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Vol. V. No. 6.

June, 1923.

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

Price Threepence

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THE MONTH.

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

"What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind."—*Ex-President Wilson.*

IN these words, while the Great War was still ranging, President Wilson expressed the underlying purpose of the League of Nations. During the party struggle in the States, in which the whole League issue was later involved, that main purpose was misunderstood and misrepresented. Lord Robert Cecil's recent tour in America has done a great deal to remove the prejudices and misconceptions which still confuse the issue on the other side of the Atlantic, and at the same time has made clear to English minds the feeling in the United States. The main lesson to be learned by Europe, and perhaps especially by this country, from Lord Robert's visit is that America will not come into the League until Europe shows by her actions that her "adherence to the League is not a mere pretence," and that she has "broken for ever with the old conditions of force and violence." It was not for nothing that at every meeting Lord Robert addressed in America he was bombarded with the question, "Why has not the League intervened to make peace in the Ruhr?"

IN his speech in the House on May 10, Lord Robert showed himself strongly in favour of this policy. Emphasising the connection between the Saar and the Ruhr, and characterising the recent action of the Saar Governing Commission as an "outrage" and a "gross misuse of their powers" — "action worthy of Prussian militarism at its worst" — Lord Robert went on to point out that some of the developments that had recently occurred in the Ruhr partook of the same character. The French Note to Germany was a case in point. He strongly urged that the British Government should exercise its "friendly right" under Article 11 of the Covenant to bring the whole matter of reparations, governmental indebtedness, and security before the Council of the League. In view of the paramount importance of the subject, we believe that the British Government should be represented at this meeting by either the Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary. The attendance of Germany at the Council meeting for the purposes of this discussion seems to us also an essential condition of a successful settlement of the reparations question.

* * * *

WITHOUT attempting to anticipate any action which the Council may take, if the question is referred to it, some such solution as that advocated on p. 349 seems to us to hold out the main hope of success. Mr. Hughes has suggested, and the Germans in their recent Note also adopted the idea, of an International Commission to deal with reparations. In our view, this Commission, which should include Americans, should be set up by the League and should report, first, on the amount Germany has already paid, and, second, on her capacity to pay. Side by side with the actual

question of reparations is that of security—and here the question of a demilitarised zone needs to be interpreted as being established at both sides of the frontier, in France as well as in Germany—and of inter-Allied debts. Finally, there is the urgent necessity for the inclusion of Germany in the League. The security of France, no less than the rehabilitation of Europe, demands that Germany should take her place, not merely as a member of the League, but as a member of the Council. Our own Government should leave no stone unturned to convince Germany of British support for her application and to induce her to apply at once.

* * * *

MEMBERS of all shades of opinion combined on May 10 to voice their common disapproval of the recent action—or lack of action—of the League of Nations in the Saar. It is unfortunate, to say the least, that amid the excellent work done by the League Council last April, and done in the main in public session, there must be recorded also this one very bad piece of work conducted in private. The whole incident points to the necessity for a full investigation into the present administration of the Saar. We are glad to learn that the British Government are in full sympathy with this policy and are proposing to consult with the other members of the Council in regard to raising the whole question at the next meeting of the Council.

* * * *

IN our view, however, the matter is too urgent to wait until June 25, the date for the next ordinary meeting. The case demands a special meeting immediately, and the temper of the House should leave the Government in no doubt as to how this country would receive such intervention on its part. The matter is, moreover, simplified in that for the moment the President of the Council, on whom the duty of convening a special meeting would devolve, is actually the British representative.

* * * *

THE League's Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments meets on June 4. The chief item on its agenda will be the draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, which is at one and the same time the reward and the justification for disarmament, and the condition of a sane settlement of the reparations problem. Meanwhile another aspect of the disarmament question must not be lost sight of. At the last Assembly of the League a resolution was passed calling upon the Council to call "as soon as possible" a Conference of all States, whether members of the League or not, to consider extending the principles of the Washington treaty on naval disarmament to States which were not represented at Washington. After eight months this Conference has still not been convened, the reason alleged being that the Powers who signed the Washington Treaty have not all ratified it. This plea hardly holds water, however, for calling the new extension Conference would probably have the effect of "gingering-up" the dilatory States. It is in any case a great pity for the League to give even an appearance of negligence in this matter, especially as Soviet Russia has already, before a formal invitation was extended to her, announced her willingness to attend the Conference.

THE most hopeful thing that can be said about the resumed negotiations with Turkey at Lausanne is that the Turks are evidently anxious for their country to become a member of the League of Nations. At any rate, they advanced this hope as a reason for desiring to omit Article 9 of the Treaty, which deals with the conclusion of commercial treaties "without infringing the equitable treatment of commerce provided for by Article 23 (e) of the Covenant of the League." As Turkey hoped to join the League shortly, her delegates contended that this Article was superfluous. Meanwhile, the case of the million refugees in Greece is so urgent that something more than temporary relief is needed. As Dr. Nansen pointed out to the Council of the League, a successful attempt has been made in Western Thrace to convert provisional camp settlements into solidly built villages, with a self-supporting population with definite occupations, such as farming, charcoal burning, brick-making and weaving. In order to deal with the problem of these refugees on a larger scale, the Greek Government has applied for a loan of £10,000,000 on the basis of securities she is prepared to offer. The League Council has referred the matter to its Finance Committee, who are now considering it.

* * * *

AS we go to press the Opium Commission of the League of Nations is meeting at Geneva. In some respects this is the most important session the Commission has yet held, for the United States Government has sent an influential delegation, headed by Mr. Stephen Porter, Chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee, and including such men as Dr. Rubert Blue, head of the European Section of the United States Health Department, and Mr. Neville, an expert from the State Department. Moreover, Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State, has stated publicly that the delegation, on behalf of the American Government, will urge the curtailment of the production of opium and coca leaves, and will take up the position that the use of narcotics otherwise than for medicinal or scientific purposes is illegal.

* * * *

POLICY for the limitation of the world's production of opium and other dangerous drugs is urgently necessary in order to get—literally—at the root of the matter, and it is of the highest importance that America should be giving full co-operation in this work. In this country the League of Nations Union has been pressing a similar policy upon our Government, coupling with it a plea for the holding of all the Commission's sessions in public. The Council of the League has now admitted the right of its Advisory Commissioners to meet in public session, and it is to be hoped that our Government will instruct its delegate on the Opium Commission to see that full advantage is taken of this permission.

* * * *

WE publish on another page an article by Professor Gilbert Murray on Mandates, and an illustrative map appears on p. 351. In a few years' time one of the mandated areas shown on that map will be independent of tutelage, and probably a member of the League of Nations. A Protocol has

been signed with King Feisul of Iraq modifying the Treaty of October 1922 (under which this country's commitments and responsibilities in Iraq extended over 20 years) and providing that the Treaty is to terminate when Iraq becomes a member of the League, and in any case not later than four years from the ratification of peace with Turkey. As soon as the Protocol and the Treaty have been ratified by the Iraq Constituent Assembly, the British Government will use its good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to the League, subject to "two essential conditions: the delimitation of frontiers and the establishment of a stable Government in accordance with the Organic Law. Ratification, however, is dependent upon the conclusion of peace with Turkey, for the Constituent Assembly, which is the ratifying power, cannot be constituted until the boundaries of the country which is to elect it are fixed, and these in turn cannot be fixed until the peace with Turkey has been signed and the separate negotiations about Mosul have been concluded.

* * * *

THE Council of the League has now appointed a Financial Adviser to Albania. The appointment of Mr. Hunger, an experienced Dutch colonial administrator, did not raise the opposition with which the French met the proposed appointment of an Englishman to this post, and Mr. Hunger has signed a five years' contract, and is to report quarterly to the League. Albania is one of the first countries to avail itself of the procedure laid down by a resolution passed by the Council and Assembly of the League in 1921, to the effect that the League would consider requests made to it by States wishing to obtain the services of technical advisers. The appointment was made after a Commission of Enquiry had reported on conditions in Albania. Under the guidance of its Financial Adviser, the Albanian Government will now proceed to build roads, issue a budget, establish a bank of issue and float a loan. Albania has a rich soil, and its economic resources, if properly developed, should ensure the country a prosperous future.

* * * *

AMOST encouraging report on the Austrian situation was made at the last council meeting of the League by the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, and the League's High Commissioner, Dr. Zimmermann. This is decidedly the best piece of work the League has undertaken, as its continued progress shows. Austria's credit is steadily improving, the Government is co-operating wholeheartedly with the High Commissioner in the carrying out of reforms, and American bankers are participating in the long-term loan which is being issued under League auspices this month. Hungary is now asking for League assistance on similar lines to those adopted in the case of Austria.

* * * *

AS the result of a study made since its last session concerning the question of Eastern Carelia, the Council decided at its meeting of April 21 to request the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on the following question placed before the Council by the Finnish Government:—

Do Articles X. and XI. of the Treaty of Peace between Finland and Russia signed at Dorpat on October 14,

1920, and the annexed declaration of the Russian Delegation regarding the autonomy of Eastern Carelia constitute obligations of an international character which bind Russia, in her relations with Finland, to carry out the provisions contained therein?

The report submitted to the Council stated that the Finnish Government desires a ruling from the Court as to the extent to which it is legally entitled to continue the discussion with the Soviet Government on the situation of Eastern Carelia as defined by the Treaty of Dorpat. The report brought out that there could scarcely be any doubt that the Council had the right to refer this question to the Court as it is the duty of the League to help its members to maintain good relations with their neighbours and to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes. As Soviet Russia is neither a member of the League nor of the Court, she would not, of course, be bound by a decision of the Court, nor should Finland entertain any illusion with regard to the subsequent assistance which the League would be able to give.

* * * *

NEVERTHELESS, the report added, the Court's opinion might be of great assistance in clearing up certain legal points, and consequently in increasing the chances of reaching a satisfactory solution of the difference. Should the Court decide in favour of Russia, Finland would know that she had no right in international law to continue the discussion with Russia. Should the Court decide in favour of Finland, it is not impossible that Soviet Russia would not recognise the authoritative opinion expressed by the highest legal tribunal.

* * * *

AVERY important arbitral decision regarding the delimitation of the frontier between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia in the mining district of Salgotarjan was reached by the League Council at its last meeting. The frontier laid down by the Council leaves the mines and two villages inhabited by Magyars in Hungarian territory, giving Czecho-Slovakia the heights which the Peace Treaty, apparently for reasons of national security, had attributed to this State. The Czecho-Slovak Government will have the right to use the railway station, of Somosujfalu as a frontier and customs station, the Hungarian Government granting all possible facilities in connection therewith. The Czecho-Slovak Government, on the other hand, will do all in its power to facilitate the exploitation of the basalt quarry north of the village of Somosko and the transport of its yield to the station of Somosujfalu. The Council's decision, which takes into consideration both the local interests of the inhabitants of the disputed territory and the national interests of the States concerned, was reached after the Hungarian and Czecho-Slovak representatives and the League's Permanent Armaments Commission had been consulted, the latter on the strategic questions which might be raised in connection with the geographical character of the district, which is crossed from north to south by a railway.

SUMMER SCHOOLS!

(See page 358.)

TSAARDOM:

"ONE might ransack the annals of the history of the Russian treatment of the question of Poland," said Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons on May 11, "without finding a more monstrous specimen of despotic legislation, more suppressive of the elementary rights of free citizenship, than is here to be found; and this goes forth to the world with the authority of the League of Nations." In these words Mr. Asquith described the now famous and infamous decree by which the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley made it an offence, punishable by imprisonment up to five years and a fine up to 10,000 francs, to cast discredit on the Treaty of Versailles or to traduce the League of Nations, its members or the States signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. This decree is promulgated by the Commission appointed by the League, and therefore issues under the auspices of the League.

When the Saar valley was handed over for administration to the League, it was enacted that a Commission of five members should be appointed by the Council to conduct the administration. These members were to consist of a Frenchman, a Saarois, and three who were neither French nor German. Actually the Commission is composed of a Frenchman, who has succeeded in being elected Chairman, a Belgian, who always votes with the Frenchman, a Dane, who has lived almost all his life in Paris, a Canadian, and a representative of the Saar population, who was nominated in rather shady circumstances by his predecessor, who was forced to resign in still shadier circumstances. The latter, M. Hektor, was accused by a Saar newspaper of partiality to France, sued the paper for libel, failed to recover damages, resigned, and was actually allowed to nominate his successor. No other names were submitted to the Council in April for election in his place, and Mr. Wood, the British representative, very rightly protested. It was too late, however, to do more than protest. The appointment was made.

This, then, is the Commission which is emulating Tsardom in the name of the League, which was created, not for administrative duties such as governing the Saar, but for "the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations." The decree was carried by three votes, against the Canadian's one. The gentleman representing the interests of the population abstained.

When this decree was laid before the Council in April, M. Branting protested with the greatest possible vigour against it. He denounced not only the flagrant moral injustice of it, but also its actual illegality. A clause in the conditions governing the administration of the Valley enacts that all new laws and decrees must be laid before the elected representatives of the inhabitants. The Chairman of the Commission replies that it was laid before the Technical Committee, the ten members of which are representatives of the people, and passed by it. It transpires that these ten are not elected, but chosen. By whom? By the Chairman of the Commission. It also transpires that they never saw it.

The second line of justification was an allegation that the strike was political rather than economic

in aim. Could there be a more indefensible plea? Could there be a more calamitous precedent for combating labour unrest? Under this decree several newspapers were suppressed and peaceful picketing, legal in France and Germany as well as England, was abolished on a political allegation; under it a striker was liable to five years in prison if he traduced a postman or an office-boy in the Commission's office—for the penalties extend to protect "all officials responsible for the conduct of its administration."

The remedy for this disastrous edict lay in the hands of the Council. It could not amend it; it could not cancel it; it was not asked to approve it. But it can dismiss the Commission, and it can threaten them with dismissal unless they amend or cancel it themselves. The Council, actually, did nothing except register their protests of M. Branting and Mr. Wood.

But the time has come for more than registration of protest and acquiescence in injustice. The very existence of the League is threatened by such passivity in the face of wrong. The name of the League must either be cleared or relegated to history-books as a curious freak of the twentieth century. The Council must be convened again, and on its agenda must be the two facets of the one great problem, the Lesser evil of the Saar, the Greater of the Ruhr. Both are manifestations of a spirit which is utterly at variance with the Covenant. Both should be firmly tackled at once. The time has come for Great Britain to exercise her friendly right under Article XI. to bring both Saar and Ruhr before the League. If the French refuse to allow a discussion, then no one is worse off than before. If they do allow a discussion, then a great step forward will have been made. In any case, nothing can be worse than the present drift towards the sea of interminable revenges and counter-revenges.

The policy for the League is no longer passivity. It must act and act quickly. It must remove the smaller blot upon its fame by cancelling the Saar ukase and, if necessary, remodelling to some extent the Government of the Valley; and it must show the world, both inside the League and outside, that it is not afraid of offering to undertake the solution of the greatest international problem in existence. If discussion is impossible, at least the onus of compelled inactivity is removed from the League to the shoulders of any nation which would use its veto to burke a League settlement.

LORD ROBERT CECIL IN
AMERICA.

By PHILIP J. BAKER.

[Assistant to Lord Robert Cecil in the League of Nations Section of the Peace Conference, former Assistant to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations.]

LORD ROBERT CECIL has given four years since the Armistice to organising the forces which in this country and in Europe favour peace. By that work he has earned the gratitude of every thinking man in every country. In all these four years he has never worked harder than in the four weeks of his recent

American tour: by his brilliant oratory, by his whole-hearted sincerity and frankness, by the statesmanlike vision of his outlook, he made a host of friends both for himself and for his cause.

Any Englishman who attempts to write of Lord Robert's tour in the United States must first of all express appreciation of the reception which he everywhere received. It was a reception which gave proof, not only of great interest in and great sympathy with himself, but also of a genuine concern in the subject which he came to discuss. In the great "swing" round the East and Middle West, which in four weeks Lord Robert carried out, he spoke in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago, Des Moines, Cincinnati, Louisville, Richmond, and Boston—nine cities in eight different States. Everywhere he had packed and enthusiastic audiences; everywhere the Press was more than friendly.

His reception indeed was more than a mere manifestation of the innate American instinct of hospitality; it gave proof of a real generosity of mind. Friends and foes of the League joined together to welcome a distinguished stranger, and to give him a free and fair hearing for everything he wished to say. The most striking example of this generosity of mind was the remarkable luncheon arranged in New York for Lord Robert by Mr. Frank Munsey, the owner of a number of important anti-League papers, at which he brought together the owners and editors of practically the whole American Press.

It was not difficult for Lord Robert to convince a public that was in this frame of mind that he had not come to preach to them, to interfere in their domestic politics, or to advise their Government what it ought to do. He told them the truth, that he had come at the request of his American friends to explain how in his view the League of Nations had worked, and to find out from them what their objections to it were, and what suggestions they had to make as to the ways in which these objections could be overcome. The American public believed him when he said that this and no other was his purpose, and they received him warmly in the spirit in which he came.

It was also not difficult for Lord Robert to convince people in this frame of mind that some at least of their conceptions about the League had not been justified by the way in which it works. His audiences not only listened to him with great attention, they bombarded him with questions—Article 10, the Super-State; the six British votes—these were topics with which at every meeting and in every discussion he was asked to deal. And when he explained that in his view Article 10 was of no particular importance, that it could in no case oblige any State to send its troops overseas unless of its own free will it decided to do so, his explanation was accepted and believed. When he explained that the fifty-two members of the League who had accepted the Covenant did not believe themselves to have handed over their sovereign rights to a super-state, his auditors gave every evidence of being convinced. When he explained that in his view the division of the British Delegation into six parts weakened rather than increased the power of the British Empire in the Assembly, and when he suggested that the same thing would be true if the United States were represented by six separate delegations from six different parts of the country, his questioners admitted the force of his contention.

It may confidently be said that on all these points—and they loom large in the mind of the American public—Lord Robert's explanations have done much to remove prejudices, and to bring the whole question of the League to a point at which a real discussion, free from party considerations, will be possible. It would be absurd to imagine that a brief visit by any man could alter the mind of a people. But there is no doubt that opinion is moving. The application of the Irish Free State for

admission to the League has done much to remove one great element of opposition. The pressure of inexorable economic fact has perhaps done more. The American people are coming to the conclusion that in business, as in other matters, they cannot do without Europe, and that European peace and stability is a condition of their own prosperity. For these reasons the policy of isolation is dead, and even Senator Borah admits the necessity of international co-operation. It is only as to methods that there is still dispute.

And perhaps even as to method there would not be much dispute were the condition of Europe more satisfactory than it is. The real strength of those in America who oppose the League lies in the present turmoil in this continent. Everywhere Lord Robert was asked why the League had not interfered in the Greco-Turkish War and in the Ruhr. The American public, when it contemplates the strifes and hatreds of Europe, finds it difficult to believe that the European Governments are in earnest in their desire for peace. They fear, therefore, that the League may not bring peace, but may be used to draw them into quarrels with which they have no concern. If there were more evidence of the pacific intention of these European Governments—if, for example, the problem of the Ruhr and of Reparations were settled through the machinery of the League—there can be no doubt that the most serious of all obstacles to American co-operation with Europe and the League would disappear.

[Lord Robert Cecil was the guest of the Foreign Policy Association, which paid the whole of the expenses connected with the tour. He also spoke on the platform of the American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, an important organisation which came into being on January 6, 1923, and has now established its organisation in every State in the American Union, with an individual membership of over 10,000. It works in the closest collaboration with the various women's organisations, particularly the Women's Pro-League Council, and with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, the World Peace Foundation, the Church Peace Union, and other similar bodies.

The Association is non-partisan in fact as well as in name, and it has equal numbers of Democrats and of each branch of the Republican Party.]

MANDATES.

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

ALL men, in some mystical sense, are said to be equal, but it is their immense inequality in all practical senses which creates half the troubles of the world. A tribe of Bushmen was lately asked their opinion of the comparative merits of two white nations, which we will call A and B. The chief answered: "We are a very small and ignorant people. We know very little about any white men, but when we go to drinking-places in the evening the A used to shoot us, and the B have not yet shot us. So we like the B best." It is not much use to talk of the equality of all mankind in the face of such answers as that.

Consequently it has to be admitted, in the words of Article 22, that "there are territories inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The existence of these peoples has led to some of the most difficult problems of government, some of the most atrocious crimes in history, and in particular, to bitter wars between the great powers. For all these reasons they come within the scope of the League of Nations. The League exists, first, to prevent war by getting at the causes of war. Secondly, it aims (Arts. 23 and 25) at "securing just treatment for the native inhabitants of territories under its control," and "the mitigation of suffering throughout the world"; and, thirdly, it strives "to promote international co-operation" between its members in the problems that concern them all.

These backward territories have been a cause of war because, for one reason or another, they have meant money to their white possessors. Some of them contain mines, oil or raw material, and the white nations fight one another to get possession of such things. Others afford markets, and protectionist nations struggle to secure these markets for themselves. How can this danger be avoided? Theoretically there is the possibility of a common self-denying ordinance by which the European Governments should simply abstain from interfering with the backward races; and from time to time in reading the bloody pages of colonial history one is almost tempted to advocate that solution. But it is really not a solution at all. If Governments step out, independent white travellers go in, and are much less scrupulous than their Governments. If they are forbidden by law, then only the criminal and law-breaking types go in, and insist upon higher profits in proportion to their danger. The 18th and early 19th centuries show abundantly what happens when white speculators go at their own risk to make their fortunes among coloured peoples. Thus the road of absolute abstention is barred. Even if it were consistent with national duty that nations which have attained a higher standard of law, civilisation and religion should be content to keep to themselves and let their neighbours fare as they please, it is not practically possible.

Consequently the Covenant has established the other alternative. The territories taken from Germany and Turkey in Asia, Africa, and Polynesia, have been put under the control of certain advanced nations in trust for the League. A *Mandatum* in Roman law is much the same as what we call a Trust. It is a service for which the agent is not paid. The nation which accepts a mandate for any backward people, undertakes to apply the principle that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation." It gives to the League securities for the performance of this trust, and submits a full account of its government every year to the League Mandatory Commission. To ensure impartiality, and to prevent the great mandatory nations from winking at one another's misdoings, it is provided that the majority of the Mandatory Commission shall be drawn from nations which have no mandate. The present Commission consists of experts from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

The danger of wars arising about these territories is to be averted by securing that the government of them confers no economic advantages, and, more important still, that those members of the League who do not exercise a mandate should suffer no commercial disadvantage whatever as compared to the Mandatory powers.

These are the laws which the Covenant has laid down for the prevention of war. It is to be no advantage to possess one of these territories, no disadvantage not to possess one; so what is there to fight about? The doctrine is stated in Article 22, and explicitly developed in the answers made by the Allied and Associated Powers to the first German protest against the Treaty of Versailles. It was pointed out that the conquering countries had pledged themselves to receive no profit from their mandates for the ex-German colonies, and that Germany, as soon as she joined the League, would have exactly the same trade rights as France, Great Britain and Italy.

There is one unfortunate exception. The Australian Government was at the time of the Peace so wedded to Protection, and so determined to get its money's worth out of the war, that at the end of a long discussion it succeeded in getting the Polynesian territories (Mandate C) excepted from the general rule "securing equal opportunities for trade and commerce to other members of the League."

So much for war! What can the League do to prevent oppression? Probably most men, if they tried to make a list of the greatest atrocities committed during their life-time, would lead off with the events on the Congo and the Putumayo, and the Armenian massacres. That is to say, the worst things done in the world are done by the stronger races of mankind against the weaker. Except in the case of Turkey, such things are generally done without the encouragement, and against the will, of Governments. The remedy is first to secure that the terms of the Mandate itself are such as to secure in law the good treatment of the coloured sections of the population, and subsequently, to make sure by the annual review of the Mandates Commission at Geneva that the laws are carried out, and not abused. If this part of the Covenant is made a reality, it will constitute perhaps the greatest advance in humanity made by the Governments of the world since the abolition of the slave-trade. It is the one part of the Covenant which deserves the title, or must bear the stigma, of "idealism." Of course it will not be carried out in perfection for a long time. No Government now in existence dares to understand the obligation which it has undertaken in Article 22. They are only understood and fully approved by a handful of the best type of colonial governors, intelligent missionaries, medical officers and the like, who have not been corrupted by power and commercial interest.

But the system is working. That was absolutely proved in the Assembly of 1922, and in the meeting of the Mandates Commission two months before. When reports were handed in to the Mandates Commission certain of the persons responsible took the whole matter to be a piece of window-dressing, and scarcely even read personally the reports they handed in. It was very interesting to see their state of mind after their first cross-examination. They found that their reports had been read, and the problems understood. They were called upon to answer questions about which they had no information, and were told to get the information; questions which they regarded as mere impertinence, but which they afterwards found to be based upon the terms of the Mandate itself. In the Assembly no one who saw it will ever forget the impression made by the solitary negro delegate from Hayti arraigning the conduct of the Government of South Africa, and thus indirectly of the British Empire, with regard to the Bondelswart rising; nor the admirable spirit with which the High Commissioner of South Africa and the rest of the British speakers accepted without a murmur the Haytian's demand for a committee of inquiry. The incident showed that the delegate from a naturally weak state like Hayti, had sufficient faith in the League to challenge one of its most important members, and that the British Empire as a whole was ready to carry out its full duty rather than attempt to smother up in concealment an action of its own which had gone wrong. As an Englishman, I think it very fortunate that the first complaint made was made against Great Britain. I do not feel sure that any other power would have set such a good example.

Lastly, apart from war and apart from great oppressions, there is the immensely difficult problem of mere government. What is the leading part of humanity to do with these great masses of weaker brethren, who cannot govern themselves, who cannot maintain their own freedom, who cannot protect themselves against adventurers, nor secure their own opportunity for rising higher? This, in the strictest sense of the word, is the great problem of a Mandate: how the strong can guide and help the weak until weakness develops into strength. That is the great common interest of all great nations, and affords the truest and the greatest field for that international co-operation which is laid down in the first sentence of the Covenant as the first aim of the League.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, May.

FEW Englishmen could read without disgust the decree issued by the Saar Governing Commission. It would be hypocrisy to attempt to defend it, though England is already being told that her moral indignation is only part of her political game against France, and that her methods of governing an unwilling population as in Ireland and in India have not always been marked by that liberal rectitude with which she would like to see other peoples governed. Yet those who take such a line of criticism have to take account of the fact that such a decree goes right against the grain of English conceptions, with the result that the League cause in England has suffered a grave set-back.

It is, however, essential to keep some sense of proportion, and this is not everywhere evident in what has been said or written about the affair. The authority of the Council over the Governing Commission is very loosely defined, and a careful reading of the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles seems to lead to the conclusion that in reality it begins and ends with the appointment of the Members of the Governing Commission, while the complicated provisions of the Treaty make any reasonably satisfactory regime almost impossible.

It is scarcely just to take as a test of the League such a task recklessly dumped upon it by those who at the Peace Conference were wavering between permanent and temporary annexation. The clauses of the Treaty contain paragraph after paragraph giving definite rights to the "French State" in the Saar. The mines are the full and absolute property of the French during the fifteen years' regime; the territory is subject to the French customs regime, and the introduction of French currency is provided for. The Treaty expressly states that the Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of all these and many other provisions. The Governing Commission is also endowed with all the powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria; on top of these there are clauses which provide for a plebiscite to be taken at the end of the fifteen years to decide the ultimate allegiance of the territory. It would not be easy to draw up a plan better calculated to excite fifteen years of bitter relations between France and the native inhabitants, or to stimulate a permanent resistance to and criticism of every measure taken in the territory in order to gain position with a view to the plebiscite at the end of the term. It would be unnatural of the people of the Saar to adopt any other attitude but one of resistance and continuously expressed dissatisfaction. This makes the task of any Governing Commission difficult, and the character of the Commission itself, as laid down by the Treaty, is enough to add fuel to the fire. It is virtually a foreign autocracy which must, by Treaty, include a French and a Belgian, two members of the victorious powers.

This is the sort of regime imposed upon the Saar with not very closely defined relations with the League that the critics of the ridiculous decree—issued by the Governing Commission on its own authority—have in some cases put forward as a test of the spirit of the League of Nations itself. The fact is that until a few months ago, despite these unfavourable conditions, the Saar people were a prosperous community and one of the few regions in Europe with a balanced budget, though, obviously, balanced budgets are no substitute for the civic freedom which the Treaty has denied them. The natural agitation was accentuated by the developments in the Ruhr, feeling became tense, and the strike of 70,000 Saar miners, in the circumstances, was a serious event. It would be reasonable to suppose

that the Saar Governing Commission, which by the nature of the case is without the support of any party of the inhabitants, felt the need of firm action in order to preserve public order, and they issued this decree, which is generally based on the law introduced by the German Government at the time of the murder of Rathenau. They claim to have done so—and it is difficult to refute the claim—under their own powers, and the matter came before the Council, not as a matter to be approved or disapproved in the way of constitutional procedure, but at the request of a member of the Council who condemned its terms, and asked for explanations, but who brought forward no resolution of any sort. In my opinion, the Council's action was limited to this extent; it could have passed a resolution condemning the decree or expressing the view that it should be modified. This would have involved the resignation of the majority of the Commission. Alternatively, it could have taken the more drastic step of directly forcing the resignation of the majority members concerned. It is fair to bear in mind how serious would have been the effect of either of these steps in the prevailing circumstances, and one would not envy any Governing Commission subsequently appointed to carry on the thankless task. The Council, however, did have some kind of intimation from the Chairman of the Commission that the decree would be modified to meet some of the objections raised.

When all has been said, however, there might have been a better Commission, the administration of the Saar might have been conducted on broader lines, and it is not possible to excuse its decree which was issued in a spirit of panic or under French influence, or with a mixture of both. The original appointments by the Council were not happy, and, having renewed them from time to time, it was not easy, though certainly possible, for the Council to revoke them. The selection of a Frenchman as Chairman was open to criticism; but even here, with all the close contacts with France during the organisation period in the territory, the Frenchman (on the Commission by the terms of the Treaty) would have been a power behind the throne. It was perhaps just as well to be frank about it and put him on the throne.

The discussion at the last Council meeting was the first real protest against any action of the Commission, and it came at a moment when political passions are inflamed by the larger problem of the Ruhr, with which, in French minds, the Saar is associated. It is, in fact, admittedly part of the plan of reparations to France, and if instead of vague observations about reforming the League, an alteration could be made in the Saar regime by which the return of the territory to Germany would be assured at the end of the fifteen years, there might be some possibility of improvement. The protest on the Council was not pressed to a division, the British Government's general policy towards France apparently affecting its action on the Council. It is not, as has been suggested, a question of the constitution of the League, but a question of the policy of the Governments who are members of the League. The League does not dispose of Government policies. If there are Governments within it who are considered not to be observing their obligations, the obvious thing is for other Governments to bring to bear what pressure they can, and, if possible, for public opinion in the countries of the neglectful Governments to exert influence at home. It is no help whatever for publicists to throw up the sponge and call for some undefined League reforms. What many British people have not yet realised is that the growth of the League spirit varies in different parts of the world, that patience is necessary, and that the remarkable thing is that in a world torn by still unsettled treaties has been able to achieve so much. C.

THE NEW WORLD.

IX.—AZERBAIDJAN.

By W. O'SULLIVAN MOLONY.

MOST people have heard of Baku, but few have heard of Azerbaidjan. The oil of the great Caspian port has brought Baku into line with the most familiar names in the Near East. The pipe line through which this oil flows through the heart of the Caucasian mountains to the Black Sea ships and the railway line connecting the Caspian with the Black Sea has coupled with Baku the Black Sea harbour of Batum. It is doubtful whether without Baku the Republic of Azerbaidjan would ever have come into existence. It certainly would not have maintained its independence for long, as there would not have been sufficient material of value to support it. Beyond its present capital it has no city inclining to importance, and the character of the country is in most parts so mountainous and difficult of access that provincial administration could but exist in name. The fact, however, that Baku is its metropolis, the fact that one of the richest oil fields in the world lies within its embrace lends a sudden dignity to this curious Republic which cannot be gain-

said. The possession of Baku was one of the primary objectives of the Near Eastern struggle between Great Britain and Germany during the Great War; it spurred both nations on to herculean exploits in what was, perhaps, for them one of the remotest quarters of the arena of war. Both German and British troops occupied it in turn—and both, owing to their inability to cope with the people in an effective way, were compelled to relinquish the riches which they had so earnestly striven to possess. To appreciate the political difficulties which these two Powers met with one must picture to oneself the peculiar geographical position of the harbour and the State. To the north lie all the Russias, now a swarm of Soviet Republics, to the south Persia, to the west Georgia, and to the east that inland Sea, the Caspian. It would be difficult to conceive of anything more remote unless it were Central Asia itself. Then the inhabitants—these are so peculiarly mingled in race as to defeat labelling. They are now called Azerbaidjanis, where but five years ago they were known as Persians, Turkomans, Georgians, Circassians, Turks and Armenians—the two predominant cultures being Turkic and Russian. Azerbaidjan, prior to the war, a province of Persia with Tabriz, was constituted a Republic at the close of the war in 1918. It covered an area of some 50,000 square miles, with a population of over 2 millions. It was fondly termed by its ministers the "First Mohammedan Republic in the World." It was recognised de facto by the Allies at the time. Since then a series of events has blotted out the original constitution beyond recognition, and a new crust moulded by Moscow was laid over the whole country in June, 1920.

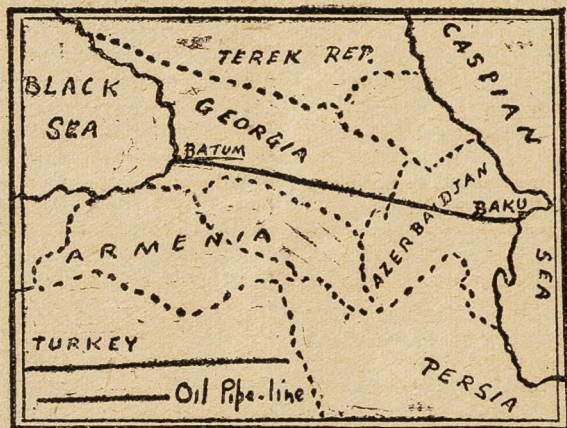
Thence onwards it has come to be known as the Azerbaidjan Soviet Republic, a title which clearly indicates its membership of the Federation of Soviet

Russian States, in which Georgia, Armenia, Terek, Kuban, Astrakhan, the Don and about a dozen others now figure.

In a telegram sent to Lenin by the Baku Soviet on April 29, 1920, the programme of the Sovietised Republic is clearly set forth: "All relations will be broken off with the Entente and other enemies of Soviet Russia. Not having sufficient strength itself to withstand the attacks of counter revolutionary bands inside and outside its borders, the military Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaidjan proposes to the Government of Soviet Russia to enter upon an alliance for a joint war against world imperialism, and requests that practical help should be immediately given it by the despatch of Red divisions."

The waylaying and imprisonment of the British Naval Mission to the Caspian by Nariman Narimanoff, President of "The Central Russian Soviet for the Mohammedan East," in Baku in the spring of 1920, was a proof of this sudden conversion to the dictate of Moscow.

As far as one is able to judge, the status of the Republic has undergone no radical alteration since then. There have been revolutions and much shedding of blood, armed conflicts with Armenian and Georgian neighbours and considerable tumult of this nature, but the independence of the Republic from the dictate of Moscow appears to be held no less in abuse.



The rise of Kemal, the Turkish Nationalist, has contributed, next to the influence of Moscow, more to the present status of the Republic than any other factor. With the threads of an already organised movement, the Pan-Turanian, in his grasp, he has been able to intervene on more occasions than one on the behalf of the Mussulman Turanians who form a majority in Azerbaidjan. This is a point which should not be overlooked by students of this Republic. To the regenerating Turk, this Mussulman Republic forms the connecting link between the Mussulmans of Anatolia and those of Transcaucasia and of Turkestan. Baku is for Islam in many respects the half-way house between the Crescent in Central Asia and Asia Minor, Constantinople and Bokhara. Thus it is that, apart from its oil, the importance of the Azerbaidjan capital can be gauged politically also. It was here that the Bolsheviks convened their famous Conference in the summer of 1920; it was termed the "Congress of the Revolutionary Peoples of the East," and some 4,000 delegates from Turkey, India, Afghanistan, Egypt and other Mussulman States were in all assembled. It was Moscow's greatest attempt to link Islam up with Communism. But it was not a triumph.

With Turkey now in the ascendancy and with the war clouds lifting in the Near East, one would do well to consider what the future of this Mussulman Republic, which holds so much oil and which has proved itself to be a political pivot in the Near East, is likely to be. The fact that the Armenian Republic of Erivan lies in between it and Angora should give one's speculations a decided flavour. Let us hope that it may prove to be a balancing factor in an area where too much blood that is good has been shed, and where too much tumult has been rife to permit of any further unscrupulous competition.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

THE RUHR.

IN foreign affairs the Ruhr continues to be the main pre-occupation of headquarters. The Executive Committee has given continuous and earnest attention to this question, vital as it is to the peace of the world. Aware of the natural interest it excites among the members of the Union, the Executive has prepared a considered statement of its policy, the substance of which is embodied in the latest of the Union's publications, *The Ruhr and the Way Out*, by Dr. Maxwell Garnett. This booklet explains the present position of the reparation problem and indicates a solution compatible with the reasonable claims of France. It embodies the following proposals, which, it is suggested, Great Britain should put forward as a means of persuading France and Germany to join in submitting all the inter-related post-war problems to the League:—

1. That both countries should be given effective reciprocal security in such a pact as the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League of Nations has been preparing, and by such other means as the Council of the League may devise; for example, the creation of demilitarised zones both in German and in French territory.
2. That Germany should apply for, and be immediately granted, admission to the League of Nations, with a permanent place on the Council of the League.
3. That Great Britain should act generously in regard to the debt owed her by France.
4. That the restoration of the devastated areas in Belgium and France should be the first charge upon the reparation payments by Germany.
5. That German territory occupied since the beginning of 1923 should be evacuated.
6. That the Council of the League should set up an independent International Commission, including Americans, to report within a specified time (a) on the amount which Germany has already paid, and (b) on Germany's capacity to pay; and on the basis of this report make proposals for a final settlement of reparations and of Allied debts.

The general policy of the Union with regard to the Ruhr is laid down in the following resolutions of the Executive Committee:—

(a) That in the opinion of this Committee it is urgently necessary that the question of the Ruhr occupation and the questions connected therewith should be dealt with by the League of Nations, and that with this object a special meeting of the Council of the League should be called forthwith to consider this matter, and that the British Prime Minister or Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should attend such meeting in person and be prepared to bring the matter before the Council under Article II of the Covenant.

(b) That if the Council then decides to concern itself with the question of the Ruhr and the associated questions of reparations, inter-Allied debts, limitation of armaments and security of frontiers, Germany should be given an opportunity for attending the meeting of the Council when these matters are discussed.

(c) That the Executive adheres to its view that Germany should immediately apply for membership of the League, that she should be made a member of the Council at the earliest possible moment, and urges that the British Government should make its views known to the German Government in regard to this matter as soon as possible.

THE SAAR.

The Executive Committee has been deeply concerned by recent occurrences in the Saar and has passed the following resolution:—

That the Executive of the L.N.U. takes note of the Provisional Decree of the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley, which by Article 2 makes it an offence punishable by five years' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs if anyone in public or in meeting—

Cast discredit on the Peace of Versailles or insult or traduce the League of Nations, its members or the States signatory to the Peace of Versailles.

The Executive considers that such a decree is calculated to bring the League into deserved ridicule, and deeply regrets that its withdrawal was not secured by the Council of the League at its meeting in April, 1923.

The Executive is further of opinion that the membership of the Saar Governing Commission should be reconsidered at the first opportunity.

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee received a tremendous reception at Southampton, headed by the Mayor, at the Southampton Branch of the L.N.U. on his return from the United States. His tour was an unqualified success. Universal interest in the League was displayed in the eleven cities visited by Lord Robert; unexpected converts to League ideals were made; and vast audiences, apart from hundreds of thousands of "listeners-in," absorbed eagerly the first-hand knowledge of the League which Lord Robert was able to provide. The members of the League of Nations Union are well aware how much, not only the League movement in England, but the inspiring progress of the League itself, is owing to the devoted and splendid services of Lord Robert Cecil. But his visit to the United States, open as it was to misconception, was perhaps the most daring experiment he has yet made on behalf of those principles to which he has devoted his life. It was clear that a marked change had taken place recently in the American attitude towards the League. The unthinking hostility that characterised the Presidential Election was slowly being replaced by an open mind. Experience of post-war problems, the agonies of reconstruction had presented the League to many Americans in a new light. The ground was ready for the seed at the moment chosen by Lord Robert. Lord Robert's intention was to remove ignorance rather than to undertake propaganda, and it is certain that the arduous and tumultuous weeks spent by him in America have brought nearer the eventual co-operation of the United States.

Nearly five hundred people were in attendance at the International Luncheon organised by the Hospitality Committee of the League of Nations Union at the Hotel Cecil on May 15. Lord Robert Cecil was the guest of honour and Lady Gladstone presided.

Lord Robert recorded his great appreciation of the splendid hospitality he had received in the United States and Canada. His experience had convinced him that by far the chief obstacle in the way of America's entry into the League of Nations was the doubt of the sincerity of Europe's desire for peace. Americans realised, probably more than we on this side, that a successful League of Nations must depend ultimately upon the power of an organised public opinion and a standpoint in international thought quite different from the old idea.

If we would hasten America's entry into the League, we must make the League "the great fundamental item of our foreign policy."

THE WORLD ALLIANCE.

Co-operation between the Union and the World Alliance has in the past been based upon an agreement that the Union shall suspend all efforts to induce congregations to become Corporate Members. Experience has shown, however, that the movement prompting such bodies to become Corporate Members is making steady progress, and that there is a continual increase in their numbers. The Council of the Union, faced

with these facts in March last, expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of our agreement to suspend our efforts. In view of this the Union has reapproached the World Alliance and discussions are now proceeding. The present position is that, although no stimulation is employed by Headquarters, any Corporate Members that choose to form themselves in the Branches are recognised by the Executive.

GREEK REFUGEES.

The following Resolution has been adopted by the Executive Committee:—

That this Executive hears with pleasure that the Council of the League of Nations has referred to a Finance Committee the question of a loan to Greece of £10,000,000 to render possible the resettlement of the million refugees now in Greece. It commends to the Branches of the Union this proposal as the most practical means of assuring the resettlement on an adequate scale of those who have been driven from their homes and are in dire need, and urges that such loan be made as soon as possible.

OPIUM.

The following Resolution has been adopted by the Executive Committee:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, deeply impressed by the importance of the questions to be considered at its forthcoming meeting by the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on opium and other dangerous drugs, urges the Government to instruct the delegate on that Committee to press for the holding of the meetings of the Committee in public. The Executive Committee further urges the Government to instruct its representatives to press the Advisory Committee to proceed as rapidly as possible with the preparation of a policy for the limitation of the world-production of opium, and to pledge the British Government to the support of such a policy, whatever it may cost.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

Headquarters are anxious that no opportunity should be lost during the summer months of holding open-air meetings. Such meetings are an admirable method of informing large sections of the community about the facts of the League of Nations who would otherwise not be reached, and a series of open-air meetings, costing a comparatively small sum, provide a large measure of that publicity which is the life-force of the League.

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE.

Since the adoption by the Council on March 15 of the Budget Committee's Majority Report, progress has been made in putting its recommendations into effect. The Committee on Decentralisation is now completing its labours. It will be recalled, also, that one of the recommendations contained in the Report was that Branches and their members should by special efforts raise for the use of Headquarters a sum to be called the Council's Vote. The machinery for collecting the Council's Vote is being rapidly established. It may be remarked in this connection that Seaside Branches have unusual advantages, owing to the summer visitors they attract, for collecting their quota towards the Council's Vote.

O. S. B.

THE I.L.O. AND THE COMMONS.

(FROM OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the 3rd and 4th Sessions of the International Labour Conferences were submitted to the House of Commons on May 9th.

As the House was being asked to approve the policy of the Government respecting them it was not surprising that the majority of speakers found fault with the procedure of the Government in withholding the announcement of

its policy until the opening speech of the Minister of Labour and expecting a decision in four hours. The vote involved the consideration of 16 important questions, and no previous hint was given of the Government's attitude towards any of them.

Instead of dealing, as the Government did, *en bloc* with 16 proposals on subjects ranging from agricultural unemployment to the prohibition of white lead in paints, it would have been more reasonable to take the opinion of the House on each particular proposal; for by that means the Government's policy might have been modified by general consent; whereas by the procedure adopted the vote became practically one of "confidence."

Particular stress was laid from many parts of the House on the unique position of Great Britain in connection with Labour legislation. The ratification of these Conventions and Recommendations by a country that boasts of being in the van of industrial and social reform would not only give the encouragement that the International Labour Organisation must have from its members if it is to succeed in its task, but would probably tip the scale for other countries which are now hesitating between ratification and rejection.

Unanimous tribute was paid to the value of the International Labour Organisation in every quarter of the House, and this may be taken as a bright omen for the future. Not only did the Government express its belief in its great value, but the catholicity of support is shown by speeches from Lord Henry Bentinck (Conservative), Mrs. Wintringham (Independent Liberal), Mr. John Murray (National Liberal), Mr. Clynes (Labour) and Mr. Maxton (Independent Labour Party).

The policy of the Government may be summarised very briefly as follows:—Draft Conventions: Four to be ratified dealing with (1) farm workers' right to association, (2) farm workers' compensation, (3) minimum age of trimmers and stokers, (4) medical inspection of children and young persons employed at sea. Two deferred, dealing with (1) minimum age in agriculture, (2) use of white lead in painting. One rejected, on the weekly rest day. Recommendations: Two accepted, (1) night work of women in agriculture, (2) technical education in agriculture. Two accepted in part, (1) night work of children and young persons in agriculture, (2) rendering of emigration statistics. Five rejected, (1) unemployment in agriculture, (2) maternity protection for women in agriculture, (3) "living-in" conditions in agriculture, (4) social insurance for farm workers, and (5) weekly rest for commercial workers.

Friends of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation cannot rest content with these results. The attitude of the Government is, or should be, a reflection of public opinion and public interest. It is the task of the Union to foster that interest, and so indirectly to secure the sincere and whole-hearted support of the Government of the day for the welfare of workers, not only in our own country, but throughout the world.

A TESTIMONIAL TO THE LEAGUE.

The following extract, from the *Round Table* of March last, puts in a nutshell the whole case for the League of Nations:—

"To the British Empire, which has everything to lose by the outbreak of a new war, the promotion of an institution framed to smooth away the more serious international difficulties before they endanger peace is a political interest of the first order. Our Empire has nothing to fear from the publicity of the League. It can submit the administration of its mandated territories to the inspection of the Mandates Commission without misgiving, and in full confidence that the principles upon which it proceeds will commend themselves to the civilised conscience of the world. The insurance premium is low. Spread over about fifty-one States it amounts to about one-seventh of the cost of a first-class battleship. For this derisory sum the world has now an instrument which, if loyally and intelligently employed—and the strain on the loyalty of its members will increase as the business referred to the League becomes more important—will produce in the shape either of quarrels averted or composed, or of armaments reduced, or of diseases arrested, or of derelict States restored to financial equilibrium, or of Labour aspirations guided along wise and practical channels, a rich and enduring harvest of well-being."



MANDATES.

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations divides Mandates into three categories—A, B and C—according to the stage of development of the people. The above map shows that Mandates have been appointed as follows:—

- A MANDATES.—Palestine and Mesopotamia (Iraq), administered by Great Britain. Syria and Lebanon, administered by France.
- B MANDATES.—Togoland, administered by Great Britain and France. Cameroons, administered by Great Britain and France. Tanganyika Territory (German East Africa), administered by Great Britain. Ruanda and Urundi, administered by Belgium.

C MANDATES.—Samoa, administered by New Zealand. Nauru, administered by British Empire. Pacific Islands south of Equator, administered by Australia. Pacific Islands north of Equator, administered by Union of South Africa.

In the Turkish map the simple dotted lines in Asia indicate the territories lost by Turkey in the late war. Those in Europe show the Turkish boundaries before the Balkan War. The division of the former Turkish territories between Britain and France is shown by crosses. External divisions are indicated by dots and dashes.

Correspondence.

LAW OR WAR.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I read HEADWAY always with great diligence and profit. But I am reminded in its pages that the League of Nations exists to enforce the Peace Treaties, which certainly a large majority of the civilised world considers unjust, and that the League of Nations Union exists to support everything the League does or does not do. Illustrations of this might be given in numbers, but I shall only cite the fact that the Saar question is not mentioned in your May issue, obviously because Earl Balfour's friend in the Saar, Dr. Hector, has been found out as a forger. But may I cite a confession in your leading article, "Law or War," which shows how far you are from the true spirit of peace and reconciliation? Your article is written, as it states, with "feelings neither unfriendly to France nor friendly to Germany." If you still refuse to be "friendly to Germany," can you really be surprised if Germany does suspect the whole League of Nations movement? Can you really expect peace in Europe if you are friendly towards France when pursuing a policy which you condemn, but "not friendly" to Germans when they practise passive resistance?—Yours, etc.

Haslemere.

[One, but by no means the only, object of the League of Nations is to ensure that Treaty obligations shall be honoured, and we cannot believe that our correspondent would desire to see the "scrap of paper" doctrine legalised by the League. At the same time, it should be remembered that Article 19 of the Covenant opens the door for the "reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable" and for "the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

Our correspondent is in error in supposing that the Saar question was not mentioned in our May number. On page 323 we suggest means by which certain of the grievances of the Saar inhabitants might be removed, and urge that when the time for the yearly reappointment of the Governing Commission comes round strict impartiality should be the chief qualification for both the chairman and the members of the Commission. In our current number we advocate a policy of immediate investigation into the whole position, and a special Council meeting of the League to consider it. In regard to the leading article, "Law or War," in our May issue, the point that we endeavoured to make was that we were writing in a strictly impartial spirit. We were not anti-French because we criticised France, nor were we pro-German because we were able to sympathise with the difficulties of Germany's position. We were, in fact, endeavouring, as unbiased judges, to sum up the pros and cons of an international problem. It appears to us that this is the only attitude possible for supporters of the League of Nations.—EDITOR.]

CHURCHES AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Many of the most enthusiastic friends of the League of Nations Union were intimately, often officially, connected with churches of this or that denomination. May I suggest to them a way of assisting the cause which HEADWAY espouses? Let them get well together after church hours on a Sunday night now and again. I have tried it twice—in Canterbury and in Margate—with conspicuous and encouraging success. Mr. Frederick Whelen and Mr. Basil Mathews, M.A., respectively have been the speakers. The meetings have been held in the local Wesleyan Church. Anglican clergymen as well as Free Church ministers have attended and invited their people. Whatever England may do, the churches and chapels of England must do something vital and sustained if the cause of World Peace is to flourish. For this purpose the hour from 8.15 to 9.15 on a Sunday night is a very rich potentiality.—Yours, etc.,

Wesley House,
Margate.

J. EDWARD HARLOW.

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

First of all, let me answer your question: you ask me if our Intelligence Department can tell you the name of the anonymous author of *The Path to Peace* (Hutchinson & Co., 18s.). If this were a matter of foreign affairs, I am sure that it would supply an answer giving all the family history of the person in question, together with all his personal characteristics; but as it is only of domestic concern, I am afraid that it cannot satisfy your curiosity. My own opinion is that he is really a very insignificant person, and that it is only because he is unknown that the general public takes him as much more magnificent than he actually is. His first book may have had some pretensions to consideration; the present one has few. You were quite right when you said in your letter that his adverse opinion of the League seemed to you a just measure of the value of his judgments on European affairs in general.

I am sorry that I had no room last month to tell you to get Mr. Lowes Dickinson's *War: Its Nature, Cause and Cure* (George Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.). It is just such a book as we should expect from his pen; searching in its analysis, merciless in its questioning, it brings us face to face with the real issues of peace and war, and makes us realise that we are living in a fool's paradise if we imagine that we are safe from any imminent danger of war. He does not hesitate to tell us frankly that "the Great War had for its objects, on both sides, increase of power and seizure of territory," that these objects became clear at the Peace Treaty, that our armaments were an independent cause of war, and that if the same objects are still pursued, there will be an end of civilisation, if not of the human race itself. A pleasant prospect, isn't it? But it is no use burying our heads in the sand, like an ostrich. It is only in the League that he sees any possible hope for the future, and I cannot do better than quote one or two of his own sentences:—

"The machinery required to save mankind is that of a League of Nations, including all States, and having real power to determine all issues between its members. But what is not commonly understood, even among supporters of such a League, is that the League cannot function unless the States alter their policy. . . . A League of Nations means the substitution of settlement by agreement for settlement by force, and this can only happen if States consciously and deliberately abandon what has been hitherto the sole motive of their policy, the extension or the maintenance of their territory and their power."

He goes on to point out that it is the constituencies who choose their rulers, and that it is therefore ultimately the electors, that is, you and me and Judy and ordinary persons like ourselves, with whom the responsibility lies. Though he does not mention our Union, it is obvious that his whole argument sounds a clarion call for its support by every intelligent person. It is upon the man and woman in the street upon whom the sufferings of war fall most heavily, and it will be their own fault if they do not take steps to make the prospect of another war as remote as possible.

Economics is commonly considered as a somewhat dull and difficult subject; but its dullness or difficulty does not mean that we can afford to neglect it. As a matter of fact, in his *Stabilisation* (George Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.) Mr. E. H. M. Lloyd not only shows its importance, but has managed to remove its reproach of either difficulty or dullness. By pointing out that the high prices which the world is now paying for the things it eats and wears and generally uses, for the raw materials of wheat and sugar and oil and coal and rubber and the

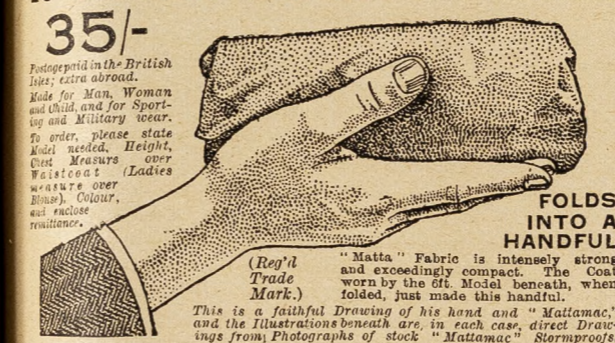
You can't possibly get wet in the
35/ Mattamac
(Reg'd)

19-OUNCE Featherweight Stormproof

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rest are due to the fluctuations of the world exchange, he calls attention to the fact that stabilisation is its crying need. I will not go into the clear and detailed way in which he deals with monetary policy, but will only tell you that he reminds us of the excellent results produced by the Inter-Allied Boards of Control during the war and urges that some such international control of production and prices is needed to-day. Most persons instinctively distrust Government control of industry, and Mr. Lloyd does not shirk its difficulties; but apparently there is a growing recognition of its usefulness if applied internationally or even to European countries, and it may prove to be the lesser of two evils. However, you must read the book for yourself and you will then be able to form your own judgment.

In *Seeds of War* (W. Gandy, 78, Red Lion Street, W.C.1, 10s.) Mr. Robert Birkhill has produced a "political study of Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, 1922." As a matter of fact, he is only concerned with the problem of the minorities in these countries, and his book is the result of a few weeks' visit to them last year. It obviously cannot be considered as a complete or final judgment, but Mr. Birkhill is careful to separate the record of what he saw and heard from what he thinks. His sympathies are all with the minorities, but his re-drawing of the map of Central Europe, however easy and attractive it may appear on paper, is not a practicable possibility.

Here is a book for you and Judy to get from your library: Henry Morgenthau's *All in a Lifetime* (Heinemann, 21s.). You will remember that Mr. Morgenthau was American Ambassador to Turkey during the war, and incidentally you will find in his story a complete justification of the American practice of appointing to diplomatic posts men who have had no diplomatic training and but the slightest political experience; and they seem to do their work none the worse for that. At the age of fifteen Mr. Morgenthau started life in a lawyer's office, and it was not until he was fifty-seven that he was sent to Constantinople; meanwhile he had left the law for the big business of real estate and the bigger business of high finance. When he had made by these means something more than a competence, he was free to indulge the social-welfare ideals of his boyhood, and it was because he recognised in him an idealist that he helped to secure the return of Woodrow Wilson as President in 1912. The Embassy was the reward that he reluctantly accepted, but the opportunity proved the real worth of the man. The most permanently valuable part of the book is found in those chapters which deal with the question of Armenia, for which he is quite clear that the United States ought to have accepted a mandate, and with his mission to Poland when he investigated the grievances of the Jews in that country. His sidelights on the Peace Conference are interesting, and if they add nothing to what others have said, he shows clearly how strong and ultimately prevailing were the influences at work against President Wilson's idealism. I need not tell you that Mr. Morgenthau is a convinced believer in the League.—Yours, THE SHOPMAN.

"THE SCOTTISH NATION."

Scottish readers will be glad to know of this new weekly journal. League activities are to be reported therein, and special articles dealing with League of Nations principles will appear from time to time.

INFORMATION ABOUT DANZIG.

The Senate of the Free City of Danzig has published in book form the decisions to date of the League of Nations' High Commissioners in Danzig. The book, which is published in English and German at a cost of 4s., contains most interesting information for students of the League's work in the Free City. Application should be made direct to *Die Senat der Freien Stadt, Danzig (Ab. i. für auswärtige Angelegenheiten), Danzig.*

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The League of Nations To-day: Its Growth, Record, and Relation to British Foreign Policy

By ROTH WILLIAMS. 6s.

"Mr. Williams has written the best-informed and most considered discussion of the League, and his book can be cordially recommended."—*Westminster Gazette*.

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"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO-DAY."

Its Growth, Record and Relation to British Foreign Policy.
By ROTH WILLIAMS. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Price 6s. net.)

THE book whose scope is thus summed up in its sub-title supplies a very real need. It is the most comprehensive survey of its subject that exists in convenient form, from the very fact of its recent date. But its value and interest by no means depend upon this transitory advantage. They are greatly due to the standpoint from which the writer treats his subject. "Facts," he says, "are approached in the following pages primarily with a view to finding out what is to be done about them."

This is precisely the attitude of mind that requires encouragement at present, as every reader will agree who has followed the growth of the League and of public opinion about the League. In the early months of 1920, when the Covenant was but just established as the governing law in international relationships, it was as right as it was natural that attention should focus upon the new ideals and principles therein embodied. And indeed the tremendous revolution in political conceptions that occurred when faith in co-operation was substituted for faith in coercion as the motive force in international dealings, must be proclaimed and explained until it is universally understood and accepted. But now that the League has been actually functioning for three years it is becoming necessary as well as possible to examine its ideals in the light of facts, and to probe the causes of its successes and its failures.

Mr. Roth Williams' book goes a long way towards enabling us to do this effectively. Its two hundred pages give a lucid account of what the League is, and of what the League has done in almost every sphere of its activities, political, economic and social.

"The League of Nations To-day" is, however, much more than a useful hand-book. Its account of actual events is amplified by suggestive and interesting comments, and by information about the present situation in various countries, which make the book delightful reading. The chapter upon "The Attitude of Germany, Russia and the U.S.A." may be picked out as being particularly full of interest of this kind.

The writer's knowledge of the details of his subject is so evident that it seems superfluous to dwell upon the accuracy of the statements of facts. Nevertheless, since it is much to be hoped that the book will be read by a large public who have no opportunity of looking into these matters for themselves, it may be well to say that the information may be very safely relied upon. There is, however, one topic where the author seems to refer to a controversial question without making it sufficiently plain that facts are open to a different interpretation from his own.

Speaking of Mandates, Mr. Williams says that "the Covenant's stipulations were stretched—not to say twisted—to mean that the Allies should allocate the Mandates among themselves, and then each Mandatory Power should draw up the terms of its own Mandate as it saw fit." This seems to us too positive a criticism of the methods chosen by the Allies for appointing Mandatories over the territories that fell into their hands upon the defeat of Turkey and Germany. Whatever we may think of their policy we should bear in mind that Article 22 of the Covenant lays down no rule either about the choice of Mandatory Powers or about the authorship of the terms of Mandates.

It is also in connection with Mandates that we find one of the few unverifiable statements made in the book. Mr. Williams says that bombing from aeroplanes has been used in Mesopotamia for the purpose of collecting

HOW TO LEARN GERMAN, FRENCH OR SPANISH.

An Ideal Method for the Summer.

Readers, whether taking their holidays in French, German, or Spanish speaking countries or not, will find one of the new Pelman Courses in these languages an ideal study for the holidays.

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This method enables you to read the leading German, French, and Spanish reviews, newspapers, books and Government publications, and thus to keep in close and intimate touch with Continental opinion.

The following letters are typical:—

New College, Oxford.
"The Course is most remarkably ingenious and deserves the highest praise. It is unique."—H. Dunsmore (S.D. 115).

Bodley," 16 Gordon Hill, Enfield.
"By your method of instruction, which is gradual and sure, the pupil learns more in one year than in four years by the ordinary method."—(Rev.) J. Mare (S.M. 163).

Trenant Park, Duloe, Cornwall.
"I cannot speak too highly of your Course, my little daughter of twelve really enjoys it and looks forward with the keenest interest to the return of the work sheets. The professor of Spanish is extremely helpful and kind in his corrections. If possible, I hope my little daughter will be able to take the French and German Courses; to a mother teaching her child alone the Courses are invaluable."—M. A. B. Peel (S.P. 130).

Everyone who has adopted this new way of learning German, French or Spanish agrees that it is the simplest, most interesting, and most effective of all methods of learning Foreign languages. It enables you to learn French, German or Spanish perfectly in about one-third the usual time.

Write to-day for a copy of "How to Learn Foreign Languages," mentioning the language about which you would like special information. By return this information, together with a copy of the book, will be sent you GRATIS AND POST FREE. Write for it to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112 Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.



taxes from natives. This accusation has in fact been denied in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, who has himself filled the post of British representative on the League's Mandates Commission.

It has seemed worth while to refer to these sentences as being possibly misleading to the general reader. But the main regret left after studying the book is that there is not more of it. It was doubtless right to omit all reference to the International Labour Office. As the author truly observes in his preface, it requires a book to itself.

The administrative work of the League in Danzig and the Saar has also been little touched. Mr. Williams does not consider these activities really germane to the development of the League. There is something to be said for this view, and more for his belief that when the League's principle of co-operation is universally recognised these administrative activities will present few problems. Nevertheless recent events in the Saar bring home to us that the millennium is still far off, and one may regret the absence of Mr. Williams' views upon the League in its capacity of trustee.

A still more regrettable omission is the absence of any discussion of the League as the guarantor of Minorities. It would, no doubt, have been impossible to deal adequately with this supremely important subject without enlarging the book. We can but hope that Mr. Williams may soon tackle it in a sequel to his present invaluable contribution to League literature.

Meanwhile we should like to close this appreciation with the suggestion that the next edition of "The League of Nations To-day" should add the text of the Covenant to its other useful Appendices.—B. E. C. D.

"OUR WORLD."

We cordially recommend to our readers the excellent monthly "magazine of understanding," "Our World," published by the Houston Publishing Co., and obtainable in London at Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, E.C.4. The March number, which we have before us, is devoted to the question of America and the League. Articles on this subject appear from three writers, including Judge Clarke, who left the Supreme Court Bench in order to devote himself to the League of Nations. Senator Borah urges the need for a world conference, a former American member of the Secretariat writes on the peace-making efforts of the League, there are pictures of League personalities—in fact, no aspect of the League's work appears to be overlooked by the enthusiastic editors. Twenty-five cents monthly is a small price to pay for such a mine of information.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

Growth of the League Movement in the United States.

The growth of the League movement in the United States, through the instrumentality of the American League of Nations Non-partisan Association, is making rapid strides. When we consider that the movement was only corporately launched two months ago, we cannot fail to be impressed by the activity of its promoters. The creation of one Chapter (Branch) follows closely upon another, and already twelve States are actively engaged in organising State and local committees and preparing their fields for operation. At Philadelphia, on March 3, the inaugural meeting of the Pennsylvania Chapter took place. Another Pennsylvania Chapter has been set up in Meadville. On March 9 a State organisation meeting was held in New Jersey, and Chapters organised at Montclair and Grantwood. In the State of Massachusetts the movement is also making headway, a Chapter being in process of establishment at Boston, as also at Cambridge and Andover. Similar encouraging reports have been

received from the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri and California, and Chapter organisation is being proceeded with vigorously in such cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Watertown, Stamford, New Haven, Louisville, Baltimore, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles and Lexington. The Los Angeles State Chapter was completed on March 19.

It is also interesting to note that the L. of N. Non-partisan Association already issues a bulletin of its own.

Switzerland.

The Swiss League of Nations Union held its annual meeting at the end of March. It was stated that the Swiss Union has 12 sections, and that its membership is 3,180.

Tasmania.

The welcome news reached us from Tasmania of the formation of a Branch there. This was due mainly to the efforts of Professor Darnley Naylor, of the Adelaide University, who lectured on the League in every town of importance in Tasmania, and also to Mr. Denis Jacob, the Secretary of the Branch. A most exemplary record was achieved. In Devonport (population 2,000), where 200 were present at a League of Nations meeting, 72 joined up at once.

New Zealand.

Sir Francis Bell, a member of the Cabinet, has accepted the Presidency of the New Zealand League of Nations Union.

Paris University Branch for the League of Nations.

This group, inaugurated by M. de Jouvenel and Lord Robert Cecil on March 11, 1923, is giving proof of lively activity. On Monday, April 30, about 700 students and others gathered to hear Monsieur Paul Hymans give a lecture on "La Société des Nations, Solidarité et Patrie." It was a momentous occasion for the University branch, as M. Louis Barthou, President of the Reparations Commission, had consented to take the Chair. He was supported by the Rector of the University, the Belgian Ambassador, M. Gustave Ador (former President of the Swiss Federation), M. Painlevé, M. George Bourgeois (to represent his father, M. Lion), Professor Aulard, and many others distinguished in politics and learning. There were also representatives from foreign Universities, amongst them a Czecho-Slovak delegation from Prague University League Group, and the Secretary of International Relationships of the Oxford International Assembly. M. Barthou, in a brilliant introduction, quoting from the list of Honorary Presidents, pointed out that the strength of the League lay in the astounding diversity of political opinion which united for its support. M. Hymans, amid prolonged applause, said that the Anglo-French Entente was essential to the peace of the whole world, and reaffirmed his faith in the League of Nations as the hope of the world.

International Federation Meeting.

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies will open its seventh Assembly at Vienna on June 24. The programme includes discussions on minorities, disarmament and on the admission of Germany and Turkey to the League.

The League of Nations Union, which is the British Society on behalf of the League, will be represented by Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Colonel David Davies, General Bruce, Sir Walter Napier, Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray, Lady Gladstone or Mrs. Runciman.

Reduction of Armaments.

We hope to be able to publish in a forthcoming number some account of the very important deliberations of the Disarmament Committee of the Federation of League of Nations Societies last March. Resolutions were proposed for adoption by the Federation this month, dealing with the necessity for providing the League with the means of ensuring that its decisions shall be carried out, with the importance of the draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee now before the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League and with the necessity for educating public opinion in all countries so as to ensure that Governments carry out any scheme on these lines which the League may adopt. The Committee also put forward resolutions in favour of making the League universally representative, and of renouncing all alliances outside the League.

League of Nations Union, Notes and News.

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
May 12, 1923	278,037

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

Anglesey ..	1 member for every 20 of population
Merionethshire	1 " " 22 "
Westmorland ..	1 " " 25 "

In the membership figures given on p. 334 of our May number, Monmouthshire has been printed as the second best county. This should have read Merionethshire.

Branches.

On May 12 the number of Branches was 1,374, together with 81 Junior Branches and 326 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

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

Aberdeen—Aberdeen Centre of the College of Nursing, Ltd. Ashton-under-Lyne—Ashton Branch of the Association of Beavers, Turners and Drawers. Birmingham—Edward Road Baptist Church. Brighton—The Free Christian Church (Unitarian). Bristol—Bristol Congregational Church; Bedminster Brotherhood. Colerford—Congregational Church. Edgbaston—Mr. Wakefield's Young Men's Class. Gateshead—Brighton Avenue Presbyterian Church. Glasgow—Abbey Close United Free Church Men's Club; Dundas Street Congregational Church; Victoria Place Baptist Church. Hyde—Gee Cross Wesleyan Sunday School. Leeds—Belle Vue Primitive Methodist Church Brotherhood. London—Croydon Branch of the Waddon Residents' Association; Jewish Cabinet Makers' Dividing Benefit Society; Christ Church Parochial Council, Turnham Green; Alwyne Road Congregational Church, Wimbledon. Manchester—St. James' Parochial Church Council, Collyhurst. Maryport—Cumberland County Teachers' Association. Milngavie—Cairns United Free Church, Girls' Auxiliary. Morley—Women's Liberal Association. Moseley—New Church. Nailsworth—Forest Green Congregational Church; Shortwood Baptist Church. Norwich—Norwich Branch Y.M.C.A. Perth—Girls' Auxiliary, St. Leonards United Free Church. Taunton—Mary Street Unitarian Church.

New Publications.

Since the April issue of HEADWAY the Union has published *Round the World with the League of Nations*, a leaflet for Children (No. 115, price 1d.), *The Ruhr and the Way Out* (No. 116, price 3d.), *The "Holy Alliance" and the League of Nations* (No. 112, price 1d.).

Increasing Membership.

The Leytonstone Branch has increased from 839 to 1,106 in the past year. In some of the local churches more than 50 per cent. of the total number of adherents are members of the Branch.

Annual Council Meeting.

The annual meeting of the Council of the League of Nations Union will be held on Thursday, July 19. On the two following days the Union's International Garden Fête will be held at St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, while on the following Monday, July 23rd, the Oxford Summer School will open. Members of the Union who come from a distance to attend the Council Meeting will thus have an opportunity of attending the Fête also, and then of going on to Oxford, without having to make two lengthy railway journeys.

St. Dunstan's Fête.

We refer our readers to the account of the Fête given in our last number. No Rally will be held in Hyde Park this year, and those members of the Union who devoted so

"NYET! NYET!"

"Little Uncle, little Uncle, give, for the love of Christ, give us bread." One after another they would come, cutting you through like a knife, those voices. We should have liked to fill their arms full of everything we had. . . . But after each one came so many others, and the little given in this way is such a temporary help, so we would hand out a scrap of bread . . . or we would say "Nyet!" (There is nothing to give). Then we would pull down the blinds, so that we could not hear

So writes one of our workers in Russia. In Pugachev there are 20,000 dependent upon our help until the harvest. Shall we have to say

NYET, NYET?

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

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

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

much energy to making last year's Rally a success, are therefore urged to concentrate upon the St. Dunstan's Fête.

Summer Schools.

OXFORD (BALLIOL COLLEGE).

July 23rd—30th. Fee 4½ guineas.

GENEVA.

August 3rd—11th. Fee 12 guineas.

ASSEMBLY TOUR TO GENEVA.

August 30th—September 6th. Fee 12 guineas.
Apply to Mrs. Innes, 44, Friar's Walk, Lewes.

VIENNA TOUR.

June 22nd—July 4th. Maximum Fee £25.

GERMANY.

Negotiations for a Summer School in Germany are still going on. It is hoped to be able to make an announcement shortly.

The Young Idea in Batley.

Very important results have followed Dr. Maxwell Garrett's lecture in November last to the teachers of Batley. Both the Education Committee and the local Teachers' Association have expressed their unanimity with the objects of the League, and the latter is now giving practical proof that what it preaches it also believes. A circular letter sent to all Head Teachers of Senior Schools in Batley recommends various methods whereby the nature and work of the League may be made known to scholars. These include: (1) The formation of Junior Branches of the League of Nations Union (in regard to which a memorandum prepared by the Union and the Union's pamphlet *Teachers and World Peace* are recommended); (2) Suggestions in regard to including League instruction in the geography and history lessons; (3) the posting up of newspaper cuttings, maps and illustrations relating to the countries involved in the discussions of the League; (4) the use in English and literature lessons of good descriptive matter from the journals and publications of the League of Nations Union, and from newspaper and magazine articles upon League affairs.

The Education Committee has available for loan to schools 48 copies of Miss Hebe Spaul's reading book entitled *The Fight for Peace*, a copy of which has been sent to each Head Teacher.

Suggestions are also being solicited for the arrangement of special addresses to combined groups of scholars at the Town Hall, or some similar centre.

Conversazione at Arundel.

The Arundel Branch has adopted a novel method of beginning its public work. To a public meeting and one set address it preferred a conversazione at its Town Hall, with its members as inviting hosts, with all classes and institutions represented. The Mayoress consented to arrange an effective National Costume Display, and the evening's programme included music, tableaux, and as a wind-up, the League of Nations Union Rally, a movement song, in which all joined. An impressive speech was made by Sir Richard Gregory on the Warning of Science to Civilisation.

Activities in Wales.

A feature of the month with the Welsh Council has been the publication of a report on the work in Wales up to Whitsun, 1923, entitled *Wales and World Peace*. The booklet gives a general discussion of the various forms which the movement has taken in Wales, and also contains some very useful appendices—particularly one giving a complete list of the Branches and their Secretaries in Wales up to April, 1923.

Mr. E. D. Jones, late Regional Organisation Officer, Ministry of Pensions (Wales), took on duties as organiser on May 1st, in succession to Captain Frederic Evans, who has returned to Cambridge to do further work in Educational research, but retains his connection with the Welsh Council in his capacity of Honorary Secretary to the Advisory Education Committee.

Full details of the Annual Conference at Aberystwyth, Whit Week, May 22nd-23rd, will be reported in the next issue of HEADWAY. The formation of the Welsh National

Council and its full constitution will form one of the subjects which will occupy the time of the Conference.

London.

Mr. P. St. J. Strutt, C.B.E., has been appointed Organising Secretary of the London Regional Federation, and will continue the work commenced by Mr. Hubert Green. After being wounded in France, Mr. Strutt became Private Secretary to Sir Laming Worthington Evans, M.P., and was with him at the Ministry of Munitions Foreign Office, and the Ministry of Pensions. Before the war he was on the Executive Committee of the Federation of British Industries and on the Chelsea Borough Council. Mr. Strutt is an extensive traveller, having been to Japan, China, Korea, and Siberia.

"Uncle Frederick" for the League.

A new "Uncle" has been introduced to "listeners-in" during the Children's Hour. This is Mr. Frederick Whelen, the League of Nations Union Lecturer, who gave a broadcast talk to children on the League of Nations from "2L.O." on May 5. This was his 1,300th speech on behalf of the League. Mr. Whelen will give addresses to children on similar lines from other broadcasting centres, such as Newcastle, Birmingham, Glasgow and Cardiff.

Broadcasting for the League.

The problem of the overflow meeting was recently solved at Bedford during a successful "League of Nations Week." While Mr. Frederick Whelen was addressing a crowded gathering in the Corn Exchange, his speech was being transmitted by wireless to an overflow meeting of several hundred people in the Square outside.

The Newcastle Broadcasting Station has arranged for the local Branch to supply a series of fortnightly addresses on the League to be broadcasted. On April 30 Major Surthien opened the series by a 20 minutes' address at 8.45, and reports from Tynemouth and Newquay show that he was plainly heard in these two places. On May 9 Sir Theodore Morison continued the series, and other well-known speakers are being recruited.

Speakers' Conference.

A highly successful conference of speakers for the League of Nations Union was held on May 8. Professor Gilbert Murray was in the chair, and there were some 40 people present. A very useful discussion took place on matters of special interest to speakers.

Another similar conference will be held on July 12.

Successful Pageant Play.

A very successful performance of Miss Fanny Johnson's Pageant Play, "Earth and her Children," was given by members of Truro St. Mary's Wesleyan Fellowship on April 16. The producer, the Rev. Leslie Keeble, writes: "We all greatly appreciated the aptness and cleverness of the play . . . the verdict of everyone I met was that it was an unqualified success." Collection realised £4 10s. 6d.

Volunteer Needlewomen Wanted.

The League of Nations Union has been offered the loan of costumes from some of the fifty-two Member States in order that they may be copied. The Union wishes to take advantage of this offer in order that the costumes may be let out on hire to Branches at a moderate fee.

Will Branches willing to undertake to copy one or more of these costumes and contribute them to Headquarters, kindly notify the General Secretary? The model costume will then be forwarded to the Branch in question.

Photographs Wanted.

The Union is preparing a lantern lecture for children on the League. Some excellent photographs have been loaned to the Union for the purpose, but a certain number are still required. These include photographs of children in the national costumes of the following countries:—Holland, Roumania, France, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Central America, Persia; also a view of a Serbian village, a view of Belgrade, and one of Tirana, the capital of Albania. If any reader can lend any of these, they will be gratefully received by the General Secretary at 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

Summer Holidays Abroad.

The fact that the rate of exchange is now so favourable to this country has enabled a large number of people to travel on the Continent who, in more normal times, would have been debarred from doing so. The Workers' Travel Association, under the Presidency of Mr. Harry Gosling, M.P., is acting as a channel through which the trade union movement may meet the demands of its members for Continental travel. During the past twelve months nearly a thousand workers have visited the Continent under its auspices, and, for this summer, centres have been, or are being, opened in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, the Italian Lakes, Geneva, Bruges, Denmark and Brittany. Application should be made to the Workers' Travel Association, Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, E.1.

The Holiday Fellowship, of Bryn Corach, Conway, North Wales, is also arranging visits to Germany, France, Holland, and Italian Switzerland. Owing to the Fellowship's work for international goodwill in Germany last year, the German Government has decided to make in its favour an exception to the restrictions placed upon the entrance of foreigners into Germany at present.

The University of Geneva is arranging a summer school for July 16 to September 1, in close co-operation with the Secretariats of the League and the International Labour Office. The subjects dealt with will be French Language and Literature, Current International Problems, Botany and Geology.

Public Meetings.

Upwards of 200 meetings were arranged by Headquarters for the month of May, in addition to those arranged by Branches. Amongst the speakers were:—Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Derby, The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G., The Right Rev. Bishop Whitehead, The Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, M.C., Dr. Edmund Privat, Professor W. Henderson Pringle, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale, Major W. E. G. Murray, M.C., D.F.C., The Right Hon. Lord Phillimore, D.C.L., Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. E. Everitt Reid,

F.R.G.S., The Rev. Canon H. Bickersteth Ottley, Mr. A. G. Macdonell and Mr. Nicholas Wood. Many meetings have already been arranged for June, amongst them are:—Dulwich (June 2, Mr. J. R. M. Butler, M.P.), Camberley (June 3, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale), Westminster (June 5, Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.), Leeds (June 8, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E.), Swindon (June 9, Froken Henni Forchhammer), East Sheen (June 15, Capt. A. E. W. Thomas, D.S.O.), Stoke Newington (June 21, Miss Margaret Bondfield), Kingsway Hall, London (June 23, Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.), St. Leonards (June 28, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale).

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.

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

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—Extracts from a Missionary's report (Greece).

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