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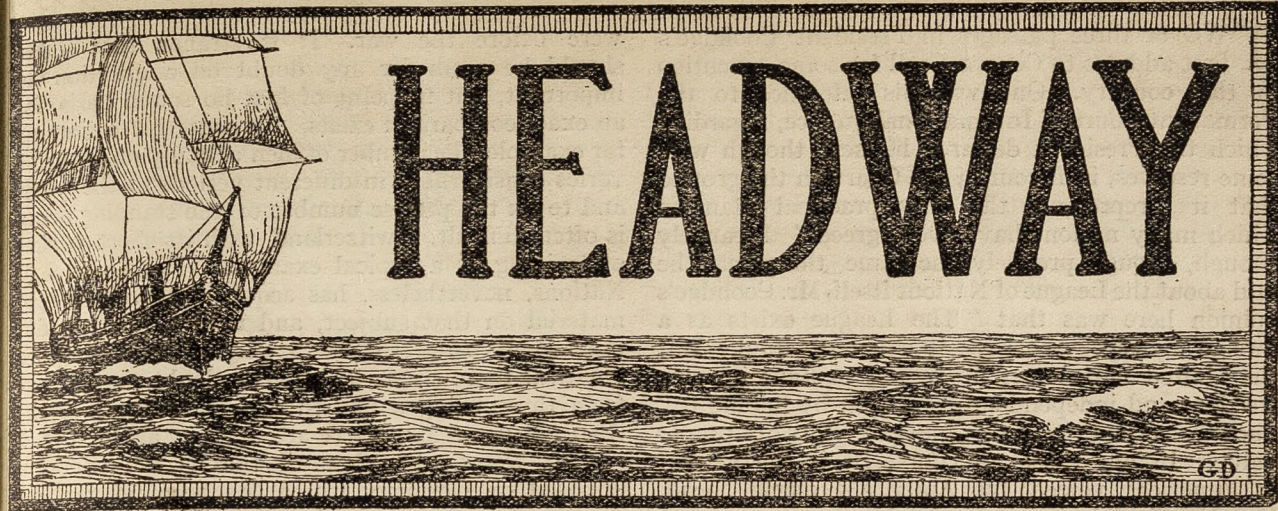
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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

WHATEVER causes suffered defeat at the election one, at any rate, gained a notable success. That was the League of Nations. By whatever criterion the situation is judged there can be no question that there has been returned to power a Parliament more firmly pledged to the support of the League than any of its predecessors. The leaders of the three chief parties, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Asquith, invited by the League of Nations Union to define their attitude regarding the League, expressed themselves in language varying in form but hardly differing in emphasis as convinced and pledged supporters of all the League stands for. The Welsh Council secured a similar statement from Mr. Lloyd George. In addition, the replies to questions put to candidates by branches of the Union up and down the country indicate an almost universal recognition of the present value and the still greater possibilities of the League as the basis of all effective international action. Of conspicuous supporters of the League in the old House few have been defeated, though among them must be mentioned particularly Capt. Walter Elliott, Mr. J. R. M. Butler, Member for Cambridge University, and Major Clifton Brown, a Member of the Union's Executive, whom an indiscriminating fate pitted at Hexham against the Union's Regional Organiser, Mr. Victor Finney—now, as result of the contest, M.P. Against that is to be set the acquisition of new Members, too numerous to mention, who are already con-

spicuously identified with the League as speakers or workers in the branches. On the face of it, therefore, the cause of the League has prospered notably. It is for members of the Union up and down the country to see to it now that what are often facile platform pledges are duly honoured in the House.

* * * *

WHEN it comes to analysing the returns on the basis of the information received in the Union offices in the shape of election addresses, answers to formal questions and the like, a good deal of caution is needed. Candidates cannot be marked off into clear-cut categories of sable black and virgin white. The majority of them, in fact, on the question of the League as on most other questions, fall under varying hues of grey. But this at least seems clear, that not twenty members have been returned who would be willing to describe themselves, or could fairly be described, as hostile to the League. Those who can be counted on as definitely friendly represent all parties, and even if the information available suggested that in this particular political camp or that instructed enthusiasm for the League was more widely diffused than in another, there are certainly no such differences as to allow of any invidious distinctions being drawn. Union supporters saw to it that the League issue was kept well to the fore, something like five hundred branches placing questionnaires either individually or jointly before their candidates. The general result is appreciably more satisfactory than can ever be demonstrated from mere statistics.

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TWO or three passages in President Coolidge's first address to Congress call for some attention in this country. One was his reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice, regarding which the President declared himself, though with some reserves, in favour of the Court on the ground that it "represents the only practical plan on which many nations have ever agreed." Strangely enough, though precisely the same thing may be said about the League of Nations itself, Mr. Coolidge's opinion here was that "The League exists as a foreign agency. We hope it will be helpful. But the United States sees no reason to limit its own freedom and independence of action by joining it." Such a declaration as this must be given its proper value. In one sense, of course, it is the verdict of America, voiced by America's official head. But Mr. Coolidge can commit his country against the League only so far (or, to be accurate, a little farther, for the President has a right of temporary veto) as Mr. Wilson could commit it to the League. It is, in a word, not so much the head of the State as the head of the Republican Party who speaks. On his policy the country will give its verdict next November. At the moment all that need be said is that while Mr. Coolidge might well have condemned the League in language more emphatic he could not, in view of his party's record, have said less than he did against it. There is nothing in his address to change the situation for the worse.

ONE passage in the Presidential address, the eloquent and effective peroration, was devoted to the Monroe Doctrine, a subject that gains added interest from the fact that the centenary of the enunciation of that historic political theory has just been celebrated. Here Mr. Coolidge was at pains, as his colleague Mr. Hughes had been in a public address delivered a week or ten days earlier, to emphasise the change in the condition both of America and of the world since President Monroe sent his message to Congress. "The Monroe Doctrine does not mean isolation," Mr. Hughes had said. "We are great and powerful. New powers bring new responsibilities. Our duty now is to help give stability to the world," declared Mr. Coolidge. And both President and Secretary of State, the one by inference, the other in explicit words, expressed warm approval of such American co-operation in humanitarian effort as is exhibited in the country's official association with the Opium, Health and White Slave Traffic Commissions of the League of Nations. The Monroe Doctrine is to some extent misunderstood on that side of the Atlantic as on this, and such misunderstanding may account for much of the prevalent American suspicion of the League. But it cannot be too often insisted that neither in the Monroe Doctrine in its original form, nor in any authoritative interpretation of it, is there a single passage that can be reasonably cited as argument against America's full membership of such a body as the League of Nations.

HOW do the armies of Europe stand to-day by comparison with those of 1913? The statement is commonly made that there are a million more men under arms in Europe to-day than there

were before the war. It is strange that there should be room for any doubt on a question so important, but in point of fact no sound basis for an exact comparison exists. In conscript countries, for example, the number of men actually under arms varies considerably in different periods of the year, and to fix the precise number of the standing army is often difficult. Switzerland, with its short period of training, is a typical example. The League of Nations, nevertheless, has acquired a good deal of material on that subject, and though the foundations for its 1913 and its 1923 figures are not quite identical there seems to be little doubt that so far from there being a million men more under arms than ten years ago, there are, in fact, about half a million fewer. In view of the heavy reduction imposed on Germany (there has been no net reduction for the territories that formed the old Austro-Hungarian Empire) that means that other countries have substantially increased their armies. France, contrary to a belief that seems to be rather widely held, has considerably reduced her land forces.

THE question of Memel has now been before the Council of the League, and has by them been referred to an expert committee to examine and report. Before that stage was reached, a useful piece of exploratory work was undertaken by the German, Polish and Lithuanian sub-committees of the Overseas Committee of the Union. As soon as the Memel question was handed over to the League members of these three sub-committees, as representing the nations directly interested, were invited to meet informally and discuss the difficulties standing in the way of a settlement. In a series of three meetings the problem was thoroughly thrashed out and agreement up to a certain point reached. Beyond that point divergences revealed themselves, but it was clear that most or all of them could have been narrowed down to nothing if the committee had found protracted sittings possible. A report emphasising the points of agreement and the aspects of the question on which differences of opinion still subsisted were forwarded to the League of Nations Societies in Berlin, Warsaw and Kovno, and were also placed in the hands of officials working at the problem in Whitehall and at Geneva. The cordial acknowledgments received made it clear that the Union's informal exploratory work was recognised as being of real value.

THE Tangier question, open since 1913 or longer, has been more or less satisfactorily patched up by the Conference of British, French and Spanish plenipotentiaries and experts in Paris. The port has been put under a curious administration, consisting of an Administrator-in-Chief, working as the Executive of a Committee of eight Consuls and an International Legislative Assembly of twenty-six members, representing the various nationalities at Tangier. The city and port remain under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco, who also takes a hand in the collection of the Customs revenues. He himself is represented at Tangier by a gentleman called a Mendub, who looks after the natives in particular. It is a curious and complicated arrangement, which may, with profit, be

compared with the régime existing, for example, at Danzig. Whether it will survive seems doubtful, to say the least. If not, the problem will no doubt be handed over to the League of Nations, like so many other questions which have defied solution elsewhere. The British Government, to do it justice, was anxious to take this course when the recent negotiations opened.

IN view of some of the unfortunate results freely threatened at the time of the Corfu discussions at Geneva, it is satisfactory to observe the attitude adopted by Italy towards the League since that time. The important Transit Conference held at Geneva in November was presided over by an extremely able Italian, Signor Conti. A strong desire is being expressed in Italian circles that an Italian shall be appointed as member of the Governing Commission of the Saar, in place of Count Moltke, the Danish member, who retires in March. An equally strong desire has been expressed that the next meeting of the League Council shall be held in Rome, a course which, in spite of the expense and inconvenience it would involve, has something to recommend it on political grounds. Finally, it is interesting to observe that the recent meeting of the League Council in Paris has obtained a remarkable publicity in the Italian papers, and it may be noted in addition that the Italian League of Nations Society, which had become almost extinct, is being reorganised with a new centre at Rome. No one of these events is by itself a decisive index to Italy's attitude towards the League, but taken together they have undoubtedly a good deal of significance.

THE Second Transit Conference, held at Geneva in November-December, naturally challenged comparison with the first conference at Barcelona in 1921. Except for the setting (no one who made the journey to Spain will forget the dignified splendour of the Mancomunidad), the advance made in two years and a-half was conspicuous. The Barcelona Conference was, and will always remain, a landmark, but the novelty of the occasion in itself made against rapid progress. At Geneva in 1923 half, or more than half, the delegates knew one another, and knew the ropes, already, and the ground had been thoroughly and efficiently worked over in the intervening years by the Transit Commission. One of the many differences between League conferences and others is that in the latter case a new start has, generally speaking, to be made every time, whereas at Geneva each conference begins not merely where the last one left off, but actually farther on, owing to the fact that some standing committee has been pushing steadily forward all the time. To recur to the Geneva Transit Conference in particular, it is matter for much satisfaction that this country should have been represented by delegates so representative and efficient as Sir Hubert Llewellyn-Smith, Sir Norman Hill, Sir Alan Anderson, and Sir Francis Dent. Mr. Willis Booth, the American President of the International Chamber of Commerce, attended as a representative of the business world, and expressed the highest appreciation of the value of the work accomplished.

IT is worth while emphasising in this connection the remarkable amount of constructive work of the most practical kind carried through at Geneva in the course of no more than three months. In that short period four conventions, each of the first importance in its particular sphere, have been finally adopted and opened for signature. The first was the convention on the arbitration clause in commercial contracts, the second that on customs procedure, the third that on railways, and the fourth that on ports. Every one of these affects the commercial world in every country directly and most beneficially, and to have secured the adoption of all of them in the interval between mid-September and mid-December is a remarkable achievement. Only the League—that visionary and idealistic institution—could possibly have done it, for nowhere except in League standing commissions and in the offices of the League Secretariat could the continuous preparatory work have been carried through with anything like that smoothness and efficiency which marks all the League's technical work.

A WORD of appreciation is due to the *Times* for the generous treatment it gives both to League of Nations and League of Nations Union news—this without any suggestion of invidious comparison with other papers of which much the same might be said. Does that perhaps explain the answer given by Lord Balfour during the Douglas trial to a question as to whether he habitually read that historic organ—"It is not among the journals I abstain from reading."

THE readers as well as the Editor of HEADWAY owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Mr. C. Davidson, a member of the Post Office Branch of the Union, who has generously placed his skill as a black-and-white artist at the service of this journal. The title-piece of this and the last number, the portrait of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the December HEADWAY, and the map of Turkey elsewhere in the present issue, are all his work.

A SATISFACTORY response has been received to the note in last month's "Headway," inviting offers from members of the Union who would be willing to post their copy of "Headway" to someone abroad, though more offers would still be welcome. Lists of persons who would like to receive the paper have been promised from Germany, America and other countries, and it is hoped to take advantage in the near future of all offers so far received from Union members. The names of those so offering are being grouped under their respective Branches, and it may well seem desirable, as the scheme develops, to regard it definitely as a Branch activity. As an example of what Branches can do in this respect, Hampstead has undertaken definitely to meet the needs of Tasmania, where a lively desire for "Headway" and other Union literature has been expressed. One parcel has already been despatched, and the direct contact thus established between Hampstead and Tasmania seems likely to prove of great value to both the Branch and the recipients. Obviously such a model is one to be copied, and in the case of other Branches prepared to take similar action, every endeavour will be made to develop such an arrangement through Grosvenor Crescent.

THE LEAGUE.

BY THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF BALFOUR,
K.G., O.M.

THE League of Nations has now completed its fourth year of active life, and it behoves us to take stock of what has been accomplished during that eventful period, and to consider our present position and future prospects.

I do not on the present occasion propose to attempt the task, for which, indeed, I have neither the time nor, in all respects, the necessary equipment. I content myself with some brief observations on points not always perhaps sufficiently considered either by ourselves or by our critics.

Critics, indeed, we have in plenty, and the vehemence with which some of them exercise their functions has always surprised me. Indifference on the part of certain sections of the public was to have been expected; for there are many who feel but a languid interest in international relations until war, or the threat of war, is loudly knocking at their gates. Again, it is natural that many should be sceptical about our permanent success. For we are admittedly pioneers in a new adventure; our course is certainly difficult, perhaps perilous; and those who doubt of our future can make a plausible case. But, in addition to the indifferent and the sceptical, there are some who are violently hostile; and their attitude is harder to explain.

It may be that some friends of the League have given provocation. They have not been content with defending its principles; they have thought it necessary to treat it as an infinitely superior substitute for the "old diplomacy," an infallible prophylactic against the disease of war. I do not myself hold that this is the best way of approaching the subject. The "old diplomacy" is necessary, and the League is never likely to replace it. No doubt, like other forms of human intercourse, it has often been grossly misused. A nation that wishes to play the part of a bully or a bandit will take care that its diplomacy matches its policy. It has always been so in the past; we need not expect it to be different in the future. But, on the other hand, the services rendered by the diplomatists of nations reasonably and pacifically inclined have been of infinite benefit to international harmony, and even in the millennium diplomacy must remain the necessary instrument of international intercourse.

But the real question is not whether the "old diplomacy" is good or bad, but whether it is sufficient. Does it give us, can it by any possibility give us, all we want? I find it hard to believe that anybody who has seriously reflected upon the lessons of history can answer in the affirmative. For, after all, it was created to serve the interests of individual States in their relations, friendly or otherwise, with the rest of the world. If it also served the interests of the world, as doubtless it often did, this was because the interests of the two happened often to coincide. The League of Nations, on the other hand, while constitutionally incapable of interfering with the autonomy of its constituent members, fosters by its very nature the sense of international comity, and provides a machinery

incomparably better fitted to further the good of the whole than any which could be supplied by ordinary diplomacy, devised as this was to further the separate good of each individual part.

There are doubtless many who admit that the great experiment was worth making, and that the framing of the peace treaties was the proper occasion on which to make it, yet are anxiously inquiring what prospects there are of its ultimate success. They are aware that it has been tried under conditions which are singularly unpropitious. The League was framed to include all the nations of the earth. But three of the greatest among them—America, Germany and Russia—are not within its ranks. It was designed to deal with a world in which peace was solidly established between communities whose frontiers had a reasonable prospect of permanence. But even now the frontiers remain in some cases doubtful and undetermined. It was designed to prevent a social system, working normally and peacefully, from being again engulfed in such abysses of horror and destruction as those into which it was plunged by the authors of the Great War. But five years have passed since the armistice, society is not yet normal, the horror is not wholly overpassed, nor has the destruction of wealth and credit been nearly repaired.

Never was an infant institution beset with difficulties so far in excess of those contemplated by its contrivers. Yet who can deny that, even under these untoward conditions, the League has worked, and worked well? It has performed more than one task to which (through no fault of its own) the "old diplomacy" had shown itself unequal. It has supervised the administration of communities torn by racial antagonism and historical resentments—witness Danzig. It has dealt with frontier problems of extraordinary complexity; and even where its award has (inevitably) satisfied neither disputant, as in the case of Upper Silesia, it is admitted that the arrangements made for maintaining the economic life of the divided territories have been crowned with a most satisfactory measure of success. It has played the leading part in the financial reform of Austria. It is, I trust, in a fair way to perform the same great service for Hungary. It has preserved peace where war seemed certain, as in the case of Serbia and Albania. It has settled most difficult international disputes, as in the case of Sweden and Finland. It has succeeded in establishing a long-desired Court of International Justice, which has already demonstrated its value as a tribunal for deciding juridical questions where Governments are at issue and diplomacy has failed to find a solution. I will not attempt to enumerate its performances in such tasks as those dealing with international waterways, controlling the spread of epidemics, alleviating the lot of political refugees, and diminishing the miseries of famine-stricken provinces. These are but specimens of a larger class, an account of which may be found elsewhere.

Now I am the last person to minimise the patience and the ability which individual members of the Council and the Assembly, aided by their admirable staff, have shown in dealing with these varied, and often most difficult, subjects. But it is all important to remember that their successes have been due not merely to their own efforts, but to the fact

that these were made in the name and with the authority of the League of Nations. Now for the first time in the history of the world international public opinion has been given a permanent organ of self-expression; for the first time it is conscious of a great mission, for the first time it has been supplied with machinery for carrying that mission into effect. Its agents, therefore, and its representatives, whether they be members of the Assembly or of the Council, speak and act, in their collective capacity, with a kind of authority, which, be it great or small, has few precedents in the experience of mankind. Each individually is the delegate of his own country, and as such has special duties to perform. But his country is a member of the League; the League is embodied in its Assembly and its Council, and these, like all living political organisms, develop qualities and characteristics of their own, which are more than the sum of the qualities and characteristics of their individual members. Neither of them will ever knowingly be the mere instruments of particular ambitions, or the support of particular interests. The spirit fostered by the League is as wide, nay, wider than the League itself.

Hostile critics may industriously pick out cases where, in their opinion, the League has failed; cases where it has done nothing, or has done wrong. But what is the value of such cavillings as these? The League makes no pretence to infallibility. It is neither omniscient nor all-powerful. And surely the vital question for us all is not whether it fails to do some things which some persons would like to see done; but whether it does things which certainly ought to be done, and which no other organisation in existence, or in contemplation, is capable of doing. Who can doubt what the answer should be? The League has existed for four years only—a mere moment in the history of civilisation. Yet unless I be greatly mistaken, it has, even in this brief period, shown itself capable of performances which should give pause to the most prejudiced among its critics, and hope to the least sanguine among its friends.

Balfour

Whittingehame,
December 19, 1923.

THE FIGHT AGAINST OPIUM.

BY THE HON. MRS. ALFRED LYTTTELTON.
(*Delegate-Substitute of Great Britain at the Fourth Assembly.*)

ALL the work of the Fifth Commission of the last Assembly was of an interesting character, but in this short paper I can only touch on two of the subjects which came before it. The question of the suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children—an international matter if ever there was one—received protracted attention. A *questionnaire* had been sent out by the Secretariat of the League after the Assembly of 1922, asking for the experience of States on the connection which may exist between the traffic in women and the system of licensed houses, but answers had not yet been received. Only fourteen countries have ratified the

Convention, and it is devoutly to be hoped that by next year the countries at least who have signed the Convention (in number nearly forty) may have also ratified. Meanwhile the Social Hygiene Bureau in the United States has allocated a certain sum to finance a committee of inquiry into the whole subject.

Those working on the Fifth Commission greatly hoped that Mr. Flexner, the author of the standard work *Prostitution in Europe*, would be chairman of that committee of inquiry. If this is so, there will certainly be an exhaustive and expert investigation into every phase of the traffic in various parts of the world. It does not seem for the moment, as if there is much more that the Union can do to help the work of the League of Nations in this particular matter, although it can keep up the interest of its members in the question, by reports from time to time about the activities of the travelling committee, and the likelihood of further action being recommended either to the Assembly of 1924 or 1925.

The Opium question is in a different category, for two most important Conferences are to be held in the course of the present year.

Striking at the Root.

It is difficult in a short article to give much idea of the complexities of this subject, but baldly stated the two Conferences will be (a) between representatives of those countries which either produce opium or own opium producing dependencies; (b) between representatives of countries which manufacture derivatives from opium and the coca leaf, such as morphia, heroin, cocaine, &c.

The first Conference, which will seek to devise means to control the cultivation of the poppy and the sale of opium, has a difficult task. China, which before the war was successfully suppressing the cultivation, is now the greatest opium-producing country in the world, and is obviously powerless in her present disorganised state to prohibit the growth of the poppy. Persia merely asserts that another equally lucrative crop must be substituted. Turkey has agreed by the Lausanne treaty to adopt and enforce the 1912 Convention. India has limited her cultivation and her sale to a very large extent, and has sacrificed £4,000,000 of Government revenue (quite apart from growers' profits) in the cause. Perhaps there is something still to be done in the control of export licences, though obviously it is difficult for one Government to criticise the amount of opium which is applied for, under another Government's licence. The matter must be studied to ensure that the British case for the exclusion of India from the operation of the Opium Convention is unassailable. It is common knowledge, of course, that India was exempted from the terms of that agreement owing to the fact that opium is eaten, not smoked, over almost the whole of the Indian Empire. But this exemption makes it all the more imperative that the Indian Government should not export raw opium.

All Countries Included.

It has wisely been decided by the League Council that the second Conference shall include all the countries belonging to the League or parties to the 1912 Convention, not merely those which manufacture the drugs. The American delegates to the Advisory Committee pressed for a world-wide Conference, against a great deal of opposition. Personally, I believe the Americans are right, and that the whole world is concerned in this second Conference. For though the States which manufacture morphine, &c., are comparatively few, the illicit portion of the trade is so remunerative that if it were suppressed in one country it might raise its head in another.

And let there be no mistake about it. This matter is one that concerns the whole world. For the drug-taking habit is on the increase, and it seems to fasten

specially upon the young, and to destroy not only their physical strength, but weaken their whole moral fibre and will-power. The results are terrible. In the United States they have knowledge of at least a million drug addicts, and the number is probably much larger. It is a serious menace in our own country, in France, and in many other parts of the world.

Methods of Smuggling.

The methods of smuggling are curious and ingenious. Morphine and other drugs are hidden in such things as electric light bulbs, chocolate boxes, armchairs; there are many expert smugglers, like the Japanese who was sentenced in an English court the other day. From the League of Nations Union point of view the great piece of work which might be done is to rouse opinion in Switzerland, which is one of the few countries that have not yet ratified the Convention and adopted the export and import certificate system. As the bulk of the drugs which enter America come from Switzerland it is, of course, of the utmost importance that every possible care and precaution should be taken within this manufacturing country. Switzerland, no doubt, has a difficult task owing to her Federal system and her Referendum habit, but I believe that if the general public in Switzerland realised what was at stake, a Referendum on the question of ratifying the Convention would result in immediate adherence. Of course, it is not easy for any foreigner to judge. But the fact which startles those who ponder this matter is that a country which produces morphia and other drugs on a large scale, and whose adherence and ratifications are therefore of vital importance, should still linger in the rear.

The American view seems to be that the only secure method of control is to suppress cultivation of the poppy; theoretically this is no doubt true. But since complete suppression seems impossible to attain in the present state of the world, the firm and rigid control of the export and import of drugs derived from opium becomes an absolute necessity, and a matter which the League of Nations is alone qualified to deal with. The Union could do much useful work by studying the whole question and informing public opinion.

THE PARIS COUNCIL.

THE twenty-seventh meeting of the League of Nations Council was held last month in Paris, the more decrepit members of the Council having declared themselves unequal to facing the rigours of Switzerland in December. Accordingly, while the sun shone at Geneva, the Council members groped their uncertain way through black fog down the Rue de Rivoli to the Hôtel de Ville. The change of venue cost the League some £1,500, and involved great administrative waste and inconvenience, while the ceremonial lunches inseparable from French hospitality so far cut into the work of the day that on a conservative estimate the business took about twice as long to dispose of as it would have at Geneva.

The one countervailing advantage in the move to Paris was the fact that the Hungarian loan question could be discussed in close and personal contact with the Reparation Commission. Hungary, of course, was the principal question before the Council. A scheme thoroughly sound from the purely financial point of view had been worked out already by the League Financial Commission, but at the Paris meeting, which was attended by the representatives of the three Little Entente Powers, including Dr. Benes, the much more delicate business of adjusting political demands and resistances had to be faced. The most difficult question was whether Hungary should or should not be called on to pay any reparations. Her own representatives

naturally declared this was beyond her power, and it was argued in other quarters that the success of the loan would be seriously imperilled if, in addition to a sinking fund for its repayment, the country was to be burdened with reparation charges. On the other hand, Hungary's financial condition was by no means as desperate as Austria's was when the League stepped in, and the final decision, to the effect that, after a moratorium covering the period necessary for financial restoration, Hungary should be liable to pay over a period of ten years a sum amounting to roughly a shilling per head of the population per year, cannot be regarded as grossly onerous. The final details of the scheme could not be arranged during the Council sitting, but a Hungarian Sub-Committee, which will meet again in January, has been given full powers to conclude the arrangements, and the scheme can, therefore, be set on foot definitely without waiting for the next meeting of the Council in March.

Of other matters considered, the three most intrinsically important were the Saar, Memel, and the treatment by Poland of German Minorities. With regard to the Saar, it was officially announced that a decision as to the reappointment of the members of the Governing Commission was postponed till the March meeting of the Council. As the present Commission sits in any case till February, this means no great extension of its mandate, and it is understood that, as a result of conversations between the French and British representatives at Paris, a thoroughly satisfactory agreement has been reached as to the decisions to be taken in March.

Memel was inevitably referred to a special Committee, the technical questions involved being far too complicated to justify the Council itself in handling them from the first. As a guarantee that no political considerations shall enter into what is essentially a practical question, the Committee is to be composed of two Transit experts, presided over (it is hoped) by a particularly competent American.

Regarding Poland and the Germans, the Council had some reason to apprehend that the Government at Warsaw was endeavouring to evade the obligations laid upon it by the Minority Treaties, confirmed by interpretations lately given to some provisions of these Treaties by the Permanent Court of International Justice. Poland, however, proposed, both in regard to the nationality question and to that of the eviction of German settlers, to pursue the direct conversations which were already in train. The Council was not disposed to upset that arrangement, but it took steps to accelerate the process by arranging, in the one case, that the discussion should be conducted at Geneva with the assistance of the League Secretariat, and, in the other, that the British, Italian and Brazilian members of the Council should make themselves responsible for drafting a report and recommendations on the situation. This sub-committee met at once, took note formally of Poland's offer to compensate evicted colonists and stop all further evictions, and accepted the invitation of the Council to remain in being and continue to watch the situation. This should provide an adequate safeguard for the just execution of the obligations under which Poland rests with regard to Germany.

An extremely interesting discussion on the whole Mandate question took place, the Council demonstrating once again how thorough and genuine is the supervision of mandate administration by the League. Sir Edgar Walton attended on behalf of South Africa to suggest a slight modification of the resolution regarding the Bondelzwarts Rebellion, but the Council adopted instead a compromise-text proposed by Lord Robert Cecil, which refrained from concealing completely the anxiety the Council evidently still feels with regard to the rebellion itself and the action of the South African Government subsequently to it.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

WORDSWORTH'S "Resolution and Independence" would have applied well enough, if only the former substantive had been in the plural, to the December meeting of the League of Nations Union Council. Of independence of mind and expression there was enough to be thoroughly healthy and never so much as to be obstructive. Of resolutions there was as great abundance, so much so that to quote textually here the motions duly proposed and seconded and adopted would make altogether impracticable demands on space.

Professor Gilbert Murray's presidential address dealt briefly with the conditions of Europe and the reasons why the League Assembly had failed to deal with the question of the Ruhr. While congratulating the Union on its increase of 100,000 members within the year, he emphasised the need for persistent work and increased support if the purposes for which the Union stood were to be attained. That observation carried the Council necessarily on to financial ground, and, in the absence of Lord Queenborough, Sir John Mann set forth the view of the Finance Committee.

He pointed out that every possible economy had been made and that, as result, the Union's expenditure had been kept within its Budget of £28,000, but unfortunately the proportion known as "the Council's Vote," which the Branches had promised to provide, was short of its full quota, and some means must be found to make good the deficiency in 1924. It was proposed, moreover, to increase the expenditure for the year 1924 to £30,000, the extra £2,000 being for the most part non-recurrent, since it was to be used for the Union's exhibit at the British Empire Exhibition and for necessary structural alterations at Grosvenor Crescent. After a lively discussion, £30,000 was duly voted, and the decision was taken that an appeal be issued by Headquarters immediately for promises of donations to be spread either over three years in quarterly instalments or over six and a half years in half-yearly instalments. The Council made itself responsible for finding through the Branches £20,000 out of the total £30,000.

Lord Birkenhead and the Union.

Of the many resolutions carried, the warmest discussion centred round the controversial personality of the Earl of Birkenhead. Lord Birkenhead some time ago accepted a position as Vice-President of the Union. Since then he has delivered his Rectorial Address to Glasgow, as a result of which the Rayleigh Branch proposed *sans phrase* that "Lord Birkenhead be asked to resign his office as Vice-President of the Union." The discussion that ensued revealed some consensus of opinion that such a resolution was doing the ex-Lord Chancellor too great a service, and the Council turned instead to a Bingley suggestion "that the list of Vice-Presidents be carefully revised at the next annual meeting and that Vice-Presidents be required for the future to be subscribing members of the Union." That judicious proposal was slightly amended and carried, and the matter of Lord Birkenhead will therefore be raised again at the next annual meeting of the Council.

Our Own Concerns.

The remaining resolutions were divided between the domestic affairs of the Union and the affairs of the world in general. With regard to the former, Norwich was anxious that a column should be set apart in HEADWAY for the interchange of ideas between Branch Secretaries and others. The value of thus pooling experience was widely felt, but in the end the view prevailed that the Monthly Branch Letter issued from Headquarters was a better medium for the purpose.

Various personal appointments were made, including the co-option to the Council of General Sir W. Furse,

General Franks and Admiral Segrave, and it was further decided that at the annual meeting the foreign Honorary Vice-Presidents be not re-elected, but that the Dominion Honorary Vice-Presidents, together with the present heads of Government in Canada, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland and Northern Ireland, be elected as Vice-Presidents.

Harrogate carried a resolution that a summary of the balance-sheet should be published each year in HEADWAY. South-Eastern Essex urged the necessity for increased missionary effort on behalf of the League in towns and villages where no branch existed, but the proposal, having served its purpose by initiating a useful discussion, was ultimately withdrawn. On the motion of the Liverpool Branch, it was decided that steps should be taken to associate the District Councils and Branches represented on the Consultative Committee more closely with the Executive in the appointment of Regional Representatives.

Foreign Affairs.

The foreign resolutions naturally cover a wide ground. The first of them dealt with the Saar, and pressed for a revision of the personnel of the Governing Commission (such as is likely to take place at the meeting of the League Council in March), and for the selection of a chairman from among the nations not directly interested in the ultimate plebiscite. The famous, or infamous, Provisional Decree was severely condemned.

A resolution on Singapore was dropped on the ground that the dock extension scheme itself had apparently undergone a similar fate. Professor Webster's resolution, urging that the Conference of Ambassadors should be required to confine its activities to completing as soon as possible the duties imposed on it by the Peace Treaties, and that in any case where its sphere of action should overlap that of the League the latter should be recognised as the superior authority, was carried with unanimity, as was a Reparations resolution, already passed through the Executive Committee of the Union. This urged on the Government the adoption of General Smuts' proposal for a General Conference of plenipotentiaries and pressed the view that Germany must be a member of such a Conference, and that no effort should be spared to induce the United States also to take part. Hope was further expressed that a scheme would be initiated without delay for the financial reconstruction of Germany, combined with control by the League, such as had already proved successful in Austria, and had been approved in principle for Hungary. To this Mr. David Davies proposed an addition, which was duly carried, urging that the whole question of Reparations, Ruhr occupation, Inter-Allied debts, and security should be submitted to the League (the U.S.A. and Germany being added) in the event of the above-mentioned Conference not taking place.

Westminster Branch Luncheon.

The meeting, which extended over two days, undoubtedly left the Union more efficient and more closely knit. One of its most agreeable and, it may be added, most valuable features, was the luncheon given by the Westminster Branch on the first day of the meeting, at which Lord Charnwood presided, and an admirable survey of the work and possibilities of the League was given by the Norwegian Minister, Monsieur Vogt. Incidentally, Dr. Fleming, whose sermons on the League of Nations in the Geneva Cathedral during September will be long remembered by all who heard them, dwelt impressively on the dangers to which the League was exposed from two quarters; from those who, like Lord Birkenhead, characterised as mere "sloppy folly" all endeavours to introduce idealistic conceptions into the relationships of nations, and equally from those who, in a very different sphere, devoted themselves to the preaching of class war. X.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, December, 1923.

THE chief event of interest here in the past month has been the Second Transit Conference, which, following as it did the Customs Formalities Conference in October, shows once more that in the economic and technical fields it is already possible to get the various nations to co-operate wholeheartedly and with fruitful results. When will it be possible to say the same of the major political questions?

The Conference considered four Conventions—on railways, ports, electric power and water power—based substantially on the drafts already prepared during the previous year. The first of these, relating to international railway traffic, lays down the lines for the organisation of railway traffic on an international basis. It contains a summary of the international rules and obligations that have been recognised for railway traffic, and which thus become binding on the signatories of the Convention. This serves to fill up an important gap in international law. The Convention provides for close contact between the various railway administrations for the purpose of assuring through traffic, direct and frequent connections, through booking facilities, simplification of passport and customs formalities and their concentration in frontier stations common to both the neighbouring countries, &c. The railway administrations will also arrange for reciprocal use of rolling stock, for rapid and undisturbed transit of goods traffic, and similar measures. The contracting States undertake not to introduce any sweeping changes in their railway system without mutual consultation. The ideal aimed at is to free the whole problem of international railway traffic from politics and to make it a purely technical matter, while at the same time technicalities are to be reduced to a minimum and made as uniform as possible in the various countries.

* * * *

A second Convention, relating to free ports, establishes the broad principle that a State should treat all ships equally, and not discriminate in favour of its own vessels as regards harbour dues, pilotage charges, &c. This principle is to be applied to ports normally frequented by sea-going vessels on the basis of reciprocity between the contracting States. The Convention does not apply to ships of war and fishing boats. The equality of treatment provided for in the Convention is laid down in the widest terms, and covers every kind of facility, charge or regulation of any sort to which ships entering, staying in or leaving a port are subject. Special regulations are laid down for goods whose import is forbidden or subject to special conditions, such as inflammable or explosive matter, opium or dangerous drugs, &c. The special measures that may be taken for controlling the latter category of imports, as a result of the work of the League on the subject or otherwise, are mentioned.

* * * *

The Conventions concerning the transit of electric energy or water power from one country to another touch on a subject so new as to be practically unknown to most of the contracting States, and were therefore left rather in the stage of general principles. There are certain big electric power plants near the common frontier of Italy and France whose energy is "hired" by persons or individuals on the other side of the frontier. Similarly, some Norwegian companies supply electric power to Danish and Swedish enterprises. But apart from this, the question has not as yet become of acute practical importance for any country.

The same applies to the question of water power. It is obvious that if a river has its source in one country, but flows through others, it would be inequitable for the country of origin to use the water power provided

by this river in such a way as greatly to diminish the volume and speed of the current in the lower reaches of the river. Some such problem exists, I believe, in practical form over the Niagara Falls, between Canada and the United States. But, here again, the problem is too new technically, and has too little general importance practically, to make any kind of detailed General Convention feasible. Consequently, it was decided to let the question "ripen" by the growth of bi-lateral conventions and similar arrangements between two or more countries, as the need arose, and meantime merely to sketch certain guiding lines and general principles that would facilitate the conclusion of such Conventions.

* * * *

On the other hand, the Railway and Free Ports Conventions are built on well-established practice and a long series of special conventions, and so it was comparatively easy to condense and codify the experience gained in two General Conventions, that were based upon the old, and were intended primarily to facilitate the conclusion of fresh Conventions on these subjects, but which, at the same time, brought out and applied the underlying principles to a greater extent than has been attempted hitherto. Moreover, the Conventions provide, as is becoming customary with all conventions and agreements concluded under League auspices, that in case of disputes between the contracting parties arising out of the terms of the Convention the matter should be referred to mediation by the technical organisation concerned (in this case the League Transit Committee), failing this to arbitration, and as a last resort to judicial settlement by the International Court. Thus a body of international law and international technical administration is gradually being built up. The slowness and difficulties of the process, as well as the successes achieved, would richly repay study by, for instance, Mr. H. G. Wells, who talks so airily and magnificently of setting up "world transport controls" whose exact nature is not specified, but which apparently should be done all at once and done quite differently!

* * * *

Germany attended the Transit Conference as it has long been the custom for her to take part in all League technical work. Soviet Russia was invited to send representatives, partly because the position of Russia is obviously of first importance for railway traffic from Europe to the Far East, partly on general grounds, and partly because the Russian Delegation, at the meeting of the General Assembly of the International Union of Railway Administrations held at Paris last October, protested against their not having been invited to the forthcoming Conference. The International Union of Railway Administrations, it may be explained, was set up by the Genoa Conference, and is in close touch with the Transit Organisation of the League. It was actually considering the draft of the General Convention on Railways to be submitted to the League Transit Conference when the representatives of the Peoples Commissariat on Transport, who were present for the first time, made their protest. They added that it was because no invitation had been sent to take part in the Transit Conference that the Soviet Government had refused to participate in the discussions of the League Transit Committee, to which they were invited, concerning the application of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference.

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In reply to the invitation, which was sent by the President of the Council (at that time Viscount Ishii), M. Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made the perfectly legitimate point that this invitation was sent on November 11, and arrived on November 12, whereas the Conference was supposed to begin on November 15. Apart from this, however, he declared

the Soviet Government could not accept the invitation since it objected to "the establishment in international communications of the control and guidance of the League of Nations, a political organ which does not in any way preserve the equality of nations but constitutes an instrument of domination, a coalition of certain Great Powers whose control could only act as an obstacle to the normal development of international transport by turning the latter into an instrument in their hands." He furthermore objected that Article 2 of the Draft Railway Convention implied the recognition of the Versailles Treaty, which the Soviet Government does not propose to recognise.

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This attitude is in contradiction to that implied by the Soviet Government's acceptance of the invitation to the League's Naval Conference, and to the comments accompanying this invitation in the Soviet press. I refer particularly to a leader by Yuri Steklov in the Moscow *Izvestia* of March 15, 1923, in which it is declared that Soviet Russia looks upon the League as a temporary association of bourgeois States with whom it has relations individually, and with whom it consequently proposes to deal, even when they choose to refer to themselves collectively as the League of Nations. Soviet Russia, which always objected to being boycotted by the bourgeois States, does not, in its turn, propose to do any boycotting, and will not avoid any international conference simply "because it is summoned by the League of Nations, which is not recognised by us in its present form."

* * * *

The whole incident shows that the business of bringing Russia into the League, that is of getting her to co-operate with the rest of the world, is not so simple as some people seem to imagine. It involves concessions and sacrifices to common sense on both sides, and not only on the part of the States Members of the League. Our future Labour Government might well take note, for this will presumably be their first job. Z.

THE NEW WORLD.

XVI.—TURKEY.

By PROF. ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

THE new Turkey which has emerged from the Conference of Lausanne is a fairly well-defined geographical unity. Substantially, it consists of the peninsula of Asia Minor or Anatolia, with the necessary bridge-heads on the European side of the Straits. The word "necessary" begs no questions from the geographical point of view, for the Straits never have been or could be a political frontier. They are a submerged river-valley, and Constantinople spreads itself on either side of the Bosphorus, which—like the Thames in London—forms the central artery of the city. Thousands of people sleep in Asia and work in Europe six days in the week, relying on the services of the penny steamer (as Londoners did before the days of underground railways). Either the Asiatic shores must belong to some European state like Bulgaria or Greece, or else the European shores must be incorporated, with Anatolia, in Turkey. On the European side, the new Turkey now extends beyond Constantinople and Gallipoli as far as Adrianople and the River Maritsa, while at one point (opposite Adrianople) it crosses the river and incidentally crosses the railway connecting Bulgaria with the Ægean coast. This latter extension, which is the only serious trespass of the new Turkey upon the internal lines of communication of S.E. Europe, was made by a private arrangement between Turkey and Greece in lieu of the payment of reparations by Greece for war damages inflicted on Anatolia during the recent campaign.

In nationality, the population of the new Turkey now contains as high a percentage of Turks as Greece of Greeks or Bulgaria of Bulgars. A century and a-half ago this was far from being the case. Not only these three nations but many others were intermingled throughout the Near East, and their gradual segregation into comparatively homogeneous national states has been the result of expulsions, deportations and massacres which have caused unmeasured suffering to large sections of all the nationalities concerned. Greece is now full of both Greek and Turkish-speaking orthodox Christians driven out of Anatolia in the last phase of the recent war; Turkey is about to receive a smaller but still appallingly large influx of both Greek and Turkish-speaking Muslims from the territories of the Greek kingdom, who are (quite equitably) to be deported in order to make room in Greece for the Anatolian refugees; and these are by no means the first immigrants of the kind to be settled in Anatolia. During the last century and a-half, as the frontiers of Turkey have receded in S.E. Europe and in the Caucasus, the Muslim inhabitants of these regions—Circassians, Daghestanis, Pomaks, Bosniaks, Cretans and so on—have retreated upon Anatolia, until at the present day the descendants (or surviving descendants) of these immigrants or mutrajirs form an appreciable proportion of the population of the peninsula, especially round the coasts. The mutrajirs, drawn from the most diverse races, have enriched the blood of the previous Turkish or Turcified stratum, and have increased the economic potentialities of the country, whose chief malady has been depopulation. On the other hand, it must never be forgotten that these compulsory or semi-compulsory immigrations involve terrible suffering and wastage; and though this can largely be mitigated when the interchange is carried out in peace and at leisure under the humane and scientific superintendence of an international authority like the League, it is greatly to be hoped that, after a century and a-half of upheavals, the period of violent segregation of populations in the Near East may be approaching its end.

The mutrajirs, being a scattered minority, have been slowly but steadily Turcified, in language as well as sentiment. The new Turkey has to face a far more formidable nationality-problem in the shape of the Kurds—a people partly sedentary and partly nomadic, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in the eastern territories of the Turkish State, towards the frontiers of Russia, Persia and Iraq. The Kurds are the only compact non-Turkish nation now included—or, rather, partly included—within the Turkish frontiers, and the Turks (in spite of their discouraging experience with other non-Turkish Muslims like the Arabs and the Albanians) have not given up the idea of assimilating them. As far as the Kurds in Turkey are concerned, this is the Turks' own affair, and the Kurds (a pugnacious race of mountaineers) are well able to look after themselves; but the situation is complicated by the fact that the Kurdish nation spreads over into Persia on the east and into the mandated areas of Mesopotamia on the south. It is the writer's personal belief that this is the principal motive of the Turkish Government in pressing for the restoration of Turkey of the Mosul Vilayet, which lies outside the natural frontiers of Anatolia and is much more closely connected, from the geographical and economic points of view, with Iraq. The Turks, no doubt, feel that if the Southern Kurds develop national institutions within, or in connection with, Iraq, this will make the Northern Kurds less easy to retain within the boundaries of Turkey. It remains to be seen whether any arrangement can be made between Iraq and Turkey on the basis that each State shall treat its respective Kurdish populations on an identical footing. In one sense, the question is academic, since it is



doubtful whether the Kurds on either side of the line can permanently be reduced to anything more than nominal subjection by the authorities at Baghdad and Angora.

To turn to the mental outlook of the Turkish nation at the present time—it can best be illustrated by a comparison with that of the Greek nation a century ago or of the Bulgarian nation in the eighteen-seventies and eighties. In succession to their South-East European neighbours, the Turks have succumbed to the stimulant or virus (it is much too early yet to choose between the two terms) of Western influence, and at this moment they are just in the stage (familiar in the parallel cases just cited) at which, after long and apparently ineffective inoculation, the culture has “caught.” They are, in fact, in the high fever of “Westernisation,” and are displaying the revolutionary energy (besides making some of the revolutionary mistakes) which non-Western peoples always do display when they are in the throes of this acute (but usually transitory) crisis. At present they are chiefly engaged in preparing the ground for national reconstruction on Western lines by hacking away the wreckage of their indigenous institutions. This salvage work is being done in deadly earnest, with an intensity of purpose which has been communicated to the peasantry by the Western-educated minority. After many set-backs and disappointments, it may be prophesied with some assurance that the movement will in large measure succeed, as it has, on the whole, succeeded in Japan on the one side and in Greece, Bulgaria and the other Near Eastern Christian countries on the other. Now that the military struggle for existence has been concluded by the withdrawal of the Greek armies from Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, the Turks are turning their attention to constitutional and, still more, to economic regeneration. In their attempt to grapple with their national problems they deserve the same sympathy from the West that we have always accorded to earlier proselytes. Their difficulties are illustrated by the somewhat *piquant* predicaments of the Caliphate and the Chester Concession; but, while we may smile in a good-natured way, it is more important that we should give genuine sympathy and genuine assistance. It is a world-interest that Oriental and Western nations should find common ground for equal membership in a single comity of nations; and it is not impossible that Turkey, like the British Dominions, may discover the solution to her problem of status through membership of the League.

GENEVA JOTTINGS.

THE connection between the League and the coffee trade is not immediately apparent. But there is one, and a conference is to be held about it at Geneva in May—about that and other things. It all arises under the much-debated “equitable treatment of commerce” clause in Art. 23 of the Covenant. One aspect of equitable treatment is the banning (by uniform legislation in all countries) of lying trade-marks, as, for example, the labelling as “Mocha” of coffee that is not “Mocha” at all. What sounds a small matter counts a great deal in commerce, and the decision of the League to tackle it adds one more to the arguments that are making practical business men take increasing notice of the League. The May conference is expected to adopt a convention on the subject.

General Ismet Pasha, following a procedure agreed on in the Treaty of Lausanne, has asked the Permanent Court of International Justice to nominate a number of legal advisers to assist in the administration of justice in Turkey. The President of the Court is compiling a list (from which the final selection will be made) of competent legal authorities in Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and the three Scandinavian countries—all States neutral in the war against Turkey.

Two fixtures of some importance this month are the Meeting of Jurists on the competence of the League and similar subjects to be held at Geneva on the 18th. This will be followed three days later by a meeting of Naval Experts to draft an Agenda for the April Conference of the extension to other Powers of the Washington Agreements. Russia was invited to attend this Conference, but replied that she could not give a definite answer till later. When the answer came it was to the effect that after the murder of Vorovsky Russians could not be considered safe in Switzerland. That being so Russia would attend the Naval Conference provided it was not held at Geneva. There, at the moment, the matter rests.

Turkey was represented by a fully-qualified representative at the recent Transit Conference in Geneva, this being the first active participation of the country in any League activity. The fact that Turkey has not yet applied for Membership of the League is understood to be due to the delay in the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey herself has ratified, but Great Britain and other Powers have not.



FOUR YEARS.

ON January 16, 1920, the Council of the League of Nations held its opening meeting in the Quai d'Orsay, at Paris. M. Léon Bourgeois presided, and Lord Curzon, who attended as British representative, made a speech that is well worth referring back to to-day. In the audience were Lord Grey of Falloden and Mr. Lloyd George, who, as Prime Minister, was at the moment attending an Inter-Allied Conference in the French capital. Since that day close on four years have passed. In our own country Prime Ministers have come and gone, and who the holder of that high office may be on the fourth anniversary of the birth of the League (which took place technically on January 10th, the day the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles were exchanged) is still uncertain. But that he will be a convinced and confessed supporter of the League is assured, for the leaders of all parties in the House of Commons have no more than a month ago declared their faith in the League in unequivocal terms.

That in itself is a fact of no small significance. The League of Nations might well have become a pawn in party politics in this country as it has in others. When, instead of that, we find it figuring in every party programme, backed by every party leader, and supported by all but a negligible handful of elected members, we are entitled to feel that four years of missionary work for the League have not been spent in vain. But it is not by the views held of the League of Nations in this or any other individual country that its four years' record must be judged. The League is a world organisation, and it is its place in the world that counts. What is that place to-day, after four years of endeavour, of experiment, of failure, of success? It is not what idealists would wish. Let us admit that frankly. Great nations are absent from its councils whom every believer in League ideals earnestly desires to see included. To the legend that Germany and Russia are being excluded from the League we can, of course, reply that they are no more excluded than America, because, like her, they have never asked to be admitted. And to the suggestion that without these nations the League can never function effectively, the answer is equally clear. It is functioning effectively—though the stronger it becomes the more

vigorous, no doubt, will be its actions and the more decisive its pronouncements.

Let us go farther than this in recognition of the League's limitations. It has not transformed human nature. The jealousies, the ambitions, the covetousness, the suspicions, that so commonly mark the intercourse of nations with one another, do not drop away by a miracle the moment their representatives meet at Geneva. They endure, and the harmony and progress of the League's undertakings is sensibly impaired thereby. But to say merely that would be as unfair as it would be misleading. Human nature is not changed in a day, particularly when what is in question is not the temper of individual men, but the outlook and psychology of millions of men parcelled out in those political entities known as States. But the supreme achievement of Geneva, an achievement far more impressive than any concrete achievement the League has ever registered, is that it does change men, and not merely men but nations.

So brief a space as four years has abundantly proved that. At Geneva statesmen meet under a pledge. Some of them signed the Covenant with their own hands in 1919. Others are the political inheritors of those who did. By its provisions they are bound. To its ideals they are committed. By its spirit they are compelled. That these are no mere empty words everyone who has ever seen the League Assembly at work knows well. Nations can be difficult at Geneva, but they are less difficult there than anywhere else, and forces of moral suasion can be mobilised against them far more effectively in a League Assembly or conference than in any other gathering of national representatives of which the world has yet had experience. The League has put new methods in practice, and no one can believe for a moment after their four years' proof that they will ever be abandoned.

But these, it may be objected, are generalities. They are not, in fact. They are the essential foundations on which the visible and concrete achievements of the League must be based. As General Smuts so finely said, the forces of the imponderables are on the march, and the imponderables are something greater and more vital than even spectacular successes. But it is the visible, naturally enough, that arrests attention. He who runs will read only what is blazoned before his eyes. What, in this order of accomplishment, can be claimed for the League? Astonishingly much. In four years its Assembly has sat altogether for just four months; its Council for, perhaps, seven or eight. Compare the output of those two co-ordinate bodies, composed of men coming for a brief space together from different countries, speaking different tongues, nurtured in different political traditions, with that of any national Parliament meeting for an equal period in continuous session. This is no place to catalogue the League's achievements. Most of them are familiar enough to readers of these pages. One alone, the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, is a landmark in the history of the world. Of the rest it is enough merely to recall in a sentence what the League has done or is doing in the field of reconstruction, as in Austria, Hungary, Greece and Albania; in the settlement of disputes as in the case of the Aaland

Islands, Upper Silesia, Serbia and Albania; in the protection of minorities throughout Eastern Europe; in the supervision of mandate territories in Africa, Asia and the Pacific; in the promotion in the fields of transit, economics and finance of accords designed to remove obstacles to commerce or personal intercourse; in the development of an international health and anti-epidemic organisation; in the reorganisation of international action against such evils as the opium and white slave traffic. That list is very far from complete. But it may be sufficient to suggest to what degree the League is woven into the fabric not merely of Europe but of the world. It may be sufficient, too, to prompt the question, What in the course of decades (and what are decades in the long march of human progress?) may not be achieved by an organisation that in no more than four years has accomplished so much?

One other reflection may be added. What was created in 1919 was not a mere league of statesmen. That was the direct effect of the signature of the Covenant. But another and indirect effect was the formation in every country of organisations existing to mobilise behind the League that popular support without which it can never do its work. Those organisations have a long way to travel yet. We in Great Britain are far ahead of other countries, and we ourselves have no great reason for self-congratulation. Yet relatively what has been achieved is astonishing. Who, ten years ago, would have believed that an organisation could have been created in this country, where the common man—and much more the common woman—is popularly supposed to take no interest in foreign affairs, that would unite 330,000 people up and down the country not merely in the support of a general principle in international policy, but in a sustained and intelligent study of the concrete application of that policy in a score of different fields. That is happening in a smaller scale in almost every country in the world, and it is an altogether hopeful and encouraging sign. The League may be idealism, but it is essentially practical idealism, and after four years it is a matter of certainty that the idealists are winning.

A LEAGUE SANCTION!

BY DAVID DAVIES, M.P.

THERE are few aspects of the League of Nations that deserve closer study, and it may be added few that have so far been less adequately studied, than the use of force by the League as a sanction. The general conception of force as a sanction is accepted in the life of every nation. It has dominated the progress of civilisation and the gradual evolution of mankind into civilised communities. First in the family, then in the tribe, later in the feudal state, then in the kingdom, and lastly in democratic constitutions, we trace the development of law, and each stage in this progress is marked by the growth of new sanctions which, fortified by public opinion, have in the last resort been based on the use of force.

Are we prepared that this conception should also be applied to the field of international relations? It is difficult to see how those of us who believe in and support this form of sanction and protection in our own country can fail to support its application to the quarrels and disputes of individual nations.

If we take this view, it follows that we must perforce give our support to Article 16 of the Covenant, which was framed for the purpose of enforcing the decisions of the League and the International Court of Justice. Article 16 is imperfect. It has already been whittled down. It does not carry out the process of sanctions to its logical conclusion, and I venture to think that the only logical and common-sense conclusion is the organisation, in one form or another, of an International Police Force.

Just as the armies of the feudal barons were merged into the King's Army, before the pacification and the security of this country as a whole could be achieved, so it is necessary to merge the national armies and navies of to-day into an International Police Force. These national armies and navies are, in every case, enlisted in the name of defence, and until the members of the League are willing to pool their military establishments in defence of the Covenant and of the International Court, there will be no real peace—there will be no real disarmament.

In the past defensive forces have invariably developed into offensive organisms. Where are you to draw the line? The militarists are never tired of telling us that attack is the best means of defence. If, however, the nations are prepared to co-operate, in practice, for the purpose of providing adequate sanctions for the League and the Court of International Justice, the old and Machiavellian theory of war as an instrument of policy will have received its death-blow once and for all. Moreover, the earnest resolve of all the nations not to go to war with each other and to submit their disputes to an international tribunal, will have been given its practical expression. Never again could it be doubted that each nation who joined in this Pact was absolutely sincere and honest. Until such definite proof is forthcoming and world public opinion has sealed the Covenant in this irrevocable way, the old race for armaments is bound to continue.

Many people appear to think of disarmament merely as a reduction in numbers and equipment of the national armies or navies. May I point out that disarmament is not simply confined to a process of reduction, however important that may be, but that it also involves the complete abandonment of scientific competition between the different countries. This scientific competition at the present time is the most terrible danger of all those which confront us. The war gave a great impetus to the discovery of new and scientific apparatus for the destruction of men's lives and property. Each national War Office seeks to discover some novel and more effective means. The best scientific brains, the greatest experts, are employing their lives in perfecting new engines of destruction which may eclipse those produced by any other country, and which may suddenly be launched

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upon a tortured and suffering humanity. Inventions of this kind may in future make all the difference between success or failure in any war, and with the lessons of the last war so recently in our minds we cannot help realising the awful significance of this fact.

The elimination of scientific and secret competition is one of the most difficult problems of disarmament. So long as a sense of insecurity exists it will prevail. We talk about defence, because we do not really believe in the efficacy of the League. We do not believe in the efficacy of the League because the League has no force to back its decisions, and we are not sure whether the Council of the League will have the courage or the unanimity to put Article 16 into operation. The League has no force, because the members of the League are not prepared to trust each other. They are not prepared to substitute international justice for their own selfish policies of aggrandisement and greed.

I would, therefore, venture to plead for clear conceptions in regard to this question. What is our immediate goal? Are we likely to secure general disarmament for many, many years unless we are prepared to put forward a constructive proposal in addition to a purely negative programme of reduction?

It is a melancholy fact that, although four years have elapsed since the signing of the peace, no steps have yet been taken to put into operation the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant. The Treaty of Mutual Guarantee is a step in the right direction, but though it has passed through the Assembly at Geneva, it still requires the ratification of the States members of the League, and I fear that it may be a long time before these ratifications are all forthcoming.

Meanwhile, we need a policy. General disarmament there must be, but as a part of this programme and as a positive proof that moral disarmament has become a reality, I would suggest that a place should be found for an organised international force, to curb and check the animosities and ambitions of nations, who may in times of crisis be tempted to repudiate their solemn pledges under the Covenant of the League.

[An article putting another side of this important problem will appear in next month's HEADWAY.]

SEAMEN'S WELFARE.

THE most important event in connection with the International Labour Organisation in December was the session of the Joint Maritime Commission held in London on December 17 and following days.

The Maritime Commission is the outcome of the Seamen's Conference, held under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation at Genoa in 1920, when various questions connected with seamen's hours, employment exchanges and the conditions of seamen's lives generally were considered. The Maritime Commission, in effect, holds the same relation to the Labour Office as the Transit or Health Commissions do to the League of Nations. Its December meeting brought to London M. Arthur Fontaine, the Chairman of the Governing Body, M. Albert Thomas, and Mr. Harold Butler. British owners were represented by Mr. Cuthbert Laws, and British sailors by Mr. Havelock Wilson.

While no decisions of far-reaching importance were taken, consideration was given to a variety of questions

affecting life at sea, particularly with regard to social insurance, the statistics of shipwrecks and accidents, and protection of seamen against venereal diseases. On this latter point a resolution was carried urging the importance of preventive as well as curative measures.

Of perhaps greater interest was the discussion on a proposal to prepare an International Seamen's Code, covering the whole range of life at sea. The first step towards this is to obtain from each country a complete set of all its laws bearing on this subject. By collating these, material for an agreed International Code may ultimately be obtained. This extensive field was fully explored at the London sittings, and it will be for the Governing Body to decide for or against the inclusion of the question on the Agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference.

Correspondence.

SILENCE AND UNITY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Our own Branch has members of several different religions—Anglicans, Romans, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Agnostics. All our ministers take part in our opening prayers. If the practice were dropped now, we should lose many more workers than we should gain. When we began it I certainly expected it would prove disruptive; but happily, experience has falsified my anticipation.

I am sure "An Agnostic" wants to include as many as he can in the work, and does not want to lose any of us aggressive Christians. How can he best act? Three courses seem to be open to him to maintain both his conscience and his courtesy. Either:—

(a) He can copy the Legitimists in France who stay (or at least used to do so when I was young) outside their church doors till the versicle "*Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam*" has been sung, lest by their presence they should compromise their (political) faith, and then crowd in to worship; or,

(b) He can attend with the Christians and "suffer their manners," which, at worst, cannot hurt him; or,

(c) He can attend, and use the occasion to deepen in himself and in his fellow-members that psychological effect—spoken of sometimes as "the Group Mind"—by which the intensity of our wishes and convictions is strengthened. The "Group Mind Effect" would, I think justify "An Agnostic" in attending, without his being in any way compromised. E. J. S.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Will you permit me to say how glad I was to read "An Agnostic's" letter in your December issue, suggesting that where desired League of Nations' Union meetings should be opened with a Silence. It is time we realised that of ourselves we can do nothing, but that there is that within us that doeth the works.—Yours, &c.,
A BELIEVER.

THE APATHY OF THE CHURCHES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I wonder how many other members of the League of Nations Union have been astonished and alarmed by the apathetic attitude of organised Christianity towards the subject of the League of Nations. When one considers the invaluable help and encouragement which it could have given to the efforts of the League of Nations Union by a steady and fearless advocacy that the great Christian principles, which are embodied in the Covenant, should be applied to international affairs, one feels that it is missing one of the greatest opportunities for serving mankind which has ever arisen. True, the various great religious bodies have passed altogether admirable resolutions at their various Congresses and Assemblies urging upon their members and adherents support of the League through the Union, but it rests with individuals to keep this matter before their congregations in such an intelligent and inspiring manner that it bears fruit.

A BRANCH SECRETARY.

Essex.

BOOKS THAT MATTER.

WHATEVER the official policy of the Washington Government may be, there is no apparent waning of interest in the United States in the affairs of the rest of the world. Books on the subject continue to be published, and since American publishers are no more altruistic than those of other countries, we may take the output as an evidence that the League is a live issue among the American reading public.

Even more important a sign of interest are those groups of thinking men, leaders of public opinion, who think it worth while to devote their time to the study of foreign problems. One such group, the Williamstown Institute of Politics, has done great service to the English-speaking peoples by publishing a volume containing lectures delivered by Mr. Philip Kerr and Mr. Lionel Curtis under the general title, *The Prevention of War* (Humphrey Milford. 10s. 6d.). Half a guinea is far too much to pay for a book of one hundred and sixty pages, but apart from that we have nothing but praise for what the two authors have written.

Mr. Curtis devotes two of his three lectures to subjects on which he can speak with authority and with first-hand knowledge; no man is better qualified to treat of the formation of the Union of South Africa and responsible government in India; both countries owe much to the constructive abilities of his mind. In his third lecture he sets out a criterion of values in international affairs.

Mr. Philip Kerr begins by analysing the fundamental causes of war; in his judgment they are two in number. The one is mechanical, "the division of humanity into absolutely independent sovereign states," which resort to war to settle their disputes in the absence of any machinery which corresponds to the ordinary legal processes within each state. The other cause is psychological and even more fundamental; no machinery for adjusting international disputes can be created or can be effective until each state recognises that it belongs to the larger community of nations and regards not its own self-interest, but the interest of the whole as the matter of prime importance. Mr. Kerr very skilfully illustrates his arguments by examples from the history of the American nation, its early difficulties and rivalries being overcome by an effective general will arising out of a change in spirit and outlook.

The refreshing thing about the whole book is that both lecturers have gone back to first principles. They recognise that the present chaos of the world cannot be remedied by mere machinery or by expedients of the moment. The most skilfully devised League will fail if it is merely constructed with the negative purpose of avoiding war. Mr. Kerr calls us to a great adventure of faith:

"The only power that will gird us with the needed strength is a consuming desire to see a better, cleaner, happier world. . . . If we can only lift ourselves out of the rut of our national prepossessions and selfishness, and go up on to a mental mountain and survey humanity and its problems as a whole, does not our course seem clear?"

So, too, Mr. Curtis ends his lectures on the same note:

"Religion and politics are but two aspects of life; to ignore one is to miss the other. The root principle of the commonwealth is love, and the sense of duty to each other which love inspires in men."

In spite of its price, the book must be read; it is worth more than many others which are far cheaper.

In comparison, two other books from America seem tame. Professor Irving Fisher gives us *League or War?* (Harper and Brothers. \$2.), and he has no difficulty in supplying the answer to the question of his title. His reasons are quite frankly those of national self-interest. He writes to correct the idea prevalent in the United States that membership of the League would injure his country; he deals with the objections in detail, and having established the case for "a" League, he concludes that there is no sufficient reason why America should not join "the" League, especially since she could always withdraw on two years' notice if the experiment were found unsatisfactory. Professor Fisher writes for American consumption, and we doubt if English readers, apart from those who are students of United States opinion, will find his book of much value.

More useful is Mr. Foley's *Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League of Nations* (Humphrey Milford. 8s. 6d.). This is a compilation of Mr. Wilson's addresses which he delivered to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and to the American people, when the Treaty was being considered in 1919, together with two speeches before the Versailles Conference. They form a complete statement of the case, and in the light of his failure to carry his country with him, they have a pathetic interest.

It is cheering to find friends of England upon the Continent; such a friend is Count Alexander Skrzynski, formerly Foreign Minister in Poland, and his book, *Poland and Peace* (Allen and Unwin. 6s.), is a frank avowal of English sympathies and a confession that Poland needs England's friendship. As its title implies, however, it is a great deal more than this. Count Skrzynski gives us here a first-hand account of Poland since the war. He not only outlines the general direction which the foreign and domestic policy of his country is taking, but he shows very clearly the difficulties with which its rulers have to contend. Undoubtedly the greatest of the internal difficulties is that caused by her minorities, and an account of this particular difficulty is perhaps the most valuable chapter in the book; it is valuable not only on account of its special connection, but because the same story may be told of almost every country in Central and Eastern Europe. Count Skrzynski tells it well. One-third of Poland's population consists of dissatisfied minorities; Germans, Ukrainians and White Russians, all have their grievances to which their national outlook, their language, religion and culture give rise. Added to all this is the Jewish question, in some ways the most serious of them all. We feel that if Count Skrzynski had the handling of the problem, its solution, though slow, would be on the right lines; it demands, as he says, a most liberal and broad-minded policy, so that these several units may become a strength, and not, as they are at present, a weakness, to the Polish state. The past is sometimes better left behind, and that is perhaps why the author makes no allusion to the Zeligowsky *coup*, but his fears for Poland's security do not altogether remove our anxiety about her armaments, which, he admits, form an overwhelming burden for his country.

Last but not least this month we mention the Rev. W. C. Willoughby's *Race Problems in the New Africa* (Humphrey Milford. 15s.). Mr. Willoughby has spent long years of missionary service in South Africa, and no one knows the Bantu better than he. In the earlier part of his book he describes the Bantu as he is, the manners and customs of the individual and the tribe. On this foundation he builds a very close study of the problems created by the contact of the white and black races; he writes with rare insight and impartiality, and with equal wisdom; he does not shirk difficulties even when he deals with the questions of mixed marriages

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or modern missionary methods. The book is one which should be studied by every outgoing missionary, and not less by every white settler and by those who are in any way interested in the future of backward races.

The fourth issue of the **British Year Book of International Law, 1923-24** (Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton) shows the increasing importance of the subject; it is one that is now recognised as demanding general attention, and we have entered upon a new period of its development. The present volume is by no means one of merely technical interest; the collected papers which it contains deserve study by all who wish to understand fully the place which the League holds in the fortunes of the world, and their somewhat but necessarily forbidding title should not deter the non-legally minded reader. We can only single out for notice three or four out of the dozen papers as being of particular interest. Mr. P. J. Baker writes on the Doctrine of the Legal Equality of States, and in face of its almost unquestioned acceptance challenges the doctrine as a danger and as "actively fallacious"; he has no difficulty in showing that the equality of States does not correspond either with historical fact or present experience; such matters as the system of capitulations and the powers exercised by the Concert of Europe are examples of the first; the minorities treaties and the constitution of the League itself illustrate the second. Mr. I. L. Evans deals with the Protection of Minorities also from a past and present point of view, and rightly emphasises the duties which are incumbent upon minorities if they can justifiably claim their rights. Mr. R. B. Mowat and Professor Charteris, of Sydney, supply respectively very useful information on two subjects which are apt to be overlooked, the position of Switzerland in the League, and the Mandate over Nauru Island. These three last papers are of great importance, and for their sake alone the book is worth getting.

Dr. Rhys Davids is well known as one of the chief British authorities on Buddhism and Eastern Philosophy. The gist of her new book, **The Will to Peace** (Fisher Unwin, 5s. net), is poignantly expressed by the two quotations on the title page: "A voice was heard . . . Rachel weeping for her children," Jer. xxxi. 15; "The one serious and formidable thing in Nature is Will," Emerson (*Fate*).

The book discusses the conception of Will held by various psychologists of the last 30 years, rejecting alike the old materialist negation of the will as separate from the sum of particular desires, and the transcendental conception of the will as outside time and space. The will is an educable reality; it can learn and is master of its fate. In this education of the will Dr. Rhys Davids sees the future hope of peace. H. W. F.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED:

Is it Peace? By D. Lloyd George. Popular edition, Hodder and Stoughton. 2s. 6d.

From Renaissance to Revolution. By Sylvia Benians. Methuen and Co. 7s. 6d.

Land Reform in Czecho-Slovakia. By L. E. Textor, Ph.D. Allen and Unwin. 5/-.

"It is not only on the formation, but on the support of a healthy public opinion that the conduct of the foreign affairs of any country, if it is to be successful, must depend." (LORD CURZON, at the Institute of International Affairs.)

OVERSEAS NEWS.

AFTER rather hanging fire for some time, organised action in support of the League of Nations in France is now beginning to make real headway. There has, no doubt, been some dissipation of energy owing to the fact that three separate bodies with substantially the same aims have been in the field. These are the "Association Française pour la Société des Nations," the "Groupement Universitaire pour la Société des Nations," and the "Association des Mutilés de la Guerre." The latter body, which has close associations with the British Legion, is, of course, concerned primarily with the interests of disabled men, but it has repeatedly declared itself as whole-heartedly in favour of the League, and its President, M. René Cassin, is one of the strongest supporters of the League in France. The "Groupement Universitaire," effectively organised by M. Robert Lange, is displaying increasing activity, and a liaison committee representing the three organisations has been formed with a view to co-ordinating activities and giving greater impetus to the movement.

Several important meetings have been arranged in Paris, notably one held on December 16, at which the French delegates to the last Assembly gave an account of what was done there. The Corfu affair and its handling at Genoa appears to have advanced the League cause in France considerably.

The French supporters of the League seem to have decided to organise largely on the lines adopted in this country, viz., through the formation of groups in towns and villages throughout the country. Up to the present only about nine groups are in existence, but some of them are of considerable strength and in important centres like Lyons and Rouen. There is every sign that this number will rapidly increase, and the fact that this year's Conference of the "Union Internationale des Associations pour la Société des Nations" is to be held at Lyons in June should provide an opportunity for impressing on French opinion the importance of organisation in support of the League.

In addition to other activities, the University Group has recently, with the approval of M. Poincaré, addressed a letter to the educational authorities throughout France urging the importance of instruction on League principles and activities. Publication of the monthly bulletin is about to be resumed.

A University Prize has been founded in connection with the Adelaide University by Mr. Barr-Smith, consisting of the interest on a sum of £100 to be awarded annually for the best essay on the League of Nations. The competition is confined to students of the University and members of classes held under University auspices.

The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association in the United States, about whose relation to the "Union Internationale" there was some doubt, has definitely joined the Union, and sent its first annual subscription.

The Congregational Union of New South Wales at its annual Assembly has carried two resolutions of much interest. The first to the effect "that the Congregational Union, as a corporate body, become a member of the League of Nations Union"; the second, urging the Commonwealth Parliament to abolish compulsory military training.

UNION NOTES AND NEWS.

THE League of Nations Union knows no party politics. But its individual members and supporters know quite a lot. That is all to the good, for men and women with the League mind and the League outlook are likely to be substantially better qualified than the average citizen to make sound politicians. The Union Executive carried on through the election campaign with numbers notably reduced by the claims of the constituencies. December 7 found some of its candidate-members triumphant and some chastened. Mr. David Davies, chairman of the Overseas Committee (who is always going to be opposed next time), as usual had no contest. Sir Ellis Hume-Williams, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, General Seely, Mr. Clynes, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Grahame-White, Sir Arthur Shirley Benn and Captain Berkeley came back for their respective constituencies, and were joined or rejoined in the House by Mr. J. H. Harris and Mr. Henry Vivian. Those whom a happier fate awaits another time include the chairman, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Major Clifton Brown, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Strachey, and Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon. Three members of the headquarters staff also stood (temporarily resigning their positions for the purpose)—Capt. Lothian Small, Mr. S. Sherman, and Mr. A. Macdonnell. Of their fortune it is enough to say that nothing that happened will prevent them from devoting the same assiduous and undivided attention to Union business in the future as in the past. Finally, one Regional Organiser, Mr. Victor Finney, fought and won, as did Capt. Thompson, who resigned a similar position some months ago.

How to Raise the "Council's Vote."

The story of how the Union's Branches have exerted themselves to raise their quota of the "Council's Vote" is an interesting lesson in versatility. A common method adopted has been to try and induce subscribers to increase their subscriptions. For instance, some of the HEADWAY subscribers have been persuaded to pay 5s. or 10s. a year instead of 3s. 6d.; some 1s. members have increased their subscriptions to 1s. 6d., 2s., or even 2s. 6d., whilst some of the £1 members have increased their subscriptions to 30s., £2 or even more. In this way, the "half-net subscriptions," which are counted as part of the "Council's Vote," have been very materially increased.

Pageant plays, dramatic performances, concerts, garden parties, and fêtes, dances, whist drives, and social evenings have all been found valuable by Branches in different parts of the country. The president of one Branch, who happened to be the local mayor, issued invitations for a social evening at the Town Hall. Light refreshments and music were provided. About half-way through the evening there was a short talk on the League and the Union, and an appeal was made then and there for donations to carry on the work of the League. At this social gathering no less a sum than £75 was promised.

A branch in a county town arranged for a garden fête, and made enough money on that one occasion to pay their Council's Vote for 1923 and 1924. A branch in Scotland was heavily in debt, so they had a fête in the university grounds, and raised in one day sufficient to pay off the whole of their debt, the whole of their Council's Vote for 1923, and leave them a substantial sum in hand for general work.

In other cases flag days have been found a most successful means of raising money. One Lancashire mining town made nearly £70 on its flag day. Cheap paper flags with the world and stars design can be obtained from Headquarters at 11s. per thousand; they sell readily at 1d. each or more.

Other Branches in the North have found American Teas to be a very successful means of raising money. Quite a small Branch raised £20 by means of a cake sale. Tennis tournaments, cricket matches and drawing-room meetings have helped to raise the quota in other places.

By means of all the methods shown above, members of Branches are able to obtain money for League of Nations work from people who do not actually belong to the Branch. It is a mistake to think, except possibly in some few special

The International Service of the Society of Friends

A Desperate Situation in Germany

Senator La Follette in the *Boston Transcript*, at the end of October, says:—

"The situation is desperate in the large cities, where food riots are common. The crisis which is at hand involves possibilities too awful to contemplate. It menaces more than Germany. Hunger is the firebrand of revolution. There is no time for protracted debate. The case calls for immediate relief. Delay means the possible overthrow of governments, dissolution, chaos, civil war . . . The need of Germany is no less elemental and no less urgent than if caused by famine or earthquake. The response from the outside world should be as spontaneous and immediate."

The Friends' centres in Berlin, Frankfurt, Nurnberg, Elberfeld and the Ruhr are carrying out, under the Friends' Council for International Service, a wide scheme of relief to the middle classes, students, children and aged.

YOUR PROMPT HELP IS URGENTLY NEEDED

Subscriptions, which may be earmarked for special purposes if desired, should be sent to the FRIENDS' COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL SERVICE, Carl Heath, Secretary, (Room 5), Devonshire House, 136 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Clothing should be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, McLean's Buildings, New Street Square, London, E.C.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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cases, that Branches should endeavour to raise their Council's Vote quotas from their own members; the most profitable way of doing so is to get their members to act directly or indirectly, and by any of the means indicated above, as collectors of funds for League of Nations Union work.

All the above methods can be repeated year by year; in this respect they are not like the Capital Levy.

A Good Example.

A new member writes: "I herewith enclose a cheque for five guineas. Four guineas are for the years in which I have been talking about the League and forgetting to subscribe; and one guinea is for the current year. I should like to become a member of the Union, and pay an annual subscription of one guinea in future."

Other would-be subscribers please copy.

Westmorland Teachers' Conference.

A successful Teachers' Conference was recently arranged by the South Westmorland and District Council, in conjunction with the County Education Committee and the N.U.T. About 80 teachers were present, nearly all of whom were active L.N.U. members.

A Strenuous Week-End.

Kendal has had a concentrated week-end League effort. On Saturday at a Branch meeting, Mr. Whelen answered questions for an hour and a half. On Sunday, in place of Sunday schools, all the denominations co-operated in a big mass meeting for children in the theatre (the largest hall in Kendal), which was packed. In the evening a large congregation at the Parish Church heard Mr. Whelen speak from the pulpit on the League, in place of the usual sermon.

Finally, Mr. Whelen wound up a strenuous week-end on Monday morning with a visit to the Girls' High School, at which there is a flourishing Junior Branch. After an hour's talk, the youthful audience was so eager for more that the headmistress kindly allowed the time-table to be upset, in order that for another hour the host of questioners might be satisfied.

L.N.U. "At Home" to League Medical Statisticians.

Mrs. Oliver Brett, on behalf of the League of Nations Union's Hospitality Committee, entertained at an At Home on Monday, December 3, the medical and vital statisticians now visiting London under the auspices of the League of Nations Health Organisation. There were present representatives of Brazil, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Norway, Poland and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, as well as Dr. Pantaleoni, until recently a member of the League's Epidemics Commission, and Mr. Duffield, of the Secretariat. While in London the party visited Paddington Town Hall and Somerset House, in order to study the method of registration of births, deaths and marriages and of the Census returns.

Westminster Public Meeting.

The Westminster Branch announce that the public meeting originally fixed for November will take place on January 17, 1924, at the Caxton Hall at 8 p.m. Lord Charnwood will be in the Chair, and Mr. Chao Hsin Chu, Chinese Chargé d'Affaires will speak.

Dr. Nansen's Appeal.

The appeal by Dr. Nansen on behalf of the refugees in the Near East, which was published in the November number of HEADWAY, has already borne good fruit. A large shipment of clothing, footwear and materials was made to Greece on December 8. This consisted of 20,085 articles, weighing nearly 7 tons, and valued at £1,775. Continued appeals come from Greece for warm clothing and covering, and it is hoped that it will be possible to send a further large consignment soon after Christmas. Members of the League of Nations Union have made a splendid response to Dr. Nansen's original appeal,

and may be trusted to carry on the good work with undiminished zeal.

L.N.U. Luncheon to Lord Robert Cecil.

On January 10, 1924, the birthday of the League of Nations, a luncheon will be held at the Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly Circus, at 1 o'clock for 1.15. Lord Robert Cecil will be the guest of honour and the chair will be taken by Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Tickets, six shillings each (exclusive of wines, &c.), can be obtained from the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. A remittance should accompany each application. Cheques should be made payable to "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank, Belgrave Branch."

Educational Conference and the L.N.U.

The League of Nations Union Session at the Conference of Educational Associations at University College, Gower Street, will be held on Tuesday, January 8th, when Dr. G. P. Gooch will lecture on "The Unity of Civilisation." Admission free.

Canon Dormer Pierce.

Not only the Brighton and Hove Branch, but the whole of the Union is the poorer for the death of Canon Dormer Pierce, Chairman of the Brighton Branch. As Vicar of Brighton and a public-spirited citizen of the highest type, Canon Dormer Pierce was invariably ready to place his energies and abilities at the service of his Branch, whose Executive regularly met in the old and hospitable house used for nearly a century as Vicarage until he abandoned it for a less elaborate home. Canon Dormer Pierce was at Geneva during the last Assembly, and the personal contacts he established there served only to intensify his zeal for the Union's work.

Lord Birkenhead as League Propagandist.

Lord Birkenhead has forced himself considerably into the public eye so far as the League of Nations is concerned. The Glasgow Branch has profited largely in membership as a result of the ex-Lord Chancellor's recent Rectorial Address. At one meeting addressed in the city, ten women of the poorest class came up and joined, one of them observing that she wanted to join because of what "yon man" had said to the students. It is no doubt as a result of the impetus thus given to the Union's work that Mr. Whelen was asked at a Kendal meeting: "Is it true that Lord Birkenhead is a paid agent of the League of Nations Union?"

The Young Idea.

Barnoldswick meeting, November, 1923, Empire Theatre—700 children. Girl of 15 in chair. Vote of thanks, two boys. Perkins, junr. (seconding vote of thanks): "If Mr. Whelen knows as much about the Football League as about the League of Nations, he will make the best referee in England."

More School "Assemblies."

The Whitley and Monkseaton Boys' High School has a flourishing Junior Branch to which practically the whole School belongs. Each form, containing on an average 30 boys, forms a "League" in itself in which each boy is a member-state. In November last, near Armistice Day, each form resolved itself into a model "Assembly," and held vigorous debates during one lesson period. Later it is proposed to have a full-class "Assembly" of the whole School, and to hold "Form Assemblies" once a term at least. There is certainly no lack of interest.

Our Membership.

The membership of the Union, as we go to press, has just passed one-third of a million, and more than 100,000 new members have joined in 1923.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.			
Nov. 1, 1918	...	...	3,217
Nov. 1, 1920	...	...	49,858
Nov. 1, 1921	...	...	133,649
Nov. 1, 1922	...	...	212,959
Dec. 15, 1923	...	...	331,761

BRANCHES.	
On Dec. 15, the number of Branches was	1,599, with
132 Junior Branches and	515 Corporate Members.

A Correction.

The figures for literature distribution given under the heading "A Record Month" in our last number referred to the Brighton Branch, not to the Headquarters. The name of the Branch was omitted in error.

Huntington (referred to in the paragraph headed "The Right Spirit" in our December issue) is in Herefordshire, not in Herts.

Albanian Famine Relief.

It is unfortunately impracticable for HEADWAY to find space for most of the appeals reaching it for financial assistance for various good causes. In view, however, of the intimate association of the League of Nations with Albania, a communication from Miss M. E. Durham, 36, Glenloch Road, London, N.W.3, asking any League members who can to give some financial assistance for the relief of the famine that has fallen on Albania, has an irresistible claim. The need is urgent. The minimum sum that may save a mountain population threatened with starvation is £10,000. Contributions should be sent to Miss Durham at the address indicated.

WALES.

The movement of the Women's Memorial for a message from the homes of Wales to the homes of the United States has been a success of which Wales may feel proud. The number of signatures to the Memorial is mounting up day by day, and the figures up to and including December 12 are as follow:—

North Wales	..	..	..	119,582
South Wales	..	..	..	182,297
Outside Wales	..	..	..	2,113
Total	..	..	..	303,992

Arrangements are being made for the script to be prepared by one of the best-known women manuscript writers in the country.

The General Election of 1923 came upon Wales suddenly, but it found Branches better prepared than last year in the matter of dealing with questionnaires to the various candidates, and the candidates themselves were much readier to reply to the questions asked of them. Of the 36 elected members for Wales and Monmouthshire decidedly affirmative answers were given by 34 and a qualified answer, very friendly in tone, was given by Mr. J. C. Gould, of the Central Division of Cardiff. One elected member did not reply—Mr. R. G. Clarry, of Newport.

Last Christmas an appeal was made to the Churches in Wales and in Monmouthshire for a collection or a retiring collection towards the missionary work of the Welsh Council. 467 churches responded, and it is expected that this year a very much larger number will do so.

The Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Gregynog during the week-end of December 7-10, when excellent work was done with regard to Training Colleges and Elementary Schools. The Advisory Committee of the Welsh National Council consists of a large number of the leading educationists in Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Election in Wales.

Only one of all the candidates for Welsh constituencies declared his disbelief in the League. This was Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies, Barrister-at-Law, late Editor of "Dod's Peerage," and Editor of "Armorial Families," who con tested Merthyr Tydfil.

To the question: "Are you prepared to support the League of Nations?" Mr. Fox-Davies replied: "No. The League is futile and expensive, and nothing like so

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MUST THE CHILDREN DIE ?

To ALL who have imagination.
 To ALL who have knowledge.
 To ALL who can think and feel,
 the "SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND"
 again appeals.

Picture to yourselves the shivering, starving hordes of children in Europe to-day, the miseries of the homeless Greek refugees, the helplessness of the Armenian orphans in Corfu and Constantinople, the destitution and despair in the industrial areas of Germany.

Wherever children are greatly suffering, whether at home or abroad, there the "Save the Children Fund" seeks to help. Feeding centres, kitchens, work-rooms, adoption schemes, grants to children's homes and child relief Societies are various forms of its manifold activities. For such work members and Branches of the League of Nations Union have given most generous assistance.

But much more is needed to tide the children through the terrible winter. So we implore your further help lest the children die.

Contributions (which may be earmarked if desired for any particular country) may be sent to:—

His Grace the Duke of Atholl,
 President of the
SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND
 (Room 76c), 42, Langham Street, London, W.1.

effective as the Conference of Ambassadors. It was the Conference of Ambassadors," he added, "who put the screw on Mussolini at Corfu, not the League."

To the question: "Do you consider that meetings of the Council should normally be held in public?" Mr. Fox-Davies replied: "Yes. Then the public would know how damned silly the whole business is."

RESULT:

Mr. R. C. Wallhead (Lab.)	19,511
Mr. Rowland Thomas (Lib.)	7,403
Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies (Cons.)	5,548

NEW CORPORATE MEMBERS.

BATH.—Oldfield Park Baptist Church. BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—Castlegate Baptist Church. BLUNDELL-SANDS.—Presbyterian Church. BRISTOL.—Redland Baptist Church; Redland Park Congregational Church; Tynedale Baptist Church. BRUTON.—Congregational Church. CHELTENHAM.—Baptist Church. CHORLEY.—Parish Church Men's Bible Class. COGGESHALL.—Congregational Church. CUPAR.—Branch of the B.W.T.A. EDGBASTON.—Sandon Road Wesleyan Church. EDINBURGH.—Leith Provident Women's Guild; St. Andrews Place U.F. Church Study Circle; St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Women's Guild. ENDERBY.—Congregational Church. EXETER.—United Methodist Church. FLEET.—Baptist Church. GATESHEAD.—Part Terrace Presbyterian Church. GOOLE.—Christ Church (Congregational). HARROGATE.—Lodge of the Theosophical Society. HEATON PARK.—Congregational Church. HORSHAM.—Congregational Church. HUCKNALL.—Trinity United Methodist Church. HUDDERSFIELD.—Milton Road P.S.A. Brotherhood. LEEDS.—Primitive Methodist Church (4th Circuit). LIVERPOOL.—WALTON.—Trinity Presbyterian Church. LONDON.—Earlsfield Baptist Church; Penge Congregational Church; Upper Clapton Congregational Church. LUDDENDENFOOT.—United Methodist Church. LYDNEY.—Baptist Church. LYTHAM.—Fairhaven Congregational Church; Labour Party. MORECAMBE.—Branch of the B.W.T.A. NEWARK.—Barnby Gate Wesley Guild; Trades and Labour Council. NEW SOUTHGATE.—Primitive Methodist Church. NORTHAMPTON.—Abbey Road Baptist Church. OADBY.—Baptist Church. ORRELL.—Congregational Church. OSWESTRY.—Quinton Congregational Church. OXFORD.—George Street Congregational Church. PERTH.—West U.F. Church Girls Auxiliary. PUDSEY.—Congregational Church. PURLEY.—Congregational Church. READING.—Park Church. RADCLIFFE.—Chapelfield Primitive Methodist Church. ROYSTON.—Congregational Church. ST. ALBANS.—Dagnall Street Baptist Church. SHARPNESS.—Union Church. SHEERNESS.—Alma Road Congregational Church. SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Avenue Baptist Church; Chelmsford Avenue Congregational Church. SOWERBY.—Free Church Council. STAINCLIFFE.—Baptist Church. STOURBRIDGE.—Congregational Church. STRETFORD.—Congregational Church. SURBITON.—Park Congregational Church. SUTTON-IN-ASHFIELD.—Congregational Church. WARLEY (YORKS).—Congregational Church. WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA.—St. Albans Church. WINSLOW.—Congregational Church. WORKINGTON.—Branch of the National Union of Teachers. WYTHALL.—Baptist Church.

The Fellowship Branch.

A Lecture will be given by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, on Friday, 25th January, at 8 p.m., at the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.1, on "The Ruhr and the Rhineland." Miss M. Royden will take the Chair. The lecture is free, but there will be a collection to defray expenses.

Do you Want "Headway" ?

Many of the members of the Union whose subscriptions entitle them to receive HEADWAY belong to the same family at the same address. In such cases it may happen that one copy of HEADWAY may be found sufficient for a family, even though every member may, in virtue of the amount of his subscription, be entitled to receive a copy. If those recipients—who, though entitled to receive HEADWAY, prefer to dispense with their copy—would kindly inform Headquarters accordingly, there would be a saving in labour and expense.

Renew Your Subscriptions.

Annual subscriptions become renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription was paid. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY. Neglect of this is the cause of many complaints of non-receipt of the HEADWAY.

To Branch Secretaries.

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

Enquiries.

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

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.
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£25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.

A "corporate member" pays £1 a year and promises to endeavour to secure that every member of the Church or Club or Institute or Branch of a Society shall become an individual member of the Union, and in return receives a copy of HEADWAY, the monthly journal of the Union, together with the various pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.

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 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. Also see that your Public Library has one.

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, but opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, at the same address. All communications respecting advertisements should be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1.

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE OF £15,000.

Received to date of going to press ... £5,964
Required before Jan. 31, 1924 ... £9,036

An Earnest Appeal

is made to all Branches to remit their quotas for 1923, before January 31st, 1924.

It is of the utmost importance that the total sum of £15,000 should be obtained by this date.