

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

Vol. V. No. 2.

February, 1923.

Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.

Price Threepence.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH	261	AT GRIPS WITH THE OPIUM MENACE. By Hebe Spaul	272
THE MENACE TO PEACE	264	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
NEAR EAST MINORITIES	265	The League and the Peace Movement	274
THE FREEDOM OF THE STRAITS. By Maj.-Gen. Sir F. Maurice	266	THE BOOK COUNTER :—	
A LETTER FROM GENEVA	267	British Empire and World Peace ; Education in Africa ; A Child's Bookshelf ; Plays for Children	274
A LONDON LETTER	268	FRANCE ON ORGANISING PEACE	276
THE NEW WORLD : FINLAND. By E. M. Nielsen ..	269	NEWS FROM OVERSEAS	276
THE WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD OF SCOUTS. By Hubert Martin	270	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
MINORITIES IN TURKEY (MAP)	271	Notes and News	278

THE MONTH.

["Headway" is published by the League of Nations Union, but opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, at the same address.]

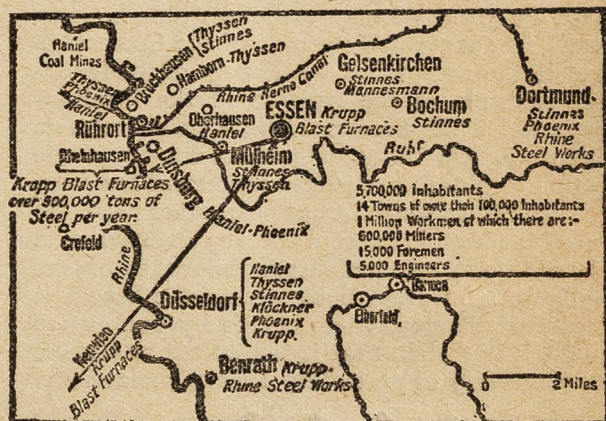
"If the choice is between not being paid and not being secure, I don't hesitate for a moment: I demand to be secure."—
M. Loucheur, in the French Chamber of Deputies, November 7, 1922.

ON the face of it, it would seem that at the moment the opinion of M. Loucheur is not shared by the French Government. The Entente Powers having failed to reach an agreement on reparations at their Paris meeting, France has decided to act alone, and her troops now occupy the whole of the Ruhr coalfield. By this action she is not merely taking terrible and unwarrantable risks with the peace of Europe, but she is risking also her last chance of obtaining either of the two alternatives to which M. Loucheur referred last November. She is likely to obtain neither reparations nor security.

* * * *

THE Council of the League is meeting as we go to press. It is almost certain that at this opportune meeting some Member of the League will exercise its "friendly right" under Article 11 of the Covenant to draw the attention of the League to a matter which undoubtedly

threatens "to disturb international peace," or at least "the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." There are indications that Sweden will probably take the initiative. Meanwhile, it has to be remembered that the question of reparations is inextricably intermingled with those of the security of frontiers and of the reduction of armaments, and that all three must be



By permission of the "Daily News,"
THE INDUSTRIAL CENTRES OF THE RUHR.

dealt with as a whole. No other body is competent thus to tackle the problem but the League of Nations, whose Armaments Commission has now made considerable progress with the preparation of a scheme for the limitation of armaments in conjunction with a general guarantee pact which would give France all the security she desires, which England and Italy, acting alone, are not in a position to give. That some influential French opinion is in favour of recourse to the League is

shown by an important resolution which has just been passed by the Federation of French League of Nations Societies, which includes such members of the French Government as MM. Bourgeois and Lapradelle. The resolution, without calling in question the legality of the French action in the Ruhr, makes a strong plea for the reference to the League of the problems both of reparations and of inter-Allied debts.

THE opinion of America on the French occupation of the Ruhr is clearly marked by the withdrawal of her troops of occupation. Senator Borah, writing in the *Daily News* on January 10, sums up the American attitude by saying: "Another obstacle standing in the way of our helping Europe is the fact that Europe refuses to help herself. Her militaristic and imperialistic policies since the Armistice diminish our hopes and destroy our faith. Europe to-day has greater military establishments than before the war. Such a policy is utterly brutal and insane." "But," he adds, "show the people of the United States a way by which they can help the people of Europe—the masses of these countries—and that assistance will not be withheld." It is significant that on the eve of the French entry into the Ruhr, Mr. Hughes formally submitted to the French Government a suggestion for an international commission to fix the total of Germany's indebtedness, and the French Government asked for, and was given, further details.

ORIENTAL diplomacy being what it is, it would perhaps be unduly optimistic to suggest that by the time these words are in print the Lausanne Conference will be over. It took 20 sessions of a sub-committee to induce the Turks to acquiesce in the retention of the Greek Patriarchate, shorn of its civil functions, at Constantinople! At least, however, we may expect its time limit to be near. The main achievement of the Conference to date is the acceptance by Turkey of the fundamental principle of the freedom of the Straits—a theme which Sir Frederick Maurice elaborates on another page. On the equally vital matter of the protection of minorities a partial agreement has been arrived at, but, as we point out on another page, the refusal of the Turks to accept the appointment of a Resident Minorities Commissioner removes an important guarantee for protection. Unless the League is satisfied that the guarantees offered by Turkey are adequate, it is certain that it should not undertake the responsibility of protecting Turkey's minorities.

THE problem of the exchange of Turkish and Greek populations has at last been solved, and it has been agreed to set up a mixed commission of one Turk, one Greek, and a president belonging to a neutral Power, chosen by the League of Nations, to deal with the liquidation of the property of the compulsorily exchanged persons. A minor victory was scored by inducing the Turks to permit all Greeks settled in Constantinople before the Mudros Convention of October, 1918, to remain; as a reciprocal concession, Moslems in Western Thrace are to be permitted to stay where they are.

The exchanged populations concerned are therefore Greeks in Anatolia and Moslems in Macedonia and other parts of Old Greece—some 600,000 persons altogether.

THE League Council has a lengthy agenda for its twenty-third session. In the first place, the Council must decide on the execution of certain resolutions passed by the Assembly on the reduction of armaments. The most important of these concern the supervision of the private manufacture of, and traffic in, arms and the extension to other States of the Five-Power Treaty on Naval Disarmament signed at Washington. Two protests from the German Government on the administration of the Saar territory will also be discussed by the Council; one objects to the presence of French troops and police in the district, the other to the jurisdiction of the French War Councils. The successor to General Hakin, who has done such splendid work as High Commissioner of the League for Danzig, will also be appointed.

FURTHER questions on the agenda relate to the protection of minorities in Estonia, Latvia and Poland. There are also some reports to be submitted: one on the provisional line of demarcation that will ultimately be substituted for the neutral zone at present existing between Poland and Lithuania; another on the work of the Opium Committee, which held its fourth session on January 8th. A third Report, presented by Dr. Nansen, concerns the Russian Refugees and the relief work undertaken in aid of the refugees of the Near East. Finally there is the Report prepared at the request of the Council by the Secretariat, with the help of the International Labour Office, on Economic Conditions in Russia. The Council will also give its opinion on the scheme proposed by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for facilitating the exchange of intellectual privileges in the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Last, but not least, is the question of the financial reconstruction of Austria—on which a report by the Austrian Sub-Committee and the Committee of Control composed of representatives of the guaranteeing Powers, will be placed before the Council.

THE Session of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is being held as we write, is a historic event. It marks a new stage in the development of this tribunal. For the first time two Great Powers are appealing to the Court in regard to a dispute bearing upon an important phase of international law. The question at issue is whether the French Government may conscript for military service British residents of Tunis and Morocco. The French claim that they may, and as a result of certain nationality decrees of November, 1921, some British subjects of Maltese origin were actually arrested and taken to barracks for military service. The French Government based its attitude on the contention that this is a matter of purely domestic jurisdiction (although Tunis is a protectorate, not a French possession), and repeatedly refused to submit the matter to

arbitration. Whereupon the British Foreign Office brought the question before the Council of the League under Article 15 of the Covenant, which deals with disputes which one or both parties decline to submit to arbitration. A happy result of this order was that France promptly agreed to the submission to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the question whether her action in Tunis fell within her domestic jurisdiction.

IT is this question which the Court is now considering, in the light of Article 15, clause 8—a clause, it is interesting to remember, which was inserted in the Covenant in deference to the wishes of the American Senate. This clause, which rules out of the purview of the Council any matter "which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction" of the party concerned, played an important part in the Aaland Islands decision. Finland, it will be remembered, claimed that this matter was a domestic and not an international concern, and had the Permanent Court been in existence at that time it would have had to adjudicate on this point. As it was, a special commission of jurists had to be appointed, whose decision was that the question was international, and as such could be dealt with by the League. Should the Court come to a similar conclusion in this case, France has agreed in advance to accept arbitration on the main issue—a notable tribute to the League. The case, whichever way it be decided, is likely to form an important precedent, and our grandchildren will probably learn with surprise that at the second session the audience consisted only of one man! Readers of HEADWAY will, however, like to know that this audience of one was a member of the League of Nations Union and one of its most popular lecturers.

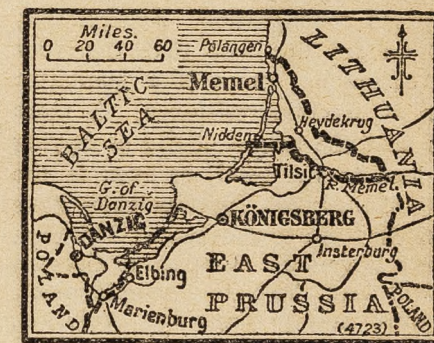
WHATEVER the attitude of Soviet Russia to the League of Nations, her hostility evidently does not extend to its health activities. Russia was represented at the Warsaw International Health Conference organised by the League last year, and when the League's Health Committee met in Geneva early in January there was present Dr. Samyashko, Commissioner of Health of Soviet Russia, who made an important statement on the epidemic situation in his country and the measures being taken by the Soviet Health Administration. Another example of Russia's interest in the health work of the League is the fact that five Bolshevik medical officers of health were present during the recent public health course in Belgium and Italy organised by the League and financed by the American Rockefeller Foundation. Health officers from 19 countries, including Soviet Russia and America, are shortly to visit this country in connexion with the same scheme.

WORK of this kind, whose importance is not to be measured by the newspaper publicity it achieves, is laying the foundations of a strong and enduring League of Nations. One interesting aspect of the work, which passed unnoticed by the press of this country, is the investigation into tropical diseases, such as sleeping sickness. One of the inevitable consequences of the

war has been a slackening of the struggle against this dread disease, which has now become a veritable scourge in certain parts of the African continent. The League's Health Organisation appointed a committee of experts on tropical diseases, consisting of representatives of Powers having colonial interests in equatorial Africa, which met in London at the end of last year.

TWO questions which may or may not be referred shortly to the League are those of Memel and of Greenland. The proposal of Denmark to extend her jurisdiction over Northern Greenland has led to an agitation in Norway, who claims that, by right of exploration, Greenland belongs to her. The attitude of the Norwegian press illustrates the confidence which small nations put in the League. It is urged that it is particularly to the interest of Norway, as a small nation, to rely on international justice, and therefore the matter should be brought before the League.

THE Memel rising is properly a matter for the Allied and Associated Powers, who ought to have laid down a definite status for the territory of Memel many months ago. The harbour, town and district, formerly part of East Prussia, were transferred from Germany to the Allies by Article 99 of



the Treaty, and have since been administered by a German Direktorium under a French High Commissioner—a curious arrangement, which has worked very well in practice. The Members, most of whom are of Lithuanian race, however, tired of having neither country, status nor nationality, have taken matters into their own hands, and aided by Lithuanian troops are now in possession of the whole territory. The only possible means of saving the situation is for the Allies to do what they should have done before—lay down a definite status for Memel. If they cannot make up their minds on the subject, what hinders recourse to the League? Memel is at least no harder a nut to crack than Upper Silesia.

We call the attention of our readers to the advertisement of *The Challenge* which appears on another page. During the past few months *The Challenge* has widened its outlook and no longer stands as an Anglican Church newspaper. As a weekly review, it attempts to take a broad and Christian view of the world of affairs and literature and to stimulate right thinking in regard to the new social order. Members of the Union will find, among other regular weekly features, a page devoted to foreign affairs in general and the League of Nations in particular. On application to the Editor, 11, Breems Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.4, a copy of *The Challenge* will be sent post free for a period of four months at the special subscription rate of 5s.

THE MENACE TO PEACE.

THE present situation in Europe is the gravest that has arisen in the four troubled years since the Armistice. At their New Year's meeting in Paris the Allied Powers definitely failed to reach agreement on the Reparations problem. Thereupon the French Government, supported by Belgium, and in some measure also by Italy, decided on a separate policy and separate action. They occupied the whole area of the Ruhr, the richest of the coal-fields by which German industry has always lived. The occupation was followed by the open resistance of the German Government and the owners of the mines.

No one can foresee to what these grave events may lead. The most obvious of the dangers of the present situation is that the events now taking place may create a resentment and a hatred which will at some future date result in war. A second danger is that there may, at any moment, be bloodshed between the occupying troops and the civil population of the Ruhr, which might start an immediate widespread conflagration. Against this, however, should be set the fact that the very strength of the occupying forces is a guarantee against attempts at forcible resistance. A more serious danger is that the action of the occupying authorities may lead to the total, or even to the partial, cutting off of those coal supplies which have gone hitherto from the Ruhr to unoccupied Germany. The result will be a large-scale stoppage of German industry which will lead, first, to unemployment, political disturbance, and perhaps to revolution, and later to the diminution of German exports and a probable consequent shortage of the imported food essential for the daily needs of the German people.

That is a most disastrous prospect. It is, however, only an aggravation of the menace with which Europe as a whole has been threatened ever since the Peace Treaties came into effect; the menace of political and financial uncertainty which has brought the economic machinery of the world to a standstill, and has prevented the reconstruction essential to the recovery of a war-stricken continent.

These, then, are the dangers with which the Governments of the Powers are faced. Their gravity can hardly be overstated. Europe is on the verge of a great catastrophe. And this catastrophe can only be averted by a rapid, a complete and a final solution of the whole problem of Reparations and of the other problems with which it is bound up. No postponement, no part settlement, can now sensibly relieve the situation. Among all the difficulties to be overcome, the crucial point in the whole matter is to find a sum which Germany will agree to pay, and which France will agree to accept. This is the vital necessity if a real settlement is to be reached.

If it is agreed that a final settlement of the whole Reparations problem is the only way out of the present intolerable state of affairs, and that it is

the paramount object which must now be pursued, there are several conclusions which result. First, the military occupation of the Ruhr is in itself of secondary importance. It is an incident, certainly, a regrettable—but possibly, the world being what it is, even a necessary—incident of a great problem. It has been frequently suggested in the Press that, since the legality of this occupation has been questioned, the point should be referred by the British or by some other Government for immediate decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. There is no doubt much to be said for this proposal. But compared with a general settlement the determination of this legal issue is of little consequence. It may even be doubted whether, in fact, a reference to the Court would not at this moment only serve to exacerbate the feelings of the parties, and so to retard, rather than to facilitate, the agreement that is required.

In the second place, it must be remembered that to achieve a complete settlement it will be necessary for the Allied countries concerned, and more particularly for France, to give up rights which legally, by an international treaty signed and ratified in all solemnity four brief years ago, are hers. Nor should it be forgotten by the people of Great Britain that in the drawing up of the Treaty which gave these rights to France the Government of this country had no small share of responsibility, nor that France, with all her richest provinces devastated by invading armies, believes her claim for their restoration to be the barest minimum of human justice. These facts again are fundamentals, and in considering the possibility of a settlement they must be borne continually in mind.

Next, it must be evident from these considerations that the difficulties of securing any settlement are immense. A mere reference to the Council of the League, a mere discussion, cannot achieve the result which is required. But this much it is safe to predict. The agreement between the Governments upon which alone a settlement can be founded can now only be secured through the medium of the League. There are many reasons which support this view. A complete and final settlement must involve not only the question of Reparations, but also, as the Disarmament Committee of the Assembly pointed out, the questions of Allied debts, of armaments and of security against invasion. All these matters are inextricably intermingled with the main problem, and with them all the League, and the League alone, can deal. In bringing together these various elements of the problem, and in providing an impartial and authoritative tribunal for the discussion of the difficult technical points involved, the machinery of the League will at the right moment prove of essential service.

It is the duty of every believer in the League to do what lies in his power to help towards a settlement. He can do this by avoiding whatever might inflame public feeling or passion; by making clear both the determination of the people of this country that the machinery of the League shall be used in any way in which it can be useful, and their unbending resolution that, whatever may befall, this question shall not lead Europe to another war.

NEAR EASTERN MINORITIES.

THE progress made by the Lausanne Conference on the question of minorities has on the whole been satisfactory. If from a League point of view the guarantees offered by the Turks should appear to be insufficient, the charge may not justly be laid at the door of the British delegation or, for that matter, at the door of the other Allies either. Lord Curzon could not have appealed more earnestly on behalf of the minorities than he did; not on one occasion, but on several occasions he put forward their case with astonishing vigour. With a complete command of historical facts and a genuine desire to meet the Turks half-way he portrayed to the Commission the consequences for Turkey were a short-sighted minorities' policy to be pursued by her in the future. To two of his proposals the Turks acceded. They declared themselves willing to apply for membership of the League of Nations as soon as peace had been concluded, and they expressed their readiness to accept the general minorities provisions of the League of Nations as accepted by most of the new States of Europe. To the third proposal they did not, however, agree. Lord Curzon had urged them to approve the appointment of a Resident League Commissioner for Turkey, intimating that a similar Commissioner would be appointed to Greece. But the Turks had resisted. They argued that as prospective members of the League they could not be justly expected to fulfil obligations and furnish guarantees above and beyond those required of other States signatory to the Minorities Convention of the League. Moreover, the Assembly of the League at its last session had not seen fit to approve the proposals submitted to it by Prof. Gilbert Murray, advocating the appointment of League Commissioners where circumstances required it, to States signatory to the Convention. To this view they remained firmly rooted. It was the impression of the League of Nations Union's two observers at Lausanne that the Turks would in the end accept the proposal; but this impression has since proved to be erroneous, for Turkish resistance is still as dogged as ever.

In order not to jeopardise the proceedings of the Conference the Allies found it necessary to abandon the question of a League's Commissioner for Turkey.

On most of the remaining features of the minorities' problem agreement was reached. Of these the most momentous as regards Turkey's past and future, was undoubtedly the question of the exchange of populations, Greeks in Anatolia for Turks in Greece and Western Thrace. At once one of the main sources of disturbance and prosperity for Turkey was here uprooted. What the issues of this Greek exodus from Anatolia will be it is difficult to prophesy, but it is believed in many circles, commercial in the main, that Turkey may thereby lose her lifeblood. Whatever qualifications he may possess, the Turk has so far not excelled in the realms of finance. Another important point which has been agreed to is the retention of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, it being understood that this holy and ancient

institution should henceforwards concern itself with spiritual matters only and not political. These questions, together with those of exemption by tax payment from military service and of abandoned properties, have all but found their final setting in the terms of peace. As far as minorities are concerned, therefore, the Lausanne Conference has, with the exception of the questions of a League's Commissioner and of the Armenians in Cilicia and Anatolia, made very considerable headway.

But because the provisions for the protection of minorities appear to be moderately satisfactory in the eyes of the Conference, it does not necessarily mean that the League of Nations when it comes to investigate them will find them adequate. The League of Nations may find herself placed in an awkward position, and might find it necessary to reject proposals which would have her made responsible for the safety of the Armenian minorities in Asiatic Turkey. As far as European Turkey and Constantinople are concerned, she might find no difficulty in accepting from the Turks as adequate the general guarantees hitherto required of other States, as the minorities of Thrace, whether Bulgar, Greek or Turk, are more or less accessible.

But where the Armenians of Asiatic Turkey are called into question, where the means of communication are as yet in a primitive state, and where it is practically impossible to ascertain effectively either the authenticity of grievances or the source of disturbances such as have ravaged the Near East for the better part of a century, the League would assuredly find it difficult to regard such guarantees as Turkey has given to the Lausanne Conference as adequate. It might well be found necessary to press for further guarantees and to reject any acceptance of responsibility unless those guarantees are forthcoming. In view of the Turkish refusal to establish an Armenian National Home even as an autonomous State within Turkish territory, the least possible agency for investigation that the League would require if her machinery is to work effectively would be such as the appointment of a Resident Minorities Commissioner would offer. Even then it is doubtful whether a useful control could be effected.

The gravity of the consequences of rejection or acceptance of the present Turkish guarantees by the League should not escape our attention. In the one case it would mean that much of the good work done at Lausanne would be undermined; in the other responsibilities of a prodigious character would have to be shouldered. Between these markedly divergent courses the League will have to steer a course which would secure the further guarantees required from Turkey without menacing Ottoman national interests as defined by Izmet Pasha at Lausanne.

The bulk of the difficulty would undoubtedly be overcome were the Turks as versed in Ottoman history as Lord Curzon has shown himself to be, for a careful study of the annals of the Ottoman Empire can only convince one that investigation by a disinterested body (of which she herself would be a member) of the sources and origin of the internal tumults which have ravaged her territory and abused her moral reputation for so long, would be of incalculable benefit to her in the future.

THE FREEDOM OF THE STRAITS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. MAURICE.

THE Lausanne Conference is still in session as I write. It is therefore necessary to refer to any matters which concern the settlement in the Near East with caution, more especially as there are at least two grave questions, the Capitulations and the future of the Mosul vilayet of Iraq, upon which agreement has not yet been reached. I believe, however, that the prospects of a settlement are favourable, though I fear that the settlement which will be obtained will not be as permanent or as satisfactory as it would have been had it been possible to apply the policy strongly advocated by the League of Nations Union two years ago.

This is more particularly the case in regard to the Straits. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus are sea channels connecting two seas. It is not in accordance with modern conceptions of International rights that it should be within the power of any one country to close these channels at will. Unfortunately the question is complicated by the fact that Constantinople, the capital of Turkey, is situated at the western mouth of the Bosphorus, and the Turks, not unreasonably, maintain that the proper defence of their capital lies and has always lain in the Straits. For this reason the question of the Straits can never be satisfactorily settled unless the status of Constantinople is considered at the same time and on the same lines. For this reason, too, the League of Nations Union urged two years ago that both Constantinople and the zone of the Straits should be internationalised and placed under the control and protection of the League of Nations. That settlement would have been possible in 1920 if the Great Powers concerned had been able to sink their rivalries and conflicting interests for the common good and had they had sufficient faith in the League of Nations to entrust it with a task of such vast importance.

Constantinople is, in fact, an international town. Its population is polyglot; when I was last there an old resident told me that he had recently amused himself by standing for an hour on the Galata Bridge, which connects Stamboul, the Turkish quarter, with Pera, the European quarter, across the Golden Horn, and that in that hour he had seen representatives of twenty-nine different races pass him. Constantinople is an international clearing house between Europe and Western Asia. While it is in the hands of a weak nation it will always be a goal towards which the stronger nations will turn greedy eyes. Therefore, no settlement of the Straits can, in my opinion, be either permanent or satisfactory which leaves Constantinople under the rule of the Turk.

The internationalisation both of Constantinople and the Straits is, however, not possible to-day without going to war with and defeating decisively the Turks. Therefore, we have to be content with the next best thing, and it appears to me that the settlement of the Straits adumbrated at Lausanne is the next best thing. Much confusion has been caused by vague talk about the "Freedom of the Straits," an expression which is susceptible of a great variety of interpretations. One interpretation, which was encouraged by certain pronouncements made by our late Government, is that it implies liberty for Great Britain to send any number of warships at any time through the Straits. But as the British fleet is overwhelmingly superior to any other fleet in European waters it is perhaps not surprising that other Powers were disposed to demur at this interpretation. Another interpretation is that passage through the Straits of warships of any kind should be

prohibited, but that interpretation would mean freedom of a very limited kind, as it would debar nations from sending into the Black Sea war vessels to assist their nationals in distress, while leaving the Riparian States freedom to maintain in the Black Sea as many war vessels as they might choose to maintain. This interpretation was strongly advocated at Lausanne by Russia, who wished to make the Black Sea a *mare clausum*, and was as strongly opposed by the representative of the United States, who, no doubt with the large number of American missions and educational institutions in Asia Minor in his mind, claimed the right of the United States to send warships to help Americans when required. The acceptance of the Russian interpretation would, in my judgment, be objectionable from a League point of view, for it would prevent the League from sending war vessels into the Black Sea, under its mandate, for the protection, say, of the Christian minorities of Asia Minor, and would, in effect, deprive the League of any power in a portion of the world in which it may well find it necessary to intervene.

The settlement of the Straits proposed at Lausanne and provisionally accepted by the Turks is a compromise between these two interpretations. Briefly it is proposed that the zone of the Straits shall be demilitarised, subject to the right of Turkey to maintain a small force of gendarmerie in the Gallipoli Peninsula. The forts of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, which have been dismantled, will not be re-armed, but Turkey will be permitted to erect and maintain fortifications in the islands and on the coast of the Sea of Marmora for the protection of Constantinople. In time of peace free traffic will be permitted to all merchant vessels and to warships of all countries, but the size and number of war vessels which each country may send through the Straits is to be limited, the limitation being such as to prohibit the passage of battleships and battle cruisers. In time of war neutrals will be permitted to use the Straits on the above terms, but not belligerents. The control of the Straits will be vested in a Commission composed of representatives of the interested States, with the Turkish representative as Chairman, and the chief function of this Commission will be to see that the terms of the Treaty to be concluded at Lausanne are duly observed as far as they affect the Straits. It is unfortunately not yet certain that Turkey will agree that the League should nominate this Commission or that it should be responsible to the League. The value of the Commission will be greatly increased if the League can nominate representatives of the countries concerned, who are especially qualified to carry out the duties from the international rather than from the national point of view, while it is obvious that the utility of a Commission of this importance will be greatly increased if its members are responsible to an independent international authority instead of being severally responsible to the countries which they represent. However, the fact that Turkey has accepted Lord Curzon's proposal that she should apply for membership of the League as soon as the Lausanne Treaty is ratified is a hopeful augury that sooner or later the functions of the League in this matter will be recognised.

It is of cardinal importance that Turkey should become a member of the League for another reason. The proposed settlement of the Straits is valuable in that it recognises two principles—first, that natural waterways connecting seas or oceans have an international character, which cannot be overridden by the special circumstances of a particular nation, and, secondly, that the right to send war vessels into such seas is an international rather than a national right. This may, as I have said, affect vitally the powers of the League in the future. But we must frankly accept the fact that the recognition of these principles as

regards the Straits depends primarily, under the proposed settlement, upon Turkey's goodwill. The Power which controls Constantinople can close the Straits when it chooses. For that purpose fortifications are no longer necessary. A few skilfully-placed howitzers, a few well-disposed mines, can prevent traffic through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and these can be quickly employed by the Power which holds Constantinople. I therefore regard it as of the first importance, if the settlement of the Straits is to have any value, that Turkey should become a loyal member of the League.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, January.

AT the time of writing it is impossible to say what may or may not happen at the League Council towards the end of this month concerning the great problem which is agitating the whole world. There have been indications that at least one Member of the Council is anxious to bring the matter forward in some way or other, and the Spanish press has suggested that the Latin American States might usefully consider the possibilities of action. But no definite official information is available on the subject.

It is undoubtedly a serious moment for the League, but those who write glibly about the impotence and futility of the League if it does not take up the matter, do so without giving the slightest consideration to the realities of the situation. It is a natural impulse for those who believe in the League to ask what is the use of the League if it is not to intervene in a matter of such importance. But to ask such a question is to take a long and easy stride over many obstacles and considerations which must be borne in mind. In the first place, it is beside the mark to criticise the institution called the League if the critic considers that the League is not taking up what it should. It is not the institution which is at fault, but the individual Governments who constitute the League, if something is left undone which it is considered ought to be done. You don't change the British Constitution if the Government fails; you change the Government, and if the Governments in the League, who individually and severally are the only direct means of setting the League in motion, do not do so when they should, it rests with the people of the different countries to work for Governments that will. That is where perseverance and patience are necessary in the difficult task of getting progress towards faith in the League method all along the line. This means progress not in one country only, but in many. At the same time much can be done in achieving it by the straightforward lead and example of the greater Powers.

In this particular case—the occupation of the Ruhr and reparations—it would not be wise to bring pressure to bear on the British Government to take any initiative, and eager as every supporter of the League is to see the problem of reparations put into its hands, it is essential first to examine the facts. There is distinct authority in the Covenant for making use of the League to interpret the difference of opinion as to whether France is entitled under the Versailles Treaty to take separate action, though consideration of this would be complicated by the fact that France insists that her occupation is economic and not military. But to have been of any real value this should have been raised before the separate action was definitely decided upon. It seems now a little late, faced as the world is with the *fait accompli*. So far as the reparations problem itself is concerned,

that still remains open, because neither France nor anyone else pretends that the occupation of the Ruhr settles reparations. But it must be remembered that the Versailles Treaty is a legal instrument, and that the League is not necessarily the authority either to prevent the carrying out of the Treaty or to facilitate it; and France might quite correctly object to handing over reparations to the League. Such an attitude may not be reasonable, but that is another matter, and if there were an attempt at the present moment to force the issue upon an unwilling France the consequences might be grave. Furthermore, it may be reasonably argued that French action may well be raised within the League under Article 11 of the Covenant, which accords to each Member of the League the friendly right to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances which threaten to disturb international peace or good understanding between nations.

It may be that things will come to such a pass that some action of this kind, drastic as it is, may be imperative if Europe is to subsist. But would it be wise at this moment?

It will be a bad thing for the League if the forthcoming meeting of the Council passes without any attention being given to the matter. What can the Council do? My personal view is that the Assembly resolution, actually framed and proposed by the French delegation, not only gives the Council an opportunity of discussing the matter, but, strictly speaking, implies an instruction to the Council to discuss the matter. The Council is invited to keep in "constant touch" with the problem. This is the first session of the Council since the Assembly resolution was passed and its clear course would be immediately to inaugurate its "constant touch." This might be done by some Member of the Council drawing attention to the resolution and asking that some means should be found of carrying it out. A committee of the Council might be appointed, together with one or two officials—and it must not be forgotten that Sir Arthur Salter, the Director of the Financial and Economic Section of the Secretariat, was until a few months ago the Secretary of the Reparations Commission—to keep themselves informed of all developments and to hold themselves at the disposal of the Governments concerned for any useful step that the League might take. This would have the additional advantage of giving France a little time to consider the League as a way out; and when she finds that her action, instead of bringing her reparations, is bringing the most embarrassing complications, she may be only too glad to find the salvation of her prestige through the League.

All this, however, involves, first of all, initiative from some State Member of the League. My belief is that such procedure could be taken without offending France and without making it difficult for her to have recourse to the League later on. If that fails, and if the chaos continues and grows, the only hope is that there will be some Members of the League with sufficient courage and determination to insist upon the full rights conferred by the Covenant and to bring France face to face with her obligations as a signatory of that instrument, without losing sight, at the same time, of the obligations of Germany to play the square game in giving France what is her reasonable due.

There may come a time when the British Government can no longer afford to stand aside and keep the ring for France in the gradually increasing chaos of Europe, but for the time being it may also be that it was the wisest plan to let French logic take its narrow path in order to acquire by experience the knowledge that the line she has embarked upon is not one which will give her what ostensibly she desires. She will be more impressed by practical experience, than she was by a forecast of what her action would involve. C.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.
VITAL WORLD PROBLEMS.

DURING the past month the urgent question of the Turkish settlement and the even more vital problems involved in the French invasion of the Ruhr district have occupied the attention of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to so great an extent that they have temporarily crowded out other activities. Active work is being done in both these directions. So far as the Turkish settlement is concerned, the attitude of the Union has been to endeavour to secure that those duties which are left to the League shall be such that the League may be willing to accept and able to perform. Two members of the Union—Mr. J. H. Harris, a member of the Executive Committee; and Mr. O'Sullivan Molony, of the Overseas Department—visited the Lausanne Conference, and the Union is following events in Lausanne very closely. With regard to reparations and the Ruhr, our Leading Article on p. 264 indicates the attitude of the Executive Committee.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

There is no lessening of the enthusiasm which educationists have shown for the League. The Union is, of course, a member of the Conference of Educational Associations—a recognition of the fact that it is a definitely educational institution—and at the recent important Conference at University College during the first week in January, Dr. Maxwell Garnett addressed two meetings on the League. Another very significant tribute comes from the National Union of Teachers, which is devoting a session of its Easter Conference to the subject of the League. Lord Robert Cecil is to address the Conference, and one of the Union's Films will be shown. It is expected that some 4,000 people will be present.

This has been a record month for League publications. Up to the present there has been a dearth of League literature for children under 14, and the book of short plays by Miss Hebe Spaul, published by the Union under the title "Fighting Death," will fill a long-felt need, as will also the school reader, "Stories of the League of Nations," by the same author, published by George Bell & Sons.* Messrs. Allen & Unwin are publishing by an anonymous but extremely well-informed author a book entitled "The League as it is To-day." Speakers and lecturers will be glad to learn of a new wall-map of Modern Europe, now in course of preparation. On the east, the map includes Moscow and Constantinople; on the north, the southern part of Finland and Scandinavia. Finland as a whole, and Crete, are shown as insets. The various countries are coloured to show their new political frontiers, the old pre-war boundaries, as well as plebiscite areas, being indicated by scarlet lines. Both this map and the book published by Allen & Unwin will be obtainable at 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

EDUCATION COMMITTEES.

The following resolutions have been passed by the Wiltshire and Surrey Education Committees:—

Wiltshire.—"That the Committee send to each Head Teacher a copy of the Covenant, and insert in the next circular the following paragraph: 'The Committee desire that all older children should be taught the objects and procedure of the League of Nations as set out in the chief articles of the Covenant. They leave to Head Teachers full freedom to arrange lessons at appropriate times. A copy of the Covenant must be permanently kept at the school for reference.'"

Surrey.—"That teachers should be authorised to include in their lessons such incidental reference to the work of the League as may be suitable and appropriate, and to requisition the publications issued by

* Price 1s. 6d. and 2s., not 1s. 3d. as previously stated.

the Union. It also decided to issue to all departments for older children a copy of pamphlet entitled 'The League of Nations and the Schools.' The Committee has agreed to bear the cost of the letter, and any publications of the Union's requisitioned by teachers will be paid for in the ordinary way."

It is an interesting fact that at first the Surrey Education Committee did not see its way to take action, but on further representation being made it reversed its previous decision and passed the resolution set forth above.

A FINANCIAL RECORD.

It is a noteworthy fact that the committee appointed at the last Council meeting to consider and report on the financial position of the Union should have held its first meeting on a day (January 16) when for the first time for at least two years the Union had for the moment a credit balance in the bank, owing to the payment of the second instalment of Lord Cowdray's generous donation.

Among other notable donations recently received are: £2,000 from Mr. E. Illingworth; £1,250 (spread over five years) from Messrs. Armitage & Rigby; £933 13s. 4d. (spread over seven years) from the London Joint City & Midland Bank; and £500 from Sir R. Waley Cohen, on behalf of his firm, the Shell Transport Co.

The plan of making large gifts under deed and paying them in thirteen half-yearly or seven yearly instalments is becoming increasingly usual. These deeds enable the Union to take advantage of Section 20 (i) (b) of the Finance Act of 1922 whereby Charities do not pay income tax or super-tax, and so increase the gift to the Union by 33½ per cent. in the case of donations from Companies and may even double the value of a private gift.

THE LEAGUE AND THE CHURCHES.

The observance of World Peace Sunday (December 24, 1922) was a valuable index to the strength of the League movement in the Churches. Peace Sunday was observed in at least 15,000 places of worship, a notable feature of the day in many cases being the co-operation between the Free Churches and the Church of England in support of the League.

The following resolution, passed unanimously by the recent Llandaff Diocesan Conference, is also significant:—

"The Llandaff Diocesan Conference recommends that a branch of the League of Nations Union be formed in each parish in the Diocese and that a member of the Parochial Church Council in each parish be appointed to act as the centre of information about the League.

"This Conference further recommends that it should be the aim of each Branch formed to include as members of the League of Nations Union all members of the Church in Wales resident in the parish."

We understand that the Ely Diocesan Conference when it meets next October is to devote part of the session to a discussion on the League. This action on the part of Ely and Llandaff constitutes quite a new departure.

The British Council of the World Alliance of Churches is about to be reconstituted and made definitely representative of the various sections of religious thought in this country. Plans for co-operation between the reconstituted British Council of the League of Nations Union are now in preparation, in order to avoid the danger of overlapping between the work of the two bodies, both of which desire to solicit religious support for the cause of peace.

THE NEW FLAG.

The Union flag—the World and Stars on a blue ground—is now waving at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. Similar flags will be available for Branches in good time for open-air demonstrations, garden fêtes and other similar occasions, which it may be hoped will be a feature of many Branches' work during the spring and summer.

THE NEW WORLD.

FINLAND.

By E. M. NIELSEN.

FINLAND is, both ethnically and geographically, the northern link between Eastern and Western Europe. Its Western boundary, with its Swedish-speaking population in the Aaland Islands, connects it with the culture of Scandinavia, while in the East the frontier is within 30 miles of Petrograd. It is a sparsely populated country, especially in the far north, there being rather less than 10 persons to the square kilometre. Of some three and a-half million inhabitants, about 385,000 or 11 per cent. are Swedish speaking, and the remainder (with the exception of a few Lapps) are Finnish speaking. Both languages are official, and enjoy the same rights. Finnish is a language of the Finno-Ugrian group, of which Magyar is another offshoot. It has nothing whatsoever in common with Russian, which helps to account for the bitter feud which has always existed between the Finns and the Russians. The Swedish population principally inhabit the western coast and archipelago and the large towns, though statistics show an ever-increasing move westwards on the part of the Finns.

The natural riches of the country lie chiefly in its great wealth of timber, though, in spite of the comparative poverty of the soil, a large number of people are engaged in agriculture, which is organised on the most up-to-date co-operative lines and flourishes accordingly.

Although except in the south railways are not greatly developed, and Finland is a country of great distances, the whole country is linked up by a telephone system which should put our imperfect organisation to shame. Finland has been described as the country of a thousand lakes. As a matter of actual fact, there are very many more than

that, and both in summer, with the wonderful long days enjoyed in northern latitudes, and in winter, when the country's side is covered in snow, it is a country of wonderful natural beauty. The falls of Imatra are one of the most impressive sights of Europe. But the Finns have not failed to put their water power to practical use, and almost every hamlet has electric light, while the power is of course invaluable as an adjunct to the great timber industry.

It is a subject of dispute among historians whether there was an original Scandinavian population in Finland, into which we cannot enter here. Suffice it that the country was conquered by the Swedes in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, and a Duchy of Finland established in 1556 by the Swedish King Gustav Vasa with his favourite son Johan as ruler, though this Duchy was but of short duration, and Swedish historians have been at pains to point out that at this period Finland was a geographical rather than an administrative expression. The frequent wars with Russia ravaged the country, culminating in Charles XII's

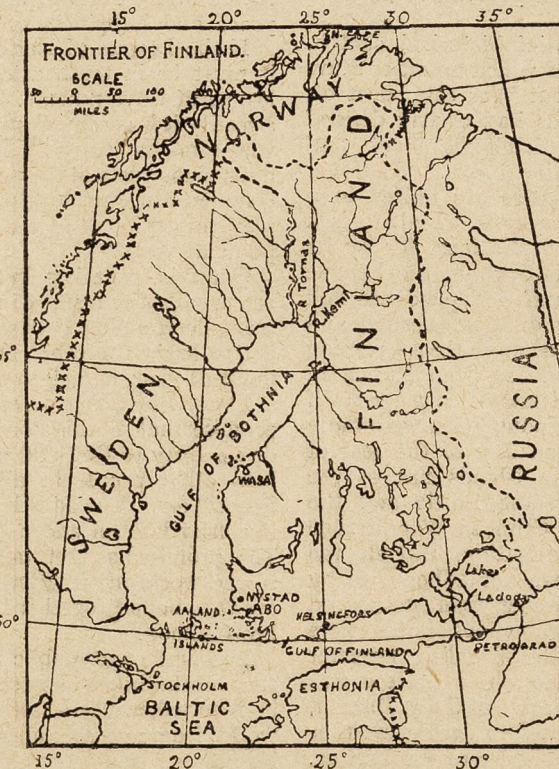
disastrous campaigns which lost the easternmost province of Viborg to Russia by the Treaty of Nystad (1721). Another unsuccessful war lost the district as far as the river Kymmene (1743). The fate of the country was finally sealed during the Napoleonic wars, when Gustav Adolf IV. opposed Bonaparte and the Tsar Alexander I. Incompetent generalship lost the whole of Finland to the Russians, and by the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (1809) Sweden was compelled to cede the whole of Finland, including the Aaland Islands and the province of Vestrobothnia as far as the river Tornea.

During the whole of the period of Swedish sovereignty, Finland had enjoyed the more liberal form of government which at that time Sweden and England alone possessed. A Diet of Four Estates improved the economic condition of the country, and what was, perhaps, of even greater importance, accustomed the people to the idea of self-government. A feeling of national consciousness had already formed itself, and even before the signature of the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, a Finnish deputation was invited to St. Petersburg by the Tsar, and at its request the Diet of Finland

was summoned to meet at Borga in March, 1809. Here the Tsar solemnly ratified the Finnish Constitution, and the Diet for its part acknowledged him and his heirs as hereditary Grand Dukes of Finland. Moreover, he re-incorporated the provinces which had been ceded at Nystad, and later in the Grand Duchy, which thus became an autonomous state within the Russian Empire.

During the earlier part of Alexander's reign, the political autonomy granted to Finland was further extended, though later he showed reactionary tendencies, which his successor, Nicholas I., copied. However, under Alexander II, development was brisk, and except as far as foreign affairs were concerned, Finland enjoyed real independence, with her own army, coinage, customs system and internal administration. But with his assassina-

tion in 1881, Russian policy towards Finland was reversed. Under Alexander III. and still more under the ill-fated Nicholas II., a policy of oppression and Russification was adopted. The Constitution was systematically violated, and an attempt made to treat Finland as an ordinary province of the Empire. Discontent was rife, and to every Finn the enemies of Russia were *ipso facto* the friends of Finland. Thus it was not unnatural that when the Great War broke out, the Finns looked to Germany for salvation. The Finnish national army had already been abolished in 1901, and the country held by Russian troops. The revolution of 1917 brought an immediate change in these conditions, the Diet was once more summoned, and political autonomy of Finland recognised once more. But the Bolshevik movement in Russia had its counterpart in Finland, largely supported by the Russian soldiery, who still occupied the country, but were completely out of hand and terrorised the countryside. When the Bolsheviks seized the reins of power in Petrograd in November, 1917, the Finnish Diet deter-



mined to break the last bond uniting the country to Russia, and declared Finland a sovereign and independent state on December 6, and this independence was recognised by Russia, France, Germany and the Scandinavian countries in the following month. But meanwhile the elements of disorder were becoming more and more unruly, the food question was extremely difficult, and at the end of January the Bolshevik party seized the reins of power. The Government fled to Vasa in the west, and a bitter civil war broke out. The Reds were actively supported by the Bolsheviks of Petrograd, who saw their opportunity to gain Finland and thus permeate Western Europe with their doctrines, while the White party found themselves obliged to invoke German assistance. After a fierce struggle, the revolution was crushed and by May the whole country was in the hands of the lawful Government. It was decided to elect a king, and the choice fell upon Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse, but the change in the fortunes of the Great War made him decline the proffered throne, and the leader of the White troops, General Mannerheim, was elected as Regent. In 1919, the Diet decided upon a Republican form of government, with a President elected for six years.

As will be seen from this brief historical sketch, Finland enjoys certain advantages which no other State which has arisen out of the Great War can boast of. For more than a century she has had clearly defined frontiers and a constitution. Self-government and responsibility are familiar to the Finns. Whatever their political differences, all parties are united in a strong feeling of national consciousness. Finland is a strong supporter of the League of Nations, for by its settlement of the Aaland Islands dispute, the League as it were, set its seal upon Finnish independence and territorial integrity. The details of that question and its settlement are too recent to need more than a passing mention. When Finland broke loose from Russia in 1917, a movement for re-union with Sweden made itself felt amongst the islanders, whose population were more exclusively of Swedish origin than any of the rest of the population of Finland. The islands are of the greatest strategic importance in the Baltic and the Treaty of Paris which ended the Crimean War in 1856 had provided for their demilitarisation, though the provisions of this Convention were not adhered to by Russia during the Great War. Sweden warmly espoused the cause of the islanders, acrimonious notes were exchanged with Finland and the Swedish Minister withdrawn from Helsingfors. The whole matter was referred to the League on the initiative of Great Britain, and a commission of jurists appointed to decide whether the matter came within the competence of the League. Its decision was in the affirmative, and a commission appointed to investigate the whole question, visiting Sweden, Finland and the islands. Their report recommended that Finland retained her sovereignty over the islands, but that they should be permanently demilitarised and granted a large measure of autonomy. These recommendations were adopted by the Council in June, 1921, and accepted by Finland and Sweden, and a Convention for the demilitarisation signed by all the interested powers (including Germany) at Geneva later in the year. The settlement is working well, and the former separatist leaders in the islands co-operating with the Finnish Government in the best spirit.

Relations with Soviet Russia over the position of the inhabitants of East Carelia have also been a subject of dispute, and Finland has appealed to the League in this matter, which is still under consideration.

Finland has made a rapid recovery from the economic difficulties caused by the war, has succeeded in balancing her budget, and has exports which considerably exceed her imports. This is reflected in the steady improvement in the Finnish exchange.

THE WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD OF SCOUTS.

By HUBERT MARTIN,

Director of the Boy Scouts International Bureau, London.

PERHAPS there is no movement in existence which in its aims and ideals more closely conforms to those of the League of Nations or is doing more to make those ideals a living force than the Boy Scout movement.

It is difficult to realise that this great brotherhood, uniting as it does the youth of the world who belong to it in the bonds of sympathy and mutual understanding, is but fourteen years old. Born, thanks to the genius of Sir Robert Baden Powell, on an obscure island off the coast of Dorsetshire in 1908, it has spread like wild-fire round the globe so remarkably that it is now firmly established, and making rapid progress in every civilised country of the world.

The hopes of the world rest with the rising generation—the boys of to-day who are the men of the immediate future and on whom depend to so large a degree the peace and happiness of the nations.

If the League of Nations is to become a living force it must be in truth a league of *nations*—not merely a league of Governments. And to make this grand ideal a reality it is surely all important to begin with the youth whose minds are not yet warped by the jealousies and mutual distrusts of the past, training them by means of a common aim in the principles of unselfishness and fair-play, of trying “to see things from the other chap's point of view.”

Quarrels, whether between nations or individuals, are usually the result of misunderstanding. To remove misunderstanding between individuals each has but to get to know the other better, to appreciate the other's point of view, and so to establish *trust*.

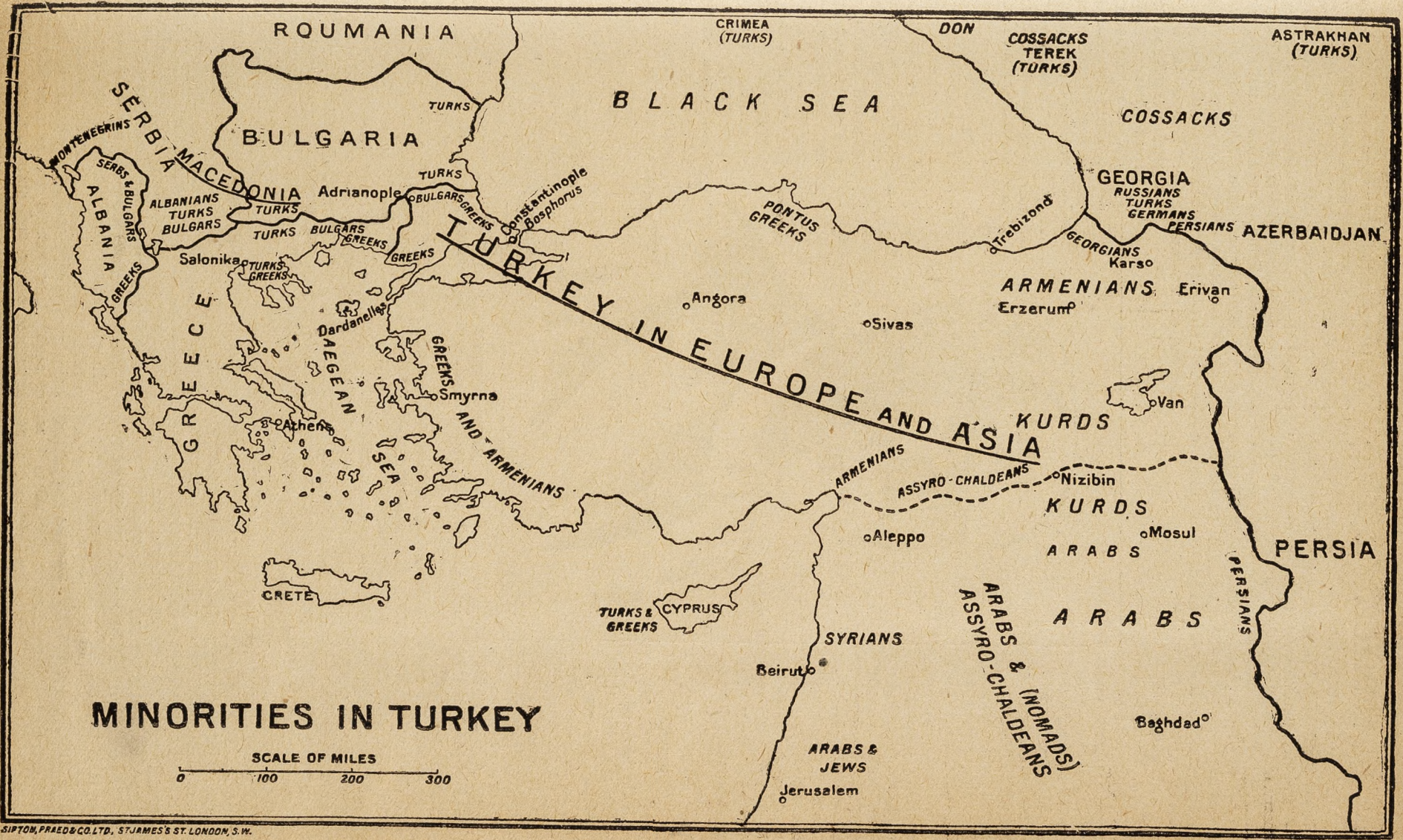
Every Boy Scout on his enrolment makes a threefold promise that, on his honour, he will do his best—(1) To do his duty to God and to his King and country, (2) To help other people at all times, and (3) To obey the Scout Law. The fourth Scout Law is that, “A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout.” This promise has been taken by millions of men and boys in the world irrespective of race, colour or tongue, who are thus bound together in the bonds of a real and living brotherhood.

The first great public manifestation of the reality of this brotherhood was seen at the Jamboree in London in 1920, when parties of the pick of the boyhood of the world, from no less than 26 nations, speaking 18 different languages, came together, lived together under the same roof, played and worked together for a fortnight without one single quarrel.

The same wonderful spirit of harmony again prevailed during the International Scout Congress at Paris in July last, when the principal leaders of the movement from thirty nations came together. Men from nations which only a short time back were locked in mortal combat met as friends and brothers united by the same ideals.

This spirit is now being further developed by the Boy Scouts' International Bureau by the encouragement of a constant interchange of correspondence and visits between the Scouts of the different nations. Some 2,000 British Scouts visited their brother Scouts in foreign countries during 1922, while parties of Scouts from twelve different countries visited Great Britain. Still larger numbers are arranging to exchange visits during the present year.

In this and in many other ways the Boy Scouts of the world are doing their best to further the principles of goodwill and sympathy, which form the only basis for a real League of Nations.



HEADWAY

AT GRIPS WITH THE OPIUM MENACE.

By HEBE SPAULL.

JUST before she departed for Geneva for the meetings of the Opium Committee, I had the opportunity of discussing the work and prospects of the Committee with Mrs. Hamilton Wright. The conversation was all the more illuminating in that Sir John Jordan was also present and one was able to see this very thorny problem as it appeared both to an American and a British expert on the subject.

There was one point upon which both Mrs. Wright and Sir John were in complete accord, and that was that the drug traffic must be dealt with at the source of production. This, of course, is a problem which intimately concerns our Indian Empire and Mrs. Wright spoke of this side of the problem with the frank but not unsympathetic candour of the outside observer, whilst Sir John, with his long record of Empire service, naturally regarded the subject from a somewhat different angle.

The other point that Mrs. Wright stressed was the influence that the Opium Committee was likely to have on American public opinion.

"You people in England," she said, "have little idea of the tremendous stir which this drug traffic business is creating in America and of how the eyes of America are turned towards the League as they have never been before. You see," Mrs. Wright went on, "we have tried dealing with this problem as a national

one and have found it wanting. We know that it has got to be dealt with internationally if it is to be dealt with effectually, and America is at present in the attitude of the friendly critic watching to see whether the League really does provide the right machinery for dealing with the problem. If the result of the January meetings suggests that the League is merely temporising with the question and is only prepared to deal with side issues, then American interest in the League will undoubtedly die down and it will be difficult to resuscitate it. If, on the other hand, the Committee shows that its intention is directed towards the gradual reduction of the production of opium to the point required for legitimate purposes—which America interprets as medicinal need—then the authority of the League will be strengthened in American public opinion."

If the Convention cannot be applied strictly to this limitation, it is felt that it should be amended to meet this most pressing need. The United States put the Convention into effect eight years ago and has passed a series of extremely drastic laws in the attempt to regulate the traffic. But it has been recognised as impossible to obtain any real control until production

itself is curtailed. And international action alone can achieve this result.

A great responsibility rests upon the League of Nations as to both its interpretation and application of the Hague Convention. The co-operation of the United States must depend in large measure upon the success of the League in curtailing the abuses of the trade.

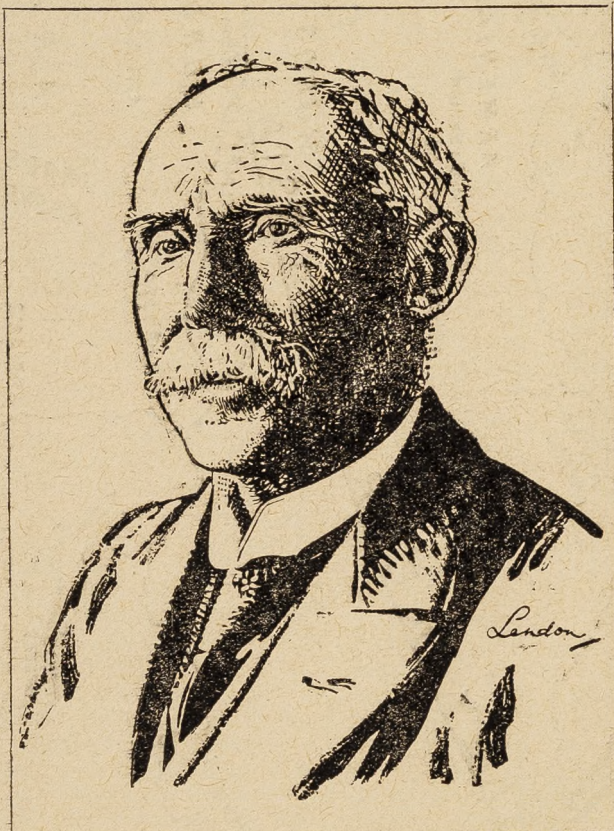
It was as a result of Mrs. Hamilton Wright's work on the Opium Committee in April of last year that, on her recommendation, the American Government appointed Dr. Rupert Blue, Assistant Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Services, as official observer on the Committee. This is the first time

that the American Government has made an official appointment to a League Committee, though a similar appointment was made to the Anthrax Committee set up by the International Labour Organisation in November of last year.

Sir John Jordan admitted that the restrictions against opium growing in China had largely broken down, but this, he declared, was due to the present disturbed state of China and not to any intrinsic fault in the system of prohibition itself. Indeed, he stated that there were remarkable instances of success despite the extraordinary difficulties under which China was labouring. It is true, as was pointed out at the recent meeting of the Opium Committee, the military governors do not always obey the orders of the Peking Government, and many of them are deliberately encouraging opium growing in their provinces in order to raise the revenue. Sir John, however, believed that this pointed rather to the

necessity of India restricting her production very considerably so as to put a stop to the importation of prepared opium into China through Japan. Mrs. Hamilton Wright was even more emphatic on this point. Sir John, however, pointed out that two of the chief opium-producing countries—Turkey and Persia—were not yet members of the League and that Turkey has not signed the Opium Convention, while Persia has signed it with reservations on the vital points. As a matter of fact, the Indian Government has pointed out to the Committee that India has signed and argues that its measures for control of the distribution of sale of opium go far beyond the stipulations of the Convention. It further states that until China, Persia and Turkey come into line it would be a useless sacrifice for India to cut down the production of opium to the amounts strictly necessary for legitimate requirements.

In view of all this, it is illuminating to recall the resolution passed by the Assembly proposing that the Advisory Committee should examine the advisability of asking Governments not to issue licences for the import of opium and other dangerous drugs except from countries which have ratified the Convention.



Sir JOHN JORDAN

(Chairman of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations).

From LORD ROBERT CECIL

A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

To Branch Secretaries and Members
of the League of Nations Union

IN sending you my best wishes for a successful New Year I want, if I may, to say a few words about the tasks which lie before us in 1923.

I should like to begin by telling you how much encouraged I was by the spirit of the Special Council Meeting held in London in December, and how heartily I welcome the feeling which representatives showed that the Union is *theirs* to manage, and that its Headquarters is *theirs* to control. This is the truth; and it is most necessary that both Branches and Headquarters should recognise it.

During 1923 we must develop the machinery through which this spirit can find expression in fact. I think it is true that one of the imperfections of our existing organisation is just this—that the devolution of responsibilities and functions between the different parts of the Union has not been properly adjusted. We may be too highly centralised in some respects, and we have not yet evolved smooth-working machinery for our own self-government. There are many reasons for this into which I need not enter; but, of course, the outstanding one is that we have grown so quickly that we have had little time to attend to our own internal affairs. During 1923 we must do so. Important as this is, however, there is another, still greater, task we must accomplish this year.

It is no use to have a smooth organisation, or a huge membership, or even a great cause, unless something effective can be *done*. And the beginning of a New Year is a good moment for examining what results we are hoping to get from our work.

First of all we want to create strong and well-informed public opinion to support the League.

In this we have been, in my opinion, really successful. Of course, we are not yet as large as we ought to be, and we must go on expanding the Union until we have reached all the adults and all the children in this country. But we have already created so strong a body of public opinion that Great Britain is known throughout the world to be genuinely anxious for the success of the League.

What, then, is our second task?

I believe it is this—to secure that the foreign policy of Great Britain is actually and immediately a League policy, so that it is known not only that this country wants the League to succeed, but that it intends to see that it does succeed.

This is a much more difficult task than that of converting public opinion to the League ideal. Practice is always harder than theory, and the conduct of foreign affairs, involving as it does other nations than our own, is far more complex than the conduct of party politics. But for all that it is our next task, and we must do it.

You will say to me, and quite rightly, that it is difficult for individual members, and even for local branches, to do anything to promote this work. Again and again, I hear that it is so hard to find a way of using Branch energy, and that if only members would have something to do, the Union would be so much more satisfactory.

All this is perfectly true. It is difficult for individuals to play any

great part in foreign affairs, and it is no use to shut our eyes to the difficulties of our task.

But there are two practical suggestions which occur to me which may help Branches in this work.

The first is a development of the activities which have been so satisfactorily carried out during the election. It is that the Branches in each constituency should meet together, and appoint a Joint Committee consisting of men and women of all parties, whose business it should be to follow foreign affairs closely, and to watch the Member's actions in connection with these matters. I believe that any Member of Parliament if approached by such a group of constituents would be willing to keep in close touch with them. Even if he were not a supporter of the League of Nations (and there are less than forty members of this Parliament who are not supporters), he would know that the Committee represented a large and growing body of voters. He ought, therefore, to be ready to meet them wherever he was in the constituency, and to keep in constant working touch with them upon the developments of foreign affairs. The Committee should meet often, and should write to and hear from, the Member of Parliament many times a year. If this was vigorously done all over the country there is no doubt that the results upon this policy of Great Britain would be far-reaching.

These Joint Committees would have another duty. It would also be their business to keep all their own Branch Committees informed of what they were doing; and the Branch Committees, in turn, would communicate with the individual members. Through these channels suggestions would pass backwards and forwards, with benefit to both Member and constituents.

I should like to urge this proposal strongly upon the Union, and to ask all Branch Secretaries to bring it before their local Committees and members' meetings early in the New Year.

My second proposal is that a very special campaign should be undertaken upon the limitation of armaments, and the policy of a universal Treaty of Guarantee contingent upon it.

In my opinion this subject will be the testing point of the League of Nations. Unless the League can make an end to the competitive arming of nations—and unless it can begin to move towards that end in the immediate future—the League will fail altogether. And not only will the League fail, but civilisation itself will be wiped out amid the horrors of a new world war.

Just as we have built up a demand for the League itself, so we must now build up a demand for the work the League is to do. And we must see that every member of the Union becomes an enthusiast for this cause.

These are some of the new things which I hope we can accomplish in 1923. We have all the old things to carry on and extend, and the money necessary for our usefulness to collect. With all this there is surely plenty to do.

The greeting I send you for the New Year is the wish that we all share—that this year and every succeeding year may see an even greater success for our cause, which is the cause of Peace.

Robert Cecil

The Challenge

WEEKLY ON FRIDAYS. THREEPENCE.

Do you read *The Challenge*?

It is the only weekly review that has set apart a special section of its space to follow the affairs of the League of Nations.

Week by week *The Challenge* discusses the current interests of the League of Nations, and traces its visible influence through the complicated tangle of foreign affairs.

By reading *The Challenge* you will assure for the League a new and powerful voice in the press.

At half the price, it covers a larger field than the other weekly reviews, discussing the current affairs of foreign and domestic politics, social endeavour, personal religion and literature in the light of broad Christian principles.

"*The Challenge*" can be obtained through any Newsagent, or by Direct Subscription, Post Free, for One Year, 17s. 4d.

SPECIAL OFFER TO NEW READERS:—

For 5s. "*The Challenge*" will be sent to you, Post Free, for Twenty Weeks.

Write to The Manager,
11, Bream's Buildings,
London, E.C.4.

LANGUAGES AND WORLD-PEACE.

Remarkable New Method of Learning French, German, and Spanish.

SPEAKING some time ago in connection with the bicentenary of Molière, M. Maurice Donnay, member of the Académie Française, remarked that if we were ever to secure the permanent peace of the world it was necessary that nations should know each other. But, he added, "the language question is a great drawback."

The language question is a great drawback. There is no doubt about that. And an equally great drawback is the somewhat clumsy and uninteresting way in which Foreign languages are so often taught in this country, and not in this country alone.

The epithets "clumsy" and "uninteresting" cannot be applied, however, to the new Pelman method of learning French, German and Spanish, which is attracting so many students in all parts of the country.

By this method thousands of men and women are learning to read, write, speak and understand French, German or Spanish in about one-third the time usually required, and all agree that it is by far the quickest and most interesting way of acquiring a Foreign language that has ever been devised.

Here are a few typical extracts from letters received from people who have adopted this method:—

New College, Oxford.

The Course is most remarkably ingenious, and deserves the highest praise. It is unique.

H. DUNSMORE (S.D. 115).

Kingston Manor, Taunton.

A Spaniard was astounded at the amount I had learned in the time. I found that after a day or two I could converse quite freely. . . . I could understand all he said. Yours is an absolutely unique and wonderful Course.

R. W. ARENGO JONES (S.J. 141).

"Bodley," Gordon Hill, Enfield.

By your method . . . the pupil learns more in one year than in four years by the ordinary method.

(The Rev.) J. MARE (S.M. 163).

In the new method no English is employed. Each Foreign language is taught in that language. There is no translation. Yet you can follow each Course with ease even if you do not know, to begin with, a single word of the language concerned.

The new method enables you to read German and French (as well as Spanish) books, reviews, newspapers and official publications with ease, and thus to keep in the closest touch with the international problems discussed therein.

This method is fully explained in a book entitled "How to Learn Languages." Any reader of "Headway" can obtain a copy of this book, gratis and post free, by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. When writing mention which language (French, German or Spanish) particularly interests you, and special information will be sent you free of charge. Call or write to-day.

Correspondence.

THE LEAGUE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—There are aspects in which both of your correspondents on this subject are right. The League and the Union must in the end stand for peace without qualification—that is, at any price—and the constituents of both must have a scientific belief in peace. What I mean is that pacifism can be put scientifically. It has been very forcibly put in terms of biology, it can easily be put in terms of religion, and it can be found to harmonise with the best patriotism. It is fairly obvious, too, that neither peace nor honour is to be found in war, nor can honour ever be found by sending other people to find it on battlefields.

On the other hand, both the League and the Union have the character of political organisations, which means this, that they will not be able to act very far in advance of public opinion; and therefore those who are not avowed pacifists may be sure that the weak will have to be defended on the plane of force until public opinion alone is strong enough to defend them. As regards the use of force, the analogy of the legal distinction between murder and homicide or manslaughter may help. It is not culpable to defend one's life by the most adequate means of self-defence so long as the motive is purely defensive, but from the moment that the adversary is disarmed or otherwise at our mercy it becomes culpable to cause any further suffering; and the adversary's death, when caused after he has become defenceless, will be murder.

The analogy might be carried further in its application to specially onerous conditions imposed upon the vanquished in war.

Unless the League and its supporters set up "Peace" without any qualifying adjective as the supreme political good, then, whenever critical situations arise, people in all countries who are still at bottom unconvinced that war is an unmitigated evil, will find many plausible reasons to offer to the various peoples why they should again commit themselves to that suicidal madness, and war will come, and the League will be finally discredited.

The League will have to go through much criticism and discredit and apparent failure, but it will not finally fail so long as it finds adherents who regard peace as supreme. As regards national prestige, a primary proposal of the League is that each nation will have to sacrifice that to some extent for the good to be achieved for all.

The League, although it has no armaments—and this will turn out to be its chief source of strength in the future—will be compelled to use methods which are approximate to those of war, especially the economic blockade, which is very cruel in its operation. The final appeal of the League, however, will be to educated public opinion all over the world, and in this respect we shall not be able to give a lead to public opinion (and that it seems to me is one of the most important functions of the Union) unless we ourselves are deeply convinced, shall we say, scientifically, philosophically and religiously, that peace itself as a supreme good will be found to harmonise with all other conceivable political goods.—Yours, &c.

Glasgow.

GEORGE B. CHALK.

UBIQUE.

Readers of HEADWAY will be interested to hear of the International Correspondence Club, 24, Finsbury Square, London, E.C.2, the main object of which is to link up those of mutual interests in all parts of the globe. Collectors of various kinds, amateur photographers and artists, people who are anxious to improve their knowledge of foreign languages or who desire to form acquaintances prior to going abroad, and many others, are by this means brought into touch with each other. The quarterly official organ of the club, *Ubique*, which is sent to members free of charge, contains articles in different languages and illustrations by members and correspondents in all parts of the world.

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

You ask me to suggest to you some books which are worth reading in connexion with the League and foreign affairs generally. With some hesitation I will gladly do my best to help you. You are quite right in saying that it is important that if you are to have a broad view of what is happening in the moulding of the post-war world, you must keep abreast of what is being published and not depend altogether on what you read in your daily paper.

The first book then which I think you ought to read is the Hon. N. W. Rowell's "British Empire and World Peace."* You will remember that Dr. Rowell has more than once represented Canada at the Assembly; he is a leading figure in Canadian politics, and his book is the result of lectures which he delivered before the University of Toronto. Don't let this fact put you off, for what he has written is not in the least high-brow, and has nothing donnish or professorial about it. Very naturally like most Canadians, he is more imperialist in his outlook than we are in our pose, and he rightly lays stress on the constant contribution of the British Empire to world peace, and in particular that of Canada. He points out most usefully the moral of Canada's undefended border of 5,400 miles against the United States and the lead which Canada has given in international arbitration. You should not overlook the chapters which deal with the part which the Church should play in international and industrial relations.

If you are at all interested in African problems, you will find "Education in Africa" interesting. I am afraid that you will not be able to get it at your bookseller, but if you will take the trouble to send two dollars or even a dollar and a-half to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, you will receive at the actual cost of production a book of over 300 pages with good maps and illustrations. Like everybody else, I know you are keen on a bargain, and here you have the chance of one. The book itself is a report of a commission of British and American experts who visited West, South and Equatorial Africa in 1921 to enquire into educational needs and conditions. They received every assistance from local governments and mission agencies, and this combined with their previous knowledge of the education of the negro make their findings a valuable contribution to the solution of the problem of that development of the backward races which is laid upon us as the greatest Colonial and mandatory power. These investigators emphasise the necessity that the education of the African should provide for character training and should be closely related to life in his own country. When one reads that at present "The British Grenadiers" displaces African music and that the knowledge of what happened in England in 1066 disguises ignorance of his own story, there appears certainly room for improvement in the ways of teaching the negro.

I expect you and Judy are sometimes at a loss to know what books to give to Toby and your other children and godchildren, and you will welcome a new edition of Miss Lilian Stevenson's "A Child's Book-shelf."† A special section is given to books which tell of "Friends of all the World" and the League, and with the help of the introduction and the annotated list of books you will have no difficulty in choosing the best of birthday and unbirthdays presents. In this connexion, I mean that of Toby and the rest of them, you have of course already seen the two little books of plays for children which the Union has just published. One with the mysterious title of "A.W.C.F.L." is the

* *British Empire and World Peace*. By the Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C., J.L.D. 12s. 6d. London: Humphrey Milford.

† Published by the Student Christian Movement, 32, Russell Square, W.C.1, at 3s.

6% SOUND & BENEFICIAL INVESTMENT
THE

LADY WORKERS' HOMES LTD.

Authorised Capital, £400,000 of which £160,000 is fully paid up.

PRESENT ISSUE OF 175,000 6% PREFERENCE SHARES OF £1 EACH.

Chairman: ALDERMAN A. DAVIS

Founder of the London Housing Society Ltd.
Chairman of the St. Pancras Estates Committee.

THE Directors are pleased to announce that, in order to meet the great demand for their popular flats, they are now developing a further portion of their St. John's Wood Estate (adjoining "Addison House," Grove End Road, N.W.) comprising about 100 flats, a large number being specially designed for Lady Workers.

The Directors now invite application for 175,000 6% Preference Shares of £1 each. Dividend accrues as from date of payment.

Subscribers of 400 shares and upwards may nominate approved tenants.

THE DIRECTORS ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CAN SUCCESSFULLY COPE WITH THE MOST URGENT AND PRESSING PROBLEM OF THE DAY—THE PROVISION OF GOOD HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE—AND THEY CONFIDENTLY INVITE THE CO-OPERATION OF THE PUBLIC IN THIS IMPORTANT WORK OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

Over 10,000 persons have already been housed under ideal conditions through the endeavours of Alderman A. Davis, Chairman of this Company, whose long and practical experience of Housing work in the metropolis will continue to be at the full disposal of the Board of Directors.

Half-yearly dividends at March and September have been regularly paid since inception of the Company.

For complete Prospectus and further particulars, apply Secretary: THE LADY WORKERS' HOMES, LTD.

Registered Office: 24, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.

Cheques crossed Barclays Bank Ltd.

INSPECTION OF THE COMPANY'S BUILDINGS IS CORDIALLY INVITED.

THE STORY OF
The League of Nations
The Official Lantern Lecture

OF THE
League of Nations Union
can only be obtained from us.

Particulars on application.

LECTURERS and Public Speakers are invited to visit our Lantern Studio. We can give you sound practical advice on Lantern Lectures and Slides. We have a large stock of up-to-date Lanterns, also Cinematograph machines. Our stock of Slides is second to none in the country. They include a large number of subjects, such as Natural History, Science, Botany, and other Educational subjects, also religious and social.

We manufacture Slides from your own photographs, plain or coloured. Best work guaranteed, as supplied to the Leading Education and Science Boards.

Write or call for our "London List" of Lantern Subjects in two parts, Sacred and General, 1s. 8d. each, post free.

J. WILLIAMS BUTCHER,
2 & 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.



Entente



Civilisation requires that an *Entente* between England and France shall continue to exist. Each of the two countries will continue to look to the other for guidance and counsel in non-political matters, for help in its civilising work. But a real *Entente* must be based upon mutual understanding. Frenchmen must learn to know England, Englishmen must learn to know France.

LA FRANCE

the weekly journal in French published at 2d. by Messrs. Evans Brothers, Limited, Montague House, Russell Square, London, W.C.1, will enable you to get to know France and its people.

In LA FRANCE the articles of general interest, the short stories, the illustrations, are all chosen with a view to represent to English readers the French as they really are.

Not content with showing you the people, LA FRANCE shows the country they inhabit. Its resources, industries and natural beauties are fully treated in a non-technical manner.

Intended chiefly for English readers,

LA FRANCE

is edited in very simple language and is admirably adapted to the needs of those who wish to keep their French up to date without trouble and in a pleasant fashion.

Messrs. Evans Brothers publish at 1d. weekly a French journal even simpler than LA FRANCE, entitled *L'ÉCHO DE FRANCE*.

This paper also aims at giving a faithful picture of the France of to-day. This journal is fully illustrated, and, though it numbers among its contributors French publicists of high rank, it is so simple in language that those with but a smattering of French can read it at sight.

FREE COPIES.

Send for presentation copies of these journals while the matter is fresh in your mind.

Messrs. EVANS BROTHERS, LTD.,
Montague House, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

Please send me a presentation copy of LA FRANCE and of L'ÉCHO DE FRANCE, in accordance with your offer in HEADWAY of February, 1923.

Name

Address

NOTE.—If this coupon is sent in an OPEN envelope only ½d. stamp is required.

more ambitious and needs thirty-two performers and as many more as the stage will hold; the other, "Fighting Death," contains three short realistic plays dealing with the definite activities of the League, East and West. Though we ought not perhaps to cry our own wares, all these plays should be very effective when produced.—Yours, THE SHOPMAN.

FRANCE ON ORGANISING PEACE.

LES FRANÇAIS À LA RECHERCHE D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, DEPUIS LE ROI HENRI IV. JUSQU'AUX COMBATANTS DE 1914. Paris, 1920.

THIS book is interesting if only because it reminds us that there has been and still is another France than that which has been in evidence since the armistice. There is the France of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon, aggressive, arrogant and unjust. But there is also the France of Montaigne, and Montesquieu, and Voltaire and Anatole France, the inspiration, to the world, of humanity and light.

The book before us contains a brief account of French forerunners in the quest of international organisation. For fuller knowledge one must turn to the monumental work of Dr. Lange, the first volume of which covers the period down to the eighteenth century, and includes the mediaeval writers not here dealt with. The method of the book is to give extracts rather than accounts of doctrine; so that it is not always easy to discover precisely what definite plan an author may have had in mind. Thus, for example, no indication is given of the precise way in which Émeric de Crucé, a very interesting writer, proposed to establish world-peace. The book concerns itself mainly with writers dating from the eighteenth century, such as Rousseau, Condorcet, St. Simon, Considérant, Lamennais, Quinet, Hugo, Renan, Littré, Jaurès, Bourgeois. The contemporaries of the great war are represented by M. Hauriou and M. Albert Thierry. The former is a lamentable example of the influence of war passions upon ideals. He looks forward to a union of the allied Powers to excommunicate for an indefinite time the enemy states. "For a long time there will not be one society of nations, there will be two, that of the nations who have honour and principles of international morals, and that of the nations who practise all infamies and say calmly 'it is war.'" That is the France that has been in evidence since 1918. The other France is represented by a combatant and a young man. Albert Thierry, killed in 1915, devoted what freedom of mind he could attain in the trenches to considering the problem of peace. He imagines a treaty beginning "The victorious and vanquished Powers, desiring that two million brave men should not have died in vain, but on the contrary that civilisation should profit by their courage, take in common the following resolutions." That is the other, the great France!

The reader would look in vain in this book for concrete schemes. It was not, apparently, the object of the compiler to give information about these. What is given is sentiments, showing how constantly that other France has recoiled from the waste and horror of war to the conception of international organisation. That conception is now at last embodied, however imperfectly, in the League of Nations. That it should be strengthened and developed is the last hope left for civilisation. The hope is still precarious, but the achievement is possible if men do but will it. Our volume ends with the following words of M. Thierry: "I have measured the enormous difficulties of the work of peace, one by one. I doubt whether modern man can surmount them." In three months the writer was dead. What better monument could there be to him and to thousands like him than to prove by deeds that man is yet capable of salvation?

G. LOWES DICKINSON.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

News of the growth of interest in the League of Nations, both on the Continent, in America, and in the Dominions, grows more favourable as time proceeds. According to the latest official information received, a League of Nations Society has been constituted in Western Australia. This means that the list of League of Nations Societies for each separate State in the Dominions is now complete. The Australian Union is to-day firmly established as a powerful force, and influence in Australian public life, and the extent of this achievement can be realised only when we consider the immense tracts of territory that are involved, and the difficulties of communication between East and West and North and South.

From India the news is also promising, though it is difficult to appreciate the growth of the movement at a first glance owing to the state of political unrest. Though no Union has as yet been definitely established, there are signs in the Universities and in such cities as Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, of an awakening to the value of the League of Nations, and to a desire to see India play a more conscious part in its activities. Amongst Moslems the fact that a Turkish League of Nations Society has been formed in Constantinople will have a favourable effect.

We have also reason to believe that there is a growth of interest in the Irish Free State which should, as soon as political affairs become more stabilised, find expression in a League of Nations Society for the Free State.

The news from the United States is particularly good, as we understand that a strong and representative Society is now being launched. The President of this League of Nations Non-Partisan Committee is Judge Clarke, late of the Supreme Court of the United States. On the Board are such men as Samuel Gompers, leader of American Labour, Mr. Vanderlip, the financier; Mr. Abbot, Editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Mr. Manley Hudson, Prof. Zeligman, Mr. Hamilton Holt, Miss Jane Addams, and several other leading figures in the Universities, and in the juridical and economic fields. From Japan news has reached us of the amalgamation of eight peace organisations, including the League of Nations Association of Japan, into one great National Peace Council. The work of this Council promises to be exceedingly effective, and we may look forward safely to a rapid growth of interest in the League.

From France and from the newly-reconstituted Society in Belgium, the little news we have received is satisfactory. It is hoped that a new impetus may be given in the near future to the Italian Society which has its headquarters in Milan.

The plight of the Societies in Germany and Spain gives rise to some anxiety owing to political difficulties, and the attendant unrest in the first case and lack of leadership in the second. On the whole, however, there is a decided improvement all round, and one has every reason to be optimistic. We are continuing to supply the Dominion Societies and branches with such supplies of literature as we can afford, as we find that much of the growth of interest is due to this circulation of our literature.

As far as the Federation of National League of Nations Societies is concerned, and its central bureau in Brussels, things are proceeding satisfactorily. The British representatives to the three Commissions called by the Council at Budapest in the autumn, viz.: Minorities, Armaments and Economic, have now been formed. The Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E., will represent us on the Minorities; Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., on the Armaments Commission; and Mr. W. T. Layton, Editor of the *Economist*, on the Economic Commission.

W. O'MOLONY.

The Housing Problem.

The housing problem is of such great importance that we welcome every endeavour to supply the present shortage. We have pleasure, therefore, in calling attention to the announcement of the Lady Workers' Homes, Limited, on page 275, relating to a new issue of 6 per cent. Preference Shares—this Company having been remarkably successful under the chairmanship of Alderman A. Davis. Dividends have been regularly paid since incorporation.

"Our Lives are Depending on Your Help"

A letter from Pugachev:

"We, citizens of Pugachev, make an appeal to you to help us to support ourselves and to save us from a cruel death by starvation. The famine of 1921 and 1922 reduced us to a miserable and beggarly state. The bony hand of death tore out from our ranks about 2,000 persons. If we shall not have your help such a phenomenon as cannibalism will be the general rule, and we have good reason to see it coming. This year we have neither cattle nor anything, and our lives are depending on your help. Friends, we implore you to help us; we hope you will save us from the horrors of famine."

Signed by 75 Pugachevsky peasants.

The man who handed in the appeal came back to his village a few weeks ago to find that his whole family had died of famine last winter.

Pugachev adjoins the district in Russia in which the Friends are working. Should sufficient funds be available the Committee hopes to be able to respond to the above appeal.

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.

League of Nations Union. Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

1st November, 1918	..	..	..	3,217
1st November, 1920	..	..	..	49,858
1st November, 1921	..	..	..	133,049
1st November, 1922	..	..	..	212,959
18th January, 1923	..	..	..	235,035

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

Anglesey...	1	member per every 29 of population.
Merionethshire	1	33 "
Westmorland	1	36 "

Branches.

On January 18th the number of Branches was 1,149 together with 59 Junior Branches and 186 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

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

Ashford, Kent, Excelsior Adult School; Ealing, Haven Green Baptist Church; East Finchley, Brotherhood; Glasgow, Dennistown Parish Church Bible Class; Hastings, Robertson Street Congregational Church; Hyde, Zion Congregational Church; Hyde, Hyde Chapel, Gee Cross; Kettering, London Road Congregational Church, Men and Women's Own; Kettering, United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association; Southport, Liverpool Road Wesleyan Church; Weybridge, Whiteley Village Free Church Fellowship; Walsall, Vicarage Walk Baptist Church.

New Publications.

Since our last issue the Union has published No. 78 *The Guarantees of the League*, 3d. This booklet forms one of the series of books specially prepared for study circles. The children's drama, entitled "The All the World Children's Friendly League," to which reference was made in the December HEADWAY, has now been published as a booklet, price 4d.

Southend Forges Ahead.

The 2,000 seats were occupied, and hundreds of people were standing, at a crowded and enthusiastic meeting at the Kursaal, Southend-on-Sea, last November, addressed by Lord Robert Cecil. The Bishop of Chelmsford presided, and on the platform, which was very fully representative of the town, were Viscount Elvedon, the local M.P., the Mayor and Mayoress, and representatives of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Churches, the Jews, and the Salvation Army. A magnificent total of 780 new members resulted for the meeting.

Steps are now being taken to follow up the good work done by special efforts, particularly in the Churches.

Progress in Wales.

As anticipated in our last month's notes, Anglesey has forged ahead in the race for the highest ratio of members of the League of Nations Union to population, the last calculation showing that one in every thirty-three was a member in Anglesey, Merionethshire following hot-foot behind with one in every thirty-four. Naturally the Welsh Council is highly pleased with the way in which two counties of the Principality head the list for England and Wales.

One characteristic of the work in Wales is the linking up of Branches with the Churches, the aim of the Welsh Council being the establishment of a Branch of the League of Nations Union in every Church of every denomination in the Principality. A fruitful method of working through the Churches has been utilised in Wales, that is, of calling at various centres conferences of the representatives of Churches throughout the area to discuss ways and means of forming Branches of the Union and then supporting practically the work of the League towards world peace. Successful conferences of this nature have been held recently at Merthyr Tydfil, Carmarthen, Cardiff, Llanelly, and at other centres, and the response has been most marked in all these cases.

The Llanelly Rotary Club was addressed at a luncheon

in the Stepney Hotel, Llanelly, by Captain Frederic Evans on January 11, and the Rotary Club of Swansea will be addressed on February 26 by the Rev. D. C. Davies. On January 19 Captain Frederic Evans addressed a meeting at the University College, Cardiff, organised for the students there by the College Branch. The same speaker also addressed a meeting organised by the Jewish community at Newport on Sunday, January 21, when a lantern lecture on "Campaigning in Arctic Russia" was delivered and an appeal for support of the League also made. Mr. Handal Mills addressed a crowded meeting at Pontypridd on Christmas Sunday. Meetings were held in the Tregarra area by the Rev. D. C. Davies early in January as a preparation for the Easter pilgrimage being organised to the birthplace of Henry Richard, Easter Wednesday, 1923. A series of meetings is also to be arranged in the Merthyr, Dowlais and Aberdare district soon after Easter in commemoration of the centenary of the "Member for Wales" who represented them in Parliament in the middle of last century.

The Advisory Education Committee continues to function actively, the Memorandum for the Schools being now nearly ready. Negotiations for Teachers' Conferences to consider formal instruction on the League in the schools of Wales and Monmouthshire are being organised, and among others Professor C. K. Webster, of Aberystwyth, and Mr. F. S. Marvin will be invited to speak at these conferences. The Welsh Council is concentrating on schools, many Welsh Secondary Schools have already been addressed by a representative of the Council, and Junior Branches are regularly forming in these schools.

A large number of public meetings have been held during the month, and information of new Branches being formed is being daily received at the offices of the Welsh Council. Llandudno will be *en fête* on February 2 to welcome Lord Robert Cecil to their great demonstration.

The birthday of the League on January 10 was not forgotten in the Welsh Press, and the progress of the Union in the Principality during the birthday month of the League has been very marked.

Essay Competition.

In connection with the International Exhibition held at St. Albans last November, the local Branch arranged a prize essay competition, open to all the school children in the town. Book prizes were offered, and there were 105 entries. The papers sent in were remarkably good, the writers showing an accurate knowledge of the objects of the League and a careful study of the contributions of the various nations to the Exhibition.

Peace Sunday in Bath.

In order that no congregation, however poor, should be debarred from placing a copy of the Peace Sunday prayer and pledge in the hands of each member, the Bath League of Nations Union printed sufficient copies to supply every congregation in the Borough and outlying suburbs. As a preliminary 10,000 copies were printed and distributed gratuitously, and as many more followed as were required.

A Lantern Offered.

In response to our appeal last month, we have received from the Rev. L. W. Jackson, of 14, Copleston Road, Denmark Park, Peckham, S.E.15, an offer to lend his acetylene lantern for meetings within the London area, the only condition being that the owner works it himself. The expense would be small, probably only the cost of the carbide used. London Branches may like to avail themselves of this offer.

Hard Work at Congleton.

Congleton has worked hard to raise funds for the Union. Most of the Clergy agreed to take retiring collections for this purpose on December 31, and in addition a letter appealing for contributions inserted in the *Congleton Chronicle*, the editor made a further appeal in his leading article.

Ex-Service Men's Branch.

The Lozells (Birmingham) Branch, which is almost entirely composed of ex-Service men, now has a membership of well over 300.

New League Play.

A short play, entitled "The World's Release," by Miss N. Haynes, is obtainable in typewritten form at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. It has already been performed several times with much success. It depicts the development of the idea of law and order as against brute force from the age of savage to the era of the League of Nations. The fee for production is 5s.

Imperial War Relief Fund.

The Imperial War Relief Fund asks us to acknowledge in our columns a contribution of 5s. which the Fund has received from a reader of "Headway," who gives merely the initials "M. R."

A Correction.

By a printer's error in our last number on page 258, the second column of figures under "The Budget Figures" was given "Proposed Annual Expenditure from April 1st, 1922." This should read, of course, "April 1st, 1923."

Lectures on the League.

Mr. Philip Baker, Overseas Secretary of the League of Nations Union, and formerly Assistant to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, is giving a series of eight lectures on "The Effect of the League of Nations on International Law," at King's College, Cambridge, on Fridays at 5.30. The first lecture of the course was given on January 19th.

A Splendid Record.

Owing to the personal effort of one devoted worker, Mrs. H. A. Smith, the Salisbury Branch has gained no less than 500 new members. If even half this energy could be shown by one member in each Branch, what might the Union not accomplish in the coming year!

An Appeal to the Clergy.

There has been a most encouraging response to our appeal last month to the Clergy to incorporate into their

Parish Magazines the 4-page illustrated League of Nations, inset which it is proposed to issue in May and November. Over 20,000 insets have been asked for to date, and replies are still coming in.

It is hoped that Branch Secretaries will bring the proposal before the ministers of religion in their localities, in order that no one may be missed out who would like to avail himself of this offer.

A Stirring Manifesto.

The Stevenage Branch has produced an inspiring manifesto signed by every clergyman of every religious denomination in the town—Church of England, Roman Catholic, Baptist and Wesleyan. The manifesto expresses the firm conviction of its signatories that "of the many endeavours which are being made to give effect to the social teaching of our Great Master, that of the League of Nations is at the moment one of the most prominent and hopeful," and it urges the population of Stevenage to enrol themselves as members of the Union. A copy of the manifesto was placed on every seat in every church on Peace Sunday December 24th.

Canon Bickersteth Ottley.

Our readers will be glad to learn that Canon Ottley, who recently underwent a serious operation, has now left the nursing home and is well on the way to complete recovery.

Summer Schools.

Arrangements are now being begun for the holding of our Summer Schools this year. The week's school at Oxford will begin on July 23rd, and the Geneva school will probably last seven or 15 days and begin on August 3rd. A new experiment is to be tried in the holding of a school in Germany at Heidelberg. This school will devote itself mainly to the problems of Germany in relation to the League. This will last a week, too, beginning August 17th. Names of those who wish to attend either of these schools can now be received. The prices have not yet been fixed, but will be fixed as low as possible.

An Imperilling Situation

Beset on all sides with more and more Exiles escaping from an

Unparalleled Reign of Iniquity

200 deaths on one ship having 2,000 Refugees.

Recent letters—

SALONICA:—"60,000 here and hundreds arriving every day."

ATHENS:—"The string of Refugee arrivals does not stop."

ALEPPO:—"New arrivals, mostly very very miserable, robbed and looted on the way; some almost naked. About 2,000 living under tents even in the streets."

ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES MUST BE HURRIED FORWARD

We will if you will. But you must help.

Christian Refugee Fund also Armenian Massacre Relief

Gifts for both Funds to the Office of Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society,

LORD KINNAIRD, Hon. Treasurer.

S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, Hon. Relief Commissioner.

358^I STRAND,
LONDON, W.C.2

No expenses for office rent and salaries.

League Correspondents Wanted.

Miss Alice G. Whale, M.A., Lecturer in Geography at the Municipal Day Training College, Manchester, writes that there are seven girl students whose ages vary from 18 to 20 who desire to correspond with students abroad on League of Nations questions. Replies in the first instance should be sent to her.

Secretaries of Overseas Societies and Students in Foreign Universities might like to avail themselves of this desire.

Germany and the League.

The Bradford Branch recently passed a resolution to the effect that they would welcome Germany's application for admission to the League. This was sent to the former German Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, who has replied expressing his cordial thanks to the Branch.

Humour for the League.

The Reigate and Redhill Branch were fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Harrison Hill on November 13th. Mr. Hill gave a Musical and Humorous Recital. His world friendship songs, in which the audience joined, were a tremendous success.

Branch Annual Meeting.

Branch Secretaries are reminded that, according to the Rules of the Union, the Annual General Meeting of the Branch should be held before the end of March.

Another G.P.O. Branch.

In addition to the Savings Branch at Kensington, the Union has a similar Branch in the Money Order Department of the G.P.O. After four months it has 220 members.

January Meetings.

Upwards of 300 meetings were arranged by Headquarters for the month of January, in addition to those arranged by Branches. Meetings were held at: University College, Blackheath, Sunderland, Frome, Guildford, Maidenhead, Wembley, Edinburgh, Woking, Newport (Mon.), Kensington, Cheltenham, Torquay, Nottingham, Dawlish, Leeds, Bracknell, Todmorden, Beaconsfield, Hampstead, Lichfield, Maybole, Leicester, Folkestone, Buxton, Ealing, Dunstable, Peterborough.

Amongst the speakers were: The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Viscount Cranborne, Lady Mary Murray, Sir Samuel Hill Wood, M.P., Major General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., Lieut.-Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., Sir Arthur Haworth, Bart., the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.M.G., the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E., J. Brown, Esq., M.P., G. H. Shakespeare, Esq., M.P., Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G., Dr. Cyril Norwood, Dr. R. C. Gillie, J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., Sc.D., Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Litt., A. G. Gardiner, Esq., Basil Mathews, Esq., Professor Charles Sarolea, Ph.D., F. S. Marvin, Esq., M.A., E. Everitt Reid, Esq., F.R.G.S., Major N. Brett James.

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.

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.

All Mankind's Concern.

The following Extracts are taken from a leading article in "The Times," headed "All Mankind's Concern."

"The British and Foreign Bible Society has published translations of the Holy Scriptures, whole or in part, in over 500 languages. Its object is simple and comprehensive, namely, to translate the one Book which can ever with success be expected to provide the common basis of morality and spiritual knowledge to all members of the human family, into every language, however barbarous; to print it in any script, however complex; to place it in every man's hands, however remote; and to provide it at a price at which the poorest may purchase it. Towards the fulfilment of these aims the Society has already gone far, for the languages which it can command are spoken by seven-tenths of mankind."

"The whole of the civilized world, and the British peoples especially, with their vast responsibilities in Africa and Asia, owe an enormous debt to the Society for the linguistic intercourse with backward races which it has thus made possible for them, to say nothing of the spiritual enlightenment which it has brought to many of the darkest regions of the earth."

"It is truly an international organization, and its ideals are as practical as any that have yet been devised by international statesmanship for the improvement of the relations between people and people and man and man. There can be little true human fellowship if large portions of mankind either never learn, or are allowed to forget, the principal lessons of history and the central religious truths which the pages of the Bible enshrine. However interpreted, the New Testament, if the brotherhood of man is not to remain a merely pious aspiration, must become a book accessible to all."

Send a gift to the Secretaries, British and Foreign Bible Society, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, Etc.

MALVERN WELLS.—"May Place" Residential Hotel. Every comfort. Garage, Tennis. Beautiful in Winter. Glorious in Spring.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY. Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d., Cardigan Coats, 25s. 6d., Ladies' Hose, 8s. 6d. per pair; Yarn per Head (about 8 ozs.) in 2 ply White, 7s., Grey, 7s., Dark Brown, 7s., Fawn, 8s., Moorit, 8s. Fair Isle coloured Yarn in 2 ply Yellow, Blue, Red and Green, 10s. per Head. Jumpers with Fair Isle border, 35s. to 50s.; All-over Fair Isle Jumpers, £5 10s. Shetland Tweed, 56 ins. wide, 17s. 6d. per yard. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, Stromness, Orkney.

JOURNALISTIC TRAINING.

A VACANCY occurs in the Publicity Department of the League of Nations Union, for educated young man or woman. Training given in journalistic work. No salary, no premium.

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.