

Headway

Review of World Affairs



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THE MONTH.

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"The United States is desirous of cooperating in all the humanitarian efforts of the League."—*Surgeon-General H. S. Cumming.*

COMING from such a source as the Chief of the United States Public Health Service, this statement carries great significance. The experience of the recent sessions of the League's Opium Commission and Health Committee goes to show that as soon as Americans come into direct touch with the work of the League they are enormously impressed with its usefulness. Surgeon-General Cumming even went so far as to say that "all this work concerns the United States in a greater or less degree, for in public health matters the modern world is one." The forthcoming visit of twenty-one health officials from various countries to the United States, as part of a series of international study visits organised by the League Health Organisation, will help to keep alive in America the interest which has been aroused in this aspect of the League's work.

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IN this country, one of the suggestions of the League Health Committee which will attract most attention, in view of the Empire Cancer Campaign, will be that made by the Vice-Chairman, Sir George

Buchanan, that the Committee should investigate the causes of the difference in certain forms of cancer mortality revealed by the vital statistics of England, Wales, Holland and Italy. A sub-committee has been appointed to consider how to give effect to this proposal. Albania has asked for expert assistance in preparing plans for a campaign against malaria, which is a terrible scourge in her country.

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THE meeting last month of the League Advisory Committee on the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs will be an important chapter in the history of the Commission itself and of the League. The importance of the work which it did lies not only in the agreement which was reached, but in the fact that this agreement was only come to after a prolonged debate with Mr. Stephen Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, who headed a powerful American delegation. The whole of the proceedings were notable. For one thing, they were for the first time held in public—thus giving satisfaction to a wish expressed by the American delegation, and, in this country, in a resolution taken shortly before the Advisory Committee met, by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union. Further, they were characterised by an interchange of detailed information concerning the traffic in drugs and the devastating effects of opium smoking on the populations of the Far East.

* * * *

THE debates resulted in the unanimous adoption of a detailed resolution which lays down a policy designed to secure the limitation of the production of the raw material—that is to say, poppy and coca leaves—from which narcotic drugs

are made. This embodies in a concrete form the programme towards which the Advisory Committee has been working during the past two years. It also embodies two categorical proposals laid down by the American delegation concerning which they refused to compromise. It is never safe to prophesy, but we have reliable authority for believing that whatever their other views of the League may be, Mr. Porter and his distinguished colleagues, Bishop Brent and Dr. Rupert Blue, have gone back to the United States convinced that through the machinery of the League of Nations lies the best hope of securing the effective application of the policy which the Committee has recommended. The work of application will be long and difficult and the continued pressure of public opinion will be required.

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THE long queue of people who waited in Lombard Street on June 9 for prospectuses of the British portion of the new Austrian 6 p.c. loan now being floated in this country, provided one of the best testimonials that the League of Nations could wish for. The total loan is guaranteed as to principal and interest by eight countries—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia being between them responsible for 94 per cent., and is specially secured on Austrian Customs duties and the tobacco monopoly. The effect of the League's effort in Austria itself is strikingly shown by the increase of Austrian savings-bank deposits by no less than 750 per cent. since the League scheme was put into practice. The fact that the loan in this country was subscribed five times over, and that the \$25,000,000 loan in America was also over-subscribed fifteen minutes after the books were opened, shows the opinion held by the business world of an investment backed by the authority of the League of Nations. Moreover, the Austrian precedent paves the way for a further extension of the method by which bankrupt and ruined countries can be set on their feet. After Austria—Germany?

* * * *

AND what of Hungary? Hungary applied for League assistance, on the lines of that given to Austria with such striking success, but the Reparations Commission has refused to remit the liens of the Allied and Associated Powers upon the former country. Surely the matter will not be allowed to rest there? We trust that our Government will use every endeavour at the next meeting of the League Council to get the matter righted and make possible a reconstruction scheme under the League of Nations for Hungary.

* * * *

WE are glad to observe that the British Government is in no way moved by the objections of France from its intention to propose at the next meeting of the League Council an enquiry into the whole administration of the Saar Territory, as well as to draw attention to the notorious "decree" passed by the Governing Commission of the Saar. The French Government maintains that it is not within the competence of the League under the Treaty of Versailles to subject the Governing Commission at Saarbruck to such an investigation. This

contention, however, is effectually disposed of by Article 5 of the Covenant, which lays it down that—

"All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly, or by the Council, and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at a meeting."

The opposition of France, therefore, could not prevent the investigation being held, if the other members of the Council insisted upon it.

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THAT lively interest has been aroused by recent events in the Saar is shown by the questions in the House of Commons on June 11, when it was stated that the Saar Governing Commission has an office in the building occupied by the Secretariat of the League in Paris. It is, of course, understandable that a certain liaison with the French Government may be necessary in view of the numerous matters in which they and the Saar Commission are jointly interested. At the same time it has to be remembered that Germany is also vitally interested in the Saar, and that anything that lends colour to the suggestion that the League is pro-French and anti-German in this matter cannot be too sedulously avoided. We have constantly urged that this point should be borne in mind when the time comes for the annual reappointment of the members of the Governing Commission. The selection of a chairman from a nation not directly interested in the Saar plebiscite appears to us also to be of vital importance.

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AS we go to press no Allied reply has been framed to the latest German Note, and the situation in the Ruhr and in regard to the reparations problem in general is still a deadlock. The most the British Premier has committed himself to is a statement to the effect that His Majesty's Government have no intention of making any declaration implying approval of the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr. Meanwhile the British Foreign Office is endeavouring to ascertain precisely what is covered by the French demand for "cessation of passive resistance" by Germany as a preliminary to negotiation. A clear statement of France's intentions in regard to evacuation is also asked for, as well as information as to the sums France now intends to demand from Germany and the proposed methods of recovery and the guarantees to be imposed.

* * * *

IN our view the most hopeful part of the German Note is the offer to submit the whole question of the amount of reparation to an impartial international body, and to abide by its decision whatever it may be. The reaction of Italy to the new situation created by the Note is shown by the speech of Signor Mussolini in the Senate on June 8, in which he said that to-day more than ever the reparation problem and that of inter-Allied debts were interdependent, and that Italy was ready to contribute her share of sacrifices, if sacrifices were necessary, to the economic reconstruction of Europe. Everything points to the fact that the policy we have consistently urged will in the long run be found the only possible solution of the difficulty—namely, the establishment by the Council of the League of

an independent International Commission, including Americans, to report on what Germany has already paid and what Germany is capable of paying further, and on the basis of this report to make proposals for a final settlement of reparations and of Allied debts. The Council of the League will have met before this magazine reaches our readers. Will the British Government instruct its delegates to put forward a proposal on these lines?

* * * *

A BITTER dispute between the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments has just ended with an agreement between them, brought about under the auspices of the League Council. This is good news, particularly because it concerns Transylvania, one of the sorest spots (as regards racial bitterness) in the new Europe. The Treaty of Trianon assigned much of this former territory of the Hungarian crown to Roumania. The population is so mixed that it appeared impossible to avoid the inclusion of large areas inhabited chiefly by Magyars inside the new Roumania. With nationalistic passions running as high as they do at present in both races, we find racial conflict invading almost every question of daily life in the district. The trouble which apparently has just been adjusted arose over the thorny subject of land-ownership. The Roumanians have passed laws for cutting up big estates and expropriating non-resident landlords. To understand how this legislation may affect Hungarian proprietors we must remember that the Treaty of Peace gave Transylvanian Magyars the right to choose between becoming Roumanian subjects, or keeping Hungarian nationality. If they choose the latter they must live in Hungary, but they may keep their immovable property (i.e., their land) in Roumania. In fact, they become perforce non-resident landlords and, as such, are now penalised by Roumanian law.

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THE Hungarians brought this grievance (and others, connected with compensation for expropriation of land) before the Council last April. The Roumanians, of course, were invited to be present and to put their side of the case. This turned chiefly on the argument that the land law applies equally to all owners of estates, be they Magyars or be they Roumanians, and that therefore exemption of Magyar landlords from expropriation would give the foreigner a privileged position. The discussion was hot, and the Council eventually adjourned it, in order that the interpretation of the Treaty might be further studied before a decision was pronounced. Since then, however, negotiations have been going on, the disputants have met, and we learn that they have come to an agreement. Any step that promotes racial harmony in a troubled area like Transylvania is of far more than local importance. This is shown by the very terms in which the Hungarian Government approached the Council, for the appeal was made under Article 11 of the Covenant, as concerning a matter which threatened "to disturb international peace, or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends."

* * * *

IT would probably come as a surprise to most people to be told that British citizens possessing

wealth abroad are almost without exception doubly taxed. Yet such is actually the case. The problem of double taxation arises when two countries charge income tax on the same source of income. In this country citizens are taxed on the basis of residence, but in other countries taxation is usually on a different basis, that of origin of money, for instance. The decision of the Second Assembly of the League in 1921 to have the problem investigated by the League's Financial and Economic Committee, is therefore of vital interest to British citizens.

* * * *

THE Committee appointed four distinguished economists—Professor Seligman (U.S.A.), Sir Josiah Stamp (Great Britain), Professor Bruins (Holland), Senator Einaudi (Italy)—to produce a report on double taxation to serve as a basis for subsequent action by Inland Revenue officials. This report, now published, is an invaluable analysis of international taxation. There are, it finds, four possible ways of avoiding double taxation, (1) taxation of income in country of origin, country of residence remitting the amount, (2) reciprocal exemption of non-residents, (3) division of tax between country of residence and origin, (4) classification of categories of wealth taxed either according to residence or origin. At present, the report concludes, countries comparatively equal economically should adopt principle of residence; where this is difficult it is best to act on rough classification and assignment of sources, modified by division of the tax. These recommendations are likely to have important economic results. For the moment the next move lies with the Committee of Government Officials which is studying the question from the administrative point of view.

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CONSIDERABLE advantages to those engaged in foreign trade should result from the protocol on commercial arbitration which the League of Nations Economic Section has completed, and which the affiliated countries are to be asked to ratify forthwith. Traders will now be able to insert arbitration clauses in their foreign contracts with the same confidence as in home contracts, and all the expense and worry of foreign lawsuits to obtain justice will be saved. Signatory countries are to enforce awards made in their own territory, and courts of law in any signatory country, when shown that there has been an agreement to go to arbitration, will not deal with cases themselves but are to insist upon their going to arbitration.

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FEW people probably realise the vast scope and variety of the work done by the League of Nations. The four weeks from July 15 to August 15 represent what the Secretariat is accustomed to regard as a "slack time," yet during that period the Mandates Commission is meeting—for three weeks—the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be in session, the Special Subcommittee of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments is meeting and later the full Commission itself. This record for a "slack" month makes the brain reel at the thought of what a really busy time must be for the Secretariat of the League.

SAFETY FIRST.

THE Temporary Mixed Commission, charged by the Council of the League two years ago with the task of drawing up a plan for the reduction of armaments in accordance with Art. 8 of the Covenant, held last month its seventh session. From the reports which have arrived from various quarters, it appears to have been by far the most interesting and the most successful meeting in its history. The debates were keen, the speeches were well-informed and serious yet marked by a spirit of conciliation; Signor Schanzer, till lately Italian Foreign Minister, presided with the tact and perspicuity he showed when he presided over the Genoa Conference last year; M. Fabry, the Chairman of the Army Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies, brought to the discussion a new and valuable contribution of lucid and liberal thought; and the wisdom of Lord Robert Cecil's leadership was no less conspicuous than it has been before.

All this is good. It is very important that there should be in existence an international body of great individual and collective authority, bound together by a tradition of co-operation, studying with the assistance of technical experts of every sort the intricate problems of disarmament. It is still more important that this body should be nearing an agreement that will bring to a successful issue the first great stage of its task. Such an agreement came within sight for the first time at this last meeting of the Commission.

The Commission has for long been agreed that the essential condition of disarmament was the establishment of some system of mutual guarantees by which real security should be provided for countries which reduce their national forces. It so reported to the last Assembly; and the Assembly, in adopting its report, laid down some of the main principles upon which such a system of guarantees could be built up.

The difficulty came, however, when the Commission endeavoured to work out a draft Treaty for the application of these principles. It was comparatively simple to secure approval for the proposition that every State has a common interest to prevent aggression, and a common duty to participate in action for its prevention. But how could this proposition be practically applied?

On this fundamental question there was a division of opinion between the members of the Commission. Some held the view that the valuable part of a system of guarantees was the obligation of the rest of the world to come to the assistance of any State that might be attacked; that having against it the opinion and the resources of every other State would ensure the ultimate defeat of any aggressor; and that the certainty of such a prospect would prevent aggression ever taking place. They held, therefore, that what was important was the general guarantee, agreed to by the world at large. Other members of the Commission, while agreeing as to the end in view, held that the only way of certainly securing the defeat of an aggressor lay in close military alliances for common defence among a

restricted number of States; that only such alliances could give real security to any State that was menaced by attack; that the obligations of a general Treaty would be too vague and uncertain either to give confidence to the menaced State or to cause apprehension to a potential aggressor.

The Italian and the Spanish delegations were the leaders of the party that favoured a general treaty; the French of the party that favoured what they called "partial" treaties. Last January Lord Robert Cecil proposed to the Commission a draft treaty that was designed to harmonize the two points of view. It was a compromise which, as usual in such cases, pleased neither side. The French liked it so little that they produced an alternative treaty of their own—a treaty which failed, however, to make any satisfactory provision for the reduction of armaments which, under the Assembly resolutions, is the essential condition of the benefit of the guarantee. But again, as usual, discussion showed that there was really less divergence between the two points of view than at first appeared. Both came to recognise that Lord Robert Cecil was, on the main principle, in the right: that a general guarantee is necessary if the system is not to lapse into a revival of the old group alliances; and that special treaties, within the general guarantee, are required to ensure immediate support to States which for historical and other reasons are under a special menace of attack. At the last meeting of the Commission the Italians recognised that special treaties might be not only necessary, but even desirable; while the French recognised that they could only be, not the expression of special sectional interests, but special applications of the general insurance against aggressive war.

The Commission took no final decisions, it agreed to no specific draft. It reserved this task for a further meeting at the end of July, when its members shall have had more time to consider the intricate details of the problem they have in hand. But they reached a measure of agreement in principle which makes it reasonable to hope that at this next meeting they will agree on a treaty which they can submit unanimously to the Assembly for its adoption. If they can do this, and if the Assembly adopts their proposals, as no doubt it will, the way will be opened for the second stage—the preparation of a plan for the reduction of armaments.

There is, therefore, ground for satisfaction and for hope of further and perhaps rapid progress. It is well that there is, for every month that passes shows in a more alarming light the terrible danger that the system of competitive armaments involves. There are already greater standing armies in Europe than there were before the war. And the progress of military invention has never been so rapid as it has been since the war. Every month has its record of improvement in the weapons of destruction, and there seems no limit to the power and efficacy that these weapons will attain. Not only the economic prosperity of the workers of every country, but the very existence of our civilisation, depend on the reduction of the resources which we squander in preparation for war. A treaty of mutual guarantee, which will create security by the outlawry of all war, is the only way in which this great end can be achieved.

THE CRISIS.

THE cause for which our Union stands has just achieved the greatest success, and is now faced with the greatest danger in its history. Austria, the nation of all others whose plight seemed most desperate, has in the present year been set firmly on her feet by the action of the League. And now the Ruhr policy of M. Poincaré raises in its acutest form the exact issue which the League was intended once for all to solve. That policy proposes to determine a great international dispute simply by the will of the stronger. The Union has from the outset maintained the contrary view. It holds that all these unsettled disputes, disputes as to the meaning of the Treaty, as to the amounts already paid, the amounts due and the amounts practically payable—must be decided as far as possible by impartial tribunals; and that to resort to force while refusing conference is a profound violation of the spirit of the Covenant. Morally France and Germany are at war; they are only not fighting because Germany has no arms. The weaker party is appealing for arbitration and the stronger refusing it. It may be that France is right on every material point. It may be that she only errs in demanding too little. On these questions the Union is not called upon to pronounce. But, right or wrong, she refuses all mediation and arbitration and thereby practically rejects the Covenant and denies the very existence of the League. It is hardly too much to say that if the League can now bring about a solution of the problem of Reparations, its position is established; if it definitely fails to do so, if the Council still remains silent, and even the Assembly makes no protest and asserts no claim, the League as a political instrument will be dead.

The League, so to speak, is on trial for its life. And just at the moment of trial, when all eyes are upon it, it happens, by a series of comparatively venial weaknesses, to have done itself grave injustice. The indulgence which the Council has again and again shown to France about the Saar Valley, and which has bit by bit transformed the impartial international commission contemplated by the Treaty into a committee of the French Foreign Office, has culminated in the grotesque Decree condemning all those who speak in public against the Governing Commission, or the Treaty of Versailles, or the League itself to imprisonment for five years. Just at the moment when the world needed to be assured of the League's disinterestedness, the Saar Commission has done its best to assure them of the reverse. If the League is to have a fair chance of dealing with the Ruhr settlement, it had better quickly clean its escutcheon of this small but stupid stain of the Saar Decree.

Thus the lists are set for a great contest. And just at this moment, when all good Leaguers were grieving over the loss of Lord Balfour and

Mr. Fisher as representatives of Great Britain on the Council, their place has been taken by the Chairman of our own Union, the acknowledged leader throughout all Europe of advanced League opinion. There have been disputes and exaggerations about Lord Robert's exact position in the new Cabinet. He is not "League Minister" because there happens, officially, to be no such office. He is Lord Privy Seal, a post which ranks in traditional dignity "next to the President of the Council and before all dukes." He will also represent Great Britain regularly at meetings of the League. But these points are of secondary importance. The broad fact is that no Government would be likely to have urged Lord Robert to join it unless it meant to do its best for the League; and certainly Lord Robert would not have accepted office unless he had received satisfactory assurances.

We in this Union know Lord Robert. We know his policy, his principles, his prudence, his clear head and steady courage. We know there are difficulties before him which would daunt a weaker man, and may in the end defeat even him. But we know he will work unflinchingly for the right, and that if he falls he will fall fighting. It is for us to see that he does not fall.

No human being can do all that he will. No minister, not even a premier, can impose his policy on an unwilling government. No government can maintain a resolute policy unless backed by a strong and articulate public opinion. This Union serves no political party; it serves only a cause. We work for the principles of the Covenant, for Law in place of War, for Conference in place of Force, for Public Right in place of the Will of the Stronger. Great Britain has hitherto stood for the Cause of Peace and the League more consistently than any other leading power; but we believe that in future that stand will be still firmer and clearer. Let us show Lord Robert that he has still behind him a great and growing organisation, keenly supporting, vigilantly watching, ready to sink and forget minor differences in the great purpose which unites us all.

If the Union's activity flags now, it may mean disaster for this nation and for millions outside this nation. I would say to every Branch, Are you doing what you can? Have you thought of all the possible ways in which to help? Of your tale of regular meetings? Educational conferences? Lectures in schools? Prize Essay competitions? Speeches at street corners? Garden fêtes and demonstrations? Teachers' conferences? Discussions with disbelievers? Letters to newspapers which attack the League, or M.P.'s who are shaky in adherence to their election pledges? Have you thought also of your personal service and sacrifice, without which no great cause can be won? Of your subscriptions and donations, without which no large organisation can continue? Above all, are you watching events, seriously facing problems, testing and keeping clear the faith that is in you? We are three hundred thousand men and women in a nation of forty odd millions. It is enough to determine public opinion if we all work. It is scarcely a drop in the bucket if we flag and fail.

GILBERT MURRAY,

THE NEW CHAIRMAN.

PROF. MURRAY AS LORD ROBERT CECIL'S SUCCESSOR.

By H. WILSON HARRIS.

VIEWING the matter from the standpoint of the League of Nations Union alone one might be inclined to say of Lord Robert Cecil's acceptance of Cabinet office, and his consequent resignation of the chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the Union—

A power is passing from the earth

To breathless Nature's dark abyss,

if the latter words may properly be used of the sphere in which Lord Robert now habitually moves.

But taking, as we must, the larger outlook, we cannot but feel the profoundest satisfaction that the the Prime Minister's invitation has been given and accepted. Quite apart from the personal influence the new Lord Privy Seal will be in a position to exercise on foreign policy as a member of the Cabinet, apart equally from any special position that may have been accorded him regarding the Government's relations with the League, there is enormous advantage in having a single Minister, not merely attending regularly the meetings of the Council and Assembly, but at leisure to follow day by day the League's activities in such a way as to

ensure that when he goes to Geneva he will go completely equipped to deal with any turn of any problem that may suddenly demand consideration.

That does not alter the fact that what, viewed broadly, is a substantial gain, is to the League of Nations Union a serious and disturbing loss. The chair of the Executive Committee had to be filled, and it has been filled by the one man to whom all eyes instinctively turned when the necessity for Lord Robert Cecil's resignation was realised. From the outset of the Union's career Prof. Gilbert Murray has held the office of Vice-Chairman. He has worked with Lord Robert with a harmony so deep-rooted that if ever they took opposing views on particular problems, their freedom to differ with perfect confidence in one another resulted only in emphasising the positive side of a co-operation singularly unclouded and uniformly fruitful.

Under Prof. Gilbert Murray's chairmanship the Union will move forward to fresh achievement. It has suffered a personal loss, but in such a crusade no single man, not even a Lord Robert, is indispensable. New hands receive the torch, to kindle fresh fires with it. If Prof. Murray should feel the need of increased support from his colleagues on the Executive he knows it will not be denied him. But the new chairman in

himself combines all the qualities most requisite to ensure him success in his office. Australian by birth, South African by political adoption so far as the League of Nations is concerned, English by pride of possession, Prof. Murray can speak with no ordinary authority in the concerns not only of this country, but of the Empire.

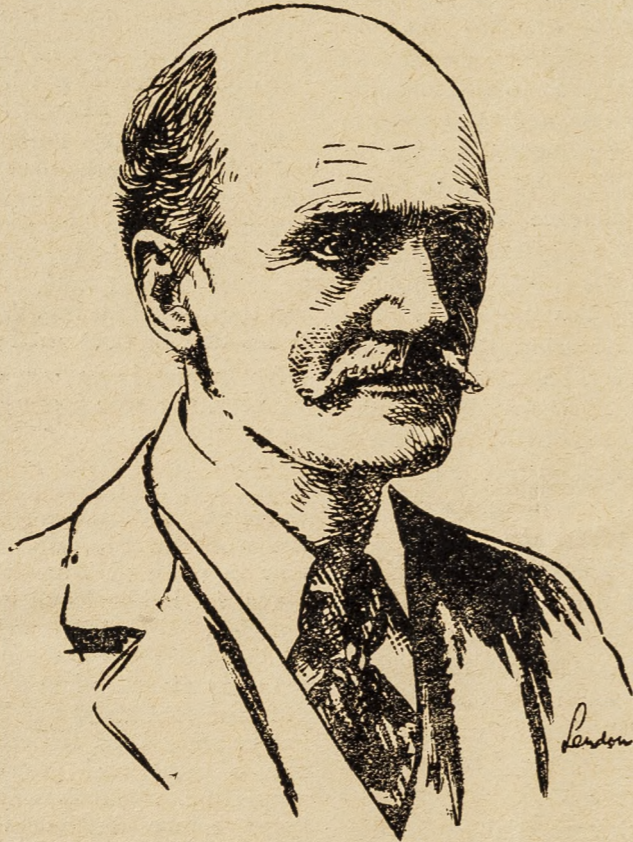
To the League and its ideals he has given in the past four years ungrudging service. Twice by special invitation of General Smuts he has represented South Africa at the Assembly. In his own person, not as an Assembly delegate, he holds the position of Vice-President of the League Commission on Intellectual Co-operation. And at home, month in month out, he has given to the League unstintingly of his energy and his time, converting audiences great and small, with that quiet persuasion which sinks so incomparably deeper than impassioned eloquence, to the ideals and purposes in which he reposes an unwavering faith.

On each of the two Assemblies, 1921 and 1922, Prof. Murray left a special mark. In 1921 it fell to him, in spite of sustained opposition from the French, to carry through committee a new and far more effective convention for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

Last year with equal skill he piloted through Commission VI, a series of resolutions of the first importance on the treatment of minorities. The League has no subject more delicate to handle, for it is as necessary to discourage minorities from hostility to the Government to which they owe

allegiance as citizens as it is to safeguard them against official injustice and oppression. Prof. Murray's resolutions had to run the gauntlet of friendly criticism at the hands both of States with considerable minorities under their rule and of other States speaking for large sections of their nationals placed under alien sovereignty. As they were ultimately adopted they constitute an important assertion of sound principle, and the speech in which their author commended them to the Assembly will be long remembered.

To his new work at Grosvenor Crescent Prof. Gilbert Murray brings high gifts. His practical knowledge of the working of the League is demonstrated by the part he has played in the last two Assemblies. His devotion to its ideals no one who has heard him speak from a League of Nations Union platform can question. The rich culture of his mind comes from his unique acquaintance with those masters of the drama of Ancient Greece whose works he has rendered so brilliantly into English verse. His generous spirit may owe something to those influences, too. But fundamentally it is a gift of God. Mind and spirit are now to be in a fuller sense than before at the service of the League of Nations Union, and the Union may count itself rich in their possession.



A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, June, 1923.

THE appointment of Lord Robert Cecil as Lord Privy Seal with the special duty of representing the British Government at meetings of the League, marks a big advance in the attitude of the Government towards its duties as a member of the League. It means that the Government, and behind it public opinion, are at least beginning to realise the implications of the fact that the League of Nations is nothing more nor less than an association of governments, and that consequently British policy in the League is simply part of British foreign policy in general. As this coincides with the accession to power of a Government obviously resolved to pursue a more active foreign policy, it is to be hoped that Great Britain will stand for such a settlement of the Reparations crisis as will enable Germany to take her place in the Council of the League and so get rid, once and for all, of the system by which the Allies have, ever since the Armistice, attempted first of all to dictate peace treaties to the world, and secondly to dictate the way in which those treaties are to be carried out by the defeated powers. That way of doing things was always in principle the antithesis of the ideas for which the League stands; it broke down first of all over Austria; it broke down completely with the French occupation of the Ruhr. Let us hope that no attempt will be made to revive it.

When the nations are still under the dominance of the war mind, as regards the major political issues, it is difficult to realise how far international co-operation through the League has already gone in minor but nevertheless important technical matters, such as the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, and inter-governmental health work. But the presence for the first time of official American delegates at the meetings of the Health and Opium Committees that took place at the end of May gave dramatic proof of the extent to which matters have developed since work on these two subjects was started two years ago.

The success of the Conference of the Opium Committee was due very largely to the indefatigable efforts and broad views of the British representative, Sir Malcolm Delevigne. The American delegation, which had come over more or less with the idea of making this a test case for co-operation with other nations through the League, left highly satisfied with the results obtained which, according to Bishop Brent, a prominent member of the delegation, exceeded anything ever achieved before at an international conference on this subject.

At the Health Committee, too, the presence for the first time of an American delegate, Surgeon-General H. S. Cumming, Chief of the United States Public Health Service, enabled the Committee, in conjunction with a delegation from the Office International d'Hygiene Publique, to take a long step toward drawing together all the existing agencies for inter-governmental health work in order to put the League Health organisation on a permanent and final basis.

In this connection it should be mentioned that Germany, too, has for some time been represented on both the Opium and the Health Committees, and that Soviet Russia, by an agreement concluded at Genoa, sends a delegate from her central health authorities to discuss with members of the Health Committee matters concerning the Health Organisation's Anti-Epidemic work in Russia.

The United States is not yet a member of the League, although opinion is slowly coming round to the fact that the choice is between isolation and the League, and that isolation is, in the long run, impossible. The Office International has become a vested interest from the point of view both of the officials in the organisation,

and of certain officials in French Government departments. Besides this there is the general difficulty experienced whenever an international body under the wing of some government is detached and put under the League. Governments, which after all are made up of individuals, are quite as reluctant as any private person to have a job taken away and put under some one else.

Consequently it was not possible this time to do more than "dovetail" the Office International and the League Health Organisation, by stipulating that the former should elect a majority of the members of the latter, that the two should exchange all documents and reports, and that they should both use the Health Section of the League Secretariat for common purposes. But the Rome Convention, which is the constitution of the Office International, comes up for review in 1927, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will be taken to create a single international Health organisation.

The matters dealt with by the Health Committee comprised a further development of its epidemiological intelligence service so as to cover all countries; further plans for interchanges—international study visits—of public health personnel; the initiation of new enquiries for practical purposes, notably at the request of the Dutch Government that the Health Committee should examine whether through the League Health Organisation it would be possible to classify ports from a sanitary point of view, and so simplify quarantine formalities (that is, a ship certified free of infection at a Class A port would not need to be examined if arriving thence directly at another port). The Albanian Government, too, requested that the League Health Committee should give its expert advice in drawing up plans for an anti-malaria campaign in order to complete the help already being given through the training of Albanian health officials in anti-malaria work. (It is noteworthy how Albania's appeal to the League for settlement of boundary disputes has developed into protection and advice from both the economic and health points of view). The Committee referred this proposal for discussion, together with a proposal by Colonel S. P. James, M.D., Adviser on malaria to the Ministry of Health, that the whole question of combating malaria on an international scale should be studied, since that disease has made alarming progress as a result of the war, and is continually spreading northward and westward from the sources of endemic infection in South Russia and the Balkans. Reports were also heard on the progress of the enquiries undertaken in conjunction with the Opium and Transit Committees as to the annual legitimate needs of all countries of dangerous drugs, on the one hand, and as to sanitary control of waterways on the other. An interim report was presented by Dr. Andrew Balfour on behalf of a small expert Committee studying the incidence of sleeping sickness and tuberculosis in tropical Africa.

An item of news that has passed almost unnoticed is the voting by the Argentine Parliament of 450,000 piastres (£90,000) in payment of the Argentine's arrears to date on their share of the League Budget. This means that there will be an Argentine Delegation again at the next Assembly, and this, together with the relative failure of the Santiago Conference, means that the idea has been abandoned once and for all in South America of dividing the new world from the old, and that the League of almost all existing nations is recognised as the only foundation on which to build up the international organisation of the world. *Eppur si muove!*

There is space only to mention the meeting of the Temporary Mixed Commission, where important progress was made with the discussion of the cognate subjects of disarmament and guarantee treaties.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

ALL the world knows now that Lord Robert Cecil has taken office in the Government as Lord Privy Seal. As it has been one of the cardinal principles of the policy of the Union that freedom to criticise the Government must be maintained at all costs, Lord Robert felt that he was unable to retain his position as Chairman of the Executive Committee. He therefore resigned it on May 31st, after a chairmanship of more than three years. During that time, the Union has grown to a membership of 287,549, with 1,361 branches in England, Scotland and Wales. Professor Gilbert Murray was unanimously chosen as the new Chairman.

THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION.

The next meeting of the Council of the Union will be on July 19. This date will enable many branch delegates to attend the Garden Fete at St. Dunstan's, which is being organised on July 20 and 21 by the London Regional Council.

The chief item on the agenda of the Council is the report of the Decentralisation Committee.

The main recommendations are that a new Consultative Committee should be set up, representative of all the District Councils of the Union, and of the larger branches, to meet monthly at 15, Grosvenor Crescent to consider and advise upon all questions of administration and policy which the Executive Committee may refer to it; secondly that a representative of each Region, and from Scotland and Wales, should be elected to the Executive Committee; thirdly, that, as certain of the District Councils are already capable of handling some of the work hitherto done at the head office of the Union, an inquiry be addressed to certain Councils asking whether, in addition to their ordinary work, they are willing to undertake a portion of the work now done at Headquarters, such as the provision of large meetings, the creation of a panel of speakers, distribution of HEADWAY and other literature, and also various kinds of routine work.

It is hoped that Lord Robert Cecil will attend the meeting of the Council and address them. On the evening of July 19, after the Council meeting is over, Mr. David Davies, M.P. (a member of the Executive Committee, and one of the Union's trustees) and Mrs. David Davies, will give a reception to which all branch and district representatives and secretaries will be invited. It will be seen therefore that these three days, July 19, 20, 21, afford a splendid opportunity for all members of the Council to get to know each other and exchange ideas and information on the working of their various Branches and Federations.

NO MORE WAR!

At the "No More War" Demonstrations on July 28 and 29, at which the League of Nations Union will be represented, the two resolutions will be put forward in the following form, except where local committees have modified them:—

"This Mass Meeting of citizens sends fraternal greetings to the similar gatherings now being held throughout the world to express abhorrence of War and Militarism, joins with them in declaring that the time has come for the peoples to insist upon universal disarmament, and calls upon its own Government to take the initiative in making a definite proposal for immediate disarmament, by land, sea, and air, by mutual agreement."

"This meeting of citizens further declares its opinion that both disarmament by mutual consent and a condition of the world which guarantees No More War would be secured by the whole-hearted co-operation of peoples working through a perfected and all-inclusive League of Nations."

A. G. M.

A BRITISH OBSERVER IN GERMANY.

BY RAYMOND UNWIN.

[The views of Mr. Raymond Unwin are of special interest when read in connection with the article by General von Deimling which appears on page 371. It will be noted that both writers agree as to the advisability of Germany's applying for membership of the League, as the best guarantee she could offer.—EDITOR.]

MY short visit to Germany, during which I saw a few politicians, but talked to many architects, municipal people, and other members of the general public, made me realise the utter confusion of the ordinary bases of economic life which the constant depreciation of the value of money produces. The one thing which nobody can afford to keep in their possession is money. There are few ways of spending money in Germany which do not seem more profitable than keeping it. One delays a journey to find that railway fares have been doubled. Rents rise a hundred or two hundred times their pre-war figure; and yet the weekly rent of a cottage may be not more than the price of a cup of coffee, or from a penny to three-halfpence in English money. The worth of money is so doubtful that the only practicable course is to buy something tangible with it as quickly as possible. The people can make no provision for the future, and are overwhelmed by the general sense of insecurity.

In talking to many people one realised also the effective isolation in which they live. I paid 5,000 marks—£250 in German money—for an English newspaper; every word telegraphed over from this country costs some such figure to them; a man must be a millionaire in marks to buy a ticket to England. The consequence is that the public, having little real knowledge of the attitude of foreign peoples or the trend of their public opinion, is bewildered and oppressed by a sense of insecurity, and falls an easy prey to suspicions and extreme views in either direction. I met no one who expressed a view against the payment of reasonable reparations; mostly they were emphatically in favour of this course. But the conviction is general that the French will not be satisfied with reparations, and so the general good will to make the industrialists pay their share, which alone would enable any reasonable payment to be made, is paralysed by suspicion that such payment would be no good. Security for Germany has a very direct bearing on the amount of reparations, however that may be as regards security for France. Mention the League of Nations, and one is met by the suspicion of its partiality for the Allies, and especially France. Point out that there is only one way to remedy this, by the adhesion of Germany, and that until Germany applies for membership she has really no case to complain of the Allied majority, and the point is often admitted; opposition to joining not seeming very deep.

The position of England is not well understood; the most pernicious result of the Allied policy has been to exaggerate the importance of armed force. England is still respected, but she is thought to be militarily too weak to resist France. But the views of many Englishmen carry weight, and it is most important that German public opinion should be informed by such men that Germany could give one of the most convincing evidences of good faith if she would apply for membership of the League of Nations, that nothing would more tend to remove suspicions on both sides than the presence of representatives of Germany at the Council table of the League. Such advice would be widely heeded.

THE NEW WORLD.

X.—RUSSIA.

BY BARON A. MEYENDORFF
(University of London).

THE territorial changes effected immediately before and after the Treaty of Versailles within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire have been mostly worded as recognition of national aspirations, either on the basis of international interest, or of national political interest by the respective determining factors, the latter being in international matters the Entente Powers and the League of Nations, in Russian matters—the Bolshevik or Soviet Power in Moscow. Both categories of territorial readjustments have to be treated separately because of the difference in their legal origin. But both denote a process, which is interpreted differently, in accordance with the political standpoint of the observer. It may be looked upon either as a healthy racial integration within the territory until 1916-17 held by a unified State—inhabited by a more or less divided "family of nations," or as a process of decay for the Russian Empire at one time regarded as a stable political and economic unit.

A.

By international acts and recognition by the League of Nations the following republics came into existence within the former boundaries of Russia: (1) Finland, 3,332,000 inhabitants; (2) Estonia, 1,750,000; (3) Latvia, 1,728,000; (4) Lithuania (without Vilna), 2,700,000; and (5) Georgia, about 2,000,000. Of these Georgia has already been deprived by the Moscow Government of its newly acquired independence, and will have to be therefore transferred to the following paragraph: (6) The formerly Russian section of reborn Poland, with Vilna, has a population of 15,373,000.

The actual boundaries of these new republics eastward have been all, without exception, fixed by agreements with Moscow after a series of chiefly defensive wars against the Communist rule. It must be mentioned incidentally that the transfer of Bessarabia, with 2,345,000 inhabitants, to Rumania has not yet been recognised by Moscow, which, on the other hand, agreed to the cession of the Kars region, with 492,000 inhabitants, to Turkey.

The position with regard to Germany and Soviet Russia of the above-mentioned new States forms one of the problems in post-war international politics.

Economically speaking, the new distribution of territory has been discounted as Russian losses, not always counterbalanced by gains on the corresponding side. Besides 817,000 sq. kilometres, or 710,000 sq. versts,* of territory and 27 or 28 millions of citizens, Russia has lost in Europe 20,528 versts,† or about 9 per cent. of her rivers (navigable or utilised by rafts); 6,816 versts, or about 10 per cent. of her railway system. The industrial importance of the lost territory, according to figures relating to the year 1912, represents about one-third of all industrial enterprises, with one-sixth of all Russian industrial workers and a production amounting in some important branches to one-fifth of the annual value. The readjustment of the economics of all the regions involved is a task not less arduous than the general pacification in that part of Europe.

B.

During the first three years of its existence the Moscow Bolshevik Government, in the interests of self-protection, showed much readiness in granting rights to the subject-races in Soviet Russia, depriving thus its opponents of the chance of seeking benefit from the existing racial feelings, as had been the case with regard to the States mentioned above. Not only the federative

* 1 sq. verst = 0.439 sq. mile. † 1 verst = 0.663 mile.

character of the Soviet republic, but the watchwords of the rights of self-determination and of minorities found their place in the official terminology.

The Xth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in 1922, marks a turning point. The Federation was transformed into a Union. Centralisation and consolidation are in progress, together with a tendency of having economic regions as a territorial basis for government, instead of the semi—or nominally—independent racial units. An enumeration of the latter, because of their possible significance in ulterior developments, may follow.

The various political units, mostly grouped around the Great Russian nucleus of 42 provinces, are divided into three groups.

I. *Independent republics* (marked on the map) owe their status to treaties with Moscow. They are sometimes called "friendly" republics, or "contractual" republics. The number of inhabitants added to the name of each of these republics corresponds to the census of 1920, and will help to show their respective importance.

1, Ukraine Soc. Sov. Republic (26,001,000); 2, Khorezm (Khiva); 3, Bokhara; 4, Georgia (2,372,000); 5, Armenia (1,214,000); 6, Azerbeydjan (2,096,000); 7, White Russia (1,634,000); 8, Far Eastern Republic. It must be noted that some Russian editions mention not less than 13 republics in the Caucasus, among which occur the names of Abkasia, Adzharia, Ossetia, Kabarda and others. Quite recently the republics under 4, 5 and 6 appear to have been amalgamated.

II. *Autonomous republics* (marked on the map by horizontal lines) owe their origin to unilateral decrees of the Moscow Government, issued between 1919 and 1921.

1, Bashkiz Republic (1,268,000); 2, Tartar "Republic" or "Region" (2,852,000); 3, Kirghiz Rep. (5,058,000); 4, Daghestan Rep. (798,000); 5, Highland Rep. (Gorshaja, no census); 6, Turkestan (7,201,000); 7, Crimea (761,000).

III. *Provinces* which have obtained autonomy (marked on the map by sloping lines) between October, 1918 and 1922 in the chronological order of the respective decree.

1, German Labour Commune on the Volga (some 200,000); 2, Karelian Labour Com. (144,000); 3, Chuvash region (758,000); 4, Votyak region (686,000); 5, Kalmyk region (126,000); 6, Marinsk region or Cheremiss region (300,000); 7, Zyriansk province (186,000, apparently lately transferred to the II. category); 8, Kabarda province; 9, Buryat Mongol province; 10, Yakut province (?).*

The frontiers of the political units underwent frequent changes. The League of Nations publication, *Report on Economic Conditions in Russia* (pp. 134-150) contains an important Note on new territorial divisions. Since the Moscow Government endeavours to put an end to this reshuffling of units.

As to the status of the above-mentioned sub-divisions of Soviet Russia, including the important Ukraine, it is best illustrated by some instances and regulations, not by the "basic decrees" and "treaties."

Thus, all resolutions passed by the Soviets of People's Commissaries, the Executive Central Committees, and the Board of Commissars for Home Affairs of any province and republic have to be communicated to Moscow; only the independent republics being granted exception from this rule.

* H.M. Stationery Office has published, in 1922, a description of the various political units existing on Russian territory, compiled from material supplied by the British Trade Mission in Moscow, under the heading *The Russian States*, to which we owe much of the above information. Recent changes are mentioned in the *Statesmen's Yearbook of 1923*.



RUSSIA—AS SHE WAS AND AS SHE IS.

The total of the labour and transport service tax, one of the principal "corvées" introduced by the Soviet Power, and amounting for 1922 to 63,213,816 work days and 30,477,211,000 versts, is distributed among the provinces as well as among most of the republics by the Moscow Government.

The change of the name of the town of Petrovsk, situated in the Daghestan Republic, into Nakhaeh-Kala, had to pass the Moscow All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The chairmen of local bodies managing the mercantile fleet, even when the ports are situated in one of the republics, are nominated by the Moscow Commissar for Transport.

All foreign trade, not to speak of military arrangements and diplomatic representation, are in the hands of the All-Russian Government of Moscow.

The activities of the Moscow State Bank, almost the only bank, are everywhere directed from Moscow.

The extraordinary Judicial Organization (for political matters), the regulations for the formation of unions and associations, the penalties for the evasion of taxes and compulsory work, the nationalized State fire insurance, the new Land Act of May 22, 1922, the Economic All-Russian State Planning and s. f. are some of the matters upon which the All-Russian Government of Moscow decide for the whole territory.

The formula inserted in the Land Act to that effect runs as follows: This Act extends over the Russian Social Federal Soviet Republic, the autonomous (sic!) and friendly republics, and those republics established by treaties. Alterations necessitated by local conditions have to pass the Federal Land Board attached to the presidential board of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

It may be mentioned that minor matters do not escape the controlling power of Moscow. For instance, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs in Moscow alone is entitled to grant passports for foreign lands, the admission to Russia of foreigners also depends upon the Central Power.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By GENERAL BERTHOLD VON DEIMLING
(German Army, Retired).

General Berthold von Deimling, now 70 years of age, was in 1906-07 in command of the German Defence Force in German South West Africa. Later he proved the most correct in the process of dismantling the German military machine. In the Great War von Deimling commanded the German XVth Corps in Alsace. After the war he adhered to the Republic. He first came to the front in politics by his unreserved advocacy of signing the Treaty of Versailles. Since then he has repeatedly expressed the views set out in the accompanying article in a series of articles and pronouncements.

THE League of Nations is at present not popular in Germany. This must not, however, be taken to mean that in Germany the idea of the League of Nations, the conception of "peace through justice," is rejected on principle. Quite the contrary. The German nation wants no more war; it longs for rest and peace, lasting peace, in order that it may be able to proceed with reconstruction and get back by degrees to settled economic conditions.

That this object can only be attained by understanding, reconciliation and co-operation with other nations, is plain to every person of insight in Germany. The attitude, therefore, toward the basic principle of the

League of Nations is entirely sympathetic, but the League as at present constituted is regarded with mistrust. This League is looked upon as a caricature of a true League of Nations, and is said to be essentially an organisation for the maintenance of the enforced peace.

Exaggerated in many respects as this criticism may be, it is yet, in its main point, justified. For the decisions of the League of Nations, so far, especially in the questions of the Saar area and of Upper Silesia, have bitterly disappointed the German people, since they display an anti-German character and are governed by French influence.

These decisions prove that the Council of the League of Nations, as at present composed, does not form an impartial organ for mediating in international disputes. It is not well adapted to that function, since it contains far too many professional diplomatists and political personages, who are politically responsible to their Governments and Parliaments.*

Yet in spite of these shortcomings it would still, in my view and in that of many others, be best for Germany to join the League of Nations now. Important powers have been placed in the hands of the League for the execution of the Peace Treaty, and it is only if Germany is a member that she can effectively present her claims, or hope, in conjunction with the like-minded among other nations, to bring influence to bear towards re-shaping the League.

The entry of Germany into the League would also produce a calming and furthering effect on the solution of the reparation question now pending, and Germany's start might perhaps set the pace for Russia and America.

Unfortunately, as stated, public opinion in Germany has not yet won through to the realization of these facts. What is wanting most of all is the enlistment of the German press on the side of the League of Nations ideal. Many say, too: "Even if Germany were ready to enter the League, France would never let her do so; she would sooner secede from the League herself."

Would France really mistake her own interests to such an extent? I cannot believe it.

France wants guarantees against a future war of revenge which she fears on the part of Germany.

But where will she find better guarantees than in a League of Nations to which Germany also belongs?

The "securities" on the Rhine, of which there is now so much talk, are no guarantees against a war. For even a river like the Rhine is in these days no longer a military obstacle. You shoot over it with heavy guns and you fly over it with squadrons of aeroplanes. And neither a General Foch nor a General Ludendorff would let himself be hindered in the least by "demilitarized" or "neutral" zones.

No, only the League of Nations can give France real "securities" against the feared German war of revenge, just as, on the other hand, it can protect Germany against France.

France and Germany together in the League of Nations! By that means the air would be gradually cleared of the poison of hate and mistrust which has now settled between the two peoples. And it is here, in this moral disarmament, that the best guarantee against a new war lies.

Thus Germany's entry into the League of Nations is not only to her own interest, but just as much to the interest of France, of England, and indeed of the whole world.

* General von Deimling's objection to representatives on the League who are "politically responsible to their Governments and Parliaments," is difficult to understand. It would seem obvious that unless a national representative carries with him the support of his Government his work on the Council of the League, however excellent, cannot be sure of bearing fruit. The prestige of the League and its capacity to achieve the objects for which it was created must depend upon the extent to which the representatives of the various countries on the League Council are empowered to speak with the authority of their respective Governments.—ED. HEADWAY.

Correspondence.

FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE LEAGUE.

From PROFESSOR C. K. WEBSTER.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—At this time of crisis members of the League of Nations Union are eagerly watching to see what part the League is going to play in the Reparations question. To us, indeed, it seems obvious that only a solution through the League can bring about real peace on the Rhine, and many of us cannot understand why our Statesmen have not appealed to it sooner. But we must not forget that most Frenchmen and most Germans do not look upon the League of Nations in the same way as we do. On the contrary, there are large numbers of people in both countries who regard the League with the greatest suspicion. The fact that these suspicions cancel one another does not, unfortunately, make them any the less powerful in their own spheres.

I have talked to many Germans and Frenchmen during the last three months on the League and the Ruhr, some of them men well known in their respective countries, others encountered casually in train or street. In many cases I found that in the first instance the idea of the League providing a solution for the Ruhr problem was rejected with scorn. Frenchmen smiled and shrugged their shoulders. "The League has no power; it would embarrass us; we must rely on our own vigilance and an Alliance with England," were the words that came most easily to their lips. Germans were more emphatic. Workmen spat when the League was mentioned. "Look at the Saar," they said, "the League is a French machine; it is a device to trick us and perpetuate the iniquitous treaty of Versailles; the sooner it perishes the better."

So they began, but when they were met on their own ground it was remarkable how soon an impression was made. Both Frenchmen and Germans were specially impressed by the evidence that could be given to them of the strength of the League idea in Britain, for both are anxious for the goodwill and assistance of this country. When Frenchmen were told that the days of a special Alliance were past, and that a British guarantee could only be obtained through the League, they showed much more interest in it, while Germans had no answer to the argument that without the League the Saar would now be legal French territory. One German Trades' Union secretary was completely converted, and undertook to bring the question before a large meeting of his society. I have heard since from him that the result was far better than he had anticipated, and he adds that if only Germans can be persuaded that Britain takes the League seriously they will begin to regard it in a different light. In France, too, I had much evidence that Frenchmen who could be made to think about the League were more and more inclined to regard it as their only hope of salvation. After the next elections it is possible that a new France will be able to co-operate with us in a different spirit.

Meanwhile, I would urge upon our members not to expect the League to be able to alter the psychology of the European nations in a month or so, and to support our Statesmen in the sane and cautious methods which they are using. Secondly, surely it is time that our Union took its duties to other countries more seriously. We have built up a great position in this country, which has struck the imagination of many people abroad. Now we must carry our message to a wider field if our efforts are to prevail. How far are we prepared to direct our efforts to this great end?—Yours, &c.,

CHARLES K. WEBSTER.

HUNGARY AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—May I, as Hon. Sec. for the Honiton Branch of the L.N.U., approach you on what appears to me a matter of vital moment?

I refer to the question of setting Hungary on her feet as we have done Austria. There seems imminent danger that the loan may be refused. If so, it will be more than what was called in the *Times* for last Friday "a lost opportunity." I have been much abroad, so I feel I may try to throw my small influence into the scale for helping the nations.

We have helped Austria—so far, good! We have begun with the centre of the European organism. Austria is like the heart, but, if so, then Hungary is like the mitral valve of that heart. What is the use of helping the central organ if its own "core," so to say, is left in a state of collapse? If Hungary is refused help, that is what will have been done. She was bitterly wronged through the Treaty, her waterways (to mention only one item), those which are to her like great arteries of internal communication, were cut up; and that excellent and calm presentation of her case, "The Dismemberment of Hungary," by Dr. Lavislaus Buday (published July, 1922) is a great help to understanding her present position. Moreover, we of Europe owe it to her that we do our best to help her now, for she stood like a buffer for Europe in the past against the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, and so allowed the free course of the cultural streams which Turkish rule would have paralysed. We are beginning to heal from the centre, but we must see to it that our work of healing is not countered by a short-sighted refusal to get the whole of that centre into a healthy state. Our plan, even if worked out slowly, must be very definite, step for step from within, outwards.—Yours, etc.

C. F. BARNETT,

Honiton. Hon. Sec., Honiton L.N.U. Branch.

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—I have noticed more than once a less than half-veiled contempt for Catholics in your paper. In the May number there is an article by B. E. C. Dugdale, under the heading "Minorities," which bears me out. I quote a paragraph—

"Minorities" . . . in the technical sense in which we use it here means people who talk a different language or profess a different creed or belong to a different race from the majority of their fellow-countrymen in the States of Central and Southern Europe. . . . The Roman (*sic*) Catholic, the Jew, the travelling pedlar, the owner of great estates, are only a few of the varieties of mankind who may all come into the category."

To begin with, may I ask how the Protestant would like to be catalogued with "the Jew and the travelling pedlar"? Next, the writer is wrong in point of fact. Catholics are in a far greater majority than Protestants in the States of Central and Southern Europe, and it would make much more for the true progress of the League of Nations Union if their official organ, the *HEADWAY*, recognised this, and did not give the League of Nations Union such a distinctly Protestant tinge. Had they asked His Holiness the Pope to be President of the League of Nations Union instead of ignoring him altogether, they would be in a state of far greater stability and influence at the present time than they are. At any rate, I can assure them that ignoring and belittling the great Catholic Church is not to set their feet on the path which leads to peace.—Yours, etc.

Reading. M. F. MASON.

[Our correspondent is under an entire misapprehension in regard to our attitude to the Church of Rome. The League of Nations includes among its members not merely countries which adhere to different branches of the Christian Church, but also many non-Christian countries, and advocates of the League cannot allow themselves to be biased by their own particular religious views where the League is concerned. The League of Nations Union numbers among its Vice-Presidents Cardinal Bourne, as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Rabbi, as well as the President of the Free Church Council, but it has not fallen into the error of choosing its President on the grounds of his representing any branch of religion.

With regard to the specific paragraph which our correspondent quotes, may we assure him that the last thing the writer had in mind was any belittling of the Church of Rome. The object of the paragraph was to show the extraordinary variety covered by the term "minority," which includes among others the Christian and the Jew, the beggar and the wealthy landowner. The antithesis, be it noted, was between Catholic and Jew, pedlar and owner of great States. So far, we are happy to say, we have received no complaints from landowners!—EDITOR.]

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The Relief Committee of the Society of Friends needs money for urgently necessary reconstruction work in the Vilna district of POLAND, where peasants are living in water-logged dug-outs, from which the water has to be baled out daily.

In RUSSIA, should the harvest be satisfactory, there will still be need for reconstruction work and assistance to orphanages.

In AUSTRIA the Land Settlement movement needs continued support.

Friends are also working in GERMANY where relief is being administered by the Council for International Service.

Gifts of Money, which may be earmarked for either country, should be sent to Friends' Relief Committee (Room 10), 10, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4.

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

BRITISH LEGION AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I, through the columns of your valuable paper, draw the attention of the Union and its branches to the great need of uniting with the British Legion in the activities of promoting World Peace?

In the constitution of the Legion we find that the Legion shall exist to perpetuate in the civil life of the Empire and the world the principles for which we fought; to inculcate a sense of loyalty to the crown, community, state and nation; to promote unity amongst all classes; to make "right" the master of "might"; to secure peace and goodwill on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy, and to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual service and helpfulness.

Surely, the Legion having set itself out to accomplish that aim, it would be only right that the local branches of the League and Legion should co-operate for publicity purposes, so that the civilians and ex-Service men may realise their responsibilities toward the attainment of that great object?

The League and the Legion each has its own place to fill in the life of the nation, yet the apathy of all classes is such that greater efforts on the part of both organisations is required to secure the objects for which we are formed. Therefore may I suggest that public meetings should be held jointly, so that we can attract and attach those who are now outside of either to come into line to give us the lift which is necessary. By so doing we shall have greater power behind us to bring pressure to bear as required.

The Legion is absolutely non-political, and it is only by being so that we can have strength, therefore it is the duty of every ex-Service man, whatever rank he may have held, to come into the organisation. The Union, I am sure, would welcome any branch as corporate members. Therein lies power. Let us be up and doing, activities bring life, inactivities bring ruin.—Yours, etc.,

Mortimer, Berks.

ROWLAND SHARPE.

[Support of the League of Nations is part of the permanent policy of the British Legion. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, and Mr. J. R. M. Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Organisation, addressed the Whitsun Conference of the British Legion in London, when a resolution in favour of the League was passed with enthusiasm. The League of Nations Union keeps in close touch with the British Legion, and there is co-operation in a variety of ways. Next winter, for instance, there will be a large number of combined meetings organised by local branches of the Legion and the Union. Proposals are being considered whereby members and branches of the Legion may join the Union on special terms. It is also proposed to take common action on matters of policy wherever possible.—EDITOR.]

"A WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD."

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the April issue of HEADWAY a letter under this heading (written by a correspondent who is, or was, I understand, an official of the British Esperanto Association), might lead the reader to think that Esperanto is the only International Auxiliary Language in the field. This is not so, as it is claimed for Ido that, just as Esperanto replaced Volapuk, so Ido on its merits will be the successor of Esperanto.

The League of Nations has now referred the question to a committee of eminent persons, the result of whose deliberations will be awaited with interest, and, pending the pronouncement, it would be well to preserve a non-partisan attitude, select which of the two languages seems

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the better, and use it for correspondence or intercourse with persons of other nations who are anxious for world-wide brotherhood.

There has been such overwhelming proof of the practicability of such auxiliary languages, that few now can doubt, and, personally, I have convinced myself that, even with the handicap of age, one can write and converse in Ido after a few months of study.

There are many journals published in Esperanto and Ido, and I am sure that either the British Esperanto Association, of Hart Street, London, W.C.1, or the International Language (Ido) Society, 57, Limes Grove, Lewisham, London, S.E.13, would be pleased to reply to inquiries.—Yours, etc.,

F. MULCAHY.
(Major-General, Retired.)

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

The whole of Europe seems as like the very devil's cauldron as ever, but that part where it has always been nearest to bubbling over the edge is still the Balkans and the new succession States. Mr. C. J. C. Street's *Hungary and Democracy* (T. Fisher Unwin, ros. 6d.) will help you understand one of the most bubbly spots, though the addition of maps would have added clearness to his words. With special knowledge of that country, he writes of the perpetual menace of the present régime to the peace of the Continent. Although other writers take an opposite view, I believe that he is right in stating that the dismemberment of Hungary—she has lost nearly two-thirds of her territory and three-fifths of her population—was no act of vengeance on the part of her victorious enemies, but the inevitable consequence of the pre-war policy of the Magyars. The disastrous fact remains that though they have now far smaller, though still considerable, minorities to handle, they are to-day pursuing the same reactionary and provocative policy. The republic is of the same mind as the monarchy; the population must be 100 per cent. Magyar; hence political and educational tyranny, carried even to the absurd degree that Slovak officials are urged to change their national names and adopt others of Magyar origin. When will Governments learn that it is futile to attempt to win peace and unity of any country by repressive decrees? It is not easy for us, with our happy relations with our Welsh and Scottish minorities, to understand the entire lack of psychological perspective in most states of Eastern Europe. In spite of Mr. Street's verdict of the fair treatment of Magyar minorities in Yugo-Slavia and Rumania, I fear that they, too, have not an altogether comfortable time. The only remedy for the present evil is reciprocity of behaviour; on the one hand, the several Governments must observe the spirit as well as the letter of the obligations to which their treaties and membership of the League bind them; that is certain, but it is equally certain that these minorities must place citizenship before nationality and seek relief for their grievances not in secret plottings or disloyal aloofness, but by constitutional methods. The process will be slow and needs patience on both sides, but which party will have the foresight to take the first step?

From time to time I have suggested to you books which it would be well if you could induce your public library committee to purchase for its shelves. Here are two more, Dr. Ivy Williams' *The Sources of Law in the Swiss Civil Code*, and Dr. Otfried Nippold's *The Development of International Law after the World War*; both are published by the Clarendon Press and cost 7s. 6d. each. The former is perhaps too technical for any but lawyers and law students, but it is important

for them in view of the facts that the Swiss civil law is the most recent codification of such law and that the author carefully points out the various sources from which it flows. The other book is of much more general importance. Professor Nippold, who is German by birth and Swiss by choice, wrote during the war and before its issue was assured; nevertheless he has given us, as Professor Hershey, of Indiana University, remarks in his introduction, what is "to all practical intents and purposes a commentary on the League of Nations before its birth." It is a testimony to the accuracy of the argument that it can be published without alteration six years after it was written. The general theme is that either militarism or the law of nations, the principles of might or right, must give way; but the author does not content himself with generalities. In the first part of his book he produces a scheme for the formation of a special League of States to carry out a progressive programme of international law. He does not shirk the question of guarantees and sanctions for the enforcement of this law, but enters fully into the reasons which lead him to suggest a treaty of the mutual guarantee of territorial possessions and the employment of a general political and economic boycott to be followed in the last resort by international military, but not militaristic, action against any breaker of the peace. What else is this than our League of Nations and its principal proposals for the security of its member States and the peace of the world? The further point which Professor Nippold makes to the effect that the several States should assign material securities, to be forfeit in the event of their unprovoked aggression, is perhaps too Utopian a sanction for even the League to consider at present, but at least we might well demand with him an international commission of control to supervise the manufacture of explosives and all munitions of war, including battleships and fortresses. In his later chapters the author discusses the law which must regulate the practice of war, especially in connection with naval action and such details as mines, submarines and bombs; he is optimist enough to look forward to the voluntary abolition of these two latter weapons and to the restriction of aircraft to the sole purpose of reconnaissance. I should like to give you much more of what this book contains, but I must confine myself to two samples in order to whet your appetite to digest the whole:—

"Those who are seriously bent on progress must henceforth proceed without regard for the fact that a few states do not care to keep pace with this development, and are left behind. The disadvantages will not accrue to the progressive but to the non-progressive ones."

"Extensions of domains are, in reality, not in the interests of peace and law, but solely in the interests of imperialistic desires for power."

When you were up in town for the March meeting of the Council, I remember that we were talking at lunch about the teaching of citizenship in our schools. I don't know if you have given any more thought to the matter, or if you have been discussing it with any of your teacher friends; but if you want a simple book about it, I think it would be worth while for you to get hold of Miss E. M. White's *The Teaching of Modern Civics* which G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., publish. The price, 3s. 6d. for 100 pages, strikes me as a little stiff, but I suppose we pay for quality and not for quantity, and the quality here is good. The author is distinctly practical in her suggestions and emphasises the need for the study of civics not only by children but by adults; if we are to be good citizens both of our own country and of the world, we cannot afford to neglect this study; it is an essential need to find the answer to the question which she would have us put in regard to everything that happens socially, nationally and internationally.

"What does it signify?" Not the least useful part of the book is a very complete bibliography.

The war has pinched all our pockets, and has given us a new idea of the meaning of money; we are searching for remedies, and in our search we are ready to examine all the causes of our poverty. Mr. C. M. Hattersley has set out the attractions of the "Douglas" scheme in his *The Community's Credit* (Credit Power Press, 70, High Holborn, W.C.1. 5s.), while Professor R. A. Lehfeldt, of Johannesburg, deals with finance from the point of view of *The Restoration of the World's Currencies* (P. S. King & Co., Ltd. 6s.) It is quite clear that you and I ought not to swallow blindly the panaceas offered us by rival schools of politicians, but ought to have some reason for the faith or the folly that is in us. Both these books will help us to do a bit of solid thinking, and that is always to the good, if only to keep our brains from rusting.

I am afraid that the continued unsettled state of Germany will have put away your idea of taking a holiday in that country; I hope it will only be a postponement, for no amount of reading can replace the value of personal contact between the Germans and ourselves; the delay will give you more time to improve your knowledge of German, and I think you might find some help in an *Introduction to German*, which G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., have lately published for eighteenpence in their bilingual series. At first sight Mr. R. T. Curral's use of unfamiliar letters to reproduce the more exact English equivalent of German pronunciation is rather like learning an additional language, but they serve as a second best in the absence of a viva-voce teacher.—Yours,

THE SHOPMAN.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS "EXTRAVAGANCE."

By MAJOR GLADSTONE MURRAY.

IT is, of course, essential that there should be close scrutiny of the expenditure of public funds. This does not mean, however, that criticism should be based on misrepresentation.

Certain newspapers are in the habit of "sniping" at the League, because of its expenditure. One of them in a despatch from Paris, purporting to summarise a report by M. Margaine for the French Chamber, gives the salary of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations at £19,440. The actual figure is £4,000. The report then goes on to compare the salaries of the Secretariat of the League of Nations with those of French Civil Service. This is misleading, because the French Civil Servants are notoriously underpaid, particularly since the fall of the franc. The scale of salaries in the League Secretariat is based on the British Civil Service scale, but it is necessary to make allowance for the following three factors:—

- (1) Senior League Officials do not get life contracts and do not get pensions. Down to and including Directors of Sections, contracts are for seven years only; members of sections get a twenty-one years' contract, but are liable every seven years to have their posts suppressed if this is considered desirable. For lower ranks, contracts are for twenty-eight years, but with the same liability every seven years.
- (2) The cost of living at Geneva is 30 per cent. higher than it is in London.
- (3) The Members of the Secretariat are in a very real sense ex-patriated.

It is also pertinent to note that it is necessary for members of the Secretariat to have a knowledge of both French and English, and generally of at least one other language.

It is a fact that the budget of the League is more carefully checked than any other national budget. There is an Auditor-General independent of the Secretariat. There is also a Committee of Control on which both the Treasury and the French Ministry of Finance are represented. Finally there is the Finance Committee of the Assembly which sits almost daily for a month every year, and subjects every detail of the budget to the most careful examination.

There is also this great difference between the League budget and any national budget. A national budget usually has the support of a powerful party in the legislature and in the country. In the Assembly of the League there is no group pledged to defend the budget.

Salaries could be cut down below their present standard only by getting people with poorer qualifications; and it is noteworthy that the best members of the Secretariat have been offered higher salaries elsewhere than they are now getting. Recruiting for technical sections is most difficult. A British medical officer, for instance, is not inclined to accept a temporary post abroad with no pension and no security at a salary barely equal to that which he receives in his own Civil Service with a life contract and prospects of promotion and a pension.

The League of Nations costs the British taxpayer less than a farthing in the pound of what he pays in taxes. Unless the League of Nations had contrived to save Austria from collapse, Great Britain would never have seen a penny of the £2,000,000 sterling loaned to Austria last year. This sum will now be recovered, and the cost to the British taxpayer of the League's scheme which has made its recovery possible is £600. The occupation of Upper Silesia for eighteen months had cost the Allied Powers £187,200. The League's settlement, which put an end to this occupation, cost £2,600 or the amount representing one week's military occupation. These are only a few of numerous examples of the very real economy already effected by the League of Nations.

As an ex-officer who still believes in the ultimate achievement of at least some of the ideals for which we fought, I am glad to think that the League of Nations has already made good, and does indeed hold out some hope that the guiding principles of the British Commonwealth of Nations may yet be applied fully and effectively to a world-wide association of sovereign powers determined at least to try every possible alternative to war in the settlement of their disputes.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

Federation of League of Nations Societies.

This month will witness the 4th Plenary Assembly of the Federation. The Conference opens on Sunday, June 24, and will be held in Vienna. It is hoped that some 30 nations or more will be represented. Germany, Turkey, and possibly the United States will be sending delegates. The questions on the Agenda of the Conference will be investigated by Commissions which will report their decisions to the Assembly. Amongst the questions before the Conference will be those of Reparations, Disarmament, Protection of Minorities and the admission of States to the League of Nations. The British delegation will number in all some seventeen persons, including: Mr. David Davies, M.P., Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson, K.B.E., The Viscountess Gladstone, Capt. Reginald Berkeley, M.C., M.P., Rear-Admiral Drury Lowe, C.M.G., Dr. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., and Mrs. Garnett, Mr. W. T. Layton, C.H., Sir Walter Napier, D.C.L., and Mr. Gerald Spicer, C.B.

Seven resolutions will be submitted by the Union to the Conference for examination; amongst others these include Reparations, Propaganda through Public Instruction and Voting Power. The Union's policy as regards the proposals submitted by the Permanent Commissions of the Federation on Minorities, Disarmament and Economics has already

been established by the Executive Committee, and by the Committee of the Vienna delegation.

Japan.

The Japanese Society are asking the co-operation of the British Union in calling upon the League of Nations to take over the question of Reparations. They feel that International Organisations everywhere should secure this settlement, and that their own Government should lead in this by writing to the League.

On March 13 a most interesting speech was made in the Japanese Diet by Hon. M. Tanaka on the subject of National Textbooks for Grammar Schools, in the course of which he said: "No one can deny that since the World War the tendency of world thought has been away from militarism and imperialism toward internationalism and pacifism. But Japan has not kept pace with the thought of the world. In education in Japan, especially in the common school education which is the basis of all education, the newer ideas of internationalism are absent, as the textbooks show. The national readers and textbooks in ethics are too full of war-like or anti-foreign spirit. They seek to teach the children how to be good Japanese only, imbuing them with a narrow nationalism, and giving them no vision of the international ideal. There is, for instance, in the national readers no mention of the League of Nations. I firmly believe that our education ought to plant the seed of internationalism in the developing minds of our children, while seeking at the same time to make them good Japanese citizens. It is a great defect in our education that it does not present the modern internationally-minded nation, but sticks to old and outworn ideas. As a good Japanese, the child should know about self-government, the national Diet, &c. But it is just as important for him to know about the League of Nations and the modern international tendencies; and this should therefore be included in the Japanese textbooks."

Honfleur Conference.

A Conference for the study and discussion of International Questions is being arranged at Honfleur, Calvados, France, under the auspices of the Society of Friends, from July 22 to August 12. The fee is £2 for the course, but students are expected to arrange for their own accommodation. A list of hotels and full particulars will be given on application to the office of the Conference, Pavillon N. D. de Grace, Honfleur, Calvados, France, before July 15.

International Summer School in Czecho-Slovakia.

An interesting international exchange of ideas on the means to Social Peace will take place at Podebrady, a favourite watering place near Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, when the Women's International League is holding a Summer School for men and women of all nations. Among the lecturers will be Pierre Hamp (Paris) who will speak on "The Dignity of Labour" and "The Salvage of Europe," Eduard Dujardin (Paris) on "Co-operation," Dr. Decarly (Bruxelles) on "Types of Children and the Combative Instinct," Dr. M. Vaertung (Berlin) on "Equality of the Sexes as a Basis of the Perfect State," Ervin Reiger (Vienna), Validas Nag (India), Miss Scudder (Wellesley College) "Schemes of Reform by English Writers."

The old castle, with modern equipment, will be the home of the School. Inclusive price £7 5s. for the fifteen days from August 16 to 29. Book through Miss Evans, 55, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

Cheap travelling facilities, 2nd class, 1st on boat, £7 15s. return. Inquire of Wayfarers' Travel Agency, 33, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

Brussels International University Summer School.

The International University at Brussels is holding its fourth Session from August 27 to September 8. In connection with this, a Summer School has been arranged by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (August 27-September 2). Application should be made to the Office Central de la Confédération Internationale (Commission de l'U.I.), Palais Mondial, Brussels, Belgium.

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
June 16, 1923	294,267

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

Anglesey	1 member for every 19 of population.
Westmorland	1 " " " 21 " "
Merionethshire	1 " " " 22 " "

So far, in 1923, more than 63,000 new members have joined the Union; this is almost one-third as many again as in the corresponding part of 1922.

Branches

On June 16 the number of Branches was 1,441, together with 96 Junior Branches and 356 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

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

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—Albion Congregational Church. BARNOLDSWICK—Primitive Methodist Chapel. BIRMINGHAM—King Edward's High School for Girls; King's Heath Baptist Church. BRIDGWATER—Baptist Church. BRENTFORD—Congregational Church. BROMLEY—National Council of Women. BURY ST. EDMUNDS—The Women's Co-operative Guild. DAWLISH—Congregational Church. ECCLES—Congregational Church. FOLKESTONE—All Souls Church; Grace Hill Wesley Guild. HARROGATE—Christ Church, High Harrogate. HERTFORD—Hertford, Ware and District Free Church Council. LEWES—Wesleyan Church. LONDON—Burnt Ash Congregational Church; Queen's Road Wesleyan Church (Battersea); St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden. LONG EATON—Women's Unionist Association. LYDNEY—Lydney and District Trades and Labour Council. MOSSLEY—Christian Unitarian Church. WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA—Park Road Wesleyan Methodist Church. SWINDON—Bath Road Wesleyan Church. UXBRIDGE—Uxbridge Division, Labour Party. WELLINGTON (Som.)—Labour Party. WOKING—Congregational Church; Wesleyan Church. WOLVERHAMPTON—Wolverhampton Trades and Labour Council.

Summer Schools.

OXFORD (BALLIOL COLLEGE).
July 23-30. Fee 4½ guineas.

GENEVA.
August 3-11. Fee 12 guineas.

ASSEMBLY TOUR TO GENEVA.
The list of those participating in the Assembly tour arranged for August 31-September 7 is now closed. If sufficient applications are received, however, it is proposed to arrange a second tour during the second week of the Assembly. Application should be made to the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

GERMANY.
Owing to difficulties of railway transit, no Summer School in Germany can be held this year.

International Garden Fête.

Among the host of attractions that have been arranged for the League of Nations Union International Garden Fête, to be held at St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, on July 20 and 21, will be a display of Japanese Combative Arts, the famous Russian Corps de Balalaika, Czecho-Slovakian dances, Swedish singers, exhibition lawn tennis, a fencing display by ladies of the Salle Bertrand, bran-tubs, great cake competition, concerts, and broadcasting. The "London Scottish" Regimental Band will perform each evening. The whole of St. Dunstan's Villa is available, and in the event of wet weather most of the entertainments can be held indoors.

The Fête is held under the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra. All the states belonging to the League of Nations will be represented, and national costumes will be worn.

Admission: Friday, July 20, 2.30 p.m., 5s.; 4.30 p.m.,

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Eight New Languages

During the last year (1922-23) the Bible Society has added eight new names to the list of languages in which it has published or circulated the Scriptures.

Five of these are spoken in AFRICA: *Luv* is a Nilotic tongue spoken by a quarter of a million tribesmen on the western shores of the Albert Nyanza in Belgian Congo; *Asu* is the language of a Bantu tribe called the Wapare who live among the Pare mountains in Tanganyika Territory; *Tonga of Zambezi* is a Bantu language spoken by 100,000 people living in Northern Rhodesia; *Bambara* is a language spoken by dwellers in the French Sudan; *Kaonde* is a dialect of *Luba* spoken by about 40,000 people in the south-east corner of Belgian Congo and in Northern Rhodesia.

One language is spoken in CHINA; *Chuan Miao* is the dialect of people in the Province of Yunnan.

The other two languages are spoken in AMERICA; *Arawak* is spoken by people in British and Dutch Guiana; the *Huanuco* dialect of *Quechua* is spoken by Indians living among the mountains of Peru.

The Society has now sent out the Bible, or some part of the Bible, in no less than 558 different languages or dialects.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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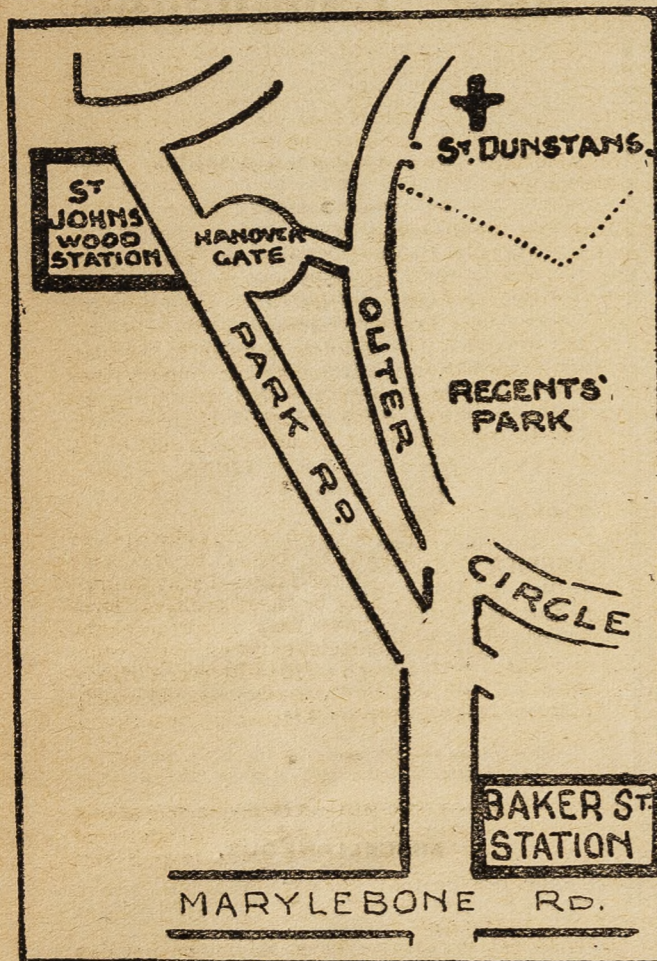
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2s. 6d.; 6.30 p.m., 1s. Saturday, July 21, all day, 1s. Children under 14, accompanied by adults, half-price from 4.30 p.m. Friday and all day Saturday.
A plan showing the position of St. Dunstan's appears below:—



It is suggested that many members of the Union outside the London area may like to form parties and come by char-a-banc or motor bus to London to attend the Fête, and help to make it a success. Such parties have already been arranged in some districts within 35 miles of London.

Welsh Council Annual Conference.

The Second Annual Conference of the League of Nations' Union—Welsh Council, held at Aberystwyth during Whitsun week—proved an unqualified success and manifested the enormous strides made by the movement in the Principality during the last year. About one hundred and eighty special delegates representing the Welsh Branches were present.

On Monday afternoon a public meeting under the chairmanship of the Rev. Herbert Morgan, M.A., was addressed by Captain Ernest Evans, M.P., and the Rev. J. Puleston Jones, M.A. A musical evening followed, arranged by Sir Walford Davies, Director of the Welsh National School of Music. This gathering included an International Rally arranged by the students at the University College.

Tuesday's proceedings included a Conference on the International Labour Organisation when, under the chairmanship of Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A., speaking in Welsh, Mr. Sydney Herbert, Lecturer in International Politics at Aberystwyth, opened the discussion with an account of the constitution and work of the I.L.O.

A civic reception by the Mayor of Aberystwyth (Captain Edward Llewellyn) followed this meeting when the delegates were entertained to tea at the Parish Hall.

The evening meeting on Tuesday was presided over by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, and the speakers were Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett and Mr.

Morgan Jones. M.P. Dr. Garnett referred to the way in which many Welsh Counties were forging ahead of the English Counties in their support of the League.

One of the most interesting features of the week's meetings was the public Conference of Women held on the Wednesday afternoon and presided over by Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths where it was decided that the Women of Wales organise a memorial to the Women of America seeking their friendly co-operation in the cause of World Peace. An Executive Committee of women was appointed to carry out the proposal, and to organise the undoubted goodwill of the Women of Wales in its support.

At the closing meeting speeches were delivered by Mr. David Davies, M.P., Mrs. Coombe Tennant, J.P., and Mr. G. N. Barnes, P.C.

On June 28—Covenant Day—a wireless message of greeting and of goodwill was sent out from the Children of Wales to the Children of every other country under the sun.

Scotland and the League.

Very earnest work has been done by the Scottish Churches' League of Nations Council on behalf of the League of Nations. The pulpit, the Sunday Schools, and the Societies for the Young are all being used to stimulate interest in the cause. The Council is co-operating with the Committees which prepare the Sunday School Scheme of Lessons and the Syllabus for Bible Classes, so that the subject of the League may be brought before the youth of the Church. November 11, 1923, is to be observed as League of Nations Sunday, and all ministers of religion are being urged to make full use of this opportunity. The United Free Church of Scotland recently issued a manifesto to its ministers urging them to use their influence in favour of the League.

Children's Meeting.

Mr. Whelen addressed a meeting of some 1,700 school children at the Southampton Coliseum on May 17. The children were invited to write essays on the lecture, and the local Branch has provided 50 prizes. To date about 70 per cent. appear to have entered for the competition, and the general level is very good indeed.

Broadcasting.

A programme of addresses on the League has been arranged to be broadcasted from the Newcastle Station. This includes two addresses to children by Mr. F. J. Gould and Mr. Frederick Whelen. Branches throughout the Northern Region are encouraged to get their members to listen in, especially in places which are too small to arrange meetings themselves for important speakers.

Winchcombe Peace Pageant.

Empire Day at Winchcombe was observed by the performance of a very successful British Empire Peace Pageant under the auspices of the local Branch of the Union. The performers were the scholars of the elementary schools and the Pageant took place in the Abbey Orchard. At the close of the proceedings an appeal was made to those present to join the League of Nations Union Branch.

Increasing Membership.

By the increase of 317 new members during the past year the Woodford Branch has almost doubled its membership, which now stands at 750—representing one in 30 of the population of the district.

Successful Jumble Sale.

A result of a Jumble Sale arranged by the Hampstead Branch, £30 was sent to Dr. Nansen's Repatriation work in the Near East.

Lady Constance Lytton.

The Knebworth Branch of the League of Nations Union has suffered a very heavy loss in the death of Lady Constance Lytton, which occurred at the end of May after a long illness. Lady Constance had the greatest enthusiasm for the aims of the League, and did all she possibly could to inspire others with the same enthusiasm. She helped forward in many ways the work of the League of Nations Union in Hertfordshire, and will be very much missed by the Committee and members of the Knebworth Branch.

Esperanto.

The connection between Esperanto and the League of Nations was emphasised at the 14th Annual Congress of the British Esperanto Association, held at Bournemouth in May. Among those present was Professor Edmond Privat, LL.D., Vice-President of the Universal Esperanto Association, whose headquarters are in Geneva, and also Lecturer at Geneva University and Technical Adviser to the League of Nations. Dr. Privat advocated the extensive adoption of Esperanto as an auxiliary language, as a means of advancing the cause of the League. Major W. E. G. Murray, for the League of Nations Union, pleaded for the whole-hearted support of Esperantists of the League.

Derbyshire £5,000 Appeal.

At a meeting convened by the Derby and Derbyshire Branch of the Union on May 28, at the Central Hall, Derby, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., made a powerful appeal for the League. The Bishop of Southwell presided, and so great was the number of people anxious to attend that the hall (the largest in the town) was filled to overflowing, and 500 had to be turned away for lack of room. A resolution was passed pledging the meeting to work for the £5,000 Derby and Derbyshire fund to assist the Union. It was announced that Mrs. Waterhouse, of Bakewell, had promised £250 and the Duke of Devonshire £100. Garden fêtes and demonstrations are being planned to help in raising the fund.

Public Meetings.

Upwards of 150 meetings were arranged by Headquarters for the month of June, in addition to those arranged by Branches. Amongst the speakers were:—

The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Carlisle, the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Southwark, Mr. J. R. M. Butler, M.P., Mr. V. L. McEntee, M.P., the Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P., Mr. Richards, M.P., the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Lt.-Colonel D. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A., Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G., Mr. J. F. Green, Major W. E. G. Murray, M.C., D.F.C., Lt.-Colonel Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, Mr. Everitt Reid, F.R.G.S., Mr. W. Llewellyn Williams, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale, Froken Henni Forchhammer, Miss Maude Royden.

Many meetings have been arranged for July. Amongst them are:—

Loughton (July 1, Mr. V. L. McEntee), Brentford (July 1, Mr. J. F. Green), Salisbury (July 4, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale), Bromsgrove (July 3, Mr. E. Everitt Reid, F.R.G.S.), Hawarden Castle (July 7, Captain Walter Elliot, M.C., M.P.), Brockwell Park (July 7, J. F. Green), Dunmow (July 11, Mr. Holland Rose), Winchester (July 15, Lt.-Colonel D. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A.), Canterbury (July 16, Miss Muriel Currey), Danbury (July 18, Mrs. Skelton), and Toxteth (July 22, the Rt. Rev. Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead).

Meetings are not so numerous during the months of June and July this year. Owing to the very inclement weather it has been found impossible to arrange outdoor meetings.

A Novel Entertainment.

The Leamington Central School recently organised a most effective entertainment, which might well be considered by Branches of the Union. The programme consisted of "two plays and some music illustrating a development of thought throughout the ages." "The Pilgrim Song" was the opening item, followed by "Land of Hope and Glory," and "Orpheus with his Lute." Then John Drinkwater's play "X=0," illustrating a night of the Trojan War, "Ave Maria," and "Brother Sun," one of Laurence Housman's "Little Plays of St. Francis." A solo "There's a Land" closed the musical programme, and the proceedings ended with an address on the League by the Director of Education, Mr. J. E. Pickles.

Conference of Branches.

A very interesting and profitable gathering was held at Sandringham Gardens, Ealing, on Monday, June 4, when representatives from the Branches of the Union at Acton, Ashford, Chiswick, Hounslow, Shepherd's Bush (Oaklands), Staines and Twickenham forgathered with our

officers and members of Committee for an "Experience" Meeting, the object being to compare methods of propaganda and thus learn from one another. The following subjects were discussed: The formation of a panel of speakers for meetings in West Middlesex; Corporate Members; the British Legion and the Union; how to get the support of the Churches; Children and the League; a combined Demonstration for the Western Border; a house-to-house canvass; and the formation of new branches. Spirited discussions took place, and at the end it was unanimously agreed that the meeting had been a very valuable one. It was decided to hold another gathering in the autumn.

Something New for Branches.

One Branch arranged a novel "interlude" at one of its meetings. Three minute speeches were given by four persons representing four countries which have specially benefited from the League's work—Austria, Poland, Finland and Albania. The speakers came on to the platform wearing the national costume of the country they represented. The speeches were prepared, at the request of the Branch in question, by one of our Headquarters staff, and are now available for other Branches at a cost of 6d. the four speeches.

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

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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To Branch Secretaries.

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

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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.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.



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