bounden duty to do theirs, and, in particular, to make their signature of any pact to ensure each other's security from future aggression conditional upon a real limitation of armaments by every party to the pact.

Readers must be referred to Mr. Bliss' lecture for his demonstration that any future fight between two great Powers will almost inevitably become a world war, far more horrible than the last, and that nations who maintain large armaments and make military alliances between limited groups of Powers, "after the last ounce of strength has been accumulated, and the last combination of the Powers has been made . . . must strike or forfeit every dollar and every hope bound up in its preparation."

Colonel House, in the concluding lecture, tells some home truths to the American nation. In spite of the magnificent work for world peace and progress which the American delegation did at Paris, and to which the present American Government has contributed the Washington Conference, America's apparent attitude to the existing League of Nations is responsible for the gravest danger that the horrors of four years of war may, after all, have been endured in vain. But an Englishman must be careful what he says about America, to whom England and the world owes so much. Let Colonel House speak for himself: "And now, two and a half years after the signing of the armistice, the United States has as yet failed to do the necessary thing to make successful the only instrument which has been devised to save us from the destruction another world war would bring. It is a melancholy reflection upon our right to exist." J. C. M. G.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS: SON ACTIVITÉ PAR L'IMAGE. (Edition Ator, Corraterie, 12 Geneva.)

This should prove a most useful book for teachers and school children, as well as for speakers on the League of Nations. It contains a large number of photographs illustrating the work of the League from its inception, when it was housed in London, to the present time, and will supply that valuable "local colour" which no speaker can afford to disregard.

LA REVUE DE GENÈVE. (46, Rue du Stand, Geneva.)

Two interesting features of this magazine are "La Chronique Nationale," which gives the latest news in various countries of Europe, and "La Chronique Internationale," which treats usually of some general problem of international importance, such as the question of *plébiscites*, on which articles appeared in December and January last by M. Etienne Fournol.

IRELAND AND THE MAKING OF BRITAIN. By BENEDICT FITZPATRICK. (Funk & Wagnall. 20s.)

The thesis developed in this book is the humanising and "cultural" influence exerted by Ireland up to the sixteenth century upon Pict, Briton, Angle, and Saxon. The book is intended to serve as an introduction to an even more exhaustive study of the efforts of mediæval Irishmen to establish civilisation in Continental Europe following the downfall of the Roman Empire.

# League of Nations Union Notes and News.

*[All communications to the Union should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]*

**The Appeal.**

At a largely attended Staff Meeting held recently at Headquarters the suggestion was put forward by a junior member of the Staff that it would be a good plan for the Headquarters Staff of the Union to raise at least £100 as a Staff donation to the Appeal Fund, *not by personal gifts*, but either by asking friends to subscribe or by getting up dances, entertainments, whist drives, &c.

The response to this suggestion was most encouraging, and promises to obtain over £210 were obtained from members of the Staff.

One of our Branch secretaries who was at the Staff meeting referred to above has suggested that possibly all the Branch secretaries might like to make a similar effort to raise a fund, which should be known as "The Branch Secretaries' Special Fund."

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**The Council Meeting at Birmingham.**

The meeting of the General Council of the Union in Birmingham on January 20th was notable in several respects. It marked the adoption of a definite policy for the future. It was also the first meeting of the General Council outside of London. Besides the decision on policy, several other decisions of importance were made.

The Council approved the recommendation to discontinue to register at headquarters the names and addresses of the shilling members of the Union. This step was taken in order to effect a considerable economy. It was understood that branches would continue to register these shilling members, and issue membership cards to them. A monthly return was to be made to headquarters of the number of new shilling members made, and the capitation fee of threepence in respect of each should also be remitted as hitherto.

The suggestion that HEADWAY be delivered in bulk to branches and distributed by them was discussed at length, and rejected, because it had not been successful where already tried.

The desirability of supplying shilling members with some account of the progress of the League and the Union was the justification for the adoption of the resolution authorising the General Secretary to produce a Quarterly News Sheet, provided that sufficient orders were received from the branches to cover the cost.

The Council approved the election policy of the Union, as outlined in the memorandum P.D. 3, which set out the suggested questionnaire to candidates and the procedure recommended for its use by branches.

The Council very cordially welcomed the resolution of support from the British Legion.

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**League of Nations Rally.**

Members of the Union will be glad to know that the Rally held in Hyde Park last summer on League of Nations Day is to be repeated this year. Arrangements about a suitable meeting-place are now under weigh.

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**Oxford Summer School.**

Members of the Union who attended the successful Summer School held at Oxford last year will be glad to know that a Summer School is to be held this year also at Balliol College, Oxford, from July 24th to 31st. It is hoped that Viscount Grey of Falloden will give the inaugural address, and that among the speakers we shall be able to include Mr. A. J. Balfour, Maj. the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, and Mr. C. Delisle Burns. Professor Gilbert Murray has already promised to give a course of lectures.

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**A League of Nations Parliament.**

Our note in last month's issue under this heading has brought a stream of instructive correspondence. One enthusiastic advocate of the League, a member of the Union, who is also the Chairman of one of the local political associations, has written in praise of the scheme outlined in the "Suggestions on Activity at Parliamentary Elections for Branches of the League of Nations Union" (P.D. 3a), but he urges very strongly that the action there indicated should be taken before the adoption of Parliamentary candidates—thus giving them an opportunity to make reference to the League in their election addresses. The suggestion is important. Indeed it is obvious on other grounds that discussions by the local branches to decide which questions they wish to put to candidates ought also to take place even before there is any hint of an election or a by-election taking place—that is to say before one is almost inevitably inclined to consider League questions with an eye to the way the candidate one most favours is likely to regard them—in short, with Party bias.

To do his bit to return a British Parliament pledged to the League of Nations is the best service a British elector can give. Now is the time—this very week—to get ready for a general election. Every Branch Secretary can get as many copies as necessary of the Parliamentary Questionnaire and the relevant papers from the League of Nations Union offices—but every member's active co-operation is required.

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**France and the League.**

The example set by Major David Davies, M. P., in founding a chair of International Politics at the Aberystwyth University In Wales has been followed by the *Ligue pour l'Organisation de la Société des Nations* in France.

In connection with the Faculty of Law in Paris, a chair has been established in "International Federalism," to which M. Charles Brun, a distinguished advocate of the League of Nations, has been appointed.

The first lecture was delivered on December 15th last before a large audience. The present course of lectures deals with the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in particular the bearing of Article 21 on ideas of international relations.

Representatives from twenty different countries took part in the "International Democratic Congress" held in Paris in December last. For the first time in France since the beginning of the late war ex-enemy countries, including Germany and Austria, had the opportunity to obtain a public hearing. The frequent references to the new era inaugurated by the establishment of the League of Nations were a distinctive feature of the proceedings of the Congress.

The following resolution, passed unanimously by the Council of the French Society for the League of Nations on December 19th, 1921, was communicated to all the federated Societies by the Central Office in Brussels: "The Council of the French Association for the League of Nations deplores the fact that, by departing from the proposals intended to reduce naval armaments, the Washington Conference appears to be tending towards programmes of naval construction which are truly appalling."

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**Reception to Dominions Journalists.**

On February 8th Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman, Overseas Committee, League of Nations Union, gave a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel to the London representatives of the Press of the Dominions. Thirteen agencies and newspapers were represented.

Before the luncheon there was a reception at the headquarters of the Union, when the Press representatives visited all the departments and heard explanations of the work conducted by each.

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**The Union Library.**

The Library at the headquarters of the Union is growing, and becoming worthy of the name. It is now in possession of over one thousand books and pamphlets dealing with Peace and War, the League of Nations, International Politics, etc., most of which have been published since 1914.

It is hoped that friends of the Union will be so good as to assist by submitting to the librarian lists of the books which they would be willing to give to the library, that the library may have a complete and comprehensive set of all works that will be useful to students, lecturers, and others.

Mr. J. M. Keynes' "A Revision of the Treaty" is now greatly in demand, and several copies would be very welcome. They should be addressed to Mrs. Claremont, at The League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

Book-cases of the large old-fashioned kind, with lock-up glass doors, and a pair of library steps, are also on the requisition list.

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**International Police Force: Essay Competition.**

For the last two years Mr. David Davies, M.P., has offered a prize for the best essay on an International Police Force sent to the Welsh National Eisteddfod. Several excellent compositions were received by the adjudicators at the recent Eisteddfod. The prize of £50 was awarded to Mr. W. Tudor Davies of Manchester. Mr. Tudor Davies is an advocate of conciliation first, but recommends the maintenance of an International Police Force as a small patrolling force with an efficient skeleton reserve—on the ground that the fear of an existing police is usually effectual without active use.

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**Progress of the Union.**

The membership of the Union is now 163,675, and the number of branches 758.



# Branch Activities.

**Model Appeal Organisation.**

Coventry has supplied a splendid example of the way in which an appeal should be organised in an industrial community.

Last October Mr. Asquith addressed a very large meeting in the Drill Hall. Following upon this the Coventry District Council of the Union rapidly increased its membership and formed several new branches. The work of the League and of the Union was kept constantly in the public eye. On January 12th the Rev. Studdert Kennedy addressed another large meeting. The Mayor then called together a representative conference of citizens to appoint a Town and District Appeal Committee. This was done on February 2nd. The conference set up a committee representative of all elements of the population. At the same time a special appeal organiser was appointed in the person of Mr. L. A. Windser, a disabled ex-officer.

All the local papers gave enthusiastic support. *The Midland Daily Telegraph*, in a leader entitled "Practical," warmly supported the appeal and said, amongst other things, "This city is invited to take its share by raising locally £3,500—not a large sum for a place with the population of Coventry and having regard to the object of the fund. The League can be made a great insurance against the calamity, horrors and devastation of war. . . It is world wide public opinion that can make war impossible, can foster a spirit of equity and an impartial review of peace between nations."

A circular letter has been sent out and canvassing is now in progress with excellent results to date.

What Coventry is doing is surely an effective answer to those who say that it is useless at this time to make an appeal in an industrial area.

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**Schools of the League.**

During a recent tour of Yorkshire, Mr. Frederick Whelen has had some remarkable experiences showing the enthusiasm with which the schools are supporting the League when the case is put to them. At one place, after Mr. Whelen had spoken to a joint meeting of the pupils of two schools, the headmaster asked the children what they were going to do that night. "Going to the League of Nations meeting," was the reply in chorus. "And what are your parents going to do to-night?" "Going to the League of Nations meeting" was again the reply, this time with greater enthusiasm. And at the town meeting later, despite the fact that the weather could not have been worse, there was a full attendance both of the pupils and of their parents. Was it the pupils who did this?

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**Pageant Parades.**

At meetings in Summerton and Shepton Mallet, both in Somerset, during January, there were pageant parades which greatly increased local interest in the League and the Union. Fifty-one little girls, each in the national costume of a member-state, marched to the platform and paid their respects to the "Queen," representing the League of Nations. Mr. Everitt Reid afterwards addressed remarkably well attended meetings.

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**Some Pertinent Questions.**

The Barnoldswick Branch, in its handbill advertising a large public meeting, set out the particulars on the front, and a series of pertinent questions on the back, with the terms of membership. Among the questions asked were:—

Does your interest in the League end with the payment of your annual subscription?

Do you follow the doings of the League and of the Union in your daily paper?

Do your read HEADWAY?

Will you not endeavour to extend the chain of membership by speaking to your friends about it?

## TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

Persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify, in writing, their general agreement with the objects of the Union and their desire to join it may become members on payment of subscription as under.

An annual subscription of at least £1 entitles a member to HEADWAY, the monthly Journal of the League of Nations Union, and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued.

An annual subscription of at least 3s. 6d. entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly.

The minimum subscription to the League of Nations Union is 1s.

All subscriptions run for twelve months from the date of payment.

A payment of £25 secures life membership. HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued are sent to all £1 Members.

Applications to join the Union should be made to the secretary of a local Branch or to the General 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 London Joint City and Midland Bank.

The following form might be used :—

*I desire to become a Member of the League of Nations Union and a Subscriber to "Headway." I enclose my first annual subscription of £ : s. d.*

*Mr., Mrs. or Miss*.....

*Address*.....

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