

Headway

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

"Si vis pacem, para-pacem."

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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

In nothing was the hold which the League of Nations movement has gained upon the imagination and the reason of the people of London more clearly demonstrated than in the splendid response to the "League of Nations Day" appeal. On what was surely the hottest day in the hottest summer since 1911, some twenty thousand people assembled in Hyde Park. A large number had previously marched in procession from all parts of the Metropolis, making London gay with their flags and banners. One enthusiastic marcher was heard to remark at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, "Kensington has been marching since one." And Kensington, nothing daunted, with pilgrims from six more districts, was standing three hours later, under a merciless sun, applauding League of Nations sentiments from ten different platforms. A great appeal had gone forth, and greatly London responded. "British idealism," Lord Robert Cecil reminded his vast audience, "was said to have won the war. Let us see to it that British idealism keeps the peace." The Hyde Park Rally of June 25th, 1921, goes far to prove that British men and women are alive to their tremendous responsibilities as citizens of a nation pledged to the Covenant of the League.

There is, of course, an exception to prove every rule. The League, in common with every other institution which, however imperfect in itself, is based on an inviolable truth, is fortunate in the nature of the opposition it arouses. The crowds who thronged Hyde Park on the last Saturday in June, had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the case against the League of Nations, as set forth in a small pamphlet which was given away at the Park Gates, and afterwards placed on the bookstalls at the price of 6d. It is written by "John Briton," with an introduction by the Duke of Northumberland.

It was certainly unfortunate for the sponsors of the pamphlet that on the very day on which they launched their attack the news should have arrived of the settlement by the League of a dispute between Sweden and Finland. This untimely piece of news dealt a staggering blow to the thesis which it is the aim of the pamphlet to maintain, namely, that "it is a mistake to think that war can be prevented by discussion round a table." The situation between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands was exceedingly strained; yet "discussion round a table" not only averted any conflict, but produced a far more equitable settlement than could have been hoped for as the result of the clash of arms.

Limitations of space forbid a detailed analysis of John Briton's argument, but we commend it to the attention of all supporters of the League. Indeed, we would go so far as to suggest that it would form an excellent basis for Study Circle discussion and debate. For it is by the study of the objections levelled against the League and its Covenant that we learn to assess at its true value the cause for which we work. The Duke of Northumberland's travesty of Article X., for instance, compels the elucidation of the true meaning of that Article. A study of the provisions of the Covenant does not lead us to agree with the argument that a partial alliance provides a guarantee which a more universal League fails to achieve; while a study of the Duke's objections fails to reconcile the opposing arguments that the League binds its members "to interfere in every petty quarrel," but gives no guarantee of assistance to a nation wronged. Nor is it very easy to understand how the effort to render war less probable can possibly militate against the security of any country, our own or another. Nor again can we reconcile the statement that Great Britain "must always be in a minority" on this "League of foreigners," with the

indisputable fact of unanimity required on the Council—a provision which renders it possible for any member of that body to veto a proposal obnoxious to itself. The pamphlet was evidently written for persons who have not read the Covenant of the League, and who will, therefore, not detect such mis-statements. Supporters of the movement will, however, welcome anything which focuses attention on the Covenant and enables them to give a reason for the faith that is in them.

The Aaland Islands. The settlement of the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aaland Islands is one of the most valuable pieces of work accomplished by the League. The final decision had to be based on two conflicting reports, one by the Commission of three experts appointed by the Council, who advised that the islands should remain with Finland, subject to certain guarantees to the Aalanders; the other, by the Commission of Jurists, who were in favour of applying the principle of self-determination by plebiscite, which would undoubtedly have resulted in favour of union with Sweden. It has now been decided that the islands are to be retained by Finland, but the inhabitants are given certain important guarantees of liberty, while the neutralisation of the islands is assured.

The Case of Albania. Less successful was the method of dealing with Albania's dispute with Greece and Yugo-Slavia, though here the blame should fall rather on the Supreme Council than on the Council of the League. Yugo-Slav troops hold about one-sixth of Albanian territory with a population of 156,000, which they occupied after the Armistice by order of General Franchet d'Esperey. Greece claims and occupies Northern Epirus, which was included in Albanian territory as fixed in 1913. She justifies her action on the grounds that the treaty of 1913 was abrogated by the Treaty of London of 1915, which divided Albania between Italy, Greece, and Serbia. The presence of Italy in Balkan territory was the reason alleged by Serbia and Greece for agreeing to their own share of the bargain. But by the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy renounced all claim to Albania, thus removing the excuse for Greek and Serbian dismemberment of that country. The question of Albania's frontiers is now being considered by the Conference of Ambassadors, and the Council of the League refused to deal with the matter, contenting itself with passing a resolution declaring that it would give all its attention to the defence of the Albanian population and nation, and requesting the Conference of Ambassadors to make a decision as soon as possible.

Poland and Lithuania. In some respects, the most important question on the Council's agenda was the Polish-Lithuanian dispute. It will be remembered that the Lithuanian delegates to the Brussels Conference agreed to accept M. Hyman's draft proposal as a basis for discussion, in spite of the fact that it gravely compromised Lithuania's independence. Poland, how-

ever, demanded that representatives of Vilna should be admitted to the Conference on equal terms, and when the Council came to discuss the matter she was still adamant on this point. Lithuania, on the other hand, was willing to accept the results of a plebiscite taken after the withdrawal of the Polish troops. The crux of the whole matter, as M. Hyman has strongly emphasised, is the continued occupation of the Vilna territory by the troops of General Zeligowski, and the Council, in accepting M. Hyman's scheme, had taken cognizance of this fact. The new proposal, which has been accepted by all the Members* of the Council except the Lithuanian representative, who is referring it to his Government, is for the resumption of negotiations on the question of the whole future relations between Poland and Lithuania, but on the understanding that the withdrawal of all Zeligowski's troops takes place between June 15th, the proposed date for the resumption of negotiations, and September 1st. Both the British and French delegates were emphatic on this point.

Amending the Covenant. Another important item of the lengthy agenda of the Council was the consideration of the report of the Amendments Committee.† This it was finally decided to refer *in toto* to the Assembly. One of the most interesting of the amendments suggested was a combined Czecho-Slovak and Chinese addition to Article XXI., whereby the League would not only approve but also promote agreements tending to assure peace and encourage co-operation, provided that the terms of such agreements were not inconsistent with those of the Covenant. Dr. Benes' object in pressing this amendment was, of course, to strengthen the "Little Entente" by giving it a solid League of Nations basis. In the narrower sense the "Little Entente" is an alliance between Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia. There is next an alliance between Rumania and Poland, and a further alliance between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, connecting the two former groups. A Rumanian alliance with Yugo-Slavia completes the circle. Dr. Benes' amendment gives the sanction of the League to these inter-related understandings. The proposed alliance between the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—would also come within the scope of the amendment.

Articles X. and XVIII. Could it also be interpreted in such a manner as to cover the proposed Franco-Polish Treaty, which is said to pledge France to support Poland in any war save one of aggression? According to Article XVIII. of the Covenant, this treaty must be registered with the Secretariat. But it will be remembered that the French and Belgian Governments refused to register the text of a similar alliance concluded between themselves, on the ground that a military convention is outside the scope of the Article. This point should be considered by the Committee

* Poland, although not a member of the Council, and Lithuania, although not a member of the League, were represented on the Council for the purposes of this dispute, in accordance with Articles 4 and 18.
† This Committee also had before it the findings of a Special Amendments Committee of the League of Nations Union.

of Jurists appointed by the Council on the motion of the Assembly last year to consider the scope of Article XVIII. To this Committee also was referred the Canadian proposal to eliminate from the Covenant the much disputed "territorial guarantee"—Article X.

Austria and the League. The Report of the Financial Committee of the League for the reconstruction of Austria, summarized in our last number, has been unanimously approved by the Council of the League. The chief difficulty up to now has been the reluctance of Italy to suspend her liens on Austria, but the unanimous decision of the Council indicates that her objection has now been withdrawn, and the scheme can go forward.

The Empire in Conference. There are two outstanding facts in regard to the Conference of the Imperial Premiers at present taking place in London. The first is the parallel which is being forced upon the notice of the world between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations. The second is the recognition by all parts of the Empire of the paramount need for a reduction of the burden of armaments. "The British Empire," said the Prime Minister, "is a saving fact in a distracted world. It is based not on force, but on goodwill and a common understanding. Liberty is its binding principle." But, at the same time, partisans of some looser and vaguer "association of nations" than the existing League may observe that this great "model for the League of Nations," as Mr. Chamberlain calls the Empire, is not averse to considering suggestions for the closer association of the constituent parts in the conduct of foreign relations. The tendency of the world is away from vague association and towards clearly defined obligations and relationships.

Limiting Armaments. On the question of the reduction of armaments, there is no doubt as to the feeling of the Conference. A few weeks previously, the American Senate had passed an amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill, authorising the President to invite Great Britain and Japan to discuss the limitation of naval armaments. In his opening speech, Mr. Lloyd George took up this friendly challenge in an equally cordial spirit. On the following day, General Smuts and Mr. Hughes gave variations on the same theme, the former urging that the stoppage of the armaments race should be a cardinal feature of our foreign policy, the latter pressing for a conference such as that desired by America, with the addition of France. It is common knowledge that Canada is opposed to any Imperial programme involving heavy armaments.

The Alliance with Japan. Closely allied to the problem of the reduction of armaments is that of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. One of the strongest arguments for the alliance is the belief that its existence would facilitate an agreed reduction of naval forces between Great Britain, America, and Japan. But the Japanese Ambassador in London has already indicated that his Government is ready to come to an

arrangement with England, France, and America for reducing naval armaments, and it is an open question whether denunciation of the Agreement would give a set-back to the movement which at present exists in Japan for a drastic curtailment of expenditure on armaments.

A Weighty Memorandum. At the special request of the Secretariat, the final Report* on the limitation of armaments prepared by a Committee of the League of Nations Union has been sent to the Disarmament Committee of the League. This important document is signed by, among others, General Seely (former Minister for War), General Sir Hubert Gough, General Sir Frederick Maurice, Admiral Hopwood (Secretary of the Navy League), Professor Bairstow (the expert in aeronautics), Mr. Maynard Keynes (the well-known economist), and Mr. Charles Roberts (former Under-Secretary for India). A summary of the interim Report of the Committee was published in the May number of HEADWAY. The final Report goes on to consider such matters as the use in war of poison gas and other deadly scientific devices, the question of restricting trade in munitions of war, the practicability of creating an international army and police force, and other important matters. On the question of naval armaments the Committee welcome the proposals to call a Conference of the Naval Powers. They also append to their Report a memorandum by Admiral Hopwood on the extent to which naval armaments might eventually be reduced—the proposition being shown to turn, not so much on the abolition of navies, as on changing their nature.

The Labour Conventions. The refusal of the Government to submit to the House of Commons the Washington Maternity and Eight-hours Conventions and the Unemployment Recommendation has aroused a storm of protest throughout the country. Not merely have Labour organisations resented bitterly this handicap to their work, but the League of Nations Union has been bombarded with resolutions passed by its Branches all over the country, urging that the fullest possible publicity should be given in Parliament to the decisions of the League. The merits of the Conventions themselves do not enter into the question, but only the principle of submission to the people's representatives in Parliament. All parties are agreed that Parliament, and not the Government, is the "competent authority" to accept or reject the Conventions.

Are We in Earnest? A letter sent to the Prime Minister by the Tongwynlais Branch of the Union points the moral, showing that the action of the Government in this matter seriously prejudices its moral prestige in insisting upon the observance of other parts of the Treaty. "Such action," it is stated, "will necessarily create in the minds of other Member States of the League of Nations the impression that Great Britain is not in earnest in the promotion of the objects of the League, to which it, in common with other States, appended its signatures."

* This Report is obtainable at the Offices of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, price 3d.

Other Branches take a similar attitude. The Government has now disposed of the question by making it the subject of a vote of confidence in itself. The host of "protesters" may perhaps take comfort from the fact that the Government was eventually pushed into recognising Parliament as the authority before which they were bound to justify their policy.

Central American Federation. One of the most important of the treaties registered by the League Secretariat recently is the Treaty of Union in Central America. This Treaty has been sent to the Secretariat by the Republic of Salvador, and would appear to foreshadow a new stage in the political evolution of the States of Central America. It was signed on January 19th, 1920, at San José de Costa Rica by the Republics of Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica, and provides for the creation of a new sovereign and independent State, to be known as the "Federation of Central America."

Backwards to Progress. A curious feature of the new political formation is the absence of Nicaragua from the Federation. Both geographically and historically this seems an odd omission. Nicaragua was one of the five provinces forming the Viceroyalty of Guatemala, which in 1821 proclaimed its independence of Spain. A federal republic was formed in 1822, but after some seventeen years trial the federal system broke down, and the five States became independent republics. The change cannot, however, be said to have been for the better, for the years of independence were marked by many protracted and bloody struggles. An attempt at federation was made in 1907. After the war of 1906 between Guatemala and Salvador, the United States and Mexico offered mediation, and delegates from the five republics met at Washington. Nicaragua and Honduras proposed the immediate establishment of a Central American Federation, but the scheme was not adopted. The present Treaty appears to be the 1907 proposal, minus Nicaragua. The absence of Panama from the Federation is to be explained by the fact that Panama was never part of the Viceroyalty of Guatemala, but was until 1903 a department of Colombia.

The federalisation of Central America raises several interesting **Problems for the League.** In the first place, there is the question of voting power on the Assembly. If four out of the five States federalise, is the federal State to have one vote, like Switzerland, or a vote for each constituent State, like the British Empire? If the former solution is adopted, Central America will have two votes instead of five; if the latter, the United States will have an additional grievance in being offered one vote only, should she join the League. A second point of vital interest to the other members of the League, is that so long as the States of Central America were separate, wars or threats of wars between them were a concern of the League, whereas now that they are federalised, such war would be civil war and would not come within the League's sphere.

RALLY TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

By LORD GREY OF FALLODON, K.G.

THE need for a League of Nations to preserve peace becomes more and not less evident. Without some such organisation the Governments of the nations who desire peace will be as powerless to avert war when a crisis comes as they were in 1914. But the vitality of a League of Nations and the policy of Governments must depend upon public opinion. It is to keep public opinion informed, alert, and effective that the League of Nations Union exists, and the first answer to every citizen who wishes to help the League is "Join the League of Nations Union."

Our country, with forty-seven other nations, is a Member of the League. Since the peace the League has done good work; it can realise the hopes with which it was founded, but only if the peoples of the nations who are Members of it insist upon its development and use.

The President of the United States has definitely and finally stated that the United States cannot join the League. I believe that the President and the people of the United States have the same desires for world peace as those of us in this country who are the strongest supporters of the League of Nations. We know that the influence of the United States must be very great, and may very likely be decisive in a world crisis. We shall welcome that influence in whatever way the United States decides to exercise it.

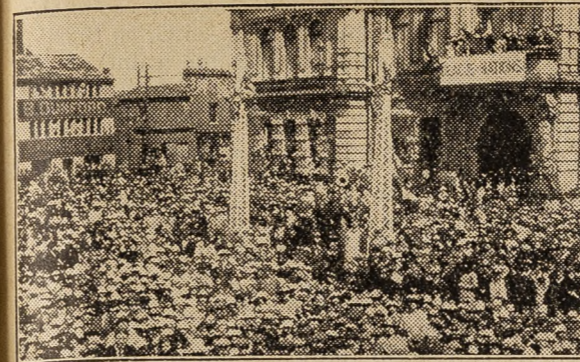
But we cannot scrap the League of Nations.

For us in Europe there are but three main policies possible:—

1. Isolation, which for us is the most costly, futile, and dangerous policy.
2. Separate alliances. These, if they take the form of special treaties for special purposes, are publicly communicated to the League of Nations, and are not contrary to the objects of the League, are not incompatible to it. But dependence on separate alliances without a League of Nations will assuredly bring Europe to a crisis and to war again as it did in 1914.
3. The policy of developing, using, making effective the League of Nations.

It cannot be doubted that this democracy desires to avoid future war. Democracy, if it be resolved and alert, may be more powerful in policy and action than any form of government the world has known, but if it be apathetic and undecided it becomes pitifully helpless. It needs organisation to focus opinion and make it effective. It is to provide such an organisation to secure, through public opinion, that whatever party be in power the policy of this country shall be a League of Nations policy, that the League of Nations exists and is to-day appealing for support.

A YORKSHIRE DEMONSTRATION.

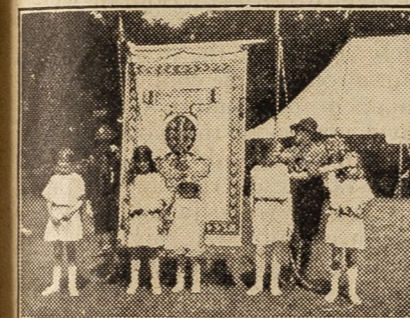


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THE HYDE PARK RALLY.



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8.

1. Lord Robert Cecil: "Let us see to it that British idealism keeps the peace."
2. Mass Meeting at Dewsbury Town Hall.
3. The Mayor and Corporation of Ossett received by the Mayor of Dewsbury.
4. The L.N.U. Banner.

5. Part of the Pageant. King Arthur and his Knights.
6. Lord Robert Cecil (Chairman of the Executive Committee) confers with Mr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett (General Secretary of the L.N.U.).
7. The Crowd in the Park.
8. One of the Processions.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

WHATEVER tends towards restoring peace to the world is an argument in favour of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement.

Can a renewal of the Agreement be reckoned solely a peace measure? Or may not such a renewal be provocative of ill-feeling in other nations, and so act as an international irritant?

In the answers to these questions are summed up all the arguments for and against a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. Though there is little time left before a renewal may be expected to take place, let us briefly examine them.

If the renewal of the Agreement in its present or any other form can be shown to be purely a peace measure, then on its side should be thrown all the weight the League of Nations can command. But before we may assume positively that the world looks upon it as such, a freer and fuller discussion of the aims of the Agreement is absolutely necessary. Especially is this the case in America, and in a lesser degree in China, which countries, more than any others, stand to profit or lose most by such an Agreement.

But above and beyond the views of these two nations, before any definite renewal takes place, it is still more vital that the opinions and wishes of our own Dominions should be fully heard. Far from assuming offhand the world-value of a new Anglo-Japanese Agreement, it is idle to pretend that any such renewal meets with unanimous approval. It does not. From more than one quarter it meets with distrust and dissent. To be of world-value, and it is only from such a point of view that the Council of the League of Nations can look at it, the Agreement should not come into collision with any large body of national opinion. Particularly when that opinion has the chief claim to be heard on questions concerning the Far East, as well as those connected with sea-power in the Pacific.

Now public opinion in America has, for some years past, been worked upon in an Anti-Japanese direction. We may be reminded that public opinion in the Pacific States does not represent public opinion throughout America, which, within certain limitations, is true. Unfortunately, both by the public press as well as by war books, purporting—incorrectly in some cases—to expose Japanese war aims in the Pacific, a strong anti-Japanese feeling has been aroused which must be taken into consideration. Unless and until the full light of day is concentrated upon the main questions in dispute between America and Japan, public opinion in America will continue to bring such pressure to bear upon responsible American statesmen as to hamper them severely in dealing with the numerous points at issue.

To a minor extent the same remark is applicable to Anglo-American relations.

If, on the other hand, by means of a new Anglo-Japanese Agreement, in which America could also be

represented, most of the cobwebs obscuring the dark corners of Far Eastern diplomacy could be swept away, and free discussion over the questions concealed in these corners be arranged for between Great Britain, America, and Japan, then might the calm of the Pacific remain unruffled for at least a generation, and the storm clouds which hover over all the surrounding coasts disperse.

Among the causes of possible friction at present existing between America and Japan and Great Britain, not the least is concerned with the question of increased naval armaments. Anything more antagonistic to the avowed object of the League of Nations than any such increased armament it is hard to imagine. Even harder is the fact that three of the principal signatories to the Covenant of the League fail to recognise this.

So far as the Anglo-Japanese Agreement rests upon armed force, it is but honest to admit that it clashes—to use no stronger word—with both the letter and the spirit of the League of Nations Covenant. But if the opportunity lately created by the new President of the United States for a round-table conference upon the question of disarmament be promptly accepted by the three leading naval powers of the world, and if such a disarming can materialise and be made part of a new Anglo-American-Japanese Agreement, then, from a possible menace, a new Anglo-Japanese Agreement, with America a consenting party, might become the basis of a general reduction of armed forces throughout the world.

Anglo-American friendship cannot stand still. Nothing human can. It must either strengthen or weaken. How then can it be strengthened?

First and foremost, by determining the chief causes of friction and removing them. Secondly, by determining the line of action to be adopted to suit the interests of both nations, including those of Japan. Surely, it will not be beyond the capacity of leading statesmen and publicists to do this? It is useless to overload any new agreement with clauses, articles, paragraphs, &c., for in the present condition of the world the wisest statesman is he who recognises the mutability of human affairs. But it ought not to be beyond the capacity of those who direct the policies of Great Britain, America, and Japan, to devise best how to initiate and develop those which express and preserve their vital interests.

On the other hand, it is wise to endeavour to lay down in the clearest terms the general spirit of any such agreement. If that be departed from, no amount of "letter" will save from being broken either Law, Agreement, or Treaty. That which in the end alone can render agreements sacred is that they be hatched in the full light of day, and backed by the public opinion of the nations concerned.

If the public opinion of Great Britain, America, and Japan insists upon the value of a new Anglo-Japanese Agreement, with America as a consenting third party, then, and not until then, can such an Agreement be said to be of world-value. It will also have been made in the true spirit of the League of Nations, which represents, though at present unfortunately it cannot enforce, man's highest ideals.

ECONOMY AND THE LEAGUE.

By REGINALD BERKELEY.

ECONOMY to-day should be the watchword of the world; and although the League of Nations costs immeasurably less in actual money than do armaments or national Governments, or indeed almost any political institution of any magnitude, it must be sedulous to avoid waste or extravagant expenditure.

Almost the first action of the Assembly during November last, was to subject the budget to a rigid scrutiny. It then requested the Council to appoint a Commission of experts to go into the whole question of the expenditure of the League and report to the next Assembly. This report has now been published, and, whilst it is in general terms a startling vindication of the economical manner in which the business of the League has been conducted, it makes some interesting proposals for keeping down expenditure in future. One great cause of expenditure appears to be the situation of the League at Geneva. Geneva, according to the Commission, is "a city in which the cost of living is, comparatively speaking, higher than in almost any city in Europe"; and the rate of exchange there is very disadvantageous to the majority of the members of the League. The Commission, therefore, points out that were the seat of the League changed to Brussels, Fontainebleau, Vienna, or, indeed, almost any other city of importance, "an immediate economy would be effected." Of these Brussels seems the most suitable. This question of changing the seat of the League is one which lies solely within the competence of the Council.

A heavy and avoidable expenditure, however, is the practice of holding meetings, conferences, and councils at places other than the seat of the League. This has involved a great amount of travelling, with incidental expenses, subsistence allowances, &c.

Another heavy item of expenditure appears to have been postage, and to meet this the suggestion is made that all postal matter of the League should be "franked," thus avoiding postal charges; or that special over-printed stamps at reduced rates might be supplied for the sole use of the League and the International Labour Office. The Swiss postal authorities appear to be the chief stumbling-block in this matter.

Curiously enough the matter on which the League has been most frequently attacked for its extravagance, namely, the salaries of its staff, is the head upon which, in the opinion of the Commission, criticism was least justified, although certain economies are envisaged. They agree that the salaries offered to the original members of the Secretariat certainly correspond to those which would be paid after some years of work in the British Civil Service, but that this only means that for the period of initial organisation a fully trained and experienced personnel was necessary.

Dealing with the organisation of the Secretariat the Commission pays high compliments to those who were responsible for it; and we in this country can rest assured that when the proposals of this Commission have passed the Assembly and become binding we shall have little reason to complain of waste in the League of Nations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES IN CONGRESS.

By B. E. C. DUGDALE.

ON the 5th of June the Fifth Congress of the Voluntary League of Nations Societies met at Geneva. The Delegations represented the Societies that exist now in most Member States in Europe. The American League to Enforce Peace also sent a representative, and there were delegates from China, Japan, and Gorgia besides.

Many of the Associations in these countries are still small and poorly organised. None of them have yet attained to anything like the size and power of our own League of Nations Union. But the importance of the Congress was not impaired on that account, for the delegates themselves were, in many cases, outstanding people in their own countries. Moreover, the personal contact between the Delegations was most useful. The British Delegation was able to give many hints to the weaker Societies. For its own part it gained fresh conviction of the great support that a large and well organised Union like our own is to the League.

Our visit to the office of the League brought this home to us with particular force. After a long, hot day's work, we were carried across the lake in motor boats to the "Palais des Nations," on the water's edge. After tea we listened to addresses from officials of the League. These were not speeches of mere polite welcome. We were shown that our Voluntary Societies are not looked upon as excrescences upon the League, but as an essential part of the organism which depends upon us to a great extent for its life. It was immensely inspiring to find the Secretariat itself looking to us for help.

One result of this visit to the office of the League was the decision of our Congress to send telegrams to the Governments urging them to ratify, without more delay, the Protocol which will enable the International Court of Justice to be started after the Assembly meets next September.

One of the most interesting decisions of the Congress was to recommend no amendments to the Covenant. In spite of a desire in some quarters to make the provisions of the Covenant more palatable to certain countries, the Congress as a whole showed great determination to cling to the Covenant that we have, rather than run risks in tampering with it without more experience of its working.

The amendments submitted by the League of Nations Union were all rejected with the exception of one to Article 26, which was not entirely rejected, the general principle being recommended as worthy of consideration.

Two other pieces of work accomplished by the Congress are of special interest to ourselves. A Committee of the League of Nations Union have lately been studying the question of the limitation of armaments, and had prepared Resolutions which included a proposal that all States should reduce their forces required for the preservation of internal order to the level calculated by the Peace Treaties as being

sufficient for Germany. The unanimous adoption of the British Resolutions seemed to mark a great step on the journey back to peace.

The admission of the German Society to the Union of Voluntary Associations, was also resolved by unanimous vote. Lady Gladstone, a member of the British Delegation, had been elected Reporter of the Committee that considered this question. Thus it was through a member of the League of Nations Union that the German application was recommended to the Congress. There are grounds for hoping that the Assembly will follow the example of the Voluntary Societies, and admit Germany to the League.

The opportunity given by this year's meeting at Geneva to the delegates to see the working of the League at the very centre of its activities, was a great advantage to them and their work. Next year the Congress will meet at Prague, where the stimulus it will receive and give should be no less great, though of a different kind. To many of the peoples in the new States of Central and Eastern Europe, cut off as they have been from contact with the currents of political thought in the West, and absorbed in their own problems, the League is still a vague idea. Some of us, on the other hand, have very hazy notions of the conditions under which they actually live. The needs, the ideas, the virtues, the defects of the States who were called into life by the Peace Treaties are necessarily very different from our own. Mutual sympathy we may have, but mutual understanding needs strengthening to make the sympathy practical. These Congresses teach the Voluntary Societies to realise that their duties do not begin and end at home. We have our own special share in the work of welding the joints of the League together and turning it into a great unified force.

THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

BY POLITICUS.

ACTIVE enemies of the League are rare birds in the House of Commons. Its principles are difficult to attack in the light of day; silent obstruction is a safer policy. A few members, however, tempted by the apparent popularity of the anti-waste cry, have disguised their dislike of the League behind an urgent desire for public economy, and have missed no opportunity of laying undue stress upon the smallest expenditure made by the League. It is needless to say that there is no danger of the Government being turned out of office by such economists moving a reduction of the vast votes for military and naval expenditure.

Apart from the financial "snipers," Parliamentary activity during the month has been entirely on behalf of the League, and the private member has not forgotten the tendency of all Governments to let things slide unless they are obliged to do otherwise. Keeping harassed Ministers up to the mark is the true business of the private member, and tiresome as it may be to a Government involved in countless difficult problems, the supporters of the League have rightly let no opportunity pass of insisting upon our national duty towards the League. The Government has therefore continually been called upon to satisfy a healthy

thirst for knowledge of what is being done by the Commission on Amendments to the Covenant, and what the agenda of the next meeting of the Council was to contain. Lady Astor has pressed upon the Prime Minister the advisability of appointing a woman to attend the Conference, which, under the League, will deal with the traffic in women and children. Mr. Neil Maclean has expressed his anxiety that the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, if renewed, should be consistent with the Covenant of the League. Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Barnes have urged most strongly the vital necessity of hastening the ratification of the Court of International Justice.

A watchful eye is being kept on the long-delayed Mandates for Palestine and Tanganyika. Members are anxious to be allowed to see the suggested amendments to these Mandates, but the proposal that such amendments should be published did not receive the approval of the Government.

Apart from the above, the failure of the Government to ratify the Washington Conventions has received, perhaps, more attention in the House than any other question concerning the League. Labour members, especially those who represented Great Britain at the International Labour Conference at Washington, are naturally anxious that the results of their work there should be ratified by the Government. The Constitutional question as to whether the Government or the House of Commons is the competent authority for such ratification has received a great deal of attention, while Members of all Parties have shown a desire that Great Britain should not fall behind the world standard in such matters by her omission to ratify the Maternity Convention. Feeling is very strong on this question, and more will probably be heard of it as time goes on. It is, indeed, clear that a strong body in Parliament is determined that the League, in all its varied aspects, shall be allowed to fulfil its functions.

THE OPEN COLUMN.

A FORUM FOR INTER-UNION DISCUSSION.

This column is devoted to articles on some aspect of the League of Nations written solely by members of the Union. Conditions of publication are as follows:—

- (1) No article may be longer than 200 words.
- (2) All articles must be based on and supported by facts. Unpractical theorising will disqualify for publication.
- (3) All articles must be received by the 20th of each month.

The following articles have been received on the question of

AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT:—

TWO REFRACTORY NATIONS.

There can hardly be any student of the Covenant who has not played the fascinating game of starting to prove how much better he or she could have drafted it. Article after Article has failed to please, has been drastically and vastly improved, has been made, in fact, quite perfect, and consequently quite unworkable in an otherwise imperfect world.

But there is one problem in which the Covenant might be more explicit. What will happen if both parties to a dispute refuse to accept the unanimous decision of the Council, or the majority decision of the Assembly?

In Article 11 it is stated that:—

"Any war, or threat of war . . . is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League," but that is a very vague declaration. Would it not be better to frame a definite statement declaring that any two nations going to war against the decision of either the Council or the Assembly should be treated in the same way as a single nation which declared war because a decision had been adverse to its claims?

M. C.

SIXTEEN FOR TEN.

The Articles of the Covenant nearly all fall into two main groups. A, those which define obligations of membership; B, those which define machinery and procedure. In group A there are two Articles which stand out from the others as pledging members to take action themselves at the bidding of the League—namely, 10 and 16. The others (1, 8, 12, 13, 15, 20, 23, 25) are mainly promises of acquiescence or postponement of action.

The concentration of criticism round 10 and 16 is therefore natural. In considering how it may be met the question arises whether, with the addition of a few words, 16 might not be made to cover the essentials of 10, and thus enable us to get rid altogether of an Article which to some is certainly a stone of stumbling. If the words "or commit an act of territorial aggression" were inserted after "resort to war" in the first sentence of 16, the remaining provisions would provide all the safeguards to peace aimed at in 10, and the perfectly clear and definite wording of 16 would dissipate the vague suspicions and fears that seem to surround 10.

No other alteration in 16 seems advisable at present. It provides the League with its only material weapon, and, whatever difficulties it may raise, to weaken it would be to diminish the practical efficiency of the other Articles in group A.

A SCOTTISH MEMBER.

ELUCIDATION V. ALTERATION.

M. Motta dealt sufficiently with Mr. Balfour's objection to altering the Versailles Treaty in supporting Mr. Costa's amendment, but the plea for more experience of the working of the Covenant is more reasonable. What is really required in most cases is elucidation rather than actual changes in the text. The Scandinavian method of rotation for non-permanent Council members has been rejected for biennial election by the London Committee, who have also altered the unworkable Article 6, apportioning expenses as in the Postal Union. With its correct interpretation, Article 10 must stay until the International Court is more fully developed. The word "generally" may be omitted from Article 13, but the further Norwegian proposals, which substitute "judicial settlement" throughout for "arbitration," are premature. Article 16 should become more definite, and jurists are already considering on whom the treaties in Article 18 are binding or otherwise. A fresh clause should be inserted in Article 23, formally inaugurating the financial organisation, which is on the same footing as health and transit. There should be as little obstacle as possible to amendment where really needed, and so the veto of the Council in the last article might be removed if they have sufficient faith in the public opinion of the world.

R. E. GUNDRY.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

After the first sentence of Article 3 add:—
"It is respectfully recommended that the Assembly Representatives be democratically elected by direct Proportional Representation (P.R.)."

For five hundred years Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria were periodically at inter-tribal war, but our National Parliament is not "inter" provincial, the people elect direct to Westminster; therefore, the World Parliament for Peace should not be "inter" national but democratic—all the people of the world should elect direct to Geneva.

Lord Grey said in 1912: "Before a shot was fired, the democracies would by large majorities, if not unanimously, say, peace not war . . . but after a shot had been fired . . . you would probably in any democracy have a large majority for continuing (the war)."

P.R. would reliably represent the normal peace majorities everywhere: it would therefore prevent war.

WILLIAM H. BAYLEY.

Next month there will be two subjects for discussion:—
(a) THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, with special reference to the proposed renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and to the present attitude of the United States to both questions. (See L.N.U. "Memorandum on Armaments," published in HEADWAY, May, 1921, p. 67.)

(b) THE ADMISSION OF GERMANY TO THE LEAGUE.

NEWS OF THE UNION.

THE HYDE PARK RALLY.

THE tremendous success of the great Demonstration in Hyde Park on League of Nations Day, June 25th, will certainly encourage the Union, if circumstances allow, to carry out next year its original idea of conducting propaganda pilgrimages through the towns and villages of England and Wales, converging towards a great London demonstration. About twenty thousand people took part in the Rally. Eight processions, carrying banners and flags, marched to Hyde Park from various parts of London, the first seven arranged by different Branches of the Union, the eighth of outside organisations. Led by Mrs. Fawcett, who walked from the Embankment, the women's special procession was first on the field, bearing decorative banners representing famous women. There followed other processions, bringing the banners of trade unions, ex-service men's societies, and religious and social organisations. Probably the most effective of all was the Lithuanian procession, dressed in national costume, and bearing banners illustrative of Lithuania's faith in the League. If all the forty-eight other nationalities belonging to the League, who were represented that day in Hyde Park, had taken a leaf out of Lithuania's book the result would have been stupendous.

The international platform aroused a great deal of interest. Representatives of eighteen nations, including China, Austria, Greece, Persia, Norway, and France, delivered, each in his own language, eloquent appeals for support of the League.

The opening address was given by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was followed by Lord Robert Cecil, who was received with great applause. Militarism and bureaucracy were the enemies of the League, he said, but the greatest foe was the apathy of the public. Certainly, if anything can deal a blow at that enemy, a demonstration like the Rally of June 25th can do so.

DINNER TO THE IMPERIAL PREMIERS.

Four Dominion Prime Ministers—Mr. W. M. Hughes (Commonwealth of Australia), Mr. Meighen (Canada), Mr. W. J. Massey (New Zealand), and General Smuts (Union of South Africa)—as well as Mr. Sastri, representing India, accepted the invitation of the League of Nations Union to the dinner arranged in their honour at the Hyde Park Hotel, on June 29th, though Mr. Hughes was afterwards unable to attend. The position and standing of the guests, and the influential character of the very representative gathering, was an excellent indication of an active and widespread interest in the work of the League. The chair was occupied by Lord Grey of Fallodon, former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith, the ex-Prime Minister, were among the speakers. The Royal Family was represented by Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, with whom was the Earl of Athlone; the Peerage and the House of Commons were largely represented; eight foreign Ambassadors and Ministers supplied the international element. In all, about seven hundred guests were present.

An inspiring speech was made by General Smuts, who urged that disarmament was the paramount task of the League, and suggested that this question "might be the bridge over which America might walk to the League." General Smuts also declared that the League was not sufficiently supported by the Great Powers, who reserved all their energies and powers for the "rival institution," the Supreme Council.

Lord Grey expressed disappointment that the United

States had not come into the League, but he pointed out that the very people who were opposed to the United States entering the League were those who supported the limitation of armaments.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING.

At the Annual Council Meeting of the L.N.U., held on June 3rd at the Caxton Hall, several important matters were discussed. On the question of publicity, Sir Sydney Olivier moved, and Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

“That this meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union urges upon the League of Nations the vital importance of giving the widest publicity to its proceedings, and particularly to the proceedings of the Council of the League.”

Mr. Raymond Unwin moved the following resolution on the admission of Germany to the League:—

“That the future peace of Europe and the best interests of the Allies require that Germany should become a Member of the League of Nations; and that this Union will use its influence to bring this about consistently with the provisions of the Covenant at the next meeting of the League of Nations Assembly.”

This was also carried.

The meeting also discussed the question of the election by Parliament of the delegates to the Assembly of the League, but as members were uncertain of the views of their branches on the subject it was impossible to pass a resolution.

Honorary Presidents.

Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Asquith, were re-elected as the Hon. Presidents of the Union, and on the motion of Mr. Goodere (Derby) the name of Mr. J. R. Clynes was added to the list.

Council Meetings.

On the motion of Mrs. Oliver Strachey, it was agreed that two Council meetings should be held in the year, one of which should be held in the provinces; and that, in addition, at least two conferences a year should be held in the provinces.

Alterations to Rules.

Certain alterations were made in the Rules, some of which have a special interest for subscribers to HEADWAY. In view of the increased postage on HEADWAY involving a cost to the Union of 6d. per annum for every member receiving the magazine, and increasing the out-of-pocket cost of supplying HEADWAY to 2s. 6d. per annum, it was decided to increase the minimum subscription entitling a member to receive HEADWAY from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per annum. Out of this 3s. 6d. the Branches will pay to Headquarters 2s. 6d. for HEADWAY, and, as before, a capitation fee of 3d. a year. They will thus retain 9d. a year out of the 3s. 6d. subscription in lieu of the 3d. a year which they have hitherto retained out of the 2s. 6d. subscription. This change will come into force, so far as new subscriptions are concerned, on July 1st, but every existing subscriber of 2s. 6d. will continue to receive HEADWAY until the end of the year in respect of which his subscription has been paid. Present subscribers of 2s. 6d., when renewing their subscription, will be asked to pay 3s. 6d. a year in order to continue to receive HEADWAY.

Improvements to "Headway."

The change in postal rates allow twice as much weight to be sent for one penny as could formerly be sent for a halfpenny. The Union hopes to take advantage of this change in order to increase the size of the magazine, and at the same time effect other improvements. When these improvements have been effected in the course of the next three months, it will be more than ever desirable that every member of the Union who can afford it should receive and read HEADWAY, and so increase the value of his membership of the Union and his usefulness to the cause of the League of Nations.

CANADA AND THE LEAGUE.

A Canadian League of Nations Society, on the lines of the British League of Nations Union, was launched under the most favourable auspices at a meeting at Ottawa on May 31st, under the Presidency of the Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire. The gathering was remarkable as an indication of the universal appeal made by the movement. Sir Robert Borden was chosen President of the Society, with three Leaders of the Political Parties as Honorary Presidents, namely, the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and the Hon. T. A. Crerar. The Hon. Newton W. Rowell, who was one of the Canadian delegates to the Assembly last year, was elected as one of the two Vice-Presidents, the other being the Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland.

Important speeches were made by Sir George Foster, Sir Robert Borden, the Marquess of Hartington, the Governor-General, and others. Letters of sympathy were read from the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Falconer, and General Sir Arthur Currie, who were unable to be present. The objects of the Society were laid down as follows:—

- (1) To promote international peace.
- (2) To furnish information about the League of Nations, its principles, its organisation, and its work.
- (3) To study international problems, and Canada's relations thereto as a member of the British Commonwealth and of the League of Nations.
- (4) To foster mutual understanding, goodwill, and habits of co-operation between the people of Canada and other countries in accordance with the spirit of the League of Nations.
- (5) To promote the establishment of provincial and local associations, clubs, or other bodies having like objects, and to co-operate with any existing organisations for such purposes.

OUR OVERSEAS DEPARTMENT.

The League of Nations Union does not seek to establish branches in our Dominions which are members of the League, but it has many opportunities of encouraging societies which exist or are being formed in the Dominions. We endeavour to promote the movement for the League in foreign countries in the same way. In our colonies we are anxious to see branches established.

Readers of HEADWAY might do a great deal to forward the movement throughout the world by writing to their friends abroad in foreign countries as well as in the Empire, inviting them to interest themselves in the promotion of a League of Nations Union. If those who write such letters will communicate to the Overseas Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, the names and addresses of those to whom such letters have been sent, the Overseas Department will undertake to write them also, putting them in touch with such societies as have

been formed in their neighbourhoods, or with people anxious to form a society.

In this way, a chain of interest may be made throughout the world.

During the last month letters have been written to people interested in the League in over thirty different countries by this department.

We learn that the Japanese League of Nations Society is organising public lectures on the League in many Japanese towns.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE.

Arrangements have now been made with the American School Citizenship League for correspondence between pupils in American and British schools.

The Education Section has a list of different types of American schools—elementary, high, co-educational, &c.—and will be glad if teachers in this country who wish to arrange such correspondence for their pupils will kindly communicate with the Union.

POSTER-PROPAGANDA: A SUGGESTION.

We have received the following letter from the Secretary of the Haslemere Branch:—

“Would it be possible to have a scheme of propaganda by posters organised and printed centrally and distributed to Branch Secretaries each month according to their standing orders? Probably two or three series would be necessary to suit the varying districts. I think most Secretaries must feel the need of this, and especially now that winter activities have ceased.”

What do the Branch Secretaries think of this suggestion? Opinions would be welcomed at the Head Office of the Union.

L.N.U. BADGE.

The L.N.U. badge was conspicuous on League of Nations Day in Hyde Park. It is a neat and pretty ornament in gilt and enamel, and can be obtained in either brooch or stud form. The price is 1s. 6d. each, or 15s. a dozen. Apply to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

REST-ROOM REQUIREMENTS.

The Union is anxious to furnish a rest-room for the members of the staff at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1. Offers of the loan of a comfortable couch, armchair, or deck-chairs would be gratefully received by the General Secretary.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

The event of a by-election in any constituency offers valuable opportunity for forwarding the League of Nations movement. Candidates should be questioned as to their attitude to the League, and it should be made clear that the votes of the Branch (which ought to be an important part of the electorate) will go to the candidate whose replies to the questionnaire are most satisfactory.

At recent by-elections, several of our Branches sent a League of Nations questionnaire to the various candidates, and published their replies in the local Press. This plan might well be given universal application.

WHAT IS THE LEAGUE?

Post-Rally Reflections.

An Old Lady.—What is the League of Nations? I thought it was a Committee of Statesmen that met occasionally to discuss politics, but last Saturday I saw it going down Sloane Street.

THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

Our membership on June 30th was 115,043, being an increase of 6,816 on last month's figures. The total number of duly constituted branches is now 570.

REVIEWS.

TOWARDS THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS. By BOLTON C. WALLER, B.A. (Published by the Student Christian Movement, 32, Russell Square, London, W.C. 1. 5s. net.)

Mr. Waller fully maintains the standard that we have learnt to expect from the Student Christian Movement in its publications. On this subject in particular this is as it should be, for the World Student Christian Federation, of which the S.C.M. is a member, is perhaps the widest and strongest of activities making for world-peace. This book deals with the fundamental Christian principles on which any brotherhood of nations must rest, and which are implicit in the League of Nations. The writer does not minimise the dangers and weaknesses of the League as at present constituted, and it may be thought that he lays too much emphasis upon them without appearing to recognise the spade work that is being done by the Permanent Commissions and Secretariat at Geneva. However, it is well to be reminded of defects and pitfalls. Especially valuable are the chapters on Peace with Progress and International Trusteeship (Mandates).

While it is primarily written for the student world, this book deserves a far wider publicity. We could wish nothing better than that every branch of our Union should endeavour to see that it is read by all ministers and clergy, and that all ministers and clergy should incorporate the substance of it in their sermons. The only serious criticism which we have to make is that Mr. Waller nowhere mentions the League of Nations Union (except in his bibliography, as a publishing agency). This is the more surprising since membership of the Union is the natural corollary of his argument for the creation of “a large and well-instructed body of opinion in each country, determined that the League must be made a reality.”

H. W. F.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF EUROPE WITH CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES. By J. HARTLEY FUDGE, M.A.

HISTORICAL ATLAS WITH CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES. By E. A. BENIANS, M.A., and T. H. KNIGHT. (George Gill & Sons. 1s. 6d. each.)

The former of these two useful pocket atlases takes the reader from the time of Diocletian to the outbreak of the Great War, 1914. The latter is intended to provide material for a general knowledge of English history, and should be especially useful for examination preparation. Study circles will find both useful.

ENGLISH-ESPERANTO DICTIONARY. FULCHER AND LONG. (E. Marlborough & Co., 51, Old Bailey, E.C. 4. 1921. 7s. 6d.)

The spread of Esperanto in recent years, the increase in the number of schools in which it is taught as a “second language,” the fact that it received a favourable report at the hands of one of the Committees of the Assembly last December, and that such influential delegates to that body as Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Wellington Koo are among its partisans, should be sufficient justification for the publication of this excellent Dictionary. Wider in scope than any hitherto published, the Dictionary will provide students of the language with the fullest vocabulary of the words likely to be required in ordinary practice.

WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN ONE YEAR.

This valuable little year-book of the League of Nations, price 2s. 9d., post free, which was reviewed in our May number, may now be obtained from the office of the L.N.U., at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. By H. DUNCAN HALE. (Methuen, London. 1920. 10s. 6d.)

Accepting “freedom and co-operation” as the principles of the post-war settlement, this book deals at some length with the three outstanding problems: (1) the question of Dominion status; (2) machinery of co-operation; (3) the relations between the British Group and the League of Nations.

THE ECONOMICS OF REPARATION. By SIR GEORGE PAISH. (“The Challenge,” Eppingham House, Arundel Street, W.C. 2. 6d.)

AMERICAN LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD. MORAL BASIS OF A LEAGUE FOR PEACE. By HENRY CHURCHILL SEMPLE, S.J. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1920. 12s.)

STUDY OUTLINES ON INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. By C. EDWARDSON. (National Adult School Union. 6d.)

TOWARDS THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS. By BOLTON C. WALLER, B.A. (Student Christian Movement. 1921. 5s.)

NEW PAMPHLETS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

WOODROW WILSON'S PLACE IN HISTORY. By the RT. HON. J. C. SMUTS. November 22nd. 1d.)

CREDIT OR CHAOS. The Ter Meulen Scheme of the League of Nations. Explained by STR DRUMMOND FRAZER, K.B.E. November 23rd. 3d.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ITALY AND THE DODECANESE.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As you are probably aware the Island of Kastellorizo has been ceded to Italy by France on March 1st, according to the spirit of the Sevres Treaty and the Triune Agreement on the Dodecanese.

On the other hand, the Dodecanese is still occupied by Italy, and the islanders follow with anxiety the much delayed evacuation of their islands, in spite of the fact that the Greek flag is hoisted everywhere and the granting of passports available "until the date of the cession of the islands by Italy to Greece." When H.E. Signor Montania, the Italian Minister at Athens, was asked in October last, with reference to the cession of the islands by Italy to Greece, he answered that "nous sommes à la veille de l'évacuation."

We are still waiting for this *veille*, and I can assure you that this *veille* is felt more or less tragically by my unfortunate countrymen, who are not experts in the great art of diplomacy and Machiavellian, underhand methods.

Italy must stand by her pledged word at Sevres, and no further bartering ought to be allowed on this patriotic little people claiming national re-establishment with their Motherland. Count Sforza wrote recently in the Centenary Number of the "Manchester Guardian," May 5th, 1921 :—

"Italian influence is in no way to be construed as meaning oppression to other people's rights."

We gladly accept this promising news, and may the new orientation of those in power in Italy bring the Dodecanesians to the attainment of their secular desire, union, and union with Greece only.—Yours, &c.,

THEODORE D. MOSCONA.
(Dodecanesian Representative in Manchester.)

PREVENTION *v.* ABOLITION.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Your correspondent who sees eternal war "between groups with mutually antagonistic interests," has been kind enough to take it that the main object of the League of Nations is the "prevention" of war and not its "abolition." This makes it much easier. Otherwise it would be like seeking the abolition of crime by means of a League of Lawyers.

Courts of Justice from very early times have been able to prevent war between agriculturists, traders, and other "groups with mutually antagonistic interests" in a large number of cases; and without bothering about the removal of "economic clauses." In fact, the removal of those causes, if possible, would have meant the removal of lawyers, who, on the contrary, have thrived in spite of the efforts of criminals and churchmen to thwart them.

But where the civil courts are at a greater disadvantage than the international courts is that they have a larger number of antagonistic interests to cope with. The international courts can count up nearly all their possible litigants upon their fingers. And their chief disadvantage at the moment is that they don't exist, and have never been tried, *i.e.*, with the united force of constitutional machinery behind them contributed by the ingenuity of the jurists and the common sense of the majority of the "men in the street" of each nation.

Give the lawyers the power, and they will prefer the intellectual warfare of legal technicalities to the less edifying conflict of young gentlemen with bayonets.

The problem is not so much the removal of economic causes for the abolition of human nature as the removal of superstition and the propagation of common sense for the prevention of international indecency. The furthering of this aim at least is the particular function of HEADWAY and the League of Nations Union.—Yours, &c.

BERTRAM HENSON.

"HEADWAY" AND THE POST.

The following generous letter has been received from the Treasurer of the Streatham Branch :—

"In view of the increased postal rates, Mr. Meredith has asked me to send you cheque enclosed for £5 towards the extra cost of posting HEADWAY to such members as are entitled in our Branch to receive it. New subscribers will, of course, be told of the rise to 3s. 6d., but as none of our members will be renewing their subscriptions till the close of this year and the first part of next year, we think it is only fair to make this contribution now out of the funds at the disposal of the Branch."

JOHN AND HIS WIFE

How a domestic tragedy was averted. Years of happiness in prospect—free from financial worry.

JOHN couldn't save. It was not that he undervalued money, or refused to recognise his responsibilities with regard to dependants, and certainly it was not that he spent overmuch on himself. But his hand always seemed to be in his pocket; he denied nothing in reason to his wife, his children, or his friends. This was all very pleasant, of course, but—well, supposing anything happened to John!

So one day John's wife had a good, straight talk with him. She put it quite nicely. She didn't ask him to be niggardly in his dealings with his friends, but she did urge him instead of giving her presents to save the money against a possible day of need.

"That's all right," said John, "everything will be all right, I'm well. I'm strong—there's nothing to fear." And so the subject was dismissed—for a time.

But it recurred, again and again and again. Until—No, nothing happened to John, but John's close friend and business associate—just as strong and just as well (apparently) as John himself—was taken ill, and in three weeks was dead. And his widow was left penniless. To the sorrow of bereavement was added the burden of fighting for a living.

It made John think. He thought hard and often. What if his wife had to face the world alone and work for her living, He pictured her—but no, it was too horrible to contemplate. It should never happen.

To cut a long story short, this is how John brought peace to his own mind by banishing the dread possibility of his wife having to earn her own living, and how he made provision for his own later years.

John (his age, by the way, was then 35) arranged with the Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada that for twenty years he would deposit with them the sum of £110. £16 10s. of this would be contributed by the Government, for he can claim that much rebate of Income Tax. So that, really and truly, he only deposits £93 10s.

Now directly the first deposit was made John's life was insured for £2,000, plus half the deposit. And to the £2,000 would be added half of every single deposit made, in the event of John's death. Should this occur, say, after 10 deposits had been made, then John's widow would receive not £2,000 only, but an added £550. So that every year, with every deposit, extra provision is being made for what "may happen."

But the most important advantage of all is that the substantial financial protection was afforded immediately upon making the first deposit. John had not to build it up gradually—it was instantly done, and a load of anxiety removed from his mind.

This plan, however, accomplished very much more than has yet been disclosed.

John, it is to be hoped, will live to a ripe old age. In which case John and his wife will together enjoy the reward of his thrift. At the end of the agreed-upon period (20 years in this case) John will receive from the Sun Life of Canada £2,000 plus profits, estimated at £740, making in all £2,740. As he will only have deposited in the 20 years a net sum of £1,870, there is a profit of £870—a not ungenerous appreciation of capital.

Any time after three deposits have been made, John has the right to exercise valuable options all clearly set forth on the back of the Policy, and have an already agreed-upon sum of money returned; or he may discontinue deposits, leaving those already made to afford the proportionate protection for his wife or to bring him in a proportionately smaller sum at the end of the 20 years.

The plan outlined can be adopted for any amount, for any period of years and at any age. Why not investigate?

Write, giving exact date of birth and approximate amount you can deposit yearly, and for what term of years. Address inquiry to the Manager, J. F. Junkin, Sun Life of Canada, 9, Canada House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C. 2.

Annuitants.—The Sun of Canada is the leading office for Annuities—Immediate, Joint, Deferred, and Annuities with guaranteed return of Capital. Assets over £23,000,000.

A large number of members have responded generously to the appeal made by H. R. Sparks last month. Contributions not only of pence, but of shillings, have been received, and will help towards relieving the drain upon the funds of the Union caused by the increase in postal rates. Will contributors be kind enough to accept this notice in lieu of individual acknowledgments, which, by reason of the extra postal charges, would necessarily detract from the value of the contributions?—EDITOR.

BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

LONDON REGION.

CROYDON.—This Branch has produced an admirable leaflet explaining its constitution, aims, and plans of organisation, which might with advantage be copied by other Branches. "Organisation Plans are delightfully comprehensive. The aim is to enrol every citizen of Croydon (a) through the Churches, (b) by systematically organised canvass, by post, or personal calls. District Committees are to be formed, possibly on a ward basis, each to be inaugurated by a representative meeting summoned by the Hon. Secretary and to be presided over by a local chairman. The activities of the District Committee would include membership enrolling for the area, arranging meetings, "At Homes," Study Circles, &c. Under the heading of "General Organisation Work" a large programme is contemplated, including public meetings and demonstrations (pageants, processions, films, &c.), sale of literature, organisation of lectures, conferences, resolutions, receptions, &c., work in schools (addresses, essays, competitions), advertisement (hoarding, Press, &c.), and establishment of a League of Nations Reference Library. The address of the Branch Office is given and the times when it is open.

EAST MIDLAND REGION.

LINCOLN.—Comparable to the splendid demonstration arranged by Wakefield, Ossett, and Dewsbury,* to which we referred last month, was the Whit Monday demonstration at Lincoln. Over 5,000 Sunday-school children took part in an attractive and educational procession with numerous tableaux. Perhaps the most impressive appeal of all was made by a dray-load of happy youngsters labelled "Were We Born for War?" Another decorated dray carried representatives of the smaller nations pleading that they should be protected from the unscrupulous invader by a fair and impartial League of Nations, and intimating on coloured shields that "Justice, Peace, and Plenty" would then ensue. The work of the Red Cross was depicted by another school, and besides being told that war never ended disputes, the spectators were reminded that "War is Hell."

The Lincoln Branch had a most happy inspiration when it decided to offer prizes to the children of the Sunday School Union for the best demonstrations of the propaganda of the Union. Great interest was aroused in the League, and the appeal called forth a tremendous response. In addition, lessons on the League were given in Sunday schools and day schools. With the object of extending interest in the movement, the proprietors of the "Lincolnshire Chronicle" arranged a prize competition for children. A first prize of £3 3s., a second prize of £2 2s., and fifty copies of the "People's Atlas," published at £1 1s., and containing a special summary of the League of Nations Covenant and other information specially bearing on the League, were offered for the best essays on the League of Nations written by children under sixteen.

WEST MIDLAND REGION.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT.—A most successful attempt is being made by this Branch to forward the work of the League among the members of the Stoke-upon-Trent Recreation Club. The Club's members are from sixteen to twenty-three years of age, and are already very keen on what they are asked to do in connection with the League—reading up information, making

* See photographs on p. 97.

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maps, &c. At a "Social" recently, a series of general geography and history questions was started. On Saturday evenings dancing leaves off for 15 to 20 minutes and the members form groups representing some of the different Member-States of the League. At present eleven are represented—namely, China, Japan, Brazil, Italy, Spain, France, Sweden, British Isles, India, Canada, and Australia—but as the idea gains ground it is expected that the groups will become more numerous. Each country has its own register, and during the interval attendances are marked by the leader or the deputy. Newspaper cuttings recording each country's activities are passed round—afterwards being collected to be pasted on the register; badges—embroidered in the national colours—are worn, and any special news of the League of Nations or League of Nations Union is brought to the general notice.

NORTHERN REGION.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—The following from the Secretary of this Branch explains itself: "Our Chairman, Councillor Fowden, is so impressed with the account of our Union's activities as reported in our annual report, that he desires to send a copy to every home represented by our membership, and is prepared to bear the cost involved. I shall be glad if you can let me have 160 for this purpose." Councillor Fowden's offer is most encouraging, and it is to be hoped that other branches will follow this admirable lead.

SOUTH WALES REGION.

NEWPORT (MON.).—A most energetic plan of campaign has been prepared by this Branch. It is divided into three heads: 1, Town and Borough; 2, County; 3, The Child and the League of Nations. The Branch aims at enlisting the sympathy and support of the clergy, education authorities, Women's Citizenship League, W.E.A., and the local Press, and at forming a Speakers' Training Class with a view to preparing for Study Circles and meetings. A League of Nations "Speech Day" in the schools, lantern lectures, essay writing by school children, and educational pictures dealing with the customs and needs of children of other lands are among the ideas in contemplation. Lectures in villages and public meetings, as well as other efforts, come under the second heading. Finally, this enterprising and hardworking Branch aims at "winning the child for the League of Nations" by means of exhibitions of various kinds, and by linking up internationally all children's organisations.

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The July number contains letters from **THOMAS HARDY**, **BERNARD SHAW**, and **JOHN CALSWORTHY**, on a League of Thinkers, as proposed by Tolstoy's son; articles by **W. ORMSBY CORE, M.P.**, on "The Middle East," **F. E. GREEN** on "The Blow at Hodge" (the agricultural position), **F. A. MACKENZIE** on "Japan and Korea," **VERNON BARTLETT** on "The End of the Fascisti" (the Italian Blacks-and-Tans); reproductions of a number of cartoons by the exceedingly clever caricaturist of the *Freeman's Journal*; a number of shorter articles on matters of the moment; and a general review of the past month, by **HAMILTON FYFE**.

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FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of June 152 meetings were held, although in the June publication only thirty-two were announced at the time of going to press.

For next month meetings have already been arranged in the following places, to be addressed by the following speakers:—

July 10th, Southall. July 11th, Burnham-on-Sea, Chelsea. July 12th, Bradninch, Harrow-on-the-Hill. July 13th, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Calne (Wilts.), Bewdley (Worcester), Leyton. July 14th, Bournemouth, Tewkesbury. July 15th, Maidenhead. July 16th, Oare, Ealing. July 17th, Rhostyllen, Wembley, Carshalton. July 21st, Oxford, Bournemouth. July 22nd—28th, Oxford, Summer School. July 27th, Grayswood. August 3rd, Shere and Gomshall.

Among the speakers are: J. H. Clynnes, M.P.; Frederick Whelen, Esq.; Mrs. Whitehead, C.B.E.; Miss Tynan; Miss E. Murray; Lt.-Gen. Sir Hubert de-la-Poer Gough, G.C.M.G.; W. R. Williams, Esq.; Rev. D. C. Davies; Rev. R. Foster Jeffrey; F. S. Marvin, Esq.; J. C. M. Garnett, Esq., C.B.E., M.A.; Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.; *Dr. Inazo Nitobe; *Prof. Gilbert Murray; *Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; *Monsieur Albert Thomas Esq.; *Sir George Paish; *Froben-Henni Forchhammer; *Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore, D.D.; *Dame Rachel Crowley; *Lord Phillimore; *Brig-Gen.

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*Those marked with an asterisk are speaking at the Oxford Summer School.

The meetings arranged include the following:—
July 15—Maidenhead. 8.30 p.m. Town Hall. Lt.-Gen. Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, G.C.M.G.

July 21—Bournemouth, Evening. Winter Gardens. Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.

July 21-28—Oxford Summer School. Balliol College.

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