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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

THE announcement of the names of the first Labour Ministers suggests that friends of the League of Nations will be pushing at an open door in pressing its claims on the Cabinet. But even open doors are worth pushing lest they swing to unperceived, and a Government committed to a League policy will always need all the support it can get. At the moment of writing the name of Lord Cecil's successor as League Minister (to use a convenient, but not strictly accurate, term) has not been definitely announced, but if confident rumour be trustworthy the peer charged with that office is well qualified by his grasp of affairs and his judicial experience and temperament to execute efficiently the tasks devolving on a Council Member. Whether his skill as a negotiator is equal to the needs of the position can only be proved in practice. To fill Lord Cecil's place in the League adequately is an impossible task for any man, for there is no one living who can bring to the task the same detailed acquaintance with the League's history and procedure combined with the same knowledge of affairs and men generally. The decision attributed to the new Prime Minister to associate League business much more closely with the Foreign Office than in the past is undoubtedly sound, and it may be hoped that Mr. MacDonald himself will keep as constantly in touch with the League as his manifold duties permit.

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THE January elections to the French Senate had, as the March or April elections for the Chamber will have, an indirect bearing on

the League of Nations. In the main, the parties of the Left in France are more disposed to base the foreign policy of the country on the League than are the bulk of the members of the *bloc national*, or, of course, the Royalists and other parties of the extreme Right. In any event, there was little to be learnt from the voting for the Senate, since the result was as near to "No Change" as was well possible. That means that, the great majority of the outgoing members being of the Left, the incoming Senators are preponderantly of the same complexion. There was, it is true, no definite swing to the Left, but as the Senate was so much of that colour already, the swing was hardly to be expected. It must, moreover, be remembered that the Electoral College which chooses Senators is itself composed of Deputies, County Councillors and others who were themselves elected to their present positions anything up to two years or more ago. A vote for a Senator, therefore, reflects in reality the expression of public opinion not of the moment, but of months or years back.

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WHEN the Chamber Elections, which are by direct voting, take place, a far better criterion of the temper of the French people will be provided. The striking speech of M. Edouard Herriot in the Chamber on January 11 put the League of Nations in the forefront, and it is clear that the *bloc des gauches*, if such a *bloc* is effectively constituted, may be relied on to give steady support to the League. That is all that can be said on the point at the moment, except that it is quite certain that any open endeavour by any party in this country to

support a particular party in France would have the worst possible effect, as the suggestion of foreign intervention would react against just those forces it was intended to help.

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THE acceptance by Mr. Norman Davis, formerly Assistant Secretary of State, and for a time Acting Secretary of State, of the United States, of the chairmanship of the League's special Commission on Memel, brings another distinguished American citizen into the service of the League of Nations. (Mr. Morgenthau has for some months been hard at work in Greece as chairman of the League's Refugee Settlement Commission.) By securing Mr. Norman Davis, who, in addition to the other offices he has held, was a prominent member of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference, it has lifted the Memel question completely above European controversies, a result to which the decision to associate with Mr. Davis two transit experts appointed by the Chairman of the League Transit Commission will still further contribute. It is not fully realised yet how great a service the League is rendering to the world by securing, as it perpetually does, for international tasks men of marked distinction and ability whose work has in the past been confined to their own country.

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FURTHER signs of American interest in the League are the extraordinary hold the Bok Prize scheme (an article on which appears in another column) has taken on the imagination of the American public, and the sustained discussion of methods of entry into the Permanent Court of International Justice. A telegram from the Washington correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* reviews briefly the wide range of opinion prevailing on this subject. According to this message, both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root pronounce the World Court an improvement on The Hague Arbitration Tribunal, while Senator Lodge prefers a Court unconnected with the League and inclusive of all nations. The contention is apparently carrying weight that an Arbitration Tribunal invariably seeks to effect a compromise without much regard to law, while a World Court of Justice, in theory at any rate, ignores compromise and sides in favour of one party or the other according to international law. A World Court, in effect, brings substantially nearer to realisation Lord Hugh Cecil's ideal of a League which shall aim not merely at international peace, but at international justice.

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IN an article in another column Mr. H. A. L. Fisher gives a considered answer to the arguments advanced by Mr. David Davies, M.P., in the last issue of HEADWAY in favour of the creation of a League military (and naval) force. Mr. Fisher's article speaks for itself, but the subject is not exhausted without some reference to the practical side of the problem. Thus the question of the size of such a force arises immediately. A figure of 200,000 has been suggested as a bare minimum. A force of that size would, of course, be useless except against third or fourth rank States, but

the figure will serve as basis for argument. The actual establishment of the British Army, apart from troops in India and Aden, is about 150,000. A League force of 200,000 therefore would need, in barracks, aerodromes, parade-grounds and the rest, some 33 per cent. more accommodation than exists in the whole of Great Britain. Where is this accommodation to be provided? How is it to be paid for? When it comes to fighting, how is a League force with its base, let us say, in Switzerland, to be munitioned and victualled for a campaign in, say, Carelia or Transylvania? How, moreover, would such a force be recruited and officered? Is there no danger of its becoming the refuge of the kind of failures and nondescripts who habitually find shelter in the French Foreign Legion? These are not of necessity insurmountable obstacles, but they are essentially obstacles that need surmounting.

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A SHORT series of articles on the administration of the Saar Valley, by a correspondent who has just visited the district, has just appeared in *The Times*. The main purpose of the articles is to demonstrate the French penetration, both economic and political, of the area. That it is the deliberate French policy to marry Lorraine iron to Saar coal, and to extend a hold economically over a rich industrial area which adjoins the two recovered provinces is not open to question. But the Governing Commission of the Saar is not, as the writer of *The Times* article implies, responsible for that. Neither is he accurate in saying that the results of the League Council's inquiry into the Saar administration last year were never disclosed. The Council minutes were, as Council minutes always are, duly circulated to the fifty-two governments of the League, a process which rendered them technically public property. They are, moreover, printed in full in the League's *Official Journal*, which is obtainable, like the *Times* itself, by anyone who chooses to pay the necessary coin across a counter for it. The writer of the articles lays proper stress on the enormous difficulties the League had to face in taking over the administration under Treaty provisions which made the task almost impossible, and he admits freely that material conditions in the Saar are ideal by comparison with those prevailing in the rest of Germany. There is not a word in his articles to support the amazing comment of the *Observer*, that the Saar is in some respects a blacker spot than either the Ruhr and the Rhineland.

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THE real blot in League administration in the Saar is the degree to which French influence has been allowed to predominate. That is to some extent explained, though not excused, by the fact that the League Council took over the Saar after it had been for fifteen months under an exclusively French occupation and administration, and that the business of appointing a Governing Commission was practically the first task the Council had to discharge at the beginning of 1920, before it had acquired any of the experience or knowledge of men which have enabled it since, at Danzig, in Austria, in Greece, and elsewhere, to choose so consistently

the right man for the right job. The fact that M. Rault, the President of the Governing Commission, cannot speak the language of the people over whom he is the almost autocratic ruler goes a very long way towards outweighing his undoubted abilities as an administrator. So long as there is, in effect, a French majority on the Governing Commission, the League Council, which appoints the Commission, stands largely defenceless against the criticisms, just and unjust, levelled against it in respect of the Saar. Next months' Council meeting will give an opportunity to remove that reproach.

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A VERY interesting article in a recent number of *The Children's Newspaper* deals with the progress being made with the application of International Labour Office standards in a country so difficult from the industrial point of view as China. It mentions that the first British firm to begin work in China, Jardine, Mathieson & Company, has decided to have no women or children engaged on night-work in its factories and to close its mills on Sundays. It is added that, through the League and its Labour Organisation, the first steps towards reform in Chinese factories generally have been taken. Special labour sections have been created in various Government Departments, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce has issued regulations limiting hours of work to ten a day, prohibiting the employment of boys under 10 and girls under 12, and restricting the work of boys under 17 and girls under 18 to 8 hours a day. This in a country where women and little children have been working in factories for twelve hours a day and seven days a week for wages roughly a half-penny a day. The reform, it is stated, is a direct outcome of the work of the International Labour Office and the League of Nations.

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DR. BENES' important contribution to the columns of this month's HEADWAY serves to throw valuable light on the policy he has been endeavouring to carry out since the war. Dr. Benes, who only reaches his fortieth birthday this year, works with his former teacher, T. G. Masaryk, now President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, as closely as Smuts with Botha or Hamilton with Washington. From first to last he has stood solidly for the League, and has represented his country at all four Assemblies. He now sits as member of the Council. His record is reason in itself for withholding at any rate for the moment final judgments on the treaty he has just concluded with France. That treaty is to be registered with the League and immediately published, and there will be time enough then to pass judgment on it. Speaking broadly, there is no reason to question the statement, which has already appeared in print, that the treaty in its present form represents not what France wanted, but what Czecho-Slovakia was ready to give. Adhesion to the League Covenant, reference of all disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice or some other arbitral body, and maintenance of the Treaties of Peace appear to constitute the main provisions of the new understanding. There is nothing disquieting

there, for little as we may like various provisions of the 1919 treaties it is idle to suppose that States which (like Czecho-Slovakia) owe to those treaties their very existence will listen to any talk of revising those instruments till Europe has settled down and engendered a new spirit. What really matters is whether the Franco-Czecho-Slovak agreement contains or implies any military obligations. That we may discover when the text is made public.

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LADY Astor performed a useful service by calling attention on one of the early days of the present Session to the resolution unanimously adopted by the Assembly of the League last September urging the Governments of States Members of the League to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant. Replying to the Member for Sutton's question on what was being done in this country to carry out the resolution, Mr. Wood thought that he need hardly say that the resolution of the Assembly had the full sympathy of His Majesty's Government, and added that he would gladly take the opportunity offered him of recommending it to the favourable consideration of the authorities of the schools. Seeing that the Government in which Mr. Wood was President of the Board of Education was then within a week of its decease, it was perhaps hardly reasonable to expect any fuller statement. It is to be hoped, however, that the Education Minister in the new administration will show the same broad-minded zeal in the matter of League instruction as has been displayed by his predecessors, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Wood.

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AN echo of the notorious Janina murder decision, and the award by the Conference of Ambassadors of the whole of Greece's 50,000,000 lire to Italy, comes to hand in the form of a copy of the report circulated by the Anglo-Hellenic Society of London. The full report, dated September 30, is of secondary importance, as it was on the basis of the interim report of September 22, presented (by order of the Ambassadors) after only five days' investigation, that the decision to seize Greece's deposit was taken. In this earlier document the four Commissioners (British, French, Italian and Japanese) advance the opinion that the murder was either a political crime or a personal vendetta against General Tellini. They add that the Greek enquiry into the murder shows traces of negligence on the part of the Greek authorities, but suspend judgment as to whether the Greek Government ought to be held responsible for this or whether it was due to the defective organisation of the police administration generally. "For the moment," the report continues rather cryptically, "the Italian Commissioner, for reasons more particularly of a moral order, inclines rather to the first hypothesis, while the other three Commissioners incline to the second." On that, the Italian Ambassador at Paris having previously persuaded his colleagues to agree that Greece should be considered guilty till she was proved innocent, the confiscation of Greece's deposit was ordered.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE AND THE LEAGUE.

By Dr. EDUARD BENES, Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia.

I WELCOME the opportunity of explaining briefly in the pages of HEADWAY the relation of the Little Entente (consisting of my own country, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania), to the League of Nations. Let me, to begin with, emphasise the fact that the Little Entente is an understanding between three neighbouring and friendly States for purely defensive purposes—for the defence of one another against possible external aggression, and for the defence of the treaties to which some of us owe our existence and all of us owe our present frontiers. It is, moreover, an understanding limited to certain specific purposes. I am no believer in comprehensive agreements in which two or more nations agree to support each other over the whole field of their policy whatever either of them may do. That is not moral. Understandings should be definite, limited and public. The purposes of the Little Entente's understanding are set out in the Treaties of Belgrade and Bucarest, signed and published in 1920 and 1921, which provide that the three States shall assist one another in the case of an unprovoked attack on any of them by a particular and specified State from whom danger was at that time apprehended.

Let me emphasise also the fact that the Little Entente agreement falls absolutely and in all respects within the four corners of Article 21 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provides that:—

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

It is essentially an agreement for the maintenance of peace and forms a necessary part of the policy which, to the best of my ability, I have devoted myself to developing during the five years during which my country has had an independent existence and during which I have held the post of Foreign Minister.

I realise that it is a little difficult for you in England to appreciate fully the outlook of such States as Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. You live on an island and, in a sense, stood outside the war zone. Your island was never invaded. We, on the other hand, live in the heart of Central Europe, a Central Europe which was completely destroyed by war. Central Europe, I say, was destroyed, and we are there. That means that of necessity a psychology wholly different from yours must, for a time at least, prevail in our country. We were for 300 years under the yoke of Austria. Slovakia, part of our country, was for a 1,000 years under the same yoke. We gained our independence in 1918 as by a miracle, and the question every citizen of Czecho-Slovakia immediately put to himself—and had to put to himself—was: "Can I conserve this liberty I have gained?"

This is the ultimate explanation of the policy I myself have been endeavouring to carry into effect. From the first I have been an unwavering supporter of the League of Nations. The League represents a great and growing moral force in the world, and I look forward to the day when this moral force will, in the

actual field of practical politics, transcend the material forces on which nations have relied in the past. But that could not happen in a day.

When the countries of the Little Entente began their new or changed existence in 1919, the League of Nations was not actually in being. Our business was to consolidate our material forces till such time as the moral forces should be powerful enough to supply all our needs. I do not claim the title to speak in this matter for Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, but, speaking for my own country, that need formed the main ground for the understanding into which we entered with our two neighbours. My whole conception of European policy is based on the League of Nations, but I have felt perpetually the weight of my responsibility as a Minister for the safety of my State. After all, we have been invaded since the Great War ended. We were invaded by Hungarian Bolsheviks at a time when we had no army, at a time when our own army was away in Siberia fighting in the name of the Allies. There were dangers near at hand against which we had to guard. We armed ourselves against them by the method of peaceful understandings with our neighbours for common defence. As a result, those dangers have been averted without a shot fired, and we have in the past month been engaged on a scheme for rescuing from financial disaster the very country whose intentions once caused our main anxiety.

In three ways, therefore, the Little Entente is absolutely and completely in line with both the aims and the methods of the League of Nations. It is, to begin with, an example of those regional understandings for the maintenance of peace specifically referred to in Article 21 of the Covenant. Secondly, it provides a temporary pooling of material forces for the preservation of peace till such time as the moral forces of the League have fully developed. And, thirdly, it fits immediately and compactly into the framework of the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance. That Treaty, as is well known, provides for agreements between nations for mutual defence, in order to admit of their reducing their armaments to a level which would not be possible if they had only their own individual resources to rely on in case of aggression. That is exactly what has happened in the case of the Little Entente. It has actually enabled us, in Czecho-Slovakia at any rate, to reduce our army to a lower figure than we could possibly have done if we had stood alone in a disturbed and perilous region of Europe. I hope that reduction of military strength will be carried further. We have in the past systematically reduced our military budget. Now the recruits who take service under our military law in 1924 will serve only eighteen months instead of the two years' period which has prevailed up till now. That means the gradual reduction of our standing army from 150,000 to 105,000, and the process may not end at that figure. That must depend on the extent to which the ideals of the League of Nations are given practical effect in Europe. All I need say on that point is that no effort I can exert to that end, whether as Foreign Minister of my country or as Member of the League of Nations Council, will be spared.

Edvard Benes

ITALY AND THE LEAGUE.

BY OBSERVATOR.

[This is the first of a series of articles on the attitude of various European and other countries towards the League, and the strength of the League movement in those countries, from the pen of writers specially selected for their knowledge and impartiality. In many cases the position they hold makes it necessary for them to remain anonymous.]

THE movement for the League of Nations has not been successful in Italy chiefly for two reasons:—

(1) Because it has fatally coincided with the flourishing of theories and sentiments unsympathetic to it—Futurism, D'Annunzianism, Fascism, "real politik," distrust of Democracy, nationalism, &c. (what could, indeed, come out of a green shoot grafted on the plant of that "sacro egoismo" proclaimed by Signor Salandra in his speech of October 18, 1914, as the only policy of Italy?); (2) because the movement has been identified abroad with President Wilson—considered as the enemy of the peace programme of Italy—and, internally, with the great Socialist leader Leonida Bissolati, who became suddenly unpopular when he advocated a compromise in the Adriatic, and an understanding with the Jugo-Slavs.

The *Famiglia Italiana per la Societa delle Nazioni*, founded in Milan in October, 1918, because of the simple fact that it was presided over by the Hon. Bissolati, and included among its members some of his followers (the hated *rinunciatari*), met with considerable mistrust, and was afterwards denounced by the Italian Nationalists as a den of traitors to the country. In spite however, of the hostility of the surrounding atmosphere, and of the very restricted number of its members, the *Famiglia* has done its best during the last four to five years to further the idea of the League in Italy, and much more might have been done if it had had more financial means at its disposal. After the death of Bissolati the presidency of the *Famiglia* passed to Sig. Francesco Ruffini, an eminent professor of the Turin University, a highly esteemed member of the Italian Senate, and a man of lofty ideals. He, together with the other Italian delegates of the *Famiglia*, has constantly taken an active part in international conferences, and the *Famiglia Italiana*, imposing on its members and friends no inconsiderable sacrifice, called in Milan in October, 1920, one of these international conferences of the societies for the League of Nations, which proved very successful. In that conference the Italian delegates, supported by their English colleagues, advocated the admission to the Federation of the societies of ex-enemy countries. The proposal was defeated, but the *Famiglia Italiana*, persisting in its idea, convoked in January, 1921, at Milan, an informal conference of the Societies of Germany, Austria and Hungary, and had with the delegates of these societies a useful and interesting exchange of views.

Lately the activity of the *Famiglia Italiana* has, by force of circumstances, greatly declined; but another *Associazione per la Lega delle Nazioni* has arisen in Rome under the auspices of the venerable statesman and famous economist Luigi Luzzati. Nothing has been done up to now, however, except the mere announcement of the foundation of this society, and, as far as I know only one meeting has been held; but the announcement has been received with great satisfaction by the *Famiglia Italiana*, which would be pleased to co-operate with the Roman society in the interests of the common ideal. So much for any organised movement in Italy in support of the League.

Outside this movement, one may also add that various politicians and Ministers have shown in the past a certain degree of sympathy with the ideal and the work of the League of Nations. Among them are to be men-

tioned Signor Tittoni, President of the Senate, who inaugurated the Milan Conference of 1920; the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Sforza; Signor Nitti and Signor Schanzer, who, when they were in power, gave their support to the *Famiglia Italiana*, as well as to any initiative regarding the League. In addition, Signor Meda, the leader of the Popular Party, Senator Albertini, Senator Maggiorino Ferraris, and a few others, may be remembered as having shown some interest in the movement. As regards the Press, the newspapers which have constantly supported it have been the *Corriere della Sera*, the old *Secolo* (until last summer, when it was bought over by the Fascists), and the Turin *Stampa*.

But all this refers to the recent past. What, however, may prove more interesting will be to investigate and ascertain what are the real sentiments and practical purposes of Italy towards the League under the Fascist Government, and what are the chances of a movement in favour of the League in the present political and moral atmosphere of the country. Now, paradoxical as the statement may appear, one might confidently affirm that the position altogether is brighter; that there are more chances to-day than a year ago, and that— notwithstanding the inevitable limitations consequent upon the peculiar Italian mentality—the League of Nations is now likely to gain considerable ground in Italy.

First of all it is well to make it clear that the League of Nations has nothing to fear from what might be taken as its natural enemy—Fascism. The League has nothing to fear from it either in the field of ideas, because Fascism has no ideas, nor in the field of action, because either Fascism will disappear, or, what is more probable, will rapidly transform itself, dropping its affectation of savagery and becoming more and more reasonable, conciliatory, and sensitive to the good opinion of the world at large.

In any case, Mussolini remains, and Mussolini is not Fascism. He counts for something more. Now Mussolini as a Socialist, as a journalist, as an orator, as the leader of the Fascists, and as the dictator of Italy, has had throughout only words of scorn and distrust for the League of Nations. Yet the Corfu affair must have taught him a lesson. One must not believe that on that occasion Mussolini had the intention of challenging the League. He only intended to make a show of force against Greece directly, and indirectly against Jugo-Slavia. The clash with the League came incidentally, and, I think, to his regret. He wanted to raise, in his own way, the prestige of Italy in the Balkans, not to lower the prestige of the League in the world. He came out of the clash not so well as he made the Italian opinion believe, and, at any rate, he had not long to wait in order to see the unpleasant effects of his policy. Italy's prestige abroad since the Corfu incident has not been enhanced. On the contrary, if one considers the resentment created in America, the coolness manifested by England, the estrangement of the small nations, the exasperation in the Balkans, the disappointment over Tangier, the meaning of the recent Franco-Czecho-Slovak treaty, the inconclusive negotiations regarding Fiume, one may suspect that the new "powerful" foreign policy of Italy has, up to now, shown nothing but its impotence.

This is what Mussolini must feel in his inner heart. His attitude, at any rate, towards the League has changed, at least on the surface. He has ordered that lessons on the League be given in the Italian schools. He welcomed the visit of Sir Eric Drummond to Rome, and, speaking soon afterwards in the Senate, reduced his criticism and his distrust of the League to a mere question of bureaucracy, complaining, as he did, that Italy has not so many employees in Geneva as England and France have. It almost appeared that if Sir Eric could satisfy this

wish, Mussolini would have been brought to the side of the League! Later on Mussolini, through his delegate, invited the Council of the League to hold its next meeting in Rome, and I hope the invitation has been accepted.

It matters little if the double game of Mussolini is transparent; if, while he is running, in fact, after the League, he likes to make his country believe that it is the League running after him. What matters is the meaning of it all, Mussolini having evidently understood that neither he nor Italy has anything to gain by breaking with the League, or trying to diminish its prestige. Even if the League should be what Mussolini pretends, that is, an instrument which England and France occasionally use for making their influence felt, it is clear that it is in the interests of Mussolini to try and handle occasionally the same instrument himself, in order to obtain the best possible advantages for his country. One must also recognise that the Fascist Press, after the violent outbursts during the Corfu crisis, and particularly after the visit of Sir Eric Drummond to Rome, has adopted quite another language towards the League.

It is not, however, only for this interested and opportunist change of attitude of Mussolini and of official Italy that I believe that there is now here a better atmosphere for the League. Much more significant to my mind are the following facts. The Reformist Socialists, who had always previously treated the League as an hypocritical institution of the bourgeoisie, seem now convinced that, even as it is, it may do some good. Given the reactionary wind which is blowing all over the Continent, and especially over Italy, the Socialists must now understand that the League of Nations stands at least for a higher civilisation. Some of them have recently approached members of the *Famiglia Italiana* suggesting the opportunity of working together in common. Several Republican and Popular (Catholic) leaders, as well as some members of the Church, are in the same frame of mind.

The situation, therefore, may be summed up like this. While the fundamental mentality of the country remains either indifferent or sceptical as to the efficiency of the League, we have on one side Mussolini and Fascist Italy that, after the experience of Corfu, seem to be more careful in their dealings with and references to the League. On the other hand, we have a few sincere Liberals and Democrats (worthy of the name), together with some Socialists, Republicans and Catholics, who now turn towards the League—as the embodiment of all that is the moral and ideal negation of Fascism—with feelings and expectations which they had never shown before.

A LEAGUE SANCTION.

BY THE RT. HON. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.

[In this article Mr. Fisher, writing as a former British representative on the Council of the League of Nations, replies to the arguments adduced by Mr. David Davies, M.P., in favour of a League police force.]

HOW just are the aspirations of Major David Davies! He desires that the League of Nations should be enabled to enforce its decisions and that the ruinous competition of armaments should forthwith and for ever cease. From such a philosophy no reader of HEADWAY will, or can, dissent.

To achieve these ends Major Davies pleads for "the organisation" in some form or other of an International police force, and at once proceeds to make it clear that the form of organisation which he proposes is the widest and most thoroughgoing imaginable. It is not sufficient that the League should be furnished by a

force on the quota system. The International police force should not be an addition to the existing armies and navies. It should be composed of these armies and navies. There should in fact be only one army and navy in the world, and that army and navy should move at the behest of the League. "It is necessary," he urges, "to merge these national armies and navies of to-day into an International police force."

Such, we understand, to be Major Davies' position. And it is a bold, comprehensible, intelligible position. Moreover, there can be little question that if Major Davies can obtain his international army, he will achieve the two results which he has in view. The League will be able to enforce its decisions, and the competition in armaments will cease. It would, however, be open for the critic to argue that both of these ends might be achieved by means less heroic, the first by the increasing use, as its prestige develops, of such powers as are already secured to the League under the Covenant, and the second by an international agreement for the limitation of the peace effectives of the member states.

I have spoken of Major Davies' expedient as "heroic." By this I mean that it involves some formidable assumptions, and is exposed to some formidable risks. Before we decide to recommend it, let us realise what these assumptions and what these risks are.

The assumptions are two. First, that the League is universal. It is just conceivable that nations might be so far educated in the cosmopolitan spirit as to surrender the control of their armed forces to a world authority. It may be unlikely, but to the pure intellect it is conceivable. What is inconceivable is that this surrender should be made to a body, outside which there continue to stand other bodies, unbound by its obligations, uninspired by its ideals, impervious to its influence. And what, it might be asked, would be the effect of the constitution of such a force upon those other unregenerate nations? Would they not see in it a possible source of danger to themselves? Would they believe that a League so armed would for ever be content within its own confines? What guarantee would these external nations possess that an International Force created to maintain peace or justice within the League would never under the impulsion of honest enthusiasm be employed to propagate its fine principles abroad?

The second assumption is that a very remarkable and, indeed, revolutionary change has taken place in the political morality of the fifty-four nations who at present compose the League. One would imagine that there were three stages in the road along which Major Davies invites the world to travel. First, there is the limitation by agreement of the peace-effectives of the member States, coupled with certain rights of inspection and control. Then there is the provision of an international force recruited on the quota system to be used in certain eventualities by the League, and finally there is the merging of all the national armies and navies into a force to be controlled by the League and the League alone. We understand Major Davies to argue that the time is now ripe for the third step. But why should we suppose that nations should be willing to take the third step when they are seriously haggling about the first? Each of these successive steps represents an advance in the cosmopolitan spirit. What ground have we for thinking that nationalism has already undergone or is likely in the near future to undergo so vast a transformation as is suggested in the proposal that the military and naval forces of the constituent nations of the League should be merged into an international army? I see none. Presumably such a force, if created, would be under the control of Assembly during one month and of the Council during eleven months of the year. Would this arrange-

ment be regarded as satisfactory by the nations not represented on the Council? And if not, what other arrangement is suggested? And is it really thought that the Parliaments which in their present imperfect state of enlightenment make some difficulty in voting the exiguous contributions which are now required of them towards the general purposes of the League would be excited to greater generosity by the proposed addition of an international police force to the items of expenditure?

These queries indicate difficulties, but are there not also risks? The principal risk which I foresee is that a League, possessing a permanent organisation for war, advised at every turn by military men, as in that event it would necessarily be, would imperil the loss of its special appeal to the heart and conscience of mankind. And there is another risk equally formidable, and that is that the establishment of such a force would in many quarters be violently unpopular. We know the difficulties which are felt by many members of the League as to article 10 of the Covenant. We know that these difficulties are felt in Canada. We know that they are felt even more strongly in America. Is there the slightest chance of America ever joining a League equipped with such a force as Major Davies suggests? That, again, I gravely doubt. The permanent loss of America is thus, in my submission, a further risk attaching to the adoption of this proposal.

It is quite intelligible that ardent friends of the League should be impatient at the rate of progress

"If we could wait! The only fault's with time;

All men become good creatures; but so slow!"

So Browning's "Lucia" and so Major David Davies. But do not let us surrender ourselves to such a mood. "Nothing great," as the Greek philosopher said, "can be done without time," and though it is true that on certain questions the League has been unable to enforce its decisions, let it be remembered that the institution has only been in existence for four years, that from the first it has been confronted with unforeseen and formidable difficulties, and that nevertheless within its brief life it has achieved a remarkable tale of good work. Nor is it impertinent to observe that the League is supplied with sanctions, and that these sanctions do exert an influence. There is the sanction of public opinion, far less strong than it should be, no doubt, hardly operative at all in some quarters of the world, but capable of being educated, and in actual course of being educated by the operation of the League itself. Then there is the Commercial Sanction, which may vary from the withdrawal of a Consul to an actual blockade, and if we should be tempted to challenge the weight of this Sanction, let us remember that the mere advertisement of an intended meeting of the Council of the League to consider the alleged delinquency of a member exercised an instantaneous and unfavourable influence on the price which that member had to pay for all its imports. And, finally, in the last resort, there are Military Sanctions, which may be as strong as the united power of all the member States can make them. When, how and in what measure those serious and ultimate Sanctions should be exercised must be left for the future to determine. An attempt to give here and now too formal and definite a shape to the penal powers of the League would, in my opinion, be a profound error. Let us, rather, concentrate upon tasks with respect to which, though there may be serious difficulties, there are no differences of opinion among peace-loving men and women, such as the limitation by agreement of our peace activities and the admission to the circle of the League of those nations which at present stand outside it. When these two great objects are achieved we shall be in a position to consider whether anything further is needed to define or strengthen the Sanctions of the League.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

PALAIS DES NATIONS, January, 1924.

IT is generally unwise to dig up a plant by its roots to see how it is growing, but it is necessary from time to time in a new organisation such as the League of Nations to take stock of its line of progress in order to see where its value has lain, and what are its prospects of development. So much attention is devoted quite naturally to policy that facts are frequently overlooked, and it is not difficult, by a plain recital of things done and the manner of doing them, to convince unprejudiced minds of the League's utility and future possibilities.

Looking back over 1923, what are the facts and developments that enable judgment to be formed? Judgment, of course, in a venture like this can never be static except on the broad basis of the League's foundation and ultimate aims. But the year has shown what can be done by organised international co-operation in many fields. It has shown the success of scientific application of principles of financial reform, as in the remarkable progress of the scheme for the reconstruction of Austria, which had just started at the beginning of the year, and with this twelve months' experience the League embarked confidently at the end of 1923 on a similar undertaking, certainly in more difficult conditions, for the financial reconstruction of Hungary. Whether this will follow the same course as Austria yet remains to be seen. But there is no competent League person who does not know that it can be done if common-sense and a real desire for reconstruction are manifest where they are most necessary. These are two kinds of organised effort in applying general principles to particular cases, but there have been several other instances during the year which show clearly what are the most likely means of securing economic and industrial progress, which without the permanent and continuous effort of the League would not have been approached at all. In two general conferences—one on Transit and one on Customs Formalities—both aimed broadly at oiling the wheels of international trade and commerce, the whole ground was carefully and elaborately prepared stage by stage, and attempts were made to forge ahead wherever possible by separating the technical aspects of these problems from their political aspects. In the business world it is admitted that considerable progress has been made by the adoption of various conventions, and the permanence of the League means a continuous watch on their application and larger development as the time becomes ripe.

In the political field the year's work has been hampered, as every other year's work of the League, by the failure to settle the Reparations problem, but despite the international feeling which this has occasioned, the members of the League have nevertheless worked amicably together on many political problems which may appear of minor importance, but which to the countries affected are as much matters of national pride and concern as the bigger questions are to the Great Powers. Some of them have been extraordinarily delicate, and it has been of great interest to observe the pliability of League procedure for meeting the varied problems which come before it. One little example of the difference between the League's practice and that of other bodies is to be found in the question of Memel. The Conference of Ambassadors was unable to come to an agreement with Lithuania regarding the application of the principles under which the sovereignty of Memel was attributed to Lithuania, and

the Conference referred the matter to the League. Under the League method these conditions which Lithuania had accepted in principle are being closely examined on the spot by an entirely neutral Commission with an American chairman, who are to treat the problem—mainly one of transit—on technical lines. This does not mean that political elements are eliminated, but its advantage over the treatment of questions on a purely political basis needs no emphasis, and where politics arise neutral and impartial minds are brought to bear on them. Of course the outstanding political event of the year was the Italo-Greek conflict, but so much has been said and written about this that little can be added by way of explanation. It may not have been magnificent for the League, but everybody who is jealous for the reputation and the future of the League echoes Professor Gilbert Murray's "Thank God" that the final settlement by the Ambassadors' Conference was one with which the League had nothing whatever to do. Such a decision would have been impossible in the League.

There is one aspect of League work which has perhaps not been fully realised, namely, the voluntary services rendered by men of great distinction in all countries for the various aspects of League work. In the expert committees on finance, transit, health, and so forth, there are some of the foremost technicians of the world, and it is a remarkable fact that in nearly every sphere of international activity there is within the League a body of men who, generally speaking, are the main authorities in each particular line. For instance, taking only the English side, Lord Robert Cecil has represented the Government on the Council; Mr. Niemeyer, of the Treasury, is a member of the Finance Committee; Sir Hubert Llewellyn-Smith is on the Economic Committee; Sir Francis Dent has taken a regular part in transit work; Sir Josiah Stamp was one of the economists who drew up the report on double taxation; Sir Malcolm Delevingne and Sir John Jordan sit on the Opium Committee; Sir George Buchanan, of the Ministry of Health, sits on the Health Committee; Lord Finlay is the English judge on the Permanent Court of Justice; and Lord Buckmaster is now in Geneva, on a special Committee of Jurists. In addition to this, men like Mr. Norman, the Governor of the Bank of England, have been closely associated with such matters as the floating of the Austrian Loan. And so through most countries similar lists could be prepared of those who have given freely of their valuable time without payment, in serving the cause of peace and progress. This kind of personnel, not only in the actual committees of the League, but in the administrative posts filled by the League in so many corners of Europe, is so striking that it forms a subject in itself to which I shall hope to return in a future letter.

These are a few considerations which present themselves, without any attempt to enter into the details of the work. It has been an exceptionally busy year. The Council met five times; the Assembly held its fourth Session in September; the Permanent Court of International Justice met twice in extraordinary session in addition to its regular June session; three general international conferences met in Geneva, namely, on Obscene Publications, on the Simplification of Customs Formalities and on Communications and Transit; and, as necessity required, there have been meetings of the Finance Committee, the Economic Committee, the Armaments Commissions, the Health Committee, the Transit Committee, the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, the Opium Committee, the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, &c.

It is, in fact, a difficult thing to dig up the League's roots which are so firmly embedded in the life of the world to-day.

C.

VARIED VOICES.

"It will continue to be My object to support by every means in My power the steady growth in influence of the League of Nations."—**King George V.**, Speech from the Throne, January 15.

The Reign of Force.

"The world is still governed by force; Vilna, the Ruhr, and Corfu are typical of the spirit which prevails in Europe."—**Brig.-Gen. P. R. C. Groves** in *The Times* of January 2.

The True Idealism.

"Only those whose personal acquaintance with war has been either negative or else grotesque can fail to recognise in the League of Nations one of the greatest and most potentially valuable contributions to idealism that has ever been made."—**Lord Gorell** at University College, January 3.

Applied Christianity.

"The League of Nations may not be the perfect instrument we hope it will become, but as Christ's people we are committed to the principle which lies behind it, for it is simply the application of our faith to those relationships of nations which men have sometimes supposed were outside the scope of any moral principle."—**The Bishop of Winchester** (on his enthronement) in Winchester Cathedral, January 5.

A Proven Method.

"The success of the action now being carried out in Austria is already so self-evident and remarkable, and the change produced by it so manifest, that it can no longer be termed a mere experiment. On the contrary, we must now consider it a well-tryed method, proven by experience, of quickly rehabilitating a country which has been sadly ruined."—**The Austrian Chancellor (Dr. Seipel)** to the *New York Tribune*.

The League and French Security.

"If you compare the birth-rate in France and in Germany, you are driven to the conclusion that security is to be found only in the League of Nations. You may make the League the object of as much scoffing and scepticism as you like. It is none the less the fact that it represents the ground-plan of an international statute of peace."—**M. Edouard Herriot** (Leader of the Radical Party) in the French Chamber, January 11.

Labour and the League.

"I believe that a Labour Party, occupying Downing Street, staffing our Government, is the one thing required to give strength to the morally courageous, and power to the peace forces of all sections of Europe. That is our first great task. In connection with that we shall do our best to complete the structure of the League of Nations, to use it without reserve as the main instrument for securing international justice, and thereby creating the conditions of international peace."—**Mr. Ramsay MacDonald** at the Albert Hall, January 8.

The First Instrument of Peace.

"The League of Nations is the first instrument of peace in the world to-day, and all those who hold any office of responsibility must welcome the expression, which a meeting such as this can give, of the desire on the part of men of goodwill to further the principles and improvements which the League of Nations is seeking to establish."—**Mr. Baldwin** to a Mansion House meeting, January 9.

A Word for the L.N.U.

"The popular attitude to the League in this country represents in large part a definite educational achievement. The Union, second to no public society in the importance of its work, is entitled to most of the credit for it."—*The Observer*, January 13.

LABOUR AND THE LEAGUE.

BY ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.

THOSE who have followed recent political pronouncements will be aware that the Labour Party, in its last election manifesto, emphasised the importance of the League of Nations. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has more recently made specific reference to the attitude of the Labour Party towards the League. It is true that within the Labour movement there is a section which regards the League with some degree of suspicion and hostility. In a large measure this is attributable to the present defects of the League and to certain events in its history. It is, however, certain that the Labour Party in general is wholeheartedly in favour of the development of an adequate and comprehensive international organisation.

It is often urged against Labour policy that it expects too much from machinery and organisation. In the sphere of national politics it certainly looks to public organisation as an essential factor in the solution of the problems of society. It believes that anti-social influences can in large measure be restrained and social forces liberated and developed through the instrumentality of public and representative institutions. In the sphere of international relations also it appreciates the need for some super-national organisation vested with adequate authority, and able to bring to bear upon the problems arising from conflicting, sectional and anti-social interests the public mind of the world. International organisation is an essential part of Labour policy.

We should accept the logical implication of this policy of a super-national authority, and we should not, therefore, shrink from acknowledging that such an organisation must be armed with powers requiring the limitation in certain respects of national sovereignty. Just as the national State refuses to admit the right of the individual to do what he likes with his own, so the world must ultimately refuse to agree that the powers of States are unfettered and unlimited. This does not mean external interference in the internal life of a nation, but a voluntary limitation of its "right" to interfere with the freedom of other nations.

A League of Nations confining its attention to, or preoccupying itself primarily with, questions which divide the nations, in the hope of averting open hostility and warfare must lack the inspiration and driving power indissolubly associated with more constructive tasks. Peace is not the absence of war, but a condition of affairs in which nations are actively co-operating in performing the constructive tasks which now confront the world. "To complete the structure of the League," to use the words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it is not only necessary to secure the adherence of States which are now outside it, but also to widen the area of its activities along constructive lines. The more the interest of the States of the world can be diverted from questions which divide them towards the problems in which they have ultimate common interests, the more likely is the realisation of real peace.

The Labour Party, interested as it is in social and economic problems, realises that many of them are incapable of solution by any single State, however far-flung its territories or however great its power. Many of them have become essentially international in character. Their solution demands international co-operation and international action, and we should like to see a world organisation which could cope with those large problems, as for example, of international communications and transport and public health, as well as with the whole range of political questions.

It is not surprising that Labour should expect much from international action, for it is itself essentially an international movement. The Labour and Socialist International on the political side and the International Federation of Trade Unions on the industrial side, to say nothing of the numerous international associations on a more restricted basis, bear witness to the desire for international co-operation, and to Labour's international outlook. Moreover, just as it insists upon the important place which voluntary organisations must occupy within the State, so the Labour Movement emphasises the need for and the value of international voluntary groupings independent of the States of the world, but working to multiply the common interests of the peoples of the world, and to forge bonds of union amongst people of different nationalities.

Such groupings assist in replacing the morbid concentration of politicians upon the disease of a disordered nationalism by a greater concentration upon the healthy manifestations of organised and expanding common interests. This international spirit, it may be observed, is not necessarily anti-national. For just as the line of political wisdom within the nation lies in the maximum co-operation of local and national authorities, so the path of wisdom in a wider sphere lies in the full and free co-operation of independent States with an international authority. The wider patriotism of international citizenship is not a substitute for nor a denial of true national citizenship, but its completion.

To those who fear the intervention of a Labour Government in foreign affairs, I would say that the international spirit which lies behind the Labour movement is a sufficient guarantee that Labour will be pacific, conciliatory and constructive. And those who believe in the need for international organisation may rest assured, as the leader of the Labour Party has already stated, that under Labour's foreign policy the League would assume a greater dignity and importance.

A "BOK PRIZE" FOR EUROPE.

THE article on the American Bok Prize in another column lends a special interest to the announcement of the similar prize given by the generosity of Mr. Edward A. Filene for competition in Europe.

Mr. Filene's gift enables separate competitions to be held in Great Britain, France and Italy, and when the award in each of the three countries has been made, a further substantial prize will be given for the plan adjudged to be the best from any of the three countries.

To British citizens, in Great Britain or Overseas, prizes will be awarded for "the best practicable plan for the restoration of peace and prosperity in Great Britain and Europe through international co-operation." There will be one prize of £1,000, one of £250, and one of £100, four prizes of £50, ten of £25 and twenty of £10, the prize money thus reaching a total of £2,000 as regards this country and its Dominions.

The regulations provide that a plan may be presented at any length not exceeding 3,000 words, with the stipulation that if the plan itself exceeds 250 words it must be preceded by a summary of not more than that length on a separate sheet.

The plans will be judged on their inherent soundness and practicability, not on literary merit, and all plans must be received by the Managing Director of the scheme, *Dr. Albert Mansbridge*, 13, *John Street, Adelphi, W.C.2*, by June 28, 1924. The full regulations can be obtained from Dr. Mansbridge. All requests should be accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope, and clearly marked "Competition."

FIVE YEARS' TREATIES.—I.

A REQUEST has been made for a brief explanation in successive numbers of HEADWAY of the principal treaties signed since the war, and the changes wrought by them in the face of Europe.

A beginning must naturally be made with the Treaty of Versailles, signed between the Allied Powers and Germany on June 28, 1919. Since the map on this page deals only with Europe, it may be well to mention at the outset that by the Treaty Germany ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers her African colonies (German East Africa, Togoland, the German Cameroons, German South-West Africa), to be placed, together with her island possessions in the Pacific, under League of Nations mandate, while the German leased territory at Kiaochau, in North-East China, went to Japan, which undertook to hand it over to China. This pledge was honoured after agreements reached at the Washington Conference in 1921-22.



As regards Europe, the territory of Germany suffered considerable diminution, slices being sheared off, either by the Treaty itself or as the result of later decisions, to west, north and east. Working round the map in the direction of a clock's hands, we begin, in the south-west, with the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, lost by France in 1871, and now regained by the Treaty of Versailles. Adjoining Lorraine is the rich valley of the Saar, whose 700,000 inhabitants, while not removed permanently from German sovereignty, are placed till 1935 under League of Nations administration, the important coal mines in the area being handed over definitely (subject to possible redemption in 1935) to France.

Further north again, on the Belgian frontier almost opposite to Spa, are the two small districts of Eupen and Malmédy, which the Treaty assigned to Belgium, unless the inhabitants by a sufficient majority registered their protest against the transfer, which they did not. Further north still the Treaty provided one of the rare cases of transfer to a neutral State, ordaining a plebiscite

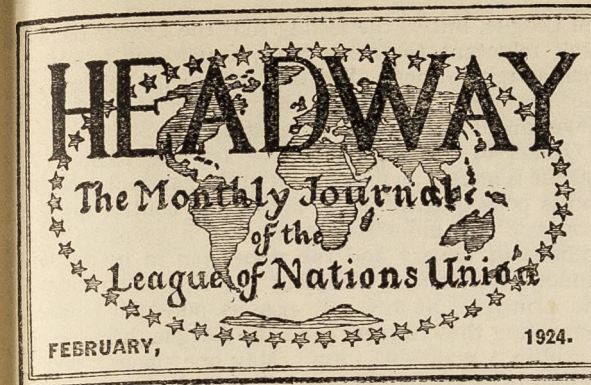
for or against Danish rule in two zones of Schleswig-Holstein, which Germany annexed in 1864. The plebiscite was held in 1920, with the result that, while the southern zone declared for Germany, the northern voted Danish, and is accordingly now part of Denmark.

We come next to Germany's heavy losses of territory to a resuscitated Poland. The ground for that was, of course, the successive partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795. One result of the Great War was to reassemble, at the expense of Germany, Austria and Russia, the fragments thus rent apart more than a century before. Germany's part of the sacrifice involved the province of Posen, West Prussia and much of Upper Silesia, while East Prussia was left severed from the rest of Germany by the so-called "corridor" along the Vistula which unites Poland with the Free Port of Danzig. Danzig itself, formerly German, was not assigned to Poland, but made a Free City under the League of Nations. Much of East Prussia was required to vote as to its destiny, but overwhelming majorities

in favour of Germany resulted. The fate of Upper Silesia remained doubtful down to October, 1921, when the Council of the League of Nations, called in in the previous August to settle a problem the Supreme Council had found insoluble, interpreted the plebiscite of March of that year and drew a permanent frontier line through the province.

Finally, the future of one small patch of German territory remains undecided to-day, five years and more after the Armistice was signed. Memel, at the mouth of the Niemen, Lithuania's principal river, was handed over to the Allied and Associated Powers. After failing for five years to determine its destiny, they have again, as in Upper Silesia, invoked the League's aid. The League Council first handled the question in December, 1923, and has appointed a competent technical committee to examine and report. There is no question that Memel will go to Lithuania, but the rights to be accorded to other Powers have still to be decided.

H. W. H.



THE OVERSHADOWING PROBLEM.

THE fact that a Labour Government takes office in this country just at the moment when the Reparation Commission's two expert committees have begun their work clearly gives a new turn to the reparation problem. It means, to begin with, two things. In the first place, there must be a breathing-space of weeks. Mr. MacDonald cannot plunge headlong into the five-year controversy the moment he is installed in Downing Street, and even if he could the fact that new methods are at the moment under trial provide ample reason why he should not. In the second place, the old problem is to be tackled by new men. Who they will be is still doubtful. Possibly the argument will lie between Mr. MacDonald and M. Poincaré. Possibly between someone else and M. Poincaré. That depends on how long Labour retains office here. Possibly between Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and someone else. That depends on how the French elections or previous debates in the Chamber turn out. It might be, for example, Mr. MacDonald and M. Briand or M. Herriot.

All of which makes a certain suspension of judgment, not on the problem in general but on immediate methods of approach to it, imperative. The new Prime Minister must be given a chance to find his feet. The committees now at work must be given a chance to carry through their investigations and report. If they break down in mid-career, as the Bankers' Committee did in 1922, immediate action may be necessary, and it must be assumed that the new Government in this country is alive to the responsibilities it may suddenly have to face in that connection. If, on the other hand, hopes are justified, and the expert committees report unanimously and on constructive lines, the method they recommend must have the fullest trial, and to map out alternative procedures in advance might be not merely superfluous but dangerous. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's doctrine of one step at a time applies in this sphere as much as in others.

For these reasons the part the League of Nations must play in any reparation settlement is still hard to foreshadow. Its association with whatever plan may be evolved for the financial reconstruction in Germany may be taken for granted. Even M. Poincaré is believed to desire that. What the League has done in Austria gives it a pre-eminent title to be entrusted with larger responsibilities in the same sphere, while success in getting the more difficult Hungarian scheme floated would emphasise the claim more decisively still. The task of taking German finance in hand would be thankless enough, and in one sense there is little in it to attract League supporters. The League has trodden enough rough roads of late to make the approach in the roughest of all a little less than welcome. But the League exists to serve, and the service it could render in this essential field is so great that to shrink from it now would be fatal.

But there is one stage that comes before any possible League endeavour in the field of German reconstruction. That is the adoption by the Allied and Associated Powers, of a comprehensive scheme of settlement in which financial reconstruction would form only a part. How that is to come about is still by no means clear. We have argued so far on the hypothesis of the expert committees' success. But suppose they fail? Can the League then be immediately invoked, as many level-headed statesmen believe it should have been long ago? That is a question to which both League supporters and the British Government must have an answer ready.

That answer cannot be either sound or satisfactory unless the difficulties of the situation are frankly faced. If the Allied Governments could be persuaded to refer the reparation problem as a whole to the League, as they did the lesser issues of Upper Silesia and Memel, the rest would be relatively simple. But, as everyone knows, there is little enough prospect of that. Nor does it appear that the reparation question as such could be raised under Art. XI as constituting "a dispute likely to lead to a rupture." The League cannot normally be invoked to prevent the execution of the terms of a treaty because the conquered nation on which the treaty was imposed finds them intolerably onerous. That at least is the argument the opponents of League intervention would advance, and they could advance it with a good deal of effect.

Whether the Ruhr situation as such could be raised as a "dispute likely to lead to a rupture" is another question. Obviously the difficulties here would be less, but the fact that with the cessation of passive resistance and the development of industrial agreements between French and Germans the situation is in some respects easier than it was enables those hostile to League action to contend with considerable plausibility that if the Ruhr situation did not lead to a rupture when things were at their worst, it is obviously not likely to do so now that they are substantially improving. France might have many supporters on the Council in that contention.

One other course may be possible—to send to the Permanent Court of International Justice the question of whether the Ruhr occupation is authorised by the Treaty, and it would be both diplomatic and just to submit simultaneously a second question, as to whether the inclusion of war pensions and allowances in the bill against Germany was a breach of the Allies' Pre-Armistice declaration. But here again it is necessary to observe that to declare the Ruhr occupation unauthorised by the Treaty is not equivalent to declaring it a violation of the Treaty. France, in the event of an adverse verdict on the former point, could and would declare at once that she was merely taking a form of sanction habitually recognised in international practice. A verdict by the Court might, however, settle the vexed question of the costs of occupation.

The whole problem of League intervention, therefore, is extraordinarily difficult and complex and no good purpose can be served by pretending it is anything else. Two principles of League action—and perhaps two only—are clear. One is that unless some unexpected turn in the situation raises wholly new problems the report of the expert committees must be awaited. The second is that a full discussion by the League Council of the whole problem as constituting a circumstance "affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends" (Art. XI, para. 2) is eminently to be desired in the event of the Committees' deliberations coming to nothing. That could hardly do harm and might do infinitely much good.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

ON January 10 the League was given a little Birthday party at an eating-house called the Criterion (which suitably overlooks what the skysigns tell us is the "Centre of the world"). There were no candles; indeed, there was not even a cake. But the infant was attended by more than one of its good fairy-godmothers, and, although I looked hard, the nearest approach to the evil fairy (who traditionally attends these functions) appeared in the shape of Sir Arthur Salter. But he isn't really an evil fairy, because he has left the Reparations Commission and is now Chief of the Economic Section of the League.

Among those present were Professor Murray (in the chair), Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (a periphrasis that some of us are finding difficulty to associate with Lord Robert), Professor Pierre Bovet (Director of the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute, Geneva), Mrs. Wintringham, and Hesiod. None of these require introduction, except, perhaps, the last-named gentleman, whose sponsor on this occasion was naturally enough Professor Murray. Hesiod should, undoubtedly, be put on the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Union, for it seems that he was one of the earliest supporters of the League idea. In any case, the League is certainly adopting one of his suggestions in its work of organising the two qualities of *aidós*, or the sense of shame we have when we review our own misdeeds, and *vémeurs*, or the indignation that other people feel when they look upon our misdeeds. Great Man, Hesiod. I feel that Mussolini might do well to get in touch with him. But, perhaps, the Great Dictator has already learnt his lesson; for one of the most interesting points in Viscount Cecil's speech (which is fully reported in *The Times* of January 11) was his remark on "the very helpful and wholehearted attitude" of the Italian Delegation at the last meeting of the Council in Paris.

Sir Arthur Salter, whose official position prevented him from opening his mouth too wide, added that he was convinced that this year was, for the purposes of the economic reconstruction of Europe, for good or bad, the most important since the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

Altogether a very successful function, though we say it as shouldn't; but really when Viscount Cecil says that "it would not be easy to exaggerate the value of the Union in assisting to form public opinion in this country and in strengthening the hands of British Governments and British Delegations at the Assembly and the Council of the League," and when the *Observer* (in a leading article of January 13) tells us that the Union, "second to no public society in the importance of its work, is entitled to most of the credit" for the popular attitude towards the League in this country, it is excusable, if undesirable, that our usual modesty should feel a little strained.

Labour and the League.

Reports have reached me from several branches that local Labour Parties are refusing to co-operate with the Union. One Labour organisation is reported to have said that they wouldn't touch the League "with the end of a barge pole." Such sentiments do, at any rate, display a certain enthusiasm, and enthusiastic opposition is certainly to be preferred to the jejune apathy discoverable in certain dark corners of the Church of England. But still it is rather a curious attitude for the Labour Party to take up, when one recalls Mr. MacDonald's (and many other Labour Leaders') utterances about the League. One prominent member of the Labour Party told me the other day that any reluctance in the Labour ranks to support the League must be put down, not to any disbelief in that idea of

the League, but to the feeling that the League has been itself reluctant to tackle really important problems—such as reparations. But if Governments refuse to use the League, why blame the League? Isn't it the Government that wants stirring up?

Others in the Labour Party tell me that, as the League is merely an instrument in the hands of capitalists and is consequently doing nothing to control the great economic and industrial forces, which keep the toiling millions in slavery and the upper ten in luxury, they cannot support it. Well, but the League's machinery and principles at any rate possess potential power for controlling these forces; and the League, being young, is still in a malleable form. May one suggest that the victims of capitalistic industrialism (and, alas! their name is legion) should come in and make the League what they want it to be. Don't let them stand outside and imagine that the League thinks itself above criticism. It wants criticism, and it needs alteration; and now is the moment.

But perhaps by the time that these words appear in print Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will be at the head of affairs, and recalcitrant branches of the Labour Party will find themselves swamped by the flood of genuine support that I believe the new Government will give to the League.

Unemployment.

Unemployment is fundamentally an international problem. I do not mean to say that it is not a domestic question as well; but if we look at it in its broadest aspects, it is quite clear that so long as foreign countries are not in a position to trade with us, a great proportion of our population—who might be engaged in manufacturing goods for export abroad—will be without work. This is a platitude; but it suggests that there is room for increased research and interchange of knowledge and experience on the causes and remedies of unemployment. With this end in view the League of Nations Union is organising a Conference on Unemployment to be held in the London School of Economics on March 25, 26 and 27. There will be two sessions each day at 10.15 a.m. and 2.30 p.m. respectively.

Among those who have consented to help are Lord Burnham, Sir William Beveridge, Mr. J. M. Keynes, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Mr. W. L. Hichens, Mr. Frank Hodges, M.P., Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P., Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and Mr. E. F. Wise. There will also be a representative from Geneva, who will speak on the work already undertaken by the International Labour Organisation in connection with Unemployment. A goodly gathering withal.

The final programme and tickets for this conference can be obtained from the League of Nations Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, entirely free of charge.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern is a really great man, and his knowledge and experience entitle him to speak as an expert on international politics. Everyone, therefore, should make an effort to attend the course of ten lectures he is giving on Tuesdays at 2.30 p.m. (beginning January 15) at the London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, W.C.2. Admission is free and without ticket.

A. E. W. T.

The British representative's official reports of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations held last September at Geneva, and of the Twenty-seventh Session of the Council (a particularly important one) held at Paris in December, have been published by H.M. Stationery Office as White Papers. The price of the Assembly Paper is 9d., and the number Cmd. 2015; the Council Report costs 6d., and its number is Cmd. 2018.

THE BOK PRIZE CAMPAIGN. NEW WAY OF LEARNING LANGUAGES.

BY CALVIN G. WILSON.

ONE of the most remarkable developments in recent American public life, and one destined to have a far-reaching effect on America's attitude towards the rest of the world, particularly the League of Nations, is now in full swing on the other side of the Atlantic. It consists, in short, of nothing less than a great popular movement, followed by a national referendum, to discover and to have adopted by the Government a practicable solution for the much-vexed and still controversial question of how the United States is to co-operate effectively with other nations for the peace of the world.

An agitation such as has interested America for the past six months is peculiarly American. It could not have happened in any other country. It is a dramatic representation of the different kind of public life and public psychology which is growing up in that part of the world. It is therefore well worth the attention of those who wish to understand the deeper currents of American life and the probable direction of her foreign policy.

Ever since the Peace Conference, America has been uneasy as to her role in international life. She has for the moment rejected the League of Nations, but has offered nothing in its place. Her leaders have all the time been groping about for something which would allow her to fulfil her mission in world affairs.

Last July, Mr. Edward W. Bok, the well-known publicist and editor, offered the large sum of \$100,000 (£20,000) for the "best practicable plan by which the United States may co-operate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world." As Mr. Bok himself put it, this award was offered "in the conviction that the peace of the world is the problem of the people of the United States, and that a way can be found by which America's voice can be made to count among the nations for peace and for the future welfare and integrity of the United States. The purpose of the award is to give the American people from coast to coast a direct opportunity to evolve a plan that will be acceptable to many groups of our citizens who, while perhaps disagreeing as to the best method of international association, strongly desire to see the United States do its share in preventing war, and in establishing a workable basis of co-operation among the nations of the earth."

This competition was received with extraordinary interest. The sum of money offered was very large, and the purpose for which it was offered went straight to the heart of the preoccupations of many of the best people in the country. Moreover, the Policy Committee put in charge of the award contained names known throughout the country. One alone, perhaps, may be mentioned, namely, Mr. John W. Davis, former Ambassador to Great Britain. The judges were even better known. They were headed by Mr. Elihu Root, admittedly America's foremost international thinker and doyen of the Republican Party, and included men such as Colonel House, leading international thinker amongst the Democrats. Quite certain it was, therefore, that any plan acceptable to a jury of this sort would be one of extraordinary interest.

For six months the so-called Bok competition was discussed from one end of the country to the other. A tremendous publicity organisation was built up; the great newspapers and reviews gave their help; and the big international organisations and societies agreed to co-operate. As a result no less than 260,000 people applied for the prospectus of the Committee, and over 22,000 projects were actually received by the jury before the competition closed on November 15,

Courses in French, German and Spanish Now Ready.

Remarkable results are reported from the new method of learning French, Spanish, and German devised by the Pelman Languages Institute.

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Here are a few extracts from letters received:—

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Any one of these books (with full particulars of the method) will be sent you, gratis and post free, on writing for it to-day to the PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

The Award was published on January 7th. Instead of something entirely new and different, it provided simply for, first, American entry into the Permanent Court of International Justice, and second, American associate membership in the League of Nations, i.e., complete co-operation in all the activities of the League (including the Assembly and Council) without full membership for the moment, without violation of America's traditional policies regarding the Monroe doctrine and without the obligation to use force, or to interfere in foreign domestic questions, or to permit such interference in American domestic questions.

The Award was received in many quarters as a bombshell. Those who favoured the League were in general most deeply gratified that a jury of the calibre of the Bok assessors should have given its endorsement to the League of Nations. Those, on the other hand, who had fought the League were equally distressed at the acceleration of publicity and interest that were sure to follow. A detailed analysis is not possible here. What is of supreme importance at the moment is that the whole question of the League has been revived in popular interest, and that, too, just on the eve of a Presidential campaign.

At this moment a national referendum is being taken as to whether or not the plan is acceptable. That referendum is being conducted by ballots printed in some five thousand daily and weekly papers, and by a Co-operating Council of eighty-one national organisations which are estimated to have a total membership of 50,000,000 people. Undoubtedly, therefore, there will be for the first time in the League controversy in America something approaching a real national viewpoint on that single issue. The effects cannot but be far-reaching. In the first place, the newspapers, periodicals and reviews have carried to every part of the country a specific plan affecting the League of Nations. In the second place, organisations, societies and individuals have been asked to study that plan and to cast an actual ballot for or against.

The result will almost certainly be widespread endorsement. Indeed, the first ballots received indicate a vote of 11 to 1 in its favour. The plan would seem to have everything in its favour, including the high quality of the jury, the general uneasiness in America as to America's place in the world, and the very careful way in which America would be allowed to play its part in co-operation with the League without sacrificing its traditional policies.

A national referendum on a subject so vital to the country and reaching so deep into the day-to-day life of America cannot but affect the coming political campaign, especially the political conventions next spring. It seems impossible now, for instance, that the Democratic Party, which have been cooling towards the League, will not endorse a proposal which will certainly carry a large amount of popular support. Equally certainly the Republicans will endeavour to find some method of compromise to prevent them from alienating that support.

However that may be, the Bok Award represents something peculiarly American, the significance of which should be fully understood in Europe. In sum, a private individual, by means of a broad imagination, the co-operation of a great number of well-known and public-spirited citizens, and the offer of a large prize, has been able to initiate a national referendum on the fundamental course of American foreign policy. The result has been to stimulate public opinion in a way which would probably have been impossible in any other country, but which cannot but have a very real effect on future international relations, particularly as regards the relationship of the United States to the League of Nations.

LEAGUE MILESTONES.

(We have been requested to publish in HEADWAY a table of the principal activities of the League of Nations during its first four years of existence.)

- 1920.
- January 10. League officially comes into existence.
 - January 16. First Session of Council at Quai d'Orsay.
 - June-July. Second International Labour Conference at Genoa (conditions of seamen's labour).
(Note.—The First Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held at Washington in November, 1919, before the League was actually in existence—8-hours day and conditions of labour.)
 - July. Aaland Islands dispute referred to League Council.
 - September. Dispute between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna referred to Council.
 - Sept.-Oct. International Financial Conference at Brussels.
 - October. International Passport Conference at Paris.
 - Nov.-Dec. First Assembly at Geneva. (Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Finland and Luxembourg admitted).
 - December 13. Decision to create Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.
- 1921.
- March-April. Barcelona Transit Conference.
 - May. Polish-Lithuanian Conference: Brussels.
 - June. High Commissionership for Russian Refugees created.
 - June 24. Aaland Islands decision taken.
 - August 12. Upper Silesia question referred to League by Supreme Council.
 - Sept.-Oct. Second Assembly at Geneva. (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania admitted).
 - Sept. 14. Election of Judges of Permanent Court.
 - September. Convention on Traffic in Women and Children signed.
 - October 12. Upper Silesia decision announced.
 - Oct.-Nov. Third International Labour Conference at Geneva (agricultural labour).
 - Nov. 16-19. Albanian-Jugoslav dispute settled.
- 1922.
- January 13. League negotiations between Poland and Lithuania abandoned.
 - February 15. Permanent Court of International Justice inaugurated at The Hague.
 - March 20-25. League Epidemics Conference: Warsaw.
 - June 15. First sitting of Permanent Court.
 - September. Third Assembly. (Hungary admitted).
 - October. Fourth International Labour Conference at Geneva (emigration).
 - October 4. Adoption of Austrian scheme by Council.
- 1923.
- February 17. Tunis Nationality Decrees question before Permanent Court (Great Britain v. France).
 - August 17. Case of S.S. Wimbledon before Permanent Court. (Allied Powers v. Germany).
 - September. Fourth Assembly at Geneva. (Irish Free State and Abyssinia admitted).
 - September. Permanent Court: German Minorities in Poland (Germany v. Poland).
 - September. Hungarian Reconstruction Scheme.
 - September 27. Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme adopted by Council.
 - October. Customs Conference at Geneva.
 - October. Fifth International Labour Conference at Geneva (inspection of factories).
 - November. Second Transit Conference, Geneva.
 - December 17. Council takes up Memel question.

GENEVA JOTTINGS.

THE Special Committee of Jurists appointed after the Corfu controversy of last September to advise the League Council on a number of contested questions met for the first time on January 18 at Geneva, various members of the Committee having been prevented from meeting at the dates originally fixed. Lord Buckmaster is the British representative on the Committee and M. Fromageot the French. The sittings were still in progress when this issue of HEADWAY went to Press and were likely to continue till the end of January. The first question to be answered was as to what body decides whether a dispute raised before the Council under Articles XI, XII and XV of the Covenant is or is not "a dispute likely to lead to a rupture. The considered replies to this and the other four questions submitted to the jurists will be laid before the Council at its March meeting.

The Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments meets at Geneva on February 4, Lord Cecil (who sits on this committee in his personal capacity, not as a Government nominee) and Major J. W. Hills being the British civilian representatives. The main task of the committee will be to attempt once more to find a basis of agreement on measures for the control of the manufacture of arms and the arms traffic. So far all attempts in this direction have broken down owing to the refusal of America to co-operate. The last Assembly, however, charged the Temporary Mixed Commission to prepare, in conjunction with the Economic Commission, a

Convention on the Private Manufacture of Arms and also to draft a Convention on the Arms Traffic, in the preparation of which it was still hoped the United States might be associated.

The conference of naval experts convened for January to prepare an agenda for the General Naval Conference of April has been postponed till the latter part of February owing to the delay of some of the Powers expected in replying to the invitation. Argentina, which has stood studiously aloof from League affairs since the First Assembly, will send an "observer." Russia, having declared a general boycott on Switzerland and the Swiss since the murder of Vorovsky at Lusanne, accepted the invitation subject to the conference being held elsewhere than in Geneva. That point has not, at the moment of writing, been decided, but it seems possible that the meeting may be held in Rome.

Three courses in general health administration, in Holland, Denmark and Switzerland respectively, have been arranged during 1924 by the Health Section of the League as part of the interchange scheme it is carrying out with funds contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Selected British doctors, nominated by the Society of Medical Officers of Health at the request of the Ministry of Health, will attend each of the three courses. A recent visit of doctors to America under the scheme resulted in a very interesting series of informal reports on the working and results of Prohibition.

THESE HINTS WILL HELP YOU



SPRING is coming, and with it Spring Cleaning. We shall be busier than ever during the next month or two, so the following time-saving hints are more than usually welcome.

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THE PROFESSOR AND THE PESSIMIST.

BY L. P. MAIR.

"IT'S no use," said the Pessimist. "It's been tried before and it hasn't worked. This was the worst possible time to try it again. It's foolish to make experiments in a world as completely upset as the one we're living in."

"I didn't know," remarked the Professor, with that bland air of interested inquiry, which so often beguiled the unwary into pitfalls of argument, "that it had been tried before. Or, perhaps, I have forgotten—history is not my strong point. Do please enlighten me."

"Well, wasn't there Henry the Something in France, about the sixteenth century? And then you've got the Holy Alliance. And the Russian attempt at The Hague in 1899. If we weren't ready then we certainly aren't now, with all the resentment and hatred that the War has left behind."

"I don't agree," said the Professor. "And I don't think your facts are quite correct. A League against war has often been suggested, as you say, but this is the first time it's ever been actually tried; and it is working. It took a world war to bring the nations to their senses. With its horrors fresh in their mind, they were moved at last to take the step that one visionary after another had urged them to for centuries—hence the first real League of Nations. The Holy Alliance was a league of autocratic sovereigns—hence its weakness. The present League is a league of democracies who have joined it with the full knowledge and consent of their peoples, and the delegates who attend the Assembly go there to express the public opinion of their countrymen."

"Public opinion!" scoffed the Pessimist. "You people look upon that as your trump card, I know. Call it crowd mentality, and it doesn't look so pretty. Why, it's the easiest thing in the world to wave a flag at a crowd for a minute or two, and start them cheering and shouting 'To Berlin!'—or Jericho—or anywhere else you may want them to go."

"Quite so," said the Professor. "Crowd mentality might very well be defined as public opinion gone mad. But public opinion sane is solid against the flag-waggers, and at Geneva we have a calming influence to keep it sane. Every question there is sure of an impartial hearing in a dispassionate atmosphere."

"Yes, and of an impartial decision, given by States whom it doesn't concern, against the best interests of the countries involved."

"I think not," said the Professor, patiently. "I seem to remember a clause in the Covenant requiring unanimity in most important decisions. Don't you think that is a sufficient safeguard?"

"Safeguard against any business being done at all," grunted the Pessimist.

"You won't find that that is the case in practice. You have only to look at the amount of business the Assembly and Council have carried through."

"What about that amendment to the Covenant that was held up by Persia alone?"

"Not an amendment—a resolution on the interpretation of an article. If it had been passed it would only have bound the Assembly of that year; and even though it wasn't, the discussion that took place showed what the feeling of the Assembly was. You couldn't point to an instance in which any actual work of the League has been checked by want of unanimity. On the contrary, it does more good every year."

"For which the British taxpayer stands the racket. Why we let ourselves in for every philanthropic wild-goose chase in Europe passes my comprehension. We give everything and get nothing."

"You haven't considered, perhaps, how much our prosperity depends nowadays on that of our neighbours."

We're all so much more closely bound up now than we were even a few years ago, that the more fortunate countries can't afford to leave the others to their fate. Economic chaos in Europe means loss to our trade; famine breeds diseases which spread without reference to frontiers; starvation of intellectual life in one country means that the rest of the world loses its contribution to art and science."

"So the 'splendid isolation' doctrine goes by the board?"

"Splendid isolation is an impossibility now. We're one, for good or ill, with the rest of the world. We can't refuse to bear our share of its burdens, and we may be thankful that, instead of trying to help by unco-ordinated spasms of private enterprise, we have the League as a centre of co-operation with the other nations."

"I don't believe it's worth the millions it costs us."

"Millions? Do you know what we pay to the League? £90,000 was our contribution this year, and I should incline to doubt whether any other £90,000 item in our Budget is an equally good investment. Think what we spend on armaments, on National Debt, on War Pensions—and for £90,000 we have a permanent instrument for preserving peace."

"If it does preserve peace! D'you seriously think that any Great Power that wanted to fight would think twice about the League?"

"A promise is a promise, one supposes, even in these days. Do you seriously think there is any need to envisage the world as a collection of savage tribes to whom war is as much a necessity as breakfast?"

"They're not much better," said the Pessimist. "Half the nations of Europe are aching to fly at each other's throats."

"Only when somebody tells them their neighbours are aching to fly at theirs. All the Great Powers, and most of the small ones, realise now that destruction on a large scale is a wasteful method of settling international differences; moreover, it doesn't settle them. The chief sources of war are suspicion and fear. There could be no better antidote to suspicion than the open dealings which the League requires of its members, and the chances it gives them of seeing one another's point of view and realising how often their interests are the same. Then as to fear—fear of aggression—the first practical scheme to do away with that came from the League in the Treaty of Mutual Assistance."

"You won't get me to believe in it for all that," growled the Pessimist, dying hard.

"You do admit the desirability of eliminating war from the scheme of things?" queried the Professor.

"Of course."

"Then can you suggest any alternative method?"

The Pessimist picked up his newspaper with a loud rustle. The Professor is far too polite a man to demand formal recognition of his victory; he wandered gently from the room, his face puckered into an inaudible whistle.

Young America.

"People speaking of the League of Nations as a 'closed incident' for the United States speak without knowledge. The youth of the country is for the League, and in this country youth finally prevails. At the quadrennial convention of students, held at Minneapolis on Monday, 7,400 delegates voted overwhelmingly in favour of America's participation in the League and entrance into a World-Court. They believe that war is un-Christian, and that the League is the best means of preventing war. The proceedings of the convention prove conclusively that many young men and women who are to be the leaders a few years hence have caught the vision of the world as a social and economic unit."

—Daily Telegraph, New York Corrt., January 4, 1924.

BOOKS THAT MATTER:

THE significance and the living interest of the study of history lie in the influence of past events upon the life of the world to-day. Few periods have had so great a determining effect as that comprised by the centuries that lie between the Renaissance and the Revolution; there are few periods in which the sequence of events is so clearly linked as cause producing result without a break; every episode and every character that appears have their direct ancestry and posterity. In **From Renaissance to Revolution** (Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d.) Mrs. Sylvia Benians has been content to confine herself within her chosen period; she leaves us to draw for ourselves the moral as it affects the present day. Though the ground she covers has often been traversed, it is one that we cannot tread too often; Mrs. Benians writes straightforwardly and more for the general reader, in spite of the announcement on the "jacket," than for the student. So far as readers of HEADWAY are concerned, members of the League of Nations Union, the book touches their interest at more than one point. The period which is its subject saw the beginnings of State sovereignty and nationality, the growth of individualism for peoples as well as for persons. The accepted supremacy of Emperor and Pope was challenged; Europe began to split into those smaller kingdoms and states whose rivalries led to the alliances and wars of the later centuries and of our own; the mere study of two of the four admirable maps at the end of the volume will show how great were the changes that were taking place. But if there was all this on the one side, on the other it saw also the early attempts made for European peace and their following failures. Erasmus was the link between the old and the new, and no one decried the folly of war more loudly than he.

"From the fourteenth century onwards," says Mrs. Benians, "schemes had been hatched, chiefly by French thinkers, to replace Pope and Emperor by European peace-leagues, which, usually under the aegis of France, were to control international relations. But, though in the history of thought the modern League of Nations is the descendant of these schemes, they were all abortive at the time."

It was left to Grotius, in all his versatility a true son of the Renaissance, to build more firmly and to produce the first body of international law. Towards the end of the period, as the Renaissance gave place to the Age of Reason, a new order of peace-thinkers arose in the philosophers of France, but their theories and ideals never reached the mass of the population and were never strong enough to prevail against the aggressive policies

MISCELLANEOUS.

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Signed by

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The Society of Friends' Council for International Service. The German Distress Relief Fund. The Save the Children Fund. The British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. The Universities' Relief Fund. The Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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of monarchs who thought of prosperity rather "in terms of bullion, armies and territory than in terms of human well-being and happiness." The efforts of mere reason ended in Revolution and Napoleon as they always will. As Mrs. Benians suggests in her introduction, the evil from which the world suffers to-day arises from "the illimitable right of modern states and the correspondingly narrow interpretation they put upon the duty of world-service"; this evil began with the Renaissance, in spite of all its boons, and if we are to seek its cure, we must begin by studying its origins.

For some years past Mr. George Barnes has separated himself from the political Labour organisation and no longer takes an active part in politics. His leisure has been well spent in writing **From Workshop to War Cabinet** (Herbert Jenkins. 7s. 6d.), and he has with all modesty produced a most interesting autobiography and a record of his services to Labour and to his country at large. Throughout the whole of his career he has been conspicuous in his ability, his adherence to the highest principles, his courage and his inflexible honesty. That is the impression of the man that the reading of his book leaves with the reviewer, and the period of the war and the peace enabled the nation as a whole to appreciate what his more immediate fellow-workers had long known. We have short memories and it is well to be reminded of the great part, though Mr. Barnes in his modesty would disclaim the adjective, which he played in the formation of the League and in particular, of the International Labour Organisation. There is one point in his connection with the League which we think deserves especial attention; in accepting the invitation to be one of the three British representatives at the first Assembly Mr. Barnes, bearing in mind a statement made by Mr. Wilson in introducing the Covenant at Paris, claimed the right to express unofficial views at Geneva. This claim was granted and accordingly Mr. Barnes then put forward a strong plea for the admission of Germany and a protest against Polish aggression. His views were disregarded but he was able to express an unofficial opinion then held by many others in Great Britain. He received an invitation to go to the 1922 Assembly; his claim to speak again unofficially was this time refused and he did not go. We express no opinion whether the Government was right or wrong in its decision, but Mr. Barnes's action deserves to have been put on record. Not the least interesting pages in the book are those on which Mr. Barnes gives short character sketches of those who have been his colleagues in politics at home and in the League; they are shrewd and discriminating and always kindly; but the whole book should be as popular as it is useful.

Mr. Keynes may be always sure of a public, and his **Tract on Monetary Reform** (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.) comes at an opportune time. Much of the book is necessarily technical, but Mr. Keynes is never without practical suggestions, and he argues that there must be collaboration between this country and the United States if we are to attain stability of prices and of exchange; with a "controlled" currency there and in the British Empire he sees hope for the relief of unemployment and for deliverance from the speculator and profiteer.

The **Woman's Year-Book 1923-1924** (Women Publishers, Ltd. 5s.) makes a welcome first appearance. It covers a vast amount of ground, far more than will be necessary in subsequent volumes, and more than immediately concerns women's interests. Twenty pages are devoted to the League of Nations, and the four contributors, who include a member of the Union's headquarters staff, deal very adequately with the League itself and its achievements as well as with its special appeal to women. It is unfortunate that the

demands of an early publication allow no mention of any work of the League after August, 1923.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED:

- Unemployment.** By W. A. Appleton. Hodder & Stoughton. 1s.
- Christianity and Brotherhood.** By W. G. Wilkins. London "Daily News." 1s.
- The New Industrial Era.** By Sir W. Macara, Bart. Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester.
- Jesus and Civil Government.** Allen & Unwin. 6s.
- Christ or Mars?** D. Appleton & Co.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

CONSIDERABLE progress is being made in the scheme initiated through the Overseas Committee of the Union for the despatch of HEADWAY and other literature by members of the Union to foreign readers. Up to the present some 300 offers have been received, and, though the demand is so far not up to that figure, further applications from abroad are expected, and it may be necessary to appeal again to members who have not yet done so to offer to post their HEADWAY to some recipient in another country. The American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has forwarded a first list of names of readers of the Association's *League of Nations Herald* who would be glad to exchange with individual readers of HEADWAY. This is being arranged.

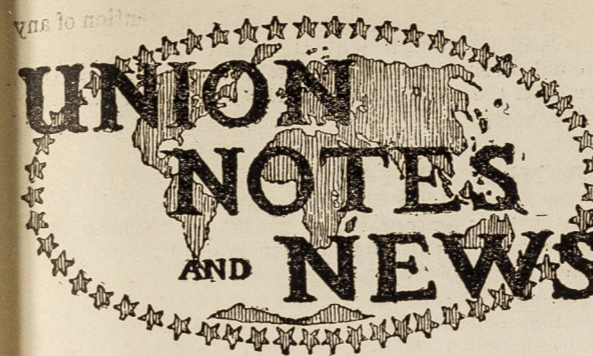
Several Branches have expressed the desire to make the arrangement corporately. Cambridge, for example, has asked for a number of names in Germany, and as the Secretary of the German Society has forwarded a preliminary list of a hundred members of the German Society who would be glad to see HEADWAY regularly, there has been no difficulty in meeting the wish of the Cambridge Branch.

As an example of the value of such contacts, reference may be made to a letter forwarded by a member in Birmingham who has received from the French recipient of her HEADWAY (whose name was supplied through Grosvenor Crescent) a warm letter of thanks which will obviously open the way to further correspondence. Hampstead, by the way, desires it to be known that its literature arrangements are being handled, not by the Secretary of the Branch, but by Miss Nicholson, 20, Church Row, N.W.3.

A Branch of the League of Nations Union is being formed by British residents in Paris with the full approval of supporters of the different French Associations, with whom, in point of fact, the new Branch will no doubt establish a useful liaison. Any L.N.U. members having friends resident in Paris could help considerably by putting them in touch with Mrs. Eric Phipps, Rue d'Astorg 25, Paris, VIII, who is taking the lead in getting the new Branch on its feet.

A League of Nations Union Branch has been formed at Delhi. This makes the second established in India, a Branch having been formed in connection with the 1921 Club at Madras some time ago.

On February 18 Mr. Frederick Whelen will start for Italy on a speaking tour of the Italian and French Rivas. Beginning at San Remo on the 20th, Mr. Whelen will hold meetings at Alassio, Bordighera, Mentone, Monte Carlo, Nice and Cannes; and among those who have consented to act as Chairmen are H.S.H. the Prince of Monaco, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Wester Wemyss and General E. A. Herbert. The arrangements are in the hands of Miss Dorothy Hood, the Villa Lincolnia, San Remo.



Summer Schools.

Summer Schools have become a permanent feature in the activities of the Union, and arrangements are well in hand for one to be held at Oxford and another at Geneva in August.

The *Oxford School*, which in the past three successive years has been held at Balliol College will this year be held at Keble College during the first week in August, beginning Friday, August 1. This school is being held somewhat later than in previous years, and coming, as it does, in the school vacation, should attract a considerable number of teachers.

In addition to general lectures on the League by leading statesmen and experts, there will be a special course for teachers on education and international co-operation, and another for trade unionists and employers of labour on the International Labour Organisation.

The *Geneva School* follows on immediately after the Oxford School, and will last ten days, the party leaving London on the morning of Friday, August 8th.

Details of the programmes for these Schools and the prices will be given in the next issue. Applications to attend can, however, be sent in now.

Collecting Renewal Subscriptions.

There is probably no problem which causes the majority of Branch Secretaries more harassing thought than that of collecting renewal subscriptions, especially those of 1s. subscribers. The member who pays 3s. 6d. and upwards presents a comparatively simple problem, for the automatic cessation of HEADWAY, and, in the case of £1 members, other literature also, when the subscription has expired, acts as a reminder, and usually a very efficient one. As against 38 per cent. of the 1s. members who renewed their subscriptions last year, 56 per cent. of the 3s. 6d. members renewed and 71 per cent. of the £1 members.

But the 1s. member is in a different category altogether. To obtain a renewal of his subscription entails a considerable amount of time and thought. The quarterly "News-sheet" helps to solve part of the problem by keeping the member in touch with the work of the Union, and maintaining the interest originally aroused at the time of joining. The "News-sheet," however, is not enough in itself. It is essential that the reminder sent out when the subscription falls due should be followed up by personal visits.

It is a good plan for a Branch to arrange for a party of collectors to undertake the task of obtaining new members and collecting renewal subscriptions. These collectors might well act as liaison officers between the Branch Committee and the ordinary members of the Union. They could, on the one hand, impart information about the League and the Union, and about the special activities of the Branch, to the members they visit, and, on the other, could bring the views of the ordinary member before the Committee. Endless avenues of service open out before the active and enthusiastic Branch collector.

League Lectures as History Lessons.

A series of monthly lectures on the League and kindred problems, arranged by the Whitstable and Tankerton Branch, from October last to April of this year, is proving a great success. The lectures are given in the Endowed Schools, Whitstable, and the Education Committee has now given permission for the same series to be given, suitably adapted, to the elder boys in the Council Schools as part of their history course. Each lecturer, therefore, addresses about 180 boys on the day following the public lecture.

Other Branches arranging courses of lectures might like to follow the example of Whitstable.

The Duke of Northumberland Again!

A public debate is being held in the Public Baths, Lancaster Road, North Kensington, on February 26, at 8 p.m., between the Duke of Northumberland and Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G. The Rt. Hon. Lord Phillimore will preside.

There are a few reserved seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. Tickets can be obtained from the Branch Secretary, Mrs. F. E. Batten, 26, Kensington Park Road, W.11.

Dr. Nansen's Appeal.

Members of the Union who have generously responded to Dr. Nansen's "Near East" appeal will be glad to know that in the first week of January new and second-hand clothing to the value of £1,935 was despatched to the Piræus by the "Maid of Spezzia." The total weight of the 19,054 articles thus sent was over 6½ tons, and consisted of 87 bales and cases of clothing and 10 cases of boots and shoes.

Music for Pageants.

Branches contemplating propaganda by means of plays and pageants will be interested to hear that Mr. Paul Pym, a member of the Union, has written the orchestrated music for a "Pageant of Peace," which has already been performed four times with great success in the Corsham district, and is going to be performed in London in the spring. The Pageant, with costumes, can be obtained on application to Mr. Pither, Castle Cary, Somerset.

Mr. Pym, who has also written incidental music for Miss Fanny Johnson's play, "Earth and her Children," is ready to compose suitable music for plays and pageants when required. Branches interested should apply direct to him at Old Bank House, Corsham, Wilts.

A Boon to Book-lovers.

Our Welsh Council draws our attention to the fact that members of L.N.U. interested in the study of particular countries could often obtain help by becoming members of the Geographical Association and of its postal lending library of books and lantern slides. The Association's head office is at 11, Marine Terrace, Aberystwyth, and we have ascertained that its library catalogue can be obtained for 7d., post free.

Keswick League Ball.

The Keswick Branch held its annual fancy dress ball on January 4. The costumes, which varied from Red Indian to Irish colleen, and from Sir Walter Raleigh to Sussex yokel, were judged by Lady Mabel Howard, who warmly supported the League in a short speech.

SCOTLAND.

Marked progress has been made by the Edinburgh Branch during the past year. Membership has increased from about 235 to over 900, and the branch has recently

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	353,455

Membership on Jan. 23, 1924, was 349,745.

BRANCHES.

On Jan. 23, the number of Branches was 1,627, with 138 Junior Branches and 575 Corporate Members.

MUST THE CHILDREN DIE ?

To ALL who have imagination.

To ALL who have knowledge.

To ALL who can think and feel,
the "SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND"
again appeals.

Picture to yourselves the shivering, starving hordes of children in Europe to-day, the miseries of the homeless Greek refugees, the helplessness of the Armenian orphans in Corfu and Constantinople, the destitution and despair in the industrial areas of Germany.

Wherever children are greatly suffering, whether at home or abroad, there the "Save the Children Fund" seeks to help. Feeding centres, kitchens, work-rooms, adoption schemes, grants to children's homes and child relief Societies are various forms of its manifold activities. For such work members and Branches of the League of Nations Union have given most generous assistance.

But much more is needed to tide the children through the terrible winter. So we implore your further help lest the children die.

Contributions (which may be earmarked if desired for any particular country) may be sent to:—

His Grace the Duke of Atholl,
President of the
SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND
(Room 78c), 42, Langham Street, London, W. 1.

embarked upon a campaign of propaganda among the schools in Edinburgh, with the result that many boys of colonial parentage are being reached. It is evident, therefore, that the work of the branch will be more than purely local.

WALES.

The Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America is now ready to be taken over to the United States. Most encouraging reports are to hand of the interest taken in the Memorial in Wales by representative women in America.

During Christmas week there was an exchange of greetings between the Women of Wales and the new American Ambassador. It is interesting to observe that the first message sent by Mr. Kellogg after his appointment was his message of thanks to the Women of Wales.

The Children of Wales will be delighted to know that their Wireless Message to all the world, sent out on June 28, was used at the International Christmas Tree of the newly formed All Nations Chum Movement on December 8 in South Australia. The message was first sent out by the Oxford Station on a wave length of 8,750 metres in 1922. In 1924 it is suggested that it should be transmitted to all the stations within a range of 3,000 miles on Whit Sunday, and it is hoped that it can be broadcast that evening from all the important broadcast stations in Europe and America.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking at Buckie (Scotland) on December 22, said:—

"Nothing pleased him better than the questions from the Welsh section of the British Legion—not questions of hate and domination, but questions issuing from brotherly love and kindness, asking him to bind himself to the League of Nations, to peace and friendship and fellowship. He never put 'Yes' to any questions with greater fervour than he did to these."

The questionnaire was submitted to Mr. MacDonald by Mr. C. T. Reynolds, of our British Legion Branch at Briton Ferry.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP. LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

1s. a year. Minimum Subscription.

3s. 6d. a year. Membership and HEADWAY.

£1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.

£25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.

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

All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

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 Midland Bank.

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas. Also see that your Public Library has one.

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1. All communications respecting advertisements should be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C. 1.