

# HEADWAY

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### THE MONTH.

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"France would like to obtain sums in reparation from Germany; but France also feels that she would not like to see Germany strong enough to pay reparations."—Mr. Bonar Law, Feb. 13, 1923.

"It is true that if France were willing to accept [League] intervention [in the Ruhr] it might be useful. If you attempted it when France was hostile what would be the effect on the League of Nations as a means of settling disputes otherwise than by force?"—Mr. Bonar Law, Feb. 19, 1923.

"There is only one way [of obtaining security and reparations for France]. It is that this country should firmly announce and press both upon France and on Germany the urgent necessity of allowing this matter in all its aspects to be dealt with by the League of Nations."—Mr. Asquith, Feb. 13, 1923.

"France's real security is the only security that a Continental nation will ever have—the security of being a whole-hearted member of a real functioning League of Nations."—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Feb. 13, 1923.

THE debate on the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament can leave the world in no doubt as to the attitude of this country to the burning question of the Ruhr. The speeches, from which we have taken the above quotations—and others might easily have been added, from Lord Grey and Lord Curzon, for example—are interesting for a variety of reasons.

In the first place, they show that this is no mere party question. It is one which unites all parties, because it affects the lives and the prosperity of all classes in the community. In the second place, the speeches from which these typical excerpts are taken show a common appreciation of the French desire for security, a perfectly legitimate desire the recognition of which is an essential condition of any fruitful attempt to remedy the situation. Finally, it must by now be obvious to everyone that, as Lord Curzon said in the House of Lords, and as Mr. Bonar Law reiterated in the House of Commons, "No one can suspect the Government of any lack of sympathy with the idea of bringing in the intervention of the League."

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THE question is not whether the subject of the Ruhr occupation, which carries with it the whole problem of reparations and inter-Allied indebtedness, should go to the League, but how to get it before the League. The Prime Minister said nothing less than the simple truth when, after stating "as a sincere friend of France," that France had got nothing out of the Ruhr and that her action there was disastrous not only to Germany, but herself, he went on to point out that there was very little use in bringing this matter before the League if France would have nothing to do with it. Let us look this matter squarely in the face. What are the facts? The Government and the majority of people in this country deplore the French occupation of the Ruhr. They would like to see France evacuate immediately, and to have the whole question of reparations and inter-Allied debts brought before the League of Nations. What is the best means of achieving this result?

IT would, of course, be quite easy to raise a tremendous agitation in Great Britain against the French policy. It would be perfectly possible for the British representative on the Council of the League to raise the matter under Article II. Would these means bring about the desired result, or would they have the effect of stiffening the French attitude, and making League intervention a failure? It is because we believe that the latter would at the moment be the inevitable result of intervention by this country, that we refrain from taking the advice of certain eager spirits who are constantly urging the Government and ourselves to "do something," without specifying exactly what, and without calculating the results of over-hasty action. In fact, it is because we desire above all things to secure intervention by the League that we refrain from pressing for it at the moment. This was the trend of Lord Robert Cecil's speech in the House on February 19, a statesmanlike utterance which has been misunderstood by certain of the "eager spirits."

AS the disastrous nature of the French adventure becomes more apparent, it is certain that an increasing section of French opinion will incline towards a League solution. It is not without significance that M. Poincaré, addressing the French Senate on February 13, paid a tribute to the great services already rendered by the League of Nations to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and expressed the hope that it would "continue its good work, inspired with the true spirit of peace and concord." M. Viviani also, at the League Council meeting, said that the history of Austria and of Upper Silesia showed that when important questions of policy affecting the welfare of the whole of Europe were referred to the League, decisions were reached which were both workable and just. These may be prophetic utterances. Meanwhile it is as well to remind ourselves that nothing is going to satisfy France but a real measure of security, and nothing is going to provide that security but a real guarantee of protection based (as we have constantly urged and as the Disarmament Commission of the League has realised) on all-round limitation of armaments.

OUR Geneva correspondent, on another page, gives an account of the recent meeting of the League Council. It was not in any sense an epoch-making session; in fact, it was in some respects a disappointing one, but certain of its decisions deserve more attention than the scant press publicity they received would appear to warrant. It is, for instance, wholly satisfactory that the Council raised the question of replacing the French troops in the Saar by local Militia, which the Treaty clearly contemplates. Another triumph—a minor one, but yet significant of the trend of public opinion—is the decision to suggest to the Opium Commission that it meet henceforth in public session. This Commission is doing extremely good work. At the moment it is concentrating on trying to estimate the world's legitimate medical and scientific need for dangerous drugs, in order that a definite policy for the limitation of production may be instituted. This session of the Council demon-

strated once more the increasing importance of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the eyes of the members of the League. Five cases have now been referred to the Council, the last being the case of the German minorities in Poland. The question is whether Poland has been observing her legal obligations under the Minority Treaty, and on the recommendation of the Minorities Committee of the Council the question was referred to the Permanent Court.

PROBABLY the most encouraging item of the Council's agenda was the report of the Austrian Sub-committee. The results of League intervention in Austria itself far surpass the most optimistic expectations. A real effort is being made by the Austrian Government and people alike, and as a result the cost of living is going down—it is now 20 per cent. less than it was last October—and savings have increased by no less than 700 per cent. in three months. On the part of the Guaranteeing Powers a similar spirit has been shown. The mere fact of the nations co-operating in a scheme which is daily proving itself a workable one has changed an attitude of semi-obstruction on the part of certain Powers into one of real helpfulness. When the Council met, 93 per cent. of the money needed for Austria had been guaranteed, and now the remaining 7 per cent. has been covered by the four original guarantor Powers. It was significant of the success of the Austrian scheme that Greece, whose financial condition, largely owing to the huge influx of refugees from Asia Minor, is gradually approximating to that of Austria, has applied to the League for help. Probably a modification of the Ter Meulen scheme would meet her case. The Council has referred the Greek request to the Financial Committee of the League.

LORD ROBERT CECIL considers that the recent meeting of the League's Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments at Geneva was on the whole a satisfactory one. The atmosphere of the Conference was definitely favourable to the Guarantee Treaty which Lord Robert describes on another page. By the time the Temporary Mixed Commission meets again, on June 4th, the small sub-committee appointed by the Commission, with Lord Robert as Chairman, will have had time to consider reports on the Draft Treaty by the Governments of the States Members of the League and by the League's Permanent Military Commission on Armaments.

IT is to be hoped also that by that time the United States Government will have made a statement to the League of its policy in regard to the private manufacture of and traffic in arms. Until the attitude of America is known, it is impossible for the League's Armaments Commission to deal with this subject. The mere bare refusal of the United States to sign the Arms Convention of St. Germain cannot possibly be her last word on the matter. The proposal to invite Russia to the Conference which is to be called to consider extending the principles of the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty to countries not represented at Washington, is all to the good. It looks as though Russian par-

ticipation was at least probable, since at the recent Moscow Disarmament Conference Russia refused to consider naval disarmament, on the ground that this question could only be profitably discussed at a general conference, at which other Great Naval Powers, such as Great Britain, were present.

ISMET PASHA has returned to Angora and Lord Curzon to London, and no peace has been signed with Turkey. This despite the fact that, at the eleventh hour, the Turkish delegation accepted the text of the clause in the Treaty dealing with the "Capitulations" (safeguards for the persons and trade of foreigners), which had been the chief obstacle to a settlement. It is fairly evident that the Turks were encouraged in their folly by the report that France would be prepared to enter into separate negotiations with Angora. The unfortunate impression created by M. Poincaré's letter to Kemal Pasha must have at last been dissipated by the solid Anglo-French front which is now being presented to the Turkish extremists. But the consequences of the earlier mistakes still remain, although Lord Curzon is even now optimistic as to the eventual signing of the Treaty.

AS to Mosul, the British delegation were absolutely right in insisting that the reference to the League must be maintained in the Treaty, even though they agreed to the Turkish desire to postpone examination of the question for a year. In Iraq we are bound by engagements to the Arabs, to King Feisal, and to the League of Nations, not to surrender any part of the territory to Turkey or to any other Power. Lord Balfour, in making his statement before the League Council, stated that the British Government was still hopeful that Turkey would consent to use the good offices of the League to settle the question. He explained the privileges which Turkey would have before the League, and said that the British Government would only invoke the League under Article XI, if Turkey actually threatened war over the subject. If the final terms of the Lausanne Treaty are in the end accepted by Turkey, Mosul will come before the League by agreement, if within twelve months Turkey and Britain have not already settled the matter.

THE Memel dispute has at last been settled by placing the territory under the sovereignty of Lithuania subject to certain conditions, relating notably to the regulation of transport and the administration of the port in such a manner as to serve both Lithuania and Poland, Memel being a natural outlet for both these States. Unconstitutional though their action has been, the exasperated Lithuanians of the Memel district have some justification for maintaining that they only did, after the exercise of considerable patience, what the Poles did in Eastern Galicia four years ago. Moreover, the Allies have never said that they intended to give Eastern Galicia to Poland, whereas in the case of Memel it was definitely stated on June 16, 1919, in an Allied reply to a German claim to keep the district, that "the district has always been Lithuanian, the majority of the population is Lithuanian in origin and speech." The reason alleged for handing over

Memel to the Allied and Associated Powers was merely that "the status of Lithuanian territory is not yet determined." The Memel insurgents waited not only till 1921, when Lithuania was admitted to membership of the League, but till four months after August, 1922, the date when "de jure" recognition was at last accorded to Lithuania.

IT now remains to be seen whether the conciliatory attitude adopted by the Allies in a question in which Lithuania has a real claim to sympathy will have a salutary effect in regard to another aspect of Polish-Lithuanian relations. At the recent League Council meeting Lithuania definitely refused to accept the provisional frontier line with Poland laid down by the League. Possibly she will be more inclined to compromise in this case now that justice has been done to her in the matter of Memel.

EQUALLY, if not more, pressing is the settlement of the destiny of Eastern Galicia. The assembly of the League has twice (in 1921 and 1922) urged the Allied Governments to settle the status of this territory, which has been in Polish occupation since 1919, but whose population is mainly Ruthenian. (Actually there are about 3 million Ruthenians to rather more than 1 million Poles, and some 500,000 Jews.) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has just passed a resolution urging the Government to take steps to secure the reference of this question to the Council of the League, together with the case of the Greek frontier of Albania, which the Allied Powers seem equally unable to settle.

IT is premature to suggest the kind of settlement the League would be likely to propose, though certain obvious considerations present themselves. No final settlement will probably be possible until Russia returns to the comity of nations and enters the League. Meanwhile, it would probably be advisable, subject to securing an adequate measure of autonomy under League supervision, to allow Poland to administer Eastern Galicia. But the main point is that these questions be referred to the League. It is worth while recording a statement of General Haking, the retiring High Commissioner of Danzig, as to the effect of League administration. When he first took over his onerous duties in the Free City, the relations of Poles and Germans were such that they spat at one another when they met in the streets! To-day, said General Haking, they fraternise in cafés over glasses of beer! What the League has done, the League can do again.



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## THE LEAGUE AND THE RUHR.

THE international situation, and particularly the situation in the Ruhr, is far graver to-day than it was a month ago. There is now virtually a state of war in Europe. The struggle between the French and German nations is war in everything but actual fighting. It is a trial of will-power and of endurance between two great and determined peoples, both animated by the universal and deep-rooted conviction that they have right on their side, and that they have suffered grave wrong and injustice at the hands of the other. But in both France and Germany the current of opinion is moving fast. Both peoples and both Governments are in the frame of mind of belligerents; both are contemplating resort to the terrible arbitrament of war; both have lost, or almost lost, sight of the appalling cost of their present course of action, and think of nothing but "victory." And more important still, both are losing sight of the fact that the struggle in which they are engaged must, if it continues, be little less disastrous to the rest of Europe than it will be to themselves.

Not only, therefore, is the situation much graver than it was; there is also more force in the arguments of those who protest because nothing has been done through the League to end it. And certainly the case is far stronger than a month ago for the view that the time is now near when the League must be used if a great catastrophe is to be averted. Yet while the position in all its aspects is more serious, the warnings that were given in these columns a month ago still remain true. It is still fundamentally true that no final settlement of the Reparations question can be reached without the full agreement of both the French and German Governments; that such agreement must mean the alteration of a Treaty, made only four years ago, which the French people have been taught to regard as their charter of liberty and their hope of reconstruction. It is still true that only if the League can secure such agreement will its intervention do more good than harm. And on the other hand it is still true that the fact that the League is not yet being used does not redound to the discredit of the League. For this fact does not mean that the League is incapable of finding a solution, nor that the Governments believe it to be incapable of doing so; it merely means that no single Government is willing to incur the grave responsibility of intervening in the Franco-German struggle. This, if it is due to unwisdom or lack of courage, may be to the discredit of the Governments; it is not and cannot be to the discredit of the League. Indeed, so far as can be judged, responsible statesmen of almost every country believe that if the matter were placed in the hands of the League a settlement would be found, and they are only groping for the moment and the method best suited for successful action through the League.

But every person of impartial mind will agree that the time is fast coming, if it has not already come, at which the Governments, if they do not intervene, will thereby incur an even heavier responsibility than if they do. For the present course of events is leading rapidly, if not to war, at least to an economic collapse, the results of which

would be only less disastrous than those of war itself. There are many people who believe that what has already taken place has made war sooner or later inevitable. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that things cannot long continue as they are without leaving behind a feeling of hatred from which war must some day result. Before that moment comes there *must* be intervention. The League, the only machinery of international co-operation through which there is real hope of settlement, must be tried.

It remains to be considered in what way the machinery of the League can best be used. It is clear that of all possible ways the most desirable is that the Governments of France and Germany by common agreement should ask for the mediation, or even the arbitration of the Council, undertaking in advance to accept the conclusions to which the Council came. If, however, this is impossible—and if it is also impossible, as at present it appears to be, that France by unilateral action will refer the whole matter to the League—it must be hoped that perhaps some neutral Power or Powers—whose interest in the economic salvation of Europe, after all, is only less than that of the principal Powers themselves—will exercise the right and duty laid upon them by Article 11 of the Covenant, and will ask the League to consider the whole question as one which affects the peace of the world, and the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends. This plan is not without its drawbacks. For one thing, in order to arrive at any conclusion or even to proceed to any length with the discussion, unanimity of the Council is required; that is to say, any one member could veto whatever might be proposed. This no doubt was the explanation of the not very satisfactory debate which ensued when Mr. Branting, raised the matter at the last meeting of the Council. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that no really good settlement of Reparations, no settlement that will be final and complete, can be arrived at without the full and free consent of all the Powers concerned; that, in fact, unanimity, if only it can be secured, is an essential element of a satisfactory result. In view of this, a vigorous intervention of neutral Powers, acting under Article 11, seems the best solution that can be hoped for.

It may be, however, that no neutral Government will exercise its rights under Article 11. If this is so, we venture to believe that it will within a short time be necessary for the British Government and the British people to consider whether they should not take the action that is required. No doubt it is desirable, if there is some other way, that British intervention should be avoided, for British intervention would only harden the temper of the French. But we believe that in the last resort, if nothing else is done to end an intolerable situation, which is leading Europe to a catastrophe more devastating than the Great War, it will in the future become the duty of the British Government to press for a special meeting of the Assembly, when the whole question could be publicly discussed. In such a meeting unanimity is required for decisions but is not necessary for recommendations; and a recommendation of the Assembly of the League might well have a decisive effect upon the public opinion of the world.

The margin of safety for Europe to-day is very small, and at any moment the time might come for bold and determined action. We need hardly repeat that only through the League has such action any real hope of success.

## THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST.

JUDGED by the actions of Kemal Pasha and the extreme Nationalists at Angora, the situation could hardly be less promising. An ultimatum such as that delivered to the Allied Powers regarding warships at Smyrna would in 1913 have precipitated a crisis—in all probability a war.

But we take our crises now-a-days much as many people take their *Daily Mail*. It is expected to be "Daily Mail-ish." The Turk is expected to be Turkish. The bark of both is worse than the individual bite of either. It may almost be said that even the bite does not necessarily mean hydrophobia and imminent death.

Yet the situation in the Near East can only be described as dangerous. Until Ismet Pasha has reported at Angora and has received definite instructions to sign the Lausanne Treaty the Allies must be prepared for the worst. But it is with a solid Allied front that Angora must be confronted, or there will be no signing on the part of the Nationalist Extremists.

Undoubtedly the Turk was encouraged in the reckless act of refusing to sign at Lausanne by the inference of Allied division which he drew from M. Poincaré's letter to Kemal Pasha and General Pellé's action at Constantinople confirming the report that France would not be unwilling to enter into separate negotiations with Angora. The indications are, however, that the French at last realise that their interests are identical with ours.

Among the more prominent questions which directly concern the League of Nations, the most important are the future of Mosul and the question of minorities. There are ramifications in the treatment of both these questions which make it impossible that they should be fully discussed in this short article. Both are dependent for settlement upon the future policy of the British Government with regard to Mesopotamia. So far as the public are aware, no definite policy has yet been promulgated.

A withdrawal of such forces as could be spared has already taken place, and there is every reason to suppose that the British public grudge both the men and money necessary permanently to secure British influence in Mesopotamia. That King Feisal and the Arab Army are able to keep the peace supported only by the available British forces, few observers on the spot would maintain.

There are those who say that Mesopotamia could be made to pay its own way from the economic point of view provided time and a sufficient British garrison were available. The former may be, the latter certainly is not.

The question of minorities and their treatment in Turkey bristles with difficulties. The failure to arrive at any definite agreement upon the subject at Lausanne for the moment precludes the League from

taking action. What Lausanne and Lord Curzon could not accomplish it is possible that the League may be able to arrive at when the subject is removed from the restricted influence of an International Conference. But even with a freer and franker attitude upon the part of both the Turks and the Allied Powers, the safeguarding of minorities in Turkish territory will tax their goodwill and ingenuity to the utmost.

Taking one instance only. So far as concerns European Turkey there should be no insuperable difficulty provided the Turks are willing honestly to carry out the suggested scheme. But in Asiatic Turkey, where in the past the treatment of minorities has been the burning question, the real geographical difficulties added to those of control and communications render supervision over Armenian and other minorities well nigh impossible.

If Turkey sees fit to agree to the appointment of a League Commissioner for Minorities in Asiatic Turkey there might be hope of carrying through a workable scheme. By making use of the influence and information which Allied Consular officers and resident Turkish officials could furnish to the League's Commissioner, much might be accomplished.

Without some such extended chain of information and control it is questionable whether the obligations which Lord Curzon has proposed to the League of Nations ought to be accepted.

Any failure upon the part of the League of Nations would in such a case do untold harm. Supposing the worst, and that any fresh massacres were to take place, who would be saddled with the responsibility? Obviously the League of Nations. It is quite possible that local conditions might work up to some such catastrophe, in spite of any steps the League Commissioner or Turkish officials could take.

Turn for a moment to another of the main issues of the Lausanne Conference, the Freedom of the Straits. So far as the proposed settlement goes, it is not directly a question for the League of Nations.

The Control Commission is to be a combined Allied and Turkish one having a Turkish President. It is not until some infringement of Allied and Turkish control has occurred or is imminent that action by the League takes place. From the published scheme drawn up at the Lausanne Conference it is not entirely clear at what point the League will intervene. But in any case the suggested scheme for the control of the Straits appears to be the only one acceptable to all parties.

By the time these few lines are published it is hoped that Turkey will have signed the Lausanne Treaty and will have taken her place as a member of the League of Nations. The possibilities for Turkey in such an eventuality are to any sane mind so overwhelmingly in her favour that refusal to sign can only be the work of unbalanced Extremists. "Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." We know that Mustapha Kemal is far removed from madness; on the contrary, he is a man of extraordinary ability. He may be a genius. If he can retain control of the unbalanced extremists at Angora we are justified in expecting that the Lausanne Treaty will soon be ratified.

## SECURITY AGAINST WAR.

BY LORD ROBERT CECIL.

IT will not be disputed by any student of international affairs that the root cause of the growth of armaments in the last half century has been fear; fear of almost every nation that its neighbours would at some time or another fall upon it and overwhelm it by superior military strength.

To have any hope of reducing armaments, therefore, it is necessary to remove from the minds of the governments and the peoples this root cause of fear. This can only be done by giving to them in exchange for their armaments, some compensating security which at present, relying on their own resources, they cannot have. To provide this security is the purpose of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, a detailed project for the realisation of which was laid before the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League at its meeting a week or two ago. The principles to which the Assembly last September unanimously gave its adhesion were that the reduction of armaments must be general, that is to say, they must be accepted by all, or practically all States, both members and non-members of the League, and that States which disarmed must enter into a common mutual obligation that all of them would support any one which was the victim of aggression. These principles, worked out into concrete obligations in a treaty of twenty-eight articles, were subjected to preliminary examination by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

If such a treaty as is proposed were generally adopted, it is clear that in this way the governments and peoples would obtain a security far greater than they now have, and far greater than they could obtain by any other means. For such a treaty would in effect mean the abolition of aggressive war, the consequent outlawry of any State which, for whatever cause, attacked its neighbour, and an undertaking that the whole community of States would combine to support the victim of attack to punish the aggressor. If such a system as this were brought into effective operation, the governments would obtain that security on which disarmament can be based.

It must be recognised that the abolition of the right of war goes beyond the provisions of the Covenant as it stands. Under the Covenant there is in certain narrowly defined cases a right of war, after the normal processes of conciliation through the Council of the League have been tried without success. This right of war is the logical accompaniment of the provision of the Covenant under which the majority decisions of the Council do not bind the parties to a dispute. It may, therefore, be argued that if a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee is made, which by abolishing the right of war goes beyond the Covenant, a further alteration should be made to enforce the compulsory acceptance of League decisions, even if reached by majority only. It may indeed be urged that if the right of war were to be taken away some other legal remedy must be provided for the cases in which it would, under the Covenant, have arisen; and that such compulsory remedies can only be found by giving universal obligatory jurisdiction to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In the present state of opinion, however, and in view of the shortcomings of the existing system of international law, this at the moment is probably not a practical policy. On this view the Covenant as it stands represents the maximum progress for which the world is ready.

The Temporary Mixed Commission took no decisions on the points raised in the above arguments. But it was evident from their discussion that they by no means met with the unanimous support of its members. I venture to think that while the case so made is one

of great logical force, it would nevertheless be most unfortunate if this view prevailed. I believe that the community of States cannot afford to allow wars to continue. They are a menace to civilisation as a whole, and it has become essential to prevent their outbreak.

Moreover, the institutions of the League are growing so rapidly in strength, and the power and prestige which it is acquiring are increasing so fast, that I venture to think that within a short period these institutions will be able, by their moral authority alone, to secure a pacific settlement of almost any dispute that may arise. I believe, therefore, that the suggested difficulties in the way of abolishing the right of war are not, in fact, of serious importance. On the contrary, I believe that the abolition of the right of war by a universal treaty of mutual guarantee would in itself do more than could be done in any other way to develop the methods of pacific settlement which the League has at its command. This, after all, was exactly the historical development of law in England. The first step that was taken was to abolish the right of individual citizens to take the law into their own hands. When the King's peace was thus declared to be inviolable legal remedies for disputes were subsequently worked out without too great inconvenience or delay. Progress in the organisation of international justice will be along the same lines.

It is not enough, however, by a solemn declaration to abolish war. If the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee is to achieve its end, if it is to create the confidence from which disarmament will follow, it must organise the security which it proposes to afford. To achieve this there are two main problems which must be solved: The first is to determine in any case where hostilities break out which party to the dispute has been the aggressor. The second is to ensure that the support given by the guarantor States arrives in time to prevent the State which is attacked from being overwhelmed.

With regard to the first of these two problems, the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee proposes that the Council of the League should be responsible for determining by a three-fourths majority which State is the aggressor. It is obliged to make this decision within four days of the time when the fact of an attack is notified to the Secretary-General of the League, and failing other tests, the State which has violated the territory of another, is to be deemed to have committed an act of aggression.

For rendering effective the support which the guarantor States give to one of their number which is attacked, the draft treaty provides that every guarantor should immediately participate in a blockade of the aggressor, and that it should lend to the State which is attacked the support of a proportion—one quarter is suggested—of its naval and aerial forces. It is further proposed that for States which believe themselves to be in a position of special danger, and which on this account make a demand for special assistance to the Council of the League, the Council shall negotiate on their behalf a special treaty defining the military support to be given by its neighbours against any special danger by which the State in question believes itself to be menaced. For the organisation of the forces thus placed at the disposal of the State which is attacked, the draft treaty suggests that either the menaced State or some other one of the guarantor States should be given a mandate by the Council to co-ordinate the defensive forces, and to direct the campaign against the aggressor.

It may be hoped that everyone would agree that such a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee as this would be an immense step forward. The draft is, however, only a preliminary to the actual work of material disarmament that is an essential condition of the guarantee, and the Temporary Mixed Commission is also at work upon the principles on which disarmament can be carried out.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, February.

THE Council meeting in Paris was rather depressing, not altogether by reason of the work that was done, but because of the relative unreality of that work in Europe such as it is to-day. The meeting also suffered from every single disadvantage through being held in Paris, and gained nothing. It lived from day to day on a faint possibility of some gentle approach to the one subject agitating everybody's mind, for, as one wit put it, the Council could hardly write itself down as the only body of ten men in the world not discussing the subject of reparations. There was, in fact, a gentle approach, but, oh, so gentle! It took place on the last day in a super-secret session, about which it was hard to get the slightest information. It gradually leaked out, however, that Mr. Branting led a forlorn hope, was immediately jumped upon by M. Viviani, and solicitously removed from the fray with some comfortable words by M. Hymans. The rest of the Council remained absolutely dumb, and everybody seemed to be afraid even to admit that the forbidden word had been uttered. Very few people had anticipated that the Council could do anything definite at the moment, but it was hardly to be imagined that no one would be found with enough spirit to add a few persuasive words in a super-secret meeting to draw attention to the central purposes of the League as a possible means of pulling the world through a crisis like the present. The fact that the subject was mentioned saved the League from some ridicule, but what was said had not the slightest effect on the position; a little more of this, and decent world opinion which expects the League before very long to get its teeth into this business, will be much tempted to turn away in disgust. It will be wrong, because it now seems certain that it is world opinion which must eventually bring this about, and it is world opinion which must look after its governments.

The Council's neck, in fact, was saved by its work on Austria, the only real constructive effort of its kind which has been made in Europe since the Armistice. The Council examined in close detail the whole development of the scheme, and prepared the decks for the launching of the first 3½ million sterling loan which Austria immediately needs. It was a keen, businesslike, straightforward affair, which wound up with a first-class public meeting. It is not possible to enter in any detail into the question, but when you consider the remarkable fact that during the last month or two Austria has been the only country in Europe whose currency has been stable, that her savings and bank deposits have enormously increased, that the cost of living has been reduced, that two internal loans have been successfully raised, and that even in that dangerous corner of Europe the efforts at reform by the Austrian Government under the guiding hand of the League organisation have restored confidence, it seems almost like a miracle. So far, the only effect of the situation in Germany has been a little trade depression. M. Viviani almost flung his arms round the neck of the Austrian Chancellor in wishing him "Bon voyage, bon courage." But the only general effect it seemed to have upon M. Viviani's mind was the reflection that the League was always ready to come to the assistance of States "worthy of it." It is doubtful whether present events in Europe justify language on any such moral plane, and some more concrete and matter-of-fact considerations might be deduced from the comparison between the subject from which the Council flew like a cat from hot bricks, and the subject upon which it deliberated like the body it ought always to be.

There is one notable impression which the Council once more emphasised, namely, that all its good work is done in public and all its bad work in private. For

instance, Mr. Branting was alone responsible for pressing in public that the question of the expulsion of certain German minorities in Poland should be postponed until the next Council meeting, a step which had been demanded by the French and the Poles for reasons only to be guessed at. Mr. Branting pushed the point so far that he eventually secured reference to the Permanent Court of the question whether Poland was entitled to act in the matter off her own bat, and if not, whether she was properly fulfilling her international obligations. This was good business. As opposed to it, there was in private an extraordinary incident over the appointment of a financial adviser to Albania. It was a case of neat national interests without any regard to Albania herself. Albania had asked for an adviser, the Council has asked the Financial Committee to find one, and the Chairman of the Financial Committee, a Swedish banker, after a long and careful inquiry, proposed an Englishman who had been engaged in colonial service. When it came before the Council the French objected, as there were financial and petrol interests in Albania to be considered; they naturally wanted a Frenchman in such circumstances; the Italians wanted an Italian; the British were really indifferent. An effort was made to postpone the matter, but in order to avoid unnecessary delay in the interest of Albania, it was proposed that a small committee should be responsible for the appointment as soon as possible. Whereupon, the young Albanian representative delivered the Council a short, sharp and thoroughly sound lesson on what the attitude of the Council ought to have been. He said Albania believed in the League and therefore asked it to appoint an adviser; any concessions to be given would be given by the Government and not by the adviser. Albania naturally thought the Council would appoint a man with no other considerations except the interests of Albania and without introducing political or other motives; apparently this was not the case, and he therefore reserved for the consideration of the Albanian Government any other steps which might be proposed. It is not to be wondered at that an English publicist, describing this affair in detail, concluded that if this was the way the Council was going to carry on its work, it might just as well put up its shutters. However, even in the prevailing spirit of depression one likes to rub one's hands over this and to regard the courage and dignity of the representative of a small and powerless State as a new and shining example to other small nations of the world when doing business with the Council of the League. A Council of superior gentlemen may stand this once or twice in private, but it would not survive it long in public. The persistent cry for publicity is no mere catchword, and this explains the quiet persistence in some quarters in trying to keep the door shut wherever possible.

This little Albanian affair rather knocked the stuffing out of the solemn warning addressed to Lithuania in public when she threatened to resist by all means in her power the line of demarcation proposed by the Council between Lithuania and the Vilna territory, though unfortunately the contrast was not publicly apparent at the time. Lithuania, however, which is entitled to a great deal of sympathy for the past events on her borders, put herself in the wrong by adopting such a menacing attitude, and though she seemed unimpressed by the public recital of Article 16, it was at the same time a warning finger which had to be held up to her. It has been suggested that there are sinister influences behind this attitude of Lithuania, but of the truth of this it is impossible to say. That she has been provoked for a long period is certain, and she has slowly lost ground in the causes in dispute, the combination against her having been too strong.

As for the rest of the work, the Council did wisely in urging the Saar Governing Commission to hurry up in

its efforts to secure local gendarmerie gradually to replace the French troops, and to report progress at the next meeting. It decided to summon towards the end of the year an international conference on customs formalities, which ought to be of great interest to English commerce; America, Germany, Mexico and Equador are to be invited to attend. It decided that the international conference for the extension of the Washington naval conventions to non-signatory powers should be summoned after the Santiago conference. Real achievements were reported by Dr. Nansen's Commissariat for Russian and Near Eastern refugees, and an additional 50,000 Swiss francs were voted for organisation purposes in the Near East. An interesting incident in this connection was the Council's acceptance of the request of the Greek Government that the Financial Committee of the League should be asked to consider the terms of a loan of 10 million sterling proposed to be raised by the Greek Government for refugee purposes. Greece merely desired the moral support of the League in this matter. One more individual American is to take part in the non-political work of the League, the Council having sent an invitation to Surgeon-General Cumming, the head of the United States Public Health Service, to become a member of the Health Committee of the League. His acceptance is considered certain.

Regarding official appointments, Mr. MacDonnell, of the Egyptian Civil Service, has been appointed to succeed General Haking as High Commissioner of Danzig. It will not be easy to follow in the frank and impartial footsteps of the retiring Commissioner.

The next Council meeting is on April 10th at Geneva.  
C.

## A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

### BRANCHES AND HEADQUARTERS.

THERE is a danger in complacency, and, although harassed officials have a natural desire that the attitude of Headquarters and the Branches towards each other should be one of permanent and mutual admiration, it is in reality a more healthy evidence of sincerity and vitality that occasional breezes of criticism should blow up between them. Although it is obvious that neither Headquarters nor the Branches would be of much value without each other, and although it would be invidious and irrelevant to consider which is the most valuable of the two, there is much to be gained from the fact that they are so placed that each is able to obtain a clear and detached vision of the vices as well as the virtues of the other. From the clash of such observation and criticism should arise the perfect organisation that all desire.

The candour and lucidity with which Lord Robert Cecil stated the case for Headquarters in his speech at the General Council on December 12th did much to narrow the issues and to clear the minds of the Delegates, and it will be remembered that, as a result of that meeting, the Council resolved:—

1. Provisionally to approve the expenditure of £25,000 suggested by Headquarters for 1923.

2. To form a Committee of eleven members to consider a report upon the financial position of the Union, and to submit a scheme for producing a permanent income sufficient to meet the expenditure of Headquarters. The eleven members nominated by the Regional Representatives, after inquiry among the Branches and Districts in their regions, were to be drawn from the following regions: Scotland, North, North-West, North-East, West Midlands, East Midlands, East Anglia, South-West, South, South-East, and London. A twelfth member was afterwards added for Wales.

### THE BUDGET COMMITTEE.

The Committee met on Jan. 16th and Jan. 17th, with Prebendary Rudolph in the chair, and the commendable despatch with which its deliberations were conducted is shown by the fact that the draft report was ready for consideration by Jan. 24th. The Report was not indeed wholly unanimous, but it is satisfactory to record that the majority and the minority agreed upon the following points:—

1. That Headquarters is efficiently organised and conducted.
2. That it is impossible to cut more than £1,300 by the utmost economy from the £25,000 Budget proposed by Headquarters.
3. That the Regional Representatives should be retained.
4. That the expenditure of the Union should be £28,000; a sum arrived at by adding the cost of the Regional Representatives to the £25,000 proposed by Headquarters, less the suggested economies of £1,300.
5. That Branches should endeavour to raise £15,000 of the above £28,000.

The Committee was warmly in favour of the system of District and Regional Councils, and, in advocating the retention of the Regional Representatives, pointed out that the creation of the former would enable the Branches to assume the direction and control of the latter.

The differences between the Majority and Minority Reports related mainly to the method of raising the £15,000 by the Branches, and no doubt it is this subject which will arouse discussion when the reports are presented to the Council, which has arranged to meet on March 15th.

### THE RUHR.

It is very natural that many members of the Union should be disturbed by the action of the French in the Ruhr, which they consider to be a danger to the peace of the world, and there is a feeling abroad that "something should be done." Such feelings are apt to be vague enough, based as they are on the emotions, and it must be remembered that those who hold the grave responsibility for evolving the policy of the Union have to decide, not only that something should be done, but also what should be done, and, more important still, when it should be done. The attitude of the Union has always been that the whole question of Reparations should be referred to the League, and it is satisfactory to observe that the leaders of the Liberal and Labour parties have been pressing this solution on the Government during the debate on the Address. Mr. Bonar Law has shown himself by no means hostile to the idea, but has expressed a natural doubt as to whether the French could at this moment be persuaded to consider such a course of action. The Executive Committee share that doubt; they do not wish to rouse national spirit in France by advocating action at this moment by the British Government. It is probable that, as the failure of the Ruhr adventure becomes more evident, an increasing section of opinion in France will incline towards the League solution, and it is to that section that at the right moment appeal should be made. Even so it would perhaps be more efficacious if such an appeal should come from some country other than Great Britain. The Executive Committee is watching the position with great care, and will not fail to take advantage of any opportunity that may arise of creating an atmosphere favourable to the intervention of the League.

In the meantime it is perhaps useful to point out to those members of the Union who feel strongly opposed to the French policy in the Ruhr that it is the business of those who believe in the League to minimise international hatreds of all kinds, and that it would hardly be a satisfactory conclusion if the decline of war-hatred against Germany were to be accelerated or replaced by new hatred against France.

O. S. B.

## THE NEW WORLD.

### VI.—LATVIA.

By M. FANSHAWE.

MOST of Lettish history has—from the point of view of the Letts—been passed in a dungeon from which the Letts have only just climbed out into the free daylight. The Teutonic knights pounced on the land in the thirteenth century, and from that day onwards the Letts—a sturdy race of peasants—struggled fiercely, if intermittently, against the oppression of Germans, the so-called Baltic Barons. German historians do not disguise the ruthlessness of the serfdom imposed on the Letts. "We eat Germany with our bread," runs an old Lett proverb. In the seventeenth century Latvia experienced a short period of enlightened rule under the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. But when Russia included the Baltic Provinces in her empire in the eighteenth century the power of the Baltic Barons was restored in full. Catherine II. failed to better the lot of the Lett peasants against the solid obstruction of the Baltic Barons, and even when the Czar Alexander I. abolished serfdom in the Baltic Provinces, the Barons, instead of giving the Lett peasantry part of the land for themselves as was done elsewhere in Europe, took the life blood out of the reform by declaring all the land to be their own, with all kinds of feudal privileges attached (lasting till 1916). And until 1880 all the political power (apart from Russian officials) was in their hands.

In this way the Letts had to struggle for survival as a nation against two enemies—Germans and Russians. But the feeling of the Letts towards the Russians was affection itself, compared to their bitter hatred of the Baltic Barons. The latter were not only alien conquerors but were starving the natural Lett hunger for their land. Quite half of Latvia was divided into big German estates. Dondangen, the largest, covered no less than 250 sq. miles.

After 1880 the Russians, alarmed at the growth of German power, proceeded to "Russify" the Baltic Provinces. This meant incidentally an attempt to obliterate every sign of Lett nationality. Much of Lett hatred of Russia dates from this period, although Letts certainly strengthened their political position as against the Germans during these years. In 1905 the Letts took advantage of the disasters of the Russo-Japanese war to revolt against the Baltic Barons; but miscalculated the Russian powers of recuperation. And in the hour of attack Baltic Barons and Russians joined hands like brothers, and suppressed the revolt with murderous severity. "All was quiet in Riga" till 1914.

Latvia suffered severely in the Great War, and though, like other young nations, the defeat of Germany gave it its chance, it had still to fight for an existence. When the Armistice came in 1918 the Latvian National Council at Riga proclaimed Latvia a sovereign state, and the chief Allies recognised the Latvian Government

*de facto*. During 1919 the Letts had to fight the Russian Bolsheviks in the east and the Germans under adventurers, like Von der Goltz and Col. Bermond, in the west. Not until December, 1919, was Latvia freed from its enemies. In April, 1920, the elections for the Constituent Assembly took place, and in June an attempt was made to solve the agrarian question by a compulsory appropriation of German estates, though the remuneration to be paid for the land has yet to be settled. On January 26, 1921, the Supreme Council finally decided to recognise Latvia *de jure*, and in September, 1921, Latvia became a member of the League of Nations.

Latvia has a total area of over 25,000 square miles, which makes it more than twice the size of Belgium. The chief inhabitants, the Letts, are, like the Lithuanians, most nearly related to the Scandinavians. Their language bears much the same relation to Lithuanian as English to German. It possesses an unusually large vocabulary for the world of nature, and is, like Russian, rich in terms of affection.

At the beginning of 1922 the population of Latvia was 1,813,000, which shows a decrease, owing to the war, of nearly 600,000 on the figures of 1914. About

80 per cent. were Letts, 3 per cent. Germans. More than three-fourths of the population are Protestants. No European peasantry is better educated, there being practically no illiterates among Lett adults. In January, 1922, there were over 107 secondary schools in Latvia, and the new University of Riga, which opened in September, 1919, had over 4,770 students of both sexes. The Letts have preserved their distinct national culture against all comers. Their art and literature, hitherto largely suppressed by Germans or Russians, may yet play an important part in shaping the tendencies and schools of thought in Western Europe. Lett literature is strong on the dramatic side, and Lett folk songs

or Dainyas are a Mecca for philologists and historians. Before the war Riga alone had 10 daily papers, with an average circulation of over 100,000 copies each.

Latvia's commercial importance lies in the fact that it is the best and most direct route from Russia to the Western world. The Baltic sea makes Latvia practically contiguous with Sweden, Denmark, Prussia and Finland. Latvia in this way is a land of transit. Before the war one-fourth of Russian imports and exports went through Latvian harbours. Riga, the capital of Latvia, half an old town with a famous history, half a new town with big rising industries, and a magnificent harbour, had, before the war, a greater foreign trade than Petrograd. The Latvian ports, Riga, Libau, Windau, have excellent railway connections and, it is useful to remember, are practically ice-free the whole year round. Their accessibility to the largest ships and their warehouse capacity has been steadily increased. Latvian exports are flax, linseed, timber, leather, butter, eggs, &c., the chief imports being coal, iron, cotton, textiles, machinery, chemicals, sugar, &c.

Naturally owing to the present corpse-like condition of Russian commerce Latvian prosperity has not yet



properly recovered. The war-losses in population are particularly noticeable in Industry. And the farmer's work is still handicapped by legacies of war, such as endless dug-outs and wire entanglements. Like other young states, Latvia has not yet sufficient revenue to cover reconstruction, and there is a serious want of credit. But no one can rob Latvia of its splendid geographical position, and the great possibilities of its ports. The Letts are working hard, their natural dourness and national stamina being invaluable assets. It is only a question of time—perhaps a short time—before the country will be able to emerge from its stormy past into a prosperity which it will fully deserve.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND THE BRITISH LEGION.

By BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

ON first thoughts it might appear that there is little in common between these two societies. But second thoughts are often best.

That ex-soldiers should wish to support the League of Nations is again, on the face of it an anachronism. It is, however, in many cases just because they are ex-soldiers and therefore know more of the terrible results of war—even of successful war—that members of the British Legion desire to co-operate in the work of the League of Nations Union.

One of the strongest planks in the programme of the British Legion is the endeavour by all and every means to decrease, so far as is humanely possible, the appalling amount of unemployment existing in England to-day. This, it is now generally realised, can only be brought about by a revival of trade and the improvement of international economic conditions. It is also universally recognised that until Europe consents to reduce national armaments, and so the colossal burden of unproductive expenditure, there cannot be even the semblance of peace.

As long ago as June, 1920, the League of Nations Union was approached by the International Executive Council of the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers upon the subject of identifying its members with the work of the League of Nations Union. Still later, in 1921, the British Legion, which comprises the four great ex-service associations—viz., the Comrades of the Great War, the National Association of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, The National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers, and the Officers' Association—representing in all 4,000,000 officers and men, passed similar resolutions.

From this it will be seen how beneficial to both organisations it would be if closer co-operation should exist between the British Legion and the League of Nations Union.

A special committee has now been appointed by the executive committee of the League of Nations Union to suggest how closer co-operation can be brought about. The special committee is already at work, and will shortly report to the executive committee. But in the meantime branches of the League of Nations Union throughout the country can set the ball rolling by endeavouring to interest members of the British Legion in their vicinity in the work of the local Branch of the League of Nations Union.

Already a striking example of how co-operation can be secured and maintained is to hand at Birmingham.

Here at Lozells Street Hall there exists an exceedingly well organised branch almost entirely composed of

British Legion members, administered by their very capable hon. secretary, Captain H. Woodward.

Not only does the Lozells Street Hall Branch carry on the ordinary work undertaken by all Union branches, such as study circles and so forth, but it shows unflagging and intelligent interest in wider matters such as centre round International political and economic questions.

It is hoped that such close and, to both organisations, advantageous co-operation will in the not distant future become the rule, not the exception.

As already indicated, there have been earlier attempts to come together on the part of the British Legion and the League of Nations Union. To-day it is difficult to understand why these attempts have not matured. The influence for good in the world of each separate organisation is steadily increasing. The legitimate use of power is pressure in the right direction. By mutually joining each others branches the power of both the British Legion and the League of Nations Union should be greatly increased.

### BANKERS AND THE LEAGUE.

At the ordinary general meeting of the London Joint City & Midland Bank on January 24, the Chairman, the Rt. Hon. R. McKenna, referred to the vital importance of foreign trade to this country, and showed that our prosperity depended largely upon the restoration of the European market. The banking world is undoubtedly aware of the importance of the League of Nations in achieving this result, and the London Joint City & Midland Bank has given practical proof of its faith in the League by giving over £1,400 to the League of Nations Union.

### ORGANISING A MASS MEETING.

[It is sometimes stated that a substantial increase in membership cannot be expected from an old-established branch of the League of Nations Union, which has "lived down" the enthusiasm of its early days. The experience of the old-established branch at Southend, which doubled its already large membership at one meeting, sufficiently disproves this statement. Our readers may remember also the successful meeting at Nottingham, described in our December number, which resulted in 530 new members.—Ed.]

THERE are three essentials for a successful meeting: (1) belief in the cause, (2) thorough preliminary spade work, and (3) the creation of the feeling that the meeting is going to be a signal success.

The following is a rough outline of the arrangements made by the Hon. Secretary of the Southend-on-Sea Branch in connection with a meeting at the Kursaal on 23rd November, 1922, at which Lord Robert Cecil spoke, and as a result of which no fewer than 780 new members of the Union were enrolled.

#### TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE MEETING.

(1) A striking two-colour poster was displayed on the notice-boards of the churches of all denominations. This poster gave only the names of the speaker and chairman (the Bishop of Chelmsford), the place of meeting, and the date.

(2) Circulars were sent to every clergyman and minister in the town, to the Roman Catholic priests, to the Jews, to the Quakers, to the Brotherhoods, and to the Salvation Army, urging them to keep the date free and to bring the meeting to the notice of their people.

(3) Circulars were also issued to the local political associations of all parties, to the co-operative societies, the Union of Christian Endeavourers, the Theosophists, the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Trade, &c.

#### ONE MONTH BEFORE THE MEETING.

Platform tickets were sent to Viscount Elveden (the M.P. for the district) and Lady Elveden, the Mayor and

(Continued on page 292.)



### MINORITIES IN EUROPE.

As far as possible the names of the Minorities in each country are printed in the areas where they predominate. In certain cases, notably in that of Jews, this has not been practicable. Minorities in Turkey are not shown, as a full-page map was devoted to these last month.

Mayoress, all the clergy and ministers of the Established and Free Churches, the Roman Catholic priests, and the Salvation Army, the Director of Education, the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Town Clerk, the Presidents of the Rotary Club and Chamber of Trade, and the chairmen of the political associations. All were asked to return the tickets, if they were unable to attend.

#### ONE WEEK BEFORE THE MEETING.

As the General Election was on November 15th, and the town was placarded with political posters, the issue of the second poster, giving details of the meeting and showing the representative nature of the platform, was delayed until the 17th November. This poster was placed on various hoardings and outside private houses, as well as on church notice boards.

#### ON THE DAY OF THE MEETING.

(1) The *Southend Standard* had an advertisement of the meeting, and photographs of Lord Robert Cecil and the Secretary of the Branch.

(2) A motor car paraded the town and district all day, with three large hand-written posters announcing the meeting at night.

#### GENERAL REMARKS.

Tickets for reserved seats at 2s. and 1s. sold readily, but part of the hall was, of course, free. No collection was taken.

After Lord Robert Cecil's speech the Secretary read messages from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. J. R. Clynes, and a poor widow (who gave her "mite" "for a noble cause"), wishing success to the Union. The widow's letter was not the least effective, and in the sympathetic atmosphere which prevailed, the stewards immediately put round the cards for new members. The response was a record, and the subscriptions were gathered in by collectors during the next few weeks.

The expenses of hire of hall, advertising, printing, &c., were met from the sale of the tickets, and out of the satisfactory balance of £41 6s. 2d., the sum of £21 was sent to Headquarters.

From the above statement it will be obvious that there is no hidden secret of success; it lies in strenuous ground-work and in enlisting the co-operation of "all sorts and conditions of men."

## Correspondence.

### NEAR EAST REFUGEES: AN APPEAL.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I once more request the courtesy of your columns in order to express to the members of the League of Nations Union, and in particular to the Secretaries of its Branches, my gratitude for the magnificent response which they have made to the appeal which I ventured to address to them through the columns of your January issue?

A vast amount of admirable clothing has been received in response to the appeal which I then made. A great quantity of this clothing has been forwarded to Greece and has been distributed through the League of Nations office in Athens. Other quantities have been sent to Constantinople and distributed in Western Thrace.

I need not repeat that the gifts which have been made will save many lives during the remaining months of winter. The clothing will also greatly assist the splendid anti-epidemic work which is being carried on by the Epidemics Commission of the League. This is of great importance, as there has been a widespread outbreak of disease which threatens to spread to the whole population of the country.

In spite of the very generous response which has been made, great quantities of clothing are still needed, and clothes will be as welcome as ever. The address of the warehouse has now been changed, and clothes should now be sent:—

c/o All British Fund,  
c/o Pickford's & Hay's Wharf Shipping  
and Forwarding Company, Ltd.,  
New Hibernia Wharf,  
London Bridge, S.E.

With renewed expressions of my appreciation of the splendid work which the League of Nations Union has done,

and with cordial greetings to the members of the Union,  
Yours, &c.,

FRIDTJOF NANSEN,  
High Commissioner of the League of Nations  
for Refugees.

### INDIA AND THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In an article which appeared in the issue of HEADWAY for February, 1923, the following passage occurs:—(The Government of India) "further states that until China, Persia, and Turkey come into line (as regards the acceptance of the Hague Convention) it would be a useless sacrifice for India to cut down the production of opium to the amounts strictly necessary for legitimate purposes."

This is not the Government of India's contention. That Government has, in fact, restricted its exports of opium for many years to the amounts reasonably considered to be required for legitimate purposes; and, with effect from the 1st January, 1923, it does not permit the export from India of raw opium unless a certificate is produced, from the Government of the importing country, certifying that the opium is required for legitimate purposes.

It is, of course, obvious that the Convention can have but little practical value, in so far as the control over the traffic is raw opium is concerned, while approximately two-thirds of the world supply, outside the producing countries, is not subject to the control which the Convention provides for; but, while the Government of India have throughout laid emphasis on this aspect of the case, they have not for that reason refused to make the sacrifice which the Convention implicitly demands. That sacrifice has been made, though its utility is admittedly very questionable.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that India does not export, and never has exported, prepared opium.

With reference to the suggestion, which occurs in the article, that prepared opium, made from raw Indian opium, may be finding its way into China via Japan, I would point out that there seems to be no basis for this assumption.

China is undoubtedly producing opium in very large quantities—quantities which, on the minimum estimates hitherto made, are far in excess of the total production of India.

Further, prices in China have dropped to levels which render it economically impossible for opium derived from Indian sources to find a market there. Again, as already explained, no opium leaves India unless that opium is certified by a responsible Government to be required for legitimate purposes—and eventual export to China is clearly illegitimate. Lastly, Japan has for some time taken very little opium from India; she has, however, been obtaining very large supplies from Turkey and Persia, which countries have not put the Hague Convention into force.—Yours, &c.,

J. CAMPBELL,  
Representative of India on the Advisory  
Opium Committee of the League of Nations.

South Kensington.

### SIR JOHN JORDAN'S REPLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In his letter of the 6th inst. correcting certain errors in your issue for February, Mr. Campbell states that the Government of India "has, in fact, restricted its exports of opium for many years to the amounts reasonably considered to be required for legitimate purposes."

The word "legitimate" has acquired an elastic interpretation at Geneva and has been made to cover a multitude of sins, as a single example, for which Mr. Campbell himself is the authority, will serve to show. In an interesting calculation, he proved that the amounts of opium consumed per head in Macao, China, and India are as follow:—

Macao	..	..	..	2,352 grains
China	..	..	..	367 "
India	..	..	..	26 "

And now he assures us that the Indian export to Macao, on which these figures are based, is considered reasonable and legitimate!

The Government of India shelters itself under the certificate of the importing countries certifying that the

opium is required for legitimate purpose, while the importing countries say, in effect, that as long as opium is produced and not controlled at its source it will be smuggled and reach them illegitimately.

Mr. Campbell states that economically it is impossible for Indian opium to find a market in China. He forgets that well-to-do Chinese who have contracted the habit of smoking Indian opium, either in China itself or abroad, will pay almost any price for their favourite drug.

It is quite true, as Mr. Campbell says, that China is producing opium in very large quantities. But China can retort that she is only following foreign example. The amount of opium which India furnishes for consumption by Chinese settlers in the Far Eastern possessions of European Powers is, according to Mr. Campbell's own showing, far greater *per capita* than what China produces for the use of her home-staying population. The Government of India and the Governments of their possessions may be left to apportion the responsibility for this state of things between them as they think best.—Yours, &c.,

White Gate, Portinscale Road,  
S.W.15.

J. N. JORDAN.

### THE LESSON OF THE GREAT WAR.

Mr. J. Tempest, of Colne, Lancs, sends us a description of an elementary school textbook entitled "For Our France," which he has received from Paris. The book is intended to be a children's history of the Great War and its main object appears to instil the hatred of Germany into the minds of French children. For example, Lesson 34, on the dangers of intemperance, gives a caricature of a German peeping into a cabaret and points the moral that "Drink was the ally of Germany." Lesson 47 makes the Kaiser and the Crown Prince ogres in an adaptation of Hop o' my Thumb. Lesson 20 is based on the murder of a German sentinel by two French soldiers, and the deed is made the text of a composition. The martyrdom of Nurse Cavell forms the basis of another lesson. It is significant that out of 55 lessons no less than 11 are devoted to Alsace-Lorraine and none to the devastated provinces of France.

But perhaps the most significant part of the book is what it omits. The final lesson gives a detailed description of the "French peace"—the Treaty of Versailles. But the very name of the League of Nations is omitted!

## The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

A small League of Nations lies upon my table in the shape of books of which I want to tell you, a Swedish professor and an Italian statesman on Europe, Englishmen on France and Canada, as well as an American on nothing smaller than the world, and that a warless world. I know that you have not a great deal of time to spend on reading, and that your reading is largely your recreation; I will therefore begin with what is likely to interest you most without making too great a demand upon your evening brain.

First of all, then, there is Signor Nitti's *Decadence of Europe* (T. Fisher Unwin, 10s.). The most cheering feature in his book is his unstinted praise of our own country; to him Great Britain shines as the one bright spot in Europe. We all like being praised, especially when praise is rare, and we like Signor Nitti on that account. This, of course, is not his main object in writing, for, though the book has as its sub-title "The Paths of Reconstruction," he is mainly occupied with the folly of Versailles, the iniquity of France, the misery of Germany, and, above all, with the appalling extravagance of the armies of occupation and the various Reparation Commissions. However much I am inclined to agree with his thesis, I think that he spoils his case

by unnecessary emphasis and that some of his figures may be open to question. To him even "the League of Nations, as at present constituted, is an absurdity and has no moral prestige or even any credit." When you read this, you may wonder whether his very praise of Britain does not fall under suspicion. He writes in so high a key throughout, that if he dictated his pages to a typist his throat must have been sore long before the end. If you skipped the preface, you might say that Signor Nitti depicted only unrelieved gloom, "a dark night," as he describes it, "of prejudice, of greed and of hate"; happily he proceeds to qualify this statement by the redeeming words which close his preface, that "in every country the forces of life are beginning to make themselves more freely felt," and among these forces we, if not he, may place the League. Since authors, I believe, write their prefaces last of all, his second thoughts are perhaps his truest.

A much smaller, but more valuable, book is Mr. R. H. Soltau's *French Parties and Politics*, published by Humphrey Milford at half-a-crown. It is exactly the book you want at this moment to help you to understand the working of the French political mind, which is so often a puzzle. It will not take you long to read its eighty pages, but when you have read it, you will constantly have it in your mind and begin to see some reasons for the apparent madness in French methods. The first chapter deals with the constitution and explains why and where the French Cabinet is at times so weak and at times so strong, why recent French history has had such kaleidoscopic successions of premiers while the general policy may remain the same, and what is the real influence of the president in government. The second half of the book is taken up with a very clear exposition of the various political parties in the last twenty years, and, what is even more important, their numerous variegated and interlacing groups; Royalists, Radicals, Syndicalists, Socialists, the Clericals and the National Block all fit into the picture; religion, industry and foreign affairs, especially Franco-German relations, are seen to be the three continuously dominating factors of French politics. If you can't afford to buy any other book this month, you ought to spend your last half-crown on this.

We really seem to be getting back to the era of cheap books; at least that is my impression after looking at two delightful little volumes at two shillings each, cloth bound, gilt backs and red bookmarkers included. These are *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy* (Humphrey Milford), which Professor Berriedale Keith has edited with an admirable introduction. I propose to write more about this in my next letter.

Of quite another character is Sidney Gulick's *Christian Crusade for a Warless World*, which is published by the Macmillan Company of New York. If your local bookseller is enterprising, he will have no difficulty in getting it for you. Mr. Gulick is one of the secretaries of the Federal Council of the Churches in America, and speaks for twenty million American Christians. His title may seem utopian, but it is certainly true that if Christian opinion were organised, it is potentially strong enough to stop all wars. The American Churches as a whole are keen in their support of the League, and this book shows clearly where the difficulties of the United States lie and also how far the League is already fulfilling the best aspirations of the American people. Building up his ideals on immutable moral laws, Mr. Gulick is not vague but constructive, and you will find much that is very stimulating in what he has to say on such subjects as the barriers of colour, race and creed, Christian patriotism, international arbitration and courts of justice and the whole question of the reduction of armaments. His suggestions to his own people for an international budget of goodwill, for war pensions, education, hospitals and general relief in connection

with the remission of debts are well worth considering, even if they sound impracticable in the present temper of the world.

You will remember meeting Mr. Basil Matthews, the editor of "Outward Bound," when you were last in town. In addition to all his other services, he has placed us in his debt for a pamphlet on *The Dope Menace and the League of Nations*, which is one of the best the Union has ever published. As you might expect, it is extremely readable. His facts are convincing, and the most exacting critic could not complain that, as facts often are, these are dry. As you know, no one is a greater authority on the subject, and while he recognises the value of the League's work, he is perfectly right in saying that the vital and determining factor in putting an end to this evil is a strong and persistent pressure of informed and determined public opinion. You might do much worse than use some of your surplus branch funds in distributing a supply of this pamphlet among your leading people in Ellenewton.

Lastly, my dear Punch, are two big books, *The Continental System*, by Professor Heckscher, of Stockholm, and *The Constitution of Canada*, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, of Toronto, both published by the Oxford University Press at 10s. 6d. and 25s. respectively. They are probably too big for your shelves, but you would do well to recommend them for your public library. (By the way, have you ever thought of starting a small lending library for your branch? It would be well worth doing, if you could manage it.) The first deals with what is known as "the Continental system," a measure devised to crush an enemy by economic means and at the same time to build up the commercial prosperity of your own country. The period covered is that of the Napoleonic wars, but it is evident that the subject has a very direct relation to the history of our own day. Professor Kennedy's book should be read in connection with Dr. Rowell's, of which I told you last month. I have only room to call your attention to one fact in it. He points out that while Canada's membership of the League not only defines and establishes her place in the Empire and makes her eligible for a seat on the Council, it also imposes upon her new obligations towards the rest of the world. That is why the Liberal Party in Canada shared the American objection to Article X. of the Covenant, and why perhaps Canada is also proposing its revision.—

Yours,  
THE SHOPMAN.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

The reports from Australia on the results of the visits of Captain Thomas and Mr. Wheeler Bennett are most encouraging. The presence of the former in Victoria has proved, according to the Secretary, most stimulating to the Branch. There was no time to arrange a meeting, but interviews were secured by Captain Thomas with the daily papers and an article by him on the League of Nations and the Near East was published. In Adelaide, Melbourne, Tasmania and Sydney, Captain Thomas was enthusiastically received.

In Queensland interest in the League is increasing. December 24 was kept as League of Nations Sunday, and a useful pamphlet on the aims and achievements of the League was circulated to all clergymen of all denominations throughout the State.

The welcome news reaches us of the formation of a Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union at Hobart.

We learn from the Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society that the rumours in regard to Canada taking part in the forthcoming Pan-American Congress appear to be baseless. Nor is there any evidence of much

support for the motion to be introduced by a Quebec member of the House of Commons that Canada should withdraw from the League. There is no question of the general support of the ideals and work of the League by the two Assembly representatives—Mr. Fielding and Mr. Lapointe.

League of Nations Societies in France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and the German Society in Czechoslovakia, have passed resolutions in favour of calling on the Council of the League to intervene in the question of inter-allied debts and reparations.

We have just learned of the formation of an Anglo-Austrian Society, whose object is to further in every respect the relations between Great Britain and Austria in matters of art, science, commerce, education, social welfare, or any other field of activity. Any person taking an interest in Anglo-Austrian relations may become a member of the Society upon recommendation by two members of the Council.

All members of the Union are welcome to join the Society. Applications should be made to the Secretary: Mr. Victor Beigel, 18, Howley Place, W.2.

League of Nations Union.  
Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

1st November, 1918	3,217
1st November, 1920	49,858
1st November, 1921	133,649
1st November, 1922	212,959
17th February, 1923	246,357

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

Anglesey	1 member per every 23 of population.
Merionethshire	26 "
Westmorland	33 "

Branches.

On February 17th the number of Branches was 1,199, together with 67 Junior Branches and 216 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

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

Barnoldswick, Wesleyan Methodist Church; Bath, Mothers' Union, Combe Down; Batley, Batley Co-operative Society; Belfast, Central Presbyterian Association; Belfast, Duncairn Presbyterian Church; Brentwood, Brentwood Congregational Church; Bridport, The Secondary School; Bridport, Parish Church Parochial Church Council; Brighton, Hove Presbyterian Church; Brighton, The Church of the Good Shepherd; Brighton, The Three Ships Society (Clifton Road Congregational Church); Brighton, United Methodist Church; East Finchley, Wesleyan Church; West Hampstead, Emmanuel Church Parochial Council; Hampton Hill, Congregational Church; Harrogate, St. Peter's Church Council; Harrogate, St. Mary's Church Council; Harrogate, Bilton Congregational Church; Haswell (Co. Durham), Primitive Methodist Sisterhood; Idle, Congregational Church Men's Class; Idle, Wrose Hill Mission Church; Idle, Parish Church Men's Institute; Kettering, Men's and Women's Own; Leeds, Beeston Hill Baptist Church; Leeds, Beeston Hill Wesley Guild; Leeds, Beeston Hill Wesleyan Church; Leeds, Prospect United Methodist Church; Liverpool, Claughton Road United Methodist Church; Malmesbury, Malmesbury and District Free Church Council; Manchester, Broughton Park Congregational Church; Manchester, Hyde Road United Methodist Church; Manchester, Men's Open Forum, Weaste Congregational Church; Portsmouth, Buckland Congregational Church, Senior Bible Classes; Ryton-on-Tyne, British Women's Temperance Association (Ryton Branch); Southend-on-Sea, The Church of St. Michael and All Angels; Southport, Trinity Wesleyan Church; St. Neots, Parish Church; South

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December 31st, 1922

Authorised Capital	£45,200,000
Subscribed Capital	38,117,103
<b>LIABILITIES</b>	
Paid-up Capital	10,860,852
Reserve Fund	10,860,852
Current Deposit & other Accounts (including Profit Balance)	355,928,411
Acceptances and Engagements	25,862,341

<b>ASSETS</b>	
Coin, Notes & Balances with Bank of England	54,254,534
Balances with and Cheques in course of Collection on other Banks in Great Britain and Ireland	13,548,935
Money at Call and Short Notice	17,187,013
Investments	55,454,831
Bills Discounted	46,066,631
Advances to Customers & other Accounts	182,307,521
Liabilities of Customers for Acceptances & Engagements	25,862,341
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FLEETWAY PRESS, Ltd., 3-9, Dane St. Holborn, W.C.1.



Shields, St. Aidan's Church of England; Wigan, King Street Baptist Church; Wigan, King Street United Methodist Church.

*Amendment.*—Kettering, London Road Congregational Church Men and Women's Own, reported last month, should read: Kettering, London Road Congregational Church.

#### Oxford International Assembly.

During the past term the Oxford International Assembly, on which 41 countries are now represented, took steps to intensify and widen the scope of its activities. The Publicity Secretary proposed that the Committee for Foreign Relations should endeavour as far as possible to get into touch with the students of other universities, in England and abroad, with a view to securing a closer intellectual co-operation and the founding of branches of the Assembly wherever possible. The Assembly unanimously approved of this scheme, and some Delegates offered their services in this connection. Several important new Committees were formed for the discussion and study of international problems, amongst which is one on Minorities, which is shortly to present its report.

On February 7, at the twelfth session of the Assembly, an important debate on disarmament was held, at which the Report of the Select Committee on Disarmament was presented, and Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice and General Mola, formerly Italian Military Attaché in London, spoke. The resolution declared that disarmament on land should apply to the whole of the land forces designed for defence against external attack; that the States should sign a Treaty providing that if any were attacked the others would go to its assistance, the power of ordering such assistance to rest with the Council of the League of Nations; that naval disarmament on the lines of the Washington Treaty should be universally applied; and that the private manufacture of armaments should be curtailed, a conference being called for this purpose.

Representatives of a large number of nations took part in the debate, and the resolution was finally carried by a two-thirds majority.

#### Acting for the League.

A successful performance of "Two Roses," a comedy by James Albery, was given at Wanstead on February 8, the proceeds being devoted to the League of Nations Union. Between 700 and 800 people were present. During the interval Mr. W. P. Forbes, J.P., made an admirable appeal on behalf of the League, and the play was preceded by some lines specially written by Mr. A. G. Kidd, entitled "A Plea for the League," delivered by Mr. Reginald Thomas. This poem would make an excellent prologue for entertainments of this kind, and we commend it to the Secretaries of other Branches. Copies may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

#### Boys' Brigade Supports the League.

The Boys' Brigade has 1,085 bible classes in this country, and at every one of them the aims and work of the League were discussed on February 4, which was observed as League of Nations Sunday.

#### A Striking Postcard.

The Lewes Branch has produced a useful postcard containing quotations from the King, Lord Balfour, Dr. Nansen and Lord Grey, as well as the names of the President and officers of the Branch. Room for correspondence is left on the address side.

#### Week-end Meetings at St. Anne's-on-the-Sea.

A special week-end programme was arranged for February 3, 4 and 5, when addresses were given by Mr. Frederick Whelen and Major Molloy, D.S.O., M.P., and music was rendered by the Orpheus Glee Party. Following a public meeting on Saturday night, special Sunday services were held at all the local churches, and a Young People's Meeting in the afternoon. On Monday, February 5, Mr. Whelen addressed the pupils of the private schools at the Ashton Pavilion at 11 o'clock, and the King Edward VII. school at noon.

#### Teachers' Competition.

Essay competitions for children are no novelty, but

the Castle Cary Branch has been enterprising enough to start a competition for teachers on "How to Interest Children in the League of Nations."

#### News from Wales.

Owing to pressure on our space we have been obliged to hold over the Welsh report. As usual, it is a record of great activity and zeal.

#### A Correction.

The Secretary of the Congleton Branch informs us that the object for which the money referred to in our last issue was raised was not for the League of Nations Union.

#### Glasgow Forges Ahead.

In Glasgow and the West of Scotland the League of Nations Union has made great progress during the past year. At the annual meeting of the branch, held in January last, it was reported that during the year the membership had been increased by 1,885, whilst 160 meetings had been held, the great majority of those being addressed by the local Panel of speakers. Captain W. E. Elliot, M.C., M.P., delivered a very instructive and inspiring address, taking as his subject "New Factors in World Politics."

In view of the developments which have taken place and the formation of branches of the Union in various centres, it was decided to form a Glasgow and West of Scotland District of the Union. In January last, close on 500 new members were enrolled, so it will be seen that the Glasgow and West of Scotland district is determined to leave no stone unturned to ensure the success of this great movement.

#### From the Field.

Encouraging reports have been received from Branches of their work during the past year, notably from some of the smaller Branches. The Princes Risborough Branch, which has been in existence one year, now has 120 members, quite a good record for a village Branch. The Redcliffe Branch, by permission of the Vicar, gives League information to visitors by means of a notice board in the church. The Thirsk Branch has held meetings addressed by Admiral Hope, Sir John Barran, Lord Ednam and the Bishop of Ripon. The Bellingham Branch, which has just started, is fortunate in having the help of Mr. Ellison, a retired railway signalman, who is giving all his time to work for the League.

The Folkestone Branch attributes the very creditable size of its meeting on January 31, at which Mr. Basil Mathews, Editor of "Outward Bound," and Viscount Cranborne spoke, to the fact that over 400 reserved tickets were circulated containing, in addition to the details of the meeting, a few particulars about the speakers. Almost every one of these tickets was used.

An excellent attendance at a meeting at Thundersley on February 8 reflected credit on the members of the Branch, many of whom had to walk two or three miles across field and swamp and through pouring rain to reach the meeting. Nearly all the residents in the village are now members of the Branch, and the energetic secretary is extending her activities to neighbouring villages.

#### Lectures by Froken Forchhammer.

Froken Henni Forchhammer will be in England during June, and will be glad to give a series of lectures similar to those given by her last June. Terms: Fee of 2 guineas, plus travelling expenses and the provision of necessary hospitality.

Branch secretaries desirous of availing themselves of the opportunity to hear Froken Forchhammer should make early application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

#### New Zealand Branch.

The Secretary of the Auckland (New Zealand) Branch is anxious to get into touch with Branch Secretaries at home with a view to exchanging ideas. Letters should be addressed to R. Beaton, Esq., Secretary, Auckland Branch League of Nations Union, University College, Auckland, N.Z.

#### Well done, Grange-over-Sands!

No less than £150 was realised at an American Fair and

# NEW WORLDS FOR OLD.

## WHERE FRIENDS ARE WORKING.

In AUSTRIA, POLAND and RUSSIA the Friends' Relief Committee has its Missions, working often under grave difficulties, to bring order out of chaos, to bring a new chance of life to those who have been overwhelmed in the problems of post-war tragedy. The Committee can continue its help only so long as generous subscribers make it possible to succour these victims of circumstance. Continue your help to those who believe it possible to create

## New Worlds For Old.

The Friends' Relief Committee Film of their work in Austria, Poland and Russia, taking about 50 minutes to show, and stressing the need as well as the reconstructive nature of their work, is available for use. A "Flam" copy, suitable for Cinemas, or a "Non-Flam" copy for rooms or halls fitted with electric light, may be obtained on application to the Publicity Manager as under.

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

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

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

concert organised by the Grange-over-Sands Branch in response to Lord Robert Cecil's appeal on behalf of the funds of the Union. The walls of Victoria Hall, in which the Fair was held, were adorned with striking appeals and mottoes bearing on the work of the League, and the flags of the 52 Member States of the League were hung across the main street of the town in three lines of streamers. In the evening a successful concert was held in the hall.

#### A Pledge to Serve the League.

At the close of a meeting of 200 women students of the Manchester Municipal Day Training College for Teachers, addressed by Mr. Whelen on February 8, the whole audience rose in their places and at the suggestion of the Chairman held up their right hands and recited the following pledge:

"I hereby pledge myself to do my best personally and professionally to further the interests of the League of Nations."

#### Summer Schools.

There is no lessening in the popularity of our Summer Schools. Applications for this summer are coming in daily. The following are particulars as yet available of the different schools:—

##### OXFORD, JULY 23-30.—BALLIOL COLLEGE.

There will be accommodation for 100 men. Women students will be accommodated in sets of rooms near the College for bed and breakfast; other meals will be taken in the College. Members should arrive in time for dinner at 7 p.m. at Balliol College, on Monday, July 23, and will depart after lunch on Monday, July 30.

There will be courses of lectures on the League by Professor Gilbert Murray and a course on the "History of the International Relations" by Mr. C. Delisle Burns. Professor Ruysen, Secretary of the Federation of Voluntary Societies, will be present during the week and will speak on the efforts being made in other countries to promote the cause of the League. Lord Finlay, the British judge on the Permanent Court of International Justice, has been invited to lecture on the work of the Court. Lectures on other aspects of the League's activities will also be given by experts. Special meetings will be held for Branch Secretaries of the Union, and there will be opportunities for discussing the various activities of the Union's work, political, educational, religious, and the rest, with responsible officers of the Union.

Optional excursions (for which small extra charges will be made) will take place on the river by steamer, and through the Cotswolds by motor. Guides will take members over the Oxford Colleges.

The fee for accommodation and lectures will be 4½ guineas. Members will make their own arrangements for travelling to Oxford, but provision will be made for collection and delivery of luggage, and special labels will be issued.

Rooms will be allotted in order of application, which should be made as soon as possible, and a deposit of 10s. must accompany each application. Admission to Lectures only, one guinea.

A detailed programme and time-table of the Oxford lectures can be had on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

##### GENEVA.

The party will leave London on Friday evening, August 3, and arrive in Geneva on Saturday evening, August 4. The following day, Sunday, will probably be spent on the lake, and the Summer School will begin in earnest on Monday morning, August 6. The courses of lectures will end on Friday, August 10, and those members of the party who must return to London that week will leave Geneva on Friday evening, August 10, and be back in London on Saturday, August 11.

For those who can remain in Geneva for the second week-end excursions will be arranged to the mountains around Geneva, including Chamonix and the Jura. Lectures will be given in the Secretariat and in the Hall in which the Assembly meets. Visits of inspection will be paid to the offices of the Secretariat and to the International Labour Office.

The School is being held in close co-operation with the Secretariat and the Labour Office, and every facility will be given for studying the work of both departments, and meeting

the personnel. Receptions will be given by these departments to the members of the School.

The fee will be twelve guineas for those leaving Geneva on Friday, August 13. The inclusive fee for those remaining until the Monday evening, August 13, and taking the three major excursions will be announced later. The twelve guinea fee includes railway travelling (second-class all the way), conveyance across Paris, and accommodation in Geneva in hotels or pensions in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat of the League. Accommodation at Geneva will consist of bed, Continental breakfast, luncheon and dinner; and will commence on arrival at Geneva.

Early application should be made, and a deposit of £1 sent with each application.

Hand luggage only should be taken. Special labels will be provided. Each member of the party will be responsible for his or her own luggage, and for the customary gratuities.

Passports are required, and can be obtained direct on application, from the Passport Office, 1, Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1. Visas not necessary.

##### ASSEMBLY TOUR TO GENEVA.

Arrangements have also been made and are almost complete for a party to visit Geneva during the first fortnight of the Assembly's meeting in September. A further announcement will be made in our next number.

##### HEIDELBERG.

The proposed summer school at Heidelberg seems to make the most popular appeal of all. If the international situation permits, the school will last 10 days, commencing August 17. The fee is not yet fixed, but will be at the lowest possible scale.

##### VIENNA.

The Annual Assembly of the Federation of League of Nations Voluntary Societies is being held at Vienna at Whitsun. Arrangements are being made for a tour to Vienna at this time, similar to the tour to Prague last year. The numbers will be strictly limited, and early application should be made.

#### Co-operation in the Churches.

A working arrangement has been entered into between the Union and the World Alliance for promoting international friendship through the Churches to secure closer co-operation and avoid overlapping and waste of effort. The Executive Committee of the Union has agreed to suspend its rule of Corporate Membership of religious bodies organised for worship in favour of the system of "Affiliated Congregations" operated by the World Alliance. The World Alliance, on the other hand, has recorded its desire to further the efforts of the Union to increase individual membership of the Union among the individual members of Christian congregations. For the future, therefore, all congregations who wish to express corporately their determination to affirm their belief in the cause of international peace and goodwill should apply to the Secretary of the World Alliance, 4, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1. The system of "Affiliated Congregations" provides for an annual act of faith as undertaken by many churches on World Peace Sunday. This new arrangement does not affect the corporate membership of any other bodies, such as local Free Church and Trade Union Council, Red Triangle Clubs, &c., which are not organised for religious worship.

#### League Inset for Parish Magazines.

The Union's proposal to issue an inset for insertion in church and chapel magazines in May and November has met with the success expected. Applications for over 50,000 copies have already been received and more are coming in. The inset will be of four pages, and will, it is hoped, contain illustrations. It will deal in a simple way with the work of the League and the Union especially as it affects the Churches. The inset will fit church or chapel magazines of quarto size, and will be issued free to clergy and ministers of all denominations who apply before March 10 on the condition that they will send to the Union the name and address of their local printer and that they will undertake to have it stitched in the body of the magazine.

#### Public Meetings.

Over 300 public meetings were organised by Headquarters for the month of February, in addition to those arranged by Branches. Up to the time of going to press 150 meetings have been arranged by Headquarters for the month of March. Meetings are being held at:—London (Essex Hall), Northampton, Brighouse, Newport (Mon.), Enfield, Westminster, Hemel Hempstead, Guildford, Cambridge, Hampstead, Berkhamstead, Woking, Wolverhampton, Blackheath, Hull, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Fulham, Cardiff, Letchworth.

Amongst the speakers are:—The Rt. Hon. the Lord Parmoor, Lady Victor Horsley, Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Sir George Paish, Professor Gilbert Murray, V. L. McEntee, Esq., M.P., the Rt. Hon. A. C. McCurdy, M.P., Mrs. Henry Fawcett, the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, Professor Pringle, Captain F. Evans, M.P., J. Hope Simpson, Esq., M.P., F. S. Marvin, Esq., Lt.-Colonel D. Borden Turner, Monsieur F. Allemes, Neville Dixey, Esq., Miss V. Brittain, Miss Winifred Holtby, Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, E. Everitt Reid, Esq., and Major W. E. Gladstone Murray.

#### Discussion Group at Hampstead.

As an outcome of the Study Circles held at Hampstead, Discussion Groups have now been started on different League subjects. Meetings for this purpose are to be held in different localities of the Branch.

#### Branch Annual Meeting.

Branch Secretaries are reminded that, according to the Rules of the Union, the Annual General Meeting of the Branch should be held before the end of March.

#### Enquiries.

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

#### Renew Your Subscriptions.

Annual subscriptions become renewable on the first day of the month in which the subscription was paid for the year 1921 or 1922. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY.

#### To Branch Secretaries.

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

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

# Startling Facts!

There are 115,000 Orphans now being cared for in safety zones. The plight of over

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of unprecedented complications.

A Maternity Hospital with 100 beds has been opened at Salonica.

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Please help in this terrible burden.

## Christian Refugee Fund also Armenian Massacre Relief.

At the Office of Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society,

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Hon. Relief Commissioner.

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¶ Not long ago the Bishop of Lichfield declared that "it is the business of the whole Church to give the whole Bible to the whole world." Now this particular business can be carried out most efficiently and economically through an organization devoted to the special purpose. The Bible Society confines itself to this sole business, which it conducts in thoroughly business-like fashion. Its operations are controlled by a committee of thirty-six laymen. They are men of faith and missionary enthusiasm; they are also merchants or men of affairs, with wide experience in administration at home and abroad. They never allow the Society to fall into debt. But for carrying on its world-wide mission they have to depend—as the Society has always depended—on free gifts which come year by year from friends and lovers of God's Book.

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¶ The Archbishop of Canterbury writes: "It is of the very essence of the Society's life that it should place copies of the Holy Scriptures in different languages in the hands of even the poorest. . . . The only remedy is an appeal for further aid from those who believe with us in the power of the Bible to touch the hearts of men."

Send a gift to the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 146, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

**REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY.** Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d., Cardigan Coats, 25s. 6d., Ladies' Hose, 8s. 6d. per pair; Yarn per Head (about 8 ozs.) in 2 ply White; 7s., Grey, 7s., Dark Brown, 7s., Fawn, 8s., Moorit, 8s. Fair Isle coloured Yarn, in 2 ply Yellow, Blue, Red and Green, 10s. per Head. Jumpers with Fair Isle border, 35s. to 50s.; Allover Fair Isle Jumpers, £5 10s. Shetland Tweed, 58 ins. wide, 17s. 6d. per yard. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, Stromness, Orkney.

### ENGLAND AND PALESTINE.

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## The Hand That Inscribes Debt Prescribes War.

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