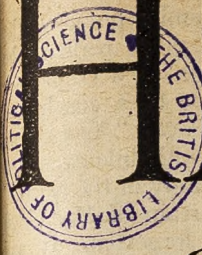


HEADWAY



A Review of the World's Affairs

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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

THIS year the season of good resolutions finds the world peculiarly in need of the exercise of such qualities as patience, broad vision and unprejudiced judgment. There is no lack of material to work on. The second anniversary of the birthday of the League of Nations coincided with what was in some respects the most disappointing session which the Council has held. The shelving of the Vilna controversy and the refusal to pay any attention to the apparently well-founded grievances of the inhabitants of the Saar Valley, constitute two regrettable blunders on the part of the League which, if not speedily remedied or counteracted, must inevitably result in loss of prestige. At the same time, it would be folly to ignore, on account of these two failures, the useful work done by the Council in such matters as the Epidemic Commission in Russia and Poland, the traffic in women and children, the Convention neutralising the Aaland Islands, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. The cause of publicity has also advanced a step at this latest Council meeting owing to the efforts of the Inter-

national Association of Correspondents accredited to the League of Nations.

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Those who are inclined to feel disappointed at a seemingly inauspicious beginning of the Council's labours in 1922 should hearten themselves by recalling the tremendous body of work done by the League during the past year. The promptitude with which it put a stop to Serbia's invasion of Albania last November was a splendid augury for its future powers, proving that the League had "found its feet" and could make its authority respected. A comparison of January, 1921, with January, 1922, shows that the League is now definitely established as an essential part of the world's machinery, an essential element in the world's progress.

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Destructive criticism is notoriously easy, and the professional pessimists and cynics who make of this their special stock-in-trade may be trusted to leave no stone unturned in their search for material. Turning from the League to extra-League activities, they will point to the "failure" of Washington, to the "débacle" of Cannes. Here, again, the wise critic will suspend judgment until he is quite satisfied that he has seen the problem steadily and seen it whole. What was the Washington Conference expected by its promoters to achieve? A lightening of the burden of taxation imposed by armaments and a lessening of the risk of future war. How far has it achieved the results expected?

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As far as the first question is concerned, the Five-Power naval ratio Treaty means a substantial measure of relief for the tax-payer, in spite of the

unnecessary building caused by the retention of the "Matsu" by Japan, and in spite of the claim of France to build a large submarine fleet. It is well to remember that a type of mentality, rarer, perhaps, on this side of the Channel than on the other, perceives a distinct advantage in claiming vociferously a right which it is never intended to exercise. In the case of France, her ability to build the full 90,000 tons of submarines she has demanded is problematic. What she refuses to forgo is her right to build. A childish gesture it may be, but one likely to cost the world less than was anticipated when the demand was first put forward by the French delegates at Washington.

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The real misfortune of the submarine controversy is its effect on American opinion. Some indication of the state of public opinion is given by the McCormick resolution adopted by the Senate, requesting the State Department to furnish the Senate with information as to the financial position of Europe, her expenditure on land armaments, and her indebtedness to the United States. At the same time, the outspoken advocacy of the abolition of the submarine by Lord Lee and Mr. Balfour, and, indeed, the attitude throughout of the British delegation, has helped to bring about a vast change in Anglo-American relations, the results of which are of incalculable importance. Washington has ended for ever the danger of a naval armament race between Great Britain and the United States. This fact alone more than justifies the American President's venture into the paths of the new diplomacy.

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The break-up of the Cannes Conference, as the result of M. Briand's resignation, spells failure only to a superficial observer. The problems which faced the Allied Statesmen at Cannes are too urgent and too insistent to brook of more than a temporary delay in their solution. M. Poincaré replaces M. Briand, but the policy which the latter found himself driven by the logic of events to pursue is one which his successor dare not disregard, still less overturn. Two definite achievements may be accredited to the Cannes Conference. All the Powers concerned have accepted the proposed scheme for setting up a Central International Corporation for the purpose of assisting enterprise in the work of restoration, and an organising committee has been appointed to report progress to a Conference to be held at Genoa on March 9. The first parties to the Corporation are to be the British Empire, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan and the United States if she so desires; the co-operation of Germany is to be sought. Be it said, in passing, that the scheme provides for half the profits accruing on the shares of the German National Corporation to be paid to the Reparations Commission.

* * * *

The holding of the Genoa Conference is the second and the more important achievement of Cannes. All the European nations, including Germany, Austria and Russia—Lenin accepted the invitation even before it was sent—are to be present at Genoa, if possible, represented in each case by their respective Prime Ministers. The forceful and outspoken

speech in which the British Premier proposed the resolution in regard to Genoa may, perhaps, be regarded as a third achievement of a Conference which came to an end, but not to a conclusion. The shrewd hit at the Angora Pact—"You get no advantage if you shake hands with infamy in the East and refuse to do it with infamy in the North"—will be remembered when certain of Mr. Lloyd George's other *bons mots* are forgotten. It will serve to mark a decisive turning-point in the history of Russia and of her relations with the rest of the world.

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Once more our professional pessimist will find opportunity for the exercise of his special gift. Genoa, he will observe, sounds the death-knell of Geneva. The League is dead. Is this view, however, substantially correct? On another page the writer of the "Letter from Geneva," who is far from being a pessimist, takes a serious view of the fact that the Supreme Council has ignored the League in the matter of the Genoa Conference, and rightly calls upon the Governments composing the League to make up their minds as to their attitude towards that body. Lord Grey, in his recent speech at Bristol, threw a slightly different light on the matter. He pointed out that the Federation of Nations, which it was hoped to produce from the Genoa Conference, pledged not to make aggression upon each other, was, in effect, the League of Nations. The fact that the agenda for Genoa is based almost entirely on the agenda for the Brussels Economic Conference, organised by the League in 1920, is a significant sign. It shows that it is impossible to ignore the huge body of work which has been, and is being, done by the League. While we should have preferred to have seen the Genoa Conference held under the auspices of Geneva, the hard fact must be faced that America, whose participation in the economic reconstruction scheme is vital to its success, will have nothing to say to the present League, though she may very conceivably enter a League called by some other name. Leaguers will not quarrel over terms, provided they are satisfied as to facts.

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Lord Grey's remark about Genoa might be applied with equal force to the proposed Anglo-French pact, which, if carried through, will presumably be completed by a similar agreement between this country and Belgium. The pact proposes that, in the event of unprovoked German aggression against France, Great Britain will go to the assistance of France. This is merely Article 10 of the Covenant italicised in a special case. Once more, Leaguers have no cause for alarm. Moreover, the price of the Agreement, including the scrapping of France's submarine programme, the acceptance of a moratorium on German reparations for two or three years, and the inclusion of Russia in the European reconstruction scheme, makes it a remarkably good bargain for Europe. It may be regrettable that a resort to the methods of the market place should have been inevitable; but, at least, we may rejoice with Mr. Churchill last November in "the steady, remorseless march of statesmen of all countries towards financial sanity."

The publication of the correspondence between Lord Curzon and the French Government shows that the questions which we asked last month in regard to the Franco-Turkish Angora Agreement have been put to France with considerable force by the Foreign Secretary. Lord Curzon refers at length to the protection of the non-Turkish minorities in Cilicia—"with which the sentiment of the civilised world is profoundly concerned"—and to the cession of Northern Syria to Turkey, and points out that the Angora Pact appears to contain no safeguards for the effective operation by the Kemalists of the promises for the protection of Christian minorities. The revision of the Northern frontier of Syria as laid down by the Treaty of Sevres cannot be regarded as the concern of France alone, in that it hands back to Turkey a large and fertile extent of territory which had been conquered from her by British forces and which constituted a common gage of Allied victory, although, by an arrangement between the Allies, the mandate had been awarded to France. All that M. de Montille, Councillor of Embassy to the French Government, could devise by way of a reply was that the news from Cilicia appeared to show that the Kemalists intended to keep to their engagement to protect minorities.

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The controversy serves to emphasize first the importance of united action in solving the Near Eastern problem, and, second, the vital necessity for arriving at a solution on equitable lines. The fate of minorities in Greece and Turkey depends less upon guarantees than upon an equitable territorial settlement—a settlement, that is to say, which does not give rise to discontent finding expression in constant attempts at "rectification."

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For the first time in history Irish and English public opinion is in entire harmony. The Die-hards on both sides are in hearty agreement that the Treaty is an abominable piece of treachery and trickery, constituting a complete surrender to the enemy. Opposed to these, the vast majority of Englishmen and Irishmen share the King-Emperor's "heartfelt joy" at the close of the long and bitter struggle of centuries in an Agreement by which Ireland will take her place as a free partner in the British Commonwealth of nations, and, by implication, in the world League of Nations. The new President of the Irish Republic has announced his contention of consulting the country, either by means of a plebiscite or, more probably, of a General Election, at the earliest possible moment. There is very little doubt that when this takes place the narrow majority obtained in the Dail will be endorsed by the overwhelming sentiment of the Irish people. The mutual agreement signed by Mr. Collins and Sir James Craig is the most significant step yet taken towards the establishment of Irish peace. Meanwhile, it is stated that the question of the admission of the Irish Free State to the League of Nations is under consideration by that body.

Recent action taken by the International Labour Office in regard to Persia is an illustration of the value to industry of this new international body, and of the comparative rapidity with which abuses of long standing may be remedied by recourse to its machinery. Some time ago it was reported to the governing body of the International Labour Office that the conditions of work in the weaving industry in Kerman fell far short of those "fair and



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humane conditions of labour" which, by the terms of the Covenant, each member of the League of Nations was pledged to establish. The conditions were, in fact, deplorable. The looms in Kerman and the adjacent villages were situated in low, small, badly ventilated rooms and were hopelessly overcrowded with workers. Children of five, it was alleged, worked at the looms from early morning till sunset. Permanent deformities of the legs and arms and irreparable damage to general health were the result. Friendly representations made to Persia by the Governing Body called forth an immediate response. Pending definite measures on this subject, Kerman local authorities have been requested to enforce certain articles, including the 8-hour day, prohibition of employment of children under 10, provision of healthy sites and pure air for factories, and provision of comfortable seats for women and children. Authorities have also been requested to regulate wages and provide welfare workers.

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The report of the Special Commission sent to Russia by the Health Committee of the League of Nations gives heart-rending particulars of the ravages of disease in Russia, more especially cholera, typhus, malaria and dysentery. On another page a correspondent completes the ghastly picture by describing the work of the League of Nations' hospitals on the Russia-Polish frontier, and the two great camps at Rowno and Baranowice, through which pass the hordes of refugees flying from the Russian famine. Unless something is done immediately to strengthen the hands, by increasing the funds of the Health Commission, the Polish sanitary cordon will break. Already weakened by the pressure of the refugees, it will be unable to withstand the flood of some 700,000 Russian emigrants who are expected to present themselves at the frontiers of Poland and the Baltic States next spring. The Council has made a pressing appeal for financial aid to the Governments that had promised contributions to the expenses of the Commission. Not humanitarian motives alone, but self-defence must compel a response.

WASHINGTON AND EUROPE.

THE closing scenes of the Washington Conference were at once less exciting and less encouraging than its opening. Doubtless those who have all along maintained that the Great Powers would only scrap those engines of war that they believed to be useless, and that they were inclined to believe capital ships to be useless, will be loud in their claims to foresight. Nevertheless Washington has really achieved a valuable series of results, and, in spite of the submarine fiasco, it has taught a real lesson to Europe. It has established a pact of peace for the Pacific, and it has fixed the fleets of the Pacific naval Powers on a basis strictly defensive. The point to emphasise about the capital ship ratio is that it gives to each Power a fleet ample for defensive purposes but totally inadequate for attack. This fact, together with the quadruple pact and the moral influence which the Conference has undoubtedly had upon the Powers engaged in it, should do much to render war in the Pacific out of the question.

Europe, unfortunately, was the skeleton at the feast. M. Briand's first speech put any measure of land disarmament out of the question. The French claim for a larger allowance of capital ships threatened for a time to wreck the Hughes scheme; their demand for an immense submarine fleet did, in fact, prevent the Conference from achieving an all-inclusive limitation of armaments at sea. It is necessary emphatically to reject the claim that the submarine is a weapon of defence. In spite of a few unimportant and to some extent accidental successes, it was proved during the war to be almost useless against an enemy's main fleet. It was, however, shown to be, when unscrupulously used, a most effective offensive weapon against merchant shipping and therefore against the essential supply services of those nations which depend upon imported goods. It is unfortunate that America, who came into the war because of this use of the submarine, should to some extent have lent her support to the theory that the submarine is a defensive weapon. In France the argument is sometimes stated in a different and more accurate form, in which the submarine is spoken of as the weapon, not so much of the weak, as of the poor. The weapon of the poor it may be, but not the defensive weapon. Its use must be offensive or futile.

The Washington Conference has passed a number of resolutions prohibiting the use of the submarine on the lines which made it infamous during the last war. It is important that those rules should be stated, though to a great extent they are not new, but their statement confronts us with a difficult dilemma. If they are really to be observed the submarine will be of very little use indeed. There is nothing to be gained by mincing words in this connexion; the issue is so vital that plain

speaking is necessary. If, as France claims, her immense projected fleet of submarines is not to be used as the Germans used theirs, she will spend her money to no purpose whatever if she builds them. The danger we are compelled to face is that when a nation fights with its back to the wall, rules restricting the use of an important weapon are apt to be hastily abandoned. France is doubtless absolutely sincere in her determination not to use submarines for a murderous warfare against commerce; she may also be quite sincere in her claim that they are in no sense aimed at Britain. Nevertheless a glance at the map is sufficient to prove that Britain, with the experience of the Great War behind her, could not tolerate the creation of such a deadly weapon without taking the most energetic measures to protect herself against its use. In that case naval competition would be left in being, and, so far as the Washington Conference is concerned, it would only have been transformed from a competition in vastly expensive units to a competition in cheap units, from one concerned with the size of ships to one concerned almost solely with the numbers of small ships.

But are those submarines going to be built? We are now able to envisage the French policy at Washington in the light of the discussions at Cannes, which encourages the belief that it was in one sense one of many parliamentary straws the Briand administration was clutching at, and in another a bargaining counter to be used in conversations with British statesmen on the subject of a British guarantee of French security. M. Briand's resignation leaves the issue doubtful and obscure. According to one widely held opinion, M. Poincaré, after a series of complicated manoeuvres designed to cover the fact that he is being compelled by circumstances to follow the Briand policy in its main lines, will accept the guarantee with all its implied conditions. In that case the submarines will not be built. According to another opinion we are faced with a difficult period in which France will do her best to block all attempts at reconstruction and disarmament. Even if this pessimistic view be correct, it does not follow that the submarines will be built. For supporters of the League and all for which it stands the right policy for Britain will be extraordinarily difficult to determine. They will necessarily be suspicious of any arrangement between Britain and France, however carefully framed, which seems likely to stereotype the alignment of those countries against Germany, and if such a pact is the outcome rather of the disunion of British and French policy than of the union of the British and French peoples it will seem to them to belong very completely to the cynical past and to the old diplomacy. On the other hand, and this point cannot be overlooked, the reconstruction of Europe cannot be postponed and it cannot be effected without at least the passive co-operation of France. The dilemma is lamentably perfect.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

TO students of History who happen also to be teachers of History, the future of the League of Nations appears to depend upon one thing—the education of the children of to-day. This is a perfectly simple fact to state, and there are doubtless thousands of people who accept it as indisputable. Unfortunately a vague general acquiescence is powerless to accomplish anything, and the crying need of the present is for definite action to take the place of vague idea. People are dreaming of a new world, but unless they are to receive a rude awakening, it is high time that they roused themselves from sleep.

This education of children as the basis of the League—What does it mean? First and foremost it means an inspired race of teachers. This is no mere idealistic vapour, but plain fact. Reflection shows that the great truths of the past have proceeded from courageous teachers. The trouble is that teachers to-day seem to be amply occupied with messages whose importance is to be estimated only from the examination standpoint. At a time when the laws of self-preservation demand that war should be regarded as the great social sin, in which all nations share in a greater or less degree, for which all pay the penalty in political upheaval and human misery, the teacher of history is still expected to be a purveyor of genealogies and dates. In order to ensure that his pupils secure the required percentage of marks, he must still teach plans of battles, and see to it that his students can satisfactorily reply to such questions as “what advantages did England derive from the war of the Spanish Succession?” The need for catering for the Higher and Local Examinations checks inspiration at the source, and forces it to find expression primarily outside the ranks of the teaching profession.

The trouble is not so much that the harvest is ripe but the labourers few, as that the labourers are increasing in number and are eager for service, but are hampered by lack of tools or by obsolete tools. The necessity for a new view-point and a wider outlook in history teaching, finding its natural expression in a revised history syllabus for examination and a drastic overhauling of existing text-books, has been recognised by the League of Nations' Union. The Union has pressed its point of view on the Board of Education to such good purpose that the Board is now making an enquiry in the schools with the object of aiming at a basis for further discussion. Briefly, the new orientation is towards reality. The text-book of history and the teaching of history is to be brought more closely into touch with the realities of the modern world—the world of the division of labour between different countries, of the application of science to industry, of the shortening of the spaces of the

earth by improvements in transport—and with all that these realities imply. The unification of the world is to be the pivot on which history teaching shall hang, and the ideal before the teachers is to produce in the student a central interest in the purpose and future of the world. The revised history syllabus will call for history books which can be used as class books, in which the benefactors of their race are shown to be not merely those who led victorious armies or who won the game of political intrigue, but also served humanity. Wyclif, Caxton, Shaftesbury, Wesley, Howard, Lister, Einstein—to mention but a few. The creators of the ideas which are responsible for the political atmosphere breathed to-day—Rousseau, Karl Marx, Tolstoi, Kant—will receive at least equal attention with the heroes of “coups d'etat,” king-makers and buccaneering Admirals. The General Secretary of the League of Nations Union put the matter with convincing conciseness to a press representative a few weeks ago. “Text-books of history,” he said, “should aim at truth. It should not be possible for one version of the American War of Independence to be taught in American schools and another version in English schools. The date of a battle should not be considered more important than the date, say, of the discovery of the circulation of the blood. The history of the Plantagenet period should not be concerned so largely with the doings of kings, the student should not be left in ignorance of contributions by other countries to the welfare and advancement of humanity.”

At the same time, we hasten to allay the fears of certain educationalists who see in the action taken by the Union an attempt to initiate special propaganda in the schools. We can imagine nothing more disastrous, or more foreign to the views of the League of Nations Union itself. What is urged is not the teaching of one point of view to the exclusion of others, but an impartial study of *all* view points with the object of arriving at the truth.

The cause of patriotism stands to gain rather than lose by the new method of teaching history. The record of our own country is quite good enough to ensure that, if history were taught truthfully, there would be no danger of the student losing his sense of pride in his own country. The call to the history teacher of to-day is actually to produce patriots, but patriots who are at the same time world citizens. This is the only patriotism worth having and worth inculcating, for it alone can ensure the stability of the world. If, as seems probable, the Board of Education enquiry is followed by a revision of school text-books of history, and a change in the spirit in which history is taught, a tremendous obstacle in the path of true “education” will have been removed. The teacher will be free not only to teach history as the record of human achievement, through suffering, mistakes and failure, to higher, nobler things, but himself to contribute to the making of History.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

By Sir GEORGE PAISH.

THE proceedings of the Cannes Conference and the unwillingness of France to agree to the proposals put forward by the British Government for the reconstruction of Europe without further delay have at last brought into public prominence the problems which have caused great anxiety to all the Governments of the world since the armistice was proclaimed. The chief problem has been to discover an effective method by which the war-injured nations could repair their injuries and recover their prosperity while having due regard to the exigencies of the political situation. Hitherto, however, the peoples of the various nations have been so intent upon gathering the political fruits of the war and securing individual advantages for themselves that they have been unwilling to take the measures necessary to overcome the economic and financial dangers and difficulties which the war has left behind. Indeed, in pursuing their political aims, they have not only neglected the dangers of the economic and financial situation, but they have rendered these still more dangerous. Hence the war and the peace conditions have involved the almost complete economic and financial breakdown of a large part of Europe, great unemployment throughout the world, and financial conditions which threaten the solvency of the greatest powers and the strongest institutions. To find a remedy for the economic and financial situation the League of Nations convened a Monetary Conference in the autumn of 1920. Unfortunately the terms of reference to this conference were limited, as it was not permitted by the Supreme Council of the Entente Powers to discuss the reparation terms nor their relations towards the Central Powers. Owing to these limitations its report was not comprehensive, the nations have not found its recommendations practicable, and it is now essential that another conference should be held to deal more comprehensively with the problem. This conference is to be held in Genoa in March. As matters now stand the reference of the new conference is to be a comprehensive one so that all the factors responsible for the existing economic crisis may be dealt with.

The French Government is, however, still unconvinced that the nature of the Peace Treaty and the sums demanded from the Central Powers for reparation are responsible for the existing situation and is very reluctant to allow either the terms of the Peace Treaty or the amount of reparations to be reconsidered. Indeed the Premier of France, Monsieur Briand, has been compelled to resign because of his supposed willingness to allow these important matters to be reviewed.

It is now abundantly evident that the reconstruction of Europe and the adjustment of the world economic situation cannot be accomplished without a final and satisfactory settlement of the reparation problem. In the first place, Austria is not in a position to make reparation and is unlikely to be, and the complete cancellation of the proposed Austrian reparation will sooner or later have to be agreed to in view of the Austrian peoples' inability to earn even a decent livelihood for themselves, quite apart from any reparation payment. That Germany should make reparation is but just, and with regard to Germany the problem to be solved is the sum she is really capable of paying.

When the Peace Treaty was under discussion it was generally assumed that Germany could pay not only the entire cost of repairing the physical damage caused by the war, but also the whole of the pensions which the Entente nations were called upon to pay. The course of events has, however, demonstrated that the sums demanded are largely in excess of what it is possible for Germany to pay, and already Germany has announced her inability to discharge these obligations. These payments consist of a definite sum of 100 millions sterling a year for a great many years, plus 26 per cent. of the value of her exports, or a total sum that would provide interest and principal on bonds amounting to £6,600 millions. With interest at 6 per cent. these demands amount to nearly £400 millions a year for interest, plus a sum for sinking fund amounting to another £100 millions per year, or a total sum of about £500 millions a year. Experience has shown, however, that not only is no such payment possible by any one country to other countries, but that every endeavour to make payment of large sums for reparation seriously injures the trade of the whole world. Already Germany is being compelled to sell her goods at prices which mean ruin to her competitors. Germany cannot raise the necessary taxation and is obliged to resort to the issue of currency notes in order to obtain the necessary funds. Next, she is compelled to sell her mark notes in foreign markets at very low prices. The depreciation in the value of German currency is thus so great that the rate of real wages in Germany and the total cost of production are far below the rate of real wages and the cost of production in other countries. The sale of German goods at very low prices is consequently causing great unemployment in the nations with which Germany competes. Therefore against the receipt of reparation payments from Germany has to be placed the loss of income in other countries unable to sell their goods. The volume of unemployment in Great Britain, now amounting to nearly two millions of persons, and the conditions of short time in practically all industries, are due in no small degree to the demand for excessive sums for reparation from Germany and the competition in world markets of German with British goods at prices below the British cost of production.

Thus the demand for so great a sum for reparations from Germany is compelling the German people to work as they have never worked before for inadequate real wages and at the same time is creating great unemployment in every other nation. Even with the efforts the German people have made, the sums which Germany has been able to pay are insufficient to enable Europe to be reconstructed with the necessary rapidity.

In this situation there is an almost universal demand that reparation payments from Germany should be greatly reduced. Indeed some of our great London bankers have expressed the view that the world would be better off if German reparation payments were to be entirely cancelled. This view seems, however, to be somewhat extreme. That Germany should make reasonable payment is necessary, not only because it is just, but because it is essential to the restoration of German well-being as well as that of the countries that have been injured. The trouble has arisen not because of a demand for reasonable reparation, but because of a demand for excessive reparation. Europe needs to be reconstructed with the least possible delay in order that its productive power and its consuming power may be re-established. The individual nations that have been injured, however, have little power to repair the injury they have suffered. Consequently, unless the Powers that are financially strong come to their assistance, it will be exceedingly difficult for the injured nations to recover. Germany is a potentially strong financial Power, and under reasonable conditions should be able to make the annual payments which would enable the

necessary credit to be raised for the reconstruction of the injured countries.

No one, however, believes that Germany can make the great payments that have been demanded from her; and no one, therefore, is prepared to grant credit in anticipation of the sums due from Germany in future years. Were the sum claimed for reparations to be reduced to the amount needed for reconstruction only, and pensions were excluded, there would be a great change in the position. As Europe was reconstructed Germany would have little difficulty in making payment up to a maximum of 100 millions sterling a year, whereas it would be quite impossible for her to pay the sums up to 500 millions a year. Moreover it would be possible to obtain credit on the strength of German reparation for reconstruction purposes if the amount claimed is generally recognised to be well within Germany's power to pay. Thus the first thing needed to overcome the grave economic and financial danger is to reduce the amount of German reparation to a sum which Germany can pay without injury to other countries, and which the bankers of the world would be convinced that Germany could pay. A total annual payment by Germany of £100 millions a year for reparations would theoretically allow sufficient credits to be raised for the reconstruction of the devastated districts, that would enable the whole of the physical injury caused by the war to be repaired.

The settlement of German reparation at a reasonable figure is the first thing that needs to be done. The second is the creation of an atmosphere of profound peace so that the nations which have the power to grant the credits which Europe so much needs will be willing to grant them without any fear that the credits will not be paid at maturity by reason of a new war. The third matter essential is to create a credit for reconstruction of such a character that investors in all countries will at once realise and appreciate its strength and goodness. Consequently the credit must be created in such a form as to give the necessary confidence. In some measure this confidence would be created if the Entente Nations which were to receive the reparation payments would also guarantee the credits. But inasmuch as practically all of these, other than Great Britain, have largely exhausted their own credit, it is doubtful if it would be possible to create the credits on the strength of the German reparation payments, even with the guarantees of the Entente Nations. Under these conditions it is essential that the nations whose credit has not been injured by the war should also guarantee the credits and thus render them so good that no one would hesitate to grant them. This means that not only must the credit be initially secured on German reparation, but it must be also guaranteed by the Entente Nations which will receive reparation as well as by the other Entente and neutral nations who will benefit from their creation. In this way a sufficiently large credit could be created to repair the whole of the physical injury caused by the war. In brief, the operation of repairing the mischief of the war is one which demands the co-operation of every nation, and the most effective manner of securing this co-operation is through the League of Nations which has the power of creating that world atmosphere of peace without which no credit for reconstruction can be created.

The war and the peace conditions have created a more dangerous condition of things than the world has ever had to face, and it is indeed fortunate that one of the results of the war has been the creation of a world organisation whose special function it is to promote the general well-being, to preserve peace and to find the answer to such difficult financial and economic problems as those which have now to be solved.

THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

By the HON. OLIVER BRETT.

WHILE our legislators are enjoying what is conventionally called their well-earned rest, it may be of interest to trace some of the effects of the League spirit upon our political life. Busy with their own affairs and concentrated upon their own interests, men neglect to observe the slow processes of evolution, and it is possible that many members of Parliament would deny that the League idea has, in any way, affected our venerable institutions. The contrary is the case.

The most conspicuous manifestation of the change in our political customs caused by the League spirit is the decline of the Foreign Office. For many generations the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been one of the most important political officers under the Crown, and his Department has been the repository of all the customs, traditions and machinery of secret diplomacy. The metamorphosis of this time-honoured institution from exalted grandeur to comparative unimportance is practically complete. Its customs of prolonged delay and interminable discussion; its traditions of aristocratic aloofness and intellectual erudition; its machinery of elaborate ritual, meticulous phraseology and profound secrecy, have no place or value in a world filled with the spirit of the League. The type of man that it produced, invaluable at the Congresses of Vienna and Berlin, cannot be transplanted into the vivid air of democracy. Open diplomacy, which is the essence of the League, with its quick series of public conferences and its newspaper discussions of delicate questions, is so antipathetic to the Foreign Office temperament as to render useless its highly specialised talents.

No one can fail to have noticed that it is Mr. Balfour and Mr. Fisher who represent Great Britain at Geneva, men who have been adaptable enough to absorb the spirit of the League. It is Mr. Balfour again who goes to Washington. Even at Cannes the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs does not hold the position that Lord Salisbury held at the Congress of Berlin. There can be no doubt that it is the Prime Minister himself, unhampered by bureaucratic tradition and the ablest living exponent of open diplomacy, who, in reality, conducts in public the foreign policy of this country.

Since England has nothing to be ashamed of and nothing to hide, there is no necessity for the paraphernalia of intrigue, and the arrangements for conference, the organisation of publicity and all the spade-work of open diplomacy have been delegated by the Prime Minister, not to the Foreign Office, but to the modernised Secretariat of the Cabinet. It is only occasionally when, as in the case of Angora, "the whispering galleries of the East" render a return to secrecy apparently advisable, that resource is made to the discarded Foreign Office machinery.

Neither Parliament nor public are yet acclimatised to this most recent evolution of our elastic Constitution. The public, accustomed by long habit to be presented with results and to be kept in ignorance of the methods by which those results are reached, is apt to be over-excited by the novelty of publicity. It rushes too easily to conclusions of encouragement or despair in the earlier stages of complicated negotiations; use and wont have not taught it to practise towards foreign affairs that ironical indulgence so characteristic of our people in their attitude towards questions they understand. Nevertheless, this additional liberty granted to democracy has once again not been misplaced. The public is becoming both educated in and interested by the problems of diplomacy. It will never of its own free will surrender the light of Geneva and return to the darkness of Whitehall.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, January, 1922.

I BELIEVE it was Bacon who said that one religious schism intensified the fervour of each side, but that fifteen religious schisms led to apathy. This may not be completely analogous with the present state of things, but one cannot help sympathising with the Cannes correspondent of the *Basler Nachrichten* when he writes, "We are dreadfully muddled now with regard to the League of Nations and all the separate leagues." Perhaps it is too pessimistic to suppose that people will become tired of all these plans and proposals for Associations of Nations and Federations of Nations, each of them airily outlined with no apparently definite plan. It was natural that President Harding should speak of an Association of Nations in some general kind of way, doubtless having in mind some sort of Association in which America might be able to take part. But it is a little difficult to follow the lines of the proposal that the Genoa Conference should develop into something of the same kind. It may be merely an excuse for not asking the League to organise the Conference, though the actual reason given by the Supreme Council was that it was difficult to do so because America, Germany and Russia were not members of the League. This, of course, is no reason at all, because the League has already held international conferences, including the Brussels Conference and others, in which Germany and America have been represented. At the time of writing, it is not even yet certain that America will take part in Genoa, despite the fact that the League has been brushed aside ostensibly for her benefit, and all recent correspondence from America clearly shows that America is in no mood to take a really practical part in European affairs. If she comes to Genoa it remains to be seen what part she will play in anything that Genoa does, and it may, therefore, prove to have been in vain for the Supreme Council to have ignored the League. So far as Germany and Russia are concerned, the explanation stands not a minute's examination.

The whole series of events is most serious for the League, and the time has undoubtedly come for the Governments who are members of it to make up their minds one way or the other. It is an astonishing thing to find that statesmen still speak of the League of Nations, in referring to its inability to deal with certain questions or to its inherent failure to solve some particular problems, as if the League were a separate entity, or as if it were one of the Great Powers itself. The League of Nations is what the Governments who are members of it care to make of it. If the Powers in the League had had the determined desire, for instance, to settle the Polish-Lithuanian conflict on an equitable basis, they could have insisted upon it twelve months ago. And because they did not insist, it is ridiculous for them to point to the League as some outside incompetent body for which they have no responsibility. Generally speaking, it is fair to say that wherever the League is incompetent, it is the incompetence of the

Governments who are members of it. It is amazing to see a leading statesman or a leading State Member of the League stating that the League will be represented at Genoa. It shows a fundamental ignorance of what the League is.

What is possibly a reasonable, but by no means conclusive, point in summoning the Genoa Conference apart from the League—though unreasonable in the matter of the organisation of the Conference—is that it might become a cumbersome affair to include a large number of extra-European States from South America and the Far East. I am not sure that that is altogether indefensible. It involves too long a discussion for this letter, but it shows to some extent the wisdom of the proposal made by Dr. Benes, Prime minister of Czecho-Slovakia, for regional conferences within the League.

This leads to a wider question which must soon be faced. If the Governments of the League, on one ground or another, do not feel disposed to use it, there must be some reason for their points of view. There is no doubt that some of them chafe under the restrictions which the Covenant imposes, though not all of them are too scrupulous to bother overmuch about the Covenant when it serves their purpose to forget it. Their disinclination to give active or even loyal support to the League may be due to the still hesitating advance of progressive ideas. Whatever the reasons are, it is time to say to the Governments that they should either use the League—their League—or alter its constitution in such a way that they will be prepared to use it. There is not the slightest doubt that the League spirit is developing throughout the world, and it is in the power of statesmen to crystallise it and give it form. Let them do it through the only form that at present exists, and if they have any ideas, either from Washington or from Genoa, let these ideas be related to the League. I believe the Covenant of the League to be the finest expression of international conduct and morality that has ever been subscribed to by a great majority of the nations of the world, but if in practice some of its technical provisions are considered to be in advance of the times, or if two years' experience suggest alterations, let them be thoroughly and conscientiously stated, so that the organisation may be as wide as possible, as practical as possible, and as effectual as possible. If all the hopeful prophecies about Genoa come true, this may not be an impossible development, but those who believe in a written covenant establishing high principles of conduct in black and white, instead of nebulous provisions which can be so easily evaded, must be wary lest their international ideal, which has been incorporated in international relations after a steady and up-hill fight, is watered down into a benevolent extension of the old diplomacy without any real safeguards or detailed provisions for the better order of things.

I have dealt with this subject rather than with the meeting of the League Council which has just ended, important as it was in several respects, because the vital question of this particular moment is not so much what the League is doing, as what is to become of the League. I consider it to be the gravest moment in its history, but honesty and courage on the part of those in power and organised public opinion may ultimately lead to better and more settled international co-operation.

C.

Makers of History.

The MASTER MIND of GERMANY:
WALTHER RATHENAU.

THREE days after the Great War began a very tall man with a self-assured manner called at the War Office in the Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin. He wore no uniform, he had no official position, his age was not more than 47, but at once he was asked to walk into the War Minister's room. There he began at once a long survey of the economic difficulties which, he said, would immediately begin to be felt, the country being isolated, cut off from its usual supplies of raw materials, thrown almost entirely upon its own resources for food.

The War Minister listened with attention and respect, laid his visitor's views before the Emperor without delay, and the tall man was appointed economic dictator. His name was Walther Rathenau; up to that time he had been known in this country only as one of Germany's foremost captains of industry, as the head of the immense electrical supply company known as the A.E.G. (*Allgemeine Electricitäts-Gesellschaft*).

He did not hold his appointment long. After eight months he was succeeded by a soldier who made a hopeless muddle of the job. The one thing everyone expected Germany to do well, rationing, was done badly, much worse than it was done in England. If Walther Rathenau had been left in charge of it, there might be a different tale to tell.

He is a most unusual mixture, a business man with a definite philosophy of life which he has worked out for himself. What is the philosophy which, as a rule suffices business men—and most other people? Is it not that the chief aim should be to "get on," that is to make more and more money and to secure more and more social consideration? Such matters as the origin of life, the existence of God, the nature of man, are by very few people thought about, least of all by rich and prominent men of affairs.

Herr Rathenau has thought a great deal about these matters and has put his conclusions into several books. He believes that the history of mankind is a series of steps towards a great spirituality and the overcoming of materialism.

An unexpected theory to be evolved by a man of business! And its results are more surprising still. For Herr Rathenau, who has devoted his life to a mechanical industry, has been led by his speculations to look upon mechanism as the chief enemy to be overcome. He sees plainly the evils of the Age of Machinery. In a very interesting passage ("The New

Society") he draws a picture of the worker who has been all day engaged in mechanical toil. With nerves all a-jar and with a craving for excitement to fill a vague longing born of unhealthy surroundings and unsatisfying labour, he cannot be content at home, playing with his children, going for a country walk or reading a book. He must have some stimulant to his jaded nerves, such as the cinema or gambling or drink.

This is not the theorizing of a student of books. It is the fruit of observation by a shrewd and penetrating mind. Herr Rathenau has worked in the "shops" himself. He has worn overalls and learned a mechanic's job and looked after machines. His father, the founder of the A.E.G., put his



son through the mill before he gave him any responsible post, and the boy made good use of the experience. He saw how the business was run and how it could be developed; then he set to work and developed it so capably that it had before the war a capital of something like £200,000,000. Nor did he ever let the cares of business swamp his interest in a wider range of ideas. Thus he became the most interesting example our age has seen of the business-man-philosopher. He has now a great opportunity to test some of his remedies for the evils that "mechanization" has brought upon the world. One of them is a steady suppression of luxury and even of private ownership. He would allow no one to inherit great wealth, he would permit no great diversity of income or possessions, he would

make attempts to corner markets and to keep up prices by means of "rings," and to unsettle trade by speculation, offences against the law.

Why, then, you exclaim, this rich man, this employer of labour on a huge scale, is a Socialist!

Not at all. Herr Rathenau declares Socialism to be unscientific and no more calculated to bring about any lasting improvement than giving pence to beggars is a help to the abolition of poverty. Nationalizing the means of production would have, in his opinion, no valuable results. It is not the production of wealth, but the consuming of it that he considers the process most necessary to control. With that in view he would draw up a "scale of needs," and until all had the necessaries of decent existence, no one would be entitled to enjoy anything but necessaries.

Nor would anyone, in Herr Rathenau's model State want to enjoy more than others had. For the basis of all his aims is that Love shall be the supreme force in the world. He believes this to be possible as well as necessary, and it is immensely encouraging to find such hopeful confidence in a man who has seen so much of the world and studied humanity so closely. Herr Stinnes has been called by shallow judges the master mind of Germany. But he is merely a business man of the old octopus "getting-on" type. That title belongs rightly to Walther Rathenau. Will he become also Germany's Master Man?

INTERNATIONAL CARICATURES.

By BOHUN LYNCH.

A NATION'S leading comic papers are supposed to reflect its spirit—even its "soul," it is sometimes said. If this is genuinely so, a wide and organised distribution of the world's pictorial humour might do a great deal for the world's better understanding of its component groups. Necessarily, however, these papers reflect rather the social and political predilections of their proprietors, and some of them not that so much as those predilections which certain proprietors regard as paying. But even as things (not very satisfactorily) are, a careful study of foreign cartoons and caricatures is extremely valuable.

Common and unenlightened opinion in this country before, during and since the war generally judged the foreign cartoons by its own standards, without the smallest attempt to fathom the widely differing mental approach of the artists. Thus, the Germans were labelled physically brutal, the French intellectually brutal, the Americans were said, though like ourselves in many ways, to have an odd and elusive sense of humour, and the rest hardly mattered. Oddly enough, and very roughly speaking, common opinion was partly right, or, at all events, it wasn't all wrong, except in regard to the "rest." Germany and France and Italy understand the true art of caricature and appreciate it. We do not. To talk in general terms about "brutality" is beside the point. In this we display our rather notorious inclination to complicate criticism with moral teaching.

As a matter of fact, the physical brutality of the Germans during the war was not invariably manifest. Indeed, many of the cartoons in *Simplicissimus* were extraordinarily moderate. Individual caricatures of Sir John French and Sir Edward Grey were not grossly exaggerated. It is certainly true that some German papers, notably *Kladderadatsch*, made use of the private misfortunes of public individuals in a manner which the least exacting rectory drawing-room would describe as "not in the best taste," and no doubt the point of view implicit in such work would help to keep alive that healthy and fervent hatred so necessary to the proper conduct of all wars.

Early in the war *Simplicissimus* made fun less of England in the personal way, than of our relations with foreign Powers, allied and neutral. Then, when our turn came in the personal sense, there were two cartoons upon which no one with the most rudimentary sense of the ludicrous could ever look without, in the first instance, a chuckle of approbation, and, in the second, loud and prolonged applause. The first is entitled "Verdammt deutscher spion!" A small and terrified dachshund is arrested by a squad of soldiers and, with a bandage about his eyes (plain justice or a jeer at our humanity to animals, as you like to see it), is shot at dawn. The second cartoon referred to as nearly as possible caused a grave scandal in those sacred precincts

of the British Museum, where audible laughter has never been and, you would think, never could be known. The present writer, scrutinizing back numbers in the Reading Room, found his self-control strained to its extreme capacity. This was a drawing of a number of dear old English ladies, with a few little girls thrown in, comfortable, kindly people, sitting about a drawing-room table and making dum-dum bullets. Elderly spinsters were doing dirty work with files, the girls with pincers. It was the funniest thing of its sort ever seen in connection with the whole ghastly business. The man who imagined and made this drawing positively could not but have felt in his heart some glow of good humour for his enemies.

The war was a dreadfully severe test both of the objective and subjective sense of humour. When feeling runs high, people who ordinarily can be relied upon to see a joke against themselves, froth at the mouth; and the gentlest jester loses his senses of proportion and of decency in his ruthless endeavour to hit back. The rest, trying to be dignified, achieve pomposity.

Of other papers, *De Telegraaf*, of Amsterdam, with Raemaekers as cartoonist, at least achieved technical distinction in its cartoons, which is more than can be said of the Muscovite *Mucha*. Swiss papers made trivial jests about the United States prior to their entry into arms, whilst a fairly dignified and even balance was maintained by neutral Spain.

But for caricaturing as an art, and quite apart from politics and war, the Germans held the field. A good drawing appeared from time to time in Italian papers, but the Italians seem to reserve their highest skill for what corresponds to our (once penny, but now) twopenny "comics" beloved by little boys. The German skill in caricaturish conventions is supreme. In the drawings themselves there is seldom very much to wound all but the most unreasonable sensibilities. The principal sting lies in the tale beneath them.

In peace and in the efforts to maintain peace as the normal condition, good caricature may have the most salutary effect; so that it should become a common duty to study the work in this kind of all other countries. If Englishmen are to be aggrieved because in German papers they almost invariably appear as Scotsmen with protruding teeth, and because they are quite invariably made to begin every observation with the word, "Goddam," then they must be aggrieved and that is all about it. But every Englishman and every German, Frenchman, Pole, Italian, American and the rest ought to be made to examine the cartoon by Max Beerbohm exhibited last May and reproduced in his latest book. It is called "Si Vieillesse Pouvait!" The scene is a room in the War Office; the time, the present.

EMINENT SCIENTIST (*explaining chemical formula*): "One ounce of this powder, dropped from an aeroplane, would destroy all human and other animal life throughout an area of 500 square miles."

EMINENT SOLDIER (*Sudan Campaign. Medal with clasps. Dispatches twice*): "Would it though? Good gracious me, you don't say so! Marvellous! Have the other Powers got anything of the sort, d'ye think?"

EMINENT SCIENTIST: "Nothing quite so good at present, I think. But, of course—"

EMINENT SOLDIER: "Well, it's perfectly marvellous. But—gad!—how it makes one wish one was a youngster and sure of being in the Next Great War!"

Cartoons of the Month.

THE UNINVITED GUESTS.



[Detroit News]

[U.S.A.]

A GRIM PICKET.



[Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

THE FLIP-FLOPPER OF THE WINTER CIRCUS.



[Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"ALWAYS, THE TRAILS LEAD TO THE MAIN ROAD!"



[Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Correspondence.

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

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Fyfe seems to suppose that what he calls the "legend" of Germany's sole responsibility for the war can be disposed of by some words of Mr. Lloyd George in 1920, that no one at the head of affairs before August 1, 1914, "quite meant war at that stage," and that "discussions, I have no doubt, would have averted it." It was precisely because Germany deliberately and persistently refused to have the matter discussed and referred to arbitration, as proposed over and over again by Sir Edward Grey, and preferred to give Austria-Hungary a free hand in Serbia, that the world was plunged into war.

In a letter of mine which the *Westminster Gazette* published on November 25, 1914, under the heading "The German Case," I pointed out that in the official German White Book, headed "Foreign Office, Berlin," dated "August, 1914," and entitled "Germany's Reasons for War with Russia," all the blame for the Great War was placed on the shoulders of the Muscovite Empire, although the Emperor William and his Government knew perfectly well that if Austria, who had given Serbia a 48 hours' ultimatum were allowed to advance on Belgrade, the Tsar would have no alternative but to go to the aid of the Slavs. Mr. Fyfe is trying to do what the German Government in its pamphlet printed in German and English did not attempt at the outbreak of war, viz., to fasten responsibility for that war on the British and other Governments. On the front page of the official document are the words: "How Russia and her Ruler betrayed Germany's confidence and thereby made the European War." There is not a single suggestion that England was in any way responsible; on the contrary, the writer says: "Shoulder to shoulder with England we laboured incessantly for a peaceful solution of the conflict."

The omissions in the pamphlet are equally significant. There is not a single reference to Belgium; not a single telegram from the German Government to their Ambassador in Vienna; not a single telegram from the German Ambassador at St. James's to his Government. Reference is made to two of Sir Edward Grey's definite offers, with a view to a peaceful settlement, but Russia's final offer promising a waiting attitude if "Austria will agree to check the advance of her troops on Serbian territory, and will allow the Great Powers to look into the matter and decide what satisfaction Serbia could afford to the Austro-Hungarian Government" is omitted.

A careful study of this pamphlet and of the official documents of the time, shows clearly that the responsibility for the War was Germany's and Germany's alone. No other Power could have prevented Austria putting a light to the powder magazine which was to involve Europe in unspeakable misery and disaster. One word from Germany would have saved the world from its long agony; that word she deliberately refused to speak. On the contrary, her attitude was a direct encouragement to Austria, who was assured of her powerful neighbour's unqualified support. The Berlin pamphlet states: "We emphatically took the position that no civilised country possessed the right to stay the arm of Austria" and adds: "We permitted Austria a completely free hand in her action towards Serbia." Germany's attitude alone made the world war inevitable, and the essential facts to which I have referred cannot be altered or modified by opinions and assertions such as Mr. Fyfe offers to your readers, or by the general dictum that "all Governments were to blame." Because I fear that such futile attempts in the journal of the League of Nations Union will not help, but hinder the cause of peace and the cause of historic truth, I have ventured to recall facts which may easily be forgotten in the course of years.

Golder's Green, N.W.2.

Yours, etc.,

H. FRISBY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's letter in your December issue is disappointingly unconvincing. He produces, in support of his statement, six opinions and one fact. As regards this last, Russia and Serbia had good cause for taking precautions in January, 1914, considering their very recent experience of Germany's determination to back Austria-Hungary in her efforts to control Serbia. As regards the opinions, Mr. Hamilton Fyfe himself discounts the value of four of them; while he gives no reasons for which the other two, those of Colonel Boucher and M. Bogitshkevitch, should be preferred to other views expressed in the contrary sense.

But after all, facts are required to convince us, not opinions. England attempted an *entente* with Germany, one result of which would have been, in all probability, to prevent the war. In 1914 Lord Grey of Fallodon made desperate efforts to obtain delay which, very possibly, would have prevented the war. In both cases, the effort was frustrated by Germany. In the case of France, Germany has made persistent efforts since 1871 to drive her into a declaration of war, e.g., Bismarck's action

in 1875; the Schnaebelle incident of the early eighties; the dismissal from office of M. Hanotaux. Serbia was threatened with the loss of her independence in 1914; and for a good many years previous to the receipt of the ultimatum from Vienna, had been suffering from Austria's desire to exercise control over her, e.g., the question of the export of pigs. These are facts, and they do not seem to show that the countries in question were "to blame" for the war. As showing that the Central Empires were to blame, not a few facts are available, e.g., the building of many railways, of strategic not commercial value, along the Eastern frontier of Belgium; the State papers concerning the outbreak of the war, published in Berlin and Vienna since the Armistice.

I imagine we all agree with Mr. Hamilton Fyfe in wishing to get at the truth; none of us will do so unless we confine our attention to facts.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. R. FISHER.

Oxford.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—The correspondence started by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe is of the greatest importance, for the future of the world depends on this question being definitely and justly settled.

What is required is a comprehensive authoritative judicial enquiry by the most capable and impartial tribunal which can be got together.

If the League of Nations is unwilling or unable to undertake this task, why does not Germany herself invite a few well-known and trusted neutrals to do it?

Surely there are people in the world who could and would carry out our Lord's Command to "judge not according to appearances, but judge righteous judgment."

No doubt history will eventually pronounce a judgment in accordance with the facts, but meanwhile our best efforts at world reconstruction are paralysed by our doubts as to the real cause of past disasters.

I am,

Yours, etc.,

C. PITHER.

Castle Cary.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's *apologia* does not impress me. Speeches—especially diplomatic speeches—are like figures—they can be so quoted and handled as to prove anything.

Most of us prefer to judge by the acts and deeds performed before our eyes.

Among those acts and deeds are (1) Germany's support of the Austrian aggression in the Balkans, which helped to bring about the Serajevo murders; (2) Germany as the instigator, if not the actual author, of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia; (3) Austria prepared to accept Serbia's practically complete submission, but compelled by Germany to treat a trivial reservation as a pretext for declaration of war and invasion; (4) Germany, in August, 1915, as the only power desiring and prepared for war; (5) Germany as the only power refusing Sir Edward Grey's proposals for a conference, which would certainly have prevented war.

In the presence of these undoubted facts, mere speeches—especially isolated passages wrested from the context—cannot be accepted as establishing Mr. Fyfe's cheerful assumption that "all Governments were to blame" for the war.

Yours, etc.,

W. SCOTFORD HARMER.

Cirencester.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In Mr. Fyfe's reply, nothing is said of the fact that Germany was the most completely armed and militarist of all the States of Europe; that she was not attacked; that no nation or combination of nations was prepared to attack her. Nothing is said of the fact that for years before the war, when France had become, as a military Power, much weaker than Germany, every movement she made to set her defences on order provoked a rattling of the German sword. Nothing is said of the fact that up to the last, the will to war rested with the German Government, that the Allies did all they could to preserve peace and that Germany would not have it. Nothing is said of the fact that, in her prosecution of the war, Germany stopped at nothing, and tore up a treaty she had solemnly pledged herself to respect.

Yours, etc.,

GEORGE WILLIAM BETTANT.

Burton-on-Trent.

MR. HAMILTON FYFE'S REPLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—You have asked me to reply shortly to these letters. I do so with some reluctance. I feel like a man armed with two Mauser pistols and confronted by antagonists relying upon sticks and stones. It has been part of my daily business to read the official documents published in all countries about the origins of the war. None of your correspondents appear to be acquainted with anything like all of these. Yet no one who lacks such acquaintance is competent to apportion blame for the disaster.

Mr. Frisby has not got beyond his discoveries of 1914. Mr. Fisher asks sternly for facts, but as he speaks of the Schnaebelle incident of the early 'eighties (it happened in 1887) and refers to the dismissal from office of M. Hanotaux, meaning, I suppose, Delcassé, his demand might well be turned against himself. However, he is acquainted with some of the documents, those published in Berlin and Vienna, and he says they show that the Central Empires were to blame." Certainly they were to blame. That is common ground. Germans and Austrians have brought forward proof of it in order to show how their intentions were tricked and how their Imperial Governments blundered. But if Mr. Fisher will study his documents and reread afresh, I think he will no longer hold the view that the Central Empires were *entirely* to blame, no longer assert that Sir E. Grey's efforts to obtain delay were "frustrated by Germany." In *Kaiserliche Katastrophen-Politik*, recently issued, the author shows that it was Count Berchtold and the Austrian Government, supported by the Austrian and German General Staffs, but not by the German Foreign Office, who clung to their disastrous plan and refused to modify it. It is true they had, at the outset, got the German Emperor to agree (after lunch, the book says with an illuminating touch); but the telegrams which he sent, as the sands ran out, were alarmed appeals for a change of course.

Those who still maintain that the German Government ought to have addressed to Austria, not appeals, but orders, mistake the nature of the relations between the two Empires. Austria was by no means a vassal of Germany. Her rulers were proud and touchy. The Wilhelmstrasse could no more issue instructions to the Ballplatz than our Foreign Office could give peremptory advice to Paris or St. Petersburg. After the murder of Sarajevo it would have been particularly difficult and invidious to oppose Austria's wish to secure the punishment of all concerned in it, even though the measures decided upon were foolishly conceived and fatally certain to play into the hands of the Russian War Party.

All who agree that we were bound by Sir E. Grey's undertakings to support Russia and France must allow that Germany was under the same obligation to her ally. We had made ourselves party to the arrangement of the leading Powers in two groups. Everyone who followed European politics knew that Russia and Austria were both on the look-out for an opportunity to assert dominant influence in the Balkans. The Austrian Government persuaded itself that Russia, after the Sarajevo murder, was not in a position to interfere; also, the rulers of the Central Empires believed it would be impossible for the Tsar to take up arms "in defence of regicides." Those were criminal miscalculations. But the frivolous inconsequence of Berchtold need not have led to war if Russia had not insisted on mobilising just when there was a possibility of getting the parties together. It was not fear which impelled Russia to mobilise; it was the avowed belief of the War Party, led by Sankhominoff, and of the Pan-Slav enthusiasts, that their opportunity had come.

Russia's mobilisation, as a reply to Austria's insane provocation, made it impossible to prevent war. Upon Austria and upon Russia history will, I think, lay the immediate blame for the catastrophe, not forgetting Serbia's share. Germany was, indeed, responsible for much bad feeling, for much preparation of the will to fight, for encouraging the Austrian Government to assert itself in the Balkans, for failure (if you like) to see that an energetic protest ought to be made against Austria's plan, even though this might be diplomatically incorrect and might seem disloyal towards an ally. For all this blame the German Imperial Government, but can we altogether absolve our own Government and the French? Both had prepared for war. Both had encouraged Russia's Balkan ambitions, as Germany encouraged those of Austria. If they had both urged the Tsar not to mobilise he would have yielded, as he did always to firm counsel. Russia was in no danger; that was not even alleged. Serbia was not in peril of losing territory; Sir E. Grey accepted Austria's assurance on that point. No one, so far as I am aware, has defended the Russian mobilisation, save as a step dictated by *amour propre*. Interference would have been resented by the Russian Government no less stiffly than by the Austrian. But if it was Germany's duty to disregard such resentment, was it not equally the duty of Britain and France?

With Mr. Harmer I will agree gladly when, for his unsupported statements, he produces evidence.

Mr. Bettant says that Germany was "the most completely armed and militarist" of all European States. On land, yes; and Mr. Lloyd George explained in 1914 why this was as vital to her security as naval supremacy was to that of Britain. But there was this difference between us. German preparation on land was so incomplete, its plans so ill-judged, that they immediately broke down. Britain's preparations at sea were so complete, with plans so shrewd, that, from the moment when war became likely, she kept the seas open and continued to do so. And why does Mr. Bettant speak of France being "much weaker than Germany as a military power"? The French did not take that view; they always said they could fight the Germans single-handed if neither had any help. Colonel Repington considered the French Army the better in training and equipment. The Three Years' Service Law was passed to keep the armies numerically equal.

Mr. Pither is right, a neutral commission would be of value. All who want to get at the truth are in favour of an impartial inquiry. We have nothing to fear because our only desire is to see justice done. If it can be proved that Germany did plot and instigate, that the Kaiser and his ministers and generals were entirely to blame, we shall join heartily in execration. But no one who has been obliged to plod through the documents so far published can hold that this has been proved yet.

HAMILTON FYFE.

[This Correspondence must now cease.—EDITOR.]

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HOSPITALS IN POLAND.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have just returned from visits to the two great refugee camps on the frontier through which the Polish refugees who are flying from the Russian famine back into Poland have to pass. The northern camp is at Baranowice, the southern at Rowno. At each place there is an epidemic hospital established under the League of Nations, links in the chain of frontier hospitals which are to prevent the irruption of typhus and cholera into Western Europe from the famine areas.

The camp at Baranowice is a number of wooden or brick buildings half-hidden in a gloomy dark pinewood in the middle of a bleak, snow-covered plain.

The refugees are coming through at the average rate of 2,000 a day; the average number in the camp at any one time is 10,000 with a maximum of 25,000.

There are 300 beds in the hospital and 600 patients. These patients are only the very severe cases. Less severe and chronic illnesses are not admitted, as there is no room for them.

The mortality at Baranowice during the month of October was 150. During November it was 1,000. The cold weather began on December 10.

Rowno camp is smaller. An average of 1,500 refugees arrive every day; the average number in camp is 6,000, with a maximum of 12,000.

The hospital has 200 beds and 570 patients. The conditions are much worse than in Baranowice. The sick are lying, huddled in blankets, on the floor, in the corners, in the corridors, between the beds. The wailing of the children is pitiful. The barrack in which it is situated consists of many small rooms rather than few large ones, and supervision is thus more difficult. There is typhus proper, typhus recurrens, dysentery, pneumonia, and scarlatina. There are two doctors, of whom one has typhus. Of twenty-two nurses one has typhus, and five have influenza.

The hospital has practically no sheets or linen, and it is running short of medicine, especially the essential medicine for typhus recurrens.

Of the 6,000 refugees in the camp it is estimated that from 750 to 1,000 need medical attention and invalid food, but neither is available. The mortality in November was 600.

The staff, although in despair, work night and day. The hospital is extraordinarily clean in the circumstances.

The chief sister, who is now acting as doctor, told me that she does not see how they can continue for longer than two months. In two months all stores and medicines will be finished.

This is a brief outline of the conditions in which the League of Nations hospitals are working. And so far they have been dealing with the easiest part of their work. Cold has now set in, severe even for Poland, and the hospitals have almost exhausted themselves at the beginning of their vast work.

For there are 100,000 families in Russia who have registered themselves with the Soviet Government for repatriation to Poland, and are waiting their turn to pass through Baranowice and Rowno. There are also thousands unregistered, and so far only fifty or sixty thousand families have returned.

Yours, etc.,

ARCHIE MACDONELL.

OBITUARY.

As we go to press, we learn with deep regret of the death of two great Internationalists. Lord Bryce—lawyer, statesman, diplomat, historian, professor, man of letters, Member of Parliament—was unwearingly in his efforts towards the enthronement of world freedom and the overthrow of militarism before, during and after the war. As British Ambassador at Washington he did much to establish friendly relations between the two nations. His full support was invariably given to the cause of International peace and the League of Nations.

Pope Benedict XV. will long be remembered as an indefatigable worker for peace and understanding, whose pontificate fell in the most troublous period of the world's history. Again and again during the Great War he raised his voice to condemn the conflict and to bring about peace. Even his critics must pay tribute to his burning desire to act as peacemaker. One of his latest acts was to send messages of congratulation on the Irish Peace Treaty, the ratification of which gave him the deepest satisfaction.

Book Reviews.

A GREAT CONSERVATIVE.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, by his daughter, LADY GWENDOLEN CECIL. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2 vols. 21s. each.)

WITHIN the limits of allotted space it is impossible to do justice to this admirable biography. We are given by its talented author a life-size and noble picture of the compleat Tory, and no Liberal Englishman can fail to be proud of the vast integrity of his typical opponent. The weakness and diffidence of Lord Salisbury's early youth come as a surprise to those whose memories go no further than the massive certainties of his old age. In this case it is difficult to imagine the Child as father of the Man. The growth of his character and the effect upon it of his marriage is of absorbing psychological interest.

Those who wish to understand England should study this man, for, as an aristocrat should, he typifies his fellow-countrymen. He took the "squire's" view by instinct. He distrusted the teachings of history. He was suspicious of the claims of book-learnedness. He had a constant impulse of opposition to all experts in whatever connection they appeared. These are the abiding traits of English character. Shy and reserved, Lord Salisbury was yet a "rebel by instinct," and his ingrained dislike to bureaucratic domination prompted him to constant independence of thought and action. His biographer comments on "the strange association of such a capacity for philosophical detachment with a high development of the fighting instincts," and it is indeed something of a revelation to the slaves of party catch-words to be told of a Conservative statesman that an opinion backed by authority roused him to instant opposition. Yet combined with characteristics and qualities so fundamentally English we find the age-long Conservative principles. Direct from Burke he derives that "sense of responsibility for a treasure inherited, for a trust transmitted," which is so far removed from vulgar pride of Empire. His idea of progress as a policy of practical and limited change founded directly upon expediency was in direct contrast to the theoretic ideas of Liberalism. No one can deny that beneath that careful and slow-moving progression of mind there lay the two essentials of statesmanship, a deep sense of the obligations of personal honour in public life and a genuine love of individual liberty.

To those of us who are interested in the League of Nations, the official career of Lord Salisbury, as far as it is taken in these volumes, is exceedingly instructive. Lord Salisbury himself had in him many of the ideas upon which the League is based. He resented a hectoring tone towards weak nations. He believed that "an aggressive character was the most dangerous that this country could get." In discussing the war of 1870 he asserts that the first object of a treaty of peace should be to make future war improbable, that any provision that tended towards disarmament would be salutary, and that a ceded territory would be a constant memorial of humiliation. There can be no doubt that Lord Salisbury had a genuine hatred of war.

Nevertheless he was inevitably the child of his generation. He was cabined and confined by the ideas of his contemporaries and was obliged to play the game of foreign affairs according to the rules existing at the time. Right well he played that game; no abler, no more adroit, no more patient statesman ever upheld the interests of England in the turmoil of the old diplomacy. But what a game it was. The intrigues and private correspondence of the three Kaisers; the fears of Bismarck and his hesitation as to whether

to adopt Russia or Austria as a bulwark against French revenge; the bargaining of Russia and Austria over the corpse of Turkey, so that in the event of the former absorbing Bulgaria the latter should absorb Bosnia. No one ever dreamed of considering the Bosnians and Bulgarians themselves. It is even suggested that England should take Macedonia. Bismarck "wishes for war between Russia and Turkey—because such a war would diminish the fighting power of Russia." General Ignatieff alters between sittings the frontier lines on the official map agreed to by the plenipotentiaries. The English Ambassador in Constantinople encourages the Turks to stick behind the back of Lord Salisbury. The English Military Attache in Petrograd urges that the present is a most favourable moment for bringing about the "inevitable" war with Russia. The excuse of the Russian Chancellor for the continued advance of his troops is that he had said instructions for an armistice had been sent—not that they had been received. Truly a wonderful picture of Christian morality. "Let those take who have the power; let those keep who can" was the watchword of the old diplomacy, and it does Lord Salisbury no small credit that he was able to obtain peace from such a welter of national egoism. Readers of Lord Salisbury's life will realize the measure of our progress.

O. S. B.

RECONSTRUCTION.

IN DAYS TO COME. By WALTER RATHENAU. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

TWENTY years ago an Englishman, Mr. H. G. Wells, attempted, in his "Anticipations," to analyse social forces and to make "a prospectus as it were, of the joint undertaking of mankind in facing these impending years." Herr Rathenau in 1915 and 1916 drew up a similar prospectus, which is here presented in English dress. The differences which it is tempting, but would be rash to ascribe to the differences of nationality, are immense. Mr. Wells looks primarily to material progress as the agency of moral progress; he sees locomotion determining new social strata and commerce dissolving frontiers; turbines and electric cooking rank with the decay in the belief in personal immortality; and a wealth of practical detail clothes the most revolutionary speculation. For Herr Rathenau the moral principles move everything, as the soul the body, and he even apologises for turning from the "contemplation of the living spirit to the shadow play of institutions and forms of life," though certainly the shadow play is small. "The tracery of realities will, without our aid, shape itself upon the arches of thought."

The goal which Herr Rathenau presents for humanity is the free growth of the soul. Such an ideal, unless more closely defined than it actually is in "In Days to Come," is negative. The restrictions upon individual freedom which impress Herr Rathenau are largely economic. There is first the plain fact that the organisation of modern industry condemns the majority in any community to a life not, in essentials, more liberal than that of a feudal serf. And, secondly, there is the tyranny of false ideals; ideals of luxury and of power. Against this is urged a triple remedy. In economic extravagant consumption and the accumulation of large fortunes must be prevented by the State; in morals a new ethic of responsibility and justice must replace the popular ethic of happiness and power; in politics a communal will must inform the State, and this communal will, which is not, in Herr Rathenau's opinion, inconsistent with the pre-Revolutionary constitution of Germany, by creating a Folk-State—the new Republic of the English prophet—will afford to the individual the necessary extension of his personality.

Although Herr Rathenau's ideal is explained, so far as it is explained, in the term of transcendental metaphysics, it does not appear greatly to differ from the ideal of English Socialists. The author is not a Socialist. He criticises Socialism severely, and will have nothing to do with its economic methods. Yet the ideal of communal co-operation, this exultation of social functions, are inconsistent with the traditional tenets of Liberalism as Englishmen have understood them and akin to the teaching of the pioneers of English Socialism. These classifications are unimportant. Nor is it worth while to emphasise how impractical in appearance are such demands for a change in social ethics divorced from a consideration of social machinery. The interactions of soul and body remain as mysterious in a community as in an individual, and whether it is nearer the truth to say that the genius of race is determined by its institutions or *vice versa*, we need not demand from the prophet a draft bill. Three attitudes of mind only are possible in the face of a disordered and impoverished civilisation. You must cling fearfully to what remains of the past; you may, abandoning hope, concentrate upon individual culture; or you may seek a new kind of civilisation to replace what is perishing. The last is Herr Rathenau's attitude. Those who read his book will probably share it. It is for them to decide how the new spirit is to be fostered.

H. C. HARWOOD.

MR. WELLS AND WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON AND THE HOPE OF PEACE." By H. G. WELLS. (Collins. 6s.)

MR. WELLS has an amazing capacity for hitching the wagon of his ephemeral journalism to the star of history. There is no writer who can so deftly clothe the naked and shivering hesitations of present politics with the glittering vesture of past traditions. The march of mankind is loudly audible beneath the hubbub made by this fleeting generation, giving a sense of magnificent importance to our most trivial thoughts and to our most transient actions. It is not surprising, therefore, that these absorbing and profound reflections should have created so great a sensation on their appearance in the press. The Washington Conference had itself captured the imagination of the public, and the author of these essays, penetrating beneath the platitudes of conventional description, fed that imagination with an exciting mixture of idealism and realism. The quick reprint of his newspaper articles enables us to read them as a whole and to realise how true an appreciation Mr. Wells has, not only of the importance of what has been done at Washington, but of the place that Conference holds in this dangerous crisis of our civilisation.

No doubt journalism has its misfortunes. Mr. Wells, for instance, makes fun of the League of Nations Union for "debating with the utmost gravity whether the use of poison gas and the sinking of neutral ships should be permitted." He could not foresee that after his departure from Washington the Conference would itself debate these questions with the utmost gravity and arrive at identical academic resolutions. Such details as these, however, do not detract from the obvious conclusion, at which the careful reader must arrive, that Mr. Wells sees eye to eye with those who are working everywhere for peace. Mr. Wells observes the rotting of civilisation; he appreciates the economic link between the nations; he foresees the necessity for Genoa. The illusions that "security" can be obtained by armament, and that America can remain isolated, have no hold upon him; on the contrary he wishes America to "join in" by insisting upon permanent disarmament. Upon the broad lines of principle he is close to Geneva and far removed from Paris.

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It is important, therefore, for those who support the League of Nations to examine the points of difference if such there be, between themselves and Mr. Wells more especially since many reviewers have deduced from this book an essential antagonism between the League and Mr. Wells' sketch of an Association.

Mr. Wells criticises the League as useful but incomplete, "not wholly satisfactory, not wholly a failure, destined for reconsideration." He also says the same of Washington. He considers the League to be too complete, too clearly defined. Recognising the necessity for alliance between possible enemies rather than between obvious friends, he desires "a federated world control to keep single nations in order." His Association would "keep the peace and arrange difficulties by conference." Yet something more is needed, "something permanent to maintain this accumulation of agreements and understandings." Therefore the Washington Conference "must lay an egg to reproduce itself," "adjourn but not cease" it is "a new instrument, a new organ, that has to recur, has to grow." The project of Conferences continually following each other and linked together by permanent Commissions is, in Mr. Wells' opinion, more experimental, more flexible, more capable of great adaptations more alive than the present League.

It may be so. But there is no antagonism here; the line of distinction is very narrow. It would not require any great ingenuity to convert the one into the other, and there can be no doubt that that conflict of minds that creates evolution will gradually diminish the distinction until it is invisible. Mr. Wells is not an enemy; he is that useful being, a critical confederate.

XIII.

MR. KEYNES AGAIN.

"A REVISION OF THE TREATY." By J. M. KEYNES. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

MR. J. M. KEYNES, the Cambridge economist, did such fine work for the British Treasury during the war that he was given an important place in the British Delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris. This appointment he resigned a few weeks before the Treaty was signed. Six months later (in December 1919) he explained why "the economic consequences of the peace were, in his view, likely to prove disastrous." His book was translated in twelve different languages including Chinese, and has had a profound influence on public opinion in America as well as in Europe.

In that book Mr. Keynes had much to say about reparations. To that question Mr. Keynes returns in his new book "A Revision of the Treaty." After recording the attempts that have been made to solve the problem during the two years since his earlier book was published, he propounds a new solution of his own.

The story, as told by Mr. Keynes, begins just before the Armistice when the Allied Governments decided to require from Germany compensation "for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." At the Peace Conference, the Supreme Council persuaded itself that it was proper to include pensions and disablement allowances in the Bill of Reparation which Mr. Keynes calculates trebled the Reparation Bill. An attempt was made at Paris to find a figure for insertion in the Treaty. But while France and Great Britain would not agree to less than 9 milliards—the word "million" being used, both here and in what follows, to denote an amount of which the present value is £1,000,000,000 gold—the highest figure which the Americans would agree was 7 milliards

(Mr. Keynes' earlier book said that it would have been wise and just to demand from Germany the payment of 2 milliards "in final settlement of all claims without further examination of particulars"; but two years ago such a proposal was laughed to scorn.) So the Supreme Council abandoned the attempt to assess the amount of damage in the Treaty and left to the Reparation Commission to determine afterwards. When the Allied nations sent their claims in to the Reparation Commission, it was found that the total amounted to 113 milliards (p. 118). The Supreme Council met in Paris in January, 1921, and decided to ask Germany for this sum, but to spread it over a period of years, and so very considerably to reduce its present value (p. 22). The Germans were asked to meet the Supreme Council in London in March, but no agreement was reached. On April 24, the Germans proposed that the liability of Germany be fixed at 2½ milliards. But this offer was not acceptable to the Allies. There was nothing for it but to fall back on the Treaty and allow the Reparation Commission to determine Germany's aggregate liability. They fixed the total at 6.6 milliards (£6,600,000,000) plus £300,000,000 for Belgian debt. Of this sum Germany agreed to make certain payments which would be equivalent to 2½ milliards and might some day provide the balance (4.1 milliards) required to make up the nominal total. The effect of this arrangement was to reduce the present value of the reparation liability to 2½ milliards plus whatever might be the present value of an uncertain and, in Mr. Keynes' opinion, highly improbable balance of 4.1 milliards at some distant future date.

Mr. Keynes calculates that even if the problematical 4.1 milliards were disregarded, the certain 2½ milliards would still be more than Germany can pay; and, indeed, since Mr. Keynes' book was published, the arrangements for German payments have had to be revised at Cannes.

Mr. Keynes now thinks that, if the claims against Germany for pensions and disablement allowances were abandoned, and the claim for reparations thus reduced to 1.8 milliards, to which "we are strictly entitled under the Armistice terms" (p. 173), the sum would probably be within Germany's theoretical capacity to pay. He thus arrives at a figure very nearly the same as that which he published two years ago. But he now goes further, and argues that the interests of restoring normal conditions throughout the world would be better served by reducing Germany's liability to 1.1 milliards. This sum would, he reckoned, suffice to give France and Belgium the whole of their agreed shares of the 1.8 milliards, and would leave enough over to restore Austria and Poland. If, at the same time, there were an all-round cancellation of war debts, every country affected, except only the United States and Great Britain, would, he argues, be financially better off, while the English-speaking world would gain by the restoration of financial stability in Europe more than it would lose by the cancellation of its doubtful paper assets.

Whether or not Mr. Keynes has correctly estimated the figure to which the German liability in respect of reparations had best be reduced, it is clear that a very large reduction must be made in the amount (£6,600,000,000 gold) fixed by the Reparation Commission. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has suggested that the revision of the figures should be left to a tribunal to be appointed by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Mr. Keynes' book makes a notable contribution to clear thinking about reparations. Its arithmetic is relieved by the lucidity of his style, and by many flashes of humour. A comic touch is added by selected press notices of Mr. Keynes' earlier book showing how many journals had to modify their first unfavourable impressions in the light of accumulating facts.

J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT.

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League of Nations Union Notes and News.

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

Co-operative Union helps the League.

A splendid effort is being made by the United Board of the Co-operative Union to secure the support of the four and a-half million British co-operators for the League of Nations by association with the League of Nations Union. Local Co-operative Societies are being urged by the Board to become associated with the corresponding local Branches of the L.N.U. and to render every assistance to them in their work of organising public opinion.

League of Nations Union Matinee.

The matinee in aid of the League of Nations Union funds should prove to be a really great occasion.

It will take place at the Winter Garden Theatre on February 21st at 2.30, and will be known as the "First Performance Matinee," as all the items on the programme are being given for the first time.

One of the most interesting of these will be a new play called "A Seat in the Park," by Sir Arthur Pinero, in which Miss Irene Vanbrugh and Mr. Dion Boucicault are taking the leading parts.

Other artists who have kindly promised to appear are Miss Sarah Allgood, Mme. Carrie Tubb, Mmes. Lopokova and Spessiva, of the Imperial Russian Ballet, Miss Muriel George and Mr. Butcher in their charming old English duets, and Mr. Leslie Henson, who will also conduct an auction of valuable gifts to the Union.

Tickets should be applied for as early as possible, as a great demand is assured. They may be obtained from the Winter Garden Theatre, from the usual agencies, and at the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

The Union's Appeal.

The Council of Management of the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors, at their meeting on December 15th, with Mr. Skinner, chairman of Messrs. John Barker & Co., presiding, unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"That the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors, after having considered in detail the basis of the League of Nations, expresses its unanimous approval of the League of Nations as being in the interests of international commercial prosperity, and recommends for the favourable consideration of distributors the educative work undertaken by the League of Nations Union."

It is found that drawing-rooms on behalf of the appeal which the League of Nations Union is making are a very helpful way of interesting individuals who will not go to public meetings and do not read much literature. At a drawing-room held recently in London some £500 was raised for the Union, and in addition a large number of those present joined. It is suggested to members of the Union who have large drawing-rooms that they should arrange "at homes" in their own immediate districts for the purpose of raising funds for the Union. Headquarters will be very pleased to give any assistance either in sending out invitations or in providing suitable speakers.

Entertainment and Prize-giving.

At the annual Staff Entertainment and Fancy Dress Dance, held on January 14th, at the Headquarters of the Union, Lady Robert Cecil kindly undertook to present the prizes to the winners in the L.N.U. Competition Scheme. The prizes took the form of beautiful gifts of silver, books, bags, &c., which had been given by Lady Robert Cecil, Lady Gladstone, Major David Davies, the Hon. Oliver Brett, and the members of the Women's Advisory Committee.

The League in School.

A meeting of elementary school children during school hours in Canterbury, addressed by Mr. Frederick Whelen on the League of Nations, has been officially approved by the Board of Education as an adequate substitute for school. In other words, the time spent at the meeting is to be counted as school attendance. Teachers, please note!

A League of Nations Parliament.

Indications are increasing that the goal outlined by Lord Grey at the Mansion House—"a House of Commons

pledged to see that the Government of the day, whatever it is, pursues a League of Nations policy"—is within sight if members of the League of Nations Union realise clearly how easily it may be won. The most significant of those indications is the increasing number of Parliamentary by-elections at which all candidates are members of their local Branch of the L.N.U. W. Lewisham, Louth, West-houghton, and S.E. Southwark, to quote only some, are cases in point. With that situation becoming so common, it is obviously time for us to confront candidates with questions dealing with issues already on the Parliamentary horizon—not questions which can be answered with expressions of pious approval of the League, but questions requiring specific undertakings which show that the candidate is really determined to help the League in Parliament.

The experience of the Branches above mentioned has suggested an easy and effective procedure for L.N.U. non-party intervention at elections, which will make candidates realise that there exists among their constituents the determination to see the British Government use the League increasingly in all its foreign relations, to be adequately and authoritatively represented on the organs of the League, and to honour its obligations (and thereby induce other Member States to honour their obligations) under the Covenant. A policy and procedure for the Union on those lines, adopted at the Council meeting on January 20th, has been incorporated in memoranda already issued to all Branch Secretaries, including a "Parliamentary Questionnaire," with "Commentary" and "Suggestions on Activity at Parliamentary Elections." Branches cannot too soon discuss the questions there raised or be too well prepared to pull all their weight at the General Election which may be upon us at any moment.

The Prague Conference.

The Sixth International Conference of League of Nations Associations will take place in Prague during the first fortnight in June. Many members of the Union will doubtless be interested to attend this conference; and it is proposed that a tour should be organised starting from the Hague and continuing through Berlin and Dresden to Prague, where some days could be spent at the conference, and from thence to Frankfurt, Cologne, and Brussels.

If all those who are interested in this project will write to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, full details will be sent them as to terms and the programme of the tour, as it is proposed that the opportunity should be taken in visiting each of these towns to have conferences with societies of a similar character to the Union and visits arranged to special places of interest. Inquiries should be made as soon as possible.

Lord Grey at Bristol.

An important meeting was held at Bristol on January 10th, the birthday of the League, at which Lord Grey of Faldoon voiced the policy of the Union in regard to Washington, Genoa, and the League.

Esperanto and Ido.

In view of the fact that the Secretariat of the League, on the motion of the Second Assembly, is making full inquiries into the possibilities of Esperanto as an international language, it would be useful if the League of Nations Union could supply information to the League as to the number of members of the Union who are either Esperantists or Idoists. Will those members who fall into either of these categories kindly send a postcard to the General Secretary, containing their names and addresses and the word "Esperantist" or "Idoist"?

Progress of the Union.

The membership of the Union is now 157,489. The number of Branches is 730.

Branch Activities.

The League of Nations Ball.

On January 11, a League of Nations ball was given by the Keswick Branch, under the patronage of General Sir Cecil and Lady Lowther, the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, the Lady Mabel Howard, the Lord and Lady Rochdale, and others.

Pageant Plays.

An original and interesting pageant play entitled "The Dawn of Peace" has been produced by Mrs. Martindale for the Heswell Branch of the League of Nations Union. It has been performed at several places in the North of England, aroused interest in the League, and gained new members for the Union.

The play may be heartily recommended to other branches. We can also cordially recommend "The Peace Maker" a legend-play written by the Rev. W. J. May, of 18, Hatton Avenue, Wellingborough.

Peace Songs.

We have received from Mrs. H. Periam Hawkins a short collection of "Peace Songs" for use at League of Nations meetings, price 1d. each, 6s. per 100. All profits from sales will be given to the League of Nations Union. Applications should be made to Mrs. Hawkins, St. Mark's Cottage, Reigate.

Girl Scholars and the League.

Following an Armistice Day addressed to some three hundred girls in the Derby Municipal Secondary School by Councillor Goodere (Hon. Secretary of the Derby Borough Branch of the L.N.U.), no less than 104 scholars formed a Juvenile Society to study the principles of the League and to disseminate the ideas of international co-operation of peace. Two of the girls will receive HEADWAY, and a meeting to consider various phases of the problem will be held at least every term. Miss Kay, the headmistress, and fourteen members of the staff have joined the Borough Branch.

Essays on the League.

The treasurer of the Radstock Branch, Mr. A. E. Chivers, initiated a useful piece of educational propaganda by offering four prizes at a local secondary school, of which he is a governor, for the best essays on the League. The scheme was highly successful. After a lecture on the subject by one of the staff, followed by a general discussion, twenty essays were sent in, compiled after diligent research. All the essays showed the keenest interest in the League.

Crowded Meeting at Wellingborough.

Mr. Silas Hocking spoke in the Palace Theatre, Wellingborough, on Sunday night, December 4, to a crowded house. He was supported on the platform by the chairman and members of the U.D.C., county councillors, the vicar of Wellingborough, and other local clergy. Mr. John Pendered, J.P., C.C., was in the chair. A large number of new members were enrolled on the spot.

The Lyric Singers and Palace Orchestra gave their services and a very pleasant evening was spent. This is the second time in four months that Wellingborough has demonstrated in favour of the League.

DESTINED TO DIE

The following letter has been sent to us by one of our workers in the famine area of Buzuluk, Samara:—

"We Russian mothers who are destined to die this winter from starvation and disease, implore the people of the whole world to take our children from us, that those who are innocent may not share our horrible fate. We implore the world to do this because, even at the cost of a voluntary and eternal separation, we long to repair the wrong we have committed in giving them a life which is worse than death. All of you who have children or who have lost children, all of you who have children and fear to lose them, in remembrance of the children who are dead and in the name of those who are still living we beseech you! Do not think of us; we cannot be helped. We have lost all hope but we shall yet be happy with the only happiness that a mother knows, in the knowledge that her child is safe."

**It makes its appeal to you.
Can you withhold a response?**

Gifts in kind and clothing (new or partly worn) may be sent to the warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C. 4.

Send your subscriptions, clearly earmarked Friends' Relief Committee (for Russia), to Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room No. 10, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

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

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

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

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