

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

Vol. IV. No. 8.

August, 1922.

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

Price Threepence.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH	141	THE GROWTH OF THE LEAGUE (Diagram) ...	151
IS DISARMAMENT PRACTICABLE?	144	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
AN IMMENSE IMPROVEMENT	145	Humanising War	152
THE FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. By		What Should Germany Pay?	152
W. T. Layton	146	BOOK REVIEWS :—	
A LONDON LETTER	147	From the New World	152
MAKERS OF HISTORY :—		Labour and the League	153
Lenin. By E. T. Raymond	149	The Future of the Negro	154
DERBYSHIRE FOR THE LEAGUE	150	Shorter Notices	154
LABOUR AND THE LEAGUE. By Lothian Small ...	150	NEWS FROM OVERSEAS	155
THE WORLD AND THE LEAGUE (Map)	151	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
		Notes and News	156

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 and communications to the Manager should be addressed to Castle Court, Poppin's Court, E.C. 4. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

LONDON had a wonderful opportunity at the end of last month of watching the Council of the League of Nations actually at work. It is over two years since a Council meeting was held in London, and since that time the prestige of the League and the magnitude of the tasks entrusted to it have increased at an amazing rate. The length of the agenda of this last session alone is an indication of the scope and variety of the League's undertakings. They range from Mandates to European minorities, from the Russian famine to frontier questions in Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, from the International Labour Organisation to the Traffic in Women and Children, and from Epidemics in the Mediterranean to the Opium Traffic. A very important step forward has been made in the matter of the "A" and "B" Mandates, which have now been definitely approved. Another triumph is that agreement has been reached with the United States over this question.

* * * *

DR. NANSEN has again urged the cause of Russia, but in spite of the terrible famine statistics he produced—at least two million people have died of starvation—the Council did not agree to send a Commission of Inquiry into the country immediately. The Secretariat of the

League was, however, authorised to collect full information from all sources, to be followed by a Commission of Experts should the facts collected justify such a course.

* * * *

THE catastrophic collapse of the German mark, the murder of Dr. Rathenau, the urgent cry for relief from Austria, and the failure of the Hague Conference on Russia, combine to produce a hurricane of straws which leave the observer in no doubt as to the direction of the international economic and financial wind. But the very gravity of the situation focuses attention on its only solution. We are driven back once more to the conclusions of the Bankers' Conference which met in Paris in May. That Conference admitted that Germany needed an international loan to set her on her feet again, but made it clear that an essential condition of the raising of such a loan was the reduction of the reparation total to a figure reasonably within Germany's power to pay. On another page Mr. W. T. Layton, editor of the "Economist," and formerly Director of the Financial and Economic Section of the League of Nations, pushes the bankers' argument to its logical conclusion. France, he says, will not forgo any part of her claim on Germany unless her own Allies, and in particular Great Britain, show their willingness to surrender their own claims on her. But this country cannot be expected to write off her claims on France unless the settlement be accompanied by an arrangement which will enable France to cut down her ruinous military expenditure. Which brings us back to Lord Robert Cecil's plan for a general European pact, based on limitation of armaments, which would at one and the same time remove France's apprehensions of attack by Germany, and make possible a real lightening of the burdens which press so heavily upon the nations of

Europe to-day. It is interesting to learn from the Belgian delegate to the League Council that the Cecil scheme has met with the most sympathetic reception in Belgium.

* * * *

IN view of certain criticisms of the proposals of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments which have appeared in the Press, it may be useful to point out that these are based on a misconception of the true position. In the first place, Lord Esher's scheme for the reduction of land armaments on a numerical basis is limited solely to the home forces of each nation, and does not refer to overseas garrisons. Secondly, it was proposed that any reduction should be subject to certain conditions. The reduction must be general, and must be subject to a mutual guarantee of assistance in the event of attack, such guarantee to be limited to those countries which belong to the same quarter of the globe. Thirdly, all the proposals discussed at the recent meeting of the Temporary Mixed Commission have been referred to sub-committees for examination and report, and these reports will be considered by the Assembly at its next meeting in September. Finally, it should be remembered that no scheme for the reduction of armaments can be finally accepted without the approval of each individual nation as well as of the Assembly of the League.

* * * *

THERE has been an interesting outcome of the decision taken by the last Assembly of the League that States, members of the League, might apply to the financial and economic organisation of that body for financial advisers, if they so desired. Albania has asked the Council to appoint a financial adviser to aid the Albanian Government in putting the financial system of this young country on a sound basis. An expert is to be sent to Albania to work in agreement with the Government, and to advise, after a two months' stay, as to the conditions and terms on which a League adviser could be appointed. Earlier in the year the Albanian Government asked the League to send a committee of experts to Albania to examine the economic possibilities offered by the country for foreign capital and enterprise.

* * * *

AN indication of the closeness with which the activities of the League of Nations are being watched in the United States is afforded by the fact that the draft conventions and recommendations adopted by the three Conferences of the International Labour Organisation of the League have been laid before the Senate Committee on Education and Labour for their consideration. Senator Walsh of Montana, who introduced this matter before Congress, described the purpose of the International Labour Organisation as "to make legislation touching labour in the various countries as nearly uniform as possible so that labour in this country, for instance, will not be brought into competition with labour in other countries where ten, twelve, or fourteen hours may constitute a day's work." The Conventions and recommendations were referred to this Committee without objection. The action of Senator Walsh was taken in accordance with the direction of the American group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union following a resolution passed by the Union last August at Stockholm.

SIGNIFICANT also is the recent statement by Mr. Otto H. Kahn, the well-known New York banker and international finance expert. Mr. Kahn retains his objections to the "Versailles League," but he is none the less convinced that it is America's duty in her own interests "to take an actively helpful and responsible part in the affairs of Europe." The reports of the Health Commission of the League also afford evidence of the readiness of certain American organisations to co-operate financially in the League's work. The Rockefeller Foundation has just undertaken to pay a considerable sum direct to the League for the collation of epidemiological information and other purposes.

* * * *

ON June 28th the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Committee for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children held its first session at Geneva. Eight countries were represented—the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Poland, Roumania, Spain, and Denmark, the last named sending a woman representative. Of the five assessors appointed by international voluntary associations, four were women. One of the most interesting matters that came before this Committee related to the protection of women accepting theatrical or music-hall engagements in foreign countries. The British delegate, Mr. S. W. Harris, pointed out that, under certain contracts, it might happen that women were left stranded in a foreign town without means of support, or the money to pay the passage home. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the competent authorities, when applied to for passports, should be instructed to warn girls seeking employment abroad, and to advise them as to the fairness of their contracts. It also agreed that Governments should be urged to find out the conditions under which girls, both foreign and national, are employed in theatres and music-halls, and to consider the desirability of legislating to protect minors seeking employment abroad. Owing to the important part played by America and Germany in the control of immigration and emigration, and the active interest shown by them in the international measures taken to prevent the traffic, it was agreed to invite these countries to appoint members to serve on the Committee. The Council of the League has now endorsed this resolution.

* * * *

THE procedure adopted by the Permanent Court of International Justice at its first annual session, last June, provides a very instructive example of the value of "open diplomacy." There were two questions before the Court. Between June 15th and 23rd the Court heard in public session representatives of various States and international organisations on both these questions. It is now examining them in private and will announce its opinion later to the public. It will be interesting to hear whether the International Court of Justice thinks, as the French Government contends, that agricultural questions were never intended to be submitted to the Labour Conference by those who passed the Peace Treaty.

* * * *

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR IVOR MAXSE does not believe in "a thing called the League of Nations" as a substitute for armed force. He told Yorkshire schoolboys that the idea that the League could possibly prevent war was "all tosh,

absolute tosh." That this backboneless League has already prevented several wars has no weight with the gallant general. Fortunately the views of Sir Ivor Maxse are not typical of the majority of our fighting men. Maj.-General Maurice learnt from the experiences of the war the futility of that discredited maxim, "If you want peace, prepare for war." And General Lord Cavan, who is Chief of Staff of the War Office, and Sir Ivor Maxse's superior officer, said recently, "My business is war and preparation for war, but that does not and never will prevent me from doing all I can to prevent war. It is a horrible thing. The League of Nations has, I believe, the backing of all thoughtful people, and I wish that it may gain in influence and power as irresistible as the flooding of the main." But perhaps the best reply to Sir Ivor Maxse was given by a humble member of the public who sent to the League of Nations Union a marked copy of the general's speech together with a donation, his own name and address, and an application for membership. A most eloquent piece of restraint.

* * * *

THE "No More War" Demonstrations which will have taken place in this and other countries by the time these words appear in print have given rise to a diversity of opinion among supporters of the League of Nations. To understand the position it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the "No More War" Movement and the "No More War" Demonstrations. The Movement requires of its members a definite pledge that they will take no part whatsoever in any war, civil or international, offensive or defensive. The "No More War" Demonstrations, on the other hand, are organised by a number of Societies, among which the "No More War" Movement is only one; and no friend of the League of Nations could take exception to the resolution which was submitted to these demonstrations—a resolution which reads as follows:—

"This mass meeting sends fraternal greetings to the similar gatherings now being held throughout Europe and America, joins with them in declaring its hatred of war, and pledges itself to co-operate with them in working for conditions which will guarantee that there shall be No More War (a) by perfecting international organisation for the removal of the causes of war, the settlement of disputes, and the promotion of international co-operation; and (b) by developing an international sense of solidarity which will make war impossible."

The League of Nations Union accordingly agreed to co-operate in the Demonstrations, although in London the Union took no part in the procession that preceded the Demonstration to Hyde Park. Some may regret that the largest and most influential peace society in Great Britain did not take a more prominent part in the proceedings on July 29th, but it is evident that the similarity of the titles of the Movement and the Demonstrations might easily lead to confusion, and suggest to many minds that members of the League of Nations Union see eye to eye with those who conscientiously objected to all kinds of military service in the late war.

* * * *

THE fact is, however, that the League of Nations Union does not think that the best way to world peace lies along this road. Everyone, of course, agrees upon the desirability of having No More War. But the serious difficulty is that people are not agreed as to the best means of securing that result. The Union believes in ending war by

removing the causes of war, and by establishing and perfecting machinery for settling disputes otherwise than by war. The Union therefore stands above all for peace, but not for peace at any price. There may be times when it is necessary to use force in the interests of peace; to make war in order to end war. This at least was the belief of many of those who voluntarily went from this country to do their bit in the world war. And this is still the belief of many of those who, having helped to win the war, are continuing to fight for peace in the ranks of the League of Nations Union. To us it seems that the League of Nations is the best, if not the only hopeful means, and that fact was proclaimed by the speakers in Hyde Park, and at other No More War Demonstrations. It seems to us far more necessary to make the people of this country convinced supporters of the League of Nations than to preach to the converted that we ought to have No More War.

* * * *

INSTRUCTION by means of the cinema is becoming a recognised form of education, and the League of Nations Union is falling into line with other educational bodies by providing a film to illustrate the growth and work of the League. This one-reel film, which takes twenty minutes, was shown at the Women's Exhibition at Olympia. It explains very fully the constitution of the League, and summarises effectively its varied achievements. It is interesting that copies have already been ordered by three foreign countries.

* * * *

THE visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Geneva, next September, in order to preach to the Assembly of the League of Nations, has a purpose which the generous heart of S. Francis de Sales would have recognised and Calvin would not have disapproved. The Geneva Cross, as the emblem of humanity and neutrality, has won a unique place in the minds of all civilised people. And the League of Nations, born of experience far more terrible than that which brought about the Geneva Convention, has found in the same city an appropriate home. That the Primate of all England should have been invited to sit in Calvin's chair and to preach in this time-honoured Cathedral to an Assembly representative of fifty-one nations, must impress the imagination of all religious people, and profoundly affect the Christian conscience of Britain and America. It must never be forgotten, and it is not likely that the Primate will forget, that Christian and non-Christian countries alike find in the League of Nations a moral ideal that powerfully appeals to their highest aspirations. The dream of the ages is coming true; and the Archbishop's clarion call may be trusted to awaken the Christians of all nations to support the League of Nations and so to apply the principles of Christianity to the affairs of this disordered world.

* * * *

THE omission of our usual "Letter from Geneva" this month calls for some explanation. The main item of importance from the League point of view is the nineteenth session of the Council, and as this took place in London, it was felt better to replace the article of our Geneva Correspondent by a leader giving a detailed account of the important proceedings at St. James's Palace.

IS DISARMAMENT PRACTICABLE?

THE question of disarmament is, and must remain until some steps are taken that lead to its solution, one of the dominant political problems of the world. The Washington Conference accomplished more than many wise men thought it could. But even in Naval Disarmament there is much yet that can and should be done, while the whole field of land and air disarmament has hardly yet begun to be explored.

The Assembly of the League of Nations in both the Sessions that it has held, and the Council of the League at almost every one of its twenty meetings, have considered the question in one form or another. Yet the League had not, till now, achieved much to fulfil the hopes of its warmest friends. It had considered the problem; but its consideration had been confined to an academic survey of the difficulties to be overcome. It had appointed a Permanent Commission and a Temporary Commission to investigate the practical application of the undertakings of the Covenant. The Permanent Commission, consisting, as it does, of serving soldiers who are representatives of the greater War Offices of the world, had shown that it can make no effective progress until instructions are given to it by the Ministries from which its members come. And even the Temporary Mixed Commission, though composed of eminent politicians, representatives of employers' and workers' organisations, technical experts in military and naval, financial and statistical matters, had no record of achievement for the eighteen months since the Council called it into being.

But at last the Temporary Mixed Commission has come to life. In the first week in July, it met in Paris, and its meeting was notable among the meetings of all the Commissions of the League for its harmonious atmosphere, for the vitality of its debates, for the warm and generous welcome given by the Press to its discussions and its resolutions. The Temporary Mixed Commission has come to life, and the period of genuine progress has begun.

In estimating the work which it has done, and which it has traced out to do, it is necessary to keep in view the purposes which it may be hoped a policy of disarmament will achieve. The ultimate and ideal object of disarmament, as everyone will agree, is the elimination from the conduct of human affairs of the obsolete method of settling international disputes by resort to force. But that object is not one which can be achieved by a disarmament policy alone. To reduce armies and navies might do much; but law and justice will not wholly eliminate force till the League has become to the States of the world what a central national Government is to its provinces to-day. That object can only be achieved by the slow, gradual, all-embracing development of the whole work of the League.

But there are nearer objects, more immediate purposes, which it is the task, and the exclusive task, of a Disarmament Commission to carry out. There is, first, the reduction of the intolerable economic burden which armaments impose on every

people; second, there is the prevention of that competition in preparation for war from which war inevitably springs. These more immediate objects it is urgently and vitally necessary to secure. They are of direct and immediate importance to every citizen of every State. They are easily within reach of practical statesmanship if the will of the peoples for their attainment is expressed. It is the task of the Temporary Mixed Commission to achieve them.

The Temporary Mixed Commission is still far from being able to write down in concrete figures proposals for the reduction of the armed forces of the world. But it has begun its preliminary task—that of studying exhaustively and practically the principles upon which a concrete scheme can be based. At Paris, three weeks ago, it took three important steps in this direction. It examined the first condition upon which disarmament must depend—the provision by a mutual guarantee by all States which have disarmed of that degree of confidence which alone will enable practical politicians to take the responsibility of reducing the armed forces of their peoples. It adopted four striking resolutions, laying down the essential factors upon which such a mutual guarantee must be based. Second, and no less important, it examined a practical draft plan placed before it by Lord Esher for the mutual disarmament of European countries. This draft plan is based upon the principle that what must be reduced are the *standing armies* which European countries maintain. For Lord Esher holds, and he is supported by high military authority, that the size of the standing army limits automatically the size of an army which can be mobilised on the outbreak of war; that, therefore, a restricted standing army means a restricted war army, and, in consequence, the prevention of competition in warlike preparation and the removal of the temptation to achieve by sudden attack an immediate and decisive military success.

It is evident that schemes for a treaty of mutual guarantee and for the limitation of standing armies must bristle with technical difficulties of every sort. The Temporary Mixed Commission decided, therefore, to refer the proposals which it had before it, including the embodiment of the proposal for a mutual guarantee in the form of a draft treaty, to a Technical Sub-Committee, consisting of a French colonel, an Italian general, a Swiss colonel, a Japanese general, and a Belgian financier, under the chairmanship of Lord Robert Cecil. It may well be hoped that this Sub-Committee, which is to meet in a few days' time, will be able to thrash out the practical principles upon which concrete schemes can usefully be based.

Besides this, the Temporary Mixed Commission took a third important step; it considered the extension to all Naval Powers of the principles embodied in the Washington disarmament agreement. It will lay before the Assembly in September a definite, detailed plan for the achievement of this object. But neither this comparatively simple task nor the far more difficult one of bringing about actual progress in the reduction of land and air armaments can be carried out unless the work of the Commission is followed and supported by the public opinion of every country in the world. To organise the expression of the international will to disarm is the most urgent duty of every member of the League of Nations Union to-day.

AN IMMENSE IMPROVEMENT.

THE Council of the League of Nations held its nineteenth meeting at St. James's Palace between July 17th and July 24th. The agenda included one item of first importance to Great Britain, namely the approval of the Palestine Mandate, and a number of other questions of considerable general importance—questions involving frontier disputes in the Balkans, the protection of minorities, and the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments; but it would not have been said in advance that the agenda was striking, or indeed of unusual interest. Yet the nineteenth meeting of the Council will rank as one of the most important of all the Council meetings held up to the present, and it will do so not so much because of any specific difficulty adroitly overcome (though the settlement of the Syrian and Palestine Mandates was a real triumph for the new diplomatic methods), nor because of the far-reaching consequences of any of its decisions, though some of these were important beyond the average, but primarily because of the remarkable illustration which this particular meeting has afforded of the excellence of the machinery of the Council and of its value as an International body. If the Council continues to display in the same degree the qualities of courage in the public ventilation of its business, of confidence in the public judgment, and of resolution to reach unanimous and satisfactory results by openness and candour as between the individual delegates, it is safe to prophesy that in a very few years the Council will be held in the same general respect by the whole world as the highest courts of justice command in this country.

In the first place it seems to us that the Council has at last hit upon a satisfactory method of combining free exchange of views with complete and instant publicity of its proceedings. Almost the whole of the Council's work, although it included most delicate and complicated questions, was conducted *ab initio* in public session; and by public session we do not mean the kind of charade by which the Council made itself a little ridiculous on the occasion of its last meeting at St. James's Palace two years ago, when everything was stage managed and even rehearsed beforehand, and the result was an exhibition almost as embarrassing to behold as a school cantata; we mean a genuine admission of the public (by means of the Press) to a business session, at which the members were free to say, and did say, just what came into their minds on the subject under discussion, so that the business was conducted with such ease and dispatch that most of the journalists present would have been hard put to it to follow it without the assistance of the Information Section of the Secretariat. Nothing could be better than the effect produced, for instance, by the reported incursions of the Bulgarian "hands" into neighbouring territories, and on the Balkan frontier questions.

The exception to the publicity rule (save for one or two matters which had no immediate importance) was the discussion on the "A" Mandates; and this was undoubtedly a matter calling for much discretion. We think ourselves that the same results might have been achieved in a public discussion, but it must be remembered that with the question of the Palestine Mandate were bound up indirectly a number of long-standing and bitter religious disputes. It would certainly have been difficult for the Council to discuss in public the articles of the Palestine Mandate which provide for the custody of the Holy Places. Each member would have been justified in fearing that an unguarded word or a chance proposal might, if misunderstood or criticised in the Press, revive the embers of those very controversies which it is the aim of the Mandate to extinguish for ever.

On the other hand, it is not easy to follow the process by which the Council decided that the difference of opinion between France and Italy over the Syrian

Mandate must be guarded so carefully from the public. After all, the whole Italian (and also the French) point of view had been previously stated in the Press. It was perfectly known in advance that the Italian Government considered, especially in view of the modification of the Treaty of Sèvres, that Italian interests in Syria and Palestine must be especially safeguarded. On the other hand, it was well known that the French based their attitude on the promise to the United States of America that no economic advantages should be given to one nation in the mandated territories at the expense of others. This promise was in the strictest degree in conformity with the spirit of mandate; and it is extremely difficult to believe that the Italian Government would have instructed their representative to maintain their point of view, in the face of a public session. But although we cannot see that there was much to be gained by private discussion on this point, it has to be admitted that the procedure justified itself admirably. In the space of a few days a working agreement was reached by which the mandates were approved, on the understanding that the Italian Government would carry on friendly conversations with the French Government in order to receive the same assurances with regard to their interests in Syria as had been given to Great Britain with regard to their interests in Palestine, assurances in no way out of harmony with the spirit of the mandate and assurances which it is quite certain will be given. Nobody but the wildest partisan could possibly qualify this as secret diplomacy; indeed the whole proceedings of the Council should, as we have said earlier, be an immense stride forward in the right direction.

An even fuller measure of publicity will probably come later on. Indeed, it hardly seems too much to hope that, in the near future, all Council business will be conducted in public. If this should prove possible, we would welcome it, for we believe that it will be by the degree of publicity which the League achieves for its work that the League will ultimately succeed or fail. Meanwhile, we venture respectfully to record our unqualified approval of the step which the Council has recently seen fit to adopt, and we hope that it will prove a step in the fullest sense of the word, that is to say, that it will lead forward ultimately to methods yet more public.

One or two interesting and important points of procedure arose incidentally in the proceedings. In connection with the Austro-Hungarian frontier M. Hymans (Belgium), the Rapporteur, pointed out that under article 4 of the Covenant, Austria, as a member of the League, was entitled to sit on the Council whilst the matter was being discussed. He then pointed out that Hungary, not being a member of the League, had no such right, but he presumed that the Council would not wish one State to be at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* the other. He therefore proposed that Hungary should be invited to sit on the Council, and his proposal was accepted. This, although it may seem merely elementary justice, was, in fact, a decision of great importance. There have been previous cases of States not members of the League being invited to sit on the Council, but these were cases which arose under article 17 of the Covenant, cases, that is to say, in which States not members of the League but parties to disputes with members of the League, have been invited to accept the obligations of membership of the League for the purpose of settling the dispute, and have done so. In this manner both Lithuania and Finland appeared before the Council before their election to the League. But the case of Hungary was different. Unless there is a dispute likely to endanger the peace there is nothing to bring article 17 into force; and there is no other procedure laid down in the Covenant for conferring temporary membership. In the case before the Council there was no dispute. Both parties had amicably agreed at Venice to refer the question of the Burgenland

frontier to a Frontier Commission and, if they were not satisfied with the finding of that body, to abide by the decision of the Council of the League. The Council's decision created an important and liberal precedent.

There was also an interesting interpretation of the Covenant with regard to the rule of unanimity. The French Government moved the Council for leave to lay before the Permanent Court of Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question "Does the consideration of proposals concerning the organisation and the development of the means of agricultural production, and of all other questions of the same nature, lie within the competence of the International Labour Organisation?" M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Organisation, attended the Council, stated that such competence had never been claimed, and made an impassioned address, the essence of which was that to appeal from the Labour Office to the Court on a question on which they had never claimed to be competent, would only have the effect of discrediting the Labour Organisation. The Marquis Imperiali (Italy) supported M. Thomas. Other members of the Council, notably M. Viviani and M. Hymans, took a different view, but the Marquis Imperiali maintained his attitude. It looked, therefore, as though for want of unanimity the Council would be unable to reach a decision. But the Marquis Imperiali said that so long as his vote and his reasons for voting were recorded in the proceedings, he would not press the matter further, that is to say, he would not claim his right to bar the decision by his adverse vote. By a majority vote the Council agreed to the French proposal, and an important step was taken in procedure.

It is difficult to record the actual results of the Council made in general terms, except by saying that the whole work of the League was definitely advanced by the proceedings. On the questions of Russian Refugees and of the famine in Russia, Dr. Nansen was heard by the Council. In the first case, he reported the collection of a sum of £30,000 from various governmental and private sources, which had enabled him to transfer 1,000 invalids to Bulgaria and to repatriate 1,000 Siberians to Vladivostok. He also reported that, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, he was preparing plans for establishing labour exchanges in various countries with a view to obtaining employment for the refugees. He also referred to the arrangements concluded with the British Government to assume responsibility for 4,500 refugees in Egypt, Cyprus, and Jugo-Slavia, so that by the middle of June they had successfully closed down the refugees camps in Egypt and Cyprus, and had landed in Bulgaria such refugees as were not otherwise provided for, where employment is being found for them. This, in the circumstances, we consider to be satisfactory progress. The decision taken in regard to the famine in Russia, is given on another page.

Satisfactory progress was also reported in connection with the work of the Health Committee, attention being drawn to the great importance of the Conference about to be convened by the French Government to deal with epidemic and other diseases in the Near East, in connection with which the Secretary-General was instructed to place the technical organisations of the League at the disposal of the French Government. Mr. Fisher urged the Council to make an effort to raise the funds necessary for carrying out a modified programme based on the resolutions of the Warsaw Anti-Epidemic Conference, and stated that the British Government held strong views as to the prompt revision of the Health Convention of 1912, which views were shared by the Bureau International d'Hygiène Publique. At the same time, the Council expressed its thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for two gifts to the Health Organisation, of a yearly sum of 30,000 dollars for five years for the purpose of collecting and collating information with regard to the epidemic diseases, and of 60,000 dollars a year for three years to facilitate the exchange of public health personnel.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF EUROPE.

By W. T. LAYTON.

THE experience of the war itself, and the unprecedented economic changes which we have lived through since the Armistice, have taught us all that the institutions of civilised society have a much greater power of resistance to destructive shocks than pure theory would lead us to believe. Moreover, the fact that we have lived through so many crises does seem to have taught this generation the uselessness of panic. It is, however, important that we should not, on this account, become heedless of the signs of coming storms. If we look abroad and weigh carefully the present situation, it is no exaggeration to say that, after three years of experience and of study by the best experts in the world, and in spite of a series of conferences too numerous to recapitulate, Europe is to-day faced with a crisis as severe as any which have occurred since the Armistice. One may go further, and say that potentially the dangers are even greater than ever before, since their cumulative effect is weakening the power of resistance. In saying this, we have chiefly in mind the position of Germany and Austria. Poland, it is true, is also in a condition giving rise to grave anxiety, but some of the other States of Central Europe, thanks to the fact that their economic life is based upon a steadily recovering agricultural production, are undoubtedly better off than three years ago. Germany and Austria, on the other hand, who cannot live on what they produce, are dependent upon the internal and external exchange of commodities, which in turn depends upon an adequate credit organisation and an acceptable currency. In both these countries the failure to find the solution of their respective financial problems has produced a currency depreciation which is throwing their economic organisation into a state of chaos which has grown radically worse in the last two months:—

	Marks to the £.	Krone to the £.
Par value	20'43	24'02
January 1st, 1921	258	1,500
January 1st, 1922	778½	11,000
June 1st, 1922	1,297	48,250
Current quotation (July 19th)	2,190	157,000

In the case of Austria it is admitted that the League of Nations' reform scheme, propounded in the summer of last year, would have had a very fair chance of preventing the present state of collapse. But the claims of various States on Austrian assets blocked the way. It was not until March of this year that the United States agreed to release her claims, and it is only this week that Roumania and Jugoslavia have made the necessary concessions. In the case of the latter States it is impossible to resist the conclusion that, short-sighted and incredible though it may appear to outsiders, they were not unwilling to see Austria reduced to misery. The fall in the mark is the immediate consequence of the failure of the Bankers' Conference in Paris two months ago to suggest an acceptable solution of the Reparation question, and to find a means of putting German obligations on such a basis that an international Loan could be raised to enable her to meet her Reparation payments. This is not the occasion to repeat the well-worn theme of the reparation question, but it may be noted in passing that the recent fall in the mark is almost entirely due to psychological considerations following upon that failure. In certain circumstances the exchange of a country may deteriorate as a direct consequence of an excessive issue of paper money and a rise of internal prices. But, in the present instance, the sequence has been different, the exchange itself being the first to

move. Foreigners who hold marks, or claims convertible into marks, have lost confidence that Germany's financial position will be maintained, and have endeavoured to sell their marks for sterling or dollars. The resulting fall is being promptly followed by a rise of prices within Germany itself, since every German now knows that with a falling mark Germany must pay more for all she imports, and that this will react upon internal prices; and this in its turn calls for the issue of more paper currency.

For Great Britain the significance of current events lies chiefly in the fact that unless Central Europe, and Germany in particular, can be restored to a condition in which something like normal trading can take place, the recovery of trade in Great Britain and in countries overseas, of which there are many small but quite definite signs, will be once more postponed. Recent reports from India, which is our largest single customer, show that conditions there are more hopeful than for two years past. But India sells large quantities of raw cotton, jute, and leather to Germany, and unless she can recover her trade there the present revival will be only a flash in the pan; for if she cannot sell she will not have the wherewithal to buy. This aspect of the trade situation has been so frequently emphasised that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it further here, except to repeat in general terms that, even though the immediate exchange depreciation may not hit Great Britain so seriously as it has done in the past, there is very little prospect of absorbing our million and a half unemployed until the restoration of Central Europe enables international traffic to return to its normal channels.

For France the chief consideration is somewhat different. Our neighbours are at last alive to the possibility that unless some means are found to remedy the present situation, Germany is in danger of going along the same road which has already been followed by Russia and Austria. If this happens her reparation claim will never be recovered; for the debt is an obligation of government, and cannot possibly be enforced by a foreign government against a whole people. At the same time, the fundamental roots of German economic activity will not be destroyed, and the danger France has to face is the creation of a new Germany which will have shaken off the obligations which she incurred as the penalty of her failure to win the war. France is, therefore, for the first time facing the realities of the situation, and is seriously prepared to revise the reparation settlement, provided her own debts are at the same time reconsidered.

The forces in Germany in favour of law and order are, somewhat to the surprise of the investigating committee of the Reparations Commission, seriously endeavouring to meet the obligations of the Government, for they too are seriously alarmed. Once more, therefore, Europe is at the parting of the ways. On the one hand we are faced with the prospect of political disintegration in Germany and Austria, involving the suspension of reconstruction in France and the insolvency of the French Government (with, of course, an inevitable slump in the franc, with all the internal trouble which that will entail), and an indefinite period of trade stagnation for Great Britain; and on the other, an atmosphere favourable to a new attempt to tackle the essential financial problem of international indebtedness. If the latter of these alternatives is to be chosen, it is clear that the initiative must come from Great Britain. A formal advance can hardly come from France, and public opinion in America, though perhaps ready to follow a lead from us, is certainly not sufficiently advanced to take the first step. But our initiative must be a bold one, and take the form of offering to write off our claims on the condition that France agrees to make a final and reasonable settlement with Germany. In 1914 we did not wait for America, and if it we do so now it will involve further delay and misunderstanding. Our offer must express our willingness to surrender our paper claims on France, Italy, and Belgium—claims which

cannot for one moment be defended on any grounds of equity—without regard to whether America is going to demand repayment of our debt to her or not.

But France will not really meet us half way unless an effort is made at the same time to set at rest her fear of Germany; nor will public opinion at home support unreservedly a generous financial offer to France unless the settlement is accompanied by an arrangement which will enable France to cut down the military expenditure which, at the moment, is a more serious cause of her Budget deficit than debts which she is not, in fact, repaying. Herein lies the urgency of recent discussions on disarmament, and particularly of the proposal of Lord Robert Cecil for a European pact which would take the place of the ill-starred tripartite treaty signed at Paris in 1919. It is our interest no less than our duty to make an offer to remit our claims on condition of a scaling down of reparations, and at the same time to urge forward a scheme for limiting armaments and giving security to France. The League of Nations Union has no more urgent task at the moment than that of mobilising public opinion on these two issues.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

ONE of the outstanding events of the month was the meeting in Paris of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, at which Lord Robert Cecil put forward proposals drafted by the League of Nations Union. The deliberations of the Commission are discussed in full in our leading article, but our readers will be interested to see the text of the proposals as recast by a Sub-Commission of the T.M.C., together with a draft treaty, showing how they might be worked out in practice. Formal decision on these proposals has been postponed until the next meeting of the T.M.C.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT.

(Amended Text.)

1. No scheme for the reduction of armaments can ever be successful unless it is general.
2. In the present state of the world, the majority of Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their countries.
3. Such a guarantee can be found in a general defensive agreement between all the countries concerned, binding all or some of them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a prearranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked. In cases, however, where, for historical, geographical or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defence in accordance with the above-mentioned plan.
4. It is understood that the whole of the above resolutions are conditional on a reduction of armaments being carried out on lines laid down beforehand, and on the provision of effective machinery to ensure the realisation and the maintenance of such a reduction.

DRAFT DISARMAMENT TREATY.

I.

The High Contracting Powers hereby agree that if any one of them is attacked all the others will forthwith take such action as may have been agreed upon under article 4 of this treaty, or, if there is no agreement, as may be most effective for the defence of the party attacked, provided that this obligation shall not come into force unless the naval, military and air forces of the party attacked shall have been reduced in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

II.

In consideration of the undertaking contained in the immediately preceding article each of the High Contracting

Powers shall forthwith reduce its naval, military, and air forces in the manner and to the extent set out for each of the High Contracting Powers in the annex hereto.

III.

It shall be the duty of the Permanent Military Commission to take into consideration any circumstance in the international situation which may seem to it likely to disturb the peace of the world, and to advise the Council of the League as to what steps, if any, should be taken to deal with such circumstances in accordance with the general purpose and objects of this treaty.

IV.

LEAGUE ACTION.

In the event of any of the High Contracting Powers regarding itself as menaced by the preparations or action of any other State, whether party to this treaty or not, it may so inform the Secretary General of the League of Nations, who shall forthwith summon a meeting of the Council of the League, and if the Council by not less than three-fourths majority shall be of opinion that there is reasonable ground for thinking that the said preparations or action do constitute a menace as alleged, they shall make such representations to the Governments creating the menace, in respect of such preparations or action, as they may think right, and shall direct the Permanent Military Commission of the League, or a committee thereof, to submit plans for assistance to be given by the High Contracting Powers to the party menaced. Such plans, if approved by a three-fourths majority of the Council, shall forthwith become binding on the High Contracting Powers.

Provided that neither under this nor any other article of this treaty shall any of the High Contracting Powers, not being a European State, be bound to furnish any naval, military, or air force in Europe, or not being an American State in America, or not being an Asiatic State in Asia, or not being an African State in Africa.

V.

Each of the High Contracting Powers agree to receive such naval, military, and air representatives of the League of Nations as the Council may desire to appoint, and undertakes to give to these representatives such facilities and information regarding armaments as the Council may from time to time require. If it shall at any time appear to a majority of the Council that the naval, military, or air forces, or preparations of any of the High Contracting Powers are in excess of those agreed to under the annex to this treaty, the Council shall so inform the party in question, and if the majority of the Council is not satisfied within six months that the naval, military, and air forces of the said party have been brought into accordance with this treaty, they shall suspend the said party from all its rights under this treaty under such conditions as the Council shall think right, and may take any other measures, including, if thought right, a recommendation to the High Contracting Powers that penalties similar to those provided in article 16 of the Covenant, shall be put in force against the said party.

VI.

ADDITIONAL ADHERENTS.

Any member of the League, the United States, Germany, or Russia, not being one of the signatories to this treaty, may adhere to it by giving notice of adherence to the Secretary General of the League, or to each of the High Contracting Powers. Any State may, with the assent of the Council of the League or the High Contracting Powers, adhere conditionally or to part only of the provisions of this treaty, provided always that no such adherence shall be accepted unless the Power so adhering has reduced or is ready to reduce its forces in accordance with the provisions of this treaty.

VII.

Nothing in this treaty shall be deemed to diminish or affect the provisions in the Covenant for maintaining the peace of the world.

VIII.

This treaty shall come into force as soon as . . . of the High Contracting Powers shall have deposited their ratifications of it with the Secretary General of the League at Geneva.

IX.

Any question as to the meaning or effect of this treaty, not being a question whether the naval, military, or air forces,

or preparations of any of the High Contracting Powers are in excess of those agreed to under the annex of this treaty, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose decisions shall be final.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AFRICA.

Another question connected with mandates is that of the Liquor Traffic in Africa. Article 22 of the Covenant requires, for the benefit of the native population in mandated areas, "the prohibition of abuses such as the slave traffic, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic." A Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee has been formed, under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Lugard, to report on the terms of the Convention of September 10th, 1919, relating to the importation of certain spirits into Africa, and to consider their amendment should they be proved to be unsatisfactory.

The results of the Committee's deliberations were placed before the Council of the League at its July Session, and the gist of them was actually embodied in a resolution proposed by Viscount Ishii and unanimously adopted by the Council. The resolution expresses the wish that the Mandatory Powers, in view of the obligations imposed upon them to control this traffic, and in view of the grave dangers of the traffic for the native populations of Central Africa, should do everything in their power to protect the native populations from this danger.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE.

The Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on June 26th, that the British Government would support an application from Germany for admission to the League of Nations, is not only a welcome indication of public opinion, but is an encouragement to the Branches of the League of Nations Union all over the country, which recently deluged the Prime Minister with resolutions urging the Government to take all available steps to induce Germany to apply for admission. Such an indication of the feeling of the country cannot fail to have had an effect on the British Government.

The next step is to give effect to the Prime Minister's declaration. It is to be hoped that Branches will now concentrate on resolutions urging the Government to take every practicable step to give effect to the policy announced by Mr. Lloyd George, by securing Germany's entry at the next Assembly of the League in September.

TWO IMPORTANT CONFERENCES.

The International Peace Congress is meeting in London as we go to press. Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., is taking the chair at the Session on the League of Nations, and Lord Robert Cecil is one of the speakers. Lady Rhondda is taking the chair at a public meeting on Disarmament, and Lord Parmoor at a Session on the Economic Restoration of Europe, at which Sir George Paish is speaking.

On August 24th the 31st Conference of the International Law Association meets at Buenos Aires. The proceedings will include a highly important Conference on the League of Nations. Captain Walter Elliot, M.P., is representing the League of Nations Union at this Conference.

NEW OVERSEAS SECRETARY.

The Union is to be congratulated on having secured the services of Mr. Philip Baker, M.A., as Secretary of the Overseas Committee. After an extremely brilliant University career, in which he won distinction alike in the athletic as in the intellectual sphere, Mr. Baker became First Commandant of the Friends' Ambulance Unit when the war broke out, and served in Italy until 1918. After the formation of the League of Nations he became Director of the Mandates Section, and later Personal Assistant to the Secretary General, Sir Eric Drummond.

Makers of History.

LENIN.

By E. T. RAYMOND.

MOST people will agree that Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianoff, known to the world as Lenin, has established his claim to be discussed as a maker of history. He has made history, indeed, on the mass production scale; and his pseudonym—one of several which he adopted, with no great thought, in the days of his obscure revolutionary preachings and plottings—seems destined to take its place among the dozen or so names which stand for ever in the minds of all men for something definite and commanding, and, even if sinister, august.

But while everybody recognises that Ulianoff has graven this mere pen-name of Lenin in characters which can only be effaced with the destruction of the whole fabric of civilisation as we know it, there are almost as many opinions as men concerning the kind of fame which will be his when the events of the last five or six years fall into their due perspective. To some, possibly, but to very few in Western Europe, he may assume "the awful majesty of a hero," the combined Moses and Joshua of the new social dispensation, the wise revealer of law to the chosen, the ruthless smiter of domestic idolatry and foreign Philistinism. To a much larger body he is the incarnation of pure evil, a new Attila, a hammer of God, the assassin of princes, the desecrator of altars, the universal plunderer and defiler.

Whatever the precise nature of the man, and the ultimate tendency of his work, it is at least certain that something more than accident decided that he, and no other, should carry Russia on the dark and doubtful path along which she has been urged since the Revolution of five years last March. For the most part the Russian Terror resembles the French in this one point, if in no other, that the frightful magnitude of events is in strange contrast with the smallness of the human agents. Even Trotsky, the one figure challenging comparison with Lenin, bears the unmistakable brand of the second-rate; his glib tongue, his waiter-like manners, his hairdresser smartness, his small vanities, his occasional sentimentality, all proclaim a certain cheapness of character. The one thing in which he excels is organisation; he belongs to that dexterous Jewish species which revels in the standardised business, and in standardising Russia—and such a Russia as he found it!—his talent cannot be denied some affinity with genius. But though Trotsky stands out in sharp silhouette from the vague crowd of Komissars and directors who rule Russia, he seems, after all, little but a sharp, ordinary, rather vulgar, urban adventurer in a most extraordinary situation. Lenin, even to those who most detest him, gives a quite different impression. Whatever he may be, he is neither vulgar nor ordinary,



and this quite apart from the fact that he is of technically noble Russian race. His distinction does not derive from the respectability of his origin, or from his liberal education; it is simply the distinction which belongs to any man who is sufficiently possessed with an idea. Lenin is a genuine ideologue, and could be best described as a fanatic, if that word were not so commonly (and erroneously) associated with practical incapacity.

He is a constructive fanatic of the class of Knox and Calvin, and, indeed, he might be worse defined than as an economic and anti-Christian Calvinist. He is first and foremost, like the great early Protestants, anti-historic, anti-traditional, anti-sacramental. Like them he is

anti-democratic, though impressed with a sense of human values, or at least with a hearty hatred of values conceded by custom. While hating aristocracy, capitalism, imperialism, and nationalism, the last thing in which he believes is political equality, and the system which he has striven to establish is simply the supremacy of the elect—a sort of inverted theocracy, not the reign of the saints, but of the doctrinaires. Hence the paradox of a certain approximation to Prussianism on the part of its extreme opposite; hence also that special hatred, which has puzzled so many British observers, for men and institutions which with us stand for the pure milk of the democratic word.

Nevertheless, in all this Lenin was quite logical. His aim was the destruction of capitalism; this destruction was to be accomplished by force; for the proletarian will to be effective capital must be destroyed everywhere; and the idea of a victorious proletarianism was incompatible with that of the survival of nationalities, since the proletariat knows no fatherland. Therefore, the Pacifist, the advocate of disarmament, the League of Nations enthusiast, the "majority" Socialist, the Radical, the Guild Socialist, a "Distributivist" like Mr. Belloc, or a "Collectivist" like Mr. Shaw, were all, if anything, more hateful than the crude Imperialist and Conservative.

That was the Lenin of a year or two ago. But, like the men to whom he has been compared, he mixes with his fanaticism a highly practical faculty, and his doctrinaire enthusiasm has felt the strain of the old order, the passive resistance of the human instincts and habits which his system set out to break down, and more especially the stubborn individualism of the peasants.

Lenin, like others, seems to have recognised that the dream of pure Communism cannot be realised. It remains to be seen how far his statesmanship is capable of evolving a State making smaller demands on human nature, and so modified as to permit of that association and intercourse with the other nations of Europe which Russia, equally with the rest of the world, is beginning to recognise as a necessity. On his success or failure will depend the final verdict of history. History worships success, and it will reckon little of things which have shocked contemporaries if a new Russia, fit to take her place in the new world of Europe, arises on the ruins of the old Empire.

DERBYSHIRE FOR THE LEAGUE

It requires a good deal more than steady torrents of rain to damp the ardour of real enthusiasts for the League of Nations. Londoners proved as much on Saturday, June 24th, when many thousands of them celebrated the signing of the Covenant of the League of Nations at Versailles three years ago by standing under dripping umbrellas in Hyde Park applauding League sentiments at eleven mass meetings. A similar story reaches us from Derbyshire, where the District Council of the League of Nations Union recently arranged a highly successful Demonstration. At least five thousand people gladly endured pouring rain to listen to speeches by the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Roe, the Marquess of Hartington, and Mr. White, M.P., in the grounds of Chatsworth House, the residence of the Duke of Devonshire.

The organisers of the Demonstration planned a successful two days' programme. On June 30th a mass meeting was held in the Central Hall. It had been extensively advertised, and was well attended. Lord Roe, who will shortly celebrate his ninetieth birthday, presided, and gave a delightful opening address; Lord Robert Cecil followed with a forty-five minutes' speech, dealing very effectively with the arguments sometimes put forward against the necessity for a League of Nations, and detailing some of the recent achievements of the League. Lord Robert had a magnificent reception, everyone present rising and cheering him. His speech was followed by an excellent address from the Mayor of Derby (a Labour man), who proposed the main resolution, which was carried unanimously. One of the most pleasing features of the meeting was the attendance of some thirty or forty girls, dressed in white, belonging to the junior branch of the League of Nations Union. These girls sang a number of very appropriate songs with great effect, and were ably conducted by Miss Barber, who teaches history and music at the secondary school, where most of the girls are pupils.

On the following day, Saturday, July 1st, the Chatsworth estate was the scene of a splendid "Rally." At one o'clock, when the gates were opened, crowds poured in, and by about three o'clock some five thousand people had assembled. Two performances of the pageant play, "The Desire of All Nations," were given in the theatre at Chatsworth House, which was packed to overflowing. The play was well produced, and the singing and dancing excellent. Last, came the open-air meeting, the success of which the steady rain was unable to destroy. Lord Robert Cecil spoke with even more than his customary fire and enthusiasm, and his speech was tremendously cheered.

Owing to the weather the grounds were largely deserted, and people gladly availed themselves of the Duke's kind permission to see over Chatsworth House and admire its priceless treasures. The stewards and the staff of the Chatsworth estate did all in their power to make the function a success, and earned the gratitude of all who were able to attend.

The Derbyshire District Council of the League of Nations Union may congratulate themselves upon a most effective educational effort. Over a thousand new members joined the Union as a result, and the results in hard cash also promise well. The Demonstration is to be followed in September by an intensive appeal campaign, for which it will have paved the way.

The success of this particular venture is an additional argument in favour of the extension of District Council organisation. The county of Derby was the first county in England to start a District Council. Buckinghamshire followed. How soon will other rural counties fall into line? A District Council, whose boundaries are not necessarily county boundaries, exists for the purpose of co-ordinating and thus rendering more effective the work of the Branches in the area covered by the Council. The extension of District Council organisation will undoubtedly produce practical proof of the maxim "Union is strength." Nothing less than the

united efforts of the League of Nations Union Branches all over the country can achieve the goal upon which the hearts of all are set.

LABOUR AND THE LEAGUE.

By LOTHIAN SMALL.

At a meeting of the Labour Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union—a committee of eleven members, six nominated by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, two by the Co-operative Union, and three for purposes of liaison, by the Executive Committee of the Union—an important resolution was discussed and adopted under the title "League of Nations and International Labour Organisation." That resolution (to be proposed by the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain and Ireland) now appears on page 14 of the agenda of the Annual Conference of the Trades Union Congress, to be held at Southport in September of this year. The terms of the resolution were:—

"This Congress reaffirms its conviction that in the League of Nations and its International Labour Organisation, strengthened and democratised, exists the most hopeful official machinery for the preservation of international and social peace.

"This Congress calls upon the Government:—

"1. To use the machinery of the League wherever possible in the sphere of international relations, political and economic.

"2. To avow as its policy the extension of membership of the League to include all nations which comply with the conditions of Article 1 of the Covenant.

"3. To press for the limitation of armaments in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant.

"4. To avow the policy that Draft Labour Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conferences shall be submitted to the House of Commons for its opinion before Ministers advise the Crown upon their ratification.

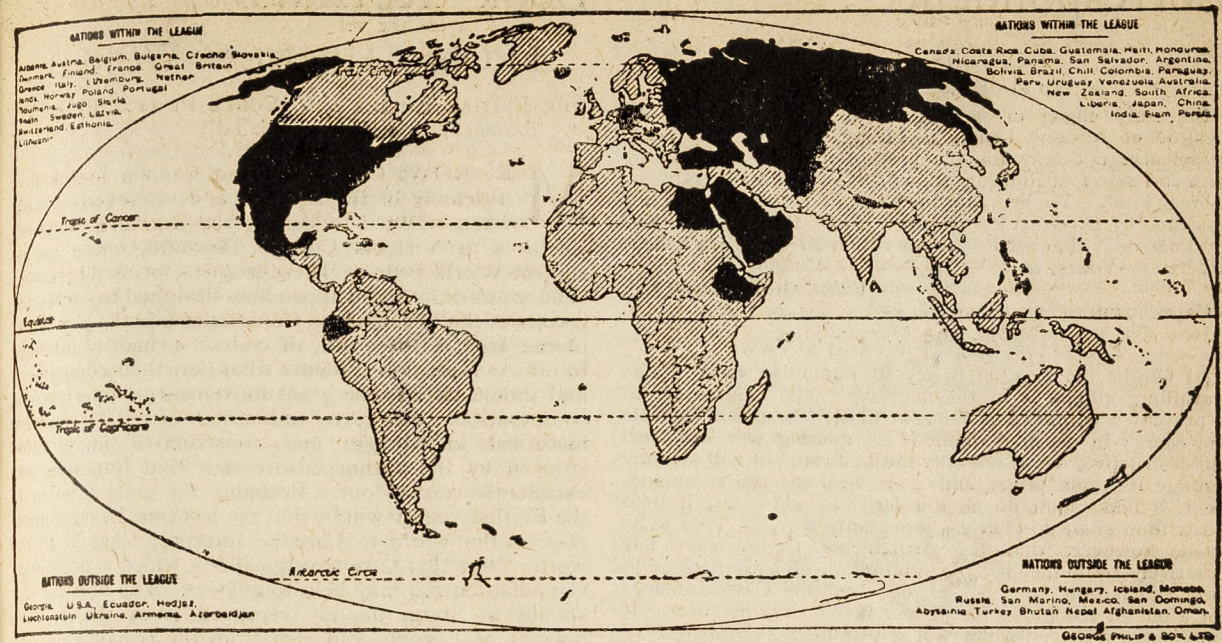
"5. To consider in selecting Great Britain's Delegation to the Assembly, the claim to representation of Labour and Women.

"This Conference urges members of the Labour movement to support the League of Nations Union in its efforts to promote a League of Nations consciousness by educating and mobilising British public opinion in favour of the League of Nations and its International Labour Organisation, and to make a League of Nations policy prevail in the House of Commons."

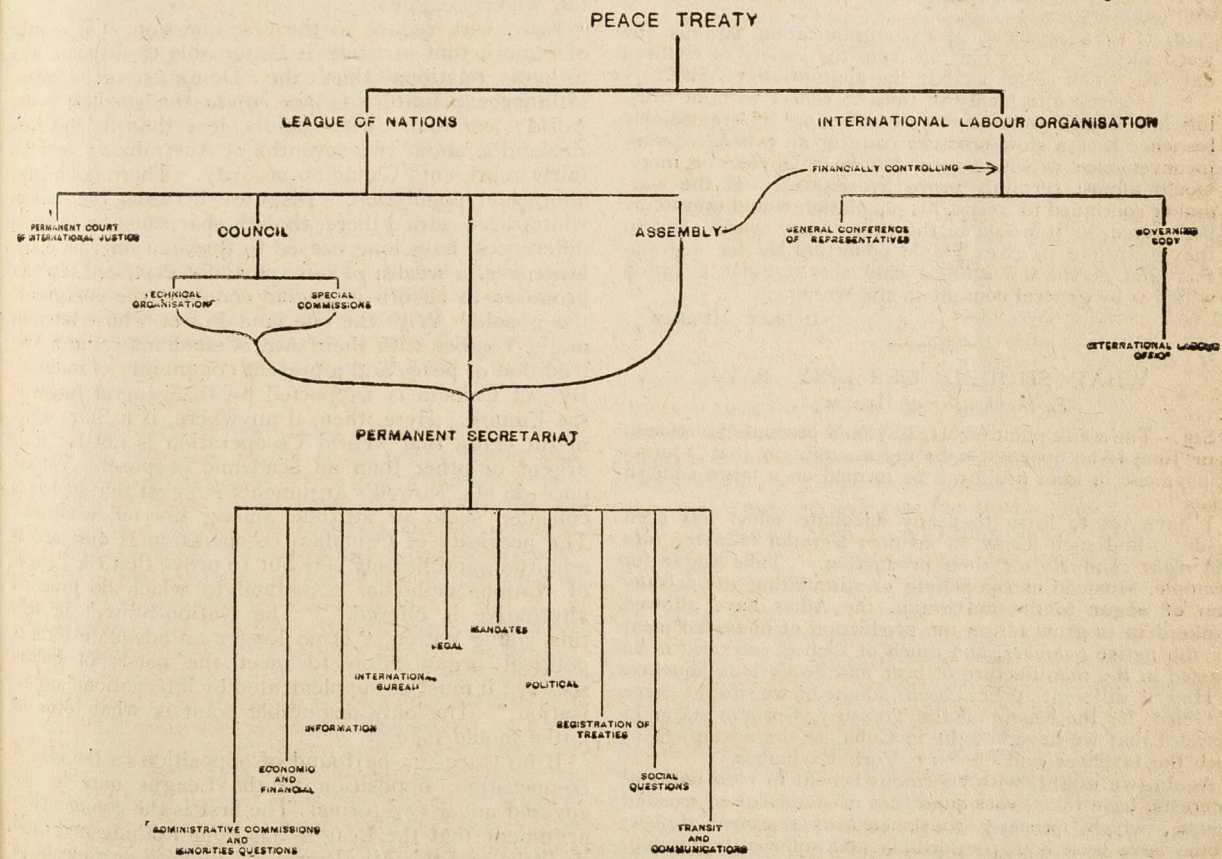
Whether the resolution will be adopted by the Trades Union Conference or not, is, of course, uncertain, but it augurs well for its adoption that the Labour Party, at its Annual Conference in Edinburgh last month, has already adopted, with slight modification, the first two paragraphs of the above resolution.

It is encouraging to believers in the League and the Labour Office, that one of the great political parties of the country should unequivocally have declared itself in favour of our League policy. The Parliamentary activities of the Union will be devoted to securing the adhesion of the other great political parties to a similar policy, but this can only be achieved by the co-operation of citizens who will discuss this policy in the constituencies, and present it as a matter above party considerations to every candidate and every member of Parliament. Members of the political Labour Party should see to it that this declaration of policy of their central organisation is realised and reflected throughout the movement, and members of the other political parties should see that their central organisations do not lag behind the Labour Party in declaring as unambiguously in favour of a League of Nations policy. For the war has shown that there must be forged for the safe and open and peaceful conduct of our international affairs a new instrument of which the League is the beginning, and it would be worse than folly to assume, in developing that new instrument, that the traditional cleavages in our domestic party politics need go on stultifying our national effort in the new order of open diplomacy.

THE WORLD AND THE LEAGUE.



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—Its Growth and Machinery.



WHICH DO YOU PREFER?

This month we replace our usual Cartoon page by a League of Nations Diagram and Map. Whether this change is to be permanent or temporary depends upon our readers. The choice lies between Cartoons illustrating foreign opinion on the one hand, and Maps, Diagrams, Illustrations, &c., on the other. Please let us know which you prefer.

Replies to be sent by POSTCARD ONLY, to

The Editor of HEADWAY,

Castle Court, Poppin's Court, E.C.4.

No replies sent to any other address, or included as part of a letter, can be considered.—EDITOR.

Correspondence.

HUMANISING WAR.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—My object in writing is to ask what steps the League of Nations Union is taking to develop a world conscience, not only for the prevention of war, but also with the object of limiting the effects of the madness when it breaks out. We hear, for instance, of a possible economic blockade of a refractory nation. Does this mean a food blockade and the wholesale starvation of a nation's little children?—Yours, &c.,

RAMSDEN BALMFORTH.

Cape Town.

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY'S VIEW.

(1) Ought the League to try to humanise war? The prevailing opinion is in the negative. The League is out to prevent war, and it is thought that, if it spends its time and energy in devising methods for making war less cruel and destructive, it will not only fail to do so, but will actually damage its main propaganda. It weakens the commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder" to add "Or, if thou must, thou shalt do it in a gentlemanly way." It is to be noted, however, that the Armaments Commission has tentatively recommended the prohibition of poison gases in war, and it may be fairly argued that the Covenant does not after all absolutely forbid war in all circumstances. It contemplates the possibility of a dispute which resists all conceivable means of settlement. If in those conditions a war arises, might not the League legitimately try to regulate it?

(2) The economic blockade contemplated in Article 16 is the special weapon of coercion devised by the League. Its advantages are:—

(a) It is a sentence of excommunication against the war-maker. It cuts him off from the society of civilised nations, which seems exactly the appropriate penalty.

(b) It gives him plenty of time to reflect without causing in the meantime any acute suffering or irremediable breach. It is a slow pressure causing an ever-increasing inconvenience which, in the course of a year or more, would almost certainly prove irresistible. If the war-maker continued to resist, his population would eventually be starved, as it would in the case of any war. But in the meantime it gives ample opportunities for negotiation and persuasion, and it only acts against a nation which is by general consent in the wrong.

GILBERT MURRAY.

WHAT SHOULD GERMANY PAY?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The weak point of Mr. Layton's pessimistic letter in your June issue appears to be his assumption that "forms of payment in kind could not be formed on a large enough scale."

I have yet to learn that any adequate effort has been made to find such forms, or to turn German industry into the right channels for their production. Take sugar for example. Instead of compelling or stimulating the production of sugar to the maximum, the Allies have allowed Junkerdom to grow fat on the production of home-fed meat for the native *Schieber*, and much of such is produced to be wasted in the manufacture of beer and deleterious liqueurs.

Had a different policy been adopted, we might have obtained, for the benefit of the Treasury, German sugar in place of that we have bought in Cuba, to the advantage of both the taxpayer and the New York Exchange.

Again, we might, with enormous benefit to vital national interests, have taken vast quantities of standardised wooden houses, which, properly constructed of seasoned timber, would have been both comfortable and sufficiently durable, and thus kept down the ruinous cost of the British-made article.

It is not too late, even now, to do something sensible in such directions as these.

The result of the policy of extorting cash and leaving the resulting imports to luck is that we are now buying fish from German trawlers, while the brave men who manned our mine-sweepers stand often unemployed, and the German people go short of fish.—Yours, &c.,

OSWALD EARP.

10, Elmcroft Street, E.5.
June 24th, 1922.

Book Reviews.

FROM THE NEW WORLD.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND WORLD PEACE. BY N. W. ROWELL. (Milford. 12s. 6d.)

MR. ROWELL represented Canada in the first Assembly of the League, and in November last, when selected to deliver the Barwash Memorial Lectures at Victoria College, Toronto, chose as his subject World Peace. These lectures, printed here with sundry alterations and appendices designed to survey the results of the Washington Conference and the provisions of the Irish Treaty, are, of course, primarily intended to inform Canadian students what part their country can and should take in the great movement of international co-operation. The rare combination of critical acumen, historical knowledge, and constructive imagination enjoyed by the author ensure that that intention was excellently carried out. Probably the chief interest to the English reader will be that the lectures, besides interpreting the world to Canada, interpret Canada to the world. For there are two questions which a prominent Canadian citizen may help to answer. The first is, why should a State, happily removed from the tangled policies of Europe, and also from the responsibility of administering savage or half-civilised or differently civilised races, bother about world co-operation at all? The second is, how can a member of the British Commonwealth adjust its liabilities to membership of the wider League?

Now, with regard to the first question, it is worthy of remark that no state is better able to dispense with foreign relations than the Dominion of Canada. Military expenditure is *per capita* the smallest in the world; less than Switzerland's, less than half of New Zealand's, about two-sevenths of Australia's; and this fairly represents Canadian security. There is no large aboriginal population. Disputes between the various white races settled there, though sharpened by religious differences, have long ceased to threaten internal order. Moreover, a wealth of only partially exploited territory promises to absorb in pacific conquest the energies of the people. With the one land Power whose interests might conflict with their own, Canadians count a long tradition of peace and a present community of interests. By sea Canada is supported by the general forces of the Empire. Here, then, if anywhere, is a State which might claim that World Co-operation is not for it an urgent or other than an academic proposal. Yet not once do Mr. Rowell's arguments suggest that he has to consider such an attitude among his fellow-citizens. The necessity of Canadian co-operation is assumed as admitted, and he only sets out to prove that the League of Nations embodies a method to which no practical alternative is offered. "The Nation-State," he tells this young nation, "is no longer an adequate form of political organisation to meet the needs of human society; it must be supplemented by international organisation." The only disputable point is what form the latter should take.

If no trace can be found of opposition to the idea of co-operation, opposition to the League may be discovered under two forms. The first is the commonplace argument that the League has done nothing and could do little, and this Mr. Rowell meets with arguments, or rather facts, equally familiar. The second is that membership of the League is either superfluous or hostile to the bonds of the Empire. The British Empire is a working, successful, and historic League with mainly pacific aims. Will your wider, feebler association do more, and will it not tend to dissolve this practical commonwealth on behalf of impracticable ideals? Mr. Rowell destroys this specious but unreal antithesis. Nothing, certainly, is to be gained by the "Balkanisation of the British Empire. The problem of

East and West would be brought no nearer a solution should India, South Africa, and Australia own no common allegiance and no longer meet at the common council table," for example. Our Commonwealth and the United States of America are, amid the break-up of empires and the dissolution of loyalties, the two greatest forces making for security and stabilisation. But the League is not destined to become a sectional association, a mark of comparative peace in a turbulent world; "the League can never achieve fully the high purpose for which it was formed unless it includes in its membership all the principal Powers." The League which will be, not the League as it grows, must be considered, and that League is no less compatible with the British Empire than the Empire itself with the autonomy of its component States.

In his concluding pages Mr. Rowell approaches the religious and moral implications of his theme. He is quite right to approach them last, not because they are necessarily the least important, but because the pseudo-realist can so easily denounce hopes of international co-operation as very wise in theory, but. . . . Though coming latest to the religious side, Mr. Rowell is not apologetic nor perfunctory. "The League's ideals of peace, justice, and international co-operation are the ideals of humanity; they are also the basic ideals of the Christian Church. There is no organised agency in Christian lands which can render a greater service in promoting those ideals and in creating that public opinion than the Church. . . . We require a new international ethic. Is the Church prepared to undertake this great commission given her by her Founder nearly nineteen centuries ago?"

This book should be in the hands of all followers of the League ideal, as it is both one of the best expressions of the policy which the League's founders envisaged, and a golden example of what lines propaganda should follow. This interweaving of thought and observation sets a model for all controversy.

H. C. H.

LABOUR AND THE LEAGUE.

LABOUR'S MAGNA CHARTA: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LABOUR CLAUSES OF THE PEACE TREATY AND OF THE DRAFT CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WASHINGTON INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE. BY ARCHIBALD CHISHOLM. Second Edition. (Longmans. 8s. 6d.)

MR. CHISHOLM has made a valuable contribution to the literature which is gathering round the International Labour Office. His book is based on lectures given in the University of Glasgow to officers and men of the United States Army. It is a little academic in style, but contains much that is excellent, both in the collection of facts and in the recommendations which it offers.

The chapter which will be read with most interest by those who have at heart the welfare of the workers, is that upon "An Adequate Wage." The workers are right in regarding an adequate wage as the main object towards which their efforts should be directed; higher wages imply higher possibilities of life in every direction. When men are well paid they become able to acquire knowledge and can protect their interests against those who would exploit them. They acquire power which

enables them to press for reforms to protect their health and to secure themselves against unemployment.

The matter of wages is dealt with explicitly in the Peace Treaty. "Payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life" is mentioned in Article 427 among the "principles which seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance." Up to the present time the matter has not been touched upon by the three Conferences which have been held already, at Washington, Genoa, and Geneva. Mr. Chisholm's chapter is a review of the situation, more particularly of the difficulties which beset reform, due to the undeveloped state of industry in distant countries, such as Japan. When this question does come before the Conference, there will certainly be strong differences of opinion, and the debates will reach a pitch of vehemence which will make everything that has taken place hitherto seem tame by comparison. We could have wished that Mr. Chisholm, with his wide experience, had put forward some suggestions for overcoming the great difficulties which will certainly arise in the future in establishing all over the civilised world an adequate minimum wage.

Some of the other chapters in the book are on subjects which are hardly less vital than that of wages. Among them may be mentioned those on the "Employment of Women and Children," and on the "Prevention of Unemployment." On both these topics the Conferences of Washington and Geneva have done good practical work; conventions and recommendations have been formulated, which have in many countries been embodied in legislation. On these, and on other questions, such as "Freedom of Association" and "Equal Pay for Equal Work," Mr. Chisholm has given us a scholarly survey of the conditions of the problems, and summarised clearly what has been done so far towards providing solutions.

H. S.

THE WEAPON OF THE STRIKE. BY ARTHUR PATERSON. With foreword by SIR W. P. RYLANDS and the RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

THE author of this excellent book is Secretary of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, and is therefore able to take an impartial view of the history of those lamentable industrial conflicts which we call "strikes." The book is really a history of strikes from the earliest times to the present day. Mr. Paterson begins his survey by noticing the famous dispute in the brick-making industry which took place in Egypt some thousands of years ago, and is recorded so vividly in the chapters of Genesis, and ends it with the troubles which have recently taken place in our own country as a result of the post-war depression of trade. Although the purpose of Mr. Paterson's book is primarily instructional, it gives valuable assistance to the cause of industrial peace. Strife is the twin-brother of ignorance. Mr. Paterson, by illuminating these dark places of history, is helping the men of goodwill who wish to make strife impossible. It would be easy to show how close is the parallel between the work of conciliation in the field of labour with that which the League of Nations undertakes in the field of international relationships. In both cases there is a need for a superior judicial power, armed, not necessarily with material force, but certainly with moral authority; in both there is need for impartial investigation, which will set forth plainly the facts of the present and the records of the past; in both there is needed an organisation which will bring into one focus the zeal of those who desire peace and progress, and the knowledge of those who are qualified to advise on the difficult problems which beset us. And in some respects an even closer relationship can be traced between the two spheres of activity. In the past the chief aims of the strike have been to increase

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

Let France Explain.
By FREDERICK BAUSMAN. 10s. 6d.
"An indictment of the French policy. His case is closely documented, and, if we are not mistaken, he has put his finger on the questions which must for years to come disquiet the conscience of Europe."—Nation.

International Government.
By LEONARD S. WOOLF. Revised Edition. 7s. 6d.
Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1.

wages and to shorten the hours of labour. The latter question has been taken up earnestly by the Labour organisations, and important measures have already been adopted as the result of its efforts. In the future it will doubtless take up the question of wages which is expressly mentioned by the Peace Treaty as a matter which the International Labour Organisation is to keep in view. If the League of Nations can secure "the provision of an adequate living wage," as the framers of the Peace Treaty hoped, the main cause of strikes will be removed for ever.

H. St.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

AFRICA IN THE MAKING. BY H. D. HOOPER. (United Council for Missionary Education. 2s.)

THIS little book, which is primarily of interest to the supporters of Christian Missions, is concerned only with what may be termed Negro Africa, i.e., the South and Centre of the Continent; the North and North-East portions being excluded from its scope. The chief matter with which it deals is the civilisation of the negro—the problem of raising the black races from savagery to civilisation by religious, political, and economic measures. In this connection the author has given us interesting chapters on the "Leaven of Racial Consciousness," "Paganism," and "Mohammedanism." Even more interesting, perhaps, for the student of international affairs are Mr. Hooper's two chapters on "Commerce and Government," in which he sketches the opening-up of Africa and the progress of British colonisation, and in which he suggests the grave problems which will arise when a national consciousness has been developed in the negro race. At present the negro can make no effective resistance to the appropriation of his country by European settlers in those districts which are suitable for settlement, and the exploitation of sources of wealth in the hotter districts, where white immigration upon a large scale is impossible. But will this attitude of non-resistance continue indefinitely? Shall we not, in the future, be faced with a movement of Africa for the Africans? And then what attitude will be taken towards the movement by the League of Nations? Will the principles of self-determination which have been adopted in reference to white countries be applied to those in which negroes are in a vast majority, though excluded at present from all political power? The work of the missionary and the educator, of which Mr. Hooper speaks with generous enthusiasm, may have results in the future which will cause much perplexity to statesmen.

H. St.

SHORTER NOTICES.

ASIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. BY M. MAHMOOD. With a foreword by LORD ROBERT CECIL. ("Oxford Chronicle," Oxford. 2s.)

Mr. Mahmood is the first Student-President of the Oxford International "Assembly," which is based on the League Assembly at Geneva. In his foreword Lord Robert Cecil describes this pamphlet as the able production of an Oxford student of Indian race, and shows that it demonstrates the remarkable unity of aspiration of all labourers in the cause of peace all the world over. Those who wish to realise what the League means to India and to the East generally cannot do better than read Mr. Mahmood's pamphlet.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN THE FAR EAST. BY STANLEY K. HORNBECK. (Appletons. 15s.)

The strong international bias of the Chinese nation makes her one of the most interesting of the Eastern members of the League, and most worthy of study by Western nations. Students of the Far East will find Professor Hornbeck's comprehensive volume a valuable addition to their library, dealing as it does with current political institutions and tendencies in China and Japan.

42/- "Mattamac" (Reg'd) 19-OUNCE Featherweight Stormproof

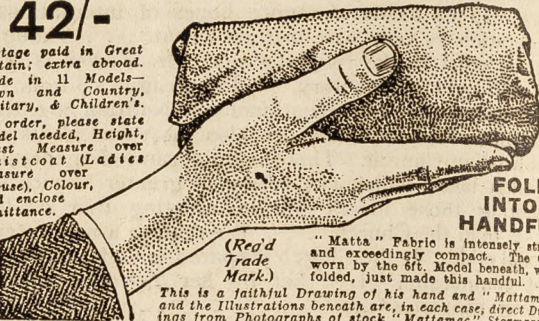
Don't risk disappointment with an imitation. Get the genuine "Mattamac" Stormproof which is labelled "Mattamac" beneath the coat-hanger. That is your safeguard against the man who thinks more of his profit than of your satisfaction.

A "Mattamac" is identical in appearance with the usual five-guinea Weatherproof. In utility also, it equals its much more costly Competitor. It wears as long, weighs one third, and is absolutely Waterproof. Light and compact folding, Wind, Chill and Wet proof, a "Mattamac" is the ideal Coat for Holiday Wear. Take one with you this Summer, and never mind the Rain.

19 OUNCES WEIGHT Three ounces heavier than an umbrella.

42/-

Postage paid in Great Britain; extra abroad. Made in 11 Models—Town and Country, Military, & Children's. To order, please state Model needed, Height, Chest Measure over Waistcoat (Ladies measure over Blouse), Colour, and enclose remittance.



FOLDS INTO A HANDFUL

"Mattamac" Fabric is intensely strong and exceedingly compact. The Coat worn by the 6ft. Model beneath, was folded, just made this handful.

This is a faithful Drawing of his hand and "Mattamac" and the Illustrations beneath are, in each case, direct Drawings from Photographs of stock "Mattamac" Stormproofs.

Thrown over the arm, the 19-oz. "Mattamac" is almost weightless. It can be carried as easily as an umbrella, or folded to fit into the jacket pocket, or Atchulé Case, when the Sun shines.

"MATTA" FABRIC (Registered)

from which "Mattamac" Weathercoats are entirely made, is a light-weight, closely-woven, intensely-strong and compact-folding material. It is tough, "clean" wearing, and absolutely waterproof—so waterproof that even wind-driven rain cannot penetrate a "Mattamac."

8 SHADES, 40 SIZES.

The unbelted "Mattamac" is made for Adults at 42/-, and for Children at prices according to size.

Conduit Street, its Birthplace and the Overcoat centre of the World, is represented in the graceful, tailored "hang," wide skirt, easy Raglan shoulders, & roomy "under-arms."

Each "Mattamac" has wind-strapped adjustable cuffs, perpendicular pockets, lined shoulders, is conscientiously finished in all details, and is guaranteed to be made entirely from the genuine all-weather-proof "Matta" (Reg'd) Fabric.



Wide-skirted Horseback Fawn (22 oz.) Model, 59/6. With Belt (24 oz.), 65/-
Drawn from actual Photos of stock "Mattamac" Stormproofs, at 42/- each.
Belted Models, 47/6. Made in Fawn, Olive, Tan, Grey, Black, and Blue Shades for Adults, and also for Children of all ages at size prices.

SENT TO YOU ON SEVEN DAYS' FREE APPROVAL.

You can satisfy yourself about a "Mattamac" in actual wear. Each Coat is sent out subject to return within 7 days of receipt in exchange for the full purchase price. You take no risk in buying a "Mattamac"; if you do not like it you need not keep it. You can safely order now, without awaiting Booklet.

"MATTAMAC" ART BOOKLET SENT POST FREE.

Send p.c. for the "Mattamac" Booklet, "42 B," and colour patterns of "Matta" Fabric in Fawn, Olive, Grey, Tan, Black and Blue shades. This Booklet illustrates Town and Sporting Unbelted Models (42/-), Belted Models (from 47/6), the wide-skirted (22 oz. weight) Equestrian "Mattamac" (59/6), and Children's Models for all ages at size prices. Write for Booklet "42 B" and Patterns of "Matta" Fabric, Ordering Forms, etc., to the Sole Manufacturers of "Mattamac" Stormproofs, or inspect Models at either of the "Mattamac" Showrooms:

PEARSON BROTHERS 45, CONDUIT ST., LONDON, W.1

Midland Showrooms at 134, New St. (opp. Corporation St.); Birmingham.

NEWS FROM OVERSEAS.

Australia.

Successful meetings have been held this year by the Victoria League of Nations Union, resulting in a more generous recognition by the Press of the Union and its activities and in the securing of the first public address in Melbourne on the Washington Conference from Senator Pearce, the Australian representative. It is proposed to hold a public discussion on Australian representation at the next Assembly, and aiming at helping to secure a delegation that shall be adequate. The desirability of including women in the delegation would be one of the matters discussed.

At the instance of the South Australian Branch of the Australian L.N.U. the Director of Education has consented to issue to the State School teachers in South Australia suitable material with instructions as to the enlightenment of their pupils in the matter of the League of Nations.

South Africa.

An inquiry has been received from the Prime Minister's office, Cape Town, regarding the kind of literature sent out to League of Nations Union Branches.

Canada.

We learn from the Canadian Society's Bulletin that Branches have so far been established in Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Montreal. A Branch is forming in Halifax.

An appeal for support and funds signed by the Prime Minister, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Hon. Dr. H. S. Boland, Hon. N. W. Rowell, Hon. Sir George Foster and Rt. Hon. C. J. Doherty has been issued on the same lines as that signed by Mr. Lloyd George, Viscount Grey, Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, J. R. Clynes and Lord Robert Cecil.

Sir Robert Borden and Sir George Foster continue their speaking and working activities in connection with the Society.

The Executive Meeting held on June 12th was a great success. The cable message from the Duke of Devonshire was received with much appreciation, and a personal letter of thanks has been sent to the Duke by Sir Robert Borden. His Excellency Baron Byng of Vimy was present at the meeting, and expressed himself in warm sympathy with the objects of the Society. The presence of Sir Herbert Ames was greatly appreciated. The Secretary informs us that Sir George Foster and the Hon. N. W. Rowell will be in England during the summer.

India.

Mr. Mir Mahmood, who succeeded Professor Gilbert Murray as President of the Oxford International Assembly, is shortly returning to India, and has the intention of carrying out a scheme for an educational campaign to evoke an international spirit in his people. He has just produced a booklet, entitled "Asia and the League of Nations," which is being translated into Chinese, Japanese, and Persian.

Bahama Islands.

A Branch of the Union has been formed in the Bahamas. This is the first Branch the Union has formed outside the British Isles. It is hoped that the Colonies will follow suit, and that we shall soon have our work carried on in all parts of the Empire by our Branches even as it is at home. The Federated Malay States will soon follow suit by the formation of a Branch in Singapore.

Readers of HEADWAY are invited to write to their friends in the Dominions asking them to join the societies mentioned below, and if possible, form branches of them in their own neighbourhoods.

The New Zealand Society is the latest to come into existence, and has been carrying on an intense propaganda in many places in both islands. The leading spirit in the movement is Professor Pringle of Otago University.

AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

- 1. South Australian Branch: Secretary—Alec Walker, 55, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 2. New South Wales Branch: Secretary—V. J. Rundell Miles, University Chambers, Phillip Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

Printers
BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT
TO THE MEN OF
BEST BUSINESS

The Pelican Press
2 CARMELITE STREET, E.C.
CITY 1811

ALL THINKING MEN
and women are earnestly
asked to help the work of

**THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
WAIFS & STRAYS SOCIETY**

Over 25,000 children rescued and trained. 4,200 now in the Homes. Gifts gratefully received and further information gladly supplied by Secretary, Rev. W. Fowell Swann, M.A., Old Town Hall, Kennington Road, London, S.E. 11. Bankers: Messrs. Barclay, Ltd., Kennington.

**THE RACE MARCHES
FORWARD ON THE FEET
OF LITTLE CHILDREN**

3. Victoria Branch: Secretary—J. W. Colville, 578, St. Kilda Road, Melbourne, Victoria.
4. Queensland Branch: Lieut. E. Gall, Box 421, G.P.O., Brisbane, Queensland.
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA.
General Secretary: H. D. Robertson, 106, McKinnon Building, Toronto.
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION OF NEW ZEALAND.
Dunedin Branch: c/o Professor W. Henderson Pringle, University of Otago, Dunedin.
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
Secretary: J. C. Merkin, P.O. Box 1001, Johannesburg.
Pretoria Branch: Rev. S. N. Bishop, The Vicarage, Arcadia, Pretoria.
Grahamstown Branch: Lord Bishop of Grahamstown, Grahamstown.

League of Nations Union Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November, 1918	...	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	...	135,450
July 22nd, 1922	...	...	...	196,344

The four best countries so far as membership of the Union is concerned are:—

Westmorland	...	1 member for every 50 of population.
Oxfordshire	...	1 " " " 76 " "
Cambridgeshire	...	1 " " " 90 " "
Northamptonshire	...	1 " " " 90 " "

Month by month in this column we shall record in future the three countries which have made the best progress.

The following is the record for the United Kingdom on a population basis:—

	Jan. 1st, 1922.	July 22nd, 1922.
England	... 1 in 252	1 in 206
Scotland	... 1 " 1975	1 " 1505
Wales	... 1 " 368	1 " 309

* * * *

Corporate Members.

New Corporate Members have been registered as follows: Bath, Beechen Cliff United Methodist Church; Batley, Co-operative Society; Bradford, Great Horton Prim. Meth. Young Men's Class; Bristol, Temple or Holy Cross Church; Hull, Queen's Hall Mission; London, Association of Jewish Friendly Societies, Achei Ameth Friendly Society, Cigarette Makers and Tobacco Cutters Divisional Society, The David Wolfsohn Zionist Lodge No. 9 (Grand Order Sons of Jacob); Louth, Wesleyan Methodist Church; Romford, Congregational Church; Trowbridge, North Bradley Baptist Church.

* * * *

Branches.

On July 22nd there were 908 recognised Branches, together with 42 Junior Branches and 109 Corporate Members.

* * * *

Shakespeare Helps.

The performance of the production by the Newbury Girls School of an amended version of "Earth and Her Children," preceded by two scenes from Shakespeare's "Henry VIII.," resulted in £37 being sent to Headquarters and £15 being handed to the local branch of the League of Nations Union. This is a correction of the notice which appeared in our July issue.

* * * *

Great Activity in Wales.

The work in Wales is forging ahead in fine style. At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council most encouraging reports were presented of the progress in the work in all parts of the Principality and in Monmouthshire. Many new Branches are being formed, and preparations are well in hand for demonstrations throughout Wales in the months of October and of November. A huge demonstration is being arranged to take place at Llandudno on the eve of Armistice Day when Lord Robert Cecil will speak. And another demonstration will be held in South Wales towards the end of October, and the Welsh Federation of Head Teachers has invited Professor Gilbert Murray to address the teachers of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire at a meeting to be held in Cardiff on October 14th.

It was reported at the Executive that Sir Herbert Cory, Bart., had accepted the Hon. Treasurership of the Welsh Council, and that Captain Frederick Evans, who has had a distinguished career both in the war and at Cambridge, had been appointed as Organiser and Travelling Secretary. Colonel David Davies, M.P., the Chairman of the Welsh Council, intends going on tour throughout Wales in the autumn, so that an opportunity may be given to the secretaries of the branches to meet in various centres and to discuss the furtherance of the movement.

As a result of the Gregynog Conference, when Dr. Maxwell Garnett met a number of leading educationalists in Wales, an Advisory Education Committee has been set up, and it has already drafted a series of resolutions on "The Teaching of History in Schools."

On July 13th, Colonel David Davies gave a dinner at the House of Commons to the Welsh Members of Parliament, at which the Hon. Director for Wales, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, spoke. A desire was expressed for the formulating of a scheme whereby all the Representatives for Wales in Parliament may be brought into close contact with the organisation of the League of Nations Union in Wales.

Arrangements are being made for the Union to be represented by a stall at the Agricultural Show at Wrexham, with the assistance of the ladies of the Wrexham Branch, and at the National Eisteddfod at Ammanford, the first week in August, there will be performances of J. O. Francis's Pageant "The Crowning of Peace," in a marquee specially erected by the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union.

* * * *

Model "Assembly" at Edinburgh.

The Edinburgh University Branch recently held an Assembly modelled on that of the League at Geneva. About twenty-five countries were represented in most cases by their own nationals. Numbers of students and also the general public were present. An application by Germany for admission to the League was discussed and finally agreed to without dissent.

Other matters considered were the Genoa Conference and a protest by the Indian Delegation against the non-representation of India on the International Labour Office. After an interesting, and at times excited, discussion the motion that India be represented was carried by 24 votes to 5.

The Assembly as a whole was characterised by sincerity and earnestness in support of the League and its ideals. The delegates from other countries (notwithstanding the difficulty of speaking in a foreign tongue) made interesting and telling speeches. The audience was enthusiastic, and the experiment so successful that it is intended to continue holding meetings on similar lines next session.

* * * *

League Wins First Prize.

At an exhibition organised by the Youlgrave, Derbyshire, Red Triangle Club, the League of Nations Union Branch won the First Prize for three excellent and realistic tableaux representing Peace and Plenty, the League of Nations, and War and its Results.

* * * *

Studying "Headway."

The Secretary of the Brighton Branch writes: "At our own church we have a 'Young Men's Fellowship,' and a lady spoke on the League of Nations two Sundays ago. The outcome is that the current 'HEADWAY' will be the subject one Sunday each month next session."

* * * *

Huge Meeting at Aberystwyth.

The Aberystwyth Branch commemorated the signing of the League Covenant by a meeting at the New University Hall, which was so crowded that, although the seating capacity is 3,000, hundreds were turned away.

* * * *

Sir Alfred Warren at Fleet.

On June 28th, Sir Alfred Warren addressed the senior children of the Primary Schools in Fleet on the League, and held a most successful meeting.

* * * *

A Cathedral Service.

An Sunday evening, July 9th, after the evening service, Mr. Frederick Whelen spoke in Newcastle Cathedral by the special permission of the Bishop of the Diocese. There were about 1,500 present. In this connection it is interesting to note that already six parishes in the Newcastle Rural Deanery, including the Cathedral Church Council, have

CHECKED BUT NOT STOPPED

Dr. Nansen, at a Meeting of the League of Nations Council, stated that the famine in Russia had been "Checked" by the prospects of a fairly good harvest, but it would be

A TRAGIC MISTAKE

to imagine that the crisis had passed. More than 2,000,000 have died from starvation. Disease coupled with starvation has destroyed many millions more. Twenty millions are so reduced by privation that their producing capacity is greatly lowered.

WHERE IS KUSTANAI?

Kustanai is a district beyond the Ural Mountains, extending a distance equal to that from the Thames to the Tweed. The conditions in this district are appalling, and until recently, no relief work had been done at all. We have decided to accept responsibility for feeding as many as possible of the starving men, women and children in this unhappy district, *but we must have your help.*

OUR WORK MUST GO ON

This appeal is issued by the FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE, which is co-operating with the Save the Children Fund and the Russian Famine Relief Fund in the All-British Appeal for the Russian Famine. Donations, which may, if desired, be earmarked for any of these Funds, should be sent to the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 10, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

Gifts in kind and clothes (new or partly worn) may be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.A.

become corporate members of the Union. It is hoped that more of the Free Churches in the district will shortly follow this example.

Sidcup Demonstration.

On Wednesday, June 28th, Captain A. E. W. Thomas presided at a demonstration organised by the Sidcup Branch. Many children took part in the demonstration, and there was a band of fifty-one girls each representing a country in the League and dressed in native costume. The local band turned up, several waggons decorated with bunting, and the local fire brigade, helmeted and hatcheted, arrived, complete with fire engine. Owing to the weather the demonstration had to collect in a hall, and Mr. Everitt Reid addressed an audience there of some 500 people all told, a large proportion of the audience being children.

United Service at Ealing.

A remarkable service was held at the Palladium, after church hours, on Sunday, July 9th. The huge theatre was filled. The Mayor presided, Anglican and Free Church clergy took part in the service, the band of the Salvation Army accompanied the singing, and Sir Alfred Warren, M.P., delivered the address. Altogether one of the biggest meetings ever held in Ealing.

Poster Propaganda.

The Committee of the Loughton Branch have acquired a site for a placard on Loughton Station which it is proposed to use for announcements of such branch meetings as are held from time to time. In the intervals between meetings the Branch will exhibit a poster giving particulars of the objects of the Union together with the name and address of the local secretary.

League of Nations Day Demonstrations.

Reports of splendidly successful Demonstrations throughout the country on League of Nations Day continue to come in. At Poole, Dorset, the Mayor and Corporation marched in procession on their roads, and about 500 people were present. At Leicester and at Newcastle the Demonstrations were an immense success, in spite of very bad weather. At Bristol 1,000 people braved the rain, and the same number attended the Garden Fête at Bradford, at which the Lord Mayor was the principal speaker. At Birmingham 12,000 people were present at the Bournville Demonstration on June 25th.

Brentwood for the League.

Brentwood Branch held its first Annual Meeting recently, when Miss Nancy Maurice, daughter of Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, spoke on the League. A League essay competition has recently been held in Brentwood in the elementary schools.

Obituary.

We very much regret to learn of the death of the Rev. J. Solon Rees, D.D., the initiator and Secretary of the Bishop Auckland and District Branch. Good causes had in him a generous, wise, and sympathetic friend, and his loss will be keenly felt.

League of Nations Film.

The League of Nations Union's new one-reel film, entitled "World Peace," was shown at the "Daily Express" Woman's Exhibition at Olympia on July 14th. The Viscountess Gladstone, who has just returned from visiting Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, also spoke at this meeting on "The Humanitarian Activities of the League." Dr. C. W. Kimmins was in the chair.

The Union had a stall at the Exhibition, decorated with the flags of the fifty-one countries belonging to the League, where many surprising facts were attractively presented.

M. Viviani on the League.

On July 20th the League of Nations Union gave a dinner at the Hotel Cecil in honour of M. Viviani, the representative of France on the League Council, who was accompanied by Mme. Viviani. Lord Robert Cecil presided, and Major-General Seely, M.P. proposed the toast, "The Council of the League of Nations." In the course of his speech General Seely expressed his belief that if France and England could agree on any policy of mutual achievement in Europe, the United States would sooner or later come in and help them.

In responding, M. Viviani made a most eloquent speech. Difficult as was the task of the League, he declared, let them take encouragement from the knowledge that it was much to bring another stone to the edifice which the League was raising in the cause of humanity.

Amongst those present were the French Ambassador and the Comtesse de Saint-Aulaire, the Japanese Ambassador, the Brazilian Ambassador, the Chinese Ambassador, the Ministers for Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, Lord Queensborough, Lord and Lady Emmott, Sir Eric Drummond, Admiral Segrave and Mrs. Philip Snowden.

League Missionaries in Rural Districts.

A member of the Executive Committee of one of our Branches sends a suggestion which might well be adopted by town Branches. A great need exists for bringing to the notice of the rural population of the country the aims and objects of the League, for in country districts the League is still almost unknown. Our correspondent suggests that business or professional men and women residing in such cities as London, Liverpool, Birmingham, &c., should be invited to devote an occasional week-end to visiting the surrounding villages and addressing meetings in parish rooms and churches.

Germany and the League.

Owing to the holiday season the Perth Branch found it impracticable to call a meeting to discuss the admission of Germany to the League, but the Committee, nothing daunted, arranged to take a postcard plebiscite of the members of the Branch. This idea might well be adopted by other Branches in similar cases.

Giving "Headway" Away.

In cases where several members of a household receive a copy of HEADWAY, any unwanted copies might usefully be passed on, when finished with, to friends who do not receive the magazine. Useful propaganda may be done in this way.

Oxford and Geneva.

As we go to press the Union's Summer School starts at Oxford, and by the time this magazine is in the hands of our readers the party will have left for the Geneva Summer School. Reports of both these Schools will appear in our September number.

Another Geneva Summer School.

Readers of HEADWAY will be interested to learn that the University of Geneva has decided to extend the scope of the Summer School which it is now holding on modern French, by adding to the programme a series of lectures on contemporary international affairs.

From August 12th to September 10th lecturers from the League of Nations, the International Labour Office, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other international organisations having their seats at Geneva, will speak on such subjects as the new map of Europe, problems of international finance, the Near East, Europe and the League of Nations, national and international Labour legislation, the Court of International Justice, and other questions of international interest.

Among the speakers will be MM. Aulard and Hauser, Professors of the University of Paris, Professor Förster, formerly of Munich University, M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, M. Lange, Secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and Norwegian Delegate to the League Assembly, Dr. Nitobé, of the Secretariat (Professor of Tokio University), M. Hymans and M. Calonder, who will speak on Upper Silesia.

Application should be made to the Secretariat of the University, 3, Place des Bergues, Geneva.

An Italian Tour.

A tour of Milan, Bologna, Florence, Rome (where six days will be spent), Pisa, Genoa, and Turin has been arranged for next September, in connection with the Conferences of the International Garden Cities and Town-Planning Association and the Congrès International de l'Habitation at Rome.

Application should be made to the Secretary of the International Garden Cities Association, at 3, Gray's Inn Place, W. C. 1.

Junior Branches.

The Liverpool and Merseyside District has an active Junior Section. The activities comprise: One lecture monthly during Christmas and Easter terms; one soirée and two debates a term during Christmas and Easter terms, one of the latter being usually a model Assembly; informal meetings once a month in the Library of the Liverpool Institute. Each school is expected to make a special study of two foreign nations. The district now comprises twenty-three School Branches.

A mistress at Central Foundation Girls' School, Spital Square, writes:—

"We are now organising a system whereby one of the mistresses will interview each of our League members before she leaves (practically all the older girls join), and will ask her to become a full member and join her local Branch. Some of the girls are already joining outside Branches, and one girl has got twelve of her grown-up friends to join her Branch."

This is a splendid spirit, full of hope for the movement.

A meeting of teachers of the various schools of the County Borough of Burton-upon-Trent recently passed a resolution heartily commending the aims and objects of the Union, and recommending the establishment of a Junior Branch in each school in the town.

The Roan School for Girls, Greenwich, has a Junior Branch which recently instituted a Russian Famine week. This, together with a little help from the Hospital Fund, enabled the Branch to start its own kitchen in Saratov.

The girls in this Junior Branch are very anxious to correspond with girls abroad, preferably in France or America. They would like about fifty addresses to make a start with. What offers?

The Union in a White Paper.

The recently published report of the Committee on Adult Education gives special attention to the educational acti-



calls for **HIGH QUALIFICATIONS.**
The highly paid posts in business are obtained by the men who SPECIALISE—the men who are entitled to use such status-stamping initials as:
B.Com. ... Bachelor of Commerce.
Fellow of the
F.C.I.S. ... Chartered Inst. of Secretaries
F.C.A. ... Inst. of Chartered Accountants
F.C.W.A. Inst. of Cost and Works Accts.
F.L.A.A. London Assn. of Accountants
etc. etc.
YOU can similarly qualify under the Metropolitan College, by means of
INDIVIDUAL POSTAL TRAINING. TAKEN AT HOME, IN SPARE TIME
In these examinations, the College frequently presents more successful candidates than all other training centres—oral and postal—put together. For full particulars as to subjects, &c., write for the "STUDENTS' GUIDE." FREE ON REQUEST. A handsome volume of 132 pages.

METROPOLITAN COLLEGE
Dept. 553, ST. ALBANS

EASTBOURNE

A HOLIDAY HOUSE-PARTY ON SEA-FRONT.

Modern House. Private Tennis Lawns. Excellent Cuisine. Large and competent staff.——Moderate terms.

Write for Booklet, Holiday Society, Ormonde-Kaye, 61, Tennyson Road, Birmingham.

THE BRITISH TOURING CLUB.

HOLIDAY CENTRES:—Devon, Wye Valley, Cardigan Bay, Kent, Somerset, Dorset, the Lakes, Scotland, Channel Isles, &c.
RESIDENCES:—Dinard, St. Malo, Perame, Paris-Plage, Knocke, Finhaut (amid the Alps), Vevey, Lucerne, Rome, etc.
HOLIDAY TOURS ABROAD for various periods by selected routes, with amenable facilities.
VISITS to Munich and Ober-Ammergau for the Passion Play.
CRUISES—SEA VOYAGES—COASTING TOURS.
You are invited to send stamp for complete program. Members enrolled.—Write "H." the Club, 17, Portugal-street, W.C.

ADVERTISE IN HEADWAY YOUR OWN PAPER!

More than 50,000 Readers will see your advertisement
Send for RATE CARD to
ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER, Poppins Court, E.C.4.

HARPER PIANOS

Readers of Headway are invited to purchase one of the British made
ORDINARY PIANOS or PLAYER PIANOS
Write for list. High grade quality and finish. Beautiful Tone.
Finest value at moderate price.
Sold for CASH or on MONTHLY TERMS.
HARPER PIANO CO. LTD., Sidney C. Harper, Managing Director
256/262, HOLLOWAY ROAD, LONDON, N.7.

The Great Liberal Progressive Paper
DAILY NEWS

vities of the League of Nations Union. This is the first, but probably by no means the last, occasion on which the Union has been mentioned in a White Paper.

A Hospitality Committee.

The Union has just formed a Hospitality Sub-Committee to promote international co-operation and to interest foreign visitors in the League and the Union by bringing them into personal touch with our members. Foreign visitors will thus be given opportunities for seeing those special aspects of English life which they wish to study, whether it be sport, art, education, industry, farming and agriculture, the religious and political life of the country, &c.

One of the first acts of the new Sub-Committee was to entertain at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, twenty young French girls coming to London to make friends with the English people.

Will any reader of HEADWAY who is prepared to provide hospitality for one or more Hungarian students, who will arrive in London on September 1st, and leave London September 26th, please inform the General Secretary of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1? These Hungarian students are visiting England with the permission of the Home Office under the scheme of the Interchange of Holiday with British Students arranged with members of our University branches.

Important Meetings in July.

Just over 200 meetings were arranged for the month of July. Amongst the principal meetings were those at Chatsworth, Watford, Hastings, Coventry, Sheffield, Stoke Newington, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Peterborough, Skipton, Altrincham, Lincoln, Rochester, Castle Cary, Chelsea, Ripon, Edinburgh, Central Hall, Westminster, Maidstone, Hyde Park ("No More War Demonstration"), and Oxford (Summer School). The speakers included the Duke of Devonshire, the Bishops of Lincoln and Ripon, the Viscountess Gladstone, Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Victor Horsley, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Mrs. Whitehead, the Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., Viscount Ednam, M.P., Lt.-Col. Sir Alfred H. Warren, O.B.E., M.P., Lt.-Col. the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Sir Alfred T. Davies, K.B.E., C.B., D.L., Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray, W. T. Layton, Esq., C.H., C.B.E., Brig.-Gen. C. D. Bruce, C.B.E., and Lt.-Col. D. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A.

Open-Air Meetings.

During the summer months outdoor meetings are an excellent form of propaganda, but to ensure success certain conditions must be observed. The site must either be a known site for open-air meetings or else a place where crowds are known to congregate. A proper platform should be given the speaker. A chairman is most necessary, otherwise the speaker's voice will be tired out by the exertion of collecting a crowd before he begins the speech proper.

It is frequently a good plan to allow opponents to state the case against the League from the platform and then reply to them.

Posters indicating the nature of the meeting and vigorous pamphlet distribution are other elements of success.

At two open-air meetings recently held by the Bromwich Branch ninety people gave in their names as intending members.

French Ambassador at Hyde Park.

We were incorrect in stating that the French Ambassador spoke in favour of the admission of Germany to the League, at the Hyde Park Rally on June 24th. The speech in question was made by M. Philibert, but the Ambassador was present on the platform, thus indicating his tacit agreement with the resolution.

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.

Without Controversy

¶ It is the business of the whole Church to give the Bible to the whole world. Now this can be done most effectively and economically by a special organization for the purpose. The Bible Society is a partnership of Christian people who combine for one special object—to put into the hands of every man who can read a printed copy of God's message to him, in his own tongue, and at a price which he can afford to pay.

¶ To secure accurate versions of Holy Scripture in all the languages of the world is a complex and costly problem. Under the auspices of the Bible Society, the most competent translators of different Churches unite in producing standard versions. By organizing and subsidizing their labours, the Society secures a common text in each language, and provides for its perfecting and revision. It is helping to bring about one Bible—the common charter of all Christian faith—in every human tongue.

¶ For the Church's missionary enterprise the vernacular Scriptures are vital and indispensable. Instead of leaving each mission to print its own books, the Bible Society relieves missionary boards of this burdensome task. It thus secures immense economy in the production and distribution of editions. It deals with the difficulties of printing, binding and transport. And it renders these services without expense to the funds of the missions themselves.

¶ The Bible Society brings together Christians of many communions and nations in its sacred task. In days when faithful men everywhere are being drawn into closer fellowship, they discover that in the Society's enterprise the reunion of Christendom has already begun.

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

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.

EDUCATIONAL.

THE PRIORY GATE.—Preparatory School for Boys and Girls from 6 years. P.N.E.U. program. Home life with free development. Special interest in neurotic or highly strung children. —Major and Mrs. Faithfull, Sudbury, Suffolk.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, Etc.

WORTHING.—Health-giving holidays; big restful garden; sea-bathing; airy rooms; from 2s. 6d.—Hostess, Gwentholme Guest House, Selden-road. (Stamp.)

SOCIAL NOTICE.

YOUNG FRENCH LADY, 20, refined, University graduate, chemistry student, domesticated, sportswoman, wishes to spend the summer in England until the end of October. "Au pair" or other arrangement. Speaks some English and German. Could give French or Science lessons; would take care of children, &c.—Particulars from Prof. Th. Ruysen, Sec. Gen., Federation L. N. Societies, 38, rue J. Waterloo-Wilson, Brussels.