

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

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THE MONTH.

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A Saying of the Month.

"His Worship the Mayor [of Rochester] . . . having regard to the large number of leagues of all sorts which have been started . . . regrets that he cannot see his way to take any action in the matter" [of the League of Nations].

MAKE your armies as strong as you will, you will never get security. You will merely incite your enemies to create bigger armies against you." The only hope for the world lies in a real policy of peace based on some such plan as that of the League of Nations. This was the burden of Lord Robert Cecil's eloquent and convincing reply to the alarmist speech of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, for whom the only lesson to be drawn from the terrible years 1914-18 is the discredited maxim, "If you want peace, prepare for war." As we have repeatedly urged, peace will be attained only by an all-round limitation of armaments, such limitation to be the basis and the condition of entry into a general and several European pact. On another page we publish correspondence which has taken place between Lord Robert Cecil, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, and the Prime Minister on this subject. It will be noticed that Mr. Lloyd George warmly approved of the Union's efforts for the reduction of armaments, but held that the proposed guarantee to France rested on special and exceptional ground.

The Tripartite Pact suggested at the Peace Conference does, of course, differ—in that the obligation was intended to be shared by America—from the Anglo-French and Anglo-Belgian Pacts, which figure in discussion to-day. These latter are open to the serious objection that they represent a reversion to the system of partial alliances which it was one of the objects of the Covenant to put an end to, and it is of supreme importance that any guarantee given to France and Belgium should be part of a general defensive agreement based on the reduction of armaments. A "pact of non-aggression," it is stated, is to be proposed by Mr. Lloyd George at Genoa. It is incumbent on supporters of the League of Nations to press that the League be made the pivot of any such scheme, and the reduction of armaments its necessary pre-condition. Meanwhile, advocates of disarmament will rejoice to learn that Lord Robert Cecil and Signor Nitti are among the seven new members who have been added to the Temporary Mixed Commission for the reduction of armaments. Without question the Genoa Pact, whatever form it may take, will fail to achieve the result which its creator desires if its principles are inconsistent with the policy of the League of Nations.

* * * *

The same observation might be applied with truth to the Genoa Conference as a whole. On another page we show how the foundations of Genoa were laid two years ago by the League of Nations at Brussels. The Cannes resolutions of January 6th merely reaffirm the general principles laid down at Brussels with special reference to Russia, trade with that country being a *sine qua non* of the economic and financial recovery of Europe. At this early stage of the proceedings of the Conference forecasts of its probable outcome

would almost certainly be mistaken, and we shall not attempt to don the prophet's mantle. All that can usefully be deduced from the present situation is the paramount necessity for including both Germany and Russia in the League of Nations at the very earliest opportunity. One aspect of the Conference which deserves notice is the way in which League procedure has proved itself the inevitable choice. The plenary session on April 10th resolved itself into four Commissions, just as does the Assembly of the League. The Commissions appointed sub-commissions, each of which, on the exact model of the League Council, consists of the Great Powers *ex-officio* and a few elected lesser Powers. The only difference is that seven, instead of four, Great Powers are represented on each Commission, Belgium, as one of the nations represented at Cannes, reckoning as a Great Power, and Germany and Russia taking their place as well.*

Apart from Russia, one of the most urgent problems before the Conference is the abolition of tariff barriers. As long ago as March 8th, 1920, the Supreme Council issued a declaration in favour of the unrestricted interchange of commodities between the States which had been created or enlarged as a result of the war. This declaration was further emphasised by the resolutions of the League Financial and Economic Conference at Brussels in September, 1920, but Members of the League have failed to carry out these resolutions either in the letter or the spirit. The League of Nations Union has made a pertinent appeal to the British Government to urge its representatives at Genoa to initiate and support definite practical measures to secure the fulfilment of the League policy in the matter of the tariff barriers at present existing between members of the League and constituting a grave menace to the economic rehabilitation of the world. An urgent appeal for the abolition of trade restrictions has also been sent to the Genoa Conference by an imposing list of some 800 prominent bankers, merchants, and others, representing every section of finance, shipping trade, and industry in the United Kingdom.

A fact of interest to supporters of the League of Nations emerges in connection with the British loan of 10 million pounds to Czecho-Slovakia. The Bill, dealing with this and other foreign loans, which is now going through the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly, provides for the appointment of a controller by the League if such a step should be considered advisable in the interests of the underwriters on the British, American, and Dutch markets. At the same time we learn that Congress has adopted a resolution releasing America's liens on Austria for twenty-five years, instead of twenty as in the case of other Powers, and on even more generous terms. This means that the long-delayed League of Nations credits scheme can at last become operative in regard to Austria.

The Angora, Constantinople, and Greek Governments have accepted the Allies' armistice proposals. The first step has therefore been taken towards putting into effect the policy agreed upon in Paris by Lord Curzon, M. Poincaré, and Signor Schanzer as a reasonable basis of peace in the Near East. The

* Since the above was written the Conference has unfortunately developed on the lines of the Supreme Council rather than on those of the League—with correspondingly disastrous results.

Allied decisions were reached after preliminary consultation with the representatives both of Turkey and of Greece, and they embody a compromise which meets as far as may be the legitimate claims of both parties and satisfies the demands of justice and the aspirations of our own Moslem fellow-subjects.



The above map shows the territory in Anatolia and Thrace which is to be restored to Turkey under the new Paris Agreement.

The Paris decisions impose upon the League of Nations certain important duties in regard to the protection of minorities and the establishment of an Armenian National Home. In Europe the minorities consist in the main of Turks, in Asia of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and in the more easterly portions, Assyrian Christians. It is proposed to extend to these minorities all the guarantees in the European treaties, and (notably for those in Asia Minor) the additional guarantees contained in the Treaty of Sevres, together with any fresh guarantees which circumstances demand. It is noteworthy that Lord Curzon, speaking in the House of Lords on March 30th, said that the League was "the most effective instrument and in some cases the only instrument" for carrying out the new policy which he outlined. The League will be asked to appoint special commissioners for the supervision of the minority clauses in Europe and Asia, who will pay periodical visits to the areas concerned, and report annually to the Assembly of the League.

The questions of an Armenian National Home is one that will require most careful consideration, Armenians being distributed at present in Erivan, Northern Syria (whither they have fled from Cilicia after the French evacuation), Greece, Russia, Smyrna, and Constantinople. Meanwhile, the first and most urgent task before the League is to take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of massacres during the transitional period which must intervene before the proposed settlement in the Near East is complete. After the evacuation of Smyrna, for instance, by the Greek forces, as Lord Curzon pointed out, special guarantees will be required for the safety of the population. To prepare for this the Council of the League should be summoned immediately, and we cannot agree with Mr. Cecil

Hartsworth that the acceptance of the Allied peace proposals must precede preliminary action by the League. This savours too much of shutting the stable door after the theft of the steed. Already reports are current of the burning of Turkish villagers in mosques in territory occupied by the Greeks near Aidam. There is literally not one moment to be lost.

The Near East Agreement makes no mention of the question of mandates, which form an important section of the apparently superseded Treaty of Sevres. The League of Nations Union has sent a resolution to the British Government drawing its attention to this important omission, and urging it to press for provisional recognition of the "A" mandates as drafted until such time as the various agreements in the Near East are embodied in a Treaty. In Palestine and Mesopotamia, Mr. Chamberlain has stated that the British Government are, as a matter of fact, as requested by the Council of the League last October, acting on the principle that the administration of these territories must be in the spirit of the draft mandates.

The recently published Decree of the Saar Basin Governing Commission endorsed by the Council of the League goes some way, but by no means the whole way, to meet the objections which we voiced last month to the present regime in the Saar. The constitution of an Advisory Council composed of representatives elected by the whole population of the territory, and the establishment of a Technical Committee selected from among the most competent inhabitants of the territory, to assist the Governing Commission in economic, administrative, and financial matters, are steps in the right direction. But, as we pointed out last month, it is the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which stand in the way of complete justice. Given the terms of the Treaty, it is impossible to avoid confining the activities of the Advisory Council to those matters only on which consultation of the inhabitants of the Saar territory is permitted, for example, modifications of existing laws, imposition of new taxes, hours of labour. The functions of a real Saar Parliament, free to discuss any and every decision of the Governing Commission are by the terms of the Treaty expressly ruled out.

The matter of the Chairman of the Governing Commission was apparently not considered by the League Council at its recent session, although the retention of M. Rault is one of the chief grievances of the Saar inhabitants. What the Council did decide, however, was that the Governing Commission should be guaranteed a certain measure of permanence as regards the renewal of their term of office. The Peace Treaty stipulates explicitly that the members of the Governing Commission are appointed for one year only, and that their term of office may be renewed. What the Council has done is to adopt a resolution which, while keeping in line with the Treaty stipulations, practically guarantees to the existing members of the Governing Commission that their term of office will be renewed for two years, that is, up to the beginning of 1925. With the general principle we have no quarrel, for efficient administration of the territory hardly appears compatible with an annual "General Post" on the part of the Governing Commission. But the retention of M. Rault for two more years, which appears likely to be the

practical result of the Council's resolutions, seems to us a highly unwise decision, and one likely to put the greatest stumbling block in the way of the peaceful administration of the territory.

Another matter that needs very careful consideration is the Governing Commission's definition of the term "Saar Inhabitant" in order that no loophole may be left by which large numbers of French nationals or other foreigners should, by obtaining political rights, become entitled to take part in the plebiscite of 1935. In June, 1921, the Governing Commission published a Decree giving equal rights to all persons resident in the Saar territory since 1918, and to a certain number of merchants and manufacturers resident since 1920. Paragraph 34 of the Annex to the Treaty of Versailles dealing with the Saar territory limits the right to vote in the plebiscite to persons over twenty resident in the territory at the time of the signature of the Treaty, but it is not impossible that, when the Council is called upon to fix the conditions of voting, the right to take part in the plebiscite may be claimed on behalf of everyone possessing political rights in the territory. It looks, however, as though the League Council were alive to this danger. A Memorandum from the Secretary-General to the Council suggests the appointment of an investigator to make proposals in regard to the measures to be taken for the preservation of the names of those who, according to the Treaty, are entitled to take part in the plebiscite.

Albanian affairs have occupied the League stage for over a year, but the final act has now been played. A minute investigation has been made by the impartial Commission appointed by the Assembly of the League last year, into the charges of the Jugo-Slav Government against the Albanians, and the results of this inquiry are now to hand. Owing to the full publicity with which the investigations were carried out, the report must provide a convincing reply to critics. The main facts that emerge are, first, that on both sides there is a genuine desire to respect the provisional neutral zone of demarcation, and, secondly, that the Serbian charges against the Albanians were greatly exaggerated. In some cases neutrality was violated by error or carelessness, but immediate action was taken to deal with such cases. In one village, containing thirty houses belonging to Mussulmans and twenty-three to Christians, the Jugo-Slav report had it that all the latter had been destroyed with the barns, and the church had been plundered. The League's Commission ascertained that eight houses had been destroyed, four belonging to Mussulmans by Jugo-Slavs, four belonging to Christians by the Albanians! The pot calling the kettle black with a vengeance! The church, by the way, was untouched and uninjured. The only theft was that of a stack of hay. In another village, in which, according to the Jugo-Slav report, all the best houses were totally destroyed, all houses sacked, and the harvest burnt or carried off, the only apparent damage which the Commission could discover was a hole in a ceiling, and a few trees cut down! In all these villages the inquiry was carried out publicly in the presence of the prefect of the district, the Albanian military commandant, the Serbian interpreter, and all the inhabitants, who had thus the opportunity of making any complaints to the Commission and the competent authorities.

GENOA.

AN article on the Genoa Conference written even a short time before its appearance in print is liable to be thrown sadly out of joint by intervening events. But there are certain facts about the European situation which the delegations at Genoa cannot alter whatever they do. They can only face them or refuse to face them.

The Conference was convened in order to deal with the perilous economic condition into which Europe has sunk. But it is a mistake to infer that its task was therefore primarily economic. There is an economic problem of very great difficulty to be solved, but the nature of the only true solution is not in doubt. As long ago as the autumn of 1920 the economic conference in Brussels unanimously drew up an economic policy, in which the various steps necessary to the economic salvation of Europe were outlined. Even before that date students of economics and practical financiers had become alive to the needs of the time. The Brussels Conference asserted that the world needed a real and assured peace; a drastic curtailment of expenditure on armaments; the general balancing of budgets and the cessation of currency inflation—ideals quite unattainable without peace and a considerable measure of disarmament; the restoration of freedom of trade; and certain special financial measures, such as the granting of credits to impoverished nations, which would act as a tonic to the production and exchange of goods.

The problem with which Europe is faced to-day is to translate into action principles already agreed upon. We still do not know whether the various Governments concerned will consent to do what is necessary, and to abandon certain elements in their policies which render the doing of it impossible. For instance, it is manifest that European trade can never approximate to its pre-war level so long as Russia, the greatest producer of raw materials on the continent, and Germany, the greatest industrial nation, are in one way or another incapacitated from playing their proper part in that trade. Nor can we disarm so long as we insist on treating Russia, who is herself equipped with a huge army, as a pariah, and on subjecting Germany to a permanent threat of invasion in order to force out of her at frequent intervals a reiteration of her willingness to perform the impossible in the matter of reparations. We are forced to make a choice between a policy that will permit of peace, disarmament, and trade, and a policy that will not; between reparations on a reasonable scale which it will be worth Germany's while to make an effort to pay in order to be rid of the burden, and reparations on a scale which she cannot pay and will not try to pay except under the constant threat of force; between the recognition of Soviet Russia and a system of military insurance against the hostility which any outlawed nation must feel against those who ostracise it.

So far as Germany is concerned the Genoa Conference was precluded by the limitations of its

agenda from dealing with the realities of the problem. The question of Russia has been in the foreground all the time, and we may reasonably expect that, either at Genoa or as a consequence of Genoa, she will be admitted into the comity of nations. The Cannes conditions, which she was asked to accept, are not, as some affect to believe, the pure gospel of capitalism, but very simple rules of common-sense which everyone, whatever his economic creed, must observe if he wishes to do business with his neighbour. As they were drawn up at Cannes there was nothing in them which need impede a settlement. At Genoa an attempt was made to add to them a system of capitulations for Russia, which no great nation can be expected to tolerate. Nor was it necessary, for Russia needs to trade, and the due observance of the Cannes conditions is therefore as much to her interest as to that of the nations that drew them up.

The importance of the fundamental choice before the Allies is emphasised by the conclusion of the Russo-German treaty. The circumstances of the announcement were unfortunate, in that they strengthened the arguments of the wreckers who build upon the permanent "truculence" of Germany and Russia. But the really surprising thing about it is that it did not come much earlier. At present it is only economic in its bearings, but it may easily develop into a full-blooded alliance later on if the Allies persist in their old policy towards Russia and Germany. They can do one of two things. They can come to terms with Russia and Germany and give to both the chance of a tolerable existence in a unified and peaceful world. In that case this treaty need be no more than one of many between Russia and the outside world. Or they can keep Russia and Germany out of the League, out of the general stream of trade, out, in short, of the life of the world. In that case Russia and Germany will be forced into a partnership of adversity, and Europe will again be divided into two hostile camps, with the grim consequences experience has taught us to expect.

Mr. Lloyd George's remarks to the 1,000 representatives of the world's press accredited to Geneva prove that he at least is alive to this danger. He was asked whether he considered that the work of the Conference should be continued by the League, and that Germany and Russia should become members of that body. In his reply, which may well become historic, the Prime Minister said: "Unless it is continued by some body the Conference will have to continue for ever, and I think the League of Nations is well equipped for the purpose indicated. A good deal of the work of the Genoa Conference can only be completed and developed through the agency of the League of Nations. I am looking forward to a very important part of our task being referred to the League of Nations for completion and execution. With regard to whether Russia or Germany should be members of the League, that organisation can never really ensure the peace of the world unless all the nations of the world are members of it, and you cannot have peace in Europe with more than half of Europe outside the combination which has been formed for the maintenance of peace."

TOLSTOY ON PATRIOTISM.*

BY PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

THIS astonishing piece of genius, 'Christianity and Patriotism,' as Mr. Edward Garnett says in the Introduction, "is scarcely known at all in England," and it is a public service not to have translated it again. It is a real spiritual adventure to read for the first time anything of Tolstoy's. There has been no religious teacher for centuries like him in power of expression and depth of concrete experience. What dazzling insight, for instance, this little book reveals! And yet how strangely it is intermingled with flashes of bewildering and benumbing blindness! Consider this first page, written in 1894 after the great celebrations of the Franco-Russian Alliance.

"And now, all at once, because two years ago a French squadron visited Cronstadt, and the officers of the squadron going ashore ate a great deal in various places, and drank many kinds of wine, listening to and uttering many foolish and lying words, and because in 1893 a similar Russian squadron visited Toulon, and the officers of the Russian squadron ate and drank a great deal in Paris, listening to and uttering still more lying and foolish words as they did so, it has come to pass that not only those men who ate, drank, and talked, but also all those who were present on the occasion, and even all those who were not present but merely heard of it or read of it in the newspapers, all these millions of Russians and Frenchmen suddenly imagine that they love one another in a special way—that is, that all Frenchmen love all Russians and all Russians all Frenchmen."

Then come descriptions of the things the Russians said and the Frenchman said, and the rich foods they ate and the alcoholic liquors they drank; and how many women and children were incidentally crushed to death by various crowds which assembled to express the admiration which the revolutionary republic felt for the orthodox empire and the orthodox empire for the revolutionary republic; and how "the French squadron made the Tsar a present of a golden book, in which, I believe, nothing was written, or, if there were, it was something no one wanted to know;" while "the commander of the Russian squadron, among other presents, received a plough made of aluminium and covered with flowers." Tolstoy goes on to describe the speeches expressing the universal desire of Frenchmen and Russians to preserve peace, combined with lessons in school-books teaching French children never to rest until they had recovered Alsace and Lorraine, and comes to the conclusion that what is wrong with the whole monstrous business is "that it is a lie, and a lie is never uttered and never acted for nothing." It is all got up by rich men who for their own foolish or wicked ends are determined on making war. And who is the victim of the lie?

"That victim is the everlastingly deceived working people—the people who with their blistered hands have built all those ships, and fortresses, and arsenals, and barracks, and cannons, and steamers, and harbours, and bridges, and all those palaces, halls, and platforms, and triumphal arches, and have printed all the newspapers, and pamphlets, and procured and brought all the pheasants and ortolans, and oysters, and wines, eaten and drunk by all those men who

* "Christianity and Patriotism," by L. N. Tolstoy. Translated by Constance Garnett. (Jonathan Cape. 5s.)

are fed, educated, and kept by them, and who, deceiving them, are preparing the most fearful calamities for them; it is always the same good-natured people who, showing their healthy white teeth as they smile, gape like children, naively delighted at the dressed-up admirals and presidents, at the flags waving above them, and at the fireworks, and at the playing bands; though before they have time to look about them, there will be neither admirals, nor presidents, nor flags, nor bands, but only the desolate wet plain, cold, hunger, misery—in front of them the slaughtering enemy, behind them the relentless government, blood, wounds, agonies, rotting corpses, and a senseless, useless death."

One wishes that the man who could write these words were still alive. No one has written like that since Plato. And yet . . . and yet . . . what is the remedy he proposes for all this? It is a simple one. "All that is needed is to give up lying."

Very good. Let us shake off the influence of this magical eloquence and try not to lie to ourselves or others. Many houses of cards will fall, and alas! alas! Tolstoy's house of cards will fall along with them. For it is simply not true that evil passions or dangerous ambitions are the monopoly of generals, or statesmen, or bourgeois, or people who receive their salaries by the month instead of the week. It is not true that innocent mankind is dragged into these hideous crimes by a small corrupt mob of politicians and generals. Why, at the present moment in Europe, when nationalism is moving like a pestilence to destroy the little that war has spared, the governments in most places are trying in their timid way to counteract the passions of their own peoples.

Granted that all Tolstoy's accusations are true. Grant, for the sake of argument, that Sir Henry Wilson finds life dull and lacking in distinction when he is not ordering working men to kill other working men in order that he may have more medals and higher promotion. Grant that Mr. Winston Churchill really rubs his hands with glee when he hears of some peculiarly devastating slaughter of men and beasts. Grant that Goodness Knows Who longs for war in China because it will enable him to make 30 per cent. instead of 20 per cent. profit. What sane man can imagine that causes like these would be enough either to drive nations into war, or even to cause the spontaneous delirium of the Toulon-Cronstadt celebrations? The thing that makes war is war itself. People fight to get vengeance for the last war and to protect themselves against the next. The delirium of Toulon was, of course, increased by alcohol, by scheming politicians, by stunt journalists, and the like; but its main cause was simply the war of '70.

Tolstoy is very splendid. If he had lived through the war, he would have seen some facts which before he had not seen; and almost the greatest of all his gifts was his rare power of seeing facts. After all, he has said the great thing, that the remedy for most of our evils is that we should give up lying; we might well begin by doing that. Yet he seems to forget that to give up lying is not the same as to tell the truth. You cannot tell the truth until you know it, and one of the aims that makes human life worth living is the attempt to find it out. Meantime "let us walk gently in so dim a world."

THE ORGANISATION OF MEETINGS.

By GLADSTONE MURRAY.

THE League of Nations Union is now out to get a million members, and one of the chief means must be through successful public meetings. It is recorded elsewhere in this number that over 200 meetings were held last month. Many of these were highly successful, but it is useless to disregard the fact that a large proportion were unsuccessful. Now there are about eight hundred Secretaries of Branches constantly revolving the problem of how to induce people to attend public meetings. There are also the regular Headquarter's lecturers, notably Miss Currey, Mr. Whelen, and Mr. Everitt Reid who are speaking all over the country, and who are in touch with the conditions and the methods which lead either to failure or success in the organisation of public meetings. I have discussed the problem with a great number of Branch Secretaries and also with the Headquarter's speakers, and feel that a summary of their suggestions arising from experience might be of use. Some of the points which I shall try to make no doubt will appear quite obvious and simple, but it is indeed often a cause of failure that the organisers of meetings disregard what may appear to be commonplace rules.

The primary object of our meetings is to get new paying members. It is, of course, desirable to enlist as much goodwill as possible outside the Union, but the fact remains that our strength and our ability to achieve practical results in applying our policy depend upon active membership. A recent case in point is the correspondence that passed between Lord Robert Cecil and the Prime Minister on the subject of the proposed pact with France—correspondence which received the serious attention of the Government and the Press chiefly because the views expressed were those of the 180,000 members of the Union.

A public meeting should not be regarded as an isolated event, or as a sort of climax, after which the work of a branch may relapse into comparative inactivity. Each branch should envisage a year's programme in advance, so that the series of meetings, demonstrations or social gatherings should have a continuous and cumulative effect. Now is the time, for instance, to decide upon a provisional programme for next winter. A good many branches no doubt have done this, but the rule should be universal. The advantages of prevision are clear—too clear, perhaps, to be noted. Take a case in point. One District Council that I know in the Midlands has decided upon the following time-table of activities for next autumn and winter:—

September.—Open-air demonstrations, and pageant.

October.—Appeal Matinée, and meetings in all the schools in co-operation with the local Education Authorities.

November.—Two big public meetings.

December.—International exhibition, one big public meeting, and special services in all the churches on Peace Sunday.

January.—One big public meeting, one drawing-room meeting, and one dance on behalf of the appeal.

February.—Six small public meetings at which the results of the deliberations of the six study circles during the previous five months will be considered.

In addition this District Council has set up its machinery for dealing with the General Election whenever it comes. Notification of the programme has been made in the local press.

Having decided upon a programme sufficiently far in advance one must not only try to get the best available speakers, but also as many other attractions as possible. These are not essential but are none the less

helpful. Mr. Whelen reminds us that the Union is the most hopeful organisation in the world to-day, and that music can be very helpful. He recalls many meetings in the north of England at which very fine music has been a feature. In this connection it is well to remember that there is a League of Nations Song Book, edited by Percy Dearmer and Martin Shaw, copies of which can be had from the Union Headquarters at 1s. 6d. each. Special decorations of an international character for the halls are also recommended. Processions in which girl guides, boy scouts, and school children co-operate have been found useful. Pageants, pageant plays, and demonstrations have also been tried with success.

Miss Currey's experience is that a great deal more of what she calls "preliminary spade-work" of an original character as possible might be usefully undertaken. For instance, announcements of forthcoming meetings should be made on at least the two preceding Sundays in all places of worship, and a member of the local branch should try to get permission to say a few words to the children in the schools, impressing on them the importance of the meeting, and asking them to come and bring their parents. All local organisations should be visited personally. Circularising is useless. Arrangements also should be made with the local press for advance notices; this can be done without having recourse to the advertisement columns. Great care should be exercised in avoiding a clash between a meeting and another local attraction. If this is done there will be no occasion for the fatuous remark that "of course we cannot expect an audience to-night because everyone has gone to the concert." The selection of a chairman is also important. While it is desirable that the chair be occupied by someone prominent in the community, it is even more important that he be well disposed to the cause, and also knows something about it, which point, not infrequently, is wholly disregarded.

Getting suitable speakers on suitable dates is always a tiresome and sometimes discouraging job. All branches are inclined to over-estimate the difficulty of organising meetings without "top-notch" speakers of national reputation. The Union has a lot of these on its list of voluntary speakers, and every effort is made to induce them to take meetings when and as required. But it must be remembered that Lord Robert Cecil, or Mr. J. R. Clynes, or Mr. Barnes, cannot cope with eight hundred meetings a year each, on behalf of the Union. The correct course, therefore, is for branches to submit a list of speakers in order of preference, keeping in mind the fact that there are at Headquarters a number of prominent lecturers, specially qualified to speak on all subjects connected with the League and the Union.

I have known cases in which meetings have been organised well in advance and have been well attended, but owing to inadequate stewarding there is little or no concrete result so far as the Union is concerned. This is a very important matter; stewards should be provided and well briefed. Pencils must be attached to the enrolment forms. Not only should the chairman, in his opening remarks, emphasise the importance of filling in the forms, but a special opportunity should be provided during the meeting for the signature of the forms, and the collection of as many subscriptions as possible on the spot.

There is no reason why we should not be holding five hundred meetings a month. Every one of our eight hundred branches has sufficient organising ability in its midst and sufficient confidence in the supreme importance of its task to the whole future of civilisation to make its activities expand and develop until we can say with certainty that the vast majority of the British people are whole-heartedly behind the League of Nations movement, and are definitely enrolled in the League of Nations Union.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, Grosvenor Crescent.

SIR,—It has been suggested that a "survey of the world's affairs" cannot be considered complete unless it contains a summary of the unceasing activities of the League of Nations Union in the cause of international peace. The most powerful voluntary Society in the world is indeed a factor in affairs difficult for a diplomat, however steeped in the ritual of secrecy, to overlook, or for a statesman, however sagacious in turning the Nelson eye to the troublesome and the tiresome, to ignore. The Union has an achieved reputation in honest statecraft that looms large abroad, and at Washington and elsewhere it has been amply proved that what the Union suggests to-day the Great Powers will adopt to-morrow.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH PACT.

The following correspondence between the Union and the Prime Minister provides an interesting example of the care and thought given to grave questions of international diplomacy:—

February 18th, 1922.

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,—The League of Nations Union has had under consideration the problems of disarmament in Europe, and at its Council held recently at Birmingham passed the following resolution:—

"The limitation of armaments contemplated by Article 8 should be pressed forward. In order to reassure those States who are reluctant to limit their armaments for fear of attack by their neighbours, a joint and several defensive alliance open to all Members of the League as well as to Germany, Russia, and the United States, on condition that armaments are reduced to an agreed level, should be proposed."

This resolution is founded upon the conception that if States, particularly continental States, are to be asked to reduce materially their land armaments, it is necessary to give them in exchange some effective security against invasion. The Council of the Union were strongly of opinion that the only satisfactory form of guarantee is a general defensive alliance which might be regional in its application, open to all States Members of the League, together with the three leading States at present, though, it is hoped, only temporarily, outside it.

The Executive Committee of the Union have observed the proposal put forward by the Government for a pact between certain European countries binding them to defend one another against unprovoked attack by another European power. They feel that any partial arrangements of this kind may tend to bring back the old system of hostile groups of European powers piling up competitive armaments against one another, the very system which the League of Nations was formed to prevent.

The Committee are therefore of opinion that if it is thought right, as it well may be, to give France, Belgium, or any other country, a special guarantee of security, it would be preferable to do so as part of the general scheme rather than by making with it a separate defensive alliance which, however carefully guarded, must be difficult to reconcile with the general spirit and objects of the Covenant. In any case, the Committee trust that no pact will be arranged which is not consistent with and a step towards the larger policy which the Council of the Union has recommended.

(Sgd.) ROBERT CECIL.

March 23rd, 1922.

DEAR LORD ROBERT CECIL,—I have to acknowledge with many thanks the letter addressed to me on February 18th by yourself and other signatories on behalf of the League of Nations Union.

In reply I can only say that any influence which the Union may be able to exercise in favour of the reduction of armaments in Europe will have my warm approval and sympathy.

It has not been proposed that the pledge against aggression to be discussed at Genoa should contain any of the military sanctions indicated in your letter. The proposal is only that the States represented at Genoa should give a mutual undertaking to refrain from aggression. Such an undertaking would naturally be registered with the League of Nations, even though the League has not yet admitted two of the Powers which have been invited to Genoa.

The guarantee to France rests upon different ground, for it is one of the main conditions upon which France accepted

certain important provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, including the formation of the League of Nations. It is not for us to say that a guarantee which brought the Covenant into existence is inconsistent with the Covenant.—Ever sincerely,
(Sgd.) D. LLOYD GEORGE.

April 6th, 1922.

MY DEAR PRIME MINISTER,—I have to thank you very warmly for your letter of the 23rd ultimo.

In reply, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union desire me to say that in your letter of February 18th they were not dealing with the proposed pledge against aggression, but with the suggested Anglo-French and Anglo-Belgian Pacts. With regard to the latter, they desire me to point out that the proposed pacts differ considerably from the tripartite agreement the United States, France and Great Britain suggested at Paris, since an obligation shared by America is not the same thing as one undertaken solely by this country. They feel that any guarantee given to France and Belgium should be part of a general defensive agreement based on the reduction of armaments.

In these circumstances, my Committee are compelled to adhere to the views set out in their letter of February 18th, and to express the strong hope that the Government will not revert to the system of partial alliances which it was one of the objects of the Covenant to put an end to.

The Committee propose to publish this correspondence.—Yours very sincerely,
(Sgd.) ROBERT CECIL.

TREATY OF SEVRES.

The Union has also been keeping a watchful eye upon the arrangements made in Paris for amending the obsolete treaty of so-called peace between the Allies and Turkey, especially in so far as those arrangements affect the duties of the League of Nations. The following Resolution was adopted:—

"That the attention of the British Government be drawn to the fact that no mention is made in the recent Near East Agreement to those sections of the Treaty of Sevres which deal with Mandates, and that the Government be asked to press for provisional recognition of the "A" mandates as drafted until such time as the various agreements in the Near East are embodied in a Treaty."

TARIFF WARS.

That the reconstruction of Europe is being retarded and our economic misery increased by the creation of artificial barriers between the new States has not escaped the notice even of Supreme Council, which "declared" that these States should "arrange for the unrestricted interchange of commodities." The Union is endeavouring to put life into these pious aspirations:

"Considering that the tariff barriers at present existing between States, Members of the League, constitute a grave menace to the economic rehabilitation of the world, and consequently to the realisation of the League's ideal of a world peace established on a firm political and economic basis: and that the provisions of Article 27 of the Covenant, confirmed by the declaration of the Supreme Council of March 8th, 1920, and further emphasised by the resolutions of the Brussels International Financial Conference in September, 1920, are not sufficiently specific to meet the urgency of the problem, and have not been carried out by members of the League in the letter and the spirit:

"The Executive Committee desires to draw the attention of our representatives at Genoa to these pronouncements, and to urge them to initiate and support definite practical measures to secure the fulfilment of the policy therein expressed by all the States participating in that Conference, whether small or great."

The important meeting of the International Federation of Voluntary Associations to take place at Prague in June will discuss the vexed question of Amendments to the Covenant, and I hope in my next letter to deal with those Amendments for which the Union will press at Prague and ultimately at Geneva.

It is knowledge only that will teach men the folly of war. Realisation of such a truism has lately prompted the Wigan Education Committee to vote £10 to the Wigan Branch of the Union towards the expenses of a course of lectures. Let us give honour to these enlightened bureaucrats and record the first occasion on which public money has been voted to assist our cause.

O. S. B.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, April, 1922.

HERE, as everywhere in Europe, the one subject among all who realise that to be a good citizen one must be a good European, is the Genoa Conference: Will the Conference succeed, in spite of the limitations imposed on it at the outset, in settling the relations between Russia and the rest of Europe, and thereby making a beginning in the reconstruction of Eastern Europe? Can the Conference produce some workable scheme for the stabilisation of currencies and exchanges, and thereby restore something like pre-war conditions for international trade on the continent of Europe?

These matters are on the knees of the gods and imitation gods assembled at Genoa, and must be left to them to deal with. But there is one aspect of the subject which may repay present discussion among the profane, namely, the relation of Genoa to the League of Nations. In this connection the recently concluded Warsaw Health Conference is of peculiar interest.

Twenty-seven nations took part in the Warsaw Conference, namely, all the European Members of the League, Japan, and the five European countries not yet members of the League: Germany, Hungary, Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine and Turkey. The Conference drew up a detailed plan for fighting epidemics in Eastern Europe, and recommended that the execution of this plan should be entrusted to the League Health Organisation and Epidemics Commission. It requested the Council to secure priority for its recommendations at Genoa, on the ground that the Genoa Conference was to consider the subject of economic reconstruction in Europe, and that economic reconstruction must be preceded by an anti-epidemic campaign in Eastern Europe. The economic problem of Russia to-day resembles the engineering problem presented by the Panama Canal. Just as it was necessary to precede engineering operations in Panama by a campaign against yellow fever, so it is necessary to preface the work of economic reconstruction in Russia by a campaign against typhus, relapsing fever, dysentery and cholera.

The Conference's recommendation, which also insisted on the necessity for the representation of countries not members of the League in the Health Organisation and Epidemics Commission, was unanimous except for Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. The latter two delegations presented amendments requesting that the anti-epidemic campaign be entrusted to a special international commission. Behind this amendment lies a long story of protracted negotiations behind the scenes between the Russian delegation and the Secretary-General of the Conference, who is also the Director of the Health Section of the League Secretariat. The upshot of this story is that the Russian delegates came to the Conference with extremely vague ideas as to what the League is, and bound by strict instructions from Moscow not to commit themselves in any way to recognition of or co-operation with League Organisations, since the Soviet Government did not wish to bind itself in this respect in view of the forthcoming Genoa Conference.

During the course of the Warsaw Conference the Russian delegation on the spot obtained a more accurate view of the League as an association of governments pledged to certain purposes, and in private expressed their appreciation of the fact that if it were not for the Health Organisation and Epidemics Commission of the League the Warsaw Conference would never have been held. On the last day, semi-official despatches from Moscow announced that if the Genoa Conference decided to entrust the execution of its decisions to the League technical organisations, the Soviet Government would agree, provided it and the other European countries not members of the League became members. All through the Conference the German delegation took a leading part and expressed the fullest approval of the resolution asking that the League be entrusted with the conduct of the anti-epidemic campaign. This, however, is no novelty, since Germany has already taken part in a great many League Conferences, e.g., the Brussels Financial Conference, the Barcelona Transit Conference, the Paris Passport Conference, the Conference on the Aaland Islands Convention, the Conference on the Traffic in Women and Children; and is being invited to appoint representatives to the Transit Commission and the Opium Commission of the League. Germany has also all along been a member of the International Labour Organisation, and has been steadily registering its treaties with the Secretariat of the League.

Thus, the Genoa Conference will be presented with a detailed plan for restoring health conditions in Eastern Europe as a preliminary to economic reconstruction, and with a request that the execution of this plan be entrusted to the League on condition that the non-League Powers taking part in this work are represented on the League organisations concerned, and this request is made in circumstances which show its perfect feasibility. In other words it is quite plain from what happened at the Warsaw Conference that if the British Government shows itself favourable to the League undertaking this work (the French and Italian Governments have never let their attitude on this subject be in doubt), the matter will be decided.

When dealing with the question of currencies, exchanges, &c., the Genoa Conference will work largely on the material collected by the Brussels Financial Conference, and will have at their disposal a survey of the currencies, central banking, and budgetary systems of all European countries just completed by the Financial and Economic Section of the League Secretariat. Representatives of the three technical organisations of the League are now in Genoa to be consulted as occasion may demand.

If, therefore, the British Government is willing to adopt a European and League of Nations policy by asking that the decisions of the Genoa Conference be entrusted for execution to the technical organisations of the League, provided that Germany and Russia be represented on these organisations and be admitted to the League next September, the way is clear, and the success of the demand not in doubt.

This is perhaps not the least important fact in the present international situation, and certainly the subject that most vitally concerns the League.

Z.

Makers of History.

ARTHUR JAMES, 1st EARL BALFOUR,
OF WHITTINGEHAME.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

NOT many statesmen of modern times have a higher claim to be considered Makers of History than Arthur James Balfour. He will surely be seen by posterity as one of the half-dozen great world figures of the early twentieth century; and as the gallery will contain such giants as Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Lenin, together with all sorts of less conspicuous worthies competing unsuccessfully for places, he will find himself in good company in a remarkable era of great men. For, in spite of time honoured practice of deifying men of the day in comparison with men of the past, it can hardly be doubted that there has never been a period of the world's history richer in political genius than to-day. To whatever country one turns one seems to see a potential giant popping up his head. The phenomenon of a Dr. Benes, for instance, in the stagnant era of mid-Victoria, would have been hailed as something miraculous; and Dr. Benes, though a great man, is far from having earned, as yet, a place among the highest. Mr. Branting, of Sweden, who is by no

means a great statesman judged by the standards of to-day, would have been considered, half a century ago, as someone altogether out of the ordinary. Dr. Nansen, had he taken to politics young instead of exploration, might well have been governing his country for the last twenty years.

The contrast, if one looks back a hundred and fifty years among the great names of English statesmen, is yet more pronounced. It is hard to believe that the majority of the dull old gentlemen who succeeded each other as Prime Minister of this realm, would be found worthy to-day of filling the Chancellery of the Duchy of Lancaster. The elder Pitt, the Great Commoner, can hardly have been superior to the present Lord Curzon. The younger Pitt alone, in all that long procession of dullards, stands out as a man of great parts; and even his gifts would hardly be adequate to the demands of to-day. Standing then at the tail end of the ranks of British statesmen towers the figure of Arthur Balfour, beside him is the vastness of David Lloyd George, and to determine which of the two is the greater man must be left to the historian; for no one who has known them in the flesh is competent to pass judgment.

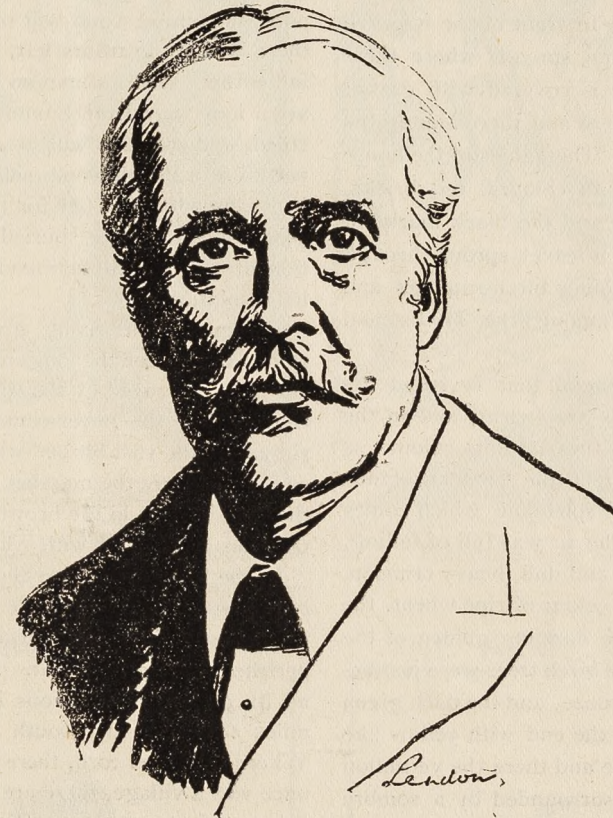
To write of Arthur Balfour gives the same pleasure as writing of a great work of art. In every respect he is so technically perfect. His face, without being what is called handsome, has a curious spiritual beauty. His slim figure is a triumph of grace. His mind blends the qualities of the philosopher with those of the man of action. He can appreciate music. He likes to play games. From whatever angle you regard him you find this even excellence. And when it is said that animating this amazing creature there is a spirit as majestic and goodly as are his kaleidoscopic gifts and qualities, one begins to wonder whether the superman is after all so incredible a being.

His attainments and doings, on the smallest of which most men might justly pride themselves, would fill a page of print. He has written great works of philosophy—if common report may be believed he is now writing a final volume; he has filled the highest offices of this State for nigh on thirty years; and the war, that broke so many apparently promising men and shivered established reputations into the flinders of incompetence, only revealed in him a higher quality of genius. Again, when the peace came to shatter the reputations made in the war, and all over Europe the leaders of the people were thrown upon rubbish heaps, when even the great name of the Prime Minister has come to be tainted, and the members of his Cabinet are from one quarter or another regarded with derision or scorn or disfavour,

one and only one of them all, by steady devotion to the cause of peace and humanity, has risen steadily in the regard of all his countrymen. That man is Arthur Balfour.

He is a sincere friend to the League of Nations and to the spirit upon which the League is based. He has done more for the League than any other man alive, more even than Lord Robert Cecil, for he has had greater opportunities. His greatest achievement for the League has been done away from the League; for the success of the Washington Conference was mainly due to him; and the Pacific Pact and the Naval Agreement have done more to safeguard the world against war than any other act in history except the signing of the Covenant. He has no faith in a sudden rooting of evil out of the world; but he fervently believes in the League if it be allowed time to develop before the greater burdens are imposed on it, and if the members will only have the patriotism to use it to the best ability. In his own words "What you can do and what you ought to do is to make such changes in the habits of men that those things which seemed natural and inevitable to their forefathers shall seem monstrous and avoidable to their children." And that is exactly the task of the League of Nations.

K. K. K.



DESTROYED POLAND.

BY A. G. MACDONELL.

NOT far from the old battle-line of the Stochod River in Poland, there stands the blackened walls of a ruined chateau. At one time it must have been a large, white building with a porch and a line of beautiful gable-windows, with a row of stables half-hidden in the trees beside it, and a small lodge at the entrance to the avenue. When the Russians retreated in 1915, they burnt every building in the countryside, and now the chateau is only the ghost of a house and the garden a tangle of weeds. In front of the wrecked porch a wilderness rambles and spreads where there once was a lawn; the avenue is covered with grass; heaps of splintered bricks lie here and there among the rank thistle plants and nettles. The gables of the house and the walls are streaked with colours, red bricks, dingy whitewash, green moss, and the black marks of fire. Nettles and huge docken-leaves sprout through the frameless windows, and young birch-saplings and willows grow in the rooms among the bricks and remnants of glazed tiles.

It was on an autumn afternoon that I visited the Chateau. The air in Poland is very clear, and in the sunshine the magnificence of the autumn colours is bewildering. The woods in which the Chateau stands were in the last moments of the splendour which comes when the leaves are falling. The air was full of falling, drifting leaves, bright crimson and dull, heavy crimson, transparent orange, the golden colour of ripe wheat, the pale golden of old brocade, the dazzling golden of the sun shining on calm water. The birch trees were just beginning to lose their sheaf of bronze, and the dark green chestnut leaves were tipped at the end with yellow like the flame of a dark taper. Here and there the vermilion splendour of a pear tree was surrounded by a sombre grove of holm-oaks. A last butterfly fluttered across the grass to find the last sunflower, and green dragon flies chased each other in and out of the ruins.

There was no wind, and the air was so still that even the dried, crisp leaves made no sound of rustling. A calm, windless autumn day always seems to bring a feeling of oppression, but in these forlorn, deserted woods the mournful desolation was indescribable. I walked further among the trees and found a path hidden by the undergrowth. It had been paved with flagstones, but now only an occasional patch of grey was visible, and the thorns and brambles had straggled across it. I pushed through the brambles and came on a German cemetery. A few wooden crosses stood in irregular lines under a great, golden tree between the forgotten path and a mass of nettles, six or seven feet high, which grew beyond it. The crosses were unpainted and were made of rough wood, unlike the white crosses of France. There were eight or ten of them, the graves of Landstürmers who had fallen in 1916. I walked among them and read the inscriptions, and then I saw that the whole bed of dank nettles was

a cemetery, that it was full of crosses, some standing, some lying on their side, some fallen down. From several of the mounds the cross had vanished altogether. The inscriptions were faded and often illegible, but I could read on some the words "Ein Russ. Soldat," and lower down the word "Vaterland," but most of the graves were German. The war has made military cemeteries a familiar sight, but these desolate, hidden graves in the golden wood seemed to give a glimpse of the immensity of the horror which made these cemeteries. There is no Graves Commission in Poland to care for these lost mounds and crosses. The nettles will grow and spread year by year, and the poor, unpainted wood will rot year by year until at last there will be no traces left, and the golden leaves will fall autumn after autumn on these forgotten men. They are a long way from Saxony and Bavaria, these Landsturm soldiers, who will so soon be swallowed up by the nettles of a Polish wood, side by side with the unknown Russians who also fell for their Fatherland. It is five years since they were buried, and the ruin and destruction of war is still surrounding them in the silence of its desolation.

From a little rising ground behind the Chateau woods I could see the long, rolling plain of Poland which has been destroyed by the war. Across the miles of flat country run the never-ending trenches and the black zig-zag of the vast barbed-wire entanglements. Further to the north are the marshes of the Stochod river, where the wire is sunk in the brown and bronze reeds, and the trenches are dotted with white concrete emplacements.

In the evenings, when the first chill of the night air comes suddenly from these stretches of lonely marsh, the presence of those thousands of dead Cossacks who perished there can be felt. And the horror stretches in all its grotesquely hideous immensity for hundreds of miles to north and south of this unhappy country. Where once was corn, there is now waste grass; where once was a village, there are now a few hovels; there is a heap of stones for a Church, four bare walls for a factory, a straw shelter for a house, a widow for a family.

It is in this country that the Society of Friends is working. The peasants have neither houses, nor food, nor clothing, nor money. The horses have been requisitioned, the cows have been killed, the hay-crop has failed. Refugees pour ceaselessly home from Samara, and must be helped to work and live. It is as easy to die of starvation in one country as in another, if there is no food to eat.

Just as the vastness of the war has destroyed these provinces of Poland, so will the vastness of the Russian famine destroy them again if help is not given, and nettles will grow among the deserted villages as they are growing in the far-off German cemetery in the Chateau woods.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, which has published translations of the Bible in over 500 languages, has been adversely affected by the increased costs of production, and in order to maintain its efficiency must raise its income by £75,000. Donations should be sent to the Society at 14, Queen Victoria-street, E.C.4.

Cartoons of the Month.

A POLISH STORY.



Mucha [Warsaw].
POLAND: "Please advise me: shall I try to seize Vilna?"
CLAIRVOYANT: "No. My cards say 'yes,' but be careful! On the way you would meet two serpents. The little one is called the Government of Kovna, in Lithuania, and it is strong; but the other is more powerful still. It is the League of Nations, and is much more dangerous for you to attack. Do not go."

THE GUARANTEE.



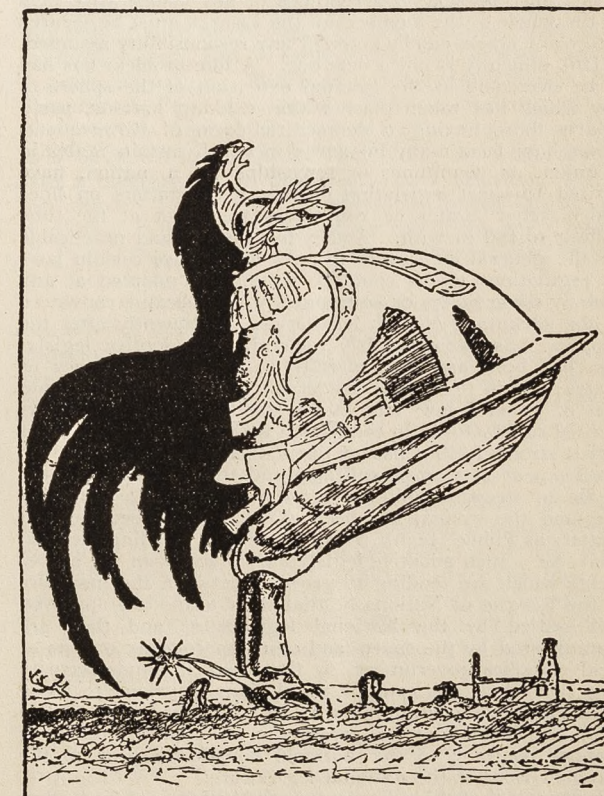
[Berlin]
JOHN BULL: Look here, I promised to protect you from this fellow for ten years. A'fer that you must manage him yourself.

OUT OF BALANCE



San Francisco Chronicle
Providence helps those who help themselves.

THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.



[Berlin]
Simplicissimus
It appears that the German reparation payments are being put to good purpose.

Correspondence.

PACTS WITHIN THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The problem of securing sufficient international confidence to induce nations to adopt such a degree of disarmament as would itself be the best means of securing and maintaining that confidence is a difficult one. Certain countries do not feel that the League of Nations at present provides an adequate and reliable security against aggression, such as would justify them in adopting a disarmament policy. They fear that their territory may be overrun before the League policy of economic boycott has become effective, or the League has been able to arrange and execute further plans, military or naval, for giving protection to the attacked nation. If there is any substance in this fear, it might seem to be the right plan so to modify the terms of the Covenant that the protection offered by the League would be made more effective. This course, however, appears to be impracticable, because a number of members of the League have already undertaken the utmost general responsibility which they are prepared to take; and one of the most important nations, America, remains outside the League, partly because their Government consider the present responsibilities of membership are greater than they can prudently assume.

The consequence of this position is that local and limited defensive treaties and pacts are being formed between groups of countries whose interest in some regional question appears to them to require, or to justify, their undertaking more definite responsibilities in regard to mutual defence or other matters than the League imposes. In their present form these separate pacts must be dangerous to the League and tend to diminish its influence. The countries concerned are liable to transfer their confidence from the guarantees afforded by the League to those of the limited group of Allies, and consequently also to transfer their interest from the general conferences of the League to meetings, frequently secret meetings, of the members of their groups.

Friends of the League must, however, recognise that there is a real difficulty here; that great regional differences in the degree of interest attaching to many problems exists, and must always exist. Not only so, but a considerable divergence of view as to the degree of mutual co-operation and support which they can wisely undertake will be found among different nations. Under these circumstances progress must be slow if acceptance of any co-operative plan by the whole of the members of the League must be secured before any action can be taken or any responsibility assumed.

This difficulty is not a new one. A like problem has had to be overcome in the gradual extension of the sphere of law which has taken place within existing nations, particularly those having a democratic form of Government. There have been many instances in which certain States in a union, or communes or townships in a nation, have desired to enact legislation dealing with matters on lines which other States or communes were not at the time willing to fall in with. And it has been found practicable for the general legislature to pass or approve certain laws or regulations which could be voluntarily adopted at any time by those States or communes which became convinced of the advantage of such legislation. Frequently after the adoption has become fairly general, the adoptive legislation has been applied generally to all the communes or States; and in this way considerable progress in the formation of general law has taken place. This method has worked satisfactorily in connection with many matters about which strong feeling has at times existed. In America the development of women suffrage and the regulation of the traffic in strong drink are examples in point; while in England the system has been extensively applied to such matters as Public Health, Town Planning, Building Regulations, &c. Such adoptive legislation differs from the agreements which are tending to grow up between the members of the League of Nations in that their terms are approved and settled by the National legislature, and they are administered by the courts and other appropriate organs of local or police government, so that there is ample security that they shall not contain regulations injurious to those members of the community who do not adopt the particular acts, and shall not be interpreted or administered in a manner contrary to the national constitution, or to the accepted view of the national legislature.

I suggest that this precedent should be followed in dealing with partial or regional pacts between groups of nations; and that the terms of all such arrangements should be

approved by the Council or Assembly of the League, of Nations; and that the international high court or other appropriate organ of the League should interpret these pacts and should determine any question arising under them. Only in this way does it seem possible to secure that such alliances among groups shall be thoroughly in accord with the constitution and general policy of the League, and shall be the means of stimulating progress within the League itself, instead of promoting opposition interests outside it.

The necessity of unanimity on the part of members of the League before effective approval could be given to such limited alliances has been urged as an objection; but if a defensive pact is in terms not offensive to other members of the League, and clearly that is in itself desirable, it would seem difficult for individual nations to push their objection in the face of a general approval among the members of the League. It is easy to exaggerate this objection based on the need for unanimity; and, in any case, it is not a valid objection until the method has been tried. If in that case the need for unanimity did prove a difficulty, the occasion might be of great value in suggesting the removal of this requirement in cases where it is obviously not applicable, and such removal might be gradually extended to the great advantage of the League. It is therefore suggested that in supplement to the already expressed policy of the League of Nations Union it is desirable—

(1) To recognise that general regional agreements voluntarily made between members of the League or between members and non-members, provided that such agreements are completely in accord with the principles of the League, should be accepted as forming an appropriate part of the League organisation.

(2) To require that all such agreements should be approved and confirmed by the League, and should be interpreted and administered by the appropriate organs of the League.

Yours, &c.,

R. UNWIN.

Hampstead.

"INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE."

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In your January issue on the above subject you editorially express approval of the procedure alleged to be adopted by the newly established International Court of Justice. You say that for many years to come the Law of Nations will grow upon the basis of its decisions.

But surely such a creation of judge-made law, modelled as it would be upon our confused, uncertain, and costly English legal methods, is the very last that should be adopted.

Our judge-made law places a recondite trade mystery in the hands and greatly to their profit, of a few practising specialists, and it has to be constantly amended and rectified by legislation. What international legislating body would you suggest for this purpose?

The judges of the newly established Court are already, no doubt, drawing their liberal stipends, and their present considerable leisure should now be devoted to the formulation of a clear and comprehensive Code of International Law as adapted and applicable to the Covenanting States.

Equally with secret diplomacy, so should legal secretiveness and specialisation be relegated to the evil past.

Yours, &c.,

A. P. BUSCH-MICHELL.

Welshpool.

[We do not agree with our correspondent that English legal methods are either uncertain or confused. All the greatest jurists of the day, especially Savigny, the German, are quite clear as to the advantages of such a system as ours, built up upon precedents, over a fixed code such as the Code Napoleon. But any system of law to be of value has to be in the hands of competent jurists. Does our correspondent imagine that any layman could deliver an opinion which would be worth even putting on paper as to the merits of a dispute upon an international contract? As to the proposal that the judges should devote their time to framing a Code of International Law, what validity would this Code have over the text-books already existing? Unless, indeed, they made it up out of their heads, in which case it would have no validity at all.—EDITOR.]

THE LEAGUE AT ELECTIONS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In view of the general election, which cannot be long deferred, I venture to offer through your columns a suggestion which, I hope, may prove of service to branches of the League of Nations Union.

Book Reviews.

THE IMPERSONAL FACTOR.

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE. BY GRAHAM WALLAS. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

THE BIG FOUR. BY ROBERT LANSING. (Hutchinson. 8s. 6d.)

AFTER THE WAR: A DIARY. BY COLONEL REPINGTON. (Constable. 21s.)

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE LEAGUE. BY HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY. (Hutchinson. 6s.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT. BY A. L. GUÉRARD. Fisher Unwin. 21s.)

IN his analysis of what we learn, or "inherit," from the hard mental and moral efforts of the past, Mr. Wallas distinguishes as legacies the individual, the group, the nation, and the world. The bent of his mind, or the greater wealth of material, leads him to discuss most fully what he calls national co-operation, that is to say, how men think of themselves in relation to the State. In his chapter on world co-operation, which he believes to be necessary if the human race is to survive, he barely does more than suggest what national institutions and national habits of thought will have to be modified if such co-operation is to be possible. Writing, apparently, in 1920, under some black tidings, he forgets that a measure of co-operation has already been achieved. Like certain other respectable thinkers, he compares the League of Nations with an ideal Parliament of Man, instead of examining what the League has done; and his views of the League's future are consequently gloomy.

"The Big Four" is a chatty description of the chief figures at the Peace Conference. Our incurable weakness for personal drama makes such books necessary. Why one should be interested to learn that Emir Feisal looks taller than he actually is, or that Paderewski has long, flaxen hair, sprinkled with grey, I know not, but even if such details are despised, details about more prominent men, like Wilson and Lloyd George, have a curious attraction. But it is a misleading book. The Council of Four was not in truth a meeting of the personalities here brilliantly and convincingly described, in a detached and guarded seclusion, any more than it was a meeting of a professor, two lawyers, and a journalist. The personal factor contributed largely, as it always must. But the other name for the Council of Four, the Council of Heads of States, was nearer the facts.

And that Colonel Repington understands. You cannot but smile at the innocent egotism of this self-conscious Pepys, who has turned his diary into a popular serial. But amid the confessions of the sale of his books, of the compliments which he has received, of his family tree, of his dislike of modern dancing, are the valuable records of his painful, but not, it seems, inglorious tour of the new Europe to which a visit to the Washington Conference was appended. Here are the raw materials of history. Colonel Repington has exploited no personality but his own, and has indefatigably sought out the conditions and the ideas of many nations. On the League, as on all other matters, he has an open mind, but prefers, in Mr. Wallas's phrase, a world law to a world policy. The obvious reply is that both are needed.

In Mr. Temperley's short and ably-written study of the second assembly of the League, we have the same national interests dwarfing the personalities of their protagonists. We have, too, a world interest. This it is which makes the chapter on the Albanian question absorbing. The Silesian dispute came to a clearer settlement. The assistance of the League was rather

It is obvious that questions must be asked of all candidates for Parliament that will elicit a clear statement of their views on international policy and, in particular, on the functions and scope of the League of Nations. I have no doubt that a questionnaire admirably adapted for this purpose will be circulated in due course from the Headquarters of the Union, and that the officers of local branches will make use of it at election meetings. This is all to the good, but it is not enough. We want not merely to secure from candidates promises to support the League, but to convince them that there is a strong body of public opinion throughout the country which looks to the League as the most effective instrument for furthering disarmament and securing international peace. To produce this conviction much more is requisite than the putting of stereotyped questions by one or two individuals, who are probably well known in their locality as enthusiasts for the League. The answers they receive will be, doubtless, in many cases, verbally unexceptionable, in some, non-committal and evasive; while the impression left on the mind of the candidates and of the public will be merely that the same old cranks have been running once more the same old stunt.

What is needed is that, in each constituency and in each ward and village, candidates should be heckled, personally and at their public meetings, by individuals from the rank and file of the local branch, representative of every variety of sex, profession, political opinion, and social status. The business of Branch Committees should be to select certain such persons, so that two or more are present at every meeting held by any of the candidates in a given locality. The same individual should never repeat the same question at two different meetings. In particular, ex-soldiers, the vast majority of whom, knowing what war means, have come to loathe it, should be urged to express their determination to support no candidate who is not wholeheartedly in favour of the League. The voice of the crank, however respectable he may be, must be suppressed. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood. There are many life-long advocates of peace whose utterances are an honour and support to the cause. But this is not so universally, and the urgent need of the moment is to convince the politicians that the mass of sober thought and feeling throughout the land is resolved to see no Government returned to power which is not in earnest about the League of Nations.

What we want is that, when the new Parliament assembles, and Members ask each other, in the intervals of their business and over their port and nuts, "What were they talking about in your constituency?" the answer should be, from all quarters, "It is curious, and I was surprised; but the one thing that roused enthusiasm was the League of Nations and disarmament. They were all—lawyers, doctors, business men, ex-soldiers, farmers, labourers, factory hands, and their wives—in earnest about that." If the politicians realise this, they will, for once at all events, be in touch with "the great heart of the country." But this will only be so if the private member of the local branch does his part in the campaign.

Yours, &c.,

W. G. DE BURGH.

Reading.

[We again refer our readers to Questionnaire (P.D. 3a) for use at elections, issued by the Parliamentary Department of the League of Nations Union. The experience of the Union at by-elections is that candidates can no longer shirk the issue by non-committal and evasive replies. Needless to say, we cordially endorse Professor de Burgh's plea for hard work on the part of the rank and file.]

WORLD PEACE SUNDAY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The League of Nations Union is organising, in co-operation with the Peace Society and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, the observance of the Sunday before Christmas, December 24th, as World Peace Sunday. Not only has this Sunday been observed as Peace Sunday in many Churches for a considerable period, but in view of the messages of Advent and Christmas no other Sunday is more appropriate. It is hoped that the observance will be extended to other countries besides our own. Branch secretaries will do well to make a note of the date and call the attention of the clergy and ministers to it.

Yours, &c.,

H. W. FOX.

Christian Organisations
Committee, L.N.U.

dramatically invoked. But in the latter we have the award of an arbitrator. In the former, as Mr. Temperley says, we have the pressure of a moral force. For the publicity on which such moral force must subsist this book is likely to be useful, although, perhaps, it is unfortunate that, in the interests of brevity, Mr. Temperley has omitted mention of many subordinate activities, including relief work and the discussion of disarmament. The appendix includes, besides the Covenant, the Protocol of the Court of International Justice.

These three last works illustrate the great contemporary effort to invest our social heritage, to adopt the national mind to a world purpose. Education, even in England, though less than elsewhere, stamps our learning with the superscription of the State. The child has barely understood that he is human before he is taught that he is something greater, a potential citizen of Ecuador, or wherever it may be. Of the effort to bring him back to humanity there is a tragic parody in the international language movement. Not that the movement is in itself ridiculous. Esperanto, amid the myriad artificial languages, has had some success, and Mr. Guérard in his scholarly work gives proof of the practicability of an auxiliary tongue being adopted as the language of science and diplomacy. But most will sympathise with the American Minister who confided to Colonel Repington his dislike of the Roumanian Foreign Office and its scruples about accepting dispatches drafted in English. It is otherwise, he said, in Central America. There an American Minister goes out on the balcony with a whistle and blows once for the President, twice for the Foreign Secretary, and they run round to him

H. C. HARWOOD.

BACK TO THE LAND.

THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND ITS SOLUTION. BY JOHN E. GRANT. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

THE world, it seems, started upon its long career with a fair prospect of success, but the folly of mankind soon led it off the high road to prosperity into the by-paths of destruction, where ever since it has been floundering in the morasses of delusion or struggling in the thickets of superstition. By the wilful perversity of their leaders and their own wilful blindness men have been misled into the economic entanglements of to-day whence have arisen war, pestilence and famine, envy, hatred and malice. It is absurd to blame Nature, for God has made men upright; it is they that have sought out many inventions.

Such is Mr. Grant's creed, but he proclaims his gospel with such a mass of matter drawn from the stores of wide reading and knowledge that the reader is continually making a conscious effort to preserve the thread of the discourse, and gropes amid dogmatic assertion and scathing denunciation of kings and priests, of States and Governments, of Socialism and Imperialism in search of that lucid and coherent argument that carries conviction.

The book may perhaps be summarised in this way, though it is quite possible that Mr. Grant would demur. The conditions existing to-day are the outcome of artificial interference of man with the freedom of Nature. This artificial interference has resulted in economic enclosure, and just as the animals do not fight seriously unless they are restricted in cages or in traps, so man if he could obtain the freedom which Nature intended him to have would live peaceably and contentedly with his neighbours. Hence war is a "biological blunder perpetrated as the result of a derangement of instinct or intelligence." But freedom can only be obtained through Justice, and the foundation of all Justice is the Rule of the Land. The land is the source of all wealth and is the common property of everyone ;

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it should be as free as the air. The idea that it can be the subject of private property is a superstition which has been instilled by cunning rascals into the minds of credulous peoples. It is because of this delusion that Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and English have all failed to find the way of happiness. This is also the reason why all attempts at improvement have failed, since they are built upon insecure foundations.

The Rule of the Land is that "the economic rent . . . should be aggregated into a . . . common fund and returned in equal portions to all members of the society or nation in some suitable way, as, for example, by being devoted to common needs." The land itself must have no saleable value ; buying and selling must cease. If this simple rule be followed the millennium would ensue. Trade would flourish, poverty would disappear, and war would cease.

But is this true? Can it justly be said that all wars have their origin in the economic slavery of the people? And will the Rule of the Land really abolish all strife whether it be of classes or of nations? Mr. Grant does not prove his assertions to a purblind generation and he does not examine the difficulties in the way of the application of his Rule. He tells us it is practical politics and leaves us there. He surveys "the sorry scheme of things entire" and would "fashion it" vaguely "nearer to the heart's desire."

S. R.

DIPLOMACY AND THE WAR. By COUNT JULIUS ANDRASSY. Translated by J. HOLROYD REECE. (John Bale, Sons & Danielsson. 17s. 6d.)

IN this book, written by a member of a family famous in Hungarian politics, we have an apologia for the Central Powers in relation to their policy before the war and their subsequent conduct of it.

The author analyses with great skill the play of international forces that made a straight issue so difficult in a situation already complicated by mutual suspicion and distrust.

He accuses Russia of having deliberately encouraged the Serbian designs for aggrandisement that had grown out of that country's successes in the Balkan wars. How far Austria's aggressive attitude in face of Sarajevo was justified it is hard to determine, but a genuine attempt seems to have been made to satisfy Serbian aspirations without detriment to the honour and prestige of the Dual Monarchy.

The question of a settlement had exceeded merely local or territorial limits. The Serbian question, and with it the whole Pan-Slav agitation of which it was a part, had come into the orbit of *haute politique*, and could only be settled by a composition of differences in which the claims of Russia would always have remained paramount.

Count Andrassy's impartial attempts to discover on whom the blame for starting the war really lies give reason for thinking that the issue is by no means so simple as popular prejudice would have us believe.

When the Count tries to justify the invasion of Belgium he is on other and much less secure ground. We are glad, however, to notice that while Count Andrassy will not admit this act into the category of crime, he regards it as a blunder of the first magnitude, and somewhat gives his case away by pointing to the moral effects of Germany's action on the world generally. But history has already decided to what particular code of moral obligation it must be referred: the question is no longer an open one.

Our author's assumption that as regards the conduct of hostilities there was nothing to choose between one nation and another is not true to the facts. That you are eventually compelled to fight the devil with his own weapons is no indication that you approve of them.

Count Andrassy's book is, perhaps, one of the greatest indictments of war that have yet appeared, though this is not its conscious aim. It is a record of

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blunder and (pace our author) of crime, unrelieved by anything that could serve to lift the sordid story on to a heroic or epic plane. The concluding chapters give a picture of misery and confusion in the cities of the Central Empires that might deter any nation from trying another fall with fortune in such a cause and on such a scale.

R. F. R.

REAL DEMOCRACY IN OPERATION. By M. FELIX
BONJOUR. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

This book, by the former President of the Swiss National Council, is a description of the workings of the democratic institutions peculiar to Switzerland. There is a lucid account of the referendum and popular initiative. The latter is the right of a group of electors to demand a vote upon any new piece of legislation proposed by that group. These two institutions may seem to us, in the long run, and in their net results, to possess a sentimental rather than a practical value, but in a small country like Switzerland, with its two religions and three official languages, its geographical and racial differences, and, above all, its sturdy independence of thought, a much closer contact between the voter and the legislation which affects his personal interests is possible than would be the case elsewhere. "In the towns of Besu and Zurich, for instance, the elector is summoned to the polling booth to elect deputies to the Federal Chambers, federal and cantonal jurymen, deputies to the Great Council, the members of the Government, district judicial authorities, prefects, registrars, teachers and communal, educational and other authorities; he votes upon constitutional proposals and federal laws and decrees placed before him by means of the referendum and initiative; he votes twice a year, sometimes oftener, upon constitutional changes, laws and other matters within the scope of the compulsory cantonal referendum and the initiative; he votes upon proposals originating in the Council of the communes; if he joins a Church, he elects its clergy; if he is a member of the body of burgesses, he elects the Council of burgesses. Add to this the fact that in many cantons voting is compulsory . . ." and it is not surprising to learn that "From time to time certain signs of weariness are noticeable."

H. W.

SHORTER NOTICES.

DIE ARBEIT DES VÖLKERBUNDES. By Dr. VON ALFRED
SILBERNAGEL. (Zurich, 1921.)

This booklet is a review of the work and activities of the League. Speaking of the criticisms levelled against it, the author emphasises the fact that the liquidation of the world war is not the League's task, but that the Supreme Council still exists for this object. The League's work lies in the future.

In conclusion the author refers to the work of the voluntary societies in various countries. He mentions first and foremost the British League of Nations Union, the French, Belgian, Italian and Japanese societies with their respective presidents. He refers also to the formation of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies under the presidency of M. Gustav Ador.

YARNS ON BROTHERS OF ALL THE WORLD. By A. P.
SHEPHERD. (United Council for Missionary Education, 1921. 1s.)

Intended for a study book for scout leaders and scouts, these seven sketches of six pioneers of brotherhood and international fellowship in the United States of America, South Africa, China and India, make a very readable volume, and at the price of 1s. should have a large circulation.

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5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4."IN THE VOLGA VALLEY," Extracts from Evelyn Sharp's Diary
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THE SPIRIT OF OUR LAWS. By HERMAN COHEN. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.)

The book is designed to make the passage easy and pleasant from literature and philosophy to law. Thus the sixth form boy, the undergraduate, the new J.P., and the general reader, may each find his account in it. It does not aim at teaching law, but at making explicit the many understandings which are assumed by textbooks, newspapers, &c., but are not generally to be found in books. In short, it is meant to be a popular introduction to the serious study of the laws of England.

In this edition the book has been thoroughly revised and brought right up to date.

THE HIGHWAY OF GOD. By K. HARNETT and W. PATON. (United Council for Missionary Education, 1921. 3s. 6d. cloth; 2s. 6d. paper.)

This is altogether admirable in its treatment of the problems raised, the Shantung settlement, Mandates, Social and Economic Conditions in Africa and the East. It is full of information. It has the closest connection with the League of Nations, and emphasises the need for the influence of the Christian spirit in International relations.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. (Pitman. Pp. 100. 2s. 6d. net.)

One of the "New Educator's Library" series. It consists of 18 articles from the Encyclopædia of Education, by writers so varied as Sir Sidney Low, Dr. Hayward, Professor Macgregor, and Sir Stanley Leathes. An interesting little volume.

TOWARDS THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS. Outline Studies by BOLTON WALLER. (Student Christian Movement. 2d.)

League of Nations Union Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November, 1918	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	135,450
April 21st, 1922	...	...	176,034

A Record Month.

Mr. Frederick Whelen, the well-known speaker on the League of Nations, has found March a most fruitful month. He has been to 43 meetings during the month and has addressed more than 8,000 children. He sends us some of his experiences:—

COLCHESTER, COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.—A School "Assembly" with over 300 members, a President, and a Council. The President, a girl of 14, took the chair. Some members, wishing to resign the Assembly recently, the Council met and decided that any member wishing to resign

must give two months' notice of her intention to do so, and must point out, with reasons, the article of the Covenant to which she took exception.

SCUNTHORPE.—A meeting was to be held in a cinema hall at 8.15, after the evening services. At 8.5 the lights went out; the hall was in darkness. Within ten minutes arrangements were made to transfer to a neighbouring Nonconformist church. By 8.30 the audience was seated, filling the church, and the meeting was held.

LOUTH.—A meeting of Elementary School children in the Town Hall.

PRESTON.—A meeting of over 5,000 children in the Public Hall, with the Mayor in the chair.

An Ex-Service Men's Branch.

The Lozells Branch of the League of Nations at Birmingham was founded by ex-Service men, whose efforts have made it one of the strongest Branches of the Union in the country. On April 8th a vigorous winter season of activity culminated in a big rally for the Appeal. Lozells claims an increase of nearly 500 in its membership during the past year. It is significant that most of the new recruits are ex-Service men.

A Panel of Speakers.

The Nelson Branch has produced a most useful leaflet, which might well be copied by other Branches. On one side are given the President and officers of the Branch, on the other a panel of speakers available for any local meeting.

Points for Speakers.

Mr. Bertram Talbot, of 14, Hornsey Lane Gardens, London, N. 6, has published a four-page pamphlet giving "Points for Propagandists and Recruiters" for the League of Nations. Members of the Union who are canvassing for new members will probably find this leaflet extremely handy. It may be obtained from the author at 1d. per copy.

Remarkable Growth.

The Downs Road Chapel Sub-Branch of the Central Hackney Branch claims the following remarkable record:—December, 7 members; January, 107 members; March, 350 members; April, 500 members.

Lord Gladstone at Liverpool.

At the Free Church Council in Liverpool in March last an important resolution was passed dealing with the League of Nations. An address by Viscount Gladstone, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Union, on International Relations was received with great applause.

A Good Year's Work.

We have received numerous annual reports from Branches which testify to the excellent work being done all over the country to promote and maintain interest in the League and the Union. Cambridge, in addition to holding mass meetings, open-air meetings, &c., has been indefatigable in sending speakers to Clubs and Societies in the town. Thus a public has been reached which the ordinary general mass meeting would not touch. A leaflet setting forth the aims and objects of the League and Union, a programme of

forthcoming activities, and a membership form was delivered by Boy Scouts to every house in the town. A most successful Children's Rally was held in June, and throughout the campaign the town was well placarded with bills.

The Ilford Branch has increased its membership from 240 last year to 570 this year. A large number of meetings have been held, and a big open-air Rally took place in the summer, when League of Nations Union "Pilgrims" who had started for Southend were welcomed at Goodmayes and given a reception in Valentine's Park. This effort resulted in the enrolment of many new members.

The Kendal and District Branch started in March, 1921, with 31 members and now numbers 250.

West Country Branches are also forging ahead. Bishopston and Horfield Branch at Bristol has brought its membership up to 417 during the past twelve months.

Missionaries from the Universities.

The Union owes a debt of gratitude to those Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates who have so unselfishly devoted part of their vacation to acting as League missionaries in Oxfordshire and Cumberland. Their help in furthering the Union's campaign is very greatly appreciated.

"Africa and the East" Exhibition.

The Church Missionary Society is holding an Exhibition of "Africa and the East" at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, from May 17th to June 15th. "To see a thing once is better than to read about it a thousand times," says a Chinese proverb, and those who visit this Exhibition will have a unique opportunity of coming into close touch with conditions of life in other lands. China, India, Japan, Arabia, Nigeria will pass in review before the eyes—a miniature League of Nations grouped in friendly association under one roof.

Branches.

The total number of recognised Branches was 824 on April 21st, an increase of 30 since March 24th.

Important Meetings During April.

During the month of April about 200 public meetings have been arranged by Headquarters, in addition to those which have been arranged directly by Branches. The principal meetings were held at Ashford (Kent), Hackney, Long Eaton, Huddersfield, Tonbridge, Chester, Shrewsbury, Manchester, Northampton, Deptford, Birmingham, Tunbridge Wells, and Coventry. Amongst the speakers were the Marquis of Salisbury; the Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.; the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.; the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes; the Viscountess Gladstone; Professor Gilbert Murray; Professor C. K. Webster; the Lord Bishop of Lichfield; Lieut.-Col. Sir Alfred H. Warren, O.B.E., M.P.; Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.; J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.; E. Leslie Bonjin, Esq., LL.D.; and A. E. W. Mason, Esq.

Peace Demonstration in Hyde Park.

The third anniversary of the signing of Peace will be celebrated this year by a monster League of Nations Rally in Hyde Park on Saturday, June 24th. There is to be a big procession from the Embankment to Hyde Park organised by the Greater London Branches of the League of Nations Union and supported by numerous other societies. The foreign colonies of London have undertaken to supply delegations in national costume for all of the fifty-one nations of the League.

In Hyde Park, where the procession will arrive at five o'clock, there will be a veritable feast of oratory. Among the speakers that will occupy the twelve platforms during the simultaneous meetings will be the Archbishop of York, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Eustace Percy, Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Major Ormsby Gore, Mr. Walter Elliott, the Bishop of Woolwich, the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, Bishop Welldon, the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, Captain Colin Coote, Dr. Scott-Lidgett, Lady Astor, Mrs. Wintringham, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and Mrs. Oliver Strachey.

Plays and Pageants.

A Masque of War and Peace, entitled "The Desire of All Nations," has been produced by Mr. L. Boole, and performed with success at Belper. Typed copies may be obtained from the Headquarters of the Union, price 1s. 3d., and a fee of 10s. 6d. is charged by the author for each per-

Feeding the Multitudes

During February the Bible Society was printing on the Continent of Europe editions of the Scriptures which amounted to 931,000 volumes; of these 205,000 were complete Bibles.

These included editions in Russian, Finnish, Polish, Estonian, Lithuanian, Bohemian, Serbian, Croatian, Rumanian, Slovak, Bulgarian, German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Dutch, French, Spanish, Persian, Duala, Afrikaans, and Asu.

During February the Society was also printing editions numbering 429,000 volumes in England; of these 210,000 were complete Bibles.

These included editions in English, Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Maori, Otshi, Acera, Shona, Kolo, Hanga, Fula, Mbundu of Loanda, Mbundu of Benguela, Lunda of Kambove, Haya, Nsenga, Kikuyu, Mambwe, Lungu, Malekula, Gbari, Houailou, Florida, and Alur.

Besides these, immense editions in many other languages are being printed for the Society in the East.

All these books must be paid for as they are delivered from the press. They are all sold at prices below their cost; and the loss to the Society is increased in many countries where the currencies are depreciated.

This world-wide work can be carried on only in proportion as it is sustained by free gifts—from those who realize that the life is more than the meat, and that spiritual starvation is worse than bodily hunger, and who have found in Scripture the Living Bread from heaven.

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formance. Thirty-seven performers are needed, not including costumed crowd.

Other Pageant Plays obtainable from the Union are:—

"The Crowning of Peace." By J. O. Francis. Published by the League of Nations Union. Price 1s. (Performers needed: 7, not including costumed crowd.)

"Earth and Her Children." By Fanny Johnson. Published by the League of Nations Union. 1s. (Performers needed: 14, not including Pageant of Nations.) Fee for each performance 5s.

"The Peace-Maker"; a pageant play. By the Rev. W. J. May, 18, Halton Avenue, Wellingborough. 6d. (Performers needed: 18, not including crowd.)

"The Dawn of Peace"; a Pageant Play. By Mrs. Martindale, The Grange, Heswell, Cheshire. Price 6d. (Performers needed: 11, not including Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.) Fee for each performance 5s. if charge for admission made, otherwise 2s. 6d.

Ready Shortly.

"Mill Girls: East and West." By H. Spaul. (League of Nations Union.)

"A Tragedy Averted." By H. Spaul. (League of Nations Union.)

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Holidays in Germany.

The Holiday Fellowship Organisation, under the Presidency of Mr. Arnold S. Rowntree, has been revived after being in suspense since 1914. The idea of this organisation is to promote international co-operation and friendship through exchange holiday tours.

The German Section has registered itself as the "Deutsch Englisch Verein Gemeinschaft," and has acquired on a six-year lease the charmingly situated Forest Hotel in the Taunus, near the Saalburg, called "Waldfriede," which is to be operated as an international hostel during the summer and winter sports seasons. Those interested should apply to the General Secretary of Holiday Fellowship, Ltd., at "Bryn Corach," Conway, North Wales.

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Marconigram to the Union.

The Swiss Association for the League of Nations sent a Marconigram to the League of Nations Union on the occasion of the inauguration of a new commercial wireless service between Switzerland and England on April 12th. To this the League of Nations Union replied:—

"The British League of Nations Union warmly reciprocate your greeting. All men of goodwill should join hands to apply the Swiss spirit to the relations between the countries of Europe. The best hope for security and prosperity in the future lies not in competitive armaments or partial alliances but in the application of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

* * * *

Earldom for Sir Arthur Balfour.

Members of the League of Nations Union who rejoiced last month at the distinction conferred upon one of their Vice-Presidents, the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, will learn with pleasure that the new Knight of the Garter is now to be raised to the Peerage. The new distinction is a further mark of national appreciation of this great statesman's untiring service for the common weal, and more especially of his splendid work at the Washington Disarmament Conference.

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Seeing Europe with the League of Nations Union.

Verona: June 1st to 10th, £15 15s. Central Europe tour: May 31st to June 18th, £30. Geneva: August 2nd to 14th, £14. *Apply at once.*

The Countess Scopoli has an excellent programme for those who go to Verona. The Czecho-Slovak League of Nations Society has arranged to show Bohemia to those who go on the Central European tour. The Secretariats of the League and the I.L.O. will again co-operate with the Geneva School. Then there is the Oxford Summer School (July 24th to 31st), 4½ guineas. Viscount Grey, Viscount Burnham, Professor Gilbert Murray, and others will lecture.

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Welsh Branches Conference.

An account of the Easter week Conference arranged by the Welsh Council of Branches in Wales will appear in our next number. Lieut.-Col. David Davies, Chairman of the Welsh Council, has endowed it with a sufficient sum to guarantee an income of £1,500 a year in perpetuity, thus assuring continuity of work, but on a minimum scale.

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

The minimum subscription to the League of Nations Union is 1s.

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

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

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

The following form might be used:—

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