

Headway

A Review of World Affairs



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THE MONTH.

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"France wants reparations and security. I believe, in the long run, those two things can only be secured by building up a strong League of Nations."—Viscount Grey of Falloon, at Bristol, February 27, 1923.

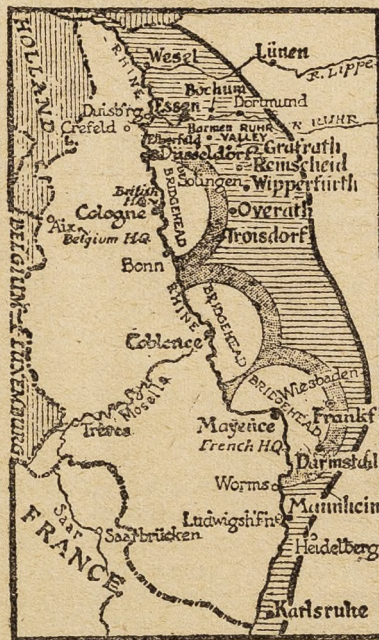
THERE has been cumulative evidence during the past month to prove that Lord Grey, in the words he addressed to the National Free Church Assembly at Bristol, adequately voiced the feeling of practically the whole British nation. Three recent debates in the House of Commons—on February 19, on March 6 and on March 13—show a remarkable agreement on the vital threefold question of security, reparations and the League of Nations, on the part of men of such widely divergent political outlook as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Oswald Mosley and Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. Morel. "The real problem is security," declared Sir Frederick Maurice a few weeks ago, and everything that has happened since France first entered the Ruhr only serves to accentuate the truth of that statement. Lord Robert Cecil put the matter in a nutshell when he told the Council of the League of Nations Union on March 15 that it was impossible to expect France to look at

the problem of reparations from a strictly business point of view until her security has first been guaranteed.

* * * *

WHAT does this mean? It means the League of Nations, nothing more and nothing less.

The League's mutual guarantee scheme, which has been endorsed in principle by France herself as well as by Great Britain and the other members of the League, can confer a security which no Three-Power Pact of Guarantee (such as was agreed upon at the Paris Peace Conference and lapsed owing to the refusal of America to ratify the agreement) could ever provide. Another proposal at present advocated in the French Press, and which might well be



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THE BRIDGE-HEADS FIXED BY THE TREATY AND THE AREAS NOW OCCUPIED BY FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

worked into the framework of the Guarantee Pact of the League, is that of a demilitarised and neutralised zone between France and Germany under international guarantee. There is a good deal to be said for this proposal, provided that it were

carried through under the auspices of the League, and that the sovereignty of Germany over the demilitarised zone were guaranteed. Indeed, an arrangement of this kind might well provide a valuable precedent in other cases where two neighbouring States have reason to fear each other.

THE Council of the League meets this month, and to avoid raising the question of the Ruhr will be surely impossible. Not only is the situation one which "affects the peace of the world" (in the words of Article 11 of the Covenant), but there has been a definite breach of the Treaty of Versailles by the Rhineland High Commission, which, so soon as French troops had occupied the territory between the bridgeheads of Mayence, Coblenz and Cologne, declared this territory to be under their authority. As Mr. Ronald McNeill stated in the House of Commons on March 5, His Majesty's Government are advised that under no provision of the Treaty of Versailles or of the Rhineland Agreement can the High Commission claim to exercise jurisdiction over this territory. In the circumstances a strong vigorous League policy advocated by our own Government is an urgent and a vital necessity.

AS we go to press the newspapers announce a decision by the Conference of Ambassadors which recognises the eastern boundary for the Polish State as it was fixed by the Treaty concluded at Riga in 1920 between the Polish and Soviet Governments. The acknowledgment of this frontier puts an end to an equivocal situation which has hindered reconstruction and menaced peace for four years. But rejoicing at the fact of settlement must be tempered by fear that the Allied Powers have arisen from lethargy only to follow the line of least resistance, and that in allowing Poland's claim to territory that contains some ten million people of whom only a small percentage are Poles they have cut a knot which should have been patiently untied, and broken the string on which the future security of Europe depends. For good relations between Poland and the Baltic States, and between Poland and Russia (when Russia "finds herself" again) are not merely locally important. They are a bulwark of peace in east and west alike. The two most important regions affected by this decision are Vilna and East Galicia. Both these territories pass to Poland under the Riga Treaty.

THE circumstances in East Galicia are sketched in one of our leading articles in this number of HEADWAY. The question there is one with which the League has (unfortunately, as we think) never been actively concerned. In Vilna, however, the League Council strove hard to effect a settlement. It was forced to give up its efforts more than a year ago, and it may be well to recall now the reasons for its renunciation of responsibility, which replaced the task of settlement in the hands of the Allied Powers. Vilna was claimed by both Poland and Lithuania, but its destiny was left open at the Paris Conference. In December, 1919, however, the Allies indicated to Poland a provisional boundary, which left Vilna outside their State. This line was never agreed to by Poland, although the

Treaty of Versailles, her certificate of re-birth, bound her to accept the frontiers that the Allies should decide were justly hers. Obedience was not insisted upon. In August, 1920, a clash occurred between Polish and Lithuanian troops. Each party declared the other the aggressor. Both appealed to the League, Poland being the first to do so.

THE Council instantly sent a Commission to the disputed frontier, and under League auspices an agreement was soon signed, which fixed a provisional boundary which both agreed to respect—Vilna being left on the Lithuanian side. But the very next day Polish troops, under the Polish General Zeligowski, occupied Vilna, and a few days later set up a civil administration which has continued up to the present time. The League Council invoked to settle the dispute evolved a scheme by which the Vilna region was made a separate canton within the Lithuanian State, with special safeguards for the rights of its Polish inhabitants. But neither party was prepared to accept this compromise. Sympathy with the Lithuanian point of view does not prevent us from deploring this refusal. Really sound statesmanship would have led the Lithuanians to leave their case in League hands, and to strengthen their moral force by acceptance of its ruling. But they chose otherwise, the League was obliged to suspend its efforts, and a decision entirely in Poland's favour has now been made by the Allied Powers.

THE prospects of a speedy peace settlement with Turkey are a good deal brighter than they were a month ago. At the time of writing the complete text of the Turkish counter-proposals has not been received, but these appear to be couched in moderate language, and afford a reasonable basis for a renewed discussion. It is noticeable that Angora has agreed that the question of the Iraq frontier shall be referred to the League if agreement between Turkey and Great Britain is not reached within twelve months. Turkey and Greece are already preparing for an immediate exchange of prisoners. This will facilitate the reception by Greece of the numerous refugees for whom at present there is insufficient accommodation. It will be remembered that, under a scheme organised by the League of Nations in conjunction with the Greek Government, some 10,000 refugees are being settled on the land in Western Thrace. It is anticipated that these people will become self-supporting with the gathering of the harvest, but in the meantime they are being fed by British assistance. The promoters of the All-British Appeal at General Buildings, Aldwych, already feed a large number of Near East refugees, and with this new strain on their resources is appealing urgently for funds. In all some million refugees need help.

IN the present deplorable state of Europe it is not surprising that attention should once more be focussed upon the need for revising the Treaty of Versailles, since some of the ills from which Europe is suffering are directly attributable to certain clauses of that Treaty. A committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the

League of Nations Union is now examining the possibility of revision, by the League, taking into consideration first, the individual opinions of the Treaty makers themselves on this subject, and, second, the machinery through which, under the terms of the covenant, the League could act.

UNDER the first heading it is noticeable that revision appears to have been contemplated not only by such men as General Smuts and President Wilson, but by M. Clemenceau, who wrote to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau during the peace negotiations in Paris: [The Treaty] "creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent, whereby the settlement of 1919 itself can be modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise." The reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the German Delegates also assumes that the Versailles Treaty is merely intended to occupy a transitory period, and that the instrument for progressing to a final settlement is the League of Nations. At the same time it is important to recognise that out of the 440 clauses of the Treaty, the vast majority either need no present revision or, if revised, would raise violent protests from those Central European nations whose very existence depends on the Treaty.

THE value of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the eyes of the nations of the world is proved by the importance of the cases referred to it. To date six cases have been so referred. The first dealt with the validity of the nomination of the Dutch Workers' Delegate to the Third International Labour Conference. The second and third referred to agriculture. In the second case the Court was asked to decide whether the competence of the International Labour Office extended to agriculture, and in the third whether the I.L.O. was competent to deal with such questions as the organisation and development of methods of agricultural production. In these three cases only an advisory opinion was asked of the Court. An advisory opinion was also sought on the highly important and controversial question whether the dispute between France and Great Britain as to the right of the former to conscript British subjects in Tunis and Morocco was solely a domestic matter.

THIS case was previously argued direct between the British and French Foreign Offices, but no progress was made towards a settlement until Great Britain raised the matter before the League Council in August, 1922. This action precipitated further negotiations, with the result that France agreed to put before the Permanent Court the claim as to domestic jurisdiction, undertaking further that if the ruling went against her on this point she would submit the main question to arbitration. The Court has decided against France, and arbitration will, therefore, follow. This dispute is of particular interest, as the two parties are both major Powers. The two other cases which have come before the Court refer to the question of the refusal of the German authorities to give free access to the Kiel Canal to the British steamship "Wimbledon,"

which was alleged to be carrying war material for Poland; and to the question of whether Poland has been observing her Treaty obligations in regard to German minorities in her country.

THE Pan-American Conference at Santiago is in session as we go to press, and no report of its deliberations has as yet reached us. It is to deal with such problems as Pan-American reduction of armaments, a Pan-American Court of Justice, a Pan-American League of Nations, and Pan-Americanism and the Munroe Doctrine. What will be the resulting effect, if any, on the attitude of the United States to the existing League of Nations? Without attempting to reply to this question we offer our readers the following facts for their consideration. On February 15 Senator Borah, one of the strongest of the anti-League "Diehard" opponents of President Wilson, introduced into the American Senate a resolution calling for the outlawry of war "as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies" and proposing the creation and adoption of a code of international law and an International Court. On February 24 President Harding sent a special message to the Senate asking that body to approve in advance the adherence of the United States to the Protocol under which the League's Permanent Court of International Justice is established. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate decided not to consider this proposal until next Session.

THE attitude of Central and South America is also worth considering. Argentina, who withdrew from the League Assembly in 1920, and has failed to pay her contribution to League expenses, and still regards herself a member of the League. The five Central American Republics, who recently held a Conference at Washington under the chairmanship of Mr. Hughes, have evolved a plan for mutual reduction of armaments. The Santiago Conference is to discuss "the judicial or arbitral settlement of disputes between the Republics of the American Continent." Finally, we may quote the following excerpt from a letter we have received from a distinguished man who has just concluded a lecture-tour on the League in some 40 cities in the United States. He writes: "The Federal Churches are spending a quarter of a million dollars on League propaganda. What I want to tell you is that the South seems solid for the League, and in the North the tide is turning very rapidly." At the same time, as a distinguished American writer on another page reminds us, America moves slowly, and the tradition of isolation is still very strong. With the principle of the League a large proportion of Americans are in full sympathy, but they will be slow to commit themselves to a binding covenant. Nevertheless if America will co-operate with Europe in regard to specific questions Europe will have little cause to grumble.

The League of Nations contains 52 Member States, whose total population amounts to 1,217,427,300—rather more than three-quarters of the total population of the World.

THE LEAGUE MUST ACT.

THE moment is fast approaching, if it has not already come, at which decisive action must be taken to end the present intolerable situation in the Valley of the Ruhr. We have in these columns set forth what, in our view, are the dangers of this situation, and the main conditions which must be fulfilled if a rapid and final solution of the problem of Reparations is to be found. The dangers which we have pointed out have become increasingly acute. The economic loss to both sides has become most serious, and the menace of war, immediate or in the future, grows daily greater.

In these circumstances every supporter of the League of Nations hopes that the Government will find some opportunity of raising the whole problem of Reparations, and the other questions which are bound up with Reparations, before the League of Nations without delay. We believe that the vast majority of the people of this country would have been profoundly relieved if the Government had thought it possible before now to demand a special session of the Council to deal with the matter. Both the recent debates in the House of Commons, with the widespread expression by members of every party of the hope that the Council of the League would immediately be called upon and the feeling shown at the meeting of the Council of the Union in London on March 15, furnish strong grounds for this view. But whether this view be right or wrong, we are convinced that the whole opinion of the country is determined that at all costs the matter must be dealt with, and dealt with seriously, at the meeting of the Council which is to open in Geneva on April 10. We are confident that the Government will take this view, and that if the matter is raised again, as it was in January by Mr. Branting, the Government will on this occasion support his motion with all their strength, as they did not think it possible then to do. Further, we trust that if neither Mr. Branting nor any other member of the Council thinks it possible to raise the question, the British representative will himself take the responsibility of doing so. There can be no doubt that if the Government were to allow the Council meeting to go by without taking such action as this there would be not only profound disappointment, but real and vivid resentment throughout the length and breadth of the country.

There is another point of even more importance; if the matter is dealt with by the Council it must be dealt with not in a perfunctory discussion undertaken to save the reputation of the League, but without serious hope of result; it must, on the contrary, be undertaken with a determined resolution to arrive at a settlement that shall be final and complete. But if there is to be any hope of reaching such a settlement it is essential that the conditions

which we have dwelt on in our previous issues should be fulfilled. Readers of HEADWAY will remember that in our view the essential conditions of a settlement are two; first, there must be a genuine international guarantee for the security of France against invasion; second, that there must be a declaration by all the countries concerned that, whatever Germany may pay by way of Reparation, justice demands that the first claim on those sums shall be for the restoration of the territories devastated in Belgium and in France by the invading armies of the German Empire. Every day that passes makes it clearer that there can be no peace in Europe until some international plan is agreed to which shall meet these two fundamental claims of France. Freedom from the fear of invasion and satisfaction for the sentiment of justice are the only groundwork upon which co-operation between the nations of France, Germany and Great Britain can be built.

There is no need to recall to readers of HEADWAY our previous suggestions on the subject of security. There can be no doubt that the foundation stone of any system of security must be the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee which Lord Robert Cecil has laid before the world, and the principle of which the Assembly adopted at its meeting last September. There is an additional proposal which has received much favourable comment in the French press, and to which supporters of the League will readily subscribe—the proposal to establish between France and Germany a demilitarised and neutralised zone, placed under the supervision of the League of Nations, and with an effective control of the railway system in the hands of League officials. Such a plan, if carried into effect, would do much to remove the fear of sudden attack from the minds of both the French and the German peoples. In principle it is a proposal to which no state could bring objection, and in the practical application of which no insuperable difficulty need arise; it would not only be of use in the present problem, but would serve as a valuable precedent for other cases in the future.

The other condition—priority for the restoration of the devastated areas—is only less important than security. It is a matter on which we believe every right-minded citizen in this country has no doubt. We believe that the British public would unanimously support the Government if it declared that the restoration of these areas should constitute the first claim against any payments which Germany may make in liquidation of her Reparations debt. And happily there are many indications that if the Government of this country were to make a declaration on these two matters, and were to propose that the Council of the League at its next meeting should undertake the task of drawing up a comprehensive settlement, based on this double foundation, the Government of France would not only gladly but would eagerly agree to the proposal. We believe, in short, that the Government could make a decisive step forward by giving a strong lead at the present juncture; and that if it were to give that lead, its action would be crowned with success.

THE FATE OF EASTERN GALICIA.

AT last the Allied Powers have faced the difficulties that for four years have discouraged them from attempting a settlement of the fate of East Galicia. This country, a remnant of the old Austria, is theirs to dispose of, and the continued uncertainty about its future status has been a greater risk to peace even than the position in which the Memel territory was similarly left. Memel has just been definitely given to Lithuania, but it was more by good luck than good management that no serious disturbance arose from the Allies' dilatory handling of its affairs.

The East Galician question is on a larger scale, and mistakes there must be fraught with grave dangers, for they concern a country with four and a-half million inhabitants, and much natural wealth, including oil, in the midst of the most politically disturbed region of Eastern Europe. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the decision (announced in the newspapers as we go to press) which hands the whole region over to Poland is likely to conduce to future peace.

Galicia, lying at the foot of the northern slopes of the Carpathians, with Russia as neighbour on the east, was an Austrian province from the time of the Partitions of Poland in 1722 and 1815 until, at the break-up of the Austrian Empire after the Great War, it fell into the hands of the Allies.

Ever since 1866 the administration of the whole province had been left much in Polish hands. The nobles and land-owning gentry were (and still mainly are) Poles. From them the "Polish Party" in the former Austrian Parliament were drawn, a group powerful enough to strike bargains with the Austrian Government in return for their support. The chief part of the price they asked was a free hand in Galician affairs.

If the whole of Galicia had been inhabited by a Polish population this Polish domination would have caused no discontent. But although in the western half of the country the mass of the people, peasants and landlords alike, are Poles, in the eastern half Poles are a minority, large and powerful no doubt, for they number about a million, or nearly a quarter of the population of this part of Galicia. Therefore in 1919 the Allies were not then disposed to allow the justice of Poland's claim to the whole country. A distinction was, therefore, made by the Peace Conference between Western and Eastern Galicia. The former was offered to Poland. The ultimate fate of the latter was reserved for future decision.

The difficulties in the way of a settlement were no doubt great then, and they have not decreased with delay, although the dangers inherent in the very existence of this "No Man's Land" have become more apparent. Complete independence would no doubt be a dangerous gift to East Galicia, at any rate at present, but the choice of a suitable protector for her among the neighbouring States is not simple. The Ruthenians, who make up the mass of the people, are bitterly hostile to Polish rule. Those Ruthenians are, in blood and language, nearly related to the people of the Ukraine, from whom

their country is not separated by any physical barrier. The Ukraine, however, has at present no clear political life of its own. It is no more than a part of the chaos which was once the Empire of Russia. Nevertheless, its intimate connection with East Galicia should be a factor in any calculation for the future, more especially because the two countries are economically linked by the great water-way of the Dniester, which flows through them both on its way to the Black Sea. Such facts are dangerous to ignore, for they survive the fleeting conditions of political expediency.

In 1919, however, and indeed ever since, the expediency of the moment has been the only guide to the Allies' policy towards East Galicia. To begin with, a military occupation by Polish troops was sanctioned in 1919, for military reasons connected with the war against Russia. It was, to be sure, accompanied by an assurance to the Ruthenians that their right to have a voice in the final settlement of their country would not be prejudiced, and the Poles were bidden to consider themselves only temporarily installed. But four years passed, and they remained in possession, and were even suffered to hold elections in East Galicia for the Warsaw Parliament. The Ruthenians protested against the illegality of this and other acts, and more than once attempted to revolt. But the Allies for four years turned deaf ears and blind eyes upon East Galician affairs.

Twice the Assembly of the League of Nations urged that the status of the country be settled, but only received formal acknowledgment of their resolution from the Allied Powers. Quite recently, however, Poland made the same request, with more effect, for the matter has now apparently been decided in her favour.

It is an open secret that the delay hitherto has been caused as much by differences of opinion among the Allies as by the real difficulties of the case. France has always been sympathetic to Poland's territorial ambitions, and Britain has felt more strongly the dangers of allotting to Poland a country full of alien and unwilling subjects.

There seems no reason to believe that these respective points of view have changed, and no doubt it was difficult for the Allies to find any way out of the deadlock for themselves, except by accepting the Polish claim to possess the country. Such a solution may possibly stave off the difficulty for the time being, but, quite apart from its betrayal of the pledge made to the Ruthenians when the Poles took military possession, it involves great risk of future war.

It would have been infinitely preferable that the Allies should have referred the question to the League of Nations. A settlement of some sort was urgently required, but if the Allies were unable to agree upon a solution containing that consideration for justice which is the sole permanent basis of peace, the League should have been invoked. It would not have been the first time that it would have proved itself to be the body best qualified to carry out the interests of general security by devising a scheme acceptable to all the conflicting parties. This indeed has been the policy constantly advocated by the League of Nations Union.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE.

By CLARENCE L. GRAFF.

[Treasurer, American Relief Committee, 1914; Treasurer, Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1914; Chairman, American Society in London, 1919; Member of American Sub-committee of the League of Nations Union.]

TWO recent events in America have revived interest in America's Foreign Policy—if indeed such interest has ever appeared to wane. The question of isolation or a full share of world responsibility is so important to the future of America, and possibly to civilisation itself, that any indication of a willingness on the part of the United States to participate in the settlement of European problems is naturally the subject of immediate discussion, and even of revived hope. How far America may be ready to join in a general European settlement is variously interpreted, and it is important before arriving at a conclusion to consider the currents and cross-currents of American public opinion.

The writer has recently returned from a short visit to the United States, and it is with no little hesitation that he ventures to accept the kind invitation of HEADWAY briefly to record a few impressions. It is so easy to be mistaken in the observations of a short visit, confined to the Eastern States. But two events have recently occurred that have revived hope of a more definite American policy in European affairs. One is President Harding's advocacy of American membership in the International Court; and the other, Senator Borah's pronouncement that "something should be done."

These happenings are admittedly important, but do they justify the hope that America is preparing for a more active participation in European questions, and is even ready when the time may seem opportune to intervene in the Ruhr? With great regret I cannot believe that view to be correct. America's policy of isolation is traditional. It is founded on the belief that as the Munroe doctrine does not admit of European interference in the Western Hemisphere so conversely American intervention in Europe is unjustified.

That belief is difficult to shake, and when it is remembered that America is a continent of mixed races who have settled there, so often, to escape the civil, religious and political turmoil of Europe, it is perhaps understandable. That America must eventually depart from that detached policy, if she is to maintain her position in a world grown too small for aloofness, is obvious, but public opinion in a democracy such as ours must, in the absence of imperious necessity, as in 1917, be a process of gradual development.

The speech of Mr. Hughes in New Haven on December 29 described the limit to which the Government of the United States was willing to go at that time, and I do not believe that policy has materially altered since.

With the rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the Senate, co-operation between executive and the legislative branches of the Government has been one of increasing difficulty. In the exigencies of American politics, even in foreign affairs, parties unfortunately divide on party lines, and as a two-thirds majority of the Senate is necessary to the approval of a Treaty, the difficulties of the Administration are apparent.

Mr. Harding has therefore to tread warily or he might repeat the humiliating experience of Mr. Wilson in seeking Senatorial approval of his policies. I think it may be fairly said that the policy of the Administration is in advance of Congress, and as public opinion develops, Congress will be impelled to move, but that time is not yet. The feeling is still too strong that in any European settlement the political and economic factors are too closely united, too hopelessly involved to make it safe sailing on that stormy sea.

As in time the European political factors become clarified, America, will be glad to join in economic

discussions tending to the settlement of reparations and the rehabilitation of Europe, but not yet.

And while the dangers of the present position are admitted it may be that in America there is a tendency to believe that they are, perhaps, exaggerated. This belief is strengthened by the course of markets in London, New York, Paris. The Stock Exchanges—those delicately adjusted barometers—do not reflect apprehension. Economically, much is occurring to justify optimism. The trade returns in America and Great Britain are encouraging. There is a general, if gradual, recovery in industry. Prices of basic metals reflect increasing demand. Sterling exchange moves steadily upwards. And it begins to appear for the moment that economic factors are asserting themselves independently—are shaking loose the fetters of political doubt and insecurity.

This is a slight diversion from the main theme, but it is not unrelated, for in improved economic conditions political factors become easier of adjustment. Peoples beginning to enjoy renewed prosperity are easier of conviction, as in times of adversity they are more willing to give heed to political causes that react on their condition and affect their well-being. So it is that the farmer in the Middle West of America—an exception, by the way, to improving conditions experienced in industry generally—begins to realise that an unsettled Continent of Europe is unable to buy wheat, and as the price of the exportable surplus governs the price of the home market, he feels that questions of European importance are of direct bearing. The world economically is so interdependent. And his political interest is accordingly stimulated, his vision perhaps widened. And Congress quickly responds to agricultural influence. That is another hopeful factor. Though futile, it is at least of philosophic interest to reflect and speculate on possibilities of that region of sadness and regret "THE MIGHT-HAVE-BEEN." All of us, no doubt, often in the troubled days since the Armistice of 1918 and the Treaty of Versailles have thought of what would have been the course of events had America joined the League of Nations—with or without reservations—and in that connection I shall venture to tell of a suggestion made to President Wilson by one of his advisers at the Peace Conference in Paris. The gentleman, whose name I must withhold, though I am sure I am not violating a confidence, was admittedly one of the ablest members of the American Delegation—a man of sound judgment and rare vision. He was a firm advocate of the League of Nations idea, but he foresaw the difficulties that were destined to attend Mr. Wilson in the Senate, and he proposed a plan which, in his opinion, would have obviated them, and which, at the same time, he thought would have been acceptable to the other nations. He protested to Mr. Wilson against the League Covenant. He felt that any rigid document would invite a discussion in which its meaning might become hopelessly obscured, and the interpretation of the written word become a source of doubt and dispute. He believed a League of Nations should be formed without a written Constitution. That the Nations should meet and agree on definite matters where agreement was possible, and so gradually, from agreement to agreement, to build a constitution like the British Constitution—by precedent. Had that been done, is it not conceivable that, in the absence of the acrimony attending the discussion of "Article 10" in the Senate, American participation might have been assured, and is the germ of that idea not discernible in the Washington Conference called for a specific purpose and happily with definite results?

For the rest, I am afraid we must still "wander in the wilderness" until other Conferences may be held with equally definite programmes—with equal promise of definite accomplishment.

NATIONS AT THE BAR OF JUSTICE.

By F. N. KEEN.

WHEN the Permanent Court of International Justice was established the Commission of Jurists, by whom the scheme was drafted (including, among other eminent jurists, Lord Phillimore and Mr. Elihu Root), proposed that for "legal" disputes, such as are referred to in the second paragraph of Article 13 of the Covenant, the Court should have compulsory jurisdiction as between Members of the League; that is to say, the Court should be empowered to hear and decide a case at the instance of one aggrieved party or disputant, without the consent of the other disputant.

The Council and the Assembly of the League decided that in general, and where there are no special treaties or conventions applicable, the jurisdiction should be voluntary; that is to say, it should be confined to cases submitted by consent of both parties. They, however, included in the Statute establishing the Court a provision that the Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may declare that they recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto*, and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in any of the classes of legal disputes above mentioned. The declaration may be made unconditionally, or on condition of reciprocity on the part of certain States, or for a certain time.

Nineteen States have made this declaration, viz.: Haiti, Lithuania, Norway, Panama, Brazil, China, Bulgaria, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Finland, Liberia, Luxemburg, Portugal, San Salvador, Austria.

The British Empire, France, Italy, and many other important States are absent from this list. It is difficult to ascertain the reasons holding these States back, but I gather that probably the British Government, to take the case nearest home, is influenced, to some extent at any rate, by the three reasons following:

1. That it is best to start with voluntary jurisdiction and leave compulsory jurisdiction until the Court has become experienced and gained public confidence, and international law has become further developed.

As to this reason I think it may be replied that under normal conditions the course suggested would be wise, but the conditions are abnormal through the urgent need to abolish war and the necessity of a compulsory system of justice for the settlement of international disputes if war is really to be abolished. Under the stress of this need the world cannot afford to wait while the Court demonstrates its ability through a long period of voluntary jurisdiction. Adequate precautions having been taken to secure a competent and impartial court, all nations ought to trust it and agree to accept its decisions in legal disputes. If our own Government will not undertake to defer, in purely legal questions, to the views of the specially qualified tribunal which the League has set up, how can we reasonably expect the Governments of France and Germany, the Balkan and Baltic States, Poland, and all the other countries to defer to the views of the Council of the League in grave issues of international politics?

2. That the Court may give decisions and establish principles of international law, contrary to vital British interests, and tending to weaken British maritime strength.

This reason seems based on a purely nationalistic view of world affairs, inconsistent with whole-hearted acceptance of League ideals and methods. I do not

believe that the British Government really wishes to adopt a narrow or selfish attitude towards other nations, or that the British people would wish their Government to set exclusive British interests above the dictates of general international justice. Moreover, whether or not the British Government makes the declaration for compulsory jurisdiction, the decisions of the Court and the principles of international law thereby recognised will doubtless be accepted generally within the League as authoritative. It seems unlikely that in future any one country could successfully maintain principles of international law inconsistent with those adopted by the Court.

3. That Britain might be summoned before the Court in respect of grievances over decisions of Prize Courts and blockade operations in the late war, and that bitter feelings would be aroused if she did not submit.

As to this reason, I doubt whether the Government, which could presumably adduce good justification for any past British action, need hesitate to face a decision of the Court, after due evidence and argument, in any "legal" dispute. In case, however, there should be any specific matters which the Government felt convinced that it would not be just or reasonable for the Court to reopen, I suggest that the difficulty might be met by a declaration that the jurisdiction is not accepted as compulsory for any case involving such matters. It would surely be unreasonable for any nation to feel bitterness at a refusal to accept compulsory citation in a case thus excluded by express declaration beforehand. The British Government, however, and every other Government must expect that, whether it declares for compulsory jurisdiction or not, it will in future be liable to criticism and pressure from its own people, from foreign governments individually, and from the nations in the League collectively, if it refuses to submit to the Permanent Court any purely legal dispute which is not otherwise settled and which the other party to the dispute claims, and is supported by world public opinion in claiming, ought to be decided by the Court.

The way to the ending of war lies in the organisation of suitably constituted tribunals to whom, instead of to war, nations will habitually submit and will pledge themselves to submit, in the last resort, disputes which they cannot compose by negotiation and agreement or other peaceful means. The wide acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in legal disputes would be a great step in this direction, and it is to be hoped that the British Government will see its way to taking the lead among the Great Powers in declaring for this compulsory jurisdiction.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

THE COUNCIL MEETING.

A MEETING of the General Council of the League of Nations Union was held at the Caxton Hall on March 15 to consider the Report of the Committee formed, as described in the January number of HEADWAY, "to consider and report upon the financial position of the Union, and to submit a scheme for producing a permanent income sufficient to meet the Headquarters expenditure." The Council had already, in December last, provisionally authorised an expenditure at the rate of £25,000 as from April 1, 1923, and pledged itself to do its utmost to raise sufficient money to provide that sum.

The Committee reported that they had investigated the proposed expenditure at the rate of £25,000 a year; that they were satisfied of the efficiency with which the Headquarters office discharges its functions; that the proposed reduction as from April 1 in the number of Regional Representatives in England from ten to four ought not to take place; and that, therefore, when certain minor economies had been made, the annual expenditure from April 1, 1923, should be at the rate of £28,000. To this proposal the Council agreed.

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE.

In order to place the Union's finances on a permanently satisfactory basis the Council decided to vote annually a sum—to be called the Council's Vote—which should be £15,000 during the last nine months of 1923, and of such amount as the Council may determine in subsequent years, and which should be raised by the Union as a whole through its Branches and Districts for the use of its Headquarters.

At the beginning of 1923 the Union owed £13,300 to the Bank and to other creditors, and during the first three months of 1923 the Headquarters expenditure has been reduced (from £36,000 a year in 1922) to £31,000 a year. If, therefore, at the end of 1923 the Union is to have met its expenditure during the year, and to have paid off its debts it must raise before December 31 no less than £42,050. On the other hand, the Union can be sure of receiving, on last year's basis, £1,200 from membership subscriptions paid direct to Headquarters as well as £1,850 in respect of threepenny capitation fees on Branch members. Moreover, during January and February of 1923 Headquarters has received £267 paid by Branches under Rule 12 (ii.). When account is taken of the money which the Union can thus be sure of receiving during 1923 as well as of the Council's Vote of £15,000, there remains to be raised by Headquarters £23,466 during 1923 if, as the majority of the Committee recommend, the Union is to build up a small reserve fund by laying aside certain specified gifts which the Union is to receive this year and next, but which will not afterwards be repeated. Towards this sum Headquarters has already received approximately £6,000, and there remains nearly £17,500 to be raised during the last ten months of the year.

THE HARDING-CECIL COMPROMISE.

The Council approved of this arrangement provided that all Headquarters attempts to raise money should be carefully co-ordinated with those of the Branches so as to avoid every possibility of overlapping. The Council further decided that two-thirds (£10,000) of the Council's Vote for 1923 should be paid to Headquarters by October 31 next, and the remainder (£5,000) by December 31. It should be added that Mr. Harding, of Nottingham, raised certain objections to forming a reserve fund, but the Council approved of the reserve fund when the Chairman undertook that if all the money were not forthcoming as much as was necessary of the small reserve fund should be used to make up the balance. This undertaking was known to the Council as the "Harding-Cecil Compromise."

FINANCIAL INNOVATIONS.

The Council decided to make one other important innovation. Hitherto, no matter how large a subscription a Branch may receive from an individual member, 3d. only is paid to Headquarters as a capitation fee and the remainder of the net subscription (i.e., the whole subscription, less the cost of HEADWAY and other literature to which a member may be entitled) is retained by the Branch. The Council decided that in future, after the first shilling of the net subscription had provided 9d. for the Branch and the 3d. capitation fee for Headquarters, so as to make every member of the

Union realise that he was contributing to a nation-wide organisation as well as to a local one, Headquarters should receive from Branches or Districts as part of their quota of the Council's Vote, one-half of the balance of the net subscription as well as one-half of all donations (unless otherwise earmarked) received by Branches or Districts. It will be noticed that 1s. and 3s. 6d. subscriptions are entirely unaffected by this decision.

The last important change instituted by the Council was to require each Branch to pay Headquarters an annual fee of 7s. 6d. for documents and literature supplied for the use of the Branch.

The Council having thus devised a scheme for producing a permanent income sufficient to meet the Union's expenditure, Sir Theodore Morison moved, and the Council unanimously agreed, to ask the Executive Committee to consider a scheme for decentralisation and to present a report at the next Council meeting.

At the conclusion of the Ordinary Meeting of the Council, a Special Meeting was held under Rule 25, when the Council decided to alter the rules in accordance with the decisions already reached. The wording of the amended rules will be published in the next number of HEADWAY.

THE RUHR.

An important discussion took place on the situation in regard to the Ruhr, in which speeches were made by spokesmen for the three political parties—Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. J. R. Clynes, and Professor Gilbert Murray. Lord Robert emphasised the fact that it is impossible to deal with the question of reparations, and with the larger question of reparations of which it is a part, until France is guaranteed security. This could only be provided by a general pact of guarantee under the auspices of the League of Nations. He further believed that there was a great deal to be said for a proposal, now being advocated by a section of the French press, for a demilitarised zone between France and Germany, under the auspices of the League.

Mr. Clynes advocated a broad view of the whole question of security. This had ceased to be a question for France alone, but concerned the whole world.

The following resolution was moved by Professor Gilbert Murray in an eloquent speech, and carried unanimously:—

Recognising (1) that the forcible occupation of German territory by the French armies constitutes an extreme and immediate danger to the peace of Europe and the economic welfare of many countries, and (2) that the overwhelming majority of the British people have declared themselves in favour of the settlement of such international issues by the League of Nations.

The Council of the League of Nations Union desires strongly to reaffirm the necessity of having the whole complex of international problems centring in the Reparations Questions, including the question of international security, brought at the earliest possible moment before the Council or the Assembly of the League with the assistance if possible of Germany and the United States. They realise that the selection of the moment and the choice of the organ must necessarily lie with the Government of the day, but they urge that any unnecessary delay may have disastrous consequences, and they hope that the Branches will do their utmost to strengthen the hands of Parliament and of the Government in pursuing vigorously a policy on these lines.

[Owing to pressure on our space we have been obliged to omit the "Letter from Geneva" this month.—ED.]

THE NEW WORLD.

VII.—GEORGIA.

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

[Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, head of the Labour Party, and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, has played an important part in the history of Georgia. In 1920 he was invited to visit the country and helped to prepare the Constitution of the Georgian Republic. The Soviet invasion of 1921 unfortunately interfered with his work.]

AMIDST the great tumble of mountains which lie between the Black and the Caspian Seas and south of the narrow, well-defined range of the summits of the Caucasus, the Georgian has founded a nation, very small as size goes but exceedingly rich in tradition and spirit. In shape it is roughly triangular, with the bent shore of the Black Sea from Sochi to Batoum as its base; one side runs along for over two-thirds of their complete length on the top of the Caucasus, the apex is cut off by a short south-running line to the river Koura, from which it goes due westwards to the sea a little below Batoum. The area included is 62,000 square miles and the population is under 4,000,000. Though part of the old Russian Empire since 1801, the people are not Slavs and their language belongs to the Aryan group. They claim their origin from a great grandson of Japheth, and are Semitic.

They have a long history. Greek adventurers passed through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and founded colonies on Georgian territory, attracted by its rich agriculture (especially on the seaboard and river valleys) and mines. It was to Georgia that Jason went in search of the Golden Fleece and at Kutais found it and Medea. Through the country went the endless stream of trade from Central Asia to Europe, and Turks, Romans, Persians invaded it for centuries. The people became Christian (tradition has it that St. Andrew preached there) in the fourth century, and when the conflicts between Cross and Crescent began, Georgia became a Christian outpost. Its old churches to this day preserve the secret passages and chambers where the non-combatants found refuge, and some are surrounded by battlemented walls. When the Turks finally conquered Asia Minor and established themselves in Constantinople, Georgia was isolated, and when trade sought ways on the sea, its importance declined. Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, it reached its zenith, and during the reign of its famous Queen Tamara, in the twelfth century, its court was a brilliant meeting place of courtiers and poets, warriors and princes. Slowly decay came. Russia became its ally, necessary for its defence, and in 1801, after about nine hundred years of independent existence under its own monarchs, it was swallowed up in the glutinous Muscovite Empire.

It was neither happy nor peaceful, and in all the agitations for liberty which threatened the Russian throne and beat hard by exile's feet the road to Siberia, Georgians took an active part. They were in the forefront of the Revolution of 1917, and when that was in turn overthrown by the Bolshevik conspiracy, the Georgian leaders put into operation the intention which they had been harbouring for some time and proclaimed themselves independent. At first they formed a Caucasian Federation with the Mohammedan State of Azerbaijan (doomed to be speedily overrun by a Moscow army because it contained the oil fields of Baku) and Armenia. But States newly liberated from tyranny take some time to settle down. There were quarrels, both political and religious, and they failed to support each other. Georgia stood alone, began an enlightened policy of social and educational legislation (for a general Election had returned a great majority of Socialists),

and strove to consolidate itself. The shadow of the Moscow Red Army never passed from it, however. Vast sums of money were spent on Bolshevik propaganda, but the Georgians were too sensible to exchange one form of tyranny for another. At length, Moscow lost patience with propaganda that was yielding no results, pretended that there was a Communist rising in Georgia which in the name of its principles it had to support, and sent its army to invade a country with which it had just concluded a treaty of peace. The Georgians resisted stoutly, but overwhelmed by greatly superior forces, had again to submit to a foreign yoke, and to-day the country is ruled by a Russian army and a dictatorship of Moscow tools. Risings are frequent, however, and one day the Georgian Republic is likely to arise once more.

Had Georgia liberty, it would be one of the richest and most pleasant places in the world. Its scenery is not surpassed anywhere. I have never in all my wanderings beheld a more sublime sight than the Georgian military road where it crosses the high valley of Kazbek; the shores of the Black Sea are sub-tropical in their luxuriant vegetation, peaceful valleys innumerable receive the wanderer, mineral springs like those at Borjom lead him into the heart of glorious mountains where orchards and vineyards flourish. A journey from Batoum to Tiflis, or up any of the side lines to Telavi, or Tchiatouri, or Tkvibouli affords an unbroken feast to the eye.

The climate ranges from the sub-tropical Black Sea littoral to the bracing high alps and affords a wide range of cultivation. Oranges, figs, tea, the tobacco plant (of an excellent quality), bamboo, and cotton flourish; the vine and all kinds of our own familiar fruit grow to perfection; wheat, barley, and maize yield heavy crops; the mountain slopes bear valuable timber. It has the richest deposit of manganese in the world; in two districts coal is already worked, and there are iron, copper, lead and zinc mines. Once it was famed for its gold mines, but none are now open. The country, however, has been very inadequately prospected, and cultivation is conducted in primitive ways. The late Russian Government encouraged the import of wheat from South Russia to Georgia, and Georgia paid for it by the export of tobacco and wine. In consequence, the cultivation of these last is highly developed, and some of the finest vineyard estates in the world are found in Georgia.

Industry is still conducted mainly by the handicraftsman and some fine work in leather, carpet and cloth weaving, and in silver and other metals is produced. One is not therefore surprised that one of the first movements to which the proclamation of the Georgian Republic gave an impetus was co-operation. A great organisation, inspired by our own, centred in Kutais and was spreading steadily over the country when the Bolshevik incursion happened. It was being specially directed to organise the peasant cultivator, to supply him with tools, seeds, manures, to gather in his marketable products, e.g., tobacco, and put them advantageously on the market. For the time being that has gone, but it shows the spirit of the popular leaders.

As has happened in every peasant State created by revolution, the Georgian people demanded the break up of large estates. The Georgian cultivator had received what benefits came from the Russian emancipation of the serfs, but up to the time of the revolution about half the cultivable land was possessed by large owners, and poverty and oppression were the rule. The owners were like the literary Irish landlords of Lever's fancy, gay, gallant, spendthrift, poor, or were Russian notables. So expropriation was easy and laws were passed limiting the amount of land that could be owned by any one person. The result was an immediate extension of the cultivated area, a noticeable improvement in the con-



dition of the peasantry, and in 1920 an increase of 600,000 tons in the crop of cereals. Georgia was about to feed itself.

The moment that the Red Army is withdrawn, the Bolshevik regime will come to an end in Georgia, and the friends of small nations will see one of great promise added to the democratic States of the world.

[The Georgian Republic was recognised *de facto* by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on January 18, 1920, and *de jure* on January 27, 1921. Acceptance of application for membership of the League of Nations was adjourned by the Assembly in December, 1920, on the ground of uncertainty of conditions in Russia. Representation on the technical organisations of the League was granted.

In the spring of 1921 the Soviet forces invaded and occupied Georgia. At the same time Turkish Nationalist troops, by a movement arranged between Moscow and Angora, advanced on Batoum. The Georgian Government left the country, and Soviet rule was proclaimed.

On June 10, 1921, the Republics of Georgia, Erivan, and Azerbaijan signed an Act of Union with the object of defending their political and economic interests and defending themselves against the Bolsheviks.

A Memorandum setting forth these events was presented by the Georgian Government to the Second Assembly in explanation of that Government's decision to postpone renewal of its application for admission to the League.—ED.]

Correspondence.

A LEAGUE OF PEOPLES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Press comments still seem coloured by the idea that the League of Nations is a League of Governments and not of Peoples. For instance, a recent suggestion that England's representative on the League Council should be Lord Robert Cecil raises the question as to whether our representative should not rather be a member of the Cabinet.

However good and useful such a qualification might be, is it not better that when handling matters of international

import every member of the Council should be free from any suspicion of being there with a possibly prejudiced mind? Surely the League of Nations Union in this country might debate this point and send recommendations to headquarters for consideration.

It is being increasingly brought to my notice that much of the criticism from the general public as to the weakness of the League and ineffectiveness of the Union is due to the fact that the Union is not vocal. The energies of local secretaries are naturally turned towards propaganda and enrolling new members. Would it not be well to encourage the local Unions to hold monthly or quarterly sessions of their members to consider ways and means of helping the League and to discuss at least some of the less abstruse problems which affect us all in an international sense. Resolutions passed at such sessions would be useful to headquarters as an indication of the trend of opinion and the volume of support—it would be evidence to the public that membership of the Union involves something more than an academic interest in the idea of the League or a yearly subscription to HEADWAY.—Yours, &c.,
Stalybridge. E. ASHMORE THOMPSON.

[There can be no doubt that the prestige of the League and its capacity to achieve the objects for which it was created, depend upon the extent to which the representatives of the various countries on the League Council are able to speak with the authority of their respective Governments. A national representative who does not carry with him the support of his Government may do excellent work on the Council of the League, but the results of that work may be almost negligible. The League of Nations is, and must be, primarily a League of Governments; it is only secondarily a League of Peoples in so far as the Governments of the various Member-States are truly representative of their peoples. This, however, is a national concern of the peoples themselves, and does not directly concern the League.

Our correspondent's suggestion in regard to Branch activity has long been anticipated by the vast majority of the Branches of the Union. Periodical members' meetings are held by all Branches at which resolutions are passed from time to time on questions affecting international relations. As one example out of many we may mention that not long ago the Government was inundated with resolutions in favour of Germany joining the League, and resolutions are now pouring in from all over the country on the subject of League intervention in regard to the Ruhr occupation.—ED.]

(Correspondence continued on page 312.)

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

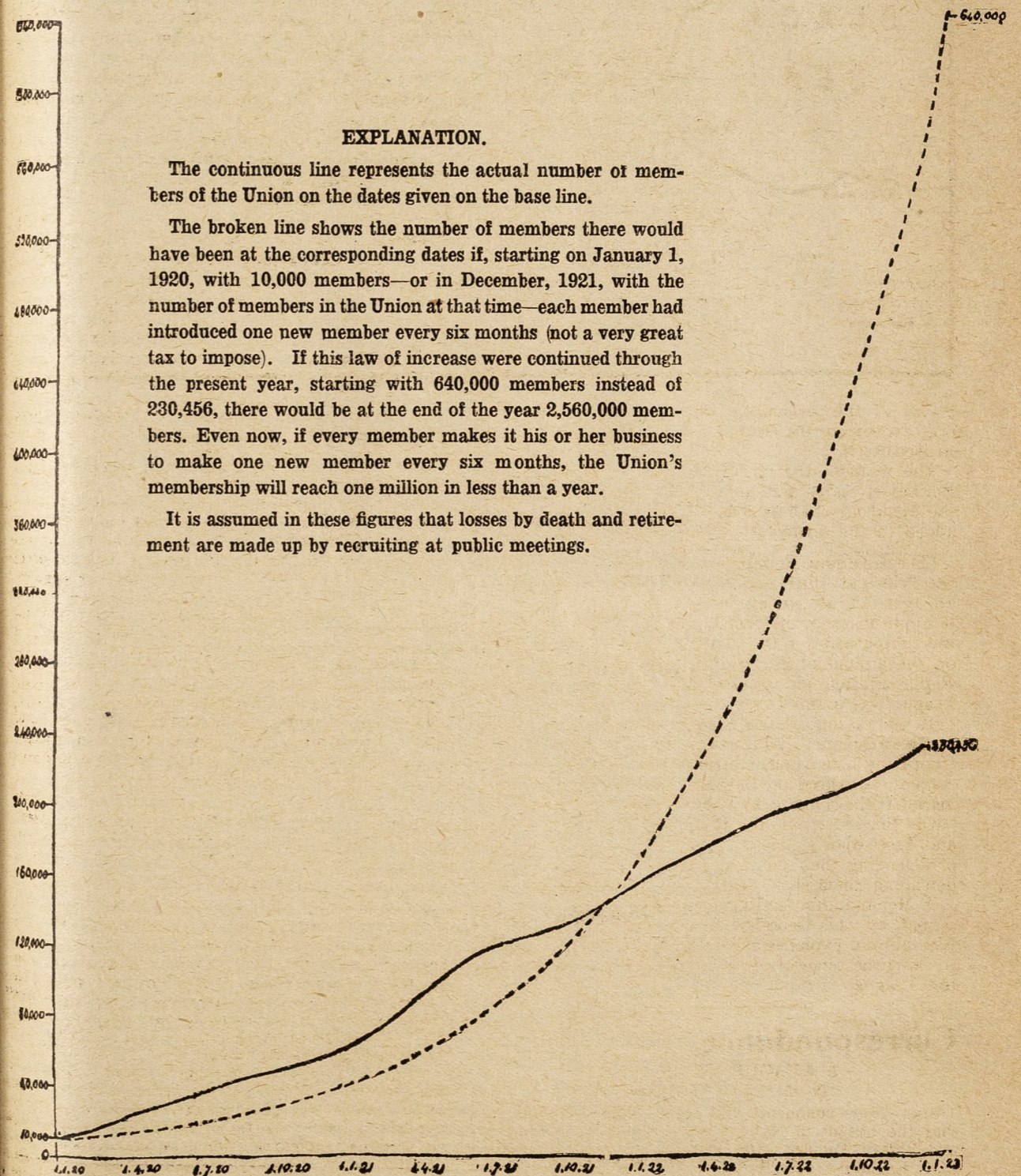
WHAT IS AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

EXPLANATION.

The continuous line represents the actual number of members of the Union on the dates given on the base line.

The broken line shows the number of members there would have been at the corresponding dates if, starting on January 1, 1920, with 10,000 members—or in December, 1921, with the number of members in the Union at that time—each member had introduced one new member every six months (not a very great tax to impose). If this law of increase were continued through the present year, starting with 640,000 members instead of 230,456, there would be at the end of the year 2,560,000 members. Even now, if every member makes it his or her business to make one new member every six months, the Union's membership will reach one million in less than a year.

It is assumed in these figures that losses by death and retirement are made up by recruiting at public meetings.



Correspondence.—Continued from page 310.

A WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In your February issue you publish an article by Mr. Hubert Martin on the Boy Scout Movement and the League of Nations. May I be allowed to quote a few particulars relative to another movement which also claims to hold a very close relationship to the League of Nations, and which works in the direction of a "World-Wide Brotherhood"? I refer to the Esperanto movement. Esperanto aims at such a universal Brotherhood by enabling men of all nations and of all lands to understand each other's ideas and aspirations by means of one common international auxiliary speech.

The League of Nations has discussed in its full Assembly the claims of Esperanto, and the report* which the League published a few months ago shows that Esperanto merits the full confidence and consideration of the peoples of the whole world; that Esperanto ought to be taught in the secondary schools of every country, and that the League is desirous of aiding the Esperanto movement to enlarge its powers for good in every possible way.

I submit that a definite step in the direction of the World-Wide Brotherhood of which Mr. Martin writes would be made were all Scouts taught Esperanto as a secondary language, so that whenever they met Scouts of other countries, whether at International Congresses, or as ordinary visitors, they could converse freely together without the help of an interpreter. There are already many scouts who know and use Esperanto in this way; they have formed an International Esperanto-Scout Society, and the experiences already gained have convinced the leaders that a tremendous development of the Scout movement may result from the general teaching of Esperanto in Scout Societies throughout the world.

The Scouts' interpreter's badge is awarded for proficiency in Esperanto as well as in the national tongues, and more than once Sir Baden Powell has spoken in favour of Esperanto being used by Scouts.—Yours, &c.,
Sheffield. JOHN MERCHANT.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE.

A correspondent from Highgate writes that in her experience there is a considerable belief in America that membership of the League of Nations entails acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles, and that this is the main ground of America's objection to the League.

This belief is, of course, entirely erroneous. Article 1 of the Covenant provides that "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex [to the Covenant] may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly," and provided that it shall give certain guarantees. There is no reference whatever to acceptance by the applying State of the Treaty of Versailles. The only States which are bound by this Treaty are those which have signed and ratified it. The 13 Neutral States who are original members of the League and the 9 States which have since become members have not, by joining the League, accepted the Treaty of Versailles. America, if she joined the League, would be in a similar position.

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

Quite the most interesting book that I have read lately is Miss F. M. Stawell's *Making of the Western Mind*,† and I am sure that with history as one of your hobbies you will enjoy it as much as I have done. The author has succeeded well in her object of pointing out the main contributions of European nationalities to the common stock in literature, science, politics, philosophy, religion and art. It is in these spheres that a League of Nations has long existed, among which

* Price Sixpence. Obtainable from the British Esperanto Association, 17, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

† *The Making of the Western Mind*. Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d.

there has been free commerce and no conflict but that of ideas; at all times one nation has borrowed from another, and has never been afraid to learn, and the record is one of the steady advancement of thought and culture. It has been reserved for our own day to translate into the realm of international politics that spirit of goodwill and brotherhood which has always inspired the great thinkers and artists and men of science of every age. Mr. F. S. Marvin contributes three chapters, and in the last of these with which the book closes he directs our attention to the fact that the League of Nations is in the line of normal and natural development in the forward movement of the world. In a true and satisfactory way the League does not stand isolated and alone in human history, come like a comet to blaze and disappear; the ground for it has been prepared by the constantly growing number of non-political international associations of the last two generations, and were it even now to break up, the human mind would not be content until another and a better took its place. Such a line of thought as this is needed in days like the present to drive away any threatening clouds of pessimism.

Do you know Mr. L. L. B. Angus? He must be an entertaining person to meet, for in a very conversational style he has produced an amusing book on the problem of reparations, *Germany and Her Debts*.* He writes from first-hand knowledge of Germany, but it is unfortunate that he did not delay the publication of his book for another month or two; history is being made rapidly at the present time, and the table of exchange rates in October, 1922, is not much use to-day; in other respects, also, the effects of the French occupation of the Ruhr might have led him to modify some of his judgments. I do not profess, as you know, to be anything of an economist—heaven forbid—and I will say nothing about his theories; but, quite apart from these, he has a good knowledge of facts and a keen sense of international psychology, which give his book its real value. His strong points are in his declaration for a reduction of French armaments, with a guarantee of her security, for a renunciation of all claims on Germany for war pensions, for a consequent reduction of the indemnity coupled with a moratorium, and also for the withdrawal of the allied armies of occupation and the supervision of Germany's military organisation by the League.

Very topically there comes along to me "The Martyrdom of Smyrna,"† by Dr. Lysimachos Oeconomos, of King's College, London. It will tell you nothing probably that you do not already know, unless you have by this time forgotten what you read in the papers last autumn. It consists of a file of cuttings from some dozen newspapers describing the burning and the sack of Smyrna, but it is topical because of the appeal which is not being put out on behalf of the million refugees in Greece in their terrible plight. All the proceeds of the sale of the book are being given to the relief fund, and your charity, if not your curiosity, may stimulate you to buy it so as to kill two birds with one stone.

I promised last month to tell you more about Professor Keith's "Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy,"‡ for it is a book worth reading. The first "document" is a despatch from the French Council at Chandernagore in 1756, giving a joyful account of "the revolution which has just driven the English from Bengal." Alas for the frailty of human hopes, for in the pages that immediately follow Clive recounts his confidence which the events fully justified that the French would soon be at their last gasp in India. From this

* *Germany and Her Debts*. H. J. Simmonds, 7, Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.4. 6s.

† *The Martyrdom of Smyrna*. George Allen & Unwin. 6s. and 7s. 6d.

‡ *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*. Humphrey Milford. Two vols. 2s. each.

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M. A. B. Peel (S.P. 130).

13 Railway Terrace, Thorpe Road, Staines.
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W. D. Cooper (C. 416).

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[ADVT.]

beginning we pass to the contributions made to Indian history by Warren Hastings, Lord William Bentinck (in regard to the burning of widows), T. B. Macaulay, Sir Charles Napier and others, until we reach the disappearance of the old Company in 1858. In the earlier pages of the second volume, House of Commons speeches remind us of Lord Curzon's first official connexion with India as Under-secretary of State in 1892, and of the reforms introduced by Lord Minto and Lord Morley; but its greater part is concerned with the more recent reforms, for which these and India's war services paved the way. To give you an impression of the continued aim that has run through British policy towards India, even though that policy may not always have been consistently pursued, let me quote two prophetic passages. In 1824 Sir Thomas Munro wrote as follows:

"If we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves."

And nine years later Macaulay told the House of Commons:—

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having instructed them in European knowledge, they may in that future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."

Probably your respected old Indian uncle, General Currie, K.C.I.E., &c., will say that this is all et cetera nonsense and that India can only be held by the sword, but we are living in Macaulay's "future age" and Professor Keith in his preface will reassure you that all is not lost and that India's equal membership of the League is in direct line with the traditional development of Indian nationality for India's good.

Lastly this month comes Colonel Fuller's *Reformation of War** Colonel Fuller was one of the pioneers of the Tanks in the late war, and he writes as a realist and a professional soldier. He has produced a book which makes you curse and laugh by turns; at least, that has been its effect upon myself. He starts from false premises, which lead him to such statements as, "True leisure is but the enjoyment of the hunting spirit," "The idea of a war to end war is pure bunkum," "The fourteen points and the League of Nations were based on sublime nonsense," and so forth. It is phrases like these which make me inclined to curse, if they are worth that energy. The other mood is produced when I read of Colonel Fuller's idea of a new gas distributed freely by air bombs to produce extreme colic and thus to reduce hostile civilians, fleets and armies to a state of helpless prostration; that is really humorous. For the sake of the realistic description of the admiral doubled up on the bridge of his battleship, it is worth while your getting the book from Boots' library, and also because it is useful to know what are the forces and arguments against which we have to contend.

Here I was about to close and to wish you all good luck, when some spirit whispered in my ear, "You have said nothing about Esperanto." So far as I understand it, Esperanto seeks the undoing of Babel's unfortunate result and the breaking down of barriers which foreign languages and dividing seas have raised. Whether this aim will ever be realised in our conservative old world I do not know, but it is worth striving for, and the last Assembly of the League pronounced a blessing

(Continued on page 314.)

* *The Reformation of War*. Hutchinson & Co. 16s.

on it. At any rate, it all helps towards that ease of international intercourse which is one of those side-winds which speed the ship of peace, and the League's report on the subject, which you can get for sixpence from the Secretary of the British Esperanto Association, 17, Hart Street, W.C.1, will tell you more than I have room for here.—Yours,
THE SHOPMAN.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

News from the Dominions shows that the League movement is steadily making progress.

As a result of a joint conference between the Johannesburg and Pretoria centres a plan for co-operation leading to greater effectiveness has been evolved. It is proposed to draw up a leaflet to combat the belief of the Dutch population in Pretoria that the League of Nations is destructive of the national spirit and to meet the objections of the Labour Party to the League. A division of the Transvaal has been arrived at for the purposes of propaganda work—the Southern section being allocated to the Johannesburg Branch and the Northern to that of Pretoria. Effort will be made to establish a fund which can finance young speakers from the universities and enable them to lecture in country districts on the League. It has been arranged that as much of the Geneva literature as possible should be placed at the disposal of the editorial department of the *Rand Daily Mail*, to be utilised in writing upon foreign affairs, and it was also hoped that preparations might be made for special articles to the Press of South Africa. Regular reports are to be exchanged between the two towns and conferences held annually or more frequently.

It is interesting to learn that the Union has been requested to forward 300 copies of League of Nations insets to the Editor of the *Diocesan Magazine*, Cairo, for Egypt and Sudan, as the Bishop and many others are anxious that the movement should go forward.

A report recently received from the German Society in Czecho-Slovakia shows that the aim of the Society is to collaborate in all the activities of the Federation. Hitherto it has concentrated chiefly on the problem of minorities. It has been successful in combating the prejudice that exists against the League of Nations by Press propaganda in getting articles accepted by most of the daily papers. Owing to lack of funds it has not yet been possible to publish a news bulletin. In accordance with the resolution passed at Prague, a detailed memorandum is being prepared for the Government in which the adherence of the Republic to the protocol on obligatory jurisdiction by arbitration of the Permanent Court is requested. It is proposed to organise public lectures on the League in Prague and in several German towns, and notably a lecture by Dr. Rodolphe von Laun, of the University of Hambourg, in the early months of 1923. The Society's relations with the Hungarian Association in Czecho-Slovakia are excellent.

The work for the League in San Remo, Bordighera and outlying districts is being carried on by the British community there. Meetings and lectures have been arranged with an attendance of between 70 and 80 persons.

The report of the Swedish Society for 1922 is a record of considerable activity. The Society publishes a new bulletin which has a foreign and Press, as well as a home, circulation. Schools, boards of education and public libraries have been ordered to subscribe for copies. A point of very great interest is that but for a vote of 3,000 kronor from the Swedish Inter-Parliamentary Group for the year 1922 the Society could not have continued its activities nor have paid its quota to the Federation, the Swedish share of which is 3,575 Belgian francs. The Government contributed 750 kronor towards the expenses of the Society's delegate to the Federation Assembly at Prague. The Executive have this year asked for an annual grant from the Treasury, addressing an appeal to His Majesty the King. The points put forward are that the work of the Society is necessary to the well-being of the Swedish State, that unless it contributes its share to the Federation, together with other societies, this institution must inevitably collapse, and that without the necessary

finances for expenses it is not possible to obtain the services of experts for representation on international Commissions. In 1920 and 1921 appeals were made for 10,000 kronor, but this year the Society would be satisfied with half the amount in view of necessary reduced activities and the straightened finances of the country. This proposal has been favourably received by the King and a grant of 3,000 kronor to the Society is included in the State Budget Estimates, 1923/1924. The final decision lies with the House of Parliament.

The membership of the Swiss Society is now about 3,000.

The Social Research Club of Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois, U.S.A., invites inquiries from European students relative to American problems, institutions, opinions and customs. The Social Research Club cannot guarantee satisfaction, particularly if the question be highly technical, or one which has not yet been made the subject of scientific investigation or journalistic comment.

The students of the Social Research Club hope that this offer may meet the need of many European students, and they welcome the associations which the correspondence will bring to them.

It was incorrectly stated in the last number of HEADWAY that Mr. Victor Beigel was Secretary of the newly formed Anglo-Austrian Society. Mr. Beigel is the Hon. General Secretary, but all applications for membership should be made to the Secretary, 18, Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

League of Nations Union.
Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November 1, 1918	3,217
November 1, 1920	49,858
November 1, 1921	133,649
November 1, 1922	212,959
March 17, 1923	255,559

The three best counties in England and Wales, so far as membership of the Union is concerned, are:—

Anglesey	1 member per every 22 of population
Merionethshire	23 "
Westmorland	28 "

Branches.

On March 17 the number of Branches was 1,271, together with 72 Junior Branches and 255 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the March issue of HEADWAY:—

- Ashington—Hirst Primitive Methodist Church; Birmingham—Acocks Green Baptist Church; Birmingham Women's Club, Edgbaston Section; Bristol—Stapleton Road Congregational Church; Burnham-on-Sea—Baptist Church; Exmouth, Littleham-cum-Exmouth, Parish Church Council; Idle—Wesleyan Women's Class; Lancaster—Lancaster Branch B.W.T.A.; Leeds—Meanwood Wesleyan Church; London—94th London Boys' Brigade; Christ Church Westminster Bridge Road; North London Liberal Jewish Congregation; Manchester—Mossley Common Primitive Methodist Church; Morley—Morley Industrial Co-operative Society (Albion Street Reading Room), (Bruncliffe Reading Room), (East Ardsley Reading Room), (Gildersome Reading Room); Norwich—Princes Street Congregational Church; Ramsgate—Congregational Church; Rawdon—Benton Congregational Church; St. Albans—Trinity Congregational Church; South Shields—Glebe Presbyterian Church Sunday School Teachers; Sowerby—The Officers of Boulderclough U.M. Sunday School; Temple Cloud—Hinton Blewett Women's Institute; Weymouth—Baptist Church; Wimborne—Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School.

New Publications.

Since the February issue of HEADWAY the Union has published *The World "Dope" Menace and the League of Nations*, 3d., by Mr. Basil Mathews, Editor of *Outward Bound*; *Teachers and World Peace*, 3d. (a memorandum



"FORCE"
TOASTED MALTED WHEAT FLAKES

Sunny Jim



The children of HEADWAY readers are invited to sample this wholesome and dainty food.

Readers themselves are urged to try it. Certainly you should test it. You're sure to like it, and it's good to know of a delicious food that is also highly nourishing, most sustaining, easily digested and served in a moment without cooking.

"FORCE" is a family food for every day in the year. Pause for a moment to

SEND FOR THIS
FREE SAMPLE

Fill in coupon, tear out and post, or send P.C., to address below. Every reader is asked to do this. The free sample arrives by return post.



Sirs,
Send me, by return, free sample of "FORCE."

Name

Address

If you already
use "FORCE"
You must get this rag
doll for Baby

Save two "FORCE" packet tops, and send, with P.O. for 1/-, to address below. The "Sunny Jim" rag doll is despatched by return. Sixteen inches high, in bright colours and stuffed with kapok, he makes a jolly and unbreakable toy.

Baby would like "Sunny Jim." Please send as soon as the two tops are available.

A. C. FINCKEN & CO.,
Dept. A.C.,
Sole Consignees "FORCE."
2-3, Charterhouse Sq.,
LONDON, E.C.1.



for the guidance of teachers who desire to explain the principles and history of the League in schools); a new edition of No. 75, *A Survey of Three Years Work by the League of Nations, 1920-22*, 1s.; *The Treaty Obligations of the League, Part I.*, 9d. (one of a series of Study Circle Text-books); *The Progress of the League of Nations* (reprinted from the "Spectator"), 1d.; *The Holy Alliance and the League of Nations*, 1d.

Sunday School Society.

At the Annual Meeting of the Sunday School Society on March 3, a great deal of time was devoted to the League of Nations. An Educational Conference on the Trading of the Principles of the League was held at 3 p.m., under the chairmanship of Dr. Maxwell Garnett, General Secretary of the League of Nations Union, and Mr. F. J. Gould, Secretary of the International Moral Education Congress, gave a Model Lesson on the League to a class of children. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which Sir Maurice de Bunsen, former British Ambassador in Austria, gave an address on the ideals of the League.

Dramatic Recitals for the Union.

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Bennett, of 24, Morley Square, Bristol, would be pleased, in return for expenses only, to give a Dramatic and Humorous Recital to any Branch desirous of raising funds for Headquarters finances. Mr. Bennett is hon. sec. of the Bristol District Council, and both he and Mrs. Bennett are members of a Bristol Dramatic Society, and have already raised a good deal of money in this way for charities. Their entertainment includes monologues, excerpts from modern authors, and comedy sketches. Specimen programmes on application.

Adult School Union.

A crowded audience showed great interest in a League of Nations Demonstration arranged by the London Adult School Union at the Memorial Buildings, Roscoe Street, E.C., on Saturday, February 17. The Demonstration was invented, staged, and performed by Adult School members, about one hundred of whom contributed towards the success of the event. J. B. Braithwaite gave a brief lecture on the character and work of the League, and thereafter the voices of Peace, Prophet, Psalmist, the Man of Nazareth, Dante, Milton, and William Penn were heard from behind closed curtains, with incidental orchestral music. The voice of Peace uttered grave words of warning, and then another voice declaimed the poem commencing: "War—war—war!" before the curtains were drawn and disclosed a company of some forty young men and women in national costumes, gazing horror-struck at a heap of debris. Representatives of various nations uttered their apologia ("My Fatherland, 'tis for thee!" "In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die," &c.). When the "Nations" were stricken with silent grief there arose from behind the debris a small girl, clad in white, typifying the League of Nations. Slowly the "Nations" looked up and recognised the child, who declaimed a brief speech calling to a new way of life. One by one the "Nations" gave their adherence to the League, and stepped forward to hand in coloured cardboard sections, which were pinned to large boards representing the two world hemispheres. Following on the singing of "The Song of the Nations," the League child stepped to the front, and with outstretched arms the whole company sang "We see in vision fair a time." This was followed by the singing of "O God, our help in ages past."

This event created a deep impression on the very large attendance, and the brief outline of the tableaux given above may suggest to others possibilities of developments in dramatic performances.

League of Nations Sunday.

League of Nations Union Sunday was celebrated on February 11 at Rushden, when ten different companies of Brigades and Scouts (about 350) marched through the town to service at the Park Road Wesleyan Church. The procession was headed by the Rushden L.O.N.U. banner,

followed by members of the Committee. The Rev. R. H. A. Routledge addressed the large audience.

There was great enthusiasm, and many new members joined.

* * * *

Open Air Meetings.

Branches are urged to commence making arrangements for the holding of open-air meetings regularly throughout the summer months. These meetings provide excellent publicity at little cost; indeed they are probably the best means by far of carrying the League of Nations story to large sections of the population who would otherwise never hear of it except perhaps in a disintegrated and comparatively disagreeable form.

* * * *

Agricultural Shows.

Flower Shows and Fairs provide opportunities for publicity in agricultural districts. Stalls at which flags, maps, literature and badges are displayed, can be arranged without much difficulty. Five minutes' talks on the League can be given, and new members enrolled. Headquarters is ready to supply badges and literature at special prices to Branches for sale at these stalls.

* * * *

"Outward Bound."

An interesting article on Lord Robert Cecil appears in the March and April numbers of "Outward Bound," the latter part of the article including an interview which Mr. Basil Mathews, editor of "Outward Bound," had with Lord Robert on the subject of the League, and the great world personalities who take part in its work.

* * * *

Activity in Hemel Hempstead.

The Hemel Hempstead Branch has more than doubled its membership during 1922.

* * * *

Ten-Minute Addresses on the League.

A member of the Union suggests that it might be possible to arrange with local Choral Societies, of which a large number exist all over the country, for 10-minute addresses on the League from a leading local personality during an interval. This is a suggestion that Branch Secretaries may wish to consider.

* * * *

How to Raise £25,000.

The following suggestion comes from a member of the Wembley Branch:—

Members	..	..	..	246,357
1d. each	..	..	..	= £1,026 9 9
1s. each	..	..	..	= £12,317 17 0
2s. each	..	..	..	= £24,635 14 0
2s. 1d. each	..	..	..	= £25,662 3 9

If each member of the Union paid 1d. a day for 25 days (i.e., 2s. 1d. in all), the Union would benefit by £600 above the £25,000 suggested by headquarters as the expenditure for 1923. The writer sends his 2s. 1d. with the suggestion. Who will follow his example?

* * * *

League Tableaux.

A splendid series of tableaux was given on March 3 at the works of J. Cawthra & Co., Bradford, at their annual League of Nations "At Home." The tableaux were divided into four groups: Conditions Before the War (luxury and ease, love of power and selfishness, hatred, malice and anger); During the War (suffering in body on the battlefields, suffering in spirit by the loss of an only son, suffering in mind—the war between good and evil); Result of War (unemployment, poverty, international greed, and suspicion); Entry of the New Spirit by the League of Nations (signing of the Covenant, meeting of the Assembly, International Labour Office and children learning of the new spirit at home and at school). Finale—the Crowning of Peace.

Cawthra's Branch, which is the only one in the district connected with a mill, has been in existence for three years and is most enthusiastic.

Progress in Wales.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council of the Union last January, many interesting facts were reported showing the tremendous progress made during the year, and the Honorary Director—who declined to accept either a salary or an honorarium—was warmly congratulated on all the enthusiasm and energy he put into his work for the Council.

On the individual appeal to the four thousand Churches of Wales for a collection towards the pioneer and educational activities of the Welsh Council, it was reported that £408 had been collected to date.

At the close of the business the members presented their Chairman, Mr. David Davies, M.P., with an 18-carat gold badge of the Union, the emblem of which is the crusaders' cross, and Mrs. Davies was presented with a gold brooch bearing a similar symbol.

The demonstration at Llandudno on February 2 proved a great success. Professor C. K. Webster in the afternoon addressed a crowded meeting of school children in the Palladium and was received with enthusiasm, while in the evening, Lord Robert Cecil, with Lord Colwyn as Chairman, spoke to a huge audience in the Pavilion. Mr. David Davies, M.P., who proposed the vote of thanks, was enthusiastically received. A huge influx of new members for the Union is bound to result from this excellently-organised meeting, the success of which is due to the excellent work of Mr. Enos Hughes, Honorary Secretary, Llandudno, and Mr. T. E. Purdy, of Colwyn Bay.

March has been full of interesting events in Wales. On March 1, St. David's Day, was published in all the daily newspapers, a very effective appeal by the Welsh Council calling attention to the tradition for peace manifested in the history of the Principality and asking the people of Wales to carry on this great work begun by their forefathers.

On March 2, a great Missionary Exhibition was opened at Bangor and here local enthusiasts established a League of Nations Stall for the sale and distribution of League of Nations Union literature. This was visited by Mr. Lloyd George, who was President, on the opening day.

The month has been prolific in meetings, Mrs. Philip Snowden speaking on two occasions—at Dowlais on March 6 and at Bridgend on March 7. The series of public lectures at the University College, Cardiff, included in March addresses by Professor J. H. Jones, of Leeds University, and by Mr. F. S. Marvin, M.A.; Mr. Marvin also addressed a Teachers' Conference at Cardiff under the auspices of the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh Council.

Cardiganshire, now in the running for one of the "best" counties for membership, is bestirring itself in preparation for the meetings in memory of that famous son of Tregaron—Henry Richard. A splendid programme is arranged for these meetings to take place at Tregaron on April 4.

* * * *

And in the Midlands.

A most successful meeting was held in the Longton Town Hall on February 9, when the Bishop of Lichfield, the Archbishop of Birmingham and Dr. Garvie gave magnificent addresses on the League. The Mayor of the County Borough of Stoke-on-Trent (Councillor F. T. H. Goodwin, J.P.) presided. The result is many new members and a strong, enthusiastic committee already making plans for future work.

Dr. Maxwell-Garnett came down for the first time, but it is hoped by no means the last, to address a meeting of teachers on Saturday, February 17. It was a splendidly representative audience, but next time Saturday afternoon must be, if possible, avoided.

Lord Burnham is visiting the district on March 26 to address a meeting in the Victoria Hall, Hanley, on the "International Labour Organisation." The chairman is to be Sir Francis Joseph, a prominent employer, and the other speaker will be Mr. Harper Parker, Labour M.P. for the constituency. With his usual courtesy, the Mayor has kindly consented to welcome Lord Burnham officially.

The Council is taking part in the Missionary Exhibition, "Africa and the East," from April 25 to May 9. Annual Branch meetings show a steady increase in membership and interest.

THE CLAIM OF THE HUNGRY.

There is no one who reads these words who would carelessly refuse to help any fellow human being whom they knew definitely to be hungry. There are continual claims upon all who are able to give to those who need—claims which none of us wish, even, to refuse. But we often lack the imagination which would bring home to us the circumstances of those who are far distant.

In Pugachev, in Russia, there are thousands who are starving as you read these words—probably dying. Dr. M. D. Mackenzie, who investigated the district, has left no doubt of this, and it now rests with us as to how far we can save those who are threatened.

When human beings are in such extremity it is not for any one of us either to stand aloof or to spend our energies in apportioning blame. There can be but one course for us, it is to

Feed the Hungry!

GIFTS OF MONEY should be sent to FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE (Room 10), 10, Fetter Lane, LONDON, E.C.4.

Gifts in Kind (Clothing, Soap, etc.) should be sent to The Friends' Warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4.

Co-operating with the Russian Famine Fund and the "Save the Children Fund" in the "All-British Appeal" for the Famine in Russia.

In addition to all this, meetings have been held at Eccleshall and Woore, where it is hoped branches may be soon inaugurated. Many other smaller meetings have been addressed, and on every hand are signs that public interest in the League is growing, though a tremendous amount of work is waiting to be done, and voluntary helpers are badly needed. These should communicate with the Secretary, 15, Church Street, Stoke-on-Trent.

Very gratifying, too, is the increased space allotted to League news in the local Press, which records continually news connected with the work of the League and international affairs less directly connected with it.

Birmingham has set before itself the aim of having 12,000 members by the end of the year.

League Lectures in Lent.

Chipping Barnet Parish Church has been holding Sunday afternoon services during Lent at which lectures were given on the aims and work of the League of Nations. The collection, after deducting the cost of printing the notices, was given to the local Branch of the League of Nations Union. The notice of these services concludes with the significant words: "The Church is commissioned to cast out demons—War is a demon." Chipping Barnet is to be congratulated on having chosen so efficacious a means of driving out this particular demon, who can only thrive where public opinion is ignorant or mal-informed.

A Correction.

The address of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches was incorrectly reported in our last number as 4, Dean's Yard. It should be 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.1.

Foreign Doctors in Bradford.

The Bradford Branch recently entertained at lunch the five Continental doctors who are now visiting this county under a scheme organised by the Health Organisation of the League for the exchange of public health affairs.

Lord Robert Cecil's Visits to America and to Paris.

On the invitation of the Foreign Policy Association of America, Lord Robert Cecil sailed for the States on March 21. He will return about May 5, thus giving people in the United States and Canada opportunity to hear his views on international affairs.

The Foreign Policy Association is doing a very useful work in America in stimulating discussion on international affairs in the hope that by so doing it may pave the way towards America's entry into the League.

On March 11 Lord Robert had an enthusiastic reception in Paris at a meeting organised by the Paris University group of the French League of Nations Association. The chair was taken by M. Henri de Jouvenal, Editor of *Le Matin*, and French representatives on the Assembly of the League. Lord Robert devoted his speech to the aims and principles of the League, and said he considered that France would be well advised if she were to confide in the League the settlement of the reparations problem.

Summer Schools.

The following are the particulars of our Summer Schools this year:—

OXFORD (BALLIOL COLLEGE), JULY 23-30.

There will be accommodation for 100 men. Women students will be accommodated in sets of rooms near the Colleges for bed and breakfast; other meals will be taken in the College. Members should arrive in time for dinner at 7 p.m., at Balliol College, on Monday, July 23, and will depart after lunch on Monday, July 30.

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., will give the Inaugural Address.

There will be courses of lectures on the League by Professor Gilbert Murray, and a course on the "History of the International Relations," by Mr. C. Delisle Burns. Professor Ruysen, Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, will be present during the week, and will speak on the efforts

being made in other countries to promote the cause of the League. A judge on the Permanent Court of International Justice has been invited to lecture on the work of the Court. Lectures on other aspects of the League's activities will also be given by experts. Special meetings will be held for Branch Secretaries of the Union, and there will be opportunities for discussing the various activities of the Union's work, political, educational, religious and the rest, with responsible officers of the Union.

Optional excursions (for which small extra charges will be made) will take place on the river by steamer, and through the Cotswolds by motor. Guides will take members over the Oxford Colleges.

The fee for accommodation and lectures will be 4½ guineas. Members will make their own arrangements for travelling to Oxford, but provision will be made for collection and delivery of luggages, and special labels will be issued. Rooms will be allotted in order of application, which should be made as soon as possible, and a deposit of 10s. must accompany each application. Admission to Lectures only, one guinea.

A detailed programme and time-table of the Oxford lectures can be had on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

GENEVA.

The party will leave London on Friday evening, 3rd August, and arrive in Geneva on Saturday evening, August 4th. The school is being held in close co-operation with the Secretariat and the Labour Office, and every facility will be given for studying the work of both departments, and meeting the personnel. Receptions will be given by these departments to the members of the school.

The fee will be twelve guineas for those leaving Geneva on Friday, August 10. The inclusive fees for those remaining until the Monday evening, August 13, and taking the three major excursions, will be announced later. The twelve guinea fee includes railway travelling (second class all the way), conveyance across Paris, and accommodation in Geneva in hotels or pensions in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat in the League. Accommodation at Geneva will consist of bed, Continental breakfast, luncheon and dinner; and will commence on arrival at Geneva. Early application should be made, and a deposit of £1 sent with each application, to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Tours.

The tour to Vienna for the Assembly of the Federation of Voluntary Societies leaves London June 22, and lasts 12 days (fee £25). Further particulars of this tour, and of the Assembly Tour to Geneva in September can be had on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

School at Bologna.

A League of Nations School is being organised this Whitsuntide at Bologna. So much interest was created by the school that was held last year at Verona that many suggestions were made that another visit should be paid to Italy. Bologna has been selected, as it is the seat of the oldest university in Italy, and a town of great historical and architectural interest. A series of lectures will be given on the League of Nations and on the historical and artistic aspects of Bologna by Miss Muriel Currey, and by members of the university. The party will leave London on Thursday, May 17, and will stay a night in Milan, which will afford an opportunity for seeing something of that city. The inclusive charge for second-class return fares and full board and lodging for that night and for a week in Bologna will be £16 16s. All information, including particulars of the interesting excursions which are being arranged, can be obtained from Mrs. Croxton, M.B.E., 68, Elsham Road, Kensington, W.14, who is organising the school.

Mr. Pringle's Lectures.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is drawn to the intensive campaign which the Union, through its International Labour Section, is conducting among Employers' Associations, Rotary Clubs, Luncheon Clubs, and similar

bodies. A panel of lecturers has been drawn up, and Mr. W. Henderson Pringle, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in Economics in the London University, has kindly promised to address a number of meetings. Branches wishing to avail themselves of Mr Pringle's services should make early application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

Public Meetings.

Upwards of 300 meetings were organised by Headquarters for the month of March in addition to those arranged by Branches. Up to the time of going to press over 100 meetings have been arranged by Headquarters for the month of April. Meetings are being held at: Brighton, Sleaford, Camberley, Windermere, Idle, Kingsway Hall (London), Gillingham (Kent), Hackney, Stoke Newington, Hull, Croydon, Letchworth, Leicester, Norwich, Weymouth, East Islington, Orpington, Hull, Guildford, and Ilford. Amongst the speakers are: Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, M.P., Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., G. A. Spencer, Esq., Major W. E. G. Murray, Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, Dr. E. Leslie Burgin, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Lieut-Colonel D. Borden Turner, Miss Muriel Currey, E. Everitt Reid, Esq., Dr. R. C. Gillie, Rev. Iona Williams, Lieut-Colonel G. N. Wyatt, Professor Henderson Pringle, and Frederick Whelen, Esq.

Enquiries.

Many of our members who write to Headquarters asking for information on League subjects, send stamped addressed envelopes for reply. It would be a great help if this practice could be universally adopted.

Renew Your Subscriptions.

Annual subscriptions become renewable on the first day of the month in which the subscription was paid for the year 1921 or 1922. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d.

or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY. Neglect of this is the cause of many complaints of non-receipt of the HEADWAY.

To Branch Secretaries.

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP. LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

1s. a year. Minimum Subscription.
3s. 6d. a year. Membership and HEADWAY.
£1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
£25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

Scarcely Conceivable. 1,000,000 Refugees

(Smyrna Catastrophe: Asia Minor Stampede; Armenian Massacres.)

entirely without food, shelter and clothing.

Deaths from Starvation and Exposure.

Also acute suffering increased by Outbreak of Spotted Fever.

And the Children

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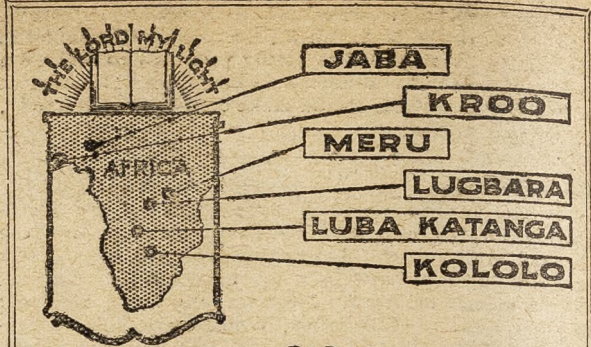
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