

# HEADWAY

## *A Review of the World's Affairs*

Vol. IV. No. 1.

January, 1922.

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

Price Threepence.

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### THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

IT is impossible to separate the two aspects of the Washington Conference now drawing to a close—the question of disarmament and the maintenance of peace in the Pacific and Far East. Armaments depend on policy, and the policy of the Pacific Pact, replacing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance by a four-Power understanding, is one which makes practicable the “naval holiday” and the scrapping of capital ships. Unfortunately there are at the moment of writing indications that the “scrap” will be less drastic than was originally proposed, Japan being adamant on the retention of her super-Dreadnought Matsu. This means that, to retain the 5:5:3 ratio, Great Britain and America must be authorised to build in excess of the Hughes programme.

According to this revised ratio, the proportionate tonnage for France, as suggested by the United States, would be 164,000 tons. The French delegates at Washington, Admiral de Bon and M. Sarraut, put forward a proposal for the right of France to build capital ships of a total tonnage of 350,000. Such a demand, for which no plausible justification can be found, would render illusory the supposed gains in the direction of limitation of armaments, and we rejoice that France has realised the wisdom of withdrawing her proposals. Italy, with a coastline considerably longer than that of

her Mediterranean neighbour, far from pressing for a higher ratio, appears to have set her face firmly against any schemes involving further unproductive expenditure.

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Nevertheless, in spite of set-backs, a long step has been taken in the direction of the limitation of naval armaments, and more than a step in that of mutual understanding. The settlement of the Yap question and the acceptance by America of the principle of joint action to counter aggression (the principle of the much-abused Article 10 of the League Covenant) are factors of the first magnitude in building up a stable world. No less important is the agreement reached on the resolutions prepared by Mr. Root on the sovereignty, independence, territorial and administrative integrity of China, her right to be consulted regarding any future treaties affecting her, the abolition of extra-territoriality and the principle of the “Open Door.” In reviewing the results of the Conference, mention must be made of an official statement from the White House on November 29, to the effect that President Harding's proposed association of nations is neither intended to rival nor to undermine the existing League. The presence at Washington of delegates from States members of that body—delegates who are convinced that the League is a “going concern”—has not been without its effect.

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On January 4 the Franco-Kemalist Agreement, signed by M. Franklin-Bouillon, envoy of the French Government, and Yusif Kemal Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Angora, and ratified at Angora on October 20 and at Paris on October 29, comes into force. The principal terms of the Agreement are: French evacuation of Cilicia within two

months after the coming into force of the Treaty; settlement of the Cilician frontier between the French mandatory zone and Turkey; economic concessions and use of the Baghdad railway; exchange of prisoners. Provision is also made for the protection of minorities, the Angora Government pledging itself to observe the rights of minorities on a similar basis to the terms concluded between the Allied and Central Powers in Europe. The Agreement will have been in force for about a week when the Council of the League meets at Geneva for its sixteenth session. What is to be the attitude of the League towards the Angora Pact?

With the question of purely British, or purely French interests, we will not here deal. But the Angora Agreement involves questions of more than national importance. It involves *inter alia* the whole mandatory principle. Territory in north Syria has been handed over to the Kemalists by the Power which held that territory in virtue of a mandate, not by right of possession. An area of some 10,000 miles of mandated Arab territory has been restored to Turkey, without consulting the Supreme Council, the League of Nations, or the Arabs themselves. The resulting situation is of the gravest and most critical character and demands the earliest possible settlement. The fact that the Treaty of Sèvres has not been ratified, modified or repudiated, constitutes the very root of the crisis. As yet the character of the French mandatory trust over Syria is ill-defined, a fact which renders impossible a protest on technical grounds. It will be recalled that at the Assembly of the League last September it was decided that it would be premature to press for immediate action by the Council in the matter of the "A" mandates—Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine—"because of the non-ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres." But this fact can hardly be accepted as a valid explanation of the confusion of mandate with possession.

A factor which adds poignancy to the situation is the position of Armenia. The concentration of Armenians in Cilicia during the war was largely due to the encouragement of the Allied Powers. French pledges of the liberation of Cilicia were the promised reward for the valuable help rendered to the French cause by the Armenians. How is this promise being kept? By the announcement of the forthcoming evacuation of Cilicia, which, in the opinion of the Armenians themselves, and of all who are acquainted with the facts of the case, will, unless accompanied by effective guarantees, expose the Armenians to yet another series of wholesale massacres. It must be the business of the League of Nations to see that these guarantees are provided, whether a separate peace is made with Turkey by each of the Allied Powers, or whether the difficulty is solved by united action. It is inconceivable that the Council of the League will allow any one of its Members to make waste paper of the resolutions passed at the last Assembly, urging the necessity for making provision in any Peace Treaty between Turkey and the Allied Powers for safeguarding the future of Armenia, and in particular for providing Armenians with the proposed National Home entirely independent of Turkish rule. Temporary abandonment of the projected evacuation

until this National Home has been established must first be insisted on. This will at least ensure that by the time the National Home comes into being some Armenians will be left alive to occupy it.

When the question of mandates next comes before the Council of the League, a nice problem will have to be settled in regard to the nationality of the inhabitants of mandated areas. Are they to take the nationality of the mandatory Power, or to retain their former nationality, or to adopt some third course? The question was first raised by the Union of South Africa in connection with South-West Africa, the Union taking the view that the Germans in the South-West Protectorate have lost their German nationality, but can only become British subjects by taking the oath of allegiance. The Permanent Mandates Commission held its first meeting last October, and shortly afterwards reported to the Council of the League, making a special reference to this difficulty. The Council then appointed a sub-committee from the Permanent Mandates Commission to consult with the Mandatory Powers on the question of the nationality of the inhabitants of mandated areas. The British view is that the proper status of such persons is that of protected persons, not subjects, this definition being carefully chosen in order that no question of annexation may be involved in a mandate. It remains to be seen whether this view, obviously in strict accordance with the spirit of the Covenant, is shared by all Mandatory Powers.

At its first meeting the Permanent Mandates Commission considered certain of the "B" and "C" mandates submitted by Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa. In order to facilitate the preparation of annual reports by the Mandatory Powers, the Commission has prepared a questionnaire on "B" and "C" mandates. Here again a question arises which the Council will have to consider. In the draft mandates for British Tanganyika, Belgian East Africa, French Togoland and Cameroon, there is provision that "the mandatory should be at liberty to constitute the territory into a customs . . . union or federation with the adjacent possessions under his sovereignty or control." On the other hand, Article 22 of the Covenant provides for equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all Members of the League. The Commission in their report draw the attention of the Council to the dispute which might arise out of these two provisions if the colony, in which the mandated territory has been incorporated for customs purposes, were placed under a system of preferential tariffs.

On another page Mr. Leonard Stein throws some light on the progress made in the growth of friendly relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The phenomenon is not confined to the East. The past few months have provided at least two examples in Europe of the racial and political enemies of centuries settling down to work together in a spirit of conciliation so soon as the questions at issue between them had been regulated by international authority. Danzig, as a successful example of League administration, is too well known to need more than a reference. The Treaty clearing up

all differences—political, legal and commercial—between Poles and Germans was signed on October 24. The latest news from Silesia goes far to show that here also those who were at each others' throats a few months ago are to-day giving practical evidence of their desire to bury the hatchet. At the end of November German and Polish plenipotentiaries met at Geneva to negotiate a Convention safeguarding minorities and administering the economic guarantees in the Upper Silesian plebiscite area. The conciliatory attitude of the delegates and the broad view taken of their duties was a marked feature of the meeting.

Evidence of a change in public opinion in Germany is provided by a manifesto which has just been issued by the Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund. The German society has up to now studiously avoided making any appeal to the country to join the League, apparently feeling that the time was not ripe and public opinion unresponsive. The change in policy, of which the manifesto is a proof, must indicate a change in public opinion. The manifesto, which has been published in the German press, takes as its text the desire of the Central Party in the Prussian Diet that the German Government should endeavour to procure a change in the Saar Valley administration by invoking the League of Nations. It is pointed out that this object could best be attained if Germany were a member of the League. From this starting-point the manifesto goes on to show how Germany's accession would benefit both herself and the League. It will be interesting to see what sort of a response will be elicited.

Little progress is to be reported in the matter of Russian famine relief, despite the unwearied efforts of Dr. Nansen. The International Commission on Russian Famine Relief, representing nineteen nations—Allies, ex-enemies and neutrals—met last October, pronounced judgment and dispersed. Two distinct phases of the problem were recognised at Brussels: immediate relief and the fundamental problem of economic restoration, involving the whole question of credits. In regard to the first, the Conference urged the immediate material and financial collaboration of the Governments in the private work of relief organisations. In regard to the second, no grant of credits was considered possible unless the Russian Government recognised its existing debts and other obligations and gave adequate guarantees for all credits to be granted in the future.

These resolutions met with an unexpected response towards the end of October in the form of a Note from M. Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to Great Britain. In brief, the proposals contained in this Note were: Recognition by Russia of State loans made by the Tsarist Government before 1914; an end to all hostility to the Soviet Government by the Great Powers by concluding a definite peace and recognising the Republic; the immediate summoning of an International Conference to conclude treaties of peace. A reply couched in terms of tempered cordiality was promptly sent by Lord Curzon, declaring that "His Majesty's Government

feel that, in making this announcement, the Soviet Government have set their feet upon the only path by which they can attain to the goal they here profess to desire—namely, economic co-operation with other nations," and asking for the elucidation of certain passages in the Note of which the purport is not quite clear.

The text of the French reply has not been published in this country, but it is believed to have insisted upon certain legal and economic guarantees before normal relations with Russia could be resumed. This was in the first week in November. Thereafter, unbroken silence. What is the meaning of this delay of nearly two months? Delay in this instance is not merely dangerous, but fatal. A little more procrastination and Death will have settled the problem of Russia, so far as the present sufferers in the famine areas are concerned. The Russian Government has expressed its willingness to fulfil the obligations which the Brussels Conference declared must be fulfilled before a grant of credits could be made. Are the Allied Powers now prepared to carry out their part of the bargain, and to consider the question of credits? The lessening of unproductive expenditure which will result from the deliberations at Washington will surely help to release money for the relief of Russia's starving millions. The Council of the League meets this month. Will it remind the Powers of their tremendous responsibility?

The revival of the ancient controversy between Chile, Bolivia and Peru, which dates from the war of 1879, recalls the discussions which took place at the Second Assembly of the League last September, when Bolivia was unsuccessful in inducing that body to consider the revision of the Treaty of Ancon (1884). This Treaty, which brought the war to a close, gave Chile a considerable accession of territory. From Peru, Chile obtained possession of and absolute sovereignty over, the rich nitrate district of Tarapaca, while Tacna and Arica, the southern provinces of Peru, were to remain under Chilean administration for 10 years from March 28, 1884, after which their future was to be decided by a plebiscite. From Bolivia, Chile demanded, and after 20 years obtained, the cession of the district of Antofogasta, in other words, the whole Bolivian seaboard.

The grievance of Peru was of a different nature from that of Bolivia. Bolivia smarted under the loss of her seaboard. Peru resented and resents the fact that the Tacna-Arica plebiscite, which should have taken place in 1894, has been continually postponed by Chile upon one pretext or another, and the disputed Peruvian provinces are still held by the victorious nation. Chile has apparently made up her mind to procrastinate no longer, and has sent a proposal to Peru for the holding of the plebiscite. In view of the long rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Peru has prudently asked the United States diplomatic representative to verify the authenticity of the Chilean proposal, which is based on a similar proposal made in 1912. Meanwhile, the latest news is that Peruvian troops have crossed the Chilean frontier.

## THE RESULTS OF WASHINGTON.

THE Washington Conference has achieved two different agreements; the first relatively common in the annals of diplomacy, the second unprecedented. It is therefore hardly a ground of surprise, or perhaps even of criticism, that the first should be more complete than the second.

The first is the substitution or enlargement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for the Four-Power Pacific Pact between Britain, America, Japan and France. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was concluded against Russia in the days when Russia menaced both Britain and Japan in Asia, had obviously outlived its usefulness. It was not applicable to the very different conditions in the Pacific, where a difficult position was forming between America and Japan, but merely to terminate the Alliance, as one terminates a lease, would not only have given needless offence to Japan; it would not have improved the relations between Japan and America. By merging a two-power Alliance into a Four-Power Pact these objections have been obviated, and so far as human foresight can predict, this new instrument should avoid any dangerous controversies in the Pacific.

In the concurrent arrangement for a limitation of armaments (by agreement, not by force) we see the ideas of the new diplomacy. It is a highly successful beginning, but it is necessarily tentative and as yet incomplete. It is for a period of ten years; in its present unquiet state, the world cannot look further ahead. To have specified a longer time would have incurred the criticism of being unpractical, and the possibility that the agreement might have been repudiated by one or more of the parties. It applies only to naval armaments, and it may apply to capital ships only among naval armaments.

It is therefore open to the criticism that what the Powers concerned save on the water they will spend under the water, or in the air, or on land armaments. Obviously this criticism cannot be directly answered by a negative. The agreement is an experiment in trust, and the parties concerned have entered into it meaning to keep it honourably. If the situation changes, so that new weapons of offence become prepotent, then the agreement will have to be revised, or if that should unhappily prove impossible, then abandoned. But the fact that one agreement has been concluded should make it less and not more difficult to conclude another. If in five or seven years' time capital ships go out and airships come in, then it should be possible to draft another agreement on similar lines for the air instead of the sea. It is the spirit, not the letter that counts.

There has been no effective opposition to the proposals in any of the three countries mostly concerned. But we are likely to bear a good deal of objection on the ground that, at a time when we are already suffering acutely from unemployment, a reduction of armaments will aggravate the position. It is a specious argument that at first sight seems irresistible, for it is the fact that armaments before the war gave employment to thousands, and during the war to millions of men and women.

But on examination the argument quickly falls to pieces

If it were sound, the best road to national prosperity would evidently be to limit our output in every other branch of industry, and to concentrate the highest possible proportion of the population on the manufacture of armaments. It is clear, however, that any such tendency would lead to inevitable bankruptcy; many of our troubles to-day are indeed due to the fact that during the war we were compelled to adopt precisely this course.

Expenditure on armaments is in fact always and everywhere unproductive expenditure. A minimum is necessary, more than a minimum is folly. And in this it precisely resembles an insurance premium. The wise man insures his life, but not to the extent that he cripples his income. It is true that by insuring his life he creates employment, and assists more directors and clerks and agents of insurance companies to make a living; by doubling his insurance it is possible that he would double the number of people engaged in the business of insurance. But it is a fallacy to think that he would double the number of people employed generally, for the mere fact that so large a portion of his income was spent on insurance would reduce the amount available to be spent on other things, and consequently reduce the amount of employment created by his wants.

National insurance is in precisely the same position as individual insurance; it is merely operative on a larger scale. The more we spend on armaments, the less we spend on health or education; the higher the taxation, the lower the individual expenditure.

Moreover, money saved on armaments need not necessarily cause unemployment at all. During the war we had to divert many factories from peaceful to belligerent work; it is at least not more difficult to divert armament factories to commercial engineering or shipbuilding. It is doubtful whether even absolute disarmament would cause any permanent unemployment, although it would no doubt result in some temporary distress. But absolute disarmament is not contemplated by any power, great or small; what is in prospect is a cessation of competitive building. The revival of trade which now seems in prospect should far more than compensate for any slight disturbance of the employment market due to the reduction of one particular class of armaments; and the removal of what seemed the growing danger of a possible conflict in the Pacific must in itself act as a stimulus to employment for trade flourishes not on the prospects of war but of peace.

## INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

ON the 30th of January next the International Court of Justice which has been set up according to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations will hold its inaugural meeting at the Hague. Though the Covenant of the League of Nations imposed many obligations upon the members of the League the Court of Justice is in an exceptional position because it is the only case in the Covenant where the League has the duty prescribed for it of setting up another international

organisation which, once it is set in motion, will be independent of the organs of the League itself—The Council and the Assembly. Though by the status of the Court it will receive its cases through the Council which will transmit the causes to be heard in a manner fairly analogous to the practice of individual governments when they set up some special judicial commission (the famous Parnell case is an example) it will, when its jurisdiction has been invoked and when pleadings have begun, be completely its own master; an International Court in the real sense of the word, from which there is no appeal even to the League itself. It differs fundamentally from the preceding, and indeed still existing, instrument of the Hague Court of Arbitration, in that the Court of Arbitration only acts where the parties in question mutually agree to accept its decision, while in the case of the Court of Justice a cause may be heard on the application of one party to the dispute, provided that the Council of the League agrees that it shall be referred to the Court, or it may be initiated by the Council itself. Had the Court, for instance, been in existence when the Aaland Islands dispute was before the League it is highly probable that the first half of the Aaland Islands discussion, which centred on the question of sovereignty over the Islands, would have been submitted by the Council, not to a special Commission, but to the International Court, which out of its panel of judges would have appointed a Bench capable of dealing with the matter. It is probable that after the Court is set up, its machinery will be more and more used for purposes of this kind, and that the procedure of the League in matters of international dispute will be thereby quickened and will have the advantage of producing a series of decisions which would immediately form a body of precedents which could never be obtained with the same authority from a series of separate Commissions created for special occasions.

It is most important that the Court should, from the very outset, distinguish itself by its impartiality, breadth of view and independence. That it will be impartial there is the best reason for believing, for its judiciary has been drawn from among the most distinguished international lawyers in the world, and impartiality is a fundamental principle of every legal system. That it will be independent, that is to say that it will be willing to accept jurisdiction in doubtful cases where there is an opportunity of avoiding without dishonour the task of settling a particular question, is something which is not so certain. Enthusiasts are apt to talk of the International Court as though it were carrying on by some process of enlargement the work of law governing which national courts have for centuries undertaken. But this is far from the truth. No body of law exists to be administered except the very loose principles of what is called international law; there is no code of crimes, no common law, no equity law as we understand them and so far as can be foreseen for many years to come the law of nations will grow upon the basis of the decisions of the permanent court and will be strong or weak according as they are. When this is realised it is easy to see that what is most needed on the International Bench is a race of judges of the fibre of

Gascoigne and Coke, rugged, upright, inaccessible to the subtleties of diplomacy, unafraid of monarch or democracy, who will build upon the decisions of each other an edifice of international law as sure and as strong as the common law of England.

That is the important question before the world at the present time. The Court of Justice numbers among its judges men who have gained great renown from their knowledge of law. It has to be seen if they will be equal to the pioneering work which will be thrown upon them; and if, when the experiment has been made it should seem that they are weak in their decisions or afraid to exercise their powers, there should be no hesitation on the part of the public in calling for the replacement of those who show themselves too feeble for the work. For by the growth of the Law Courts was made the King's Peace in which we live and only by a like development of the Court of Nations shall we safeguard and make permanent the peace of the world.

## A Question of the Hour.

## JEW AND ARAB IN PALESTINE.

By LEONARD STEIN.

HOW far is it possible for two peoples of widely different races and cultures to live side by side under the same Government without violence being done to the rights or interests of either? Pre-war Europe was constantly confronted with this problem and paid heavily for mishandling it. In the world as re-made by the Peace Treaties it continues to be a source of anxiety. But there is one important distinction. The problem is no longer left to solve itself or remain unsolved. It is tending to become the concern of an international tribunal, whose moral authority no interested party can disregard. The encouraging results of the experiment which is being made at Danzig (to take one example only) under the immediate auspices of the League of Nations suggest that where equal rights and liberties are adequately guaranteed, it is not impossible for apparently discordant elements to be harmonised.

The same problem arises, in a special form, in Palestine. The majority of the present inhabitants are Arabs. On the other hand, not only does there already exist a substantial and vigorous Jewish minority, but recognition has been given, by international agreement, to the peculiar significance which Palestine has never ceased to possess for the Jewish people as a whole, and provision is made in the draft Mandate for the reconstitution in Palestine of the Jewish National Home.

How Zionists themselves envisage the future relations between Arabs and Jews can be seen from the resolution on this subject which was passed by the recent Zionist Congress at Carlsbad. After protesting against the anti-Jewish excesses which took place in May, the Congress declares that such deeds of violence

"can neither weaken the resolve of the Jewish people for the erection of the Jewish National Home, nor their determination to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and, together with them, to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development. The two great Semitic peoples, united of yore by the bonds of common cultural activity, will understand in the hour of their national regeneration to combine their vital interests in united work."\*

\* Official translation of the original text.

Given time for misunderstandings to be dissipated, a reasonable measure of good-will and common sense on the part of both elements of the population, and—what is equally important—a capacity for imaginative statesmanship on the part of the local British authorities, there is no reason why the lofty ideals embodied in the Carlsbad resolution should not be realised.

As has often been pointed out, before the war the Jews were, on the whole, on perfectly friendly terms with their Arab neighbours. Even now, though relations between the two races are less cordial than they would be if only mischief-makers would restrain themselves, there are still many districts, especially in the rural areas, in which those relations are perfectly normal.

Concrete illustrations are, however, more instructive than generalities. Two or three typical instances of Arab-Jewish co-operation in the common interest may, therefore, be usefully cited.

In August last the Government of Palestine began to organise what may be described as a Gendarmerie d'élite, five hundred strong. Efforts were made to attract recruits of a superior class, and they were placed under the command of specially selected British officers. About one-third of the force consists of Jews. Most of the remaining two-thirds are Arabs. Asked recently by a representative of the Jerusalem *Palestine Weekly* whether the mixture of Christians, Jews and Arabs was proving a success, Colonel Bramley, the Director of Public Security, replied that "his experience in the Gendarmerie, as also in the Police, was that all three classes, when subject to salutary discipline, and brought into close contact with each other, under efficient, keen and sympathetic officers, can very rapidly establish mutual good feelings. It is entirely a question of the spirit of discipline and loyalty to their obligations which can be instilled into them as members of a disciplined force."

The second instance relates to the orange trade, of which Jaffa is the centre. The orange-growers of the Jaffa district, irrespective of race, have quite recently agreed to take combined action for the control of exports. A joint committee of four Jews and four non-Jews has been selected, and the entire export trade is to be conducted under its auspices. Thus, it appears that Jewish and non-Jewish traders are perfectly capable of working together in the defence of their common economic interests.

A third illustration may be drawn from the relations between Jewish and non-Jewish labour. Some time ago the Government of Palestine made a contract for the building of the Semakh-Tiberias road with a Jewish labour organisation, which operates on very much the same lines as the English building guilds. What followed is reported in the "Zionist Bulletin" of August 20, 1920:—

"The Palestine Arab Club of Tiberias approached the Committee with a view to securing employment for Arabs. The Committee agreed to assign part of the work to thirty Arabs on the following conditions:—The Arab labourers will receive the same pay as the Jews, and receive a share in the profits. They will also receive the same medical and other advantages. The Arabs, on their part, agree to share the losses by having a certain percentage of pay kept back until all accounts are finished. They will pay the taxes of the agricultural organisation and the Sick Fund. They promise to submit to the general discipline of the Labour Camp. The Arab Club is responsible for the moral character of the workmen. A group which undertakes the work is not permitted to engage day-labourers, or engage any labourer at lower wages. Every group elects a representative to deal with the Committee."

These instances are by no means exhaustive. They are, however, sufficient to show that in an atmosphere unfavourable to political propaganda, Jews and Arabs are capable, not merely of mutual tolerance, but of active co-operation, more especially where they are conscious of having material interests in common.

Thus the question of Arab-Jewish relations is closely related to the question of the Jewish share in the task of reconstruction. What are the Jews actually spending in Palestine and how are they spending it? How far are they actually contributing to the quickening of economic and social life, to the advantage of the population as a whole?

It is not generally realised that since the British occupation, upwards of £1,500,000 has been expended in Palestine by the Zionist Organisation and allied Jewish bodies, including, in particular, the American Relief Organisation known as the Joint Distribution Committee. Since the beginning of 1921, the Zionist Organisation alone has been sending to Palestine £35,000 a month. All this is exclusive of the large sums expended by private investors and benefactors, for which no published figures are available.

It would be impossible, within reasonable limits of space, to attempt more than a brief summary of the activities to which this expenditure is being devoted.

Large sums have been spent on the purchase of land, all purchases having been made in the ordinary way on the open market, and with the strictest regard for the interests of the few sitting tenants in occupation, whose rights are carefully safeguarded by the Government.

Progress has also been made in land development. Soil has been prepared and cleared, marshes have been drained, three agricultural experiment stations have been established, and experiments have also been made in poultry-raising and the culture of the silk-worm. Afforestation is being undertaken on an extensive scale. In 1919-1920, six hundred thousand trees were planted and over one million seedlings prepared.

With a view to providing further facilities for the development both of rural and urban land, the Zionist Organisation has recently founded a General Mortgage Bank with a capital of £200,000, of which £50,000 have been already subscribed.

A large proportion of the Zionist Budget is devoted to Education. While the Jews of Palestine naturally pay the same taxes as the other inhabitants, the entire cost of Jewish education, with the exception of a grant-in-aid of £E.3,350, is voluntarily defrayed from Jewish funds. In 1920-21, the Zionist Organisation contributed £E.69,805 towards the £E.89,692 expended by Jews on the maintenance of 133 Hebrew schools with 12,630 pupils.

Finally, allusion must be made to the medical work of the American Zionist Medical Unit, which maintains hospitals at Jerusalem, Jaffa and Safed, as well as a number of clinics, a bacteriological laboratory, and a Nurses' Training Home. In the six months ended March, 1921, 2,641 new patients were admitted to hospital, 166,985 visits were paid to the clinics, 9,271 visits were paid to patients at their homes, and 19,665 laboratory examinations were made.

The Unit's institutions are open to the sick without distinction of race, and the patients include a considerable percentage of Arabs.

Sanitary work has also been undertaken by the Zionists. An anti-malarial campaign has been started on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and at Migdal (near Tiberias) with a fund of \$25,000 provided by an American donor. In Jerusalem, the Zionist Commission has provided a drainage system for the north-western district at a cost of £10,000 and handed it over to the municipality.

The foregoing observations are admittedly fragmentary and discursive. It is hoped, however, that what has been said is sufficient to show that it is perfectly possible for Jews and Arabs to live and work together on friendly terms, that the Jews are already beginning to contribute materially to the reconstruction of Palestine, and that the influx of Jewish labour and capital is to the advantage of the country as a whole.

## INTERNATIONALISTS SANS LE SAVOIR.

By VERNON BARTLETT.

(Special Correspondent to "The Times" in Rome.)

Nobody likes to be ordered out of a train on to a dismal platform at six in the morning for a passport inspection; nobody enjoys having his or her trunks opened and searched by a man who is all-powerful because his government pays him what is probably less than a living wage to act as a customs official; and few people could grow enthusiastic over the difficulties of visas with which nations choose to make life unpleasant nowadays.

Let me give a few examples of the difficulties which face the traveller. An Italian, for instance, going to the United States may be refused permission to land because the quota of Italians who are admitted into the country has been reached for the month of his arrival. No matter who he is or what his business may be, he is treated as an emigrant, and will be sent home again unless he can get some friend in a State Department to pull all sorts of strings for him. Again, Swiss business men established in Italy may find it quite difficult to get visas to return to Italy after a holiday in their own country because Italy is making efforts to decrease unemployment and is revenging herself on Switzerland for her refusal to accept unlimited quantities of Italian emigrants. And again, if you go by train from Königsberg to Danzig you cross a few miles of the Polish "Corridor" and your train is held up for an hour or so while passengers who have not left their carriage in Poland, and have not the least desire to do so, are carefully examined by Polish soldiers and customs officers. And in the Polish "Corridor" itself business is at a standstill—or was when I was there a few months ago—because it was forbidden to send a telegram to, say, Berlin, except in Polish. At the post office in Bromberg, where I went to send a telegram to my paper during the Polish-Bolshevik war, I spent a whole morning before I could obtain permission to send my message in English instead of Polish!

And one last incident may be mentioned. In Germany a year ago I bought a typewriter very cheaply indeed on account of the exchange. My friends all told me I was mad, as, in whatever other respects the German Government had broken down, the German Customs were still strict, and, above all, they would never let a typewriter out of the country. Everybody knew someone who had tried to get a typewriter out of Germany and had failed, just as everybody knew someone who had seen the Russians passing through England at the beginning of the war. However, I had bought the machine and was determined to do my best with it.

When I arrived at Basel the German customs officer at once found my machine hidden at the bottom of my trunk. I had to tell him what it was, and he shook his head. No, he said, it was impossible to take a typewriter across the frontier if it had been bought in Germany. I protested that I was a journalist and must travel with one, but he was not to be moved. I was in despair, when I suddenly remembered an *Ausweis* I had from the German Foreign Office asking people to help me on my travels. After a long discussion with his colleagues the official decided that the *Ausweis* allowed an exception to be made in my favour, and I moved triumphantly along to the Swiss Customs division. I had won.

But the Swiss official at once found my machine, and he shook his head. No, he said, I could not bring the machine into Switzerland without paying duty. I told him I was a journalist and all the rest of it, and that the machine was not new. Supported by all his

colleagues, he assured me I could either leave the machine there or take it on with me by paying duty on it. I argued and they argued, and the train was preparing to leave. I had to get to Geneva the same day, so at last I gave way. "How much will the duty be?" I asked, mournfully fingering a hundred franc note. This typewriter, I thought, was going to cost me more than it would have done had I bought it in Switzerland. The official took the machine away and weighed it. Then he came back, mopping his brow, which was damp from our argument. "That will be one franc and twenty-five centimes," he said.

Every reader can see the absurdity of these examples, and most readers can sympathise, for they have had similar experiences themselves. But do all readers who think these restrictions absurd realise that they think them absurd because they are internationalists? Internationalism has become such a terrible word since the war, and yet we used to despise people who were not internationalists as "provincials." There is no term of disparagement so sweeping as "provincialism."

As a matter of fact, international trade, international marriages, Cook's tours, Berlitz schools, high finance, movements of art or religion—all these were tending, before the war, to make us forget that we were separated by idiotic frontiers that cut villages in two (as at St. Gingolph in the Savoy Alps), or zig-zagged across mountains, or gave one country a chunk of another country's territory (as at Campione, on the Lake of Lugano). There were no exchange problems, for there was the universal gold standard; there *should* have been no starvation, for food could be brought quickly and cheaply from one part of the world to another. And a man who troubled to get a passport to travel anywhere except in Russia was looked upon as a fool. Indeed, scores of novelists laid their thrilling spy stories in Russia because it was rendered exciting by the mere fact that it let you know it possessed a frontier.

The Englishman who studies music in Dresden, or who buys Oriental carpets, or who acts as agent for a French firm is not necessarily unpatriotic. Those of us who are not afraid of being called internationalists should do all we can to point out that patriotism has nothing to do with frontiers. Glasgow, one of the great cities of the greatest Empire of the world, has I know not how many families who are compelled to live four or five in one room. If we must have patriotism, why not confine it to the task of making our compatriots comfortable and happy so that other nations will be ashamed and follow suit? Why not show our patriotism by giving work instead of doles to our unemployed, most of whom fought for years at the front? Why not organise the Russian market, one of the most important in the world, instead of letting British workers remain idle and Russian peasants starve by the million?

No, even the most reactionary of us is an internationalist *sans le savoir*. The United States, for example, are trying to erect a barrier of hundred per cent. Americanism between themselves and the rest of the world, but we all know that sort of thing cannot last. Sooner or later these barriers will go down, sooner or later we shall all realise that the most patriotic thing we can do is to support a League of Nations, since its task is to prevent us and the rest of the world from being ruined by wars. Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son are—although perhaps they do not know it—far greater internationalists than Lenin or Karl Marx. The Tower of Babel business is over, even if we have as yet no international language (and failure to understand each other's language is still the greatest cause of disagreements there is). Every Polytechnic school teacher who goes to Brussels for a week, and every little boy who buys an unused Italian stamp for his collection, are internationalists *sans le savoir*.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, December, 1921.

THE shock which Professor Gilbert Murray received from the *Westminster Gazette's* hilarity at the new era which was to see the end of all treaties and covenants and the beginning of "Gentlemen's Agreements" only, extended to Geneva, but it was received with equanimity if with a little surprise that papers which had hitherto contended that nothing could take the place of the League should so light-heartedly throw up the sponge on the approach of a nebular constellation. The English press in general seemed to have lost its equilibrium for a moment in the impenetrable fog which visited London at the time, there was doubtless more difficulty in keeping a cool head than in the reposeful back-waters of fogless Geneva. It was a little lacking in dignity and certainly lacking in consideration for the American Administration. It had declared publicly and privately that there was no intention whatever of attempting to displace the League, which was considered to be doing useful work in its own sphere, and those who rushed in to acclaim the President's "feeler" as if the whole thing were cut and dried, making the League no longer necessary, succeeded only, as every English correspondent in Washington has since declared, in embarrassing the Administration. It was as though a lady with an enigmatic smile had brought her courtiers to their knees, clamouring to salute her on the hand while she herself harboured no sinister design to separate them from their lawful spouses. Whatever the delegations at Washington may be doing, there are obviously elements in England which belie England's reputation for knowing how to play the diplomatic cards. When all is said and done, just as America says quite clearly that her international efforts should not be regarded as in rivalry with the League, so it is perfectly clear that the supporters of the League do not in the slightest degree regard Washington's efforts as being in opposition to the League. The Secretary-General in a speech which he made in Rome this month put the position with perfect clearness and sincerity. "The Washington Conference," he said, "is a friend to whom we wish all success since all work done in the cause of peace or for the reduction of armaments is done in the spirit of the League, and must be welcomed by every man and woman of good will. We are all working for the present and future happiness of the human race, and in an effort of this kind all rivalries and jealousies are unthinkable; and, I trust, impossible." In fact, so far as Geneva is concerned, the success of the Washington Conference is awaited with an enthusiasm which sceptics would, I think, find hard to believe. The idea of periodical conferences to deal with particular questions as they arise, would provide a valuable supplement to the League, for, with America outside, it is obviously impossible for the League to deal completely with various matters. The League obviously could not deal with naval disarmament without America; in a lesser degree it has been difficult for the League to deal with land disarmament without America's co-operation in

directions like the control of the trade and traffic in arms. One important thing that the Washington Conference has shown in connection with land disarmament is that the difficulties of the League are world difficulties, not even affected in some respects by America being outside, for Washington has made no more progress than, if as much as, the League in this particular direction. Another general point is that a series of conferences as foreshadowed by President Harding would not dispose of the usefulness of the League. Periodical conferences on particular matters are in reality a development of the ordinary methods of diplomacy and at moments of crisis special conferences of this kind may not always come off. Sir Edward Grey, in 1914, tried desperately to get a conference, but failed. If similar circumstances arose now, the League would meet automatically to handle the question. But without entering into a prolonged analysis, the broad development of international relations is now undoubtedly on the upward grade. The Washington Conference makes the outlook far more hopeful than it has been since the Armistice, and this should bring strength and courage to the League to go ahead in its appointed tasks. They are difficult enough in all conscience, and the League has a right to claim the patient, helpful, and prudent backing which has everywhere been extended to the efforts for peace in Washington.

The Secretary-General's visit to Rome, is, I understand, the first of a series of visits which he hopes to make to other capitals. I am told that Sir Eric Drummond (who made a good impression) is delighted with his reception in the Italian capital, where he came into close contact with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other members of the Government, with leading officials, and with the editors of the principal newspapers. He was entertained by the Marquis Imperiali, by Count de Salis (British Minister to the Vatican) and others, including the Italian Press Association. It was at this last function, which was attended also by officials and correspondents of foreign newspapers represented in Rome, that the Secretary-General delivered the speech referred to above on the general work of the League and its attitude towards Washington. He found that the interest taken in the League of Nations in Italy had greatly increased, and his visit made it possible to settle various outstanding questions and to clear up some minor difficulties.

The next meeting of the Council is fixed for January 10th at Geneva, and the provisional agenda includes one or two important questions, notably, I believe, the Poland and Lithuanian question minorities, in Cilicia, and the preliminary arrangements for the installation of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague on January 30th. The first session of the Court which will be an event of world-wide interest, is likely to last for some weeks, and, in addition to the necessary consideration of methods of procedure, there will be various questions upon which the legal opinion of the Court will be asked; at present they mainly concern labour questions, I believe.

Makers of History.  
LORD ROBERT CECIL.

By the Hon. OLIVER BRETT.

IT is a doubtful point whether it is an advantage or a disadvantage to be the son of a famous man. That disadvantage there may be, seems to be proved by the rarity of the instances in which such sons have made their mark in the world, and no doubt the constant consciousness of comparisons, often odious, must be both irksome and disheartening. On the other hand the tradition of public service and the environment of political thought cannot fail to develop easily and naturally the essential qualities of statecraft. No one who has been brought into contact with Lord Robert Cecil can be unaware how much his vivid and arresting personality has been moulded by the family from which he springs. It is not merely that many of his most profound interests, religious and political, must have been awakened by the surroundings of his youth, but that some of his most salient characteristics, his seriousness of purpose, his mental austerity and aloofness, seem the inevitable products of the soil of Hatfield.

It is natural that a man of ability, who starts his career as private secretary to a Prime Minister whose main preoccupation is Foreign Affairs, should attain a knowledge and understanding of such things so intimate that after years make him an inevitable under-Secretary of State. Such a record is the banal career of many successful politicians, men whose names by no stretch of imagination or flattery would be placed upon this page as "makers of history." It is not difficult to discern what it is that has lifted Lord Robert Cecil out of the mob of the merely clever, a mob already far too large in this over-educated age. It is character that counts; and it is character that has given Lord Robert Cecil his world-wide reputation. It is rare in these days to believe in anything at all; it is rarer still to adhere resolutely to such beliefs. The fate that Lord Randolph Churchill incurred by resignation has not encouraged the ambitious in the direction of imitation. Lord Robert's refusal therefore to countenance the disestablishment of the Welsh Church was no small evidence of high principle and political courage. Men accustomed to lower standards of moral thought became aware that there still remained in England a politician unflinching in his adherence to principle, and Lord Robert achieved a definite place in the mind of the public, whose instinctive understanding of their servants is rarely incorrect. They knew that he might lead them in directions they did not wish to follow; but they also knew that if they did not follow he would go on alone. They felt towards him a distrustful trustfulness; a belief in the honesty of his character with a



slight alarm at the apparent eccentricities of his mind. That alarm has almost disappeared. President Wilson, General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil were the god-parents that stood round the cradle of the League of Nations. It is clear to all thinking men that that lusty infant would not have survived without the ministrations of Lord Robert. Bad fairies were present in plethora to smother it; indifferent fairies were only too ready to neglect it. The youngest and fairest child of civilization owes its life in large measure to Lord Robert's determination that it should survive. From

the birth of the League Lord Robert became "a maker of history."

The international reputation of Lord Robert Cecil is perhaps not sufficiently realized in our insular England. We have had in the past statesmen, such as Lord Palmerston and Lord Beaconsfield, who were admired and feared abroad. But, with the possible exception of Mr. Gladstone, no English statesman has held the undisputed moral pre-eminence in world affairs that Lord Robert Cecil possesses. The delegate for South Africa has dominated the Assembly at Geneva, a body of picked men, representing countries both strong and weak, upon which character and personality are the genuine requisites of influence. It is curious, therefore, to observe that Lord Robert, holding as

he does so commanding a position in Europe, should not have obtained quite so complete a recognition in his own country. No doubt he shares the disability notorious in prophets. But it is interesting to speculate whether the fault lies with Lord Robert or with England. It may be that his undoubted personal charm does not get across the footlights of the democratic theatre. It may be that he lacks a certain *jusqu'au boutism* that the mass expects in its leaders.

On the other hand it may well be that England has been corrupted by the flattery of facile speech, and no longer enjoys cold and pure water drawn from the well of truth. It may be, and the career of President Wilson affords a proof, that democracy in its present stage cannot tolerate the austerity of the just any more than the Athenians could tolerate Aristides. It is difficult to clarify the obscure relations of individual and national psychology.

Nevertheless it is clear that the man has found his cause, and the cause has found its man. Born and bred in the old diplomacy, an expert in the exciting and cruel game that led us to the disaster of 1914, Lord Robert was among the happy few who had the vision to see that it was a war that must be made to end war. He saw that the guardianship of peace, like that of liberty, requires both vigilance and machinery. The League of Nations Union, of which he is the Chairman, provides the vigilance; the Assembly of the League of Nations, of which he is the moving spirit, provides the machinery.

## ANATOLE FRANCE.

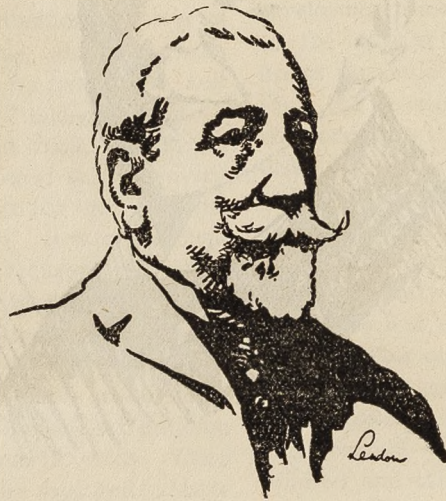
By EDWARD SHANKS.

EVERY now and again someone remembers, and reminds the world of, the rather peculiar condition under which the Nobel prize for literature is awarded. It is to be given for literature of an idealistic tendency; and this year's award has made another opportunity for recalling the fact. It has even been suggested that a lack of idealism in the work of M. Anatole France accounts for his not having received the prize earlier than this, which is his seventy-eighth year. Cynicism, expressed by means of irony, is his distinguishing characteristic: he is not at all the sort of author that the high-minded inventor of dynamite had in mind.

And yet, as one reads M. France's books and reflects on his career, one begins to wonder what all this means. Few facts about his life are generally known. We know this, at least, that he has always been a Socialist and that he took a part in the Dreyfus controversy, as a Dreyfusard. We know that the satire of his books turns on the difference between human professions of good will and right dealing and human performance. May it not be a certain patience with human imperfection which lies at the root of his cynicism? Is not patience in itself a good quality?—even though there may be other natures in which an idealistic impatience is equally good. It would be an odd logic which allowed the Nobel prize to Mr. Kipling and denied it to M. France. Yet Mr. Kipling's temperamental idealism is not to be disputed. It is only doubtful whether a world that adopted his ideals would arrive at so ideal a state as one that allowed itself to be guided by the "cynicism" of M. France.

M. France is a fit recipient of the Nobel prize because he is a European author; and he deserves that title because his genius takes its colour from a European event. He is the descendant of the French Revolution. He is, as it were, the recollection of youth preserved in the brain of our sad modern society, which, like a brilliant youth growing into manhood, has been obliged to cast off many of the splendours together with some of the follies of adolescence. He describes modern society and comments on it; but it is his function never to allow us to forget that once it set out ostensibly to be a great deal better than it has succeeded in being.

His career as an artist wants little description here. He has the gift of telling a story as well as the gift of telling an anecdote (the celebrated story in which Pontius Pilate appears is only an anecdote), and he has a miraculously firm, supple and delicate style. He can create not only agreeable and amusing, but also lovable, characters. There is really nothing cynical as there might well have been, in his portrayal of M. Bergeret. Where his patience, or his tolerance, produces the most obvious effect is in such a book as *Histoire Comique*, or in the human scenes of *La Révolte des Anges*. Here it plays the part of a diminishing glass. Very often a drawing seen through such a medium becomes simpler and pleasanter, loses its roughness and crudity. M. France holds his diminishing glass up to life, and the loves of Félicie Nanteuil and Robert de Ligny, of Gilberte des Aubels and Maurice d'Espervieu



lose the details which in reality would make them sometimes sordid, sometimes disagreeable, and rob them of the poetic glamour which the style of the novelist throws over them. Nothing is more untrue than the statement that these books are immoral. To be immoral you must describe life as it is, or pretend to do so, or offer examples for imitation in life. M. France does none of these things. His lovers have the same relation to life as the figures in a Persian carpet to the flowers of which they are the conventional and distant copies.

But, though these books would reveal by themselves a graceful and distinguished, if somewhat scandalous talent, they would hardly make M. France a great man, or enable him to deserve the Nobel prize. He has wider interests and when he displays them it is easiest to see how far from cynical his amused patience really is. Read M. Bergeret and his friends on the Dreyfus affair. Read the eloquent and pitiful epilogue to *Ville des Pingouins*. Or, if you want final and definite proof, read the close of *La Révolte des Anges*. Satan and his fallen angels, plotting on earth like exiled monarchs in Switzerland, have completed their arrangements for the overthrow of Jaldabaoth. But Satan dreams, and when he awakes he cries:

"God conquered will become Satan, Satan conquering will become God. May fate spare me such a terrible lot! . . . What does it matter that men are no longer subjected to Jaldabaoth, if the spirit of Jaldabaoth is still in them, if they are, in his likeness, jealous, violent, quarrelsome, covetous, enemies of beauty and the arts; what does it matter that they have cast off the ferocious demiurge, if they will not listen to the friendly Dæmons who would teach them what is truth—Dionysus, Apollo and the Muses. As for us, celestial spirits, sublime Dæmons, we have destroyed Jaldabaoth, our tyrant,

if in ourselves we have destroyed ignorance and fear. . . . Nectaire, you and I fought side by side before the birth of the world. We were conquered because we did not understand that victory is in the Spirit, and that it is in ourselves and there alone that Jaldabaoth must be attacked and destroyed."

This passage requires more commentary than can be given to it here. No doubt M. France wishes it to be interpreted in a theological sense with more or less literalness. With that we are not concerned. But its passion and movement ought to show that his attitude is not that of a man to whom good and evil are indifferently amusing phenomena. Sometimes a wheel looks as if it were at rest merely because of the great and even speed of its movement. There is something of this in M. France's passivity and aloofness; something which suggests that they are really the expression of strong feeling.

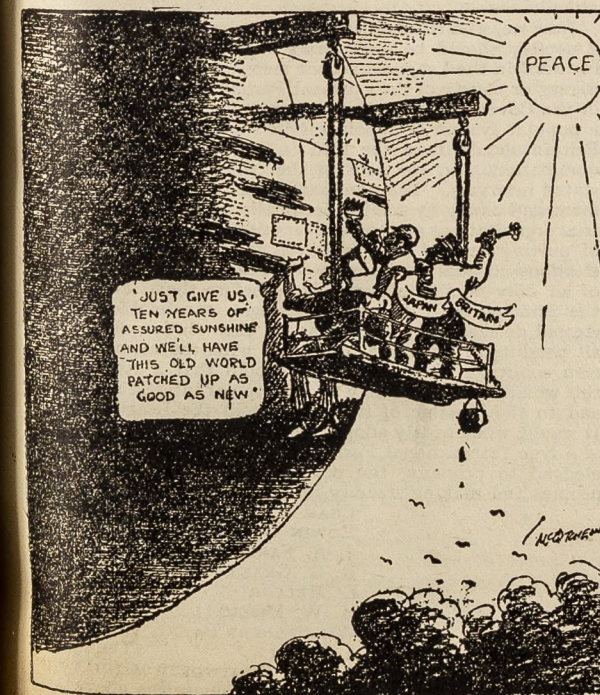
For the rest, M. France's genius and influence are of a negative order. He is a solvent, a detergent. His wit falls like a fine spray of acid on the affairs of to-day. It is neither explosive nor constructive. But it reaches very far and its effects are as great as the paths of their advance are subtle and, often, unobserved.

## THE PROBLEM FOR WASHINGTON.



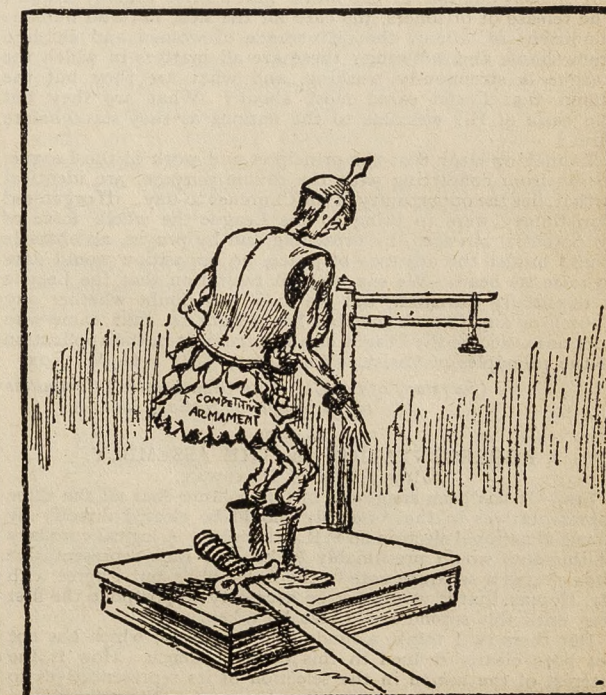
[The Labour News—London.]

## PEACE WORK.



[Chicago Sunday Tribune]

## SOMEBODY'S LOSING WEIGHT!



[Times—Picaune, New Orleans.]

## Correspondence.

## THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCHES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—A resolution was recently passed by the Crediton branch of the Union emphasising "the unique importance of prayer to further the aim and work of the League of Nations." The resolution was a welcome one, though at first sight it might seem superfluous. It would seem to be almost self-evident that the work of the League in promoting peace, fellowship and goodwill among the nations of the world is in direct accordance with divine purposes, were it not for the fact that among a considerable number of Church members, not excepting some clergy and ministers, there is, to put it mildly, a reluctance to give the League their enthusiastic support. We believe that such an attitude can only arise from misconception and lack of serious thought.

If the League were only a matter of party politics, this reluctance might be natural, for on most subjects the Christian Church must stand above party. But this is not the case. Apart from the fact that the League has the support of the leaders and members of every political party in this country, the League has no concern with party political issues. Its aims are agreed points with every party. In the present constitution of the world the League must needs use the ordinary machinery of political government for the carrying out of its objects, but that is a very different thing from using the machinery of any one party against another.

But even if this were so, which it is not, a very slight examination of the aims of the League, of the provisions of its Covenant and of the work which in so short a time it has actually accomplished, should serve to show that all these are directly in the line of the divine purposes for the world as they are made known to us. From such an examination three principles would at once emerge: the duty of service, the promotion of fellowship and goodwill and the acceptance by the strong of responsibility for the welfare of the weak. And these are principles enshrined alike in the Covenant of the League and in the teaching of Christ.

What is the fore-front purpose? "To promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." What is this but the extension of the application of the divine will from individuals to nations? The International Court of Justice, the measures for the Reduction of Armaments and the Guarantees against Aggression are only so many methods by which this divine will may be fulfilled.

What is the system of Mandates, as conceived in the Covenant and as opposed to the formerly prevailing system of commercial and imperial exploitation, but an echo of the teaching of Christ and his apostles? "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves" is a principle that is implicit in Article II. In that remarkable phrase "a sacred trust of civilisation" we can almost catch the tones of Christ's own thought.

Again, what are all the "Social Activities" of the League but a continuation of the work that Christ himself began? The release of prisoners, the care for the sick, fair and humane conditions of labour, the deliverance of women and children from shame and suffering: these are all matters in which the League is strenuously working, and what are they but the things that Christ cared most about? What are they but the basis of His welcome to the nations as they stand before Him?

In making clear that the principles and work of the League, so far from conflicting with the divine purpose, are identical with it, lies the opportunity of the Churches to-day. If organised Christianity were to bring to the League the whole force of its potential strength, by preaching and by prayer, no obstacle would hinder the advance of peace, no opposition would dare to raise its head. We say without hesitation that the League is essentially Christian, but we may well doubt whether any Church or any Church member has a right to that name who does not welcome the League as an instrument in the application of the principles of Christ.—Yours, &c., H. W. FOX

(Secretary of the Christian Organisations Committee of the League of Nations Union).

## REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—It has been suggested in this column that all the three representatives in the Assembly should be elected directly by a special national election on P.R. principles. A logical corollary of this step would presumably be to give each representative thus elected a separate vote in the Assembly; but I agree with Mr. Hooper that it would not be necessary to postpone the first step until this second could also be taken.

But there is, I think, a fundamental problem which has not yet been clearly defined in this correspondence. How is the interest of the nation in the selection of its representatives to be secured without at the same time disengaging the responsibility of the Government of the day? It is of course essential that the delegates should represent the nation, not only the official

point of view; and a direct election would certainly help to make the League a real "League of peoples," rather than of Governments. But it is no less essential that the Governments should have to retain responsibility for assisting the delegations (e.g., by supplying official information), and for giving effect to their international work. For it is only through the co-operation of the Government of the day that any delegation can cause executive action to be taken in accordance with the League's will: the League is as yet far from becoming a super-state, and it can no more over-ride the national executives than the delegates can override the heads of their respective states.

Government responsibility must be retained, and yet national opinion must be adequately represented. Does not Lord Robert Cecil's recent statement on this subject suggest the best way, in present circumstances, of reconciling these two aims? "The ideal delegation," he said, "should consist of one Minister and two members chosen from the general body of citizens as particularly representative men. To them should be added at least three substitute delegates, one at least of whom should be a woman" . . . "the vote of the country . . . must of course always be given by the representatives of the executive power of the country—that is, by the Minister . . . but the other delegates ought to be there to inform the Assembly authoritatively of what is in their belief the condition of public opinion in their country, as a supplement, if needed, to the view expressed by the official delegate" (*Manchester Guardian*, October 19).

Would Lord R. Cecil, I wonder, leave the selection of these "particularly representative" men and women to the Government, or would he agree to their election, either by the nation or by Parliament?

W. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

## AN APPEAL FOR A STRONGER ASSEMBLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The League of Nations is an existing organisation which the L.N.U. desires to support, but also hopes to make more efficient. It is unfortunate that three great nations are still without the League's pale, but nearly fifty, great and small, are within it, and there is no room in the world for a second league. We must make the best of the one we have. And is it not, after all, a grand fact that so many nations are united under a Covenant which proclaims "the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments"? It means that the leading minds and the intelligent masses in these nations have, at length, realised the criminal inhumanity and the economic stupidity of wars between civilised States, and have sought a practical way to end them.

But let us beware of a too easy optimism in accepting the existing League as a guarantee of peace. It is, at present, a diplomatic, rather than a democratic body. The Covenant itself will need to be amended in many respects, but, prior to that, nations which earnestly support the League may do much to augment its authority, and its consequent utility. The L.N.U. urges this duty on the British people and its Government alike.

Now we, who issue this appeal, are convinced that the League Assembly should be made truly representative of the peoples included in the League, and not merely of their present Governments, or merely of their present Parliaments. There is nothing in the Covenant to prevent any member nation from adopting a popular system of appointing its delegates, and we urge that Britain should take the lead in so doing. There should be nominations and elections of the country's three delegates at stated intervals. The nominations should be partly by Parliament and partly by some other public bodies. The great industrial organisations and the Universities should have opportunities of putting forward their approved candidates. In the actual elections all adult citizens should take part, having the names of all duly nominated candidates before them, and voting on the principle of P.R. and the single transferable vote. The elected delegates, before taking up their duties, should discuss all pending international questions with the members of their own country's Government. We hold that a system such as this would add enormously to the popular interest in the League and to the prestige of its delegates in the League Assembly. It would, when widely adopted, insure to that body the character of a true International Parliament, able to maintain, as well as pledged to promote, the peaceful intercourse of all civilised peoples and making steadily for the progress of all mankind.

CHAS. E. HOOPER (SOUTHAMPTON)  
EDWIN CORNES (AYLESBURY)  
J. A. FARRER (LANCASTER)  
R. G. GRANT (BURSLEM)  
E. MELLOR (LEEK)  
H. W. MITCHELL (TRENTHAM)  
WM. SPENCER PAYNE (RAMSGATE)  
A. SMITH (TRENTHAM)  
THOMAS WHITWORTH (HULL)

P.S.—May I ask all readers who support the above appeal to send me a letter or postcard to that effect.  
12, Bath Street, Leek. WILLIAM H. BAYLEY.

## ARISTOPHANES AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Of drawing parallels from history and literature there is no end; but I hope that you will forgive me for bringing the following quotation to light. In spite of its age—and it is over 2,000 years old—it seems to me to be very applicable at the present day. It is taken from the "Peace" of Aristophanes (ll. 508 et seq.). Trygæus, Hermes and the chorus of Yeomen are engaged in hoisting up the figure of the Goddess of Peace— or, in other words, are "working for peace."

Chorus: Come, come, let us, the Yeomen, take on this work alone.

Hermes: Ah! It's coming much nearer now, thanks to you.  
Chorus: He says it's coming nearer. But come, every one of you, put your backs into it.

Trygæus: Ha! the Yeomen are pulling, but no one else.

Chorus: Pull now! Pull every one!

Hermes: It's even closer now.

Chorus: Well then, don't let us slack off—but rather let us put on the strain even more manfully than before.

Hermes: Ah! Here's the right thing at last.

Chorus: Pull now! Pull everyone—Pull! Pull! Pull!

[Here the Goddess of Peace appears.]

Much that precedes this quotation is apposite, but I must not trespass on your space. Nor will I elaborate the parallel further than to say that Aristophanes well knew the necessity for everyone to co-operate in a great movement. If the League is to succeed in our day, everyone—rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, Whig and Tory—must do his or her share. Peace can only be secured if all the peoples of the world—and especially of this country—are willing to work for it.—Yours, &c.,

YEOMAN.

## THE LEAGUE AND SILESIA.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I, as a fervent supporter of the League, feel that the Council has betrayed us.

The sin of the Council is that it consented to act in this matter at all.

The League was formed to create a tribunal, to which the nations, instead of engaging in war, should submit their conflicts for impartial decision and with the intention of accepting and loyally abiding by the result.

The question of Upper Silesia was not on its merits submitted to the League either by the two conflicting nations, Germany and Poland, or by the Allied Powers, only indirectly interested.

On the contrary, the League was required to restrict its intervention merely to the interpretation of the Peace Treaty as affected by the Plebiscite. The Council was informed that its decision would be enforced by the Allies and aware that, unless so enforced, it would be contemptuously disregarded, certainly by Germany, most probably also by Poland. The Council knew that its decision was to be enforced by the French Army, and it was enforced by the power of the French and by nothing else.

A true appreciation of the vital importance of establishing the League, not only as an impartial arbitrator, but also as a means of substituting the law of justice and reason in the place of the law of force, required the Council to refuse to lessen the League by dealing with the matter except on its merits and with the consent of Germany and Poland. The Council degraded the League apparently in the shortsighted desire to get over quickly into the limelight.

The absolute negation of the whole principle governing the conception of the League cannot, and ought not to, redound to its credit or enhance its prestige.

The effect on Germany is lamentable, yet without Germany the League cannot function permanently.

The cause of the League is sacred, but the members of the Council are not even sacrosanct; they may properly be criticized.

Your obedient servant,  
M. J. GASHION.

Sutton.

[We cannot agree with our correspondent that the Council have betrayed the League in the matter of Upper Silesia, or that the right attitude would have been to have refused to deal with the question as submitted to the League by the Supreme Council. The Upper Silesian question is covered by certain provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Whether these are just or otherwise does not affect the immediate issue. Until the Treaty is amended its provisions stand, and the League would be creating a highly undesirable precedent by disregarding them.

In regard to the enforcement of the decisions of the League by Allied regiments (British as well as French forces were despatched), we do not grasp our correspondent's objection. The League has no force of its own. Its force, moral as well as material, is only that which its members are willing to put at its disposal.

Perhaps the most convincing justification of the Council's action is the fact that Poles and Germans appear to be settling down amicably to carry out the League's solution.—EDITOR, HEADWAY.]

## Book Reviews.

## WAR, PURSE AND MIND.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WAR. By A. C. PIGOU. Macmillan. 8/6.

PROBLEMS OF A NEW WORLD. By J. A. HOBSON. Allen &amp; Unwin. 7/6.

AS yet the majority of adults in this and other countries suffer from the fact that their minds and characters were moulded before the war. It is true that even in times unattended by catastrophe the evils of to-day are attacked with the remedies of yesterday. What is peculiar to the present is that change has been at once partial and profound. Gold coins have disappeared, and Gilbert and Sullivan are played to crowded houses. One is tempted now to exclaim that the world is indeed new, and now to suspect that it is only a little poorer and a little more uncomfortable. Hence an especial need for facts. What did actually happen, besides bombardments and blockades, during the late hostilities? And how far have we reacted thence to the condition of the old days? These are the questions our two authors attempt to answer.

Professor Pigou, writing with his accustomed clarity and impartiality, sets out the principles to which Governmental activity in finance and industry may be referred. The ordinary generalisations of the classical economist presuppose normal and pacific conditions. The two chief ways in which war modifies those conditions are, first, that a mass of industry is adapted to ends which by normal standards are unproductive and, second, that the Government becomes the chief purchaser. The ordinary phenomena of Governmental control caused thereby are fairly familiar. A government to make its purchasing power go farthest by the elimination of competitive purchasers, as well as to check the diversion of industry to non-military ends, is consistently driven on to more complete interference with the distribution of raw material and of manufactured products, with the control of transport, with the enlistment of labour and with the employment of plant. Use, of a special and limited kind, is substituted for profit as the immediate motive of production. More interesting, because less familiar, are the kindred problems of finance. The private purchaser pays out of his gross profits in this transaction or out of an income derived from other transactions. But neither the government nor the community of which it is an organ is able to wage war with current profits or to restrict expenditure to normal income. Purchasing power must therefore be derived preferably from the capitalised savings and war economies of the people, and in practice, since no government dare face the overwhelming taxation involved, even if such taxation were indeed possible, from bank credits. Of course the greater the proportion of expenditure that is met by credit instead of by real money, the greater is the debt. But, as Professor Pigou points out, the debt of this country is an internal debt. Internationally we are owed more than we owe, though not by trustworthy creditors. Our worst evils, then, are the weakening of national credit by the extent of present debt and the discouragement of industry by high taxation. A levy is the remedy suggested.

The highest compliment to be paid to a work of this kind is to call it dry—that is, scientific and detached. Professor Pigou is magnificently dry. One only regrets that his scheme was not extended to cover in more detail the effects of a control of raw materials or to touch upon the peculiar difficulties arising from the closing of foreign markets.

"The state of the mind is as much a fact as the state of the digestion." But it is not a fact so easy

### THE ONE CHANCE.

Some say that they believe in education but see no great harm in reducing expenditure for a time. They forget that you cannot postpone a child's education. Already many thousands of our children have suffered a loss of educational opportunity by reason of the War. Hundreds are being turned away from secondary schools for want of room. Their education is not merely postponed but prevented, and we are thus neglecting our chief national asset, the ability and intelligence of the coming generation. This is not economy but waste of the worst kind: for education is a national investment

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#### REV. THEODORE BELL

January 8. The Divinity in the worst of us.  
 .. 15. The Sin that mars the best of us.  
 .. 22. The meaning of the Spiritual Life.  
 .. 29. The power of prayer  
 February 5. Meditation and the ordinary man.

to observe. Mr. J. A. Hobson, although the majority of the problems contained in the catalogue with which he concludes his work are economic, approaches them from the standpoint of idealism, which he allies to rationalism. The "war mind" is passionate and irrational. It is a release or at best a sublimation of those impulses which are strictly controlled in the private life of a decent citizen. War is always likely to be more popular than peace—on the first day—because it defeats the inhibitions painfully and carefully imposed by civilisation. It is then hopeless to try and make the idealism of civilisation, of the League of Nations, as glamorous and exciting as the so-called realism of war. All that the friends of civilisation can hope for is to impose a period of delay during which reason can rally to threatened cause of peace. "Powerful passions moving instinctively, accurately and unswervingly along a single narrow track, enjoy a perpetual advantage over the forces of idealism. . . . To reflect, to question, to delay, becomes disloyalty." The interpretation of the facts of war enthusiasm and of class conflict in the light of this theory is of considerable interest, especially as the author does not overlook the genuine idealism which patriotism enlists and sketches the outline of a "revolution by consent." One is forced however to regret that the simple dualism of the "moral struggle" as Mr. Hobson sees it leads him into an unpractical and occasionally niggling opposition to anything suggesting compromise. He is one of those content to dismiss the actual League of Nations as a sham and a ghost because all its members are not pacific and democratic. One wonders whether the reckless impatience which he deplures may not have infected his own reasoning. As the record however of the observations made by a liberal intelligence confronted with illiberal passions within and without the community, "Problems of a New World" is brilliant and disturbing.

H. C. HARWOOD.

### GOVERNMENT BY PEOPLES.

MODERN DEMOCRACIES. By VISCOUNT BRYCE. Macmillan & Co. 50s. net.

ADEQUATELY to review such a work as that by Lord Bryce would need a knowledge and experience of both the theory and practice of government which would equal, if not excel, that of the author. Merely to enumerate the headings of the different sections of his book—"Considerations applicable to democratic government in general, the Republics of antiquity: Athens, the Republics of South America, Switzerland, France, the United States, Australia, New Zealand"—shows the vast field which is covered, and Lord Bryce is not content to give simply paper constitutions: in the case of every country he shows where and how the practice is better or worse than the theory and gives always the concrete instance in support of his statement. But those sections already mentioned give little more than half the contents; he passes on to "An examination and criticism of democratic forms of government in the light of the facts described in the survey of the working of six democratic governments," to "Observations on certain phenomena which bear on the working of democracy," and to "General reflections on the present and the future of democratic governments suggested by a study of the forms it has taken, the changes it has undergone, and the tendencies which are now affecting it." Such an arrangement has led inevitably to a certain repetition, to covering some of the ground twice, but in a book of this kind, where the problems dealt with are so vast, the different factors so numerous and intricate, this method has probably made for simplicity in the statement of arguments and deductions.

## A Key Industry in Straits

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¶ The Society has resolved, however, that it will not curtail its supplies of the Scriptures without first appealing to friends and lovers of the Bible for an increase of £75,000 in its annual income.

¶ The Society is one of the vital co-operative organizations of Christendom. It asks those who have not supported it hitherto to become annual subscribers, and to communicate with the Secretaries at the Bible House, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

M. C.

### SEA POWER IN THE PACIFIC.

SEA POWER IN THE PACIFIC. By HECTOR C. BYWATER, A.I.N.A., Constable. 18s.

MR. BYWATER has written a book of considerable topical interest at the present moment. The results of the Washington Conference have done much to remove the apprehensions which a careful study of his major and minor theses appears to warrant; but this book is distinctly one which should be read by all who wish to understand the misconceptions, fears and conflicting national ambitions which brought about in the past that dangerous state of affairs in the Pacific, the rectification of which was the main purpose of the Conference. The reader is led forward in a brisk narrative style through the history of the re-introduction of Japan into the comity of nations after an isolation lasting for some centuries—a step for which Commander Perry of the United States Navy appears to have been largely responsible.

We are shown the growth first of interest in European and particularly American civilisation, then the ripening of friendship between the two races, and then the beginnings of misunderstanding when first Hawaii and then the Philippines fell into the hands of America. A suspicion which seems to have grown into something not far removed from unfriendliness arose when the successive Californian immigration laws first checked and finally prevented the flow of Asiatic immigrants into the United States. On the other hand, there is what amounts virtually to an exposure of the Japanese aims and machinations in China. We are shown that the Japanese, whilst crying out because of the exclusion of their own nationals from the United States, were themselves pursuing an even more illiberal policy towards the Koreans; and whilst they pointed, perhaps with some justice, to the disabilities in regard to the ownership of property which at various times the State Legislature of California had endeavoured to impose,

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## The Salvation Army

### 8. The Army as a Civic Asset.

THE man in the street knows that somewhere or other the Salvation Army is doing good work; but he would be puzzled if he were told that the Army is a civic asset of the first rank. Such, however, is the fact. The Salvation Army is making one of the biggest contributions to civic amenities; is policing the streets more effectively, though less ostentatiously, than the men in blue; and—what comes home most of all to some people—is keeping down the rates.

IN our large towns and cities, the never-ending problem is the crowd of social failures—the submerged tenth. The problem is a bigger one than that of merely keeping these people out of mischief. They have to be transformed from parasites into productive citizens; and everybody knows that casual wards and other institutions more or less penal do not effect that end. The Salvation Army's method is far more human and far more successful. First it relieves immediate necessity by means of food depôts and night shelters. Then, by means of its labour bureaux and workshops, it assists the fallen in their first steps to industrial independence.

BUT it must not be forgotten that the Army is, first and foremost, a religious organisation. It believes in such things as the value of environmental change, the provision of occupation, and mutual assistance; but above all these it places the salvation of the individual concerned. The sceptic may challenge the stories of conversion which form the central theme of the Army's propaganda; but the facts are verifiable—up to the hilt. Catastrophic conversions do occur; and in these cases the change of heart is real and sincere, with the result that the converted are saved socially, industrially, and civically. The Salvation Army means, in short, fewer casual wards and more homes, less squander, and a bigger wage-roll. The fastidious may be offended by the Army drum; but the more it is heard in the streets, the less will "the filthy by-lane ring to the yell of the trampled wife."

*The Salvation Army depends entirely upon voluntary contributions. Will you not help in the fight against the forces of evil and misery by sending a contribution (no matter how small) to*

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they had themselves put into force a system under which a foreigner in Japan was precluded by law from ownership in a number of the most important kinds of property.

The technical parts of the book dealing with possible naval bases in the Pacific, dockyards, supply depôts and other naval necessities, whilst of interest to those who have travelled in that part of the world and of course to the expert, will probably not mean much to the general reader. But those who care to follow in a simple and lucid style the history of the growth of two great navies would be difficult to please if they did not derive profit from those chapters which are devoted to telling the story of American and Japanese naval power.

It is a book which we can recommend to those who are studying the Pacific in its relation to international affairs.

R. B.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

STUDENTS of International Labour problems in their relation to the League of Nations will find the International Labour Office publications both reliable and comprehensive. Not only is actual progress achieved in Labour legislation by the organisation recorded, in the form of documentary statements, correspondence, statistics, and reports, but information of general international interest is given in the *International Labour Review* and *Studies and Reports* on present-day industrial and employment conditions, Index-numbers of prices and cost of living, past and current trade-union history, labour conditions in the East, and many other matters covering many nations.

The following list shows the different classes and prices of the publications issued in the English language:—

### REGULAR PERIODICALS.

*The International Labour Review*, published (English or French) in England by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (yearly subscription £1 4s., single numbers 3s.). The information given in this publication is of the general nature indicated above.

*The Official Bulletin*, published weekly (English and French) from Geneva since September 8, 1920 (yearly subscription 12s.), deals especially with the activities of the International Labour Organisation, giving texts of documents, correspondence, reports of meetings of the Governing Body and various Commissions, and details the action taken by various nation-members of the International Labour Organisation.

*The Daily Intelligence* (English or French), circulated direct from Geneva (yearly subscription £4) has appeared in typed form since November 15, 1920, and contains brief notes on important current events relating to Labour and industry.

### IRREGULAR PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

*Studies and Reports*, appearing at frequent intervals (English and French, annual inclusive subscription £4 16s.), containing short articles and reports on (a) Industrial and political activity of employers' associations and trades unions; (b) Employment and Unemployment; (c) Economic conditions; (d) Workmen's Compensation, etc.; (e) Conditions of labour; (f) Industrial hygiene, accidents and safety; (g) Welfare of Workers; (h) Co-operation; (i) Protection of women and children; (j) Education; (k) Agriculture; (l) Rehabilitation and training of disabled men; (m) Maritime affairs.

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[ ] Hieroglyphic or Greek Method of Life Drawing, 16s.  
[ ] Thelwall's Piano Sight Reading.  
[ ] Picture Playwriting.  
[ ] Popular Botany, 30s.  
[ ] Guide Book to Childhood Encyclopaedia of Training, 21s.

Official as well as non-official publications are included in these lists.

*Legislative Series* (English, French, or German, annual subscription 16s.), containing reprints and translations of laws, decrees, orders and regulations affecting labour in the different countries of the world. This series is a continuation of the series published by the old International Labour Legislation Office at Basle.

*Reports of the International Labour Conference* (annual subscription, 16s.), including: (a) Reports prepared by the International Labour Office for the Annual Labour Conference; (b) Verbatim Reports of the proceedings of the Conference; (c) The Official Text of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference.

### NON-PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

*Special Reports* (at varying prices), giving the results of special investigations and researches carried out by the International Labour Office (and similar studies made outside the Office if of special importance).

The above list of publications is brought to the notice of readers of HEADWAY in the hope that it will stimulate a wider interest in the valuable and extensive work of the International Labour Organisation. If that organisation is given a fair opportunity of achieving the ideals laid down in the Labour Preamble to Section XIII. of the Peace Treaty, its work will beneficially affect all members of the community. That work is as yet only in its infancy, but it is well worth following. The head office of the League of Nations Union will act as agent for the supply of any information concerning the International Labour Office, and, if desired, will undertake any special arrangements with regard to the supply of any of the publications named above.

J. E. Herbert, London Correspondent, International Labour Office, 26, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

### Books Worth Reading.

"The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917—1921." By Dr. L. Haden Guest, M.C., M.R.C.S. (Hodder & Stoughton. 16s.)

"A History of the Great War." By John Buchan. (Thos. Nelson, 4 Vols. 25s. each.)

"Real Democracy in Operation." By Felix Bonjour. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

"Modern English Statesmen." By G. R. Stirling Taylor. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

"Geneva, 1920: An Account of the Second Assembly of the League of Nations." By A. Wilson Harris. (Daily News and the League of Nations Union. 6d.)

"Foreign Governments at Work." By Herman Finer, B.Sc. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

"Strife or Contentment?" By William Walker. (Arthur H. Stockwell. 3s. 6d.)

"The Bells of Peace." A Poem. By John Galsworthy. (W. Heffer. 1s.)

"The Road." A Poem in the Aftermath. By Alban Gordon. (Published by the Author at 439, Oxford Street, W. 1.)

"Lenin v. Lloyd George." By Richard Lee, M.A. (Published by the Author at 4, Morgan Street, Dundee. 2d.)

### STARVING RUSSIA.

We have received a pressing appeal from the Friends' Relief Committee, Room No. 10, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2, for help in the magnificent work they are doing in the starvation area of Buzuluk (9,700 Square miles), where there are 618,976 persons literally starving. The Friends' scheme at the moment is the feeding of 50,000 school children. Given the necessary aid, it is hoped to double this number early in the New Year, and ultimately to reach 200,000 sufferers.

L.N.U. Notes and News.

[All communications to the League of Nations Union should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

THE GREAT APPEAL. Bis dat qui cito dat.

OF making many books there is no end. In the same way there is no end to the way you can juggle with figures. If £100 is to be collected it means that two men have to give £50 each, or that four men have to give £25 each, or that ten men have to give £10 each, but the figure of £100 remains the same, and always will remain the same.

In the Union's case one million pounds is to be collected. Realising the improbability of any one man giving one million pounds or even of two men giving five-hundred-thousand each, and realising too that the Union's Appeal should not be an Appeal simply to a few of the monied classes but should give an opportunity to everyone in the country to do his or her share towards making peace secure, we have evolved a table showing in what proportion the million which we are going to collect, is spread over the country. We took as our basis the fact that the product of a penny rate throughout the whole country is just over a million pounds, and below is given a table showing the product of the penny-rate in each County, or, in other words, what each county should aim at raising for the purpose of this Appeal:—

Table with 2 columns: County and Amount. Rows include Bedford (£6,033), Berkshire (8,000), Bucks (5,407), Cambridge (6,255), Cheshire (26,402), Cornwall (5,716), Cumberland (7,743), Derby (16,320), Devon (17,659), Dorset (6,420), Durham (28,902), Essex (36,093), Gloucester (16,546), Hereford (3,584), Hertford (9,803), Huntingdon (1,341), Kent (36,840), Lancs. (131,546), Leicester (10,671), Lincs. (13,798), Middlesex (54,084), Norfolk (£9,403), Northampton (7,378), Soke of Peter (1,541), Northumberland (19,612), Nottingham (13,339), Oxford (4,899), Rutland (592), Salop (6,418), Somerset (12,067), Hampshire (44,110), Stafford (26,731), Suffolk (8,006), Surrey (37,663), Sussex (20,950), Warwick (31,324), Westmoreland (2,142), Wiltshire (7,685), Worcester (8,887), Yorks (100,051), London (179,358), Wales (48,533), Total (£1,039,852).

At headquarters it is hardly possible to calculate what each separate Branch should regard as its quota. This information can be obtained without any trouble from the local Civic Authorities. For instance, the Borough Accountant for the Borough of Hampstead would tell you that the product of a penny rate in Hampstead is £4,648, and this, therefore, is the sum that Hampstead is asked to raise.

We wonder to which Branch will fall the honour of collecting its quota first. London has already raised, in cash and promises, about £77,000.

As we are going to press we have just heard that the Corporation of Lloyd's (who after the Napoleonic wars voted large sums for the help of the war sufferers) have contributed £5,000 to the funds of the League of Nations' Union, and that Messrs. Rothschild & Sons, Ltd., are adding another £2,000 to the £3,000 which they have already given.

The L.N.U. Budget.

The following is a summary of estimated income and expenditure for 1922.

Table with 2 columns: Category and Amount (£). Under EXPENDITURE: Current expenditure (36,000), Repayment of total bank overdraft (26,200), Total (62,200). Under INCOME: Promised donations and capitation fees (37,500), Estimated donations on 1921 basis (17,000), Allocation from probable product of provincial appeals (10,000), Less cost of Appeals Department (3,100), Total (62,200).

It will be seen from the above figures that the Union hopes to pay off the whole of the Bank overdraft and to cover running expenses for the year, without taking more than £10,000 from the money which it is expected will be raised by appeals outside London.

Special L.N.U. Matinee.

A matinee of very unusual interest is being organised in aid of the funds of the Union to take place on February 21st at the Winter Gardens Theatre, which has been kindly lent by Mr. George Grossmith.

With great good fortune the Union has received the generous gift of a new play for the occasion from Sir Arthur Pinero in which it is practically certain Miss Irene Vanbrugh and Mr. Dion Boucicault will play the leading parts. Captain Reginald Berkeley, whose play "French Leave" was such a success, has also promised a new short play and a long list of "stars" have most kindly offered to help. Full particulars will be published in the press and it is hoped that all those members of the Union who can, will give the matinee their support, the success of which with so fine a programme is a foregone conclusion.

Requests for particulars and tickets should be marked "special matinee," and addressed to the General Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

Summer Schools.

It speaks well for the success of last summer's school that there is already an eager desire among members of the Union, students and others interested in international affairs, to learn what opportunities there will be in the New Year for attending lectures and joining in the summer schools, which are steadily growing in popularity. The League of Nations Union will be glad to hear the opinion of readers of HEADWAY upon various suggestions for centres for schools.

Proposals have been put forward for schools to be held at Geneva, Oxford, Cambridge, Bonn, Frankfurt, Vienna, Copenhagen, Scotland, at various dates between June and October. There have also been a number of requests that a school should be held in Italy in the spring, either during the Easter or Whit-suntide holidays, and another at Prague.

Will all those who are interested please write to Headquarters stating their views. Letters should be clearly marked "Summer School."

Student Interest in the Washington Conference.

Students in the Universities and colleges of the country are watching the proceedings at the Washington Conference with keen interest. Under the auspices of the branches of the League of Nations Union, which now exist in most of the Universities, special meetings on disarmament are being held and resolutions passed. The following is the resolution passed at Oxford by the International Assembly, which is the "open forum" of the League of Nations Union branch:—

"The Oxford International Assembly, representing 35 nations and peoples, assures the delegates at Washington of their sympathy and support; and urges upon them the supreme importance of carrying out their intention to reduce national armaments and to settle by amicable discussion the important questions in the Far East. It expresses its warm approval of the spirit in which the Conference has begun."

Overseas News.

The proceeds of a collection during a Sunday service at Ishapur, India, have been received, the congregation having expressed the desire that the amount should be devoted to the purposes of the League of Nations Union.

The Cathedral Parish of Rangoon has applied for corporate membership of the League of Nations Union. A short time ago the Swiss Society approached the educational authorities of Switzerland, with the result that all the primary schools of the country were officially requested to devote a certain time to instruction on the League of Nations.

A notable speech was delivered at Pretoria, on November 11, by General Smuts at the inauguration of the local branch of the South African League of Nations Union. A resolution upholding the principles of the Covenant and pledging support for all measures tending to make the League an effective instrument for securing the peace of the world was adopted amidst great applause.

The Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies has expressed his sincere admiration for the methods and activities of the League of Nations Union, with which he had occasion to become thoroughly acquainted during his recent visit to our headquarters in London.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has appointed one of the staff, Mlle. G. Radziwill, as officer of liaison with the Voluntary Societies.

The budget of the Federation of Societies for the League of Nations is 83,000 Belgian francs, towards which the League of Nations Union contributes 6,125 francs.

Members of the League of Nations Union going abroad are requested to communicate with the Overseas Department at Headquarters. Most valuable help is being given to the movement in other countries by many of our members who are travelling.

The Progress of the L.N.U.

The membership of the L.N.U. is now 148,842. The total number of branches is 699.

Branch Activities.

Hard Work at Ealing.

The Ealing Branch is throwing itself wholeheartedly into the Union's Million Pounds Campaign, and is working hard to raise Ealing's quota of this amount, £2,100. A strong appeal signed by the Mayor of Ealing, who is also president of the local branch, and by others, was sent out on November 18. The appeal is further stressed in the "Monthly Bulletin," published by the branch, which has received good notice in the Press. On November 5 a conference, convened by the Mayor, was held in the Council Chamber to consider means of support for the Union. On November 9, Mr. Raymond Unwin spoke at a public meeting on Disarmament and the Washington Conference. The branch is to be congratulated on its excellent Press propaganda.

A Lesson on the League.

The Education Committee of the borough of West Bromwich, at the request of the local branch, agreed that a lesson on the League of Nations should be given to all the scholars in the elementary schools early in the month, and the branch supplied copies of Mr. Gould's "Notes for Teachers" and the text of the Covenant for this purpose.

A highly successful public meeting, addressed by Lord Robert Cecil, was held on November 17, which was well reported in the Press. The surplus from the collection, after paying expenses, was sent to Headquarters.

Essays on the League.

A public meeting was held on the evening of November 21, when Mrs. Furse, wife of the Bishop of St. Albans, presented the prizes given by the Hertfordshire Branch of the Historical Association and the local branch of the Union, for the best essays on: (1) "Compare the League of Nations with previous attempts of a similar kind" (open to scholars between 15 and "leaving age") and (2) "What the world owes to Italy, China, India or the United States of America" (open to scholars under 15).

League of Nations Bazaar at Woking.

A firm believer in the League of Nations, Rev. F. Middleton Price, pastor of the Woking Baptist Church, hit on a clever idea for advertising the League of Nations in the bazaar recently held for the purpose of raising funds for new church buildings. All the helpers—over 200 in number—were clad in costumes of the nations of the League, and the spectacle of so many representatives of so many nations working for a common cause

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was an object lesson of what the League itself might become. The enterprise was well-supported by the town generally and a sum of £760 was raised.

Armistice Day Celebration.

An impressive ceremony on Armistice Day (November 11) was organised by the Bridlington District Branch, at which a Peace Hymn, "The Christ of the Andes," was sung by school children. Some 3,000 people were present. An address on the League was given in the schools.

Important Meeting at Bedford.

An overwhelmingly successful meeting was held on November 24 at Bedford, when the Corn Exchange was filled to overflowing. The speakers were the Bishop of St. Albans, Sir John McClure and Mr. Kellaway. The meeting was extremely well organised, and does great credit to the local branch of the Union.

The Churches and the League.

At a public meeting held at South Petherton (Somerset) on November 29 in support of the League, two exceedingly able and informative papers were read by Mrs. W. Henry Hebditch, B.A., and Mr. Sidney G. Vaux. There was a good attendance. A resolution was passed, proposed by the Rev. G. Berars Barton, urging the churches to support the League.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP TO THE L.N.U.

Persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify, in writing, their general agreement with the objects of the Union and their desire to join it may become members on payment of subscription as under.

An annual subscription of at least £1 entitles a member to HEADWAY, the monthly Journal of the Union, and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued.

An annual subscription of at least 3s. 6d. entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly.

The minimum subscription is 1s.

All subscriptions run for twelve months from the date of payment.

A payment of £25 secures life membership. HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued are sent to all £1 Members.

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.

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WILL YOU WORK THIS MIRACLE?

In Buzuluk, where the Friends' unit is working, the famine is claiming victims at such a disastrous rate that the whole population would be swept away in less than a year if nothing were done to help. In this district alone there are 618,976 persons affected by the famine.

THE NEW YEAR

brings new responsibilities. Good resolutions are the order of the day. Resolve to help the dying people in famine-stricken Russia.

Gifts in kind and clothing (new or partly worn) may be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C. 4.

Send your subscriptions, clearly earmarked Friends' Relief Committee (for Russia), to the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 10, Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge, London, E.C. 4.

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