

# Headway

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## THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

### The Strike and the Pilgrims.

The Pilgrimage Committee of the Union have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the National Pilgrimage which was being organised to take place in May and June must be postponed till next year. The continuation of the industrial crisis through which the country is now passing is proving an insuperable obstacle to the arrangements necessary for carrying through an enterprise of this character. In spite, however, of the abandonment of the actual Pilgrimage, the preparations which have been set on foot for holding meetings and demonstrations of every character are to go forward, and it is hoped that all the large number of volunteers, and the splendid support given to the Union by the organisations of the country will be directed to making these demonstrations a great success. The Rally in Hyde Park on League of Nations Day will also take place, and all those who can do so are cordially invited to come to London for the occasion. All banners, pennants, &c., which are being prepared for the Pilgrimage can be utilised for the local demonstrations.

### Reparation.

Germany has made new counter-proposals in regard to reparation. To the Allies she sent, on April 22nd, a Note dealing exclusively with the question of reconstructing the devastated areas. To the United States Government, following a direct appeal for mediation which President Harding refused, she has sent a reparation offer which the Supreme Council is considering as we go to press. Mr. Lloyd George previously stated that if the German offer was not considered satisfactory, Great Britain would support France in proposals for the further occupation of the Ruhr district and of the Westphalian coalfield. We do not know at present how the Allies view the new German proposals, but they appear to be an improvement on those put forward in March. Germany states her willingness to pay a total of £2,500,000,000, payable in annuities totalling up to £10,000,000,000. She suggests the immediate issue of an international loan. She accepts the principle of payments fluctuating in accordance with the increased or decreased prosperity of the country. As a proof of goodwill she offers to place £50,000,000 at the disposal of the Reparations Commission, and she further intimates that she will take over an undefined part of the Allied debt to the United States, so far as her economic capacity will allow, should the United States care to sanction such a step. The proposals are conditional on the régime of sanctions coming to an end.

### The Only Solution.

A basis for further negotiations is clearly available, and it would be deplorable if the opportunity were neglected in favour of further military advances into Germany, which can only defeat the object which the payment of reparations is supposed to achieve. But in view particularly of the recent German appeal to the League of Nations, it is highly desirable that the question should be transferred to that body instead of being left in the none too efficient hands of the Supreme Council. We still urge that the question of the amount of the indemnity to be paid by Germany, and the method of payment, should be referred to a special tribunal appointed by the League, with financial experts as assessors, and we call upon the British Government to take the initiative in bringing this matter before the Council.

### Disarmament.

The temporary Armaments Commission of the League, appointed to advise the Council on the reduction of armaments, and the limitation of the private manufacture of munitions, is in process of formation, and there is every prospect that by the autumn, when the Assembly meets, there will be a practical scheme to discuss. The International Labour Office, which was offered six seats on the Commission, has filled three with representatives of the workers, the employers' group having refused to nominate representatives. Meanwhile, the Secretary-General of the League has put before the Members two proposals. The first is the acceptance of an undertaking not to exceed during the next two financial years following upon the next Budget Estimates, the total amount for military expenditure provided for in these Estimates. This suggestion has been adopted by the Belgian Government, with the proviso that an exception might be made in cases when an increase was recommended by the League, or when an extraordinary situation arose. This is undoubtedly a first step towards a reduction of what Mr. Lloyd George has justly described as the "terrifying" burden of armaments, but it is only a first step. We refer our readers to the Memorandum of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, published on page 67, for a practical scheme for the reduction of armaments by agreement between the nations.

### Traffic in Arms.

The second proposal of the Council deals with the control of the arms traffic in semi-civilised and uncivilised countries, and insists upon the immediate adhesion of the Governments concerned to the Convention relative to

this traffic. The Council of the League has also proposed, and the Belgian Government has agreed, that the International Bureau created by the General Convention of 1890 to exercise control over the traffic in arms and munitions, and placed under the authority of the Belgian Government, should fulfil, under the direction of the League, the same functions as regards the Arms Convention of Saint-Germain.

An interview with Sir Eric Drummond, **Mandates and the League.** recently granted to the Press, has been useful in clearing up certain misapprehensions in regard to the question of mandates.

In the first place, the Secretary-General of the League shows that the amount of money expended in the mandated territory is a matter to be decided by the Mandatory Power itself, and is not dictated by the Council of the League. In the second he disposes completely of the argument that mandates should not be submitted to the national Parliament of the mandatory before acceptance. The duties of the Council, as defined by Sir Eric, are limited to examining the terms of the draft mandates submitted to it by the Mandatory Powers, with a view to ascertaining whether these are in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant, and making such alterations as may be necessary to bring this about. Once the terms of the mandates have been determined they cannot be altered. In this connection a Memorandum on the Tanganyika mandate by the League of Nations Union which we publish on another page, is of considerable interest.

**The Question of Yap.** The island of Yap, in the Pacific, is territorially one of the most insignificant of places, but owing to its value as an international cable station it has provoked a

controversy, involving a tremendous amount of correspondence, between Japan and America. The United States' main argument is that the right to dispose of the overseas possessions of Germany, of which Yap is one, is vested in the Allies and Associates, jointly—a fact that has never been disputed, and has, indeed, been reaffirmed in a recent statement from the Secretary-General of the League—and that the consent of the United States is therefore necessary both in the matter of the allocation of mandates and their terms and provisions. This consent has never been given on either point as to the island of Yap. Consequently, America does not consider herself bound by the terms of the mandate, according to which "the Principal Allied and Associated Powers" agree that the mandate for the Pacific Islands north of the Equator should be vested in Japan.

**All Nations or One?** The United States Government claims, moreover, that as the island is a general call centre for the world, it should not be assigned to any one Power, but should be internationalised. No special advantages are claimed for America that are not accorded to all other Powers, including, of course, Japan. This was the attitude maintained throughout the Peace Conference by President Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George, by the use of the word "certain" in reference to the islands to be allocated to Japan, is

claimed to have thereby admitted the exclusion of Yap from this mandate. The Japanese Government, on the other hand, claims that the representations of Mr. Wilson in regard to Yap were never accepted by the Supreme Council. Further, it asks pointedly why the American Government should have allowed more than a year and a-half to elapse before questioning a decision made on May 7th, 1919. Admitting, however, that the letter of the law favours Japan, it cannot be denied that America has more correctly interpreted the spirit of the Covenant by demanding the internationalisation of Yap, and we hope that Japan will see her way to rescind her decision not to grant the "open door" in the island.

**World Court of Justice.** The creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant, may now be said to have passed temporarily from the

hands of the League of Nations to those of the Governments of the countries invited to co-operation in its constitution. In February, 1920, the Council nominated a Commission of eminent jurists, who sat at the Hague for five weeks last summer, and finally unanimously adopted a draft scheme for an International Court. The scheme was examined, modified, and finally adopted by the Council at its meetings at San Sebastian and Brussels in August and October last. The amended statute was next studied for four weeks by a committee of the Assembly, then debated in the open Assembly, and finally adopted by that body on December 13th, 1920. The Statute of the Permanent Court was signed at Geneva by the representatives of twenty-seven of the States, Members of the League, but it has so far been ratified by one State only—Sweden. Until ratified by a majority of the Members of the League, *i.e.*, by not less than twenty-five, the Statute of the Court cannot come into force. Bills for ratification have been presented in many Parliaments, and there is no doubt that from the very outset the scheme has met with practically no opposition and very great goodwill.

**Speeding Up.** But action of very unusual speed is necessary if the Court is to come into being this year. The Members of the Court have to be elected by the Assembly and by the Council, independently of each other, from a list of persons nominated according to the same principle as the panel of judges was nominated for members of the Hague Court of Arbitration established by the Convention of 1907. The next meeting of the Assembly takes place in September, which means that within the next four months not only must at least twenty-five States ratify the Statute of the Court, but the Members of the League must also take the various steps provided for electing the panel of jurists from whom the eleven judges and four deputy judges constituting the Court are finally to be chosen by the Council and Assembly. The process of nomination is bound to be a somewhat lengthy one, and the list finally compiled must be distributed to the Members of the League sufficiently in advance of the Assembly meeting in September, to allow time for consideration of the names put forward. It is

be hoped that Governments will realise the importance of giving precedence to this matter. Not only do the various Treaties of Peace refer one possible dispute after another to the Court, but there is growing up an increasing practice of suggesting action by this Court in all sorts of disagreements between nations. It would be disastrous if another year had to elapse from next September before the Court came into being.

**Transit Problems.**

By Article 23 of the Covenant, the Members of the League agree, *inter alia*, to "make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League." It was to make this definite provision that the Barcelona Conference met on March 10th, in accordance with a resolution of the Council of the League confirmed by the Assembly at Geneva last December. Forty-two Members of the League were present at Barcelona, and two non-Members, Germany and Hungary. A huge piece of work has been accomplished by the Conference. A general Convention on freedom of transit has been drawn up, the principles of which have been given special application in two separate conventions dealing with railways and waterways respectively. A permanent Technical and Advisory Commission has been established, consisting of representatives of sixteen States to supervise the working of these conventions and to watch the development of transit and transport problems. Finally, machinery has been created for the settlement of disputes by reference, first to the Technical and Advisory Commission, and lastly, if necessary, to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

**Oiling the Wheels.**

One of the main principles which the Barcelona Conference has laid down is that of the complete absence of restrictions on goods in passage from the country of despatch to the country of destination across intervening countries. "Through booking facilities," reciprocal utilisation and exchange of rolling-stock on the railway systems of States adhering to the Railway Convention, and the removal of discriminatory tariffs, are among the measures suggested for carrying out this principle. The convention dealing with waterways secures absolute freedom of navigation of international rivers, with equal treatment for all flags. The Conference ended on April 20th. The next step is the submission of the conventions to the various Governments in the form of recommendations.

**Protecting Minorities.**

The question of the treatment of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities is one of supreme importance to the peace of Europe. Before the war racial and religious antagonisms were a constant source of trouble in Eastern Europe, and the danger is still existent. During the past few months the League of Nations Union has received complaints of oppression and intolerance from no fewer than eight different countries, and though

these may not all be well founded, there is little doubt that considerable discontent exists which calls for immediate investigation. When the various Peace Treaties were drawn up by the Supreme Council, special clauses were inserted imposing obligations in regard to the protection of minorities upon Austria, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania and Turkey. But it must be remembered that earlier treaties made for a like purpose failed because of the difficulty of putting them into operation, and it is possible that history may repeat itself unless steps are taken at once to institute a rapid and effective method of action in all cases of default. Indeed the House of Commons debate on the Hungarian Treaty on April 20th, revealed the fact that both in Hungary and in Rumania the provisions of the Treaty in regard to the protection of minorities have been violated in an open and flagrant manner.

**Help by the League.**

Fortunately, however, the present situation differs from earlier cases in that the execution of the "minorities treaties" is entrusted to a definite international authority, the League of Nations. The Council of the League may take action and give directions if a member of that Council brings the matter to its attention, and the Court of International Justice can give a decision if any member of the League asks for its intervention. In these circumstances it seems important that steps should be taken at once to set up within the League a definite organisation, capable of dealing rapidly and authoritatively with complaints by minorities. A resolution in this sense has been passed by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, and forwarded to Sir Eric Drummond and Earl Curzon. It will also figure on the agenda for the next general conference of the Federation of Voluntary League of Nations Societies, which meets at Geneva next June. This appears to be the best method of bringing to bear upon this vexed question the pressure of the organised public opinion of the world, upon which Mr. Balfour declared he rested his hope and his faith.

**Amending the Covenant.**

The Amendments Committee of the League concluded its preliminary session on April 7th. This session was devoted to the study of technical amendments concerning the organisation and machinery of the League. The amendments will now be considered by a Sub-Committee which will report to the full Committee in May. Among the questions discussed was that of the subscriptions of members falling into arrears. The Sub-Committee has been asked to suggest what penalty might be evolved in order that those States who contributed promptly might not be at a financial disadvantage as compared with the laggards. It is also to consider various points connected with the selection of non-permanent members of the Council, such as the question of providing for regional representation, and the necessity for preventing elected members from gaining a prescriptive right to their seats. The Czecho-Slovakian Government has submitted an amendment to the Covenant recognising regional agreements between groups of States under the League. It

believes that the present universal system ignores the fact that many complex questions of a local character only affect certain countries. The Government, therefore, contends that regional understandings aiming at closer co-operation between countries with common problems would assist in preserving peace. The Covenant, by Article 21, already recognises the validity of "regional understandings," but it does not explicitly define the term.

**Poland and Lithuania.** The Russo-Polish Peace Treaty, signed at Riga on March 18th, has now been ratified by the Governments of both countries. Russia has waived her rights

over Lithuanian territory west of the Disna-Molodetchno-Novo-Grodek-Baranovitchi line (which represents the new western frontier of Russia in this region), but by Article 3 of the Treaty both Russia and Poland agree that the question of the allocation of this territory is a matter concerning only Poland and Lithuania. This clause should facilitate the settlement of the Vilna dispute in which the Soviet Government has hitherto sought to interfere. The Conference at Brussels between Polish and Lithuanian delegates, under the Presidency of M. Hymans, representing the League of Nations, was opened on April 20th, but further sittings have been postponed until early in May, owing to the absence of the first Polish delegate, M. Askenazy. In view of the fact that Polish armies are still in occupation of Vilna, it is to be hoped that further delays will be avoided.

**America's Decision.** On April 12th, President Harding read his first message to his first Congress, which assembled on the previous day. He declared that the United States would

have no part in the League of Nations, and that a resolution ending the state of war with Germany would be submitted to Congress at an early date, but with certain qualifications. At the same time he reiterated his Government's pledge to join "an association to promote peace," and declared that the Government was in accord with the wish to eliminate the heavy burdens of armaments, but would not entirely discard agencies for the country's defence until the need to defend it had been removed. "We are," said the President, "ready to co-operate with other nations, but the merest prudence forbids that we should disarm alone."

**The First Assembly.** The book on the first Assembly,\* which has just been published by the League of Nations Union, and of which a review appears on another page, should become

the standard work on this subject. Not only does it give a clear and convincing picture of this historic gathering, but it completes the record of the work accomplished by the League during its first year. No member of the L.N.U. should lack a copy of this valuable book.

\* *The First Assembly.* Prepared by a Committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Phillimore. 3s. 6d., postage 3d. extra. Obtainable from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

## THE EARLY DAYS OF THE LEAGUE.

By PAUL HYMANS

(Former Belgian Ambassador in London, and First President of the League of Nations Assembly).

**A**BOUT two years ago, in the early period of the Peace Conference in Paris, I received one day an abrupt summons to go that same evening to the Hotel Crillon, in order to begin to examine the question of a League of Nations. I went to the Hotel, accompanied by my loyal colleague, M. Henri Rolin, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude, and I found in my place in the small room where we often deliberated, the first plan of a treaty or contract, drawn up in English.

There was Mr. Wilson, who presided, and who appeared to me to be a man sure of himself, of a very lofty turn of mind, full of—I might almost dare to say stuffed with—doctrines and principles. At his side was his personal friend and adviser, one of the most interesting personalities of the Peace Conference—Col. House, a discreet and unobtrusive figure, who, from time to time, would whisper a word or two in the President's ear.

France was represented by M. Léon Bourgeois and M. Larnaude, Warden of the Faculty of Law, who directed his efforts towards bringing into the roughness of the Anglo-Saxon texts a certain Latin clearness, and a certain classic order. There, too, was M. Orlando, then Prime Minister of Italy, who discharged fireworks of Southern vigour into the discussion, and Lord Robert Cecil, who already declared himself a fervent apostle, and next to him, as spokesman of England, General Smuts, an Anglicised Boer, expressionless and hard, and concise in speech. M. Venizelos was there with his penetrating glance, his engaging words, full of charm, skilled in resolving controversies by means of elegant compromise.

When the Covenant was drawn up it was foreseen that the Assembly would not meet for a long time, and therefore, the Council was set up without delay.

The first meeting of the Council, in fact, took place on January 16th, 1920, in the Salle de l'Horloge, at the Palace of the Quai d'Orsay, under the presidency of M. Léon Bourgeois. England was represented by Lord Curzon, who was soon replaced by Mr. Balfour—and sometimes by Mr. Fisher—Italy by M. Tittoni, President of the Senate, Japan by Baron Matsin, ambassador in Paris, Spain by her ambassador, M. da Cunha, to whom I recently handed over the presidency of the Council, and Greece by her Minister in London, M. Caclamanos.

The inauguration meeting took place without pompous display, before a small gathering of people, among whom, from time to time, appeared the silhouettes of M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, who were working in the next room, where the Supreme Council sat.

On November 15th, 1920, we find ourselves transported to Geneva, where the First Assembly of the League of Nations met. It came together in a vast hall, dark and shadowy, lit up by big electric lamps, veiled in red drapery—the hall of the reformation, which is generally used for religious reunions and conferences. Forty-one delegations, representing forty-one States, were there in groups; each delegation composed of three members, and all assisted by a staff of secretaries and technical experts. Two hundred journalists, gathered together from all the corners of the earth, sat in the special boxes, and in the public galleries the Genevese crowd, attentive admirers, watched the proceedings and occasionally joined in the applause and emotions of the Assembly.

## MR. LANSING AT VERSAILLES.

BY OLIVER BRETT.

**I**T is reported that Mr. Lansing's apology for his own ineffectual existence has created a great impression in the United States. It is natural that such a revelation should excite interest, even if the evidence it contains is but the twitter of the sparrow against the eagle. It seems strange to us, accustomed to the direct and temperamental cleavages of European party systems, that the President should have surrounded himself with Ministers so obtuse to his ideas and disloyal to his aims. We are obliged continually to recall the artificial differences between Democrat and Republican, based on the ancient battle-cries of the Civil War. Remove the arbitrary division of the Mason and Dixon Line, and it becomes clear that Mr. Wilson was a visionary Radical and Mr. Lansing a practical Conservative.

Mr. Lansing's book\* sets out to expose President Wilson and to exonerate Mr. Lansing. It fails in both these purposes. It does not detract from the President's greatness; but it does, on the other hand, make completely evident the smallness of Mr. Lansing. The size of the two men can be gauged at once by what they considered important. The President concentrates undeviatingly upon the League of Nations, ready at all times to sacrifice the ephemeral for the sake of the eternal. The Secretary of State is willing to forego all the vital principles of the League for the sake of temporary expediency, to obtain an early signature of peace, to ensure a ratification from the Senate, to accommodate the traditional prejudices of his fellow-countrymen. Mr. Lansing's mind cannot envisage to-morrow, and is overwhelmed by apprehensions of to-day. He cannot foresee that there will come a time when no one will remember in what month the Peace Treaty was finished, just as there will come a time when the Senate will wish to forget that it did not ratify the Treaty, and the traditional prejudices of the Americans will be altered. Like a politician, as opposed to a statesman, he has no sense of the movement of time or the processes of evolution. His narrow and legal mind concentrates upon what is alterable and unessential in order to impede the birth of a great idea.

Mr. Lansing continually complains of the President's determination to incorporate the Covenant inextricably within the Treaty. He expatiates upon the saving of time that would have been obtained by dividing them. He seems to be completely unconscious of the certainty that, given the circumstances of the war and the emotions of victory, a bad peace would be made at Versailles. Whether made quickly or slowly it would be bad; while, on the other hand, for a certain number of years it was

\* *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative.* By Robert Lansing. (Constable, London, 1921, 16s.)

It was a Parliament, less stormy to be sure, and much better mannered, if I may say so, than a great many Parliaments I know but, at any rate, it was a Parliament which deliberated in accordance with the customs and the rules observed in all Chambers, a Parliament which voted, which rejected, amended, or postponed motions, carefully prepared by Committees, a Parliament which laughed and applauded, and in which, while there were no political parties, no Majority, and no Opposition, one saw, none the less, a kind of Left develop; the men given to the boldest policy and to whom, from the very first day, Lord Robert Cecil gave this watchword: "Do and dare always." In this Parliament one could discern different groups, as, for example, the block of Scandinavian States, led by M. Branting, and all the South American States whose numerous representatives, often eloquent, able, and witty, left a distinct impression on the Assembly. Then there were the British Dominions, which, in a new crisis, would certainly again rally round the Mother Country, as they did in the war, but which reveal tendencies which are developing more and more in the direction of political autonomy.

Nevertheless, the Assembly of the League of Nations is distinguished from ordinary Parliaments by certain particular features. Only the heads of delegations take part in the voting. They do not vote for themselves, but for the State which they represent. They do not act according to the dictating of their personal fancy or inspiration, but according to the instructions of their Government, and, in consequence, by their vote they pledge all the political strength of their country. The States of the world, in fact, are thus bound up together and decide their affairs in common, and in this manner the Assembly of the League of Nations is essentially different from those innumerable congresses which we knew before the war, and which we doubtless will soon see again, where each member speaks according to his disposition and taste, in order to please this or that section of public opinion, to launch a personal idea, or to attract applause, where endless resolutions are adopted, often without any forethought or any practical result.

## INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME.

A CONSTRUCTIVE scheme for helping the children of Europe who are suffering as a result of the war, has been put on foot by the Berkshire Committee of the Save the Children Fund. Through the generosity of the Provincial Government of Salzburg, the historic estate of Klessheim has been placed at the disposal of the committee for use as a permanent Home for children suffering from under-feeding. The legal ownership rests with the British Home for Austrian Children Ltd.—a company, not for profit, formed for the purpose by the Berkshire Committee of the Save the Children Fund. It is represented in Vienna by a strong executive committee, of which Sir Thomas Cuninghame, the British Military Attaché, is Chairman. At Klessheim itself there is a British Director with a staff of trained nurses and other helpers. All the preliminary expenses are covered, and some thirty-five children are now in residence; there is accommodation for 500, and the number of children which can now be taken depends simply on the financial support obtained. Those interested in knowing more of the scheme are asked to communicate direct with the Secretary at 34, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2. Under the terms of the agreement which has been signed, Klessheim can, after ten years, be converted into an International Children's Home, as a permanent memorial of peace and a lasting influence for good.

destined to be clung to as the sheet-anchor of world-diplomacy. These were facts that no one, not even the President, could alter. It was, then, a bold device to make a moral use of the Mammon of Unrighteousness. Mr. Wilson secreted the moral powder of the League within the moral jam of the Treaty, and forced those who were determined to have the jam to swallow a powder they would otherwise have thrown down the sink. As long as the interests of the Powers incline them to maintain the Treaty, they are obliged also to maintain the League. The rusty post, made of iron no doubt, supports the infant tree. Some day the post will be thrown away and the tree will stand by itself. So subtle and intricate an entanglement of good and evil is beyond the comprehension of Mr. Lansing.

We come now to what, in Mr. Lansing's view, is the great defect of principle in the Covenant. He asserts that the primacy of the Five Great Powers upon the Council of the League is a denial of the equality of nations. Of course it is; but so is the Munroe doctrine a denial of the equality of nations, although the sensitive Mr. Lansing has inherited a traditional respect for the latter. The truth is that, at the present time, the equality of nations does not exist, and a man who denies the primacy of the Five Great Powers is not a statesman at all. The position of the Five Great Powers upon the Council of the League is an acknowledgment of obvious facts, and Mr. Lansing's desire to put on paper the philosophic principle of a non-existent equality of nations is derived from a puerile belief in static generalisations. Mankind moves forward by steps and not by strides. If Mr. Lansing desires to probe the nature and extent of the step made by the creation of the Council of the League, let him ask himself this question: Would Spain, a member of the Council, consider the equality of nations more nearly approached by the institution of the League, or by the maintenance of the "balance of power"? It is clear that even if the Covenant acknowledges the inevitable primacy of the Five Great Powers, that modified primacy cannot be compared with the complete domination exercised by such a body as the Supreme Council. The decisions of the Council of the League have to be unanimous; the vote of the non-permanent small Power is equal to the vote of the permanent great Power, even if its influence is unavoidably smaller. It is true that a recalcitrant great Power can by this means block effective action. But where such blocking is clearly an illiberal act it would expose that Power to the adverse public opinion of the world, and in practice the veto could not be utilised except on good grounds. Even in the short time that has elapsed since the Peace Negotiations, developments entirely unanticipated by Mr. Lansing have taken place, and the Assembly has asserted its right to criticise and control the activities of the Council.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that lack of goodwill, in addition to lack of vision, characterised the opposition of Mr. Lansing to the President. He takes the typical Republican view of the guarantee of territorial integrity in Article X. He looks upon the mandatory system as a "doubtful venture," and suggests that in advocating its adoption, General Smuts was suffering from the vanity of having invented it. He is disturbed over questions of "sovereignty," and the effects of the Covenant upon the Constitution of the United States. He compares the laborious work of Alexander Hamilton with the quick construction of the Covenant, and asks how the latter could possibly be made "perfect" in so short a time by such inexpert and inexperienced people. Men, however expert, however experienced, and however hesitating and prudent, do not create "perfect" institutions. Even the impeccable Constitution of the United States has been amended; while the statesmen of Great Britain have been so aware of the necessity for constant change that they have not taken the trouble to write down their Constitution at all. A man who believed in the basic ideas of the League would have welcomed its faulty and experimental creation, and would confidently have left his doubts, his difficulties, and his hesitations to be worked out and removed by the light of experience.

Faith was required as well as vision. Mr. Lansing lacked both, and in addition he lacked the character to resign. If he genuinely felt the policy of the President to be disastrous, and if he had no power under the Constitution of the United States to alter that policy, he should not have remained in Paris. He remained in Paris; he signed the Treaty; he resented the belated but truthful revelations of Mr. Bullitt; and he did not go until he was asked to leave. He endeavours to find excuses of expediency for this conduct; but morally no excuse is valid.

The President appears to have been well aware, as Lincoln was, of the opposition in his own Cabinet, and, like Lincoln, he treated such opposition with contempt. He hardly ever deigns even to reply to his subordinate; when he does, he brushes his arguments aside as "legal technicalities." No man of real influence or of high character would have tolerated such treatment. It is clear that Mr. Wilson, beset on all sides by far graver difficulties, hardly noticed the pin-pricks of his Secretary of State. But the disloyalty of Mr. Lansing only emphasises the detached and almost terrible loneliness of President Wilson. That immense figure towers beside the puny grumblers that surrounded him. Deserted by his countrymen, and even by his subordinates, he stepped down into the arena to fight the serried ranks of selfishness. The hatreds of France and the rapacities of England were responsible for the Treaty; but the President obtained the League. History will hasten to forget the former, and posterity will obliterate it. The latter will remain. The Republicans assert that President Wilson surrounded himself with second-rate men. Mr. Lansing has at any rate proved the truth of that accusation.

## INTERNATIONAL CREDITS.

BY REGINALD BERKELEY.

THE International Credits Office of the League of Nations (Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, London, S.W.), which is organised by Sir Drummond Fraser, Joint Managing Director of the Manchester, Liverpool and District Bank, has just issued a short booklet describing the operation and effect of the International Credits ("ter Meulen") scheme. This booklet\* is published by Messrs. Harrison & Sons, at 6d. per copy, post free.

It points out that the state of commerce and industry to-day, with unemployment rife everywhere, and goods piling up, unsaleable in one half of the world, whilst the other half is unable to purchase necessary commodities, is forcing business men to recognise that special measures are needed to restore credit. It explains further that the ter Meulen scheme is not a panacea, but is just an attempt to assist traders in impoverished countries to import on credit, so as to re-establish industry and revive trade.

### HOW IT IS DONE.

This is to be done in the following way. The Government of such a country will inform the International Financial Commission of prominent business men, which is now being formed by the League, what national assets it is willing to pledge as security for credit granted to its traders. The Commission will then decide what is the value of these assets in gold, and will authorise the country in question to issue Government bonds up to that value. These bonds will then be available to be lent by the Government to its own traders, who can use them as security in order to obtain credit from traders in other countries. The bonds can be issued in any currency which the foreign trader may require, which, of course, would usually be the currency of his own country.

This scheme ought to meet the need of the financial situation. It may be assumed that every State possesses revenue-producing assets of some kind, such as customs duties, Government monopolies, or other property which can be given a "gold value." The Committee will see that the amount of bonds issued does not exceed that value, and will also receive the revenues. It may, therefore, be expected that traders will recognise the bonds as valuable security and grant credits on them. The bonds will probably be redeemable in from five to ten years.

### THE SCHEME AT WORK.

The scheme will make no real alteration in the way in which business is done at present. The importer and exporter will arrange all terms in the ordinary way (purchase price, rate of interest, length of credit, currency, &c.)

The importer will then borrow from his Government, for the period of the credit he has arranged with the exporter, the necessary amount of bonds to deposit as security.

If his obligations are satisfactorily carried out by the importer, then, at the conclusion of the transaction, the bonds will be returned to him, and he will give them back to his Government. They will then be cancelled; but the Government may create new bonds up to an equivalent sum, which will be available to support a fresh transaction.

If, however, there is default, the procedure is as follows: The exporter detains the bonds, and may either hold them as an investment or sell them and pay himself out of the proceeds of the sale. If he decides to sell them, he

\* International Credits. (The "ter Meulen" Scheme). Harrison & Sons Ltd., 44-47, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2. 6d., post free.

must first offer them to the issuing Government, so that it may redeem them against payment in full of the exporter's claim. If it declines to do this, he may sell them in the open market. If on sale they realise more than the amount of his claim, he must give the balance to the Government that issued them. If they realise less than the amount of his claim, he has a claim for the deficiency against the importer, but not against the importer's Government.

### SPECIAL CASES.

The scheme appears to be also valuable in cases where credits are required for long terms. An illustration is given of an oil-producing company which wishes, for instance, to build a new pipe line. A foreign finance company might be willing to give credit for this purpose, but in order to provide the funds might itself have to make an issue of debentures. In such a case the ter Meulen bonds issued by the Government of the oil-producing company would be a very good collateral security for the debentures.

Again, the scheme is adapted to work in conjunction with export credit schemes such as those which are now to be introduced in this country and in France. Indeed, the British Government has agreed to accept ter Meulen bonds as first on their list of approved forms of security for transactions under the British Export Credit Scheme.

\* \* \* \*

The great advantage of the ter Meulen scheme is its flexibility. It does not place a large amount of money all at once at the disposal of the "borrowing" country, but provides a reservoir of credit which can be drawn on when required, and which, so long as it is not drawn upon, places no burden on the "borrowing" State. The authors recognise that every scheme for international credits may be open to objection, but they point out that this scheme has many advantages, and that "it provides a means for effectively mobilising the whole credit of a country behind each of its individual traders." The result of its inauguration should be "a process of gradually increasing improvement, which will soon bring a return of conditions in which industry and commerce will be possible without any abnormal assistance."

An annex to this booklet contains the complete text of the ter Meulen scheme.

## THE NEAR EAST.

Next month we propose to publish an important Memorandum on the Treaty with Turkey and the Greco-Turkish situation generally, written by an expert on this question.

## REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION.

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, presided over by Major-General the Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seeley, M.P., has been considering the question of disarmament, and has presented an interim report on the subject, which has been approved by the Executive Committee.

The report points out that since the whole idea of the Covenant is reduction of armaments by agreement, the first step to take is to bring about such an agreement. As a basis for discussion, it is proposed that the subject of land armaments should be considered under the following headings:—

- Armaments necessary for preserving order at home.
- Those necessary for preserving order in Overseas Dependencies and protecting such territories from invasion by uncivilised neighbours.
- Those necessary for protecting the country and its Overseas Dependencies as a whole from external aggression by other States, and for enforcing inter-

obligations by common action, as required by the Covenant.

(It will be seen that the last of these headings refers to what is ordinarily meant by the term "threat of war," and, of course, includes international police duty).

These numbers cannot be obtained by analysing the Army estimates. But the report points out that under the Covenant the Members of the League are required to interchange full information as to the scale of their armaments; and suggests that the Members should, therefore, be asked to make out their requirements under each of the above headings.

The Committee then draws attention to Article 160 of the Versailles Peace Treaty, which lays down in detail the armaments required by Germany for preserving order at home. This scale was expressly laid down in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations. They point out that this might well be taken as a basis for other States to determine their requirements for preserving order at home; for it is unlikely that European States in general will regard their populations as more lawless than the German nation after its defeat, or claim on geographical or other grounds a larger army in proportion to population for that purpose.

They also point out that this provision of the Peace Treaty shows that it is practicable to draw a distinction between forces needed to preserve order at home and for other purposes.

With regard to the armaments required to protect a country and its Overseas Dependencies from aggression by rival Powers, that question, the Committee points out, depends mainly on the surplus force which each State possesses after making provision for keeping order at home and for protecting their own Overseas Dependencies against barbaric inroads. Therefore they consider that it ought to be possible to obtain by negotiation a considerable reduction all round in the estimates submitted under this head.

They recognise, of course, that a complete reduction of armaments to the proposed scale could not be expected until the execution of the Peace Treaty is complete, and the situation in Russia is cleared up, and all great Powers are members of the League.

On the question of limiting naval armaments, the Committee welcomes President Harding's proposal for a Naval Conference as a practical step in this direction; and they suggest that, as soon as the date of the Conference has been fixed, the Powers that are to take part in it should undertake not to begin any new naval construction until after the Conference has reported. In this connection they point out that the recent statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty that this country desires only a "one-Power standard" is not of itself enough to put an end to competitive building. What is needed is the acceptance of the "one-Power standard" by Great Britain and America jointly, and an agreement between the two as to the number, size and armament of the capital ships which each should maintain. They also consider that such an agreement is necessary with Japan.

As a basis of discussion, they propose that ten capital ships with light cruisers, submarines and other auxiliary vessels should be regarded as a maximum which this country should not exceed so long as it was not exceeded by America, and as long as there was a satisfactory agreement with Japan. This figure they obtained from the Admiralty declaration in the Naval estimates as to the minimum necessary for the training of the Navy in post-war exercises.

The Executive Committee of the Union has now put itself into communication with the British Government and the League in order to bring the above considerations to their attention.

### THE TANGANYIKA MANDATE.

THE Mandates Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has carefully considered the draft Mandate for Tanganyika (German East Africa). In many respects they find the Mandate satisfactory; but some of the Articles, as worded at present, do not appear to guarantee sufficiently that the spirit of the Covenant will necessarily be observed. They have therefore made proposals, which have

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### HEADMASTER'S STRIKING TRIBUTE.

"My wish is that it may soon make obsolete the hundreds of text-books on the French language that exist to-day."

The above statement occurs in the course of a striking tribute paid by the Headmaster of a well-known London School to the new Pelman method of learning French and Spanish.

"I am only too happy," he says, speaking of the Pelman French Course, "to add one more voice to the chorus of approval that has greeted your *Cours de Français*. It merits a universal approval which, I feel sure, it will eventually obtain, if it has not obtained it already."

The great simplicity of these Courses—enabling anyone to learn French or Spanish in a natural, straightforward way and in about one-third the usual time—has won for them not only the warm approval of the general public, but also the support of well-known educational authorities.

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### NO TRANSLATION.

By following this method you can learn French or Spanish in about one-third the time usually required and you will attain this proficiency without having to spend hours, days, and months studying complicated rules of grammar or memorising long vocabularies.

There are no passages of French or Spanish to be put into English and no passages of English to be put into French or Spanish. You learn either language in the natural way.

This makes the study extremely interesting, so much so that once you begin it you will go on until you have completed the Course. By that time you will have acquired a thorough practical mastery of the language in question and will be able to read, write and speak French or Spanish fluently and correctly.

Every reader who wishes to acquire a fluent knowledge of French or Spanish in a pleasant and easy way, avoiding the baffling barriers of grammatical complexities and yet enabling the student to speak and write either language correctly and grammatically, should at once call or write for particulars of the new Pelman method.

Call to-day and get full particulars of this remarkable system, or write for a free copy of "How to Learn French" or "How to Learn Spanish" (mentioning which you require), to the Pelman Institute (Modern Languages Dept.), 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C. 1.

been adopted by the Executive Committee, for amending this draft in order to ensure its conformity with the Covenant.

Thus, under the Article defining the general responsibilities of the Mandatory, they propose that provision should be made "for a progressive system of education and for the development of tribal self-government." Under the next Article, which deals with armaments, they propose the insertion of the following important provision:—

"The Mandatory shall neither recruit nor allow recruiting within the mandated territory for military service in any forces outside the mandated area."

Again, under Article 5, which enjoins the abolition of slavery, no time is laid down within which this shall take place. It is to be as "speedy as social conditions will allow." So general a provision might lead to unnecessary delay. The Sub-Committee therefore recommends that it shall be directed to take place within one year.

Furthermore, the clause of this Article prohibiting forced labour appears to be too vague. The term "essential public works and services" is capable of considerable elasticity, and the phrase "only in return for adequate remuneration" might mean almost anything. The Union therefore proposes that the administration should be made directly responsible for authorising the "public works or services" in question, and that the remuneration should be "not lower than the current rate."

Again, under the Covenant, the prohibition of the arms traffic and the liquor traffic is enjoined. Under the draft Mandate, however, the Mandatory is only required to exercise "strict control" over these matters. Obviously, the words of the Covenant ought to prevail; but it has to be recognised that the native inhabitants must be given certain facilities for purchasing firearms in order to protect themselves from wild animals and to obtain their food. An amendment to this effect is therefore proposed with regard to the traffic in arms. With regard to the liquor traffic, the Union proposes that in the case of beverages containing more than 12 per cent. of alcohol, these should be strictly prohibited; that their import, manufacture and sale should be a monopoly of the Mandatory; and their sale only permitted on the production of the certificate of a medical practitioner. The figure of 12 per cent. is arrived at because liquor up to that strength can be brewed privately by the natives, and the prohibition of this would be quite impracticable. The effect of the amendment will therefore be to exclude spirits, but to allow the importation of light wines and beers. It is also proposed to exclude all dangerous drugs under this amendment.

The next Article dealt with is that relating to land. Under the proposed Mandate it is provided that laws based on native law and custom are to be framed, and the rights and interests of natives safeguarded, and the transfer of native land prohibited (except between natives) without the consent of the authorities. This, however, leaves the situation with regard to unoccupied land completely unprovided for, and the Sub-Committee therefore suggests that, on the coming into force of the Mandate, all lands "not already alienated by regular title, whether occupied or unoccupied," shall be declared "native lands," and that no native land shall be alienable.

They then propose an amendment conferring the diplomatic and consular protection of a Mandatory on citizens of the mandated territory when outside its boundaries, and a further amendment invalidating any contracts made for public works and any monopolies or concessions granted by the administration, unless the terms of these are communicated to the League and the Mandatory. They also wish it to be provided that all revenue raised in the territory shall be expended upon it. Finally, after an amendment broadening the construction to be placed on what constitutes missionary work within these territories, and another providing for the co-operation of the Mandatory in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League, and another taking away the power of the Mandatory to fuse the administration with that of adjacent territories under its own sovereignty or control, the Committee proposes that persons in the territory should be authorised to complain to the League as to the non-observance of the terms of the Mandate through the medium of the Mandatory.

## THE FINEST GIFT FOR YOUR WIFE & CHILDREN

*What else than a guarantee that should anything happen to you, the breadwinner, they are safeguarded against privation. The act that assures that financial protection is beyond all possible doubt the finest gift you can make to your wife and children.*

Looking particularly pleased with himself a business man remarked to a friend who had commented on his unusually good spirits, "I've just removed a great burden off my shoulders. I've made it all right for my wife and kiddies should anything happen to me."

Asked to explain, he said:

"Well, I don't quite know why, but for the last few months I've been obsessed with the thought, 'Supposing anything should happen to me, what would Jeannie and the children do?' You know I haven't had too many chances of putting by money. A very few hundreds before the war; nothing, as you know, during it; and, lately, the slump. Taking stock of the position, I discovered that, so far from having enough to live on, they'd scarcely have enough to pay the rent. That wasn't good enough, and I felt I dare not any longer leave it to time and good fortune to make the matter right.

So after very careful investigation I put through what I consider the best business transaction of my career.

I took out a Sun Life of Canada Investment Insurance Policy for £2,000. Immediately there was that additional sum and half of the deposit I had made between my dependants and privation should anything happen to me.

What takes me most is the half return of deposits, in addition to the Capital sum assured.

I deposit £113 12s. each year for 20 years (my age, by the way, is 38), so that every deposit made increases the value of my Estate by £56 16s. I tell you, it makes the writing of the cheque easier, knowing that!

But—and this should interest you, complaining as you are always doing about the enormous Income Tax—I get a substantial rebate on Income Tax entirely because of this Investment-Insurance Policy. This year it is no less than £17. A gift from the Government! It reduces my deposit, in effect, to £96 12s. Should the rate keep the same—3s. in the £—in the 20 years I shall have saved in Income Tax alone £340. Absolutely a gift!

And yet the half of the tale has yet to be told. If I live the 20 years—and I mean to!—I myself shall benefit to the tune of £2,000 with profits. These, it is estimated, will be £810. Add to this the rebated Income Tax of £340, and the total sum received will be £3,150. As the total deposits will be only £2,272—my investment will show a net profit of £878, on which no Income Tax is charged or chargeable. So that, compared with ordinary investments, the profit is equivalent, in round figures, to £1,250!"

This is not only the best method of saving, but it enables you at the same time to safeguard the future of your Dependants. It can be adopted at any age and for any amount; your deposits may be about £10 if you cannot spare more, or £200 to £2,000 if your present income permits. The term may be for 10, 25, or any number of years.

The plan issued by the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, one of the most progressive companies in the world. Its assets are over £23,000,000, and its affairs are subject to Annual Government Audit.

Why not investigate? Write, giving exact age and amount you can deposit each year, to J. F. Junkin, Sun Life of Canada, 9, Canada House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C. 2.

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# IODEX

A little Iodex goes a long way. Of Chemists, or post free from MENLEY & JAMES, LTD., 64, Hatton Garden, London. Price 2s. per pot.

## CONSUMPTION.

If you are suffering from this supposedly incurable disease, even though your own doctor and the specialist have said they can do no more for you, and sanatorium treatment and change of climate have failed to give you relief, you may still be curable in your own home with no more inconvenience than taking a few teaspoonful doses per day of the remedy that for over twenty years has been giving back health and strength to the stricken consumptive.

Literature dealing with the subject in detail will be sent to any sufferer on request free of charge, and, if requested, a goodly supply of the remedy itself on the distinct understanding that it only need be paid for if you are perfectly satisfied with the benefit received from it and consider the progress made warrants its continuance.

Only address, Chas. H. Stevens, 204, Worple-road, Wimbledon, S.W. 20.

## NEWS OF THE UNION.

NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS DAY, JUNE 25TH.

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION, LEAGUE OF NATIONS DAY, JUNE 25TH.

Arrangements for this great demonstration are well advanced, and it cannot be too clearly emphasised that all members of the Union who can possibly do so should be present, and not only be present themselves, but should bring friends and make the occasion widely known, as every member of the Union should look upon it as a solemn obligation to take advantage of League of Nations Day to recruit fresh support to the cause. A recruiting tent will be situated in a central part of the Park, and volunteers are called upon to assist with this work. The membership card used for the League of Nations Union meetings will be used for this purpose. Twelve platforms will be standing in the Park, and a programme is being arranged of the most famous speakers of the day for each of these. One platform will be international, and speakers from all parts of the world will give addresses in the language of their country. Processions of children are to be a feature of the day, and a varied programme of plays, dances and pageantry will be given at performances in the amphitheatre in the Park at intervals during the afternoon.

### VOLUNTEERS FOR SINGING.

Volunteers are urgently wanted for the great choir which is to sing in Hyde Park on League of Nations Day, Saturday, June 25th. A great many singers have already generously given their services, but thousands of voices will be required to be effective on so vast a space. Members of choral societies are asked to enlist the help of groups of singers and offer their services for this unique occasion. Rehearsals will be held at a convenient centre in London at dates to be announced later, and will take place in the evening. The assistance of famous conductors is already assured. All volunteers should write direct to the Pilgrimage Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS SONG-BOOK.

As it is hoped that music will be an outstanding feature at all demonstrations and meetings which Branches are now arranging for the Union, they are asked to use for this purpose the excellent League of Nations song-book, which gives a wide range of suitable music for all occasions. This book is published by Messrs. Stainer & Bell, Berners Street, London, W.C., and is priced 1s. 6d.

### PROCESSIONS TO HYDE PARK.

Those who are unable to walk, or take part in processions to London, are asked to join-up at the following centres. The following points are where these processions will congregate:—  
Embankment, Finsbury Pavement, Addison Crescent, Holland Park Avenue, Chelsea, Shepherd's Bush, Hamilton Terrace, Brook Green, and Park Road, St. John's Wood.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS ESSAY SCHEMES.

The attention of those engaged in educational work is drawn to the following essay schemes arranged by the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union.

#### I.—PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST.

Arranged in co-operation with the American School Citizenship League, and open to both British and American schools.

Two sets of prizes (75 dollars), 50 dollars and 25 dollars, to be known as Seabury Prizes, are offered for the best essays on the following subjects:—

(1) "What education can do to secure co-operation as against competition between nations."

Open to all scholars between 16 and 18 years of age on June 1st, 1921, attending a secondary or public school or any other educational institution in the United Kingdom.

(2) "The essential foundations of a co-operating world." Open to all under 21 on June 1st, 1921, attending a training college in the United Kingdom.

Judges.—Education Committee of the League of Nations Union or its nominees.

Conditions of Entry.—Essays, which must not exceed 5,000 words (length of 3,000 words is suggested), and which must be written on one side only of paper, with a margin of at least one inch, must reach League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, not later than June 1st, 1921. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered.

Essays should have the writer's name and school and home address. Principals, headmasters and headmistresses are kindly requested to encourage their students to enter.

Essays should be sent to and all inquiries made from: Education Section, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

#### II.—SCHOOL ESSAY SCHEME.

##### SUBJECTS FOR ESSAY.

Grade I.—Open to all under 14 years of age.

(a) In what ways can friendship between different nations be encouraged?

or

(b) What do you know about the harm of war, and how to prevent it?

Grade II.—Open to all between the ages of 14 and 16.

(a) Show how the discoveries and inventions of the last 100 years have made the idea of the League of Nations more practicable.

or

(b) When the nations disagree, should they think it out or fight it out? Why?

Grade III.—Open to all between the ages of 16 and 18.

(a) "Might is Right"—why is this nonsense?

or

(b) History and the League of Nations—what lessons may we draw?

Judges.—Education Committee of the League of Nations Union or its nominees.

Conditions of Entry.—Essays must be written on one side only of paper, with a margin of at least one inch, and must reach League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, not later than October 1st, 1921.

Essays should have the writer's name, age, and educational institution and home address. Teachers are kindly requested to encourage their pupils to enter.

Essays should be sent to and all inquiries made from: Education Section, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, and envelopes should be marked "Essay Scheme, Grade I., II., or III.," as the case may be.

Prizes and certificates will be awarded for meritorious essays.

#### THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

The Historical Sub-Committee of the League of Nations Union is engaged upon the subject of the revision of the teaching of history. Its two objects are:—

1. To emphasise the lessons of a League of Nations to be learned from the ordinary English history as now written; and
2. To alter the treatment of history-teaching generally, so as to make it international in outlook.

To carry these objects into effect the League of Nations Union is considering the publication of:—

1. Hints to teachers, in two parts—  
(a) A general Review by Mr. F. S. Marvin on "History and the League of Nations." (Now ready.)  
(b) A conspectus of special lessons.
2. A more comprehensive conspectus of the whole subject of history, such as that contained in Mr. Marvin's "Living Past."
3. The history of the theory and practice of international co-operation during specified historical periods, taking into consideration periods set for examinations.

# A Land Without Seeds or Implements —Where?

## The Famine and Disease Stricken Areas of Austria, Germany, Poland, and Russia.

Imagine the sad plight of these people in Central Europe, without seeds to plant or implements to cultivate the land. How can they become self-supporting Nations? Famine is rife, disease is rampant in many districts. The poor little children, far too young to have done the slightest harm in the world, are afflicted with that terrible scourge, Rickets. Tuberculosis is on the increase. Will you help to alleviate this terrible suffering?

### HELP THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES.

The Friends' Relief Committee is administering relief in these disease and famine stricken areas by sending the necessities of life and the wherewithal to cultivate the land. A sufficiency of such gifts in the hands of an industrious population will speedily put these countries in self-supporting order.

### WHAT WILL YOU SEND?

Money is urgently needed but if this is not within your power the Committee will gladly welcome gifts of wearing apparel (new or partly worn). Everyone should help this great cause in some way or other. Will you?

### SEND YOUR GIFT TO-DAY TO THE FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE

(A. RUTH FRY, Hon. Sec.), Room 18, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

#### Gifts of Clothing

(new or partly worn) will be welcomed at the warehouse.

5, NEW STREET, HILL, LONDON E.C. 4.

4. A monumental treatise on the rise of the world commonwealth.
5. A series of historical text-books for schools embodying the international idea.

Educational organisations throughout the country are being requested by the Union to pass the following resolution:—

The experience of modern nations with national systems of education has shown the possible danger of teaching national history exclusively and apart from world movements. As the different parts of the world are now very rapidly coming into closer touch with each other, and as the life of all nations is influenced by the actions of each, some outline of world relationship has become a necessity of citizenship. It is, therefore, the opinion of this meeting that some teaching of history in relation to world citizenship should be definitely encouraged in the schools and that the examining bodies, by the form and contents of the questions set as well as by their syllabuses, should encourage movements in this direction.

#### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS.

The first meeting of the Bureau of the Federation was held at Brussels on April 21st, under the chairmanship of M. Gustave Ador, former President of the Swiss Confederation and President of the Federation of L.N. Societies for 1921.

The Bureau is composed of the President and six Vice-Presidents of the Federation elected by the General Council.

At the meeting in Brussels, besides numerous questions relative to the internal organisation of the permanent offices of the Federation, the Bureau made the preliminary arrangements for the Fifth International Conference.

This will be held at Geneva during three or four days from June 8th, preceded by the third meeting of the General Council on June 7th. The Conference will set up six committees to study and report to the Plenary Assembly on the following subjects, on which draft resolutions and proposals have already been submitted by the member-societies of the Federation:—

- (1) Amendments to the Covenant; (2) Armaments; (3) Minorities; (4) Propaganda for the League; (5) Mandates; (6) Miscellaneous.

The League of Nations Union has sent in proposals under these various heads. A draft resolution from our Executive Committee (under item 6) urges the representation of women on committees or commissions appointed by the League to deal with questions specially affecting the interests of women and children.

#### THE MILAN CONFERENCE.

Copies of a pamphlet containing a summary of resolutions and deliberations of the Fourth International Conference of League of Nations Societies (Milan, October 12th-16th, 1920) may be obtained from Headquarters. Price 6d. each, post free.

#### PAGEANT PLAY.

Producers of the pageant play, "The Crowning of Peace," may be glad to learn that the effective song with a chorus of prayer, sung by the Wellingborough players—"The Dawn of Peace"—can now be obtained from Miss Pendered, Redwell, Wellingborough: price 2s. and postage. As only a limited number of copies are available, early application is advised.

#### THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

Our membership on April 30th was 97,437, being an increase of 11,743 on last month's figures. Forty-seven new Branches were "recognised" by the Executive Committee in April.

#### ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the L.N.U. Council will be held on Friday, June 3rd, at 2.30, at the Council Chamber of the Caxton Hall.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I take it that the main object of the League of Nations is the prevention of war. It is, therefore, necessary to know the causes of war, and, in particular, the factors that are likely to make for war in the near future. Is there any doubt that the economic factor predominates? The amazing acceleration of

industrial methods in every industrial country has resulted in an increase of productive power out of all proportion with the purchasing power of the masses. The manufacturer seeks to dispose of his "surplus" production by means of export—and the fight for world-markets becomes more intense than ever. The logical result is war between groups with mutually antagonistic interests.

The solution of the problem is not to be achieved by a gathering of national representatives (however well intentioned) fighting against the inevitable, but by the removal of the economic causes. I find no mention of this in any of the League of Nations Union's pamphlets. Yet the writing is on the wall for those who have eyes to see and the will to read.—Yours, &c.,

ANDRE M. BYRNE.

77, Parliament Hill, Hampstead, N.W. 3.

P.S.—Nevertheless, since I clutch at any straw, I enclose 10s. as a subscription to the League of Nations Union.

[The article which we publish this month on International Credits should convince our correspondent that his pessimistic view of the League of Nations is not altogether justified. The measures which the League is taking to deal with the present disastrous economic situation are among the most effectual preventatives of war that can be devised, for they go to the root of the causes of friction and distress. Again, the Labour Organisation of the League, one of whose objects is the standardising of wage and labour conditions the world over, is aiming a shrewd blow at unfair competition, which is one of the most fruitful causes of war. We refer our correspondent to the publications of the International Labour Office, obtainable at 26, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1, and to, among others, pamphlets Nos. 15 and 19 issued by the League of Nations Union.—EDITOR.]

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SIR,—Your excellent Publication Office might, I think, be enlarged to great advantage by including a library of books that could be borrowed by members and paid for by a small weekly sum. The Bibliography which you issue from time to time is very useful, but few people would wish to possess all these books, if they could buy them, but very many would like to read them and have them at their disposal for a short time. Several standard books, too, occur to one, such as Kant's "Treatise on Perpetual Peace," "Die Monarchie," &c., as well as books that are of great importance at the moment but will not be of lasting value, such as "The League Makes a Start," and others which you have recommended in your Publications. Any of these books might be borrowed with great profit, and I hope that members will, in your next issue of HEADWAY, express an opinion for or against a Lending Library at Headquarters.—Yours, &c.,

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#### REVIEWS.

**THE FIRST ASSEMBLY.** By a Committee of the L. of N.U., including LORD ROBERT CECIL and LORD PHILLIMORE. Edited by Oliver Brett. (Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1921.)

The sub-title of this book announces it to be "A Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations"—and in this ingeniously comprehensive description the reviewer seems to find an echo of his own difficulty in defining exactly the kind of book it is. To call it a reference book would be an insult as much to the decorous gravity of the "Statesman's Year Book" as to its own vivid pages, and yet to omit mention of its merits in that capacity would be to do it less than justice. It has an efficient index, and useful appendices. Appendix I, which gives a short alphabetical summary of the decisions of the Assembly on all the subjects discussed, seems to be particularly neatly packed with information classified, makes the information it contains very readily accessible. It is, in fact, an excellent handbook upon the Assembly's work, and as such is well worth the sum of 3s. 6d. to all students of international politics.

To students of human nature it is a better bargain still. The first chapter contains some sketches of personalities which do much to enliven the sober details which more necessarily follow in later pages. Take, for instance, the description of M. Viviani's first appearance in the Assembly, "a huge bull of a man, massive in countenance, fiery in spirit, with a great, noble head set stockily on a giant's shoulders, the shambling gait of a gorilla."

The reader who keeps such pictures as this in his mind will surely follow the speakers to the tribune of the Assembly Hall with some of the same zest with which the Assembly itself hailed its favourites, however arid the subject of debate might sometimes be.

It is perhaps the chief merit of this book that its writers seem never to have lost sight of the importance of personality upon events. Some of them were evidently eye-witnesses of the scenes they describe, others are experts upon the topics they treat of. The chapter on the Court of International Justice is a most valuable contribution to the literature on that subject, coming as it does from Lord Phillimore, who was the Chairman of the Foreign Office Committee that drafted the original scheme of the world Court.

The chapter on "Publicity" must also be mentioned. Strictly speaking, it is a digression from the main subject, but from a wider point of view it is the keynote of the whole book. Of the theory of publicity in politics we have heard much in the past two years. Here we learn something of the applied science. To those who (to use the writer's own words) like "butter on the dry bread of facts," we commend especially the pages that foretell the possibilities of the Cinematograph as a publicity agent.

The book ends with a chapter of Reflections on the First Assembly by Lord Robert Cecil. Just as Lord Phillimore was partly responsible for the constitution of the Court of Justice, so Lord Robert was one of the authors of the Covenant itself. His opinions upon the working of the machine he helped to create have therefore a particular interest. He begins his short, critical summary with two questions: "Did the Assembly," he asks, "do its work? Was it successful?" "The answer," he says, in his opinion, "is in the affirmative." The judgment will probably be endorsed by most readers of this book, all the more because the authors have not eliminated the shadows from their picture, and have described the fatuities and failures of this very human Assembly with at least as much sincerity as its achievements and triumphs.

B. C. D.

**EDUCATION AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP.** By JAMES CLERK MAXWELL GARNETT, C.B.E., M.A. (Published by the Cambridge University Press. 36s. net.)

Mr. H. G. Wells, in his latest book, "The Salvaging of Civilisation," writes: "Everywhere in Europe there goes on, in the national schools, in the patriotic Churches, in the national Presses, in the highly nationalised literatures, a unity-destroying propaganda of patriotism. The schools of all European countries at the present time, with scarcely an exception, teach the most rancid patriotism; they are centres of an abominable political infection. The children of Europe grow up with an intensity of national egotism that makes them, for all practical international purposes, insane."

In his indictment of the perverted use of the schools, Mr. Wells has on his side the startling evidence of the World War and even the Peace Treaty. It is clear that just as we have misused the wonderful gifts of science, so, too, we have misused the ever-increasing power of education; for true education is without bias, it is a continuous revelation of the truth. It is for man to use these most powerful agencies of science and education for constructive and not destructive purposes.

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#### WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN ONE YEAR.

By CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Ph.D. (Published by the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle," Brooklyn, New York, 1921, 50 cents.)

This useful "Year Book of the League of Nations" should prove of great help to speakers and students of this subject, containing as it does a chronological résumé of the vast amount of work accomplished by the League during the first year of its existence. In addition to a comprehensive summary of the meetings of the Council and Assembly, reports are given of the various conferences (on Health, Finance, Labour, &c.) initiated by the League, as well of such gatherings as the Washington Communications Conference, the conference to revive the International Chamber of Commerce, and of the meetings of the Supreme Council. The Appendix contains the texts of the Covenant and of the Draft Mandates. An index completes a most valuable little work.

#### IN SEARCH OF A PEACEFUL WORLD. By SIR CHARLES W. MACARA. (Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester, 1921. 6s.)

It is a large subject, the Peace of the World, and those of us who are the most actively engaged in striving for this huge ideal know, as our experience increases, the many and grave difficulties, and yet feel, despite all disappointments and obstacles, still greater confidence in the practicability of the ultimate attainment of our ideal. So it has evidently been with Sir Charles, for in a very readable and businesslike manner the book shows numerous attempts to obtain industrial peace, a never failing confidence in the ultimate attainment, and in every few pages a "something attempted something done."

And though industrial peace, and particularly that of the cotton industry, and the affairs of the Industrial Council, form the chief interest of the book (Sir Charles having been for over twenty years President of the Manchester Master Cotton Spinners' Association and a member of the Industrial Council since its start), still the supporter of the League of Nations will find much therein of interest. For the book clearly shows how superior are the terms in practice where they are formulated by the combined skill of all interests instead of the less satisfactory compulsory settlement forced by the stronger side on the weaker, be it in the case of war, strikes, or lock-outs.

Likewise, most of our readers will agree with Sir Charles when he says, "Nothing is more vital to the welfare of the world than the cultivation and extension of the international spirit. Everyone who is working for the League of Nations realises this. But what people appear not to realise is that if the spirit which had been shown in affairs of industry before the fatal collapse of international negotiations in July, 1914, had been operative in diplomacy, the great war, which has torn Europe's prosperity to shreds, might have been averted." B. I. S.

#### PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Students of the League of Nations who desire complete and detailed information as to its proceedings and achievements should apply to the official publishers of the League in London, Messrs. Harrison & Sons, St. Martin's-lane, W.C.2. The *Official Journal* of the League publishes full reports of the meetings of the Council and the text of the correspondence, &c., initiated by the League. *Supplements* to the *Official Journal* are also published dealing with special subjects, e.g., the Aaland Islands Dispute and the Scheme for the Court of International Justice. A *Special Treaty Series* has been published giving the text of the treaties and international engagements registered with the Secretariat. The latest publications of the League are the documents dealing with the *International Financial Conference* at Brussels last year. These comprise: Vol. I., Report of the Conference; Vol. II., Verbatim Record of the Debates; Vol. III., Statements on the Financial Situation of the Countries represented at the Conference, Memoranda of Economic Experts, Statistical Memoranda on Currency, Public Finance and Trade.

**AN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIMENT.** The Earl Grey Memorial Lecture, 1921. By Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P. (Published by the Clarendon Press. Price 2s. Pages 40.)

A clear and informing account of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the work of the League until the end of 1920. The Lecture also contains valuable comments on amendments to the Covenant shown to be desirable by the experience of its work.

**AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD HISTORY.** By M. W. KEATINGS and N. L. FRAZER. (A. & C. Black, 1920. 4s. 6d.)

As a successful attempt to supply at a price within the range of all schools a brief sketch of World History, this little book is its own justification. It should prove a distinct boon to teachers of history who wish to give their pupils the necessary perspective to enable them to grasp the significance and importance of the League of Nations.

#### BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

[News intended for publication in HEADWAY, must be sent separately from the ordinary monthly Branch Report, and must reach the Editor without fail by the 27th of each month. Will Branch Secretaries please note that preference will be given to news of a definitely educational nature?—EDITOR.]

##### LONDON REGION.

**STAINES.**—Some idea of the virility of this branch can be obtained from a record of its activities on four consecutive days. On April 17th the local Brotherhood was addressed; the following day a branch was formed at Sunningdale; on April 19th the Staines Junior Branch was established; and on the 20th a United Service was held in Egham Parish Church, which led to a public meeting when both adult and junior branches were formed.

**TOTTENHAM.**—A very original piece of propaganda has been initiated by this branch. A "Demonstration Meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations" was held at High Cross Memorial Hall on April 8th. Part I. of the programme consisted of the reception of delegates, banquet (at which toasts were given to Austria, Belgium, British Empire, France, Switzerland, Italy, and all other nations, and acknowledged by the playing of the music of the respective national anthems), vocal music, and collection to defray expenses. Part II. of the programme consisted of the demonstration meeting itself, at which Mr. J. Charles Hipkins, M.A., impersonated the President of the Assembly, and Mr. H. Skinner the Secretary-General. The business before the "Assembly" was the discussion of a supposed letter from the German Government applying for membership of the League of Nations. The motion "That Germany should now be admitted to membership of the League of Nations" was proposed by Switzerland, seconded by the South American nations, while France, seconded by Belgium, moved the rejection.

##### EAST MIDLAND REGION.

**ILKESTON.**—This branch, which now has a membership of more than 700, has decided to ask all local churches to become members of the Union in their corporate capacity. With Ilkeston as a centre for the villages within a radius of five miles, the branch is endeavouring to establish sub-committees, or even separate branches, to assist in organising village meetings, &c. A series of lectures in the Town Hall is being arranged for next winter.

##### NORTHERN REGION.

**KESWICK.**—As an outcome of a successful public meeting, resulting in forty-three members, a local branch has been formed.

**NEWCASTLE.**—Among the sub-committees formed by this branch are (1) Propaganda Committee, to start Study Circles and discussions among the various local organisations; (2) Juvenile Branch Committee, to start Juvenile Branches in the schools; (3) Public Meetings and Open-air Campaign; (4) Canvassing Committee to enrol members; (5) Finance Committee; (6) Hospitality Committee.

##### SOUTH WALES REGION.

**SWANSEA.**—In connection with the annual meeting of the Welsh Free Church Council in Swansea, a meeting of over 1,200 people, addressed by the Bishop of St. Davids, resulted in more than 200 new members.

**BRYNMAWR.**—The Free Church Councils in this region are giving considerable assistance in organising meetings. The local Council at Brynmawr were responsible for a public meeting numbering 1,300 on March 9th, when 126 new members were enrolled.

##### SOUTH-EASTERN REGION.

**SOUTHBORO.**—Under the auspices of this branch a very successful performance of the pageant-play, "The Crowning of Peace," was recently given by the Tonbridge Guild of Players.

#### FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of April 170 meetings were held, although in the April publication only fifty-five were announced at the time of going to press.

For next month meetings have already been arranged in the following places to be addressed by the following speakers:—

May 10th, Milford-on-Sea, Settle, Chelsea. May 11th, Reigate and Redhill, London Lyceum Club. May 12th, Speldhurst (Kent), Dalston Literary Evening Institute, Camborne, Dawlish. May 13th, Birmingham, Carnarvon, New Cross. May 15th, Slough. May 16th, Hampstead Heath. May 17th, Portsmouth, Lancaster. May 18th, Clitheroe. May 21st, Dovercourt (Essex). May 22nd, Goole, Chelsea. May 23rd, London, Sheerness. May 24th, Hackney. May 25th, Manchester, London Women's Franchise Club. May 26th, Willesden Green. May 27th, Cloughton, Watford, Leytonstone. May 28th, Fenny Stratford (Cloughton, Scarborough). May 29th, Northwood. May 30th, Cloughton (Scarborough), Eltham. May 31st, Bradford, Wednesbury, Mountain Ash. June 1st, Dewsbury, Derbyshire. June 2nd, Barnsley. June 5th, Kingston-on-Thames. June 7th, Corsham. June 8th, Merrow. June 9th, Bradfield (Berks), Great Malvern.

Among the speakers are: Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; Mrs. Corbett Ashby; W. Graham, Esq., M.P.; Miss Brodie; Miss Maude Royden; Alfred Goodere, Esq.; Miss Rachel Parsons; Miss Cicely Ellis; Lady Lawson Tancred; Lord Phillimore; Miss Muriel Curry, O.B.E.; Capt. Reginald Berkeley; Canon Bickersteth Otley; W. R. Harvey, Esq., F.R.C.S.; Frederick Whelen, Esq.; Miss Lucy Yates; G. H. Stuart Bunning, Esq., O.B.E., J.P.; J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Esq.; J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.; J. H. Clynes, Esq.; George Blaiklock, Esq., J.P.; Mrs. G. Skelton; Mrs. Charles Beatty; Mrs. Stocks; Rev. S. W. Hudson Shaw; Rt. Hon. F. D. Ackland, M.P.; The Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P.; A. Short, Esq., M.P.; Tom Shaw, Esq., M.P.

The meetings arranged include the following:—

May 21—Dovercourt, Essex. 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall. J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.  
May 29—Edinburgh. Evening. United Free Assembly Hall. Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.  
May 29—Northwood, Middlesex. 3 p.m. Cinema. W. Graham, Esq., M.P.  
May 31—Bradford, 7.30 p.m. Mechanics' Institute. Miss Maude Royden.

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