

# HEADWAY

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

Vol. IV. No. 4.

April, 1922.

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

Price Threepence.

### CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH ... ..	61	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
THE PROGRESS OF DISARMAMENT ... ..	64	The Retreat from Russia : A Correction ...	72
PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE ... ..	65	The Teaching of History ... ..	72
THE SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT. By Lothian Small	66	The Opportunity of the Churches ... ..	72
THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT. By the Hon. Oliver Brett ... ..	67	League Dramatic Club ... ..	72
A LETTER FROM GENEVA. C. ... ..	68	The League and the Young Idea ... ..	72
MAKERS OF HISTORY :—		Lecture on the League ... ..	72
Raymond Poincaré ... ..	69	League Summer Schools, 1922 ... ..	73
THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS OF THE FILM. Robin Grenville ... ..	70	BOOK REVIEWS :—	
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH ... ..	71	The New Europe ... ..	74
		A Study of Nietzsche ... ..	74
		The New Patriotism ... ..	74
		L.N.U. NOTES AND NEWS ... ..	78

["Headway" is published by the League of Nations Union, but opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor and communications to the Manager should be addressed to Castle Court, Poppin's Court, E.C.4. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

### THE MONTH.

SUPPORTERS of the League of Nations will rejoice at the Royal recognition of the part played by Sir Arthur Balfour at Washington. Perhaps one of the greatest gifts which can be conferred upon a man is the capacity for seeing life steadily and seeing it whole, without drifting into the easy cynicism of one who, seeing two sides of a problem, loses faith in both. Sir Arthur knows better than any man the value of the work done at Washington, but he does not fall into the error of discounting the equally important part played by the League in regard to disarmament. Neither the Council nor the Assembly of the League could have sat for three months at the American capital carrying out the work which the Washington Conference did. Neither could any occasional Conference, whatever its personnel, supply that continuing organisation which the League supplies to carry out its continuing policy. The world is indebted to Sir Arthur Balfour for the distinction which he has so clearly drawn between the function of these two bodies.

\* \* \* \*

Details of the land disarmament scheme submitted by Lord Esher to the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments last February, have been supplied to the British public by a Paris newspaper. What Lord Esher has

endeavoured to do is to apply to the reduction of land armaments the same principle as was adopted at Washington for the reduction of naval armaments. In both cases, as Sir Frederick Maurice has pointed out, the "cuts" are to be made in the most important and the most expensive armaments, and only such reductions are sought as cannot be evaded in secret. The essence of the Esher scheme is that one portion of land armaments, the regular armies maintained in time of peace within the home frontiers, shall be reduced, like one portion of naval armaments, capital ships, on an agreed ratio. The unit taken is 30,000 men. France, according to this scheme, would be allotted 6 units, or 180,000 men, Italy and Poland 4 units, Great Britain and 6 other States 3 units, Belgium and 4 others 2 units, Portugal 1 unit.

\* \* \* \*

Lord Esher's proposals will not be discussed until the next meeting of the Commission, the date of which is variously stated as being fixed for May and July. It will be recalled that the two main tasks entrusted to the Commission by the Second Assembly of the League last September were (1) To prepare, in the form of a draft treaty or other equally definite plan, and if possible before the 1922 Assembly, a general scheme for the reduction of national armaments; and (2) To prepare a programme and a draft Convention for an International Conference, to be summoned by the League Council, in the private manufacture of arms and the trade in arms. Lord Esher's scheme goes a considerable way towards carrying out the first part of the programme. But it is fairly obvious that an agreed reduction of the standing armies of Europe will be difficult to secure unless the scheme is continued with a reciprocal guarantee of security. We suggest, therefore, adding to the Esher scheme a

general European pact, including Germany, and if possible Russia, by which each of the Powers accepting the scheme would guarantee all the others immediate aid in the event of unprovoked aggression, this obligation being made contingent upon the party attacked having reduced its armaments in accordance with the scale fixed by the League. The value of this scheme is that it removes the obstacles to disarmament which face those States who consider, rightly or wrongly, that they have special cause to distrust their neighbours. In the light of such a suggestion France might perhaps reconsider her recent proposal to raise an army of 475,000 men, and look favourably on the Esher plan for a French army of 180,000—double that proposed for Great Britain. It is noteworthy that an important memorandum by Dr. Benes, which was considered by the French and British Prime Ministers at Boulogne at the end of February, contains a suggestion very much on these lines, namely, the drawing up in the form of a resolution of a clause of non-aggression to affirm the general will for the peace of Europe.

Two months ago we pointed out that whether or no the Genoa Conference was held under the auspices of the League of Nations, the huge body of work done by that body in the sphere of economics and finance could not conceivably be ignored. Events are now justifying our prophecy. As we go to press the date of the Conference is still uncertain, though it seems likely that it will take place early in April. What is certain is that the interests of the League will be rigorously safeguarded at Genoa. That much emerged from the recent Boulogne conference, and since then we hear that Signor Schanzer, the Italian Foreign Minister, has proposed that the Financial and Economic Sections of the League, and the International Labour Office, shall be invited to send representatives to Genoa. That French pressure should be largely responsible for keeping the interests of the League well in the foreground is all to the good. We are not disposed to disparage a really excellent gift-horse on account of puzzling parentage. Moreover, now that America has definitely refused to attend the Conference, there can be no possible excuse for keeping the League in the background. If, on the other hand, the Genoa Conference should, under the influence of the League, produce a real European economic unity, we can think of no argument more potent to induce America to take a hand and help. The United States will not enter the European *mêlée*, that is clear. But once Europe starts in earnest to put her house in order, she is likely to find America neither selfish nor unfriendly.

The dramatic presentation of a demand note for £48,000,000 for the expenses of the American Army of Occupation in Germany, does not shake us in the conviction we have just expressed. The Note arrived just after the Conference of Allied Finance Ministers in Paris had succeeded with considerable difficulty in apportioning almost exactly that sum (1 milliard gold marks, or £50,000,000) among the Allies themselves in repayment of the expenses of their Armies of Occupation. The incident, which the Allied Finance Ministers prudently refused to tackle, seems to us to emphasise once more the necessity for handing over to an impartial tribunal appointed by the League of Nations the whole question of reparations. A just settlement

would not, we believe, find America unreasonable on her side in the matter of mutual indebtedness.

Blaming the League of Nations for the faults of the Treaty of Versailles is like saying that Christianity has failed because it has not been tried. Yet this is an error to which critics of the League seem singularly prone. The question of the Saar Basin is a case in point. It is very easy to point to anomalies and injustices in the existing situation, but to blame the League for these is simply to shirk the real issue. It can safely be asserted that almost every problem which has caused trouble between the Saar population and the Governing Commission can be traced directly to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. League principles not having been applied in the allocation of the territory, it is very difficult to apply them in its administration. In the first place it is not easy to justify an arrangement by which a piece of purely German territory is taken from the supervision of its own country and given to an International Commission, part of whose duty it is to render the territory autonomous, with a view to an ultimate *plébiscite*. Many of the gravest difficulties that have arisen in the government of the Saar Basin arise directly from the *raison d'être* of the Treaty, namely, Article 45 of Section IV., by which the mines are ceded to France. The introduction of the franc in payments and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines raised the whole acute problem of a dual currency in the Basin, and caused a considerable discrepancy between the wages of miners and the other workers who were paid in depreciated marks. It also accentuated Budget difficulties caused by the cession to France of the chief source of wealth in the territory, the mines.

The Treaty provisions having placed the Saar Basin in a completely anomalous position, with a definite French bias imparted into its government, and a preponderant economic interest given to France, it remains for the Council of the League to do everything in their power to render the position of the inhabitants as tolerable and the Governing Commission as impartial and beneficial as possible. There seems no valid reason for not complying with the requests of the inhabitants for a neutral Chairman of the Governing Commission with a thorough knowledge of their language. M. Rault, the present Chairman, is a Frenchman who neither reads nor speaks German, and he is known to have been in favour, at the time of the Peace Conference, of French annexation of the whole Saar territory. A second wish which it seems desirable to gratify, is for the establishment of a Saar Parliament. The Governing Commission's contention that the state of political tension in the Basin is so acute as to render a Saar Parliament undesirable, appears to lead to the opposite conclusion. The Council of the League is believed to have in mind the summoning of a conference to be held between the Governing Commission and the elected representatives in order to discuss this project. Half the grievances of the inhabitants would go if this were found practicable.

There are times when to be justified in saying "I told you so," is to win a victory that one would fain forgo. Dr. Nansen has sustained that bitter triumph. Men, women, and children have died at the rate of 100 a day to fulfil his prophecy, and

still non-Russian Europe is slow to believe. Last autumn Dr. Nansen told members of the League assembled at Geneva that unless something more powerful than private charity was forthcoming, between 20 and 30 million Russian peasants would suffer extreme hunger during the coming winter, and some 10 millions would undoubtedly die of starvation, not counting those who would fall victims to typhus, twin-brother of famine. He asked for a credit of £10 millions for Russian famine relief—less than the cost of a battleship. The Governments refused. Early in the New Year one of Dr. Nansen's delegates in Russia sent him a terse summary of the position. The whole population in the famine area totals 33 millions, of whom 19 millions are in the worst extremity. The Americans are feeding 800,000 children daily, 345,000 adults and children are being fed by the Nansen organisations, the Soviet Government is feeding 2,185,000 people—a blow, this, to the cynics who insinuate, without proof, that the Soviet is doing nothing, and advance this as a sufficient justification for a similar policy on the part of everyone else—6,200,000 are going to be fed by America. Thus 9,530,000 out of 19 millions are safe. The remaining 10 millions can only be fed if all the European Powers unite to save them.

The American Government voted 20 million dollars (nearly £5 millions) last December. Our own Government has just refused to make a grant for the relief of the Russian famine, in spite of the Prime Minister's unqualified acknowledgment of the gravity of the situation and his admission that relief undoubtedly goes direct to the sufferers and not to the Red Army, as lying report would have it. In the face of official negligence we are glad to be able to testify to a marked change in public opinion in regard to Russian famine relief. Branches of the League of Nations Union all over the country have sent strong representations urging the Government to make an immediate contribution to the cost of relieving the Russian famine, and these have been fully endorsed by the Executive Committee both on the grounds of general humanity and of the vital necessity of preventing the threatened economic collapse of one of the richest of the corn-producing districts in Europe. Lord Robert Cecil has given notice of a motion: "That this House profoundly regrets the decision of the Government not to make any grant in aid of the starving peasants of Russia." It remains to be seen whether, at the eleventh hour, the Levite will don the mantle of the good Samaritan.

The question of the Russian refugees scattered through the Balkan States, Poland, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Jugo-Slavia, has been before the League since February, 1921. In January of this year Sir Samuel Hoare, Deputy High Commissioner, went to Constantinople, where between 30,000 and 40,000 Russian refugees are congregated, 15,000 of them dependent upon charity. The position at the time of writing is that in a month or two the available funds will be exhausted and unless more are forthcoming many thousands of Russians will be left to starve. The problem before the League is first to raise a limited sum of money for the transport of the refugees from Constantinople, which is easily the most expensive city in Europe; secondly, to endeavour to negotiate an agreement among the Powers concerned for the

permanent settlement of the refugees in the neighbouring countries. The question of their repatriation to Russia does not at present arise. As long as the famine lasts, return would be folly. Whether the refugees would wish to return later would doubtless depend on the safeguards and guarantees which the League could obtain from the Soviet Government. We are glad to learn that the next meeting of the League Council has been advanced from April 25th to April 3rd, and that an item on the agenda is the problem of the Russian refugees.

What is the policy of the British Government toward Eastern Galicia? Lord Robert Cecil asked this question in the House on March 13th, and elicited the information that the Government have no "separate responsibility," but they "take great interest" in the matter. This does not lead us very far. Western Galicia was allotted to Poland by the Supreme Council at the end of 1919, but the international status of Eastern Galicia has never been settled. The Poles claim that industrial enterprise in the territory is chiefly Polish, and that for political reasons it is essential that it should remain under their suzerainty. Pending the demarcation of a frontier line they act on the principle that possession is nine points of the law, although over a year ago the Council of the League of Nations declared that Poland has not acquired any right to Eastern Galicia, which remained under the sovereignty of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Later, in September, 1921, the Assembly of the League passed a unanimous resolution expressing the wish that in the interests of peace and international justice, the political status of Eastern Galicia should be settled at an early date. What are the Powers going to do about it?

It is not merely the southern half of Poland's Eastern frontier which is causing trouble. The Vilna question has not been decided by the League's throwing it back to Poland and Lithuania to solve as best they might. The packed Vilna Diet declared for union with Poland on February 20th last, but when the draft Act of Union came to be discussed with the Polish Government it was found impossible to reach agreement. The Vilna Diet turned out more Polish than the Poles, and plumped for annexation to Poland as against local autonomy for Vilna. The Polish Government promptly resigned. Will its successor dare to risk asking the Warsaw Diet to oppose the wishes of Vilna? Unless it does, it is difficult to see how war with Lithuania, which the League at least successfully fended off, can be averted.

It is a relief to turn to the one aspect of Polish foreign relations which is really encouraging. The Silesian award has been heavily criticised, but it has the supreme advantage of working remarkably well. Poles and Germans have been co-operating amicably for four or five months under the chairmanship of M. Felix Colonder, former President of the Swiss Confederation, on such matters as the currency *régime*, postal and telegraphic services, frontier permits, protection of minorities, questions of nationality and domicile, and all the thousand and one questions which will have to be settled in order to ensure continuity in the economic and political life of Upper Silesia after the partition. The measures to be adopted with this end in view are to be embodied in a convention which we understand is now well under way.

## THE PROGRESS OF DISARMAMENT.

THE Second Assembly displayed a natural disappointment with the activities of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, and expressed the hope, not only that it would strengthen itself by the addition of six new members, but that it would set itself the concrete task of producing a definite scheme for disarmament. Much valuable time has been spent by the Commission upon the accumulation of statistics, which lead nowhere, or which, in the hands of interested parties, can be made to lead anywhere. It must also be said that Great Britain, herself supreme upon the sea, has been in an invidious position in discussing the question of disarmament on land. The sacrifices, however, that she has been ready to make at Washington have removed this difficulty, and Great Britain has every right to suggest that other States should imitate upon land what she has done upon the sea. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Temporary Mixed Commission will not present the next Assembly with another blank sheet, or with a report consisting of pious aspirations. At the meeting in Paris the Commission failed to carry out its instructions from the Assembly to strengthen its *personnel*, and the matter was referred back to the Council. Lord Esher's proposals were not discussed by the Commission, but were laid on the table for consideration by the members, and ultimately for discussion at the next meeting. It must not be inferred, however, that the meeting in Paris was completely ineffectual. The material collected by the Commission has undoubtedly clarified the approaches to disarmament, and much useful discussion took place on the manufacture of and the traffic in munitions of war, and other subsidiary questions closely allied to the main issue.

The members of the Temporary Mixed Commission are not responsible to their respective Governments. They are not plenipotentiaries; they are a body of experts, appointed for their knowledge of the subject and for their general capacity, and all responsibility for acting upon their conclusions rests with the Council and the Assembly of the League. The resultant freedom of action is a valuable asset to the Commission, and it is in the light of that freedom that we must regard the definite scheme for disarmament that has been formulated by Lord Esher. It is clear that Lord Esher's proposals are based upon the same principle as those invented by Mr. Hughes for naval disarmament. Care has been taken not to involve the question of disarmament with all those calculations of area, population, liability to attack and capacity for defence about which it is possible to argue indefinitely and from which no tangible result can be expected to ensue. A purely arbitrary ratio has been laid down, by which a general and agreed reduction of the standing armies of Europe can be obtained. No doubt the figure allowed to each respective country will produce much discussion and some alarm, but the general principle, by which

the regular armies maintained in time of peace within the home frontiers shall be reduced on an agreed ratio, is one that seems likely to find little opposition from any quarter. The stimulus of economic necessity has already prompted Great Britain to a large reduction of its military forces, and it cannot be doubted that most European Powers desire to make similar economies, if they could be given security against their neighbours.

It is the advantage of Lord Esher's proposals that they do not ignore the obvious facts of the situation. Just as the agreed ratio at Washington left Great Britain the supreme naval power in Europe, so the ratio proposed by Lord Esher will leave France the supreme military power in Europe. But the advantages achieved would be manifold. Competition in armaments, undoubtedly one of the main causes of the late war, would cease. The vast, armed camp, ready and perhaps eager for war, which Europe had become will give place to comparatively small forces suitable for defence. The enormous sums of money spent upon the perfection of the instrument, sums wasted if the implement was not used, would be deducted from the expenditure of a bankrupt Europe. It is curious to notice that under these proposals the army allowed to Great Britain would be almost exactly that which was laid down for her in the Geddes report, and the financial relief obtained by other countries would be on a similar scale.

In addition to these considerations it must be observed that no attempt has been made under this scheme to restrict the reserve or the territorial forces of any country. No attempt has been made to lay down what forces any country may require abroad to protect its colonial possessions. No attempt has been made to regulate the right of any country to employ its full man-power in times of war. No attempt has been made to prescribe the constitution or the armament of such forces that are allowed. This calculated limitation of scope enables a concentration to be made on what is practical and simple. The most important and the most obvious armaments are those which are to be reduced. It is impossible, in these democratic days, that any country should be able to evade these reductions, or conceal the size of its regular army in time of peace.

There are, no doubt, difficulties to be encountered. It is hard to believe that such large reductions, suggested to States consumed with lively fears and ancient hatreds, can be unaccompanied by any form of guarantee. It seems clear that a pact of some description, a treaty that will bring to the aid of the victim of unprovoked aggression all the other States associated for the purpose of disarmament, is necessary to create the feeling of security, and to give a logical finality to Lord Esher's proposals.

Without looking too far ahead, however, it is, after all, the business of the Temporary Mixed Commission to produce a scheme for disarmament, and since it is understood that the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France decided at Boulogne not to place disarmament upon the Genoa agenda, but to leave the question in the hands of the League, a real opportunity is provided for a fruitful discussion of Lord Esher's scheme at the next meeting of the Commission.

## PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE.

THE history of the League began long before the League itself came into being. A few thinkers filled the rôle of its prophets, preaching the only way of the world's salvation. They spoke mostly to unbelieving ears, and circumstances more than confidence saved them from receiving the full measure of the prophet's reward; if they were not stoned or sawn asunder, it was rather because the world was sick of violence than because it had any faith in their message. They were given a hearing because civilisation was seen crumbling, and any way of escape, however visionary, seemed to men in despair preferable to a certain alternative descent into the abyss.

To-day and so far the prophets have had the latest laugh, and have seen their vision take a definite and solid shape in the structure. For the League was no makeshift of a moment or a mere impromptu for the Versailles concert of the Powers. Its main ideas and even details had long been conceived by a few, and no man probably contributed more to them than General Smuts. Steadily, during the years of war, he had looked forward and planned for peace, and within a month of the Armistice he produced his "Practical Suggestions" for the League of Nations; though not all of his twenty-one points were accepted, the greater number of them have found a place in the Covenant, and a higher critic might without difficulty trace his influence throughout its articles.

Perhaps the most striking of his ideas was the scheme for mandates which will always be linked with his name. So far as we are aware he introduced by this scheme an entirely new principle into the sphere of foreign politics. Protectorates had existed, but only a sophist or an official could say how, in fact, they differed from annexation. They stood for the protection rather of the interests and trade of the penetrating power than of any supposed rights of the undeveloped "protected" peoples. It was altogether novel that the well-being and development of backward races should be considered as forming a "sacred trust of civilisation." Such a principle is one of those prevailing popular conceptions of humanity and mankind which Prince Tokugawa, one of the Japanese delegates to the Washington Conference, recently described as traceable directly or indirectly to Christianity. Never before had it been considered by responsible persons that Christianity had a predominant, or indeed any, connection with foreign politics; its proper place was in the Churches and not in the rough and tumble of international affairs. Yet to-day without the name the thing is there.

It is not too much to say that in this article of Mandates may be found the touchstone of the success of the League and of the sincerity of its members. It is linked at once with the political articles which precede it and the humanitarian which follow. The settlement of disputes by the Permanent Court of International Justice, the

limitation of armaments, and the publication of treaties are dictated as much by selfishness as commonsense; the "social" activities of the League, while their importance cannot be over-emphasised, are pure philanthropy, about which there can be no serious quarrel. The system of Mandates lifts politics into the realm of ideals and calls for sheer altruism in the fulfilment of their trust.

Such is the promise; the performance still lies in the future. It is satisfactory that the Mandatory Powers have expressed their intention of administering their mandated territories in the spirit of the draft mandates until such time as the position shall have become regularised. Human experience, however, shows that too often between accomplishment and intention lies a wide gap. Self-interest and present expediency have an unfortunate habit of finding loopholes in the best drawn scheme. And public opinion must watch and guard every loophole in this. Already the Permanent Commission on Mandates has called the attention of the Council to dangers which might arise from various interpretations of the clauses forbidding forced labour, which easily becomes but a slightly veiled form of slavery. Other danger points are in the provisions regulating the military training of the natives, the arms and the liquor traffics, as well as those which secure equal opportunities of trade and commerce for all members of the League. There is need for that ceaseless vigilance which only a strong and alert organisation can supply, lest the interests of Europe prevail over those of Africa, and the private advantage of traders and planters override the well-being and development of the indigenous peoples.

In view of the principles for which they stand and their opportunities for intimate knowledge of the facts, we may well look to missionary societies working in these regions, and in particular to the representative Conference of British Missionary Societies, to bring to public notice any actual or impending breaches in the guarantees or in the spirit of the mandates. These societies, on the one hand, have a unique position in this matter, and can do much to educate and mobilise public opinion in this country so that promise may be turned into performance, while the League of Nations on the other can indirectly render valuable service to the work of missions overseas.

We are at the beginning of a new era in the history of the backward races of mankind. The end is certain and can be even now foreseen; the next chapter must be that not only the ex-enemy possessions in Asia and Africa, but that every colony and territory inhabited by at present weaker peoples shall be administered in the disinterested spirit of the mandates, until such time, however strenuous the conditions of the modern world, as they shall be able to stand alone but united in the world family of nations. That is the logical and inevitable consequence; not till then will the sincerity of the members of the League be unsuspect and fully proved.

## THE SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT.

BY LOTHIAN SMALL.

COMMENTS continually addressed to lecturers on the League of Nations reveal the confusion of much popular thinking upon problems of political sovereignty, and upon the relation between the League of Nations as a whole, and the individual nations which compose it. This popular thinking is by no means the monopoly of the ill-instructed: it characterises even most erudite persons avid of results from the infant League—persons who would shudder at the thought of being reckoned in the same category with those confessed unconstitutionals of the political Left who habitually steer for the happy isles by the near stars of direct action. Why does not the League make the Governments grant money to relieve the famine in the Volga and to prevent the spread of typhus? Why do not the Universities, organised Labour, Women, the Church, have direct representation on the Assembly? Why do not the Labour Conventions adopted by Conferences of the League's International Labour Organisation become incorporated without more ado in the Statute-Books of Member States? These are not fictitious questions here asked because their implications are easily refuted: they are actual questions constantly recurring which betray that confusion, out of which we must reason ourselves before our thinking about the League can do it real service. The most fundamental perhaps, of all those questions, is that of the representation of a Member State on the organs of the League and especially representation on the Assembly.

Those who have read Parts I. and XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles will recall that, whereas the Labour Section of that document specifies how Member States shall be represented upon the organs of the International Labour Organisation, the Covenant leaves it for Member States themselves to decide how they shall be represented upon the organs of the League. Part XIII. of the Treaty lays it down that at the General Conference of Representatives of the Members of the International Labour Office, each Member shall have four Representatives, "of whom two shall be Government Delegates, and the two others shall be Delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the Members," and upon the smaller Governing Body of the Organisation the same proportion as between Government representatives and representatives of employers and of workpeople is stipulated. The Covenant of the League, on the other hand, states that "at meetings of the Council each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative," and that "at meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

The serious constitutionalist would never dispute the right of the Executive in a political democracy to appoint to the Council the one person by whom, according to the Covenant, the country may be represented; rather, indeed, would he insist that the Executive should send a Minister fully qualified to speak in its name in matters of Foreign Policy. In the appointment also of the country's principal representative on the Assembly, he would no less jealously guard the Executive's prerogative. It is in the appointment of the rest of the country's delegation to the Assembly that the constitutionalist who is not turned bureaucrat begins to see possibilities, and the direct actionist approaches his pitfall. Possibilities and pitfall alike become clearer on making the

interesting comparison of those matters affecting representation of Member States which are specified in Part XIII. with those which are left undetermined in the Covenant.

Each of a Member's four representatives on the organs of the International Labour Organisation having a vote, the Treaty takes care to provide that the representation of the Member's Executive shall be not less than the representation of its other specified elements—Employers and Labour. But the Covenant—which lays it down that at the Assembly each Member, though it may have three representatives, shall have only one vote—is at no pains to suggest to Member States on behalf of which elements in the community its three representatives shall speak. The one vote which a Member may record in plenary meetings of the Assembly was doubtless felt to ensure the supremacy of its Executive in the part which its whole delegation plays in the Assembly's deliberations, and that supremacy being ensured it became unnecessary to stipulate whether, or in what proportion, other elements should be represented. On the analogy of the composition of the International Labour Conferences, which owe the reality of their gradual results to their definite inclusion of the representatives of supposed conflicting interests, some are tempted to ask whether the deliberations of the Assembly also will not gain in reality and in moral sanction the more the Member-State's delegation includes—in addition to the Executive's trusted spokesman who records his country's vote in the plenary Assembly—men and women who represent organised spiritual forces in the community, other than any that can be adequately articulated in the Executive of the day. The protagonists of this view point to the Universities, the Organisations of Women, the Labour Movement, the Churches, the ex-Service community, as bodies each with its own organised consciousness, and representing social and international ideals, the translation of which into law is a considerable part of the Executive's ultimate *raison d'être*—and they seek the direct representation of such forces upon the Assembly of the League. Fortunately, the limits imposed by the Covenant and the history of the two meetings of the Assembly allow us to come at this point from abstract discussion of principles to consideration of actual and possible practice.

While it is true that the Covenant stipulates a maximum of three Representatives per member on the Assembly, each of the two Assemblies already held has relegated to six Committees detail work and the preliminary technical study—to be embodied later in a report for consideration by the whole Assembly—of most of the substantial questions of policy upon which the plenary body had ultimately to take decisions. Accordingly in the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly provision is made for Members having substitute-Representatives so that each member may be represented in all the Committees, for these go on working simultaneously. That development of Assembly procedure therefore widens the field from which the team of our Representatives on the Assembly may be drawn, and in any consideration of the principles which should govern the appointment, it is essential to remember that, whether the Representative or Substitute-Representative on a Committee of the Assembly be a technical expert from a Civil Service department or a publicist from outside the governmental machine, an acknowledged embodiment of ideals which the country would wish to have expressed in the international assembly, his vote in committee is not final. The vote in the plenary meeting of the Assembly which in any degree pledges the Member state remains the prerogative of its principal Representative.

It is at this point that the bureaucrat and the democrat join issue. If the work before the Assembly of the League of Nations were happily so far advanced that the qualities essential in the men and women conducting

## THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

BY THE HON. OLIVER BRETT.

its deliberations were simply technical *expertise* the bureaucrat would be right, and the Government of the day with its technical advisers might well man the whole of the nations' team. But the Assembly has yet a wider rôle. It is the meeting ground of conflicting and still inchoate ideals of international conduct. (When you call it a talking shop you have not consigned it to a place of condign insignificance: Talk is after all a medium of human intercourse.) So the democrat claims that in this laboratory of a new international ethic there should somehow be found room for elements, which, whether or not they have become political entities in the nation, are undoubtedly among its most considerable spiritual entities. Of these, the democrat claims, are the voices of woman and of labour to-day. These he wishes to see somehow represented in the League of Nations Assembly in 1922.

But the democrat does not accept in all its naïveté the cheap gibe that the League is a League of Governments. For that, of course, it must be, and the democrat knows it. The democrat who is also a realist sees the impracticability of a national *ad hoc* election of Representatives to the Assembly. But he remembers, however, that the British Government, without feeling impelled to consult the House of Commons, sent to the Second Assembly a distinguished ex-Ambassador to take the place filled with such signal gain to the prestige of the First Assembly by a distinguished representative of Labour, and knowing that the ideals of woman and of labour must almost inevitably be pregnant of richer things for the League than those of a representative, however distinguished, of the old diplomacy which the League is to supplant, he will probably decide that his Government must avow the principle of sending to the Assembly men and women, acknowledged representatives of women and of labour. And since democracy requires the maximum practicable consultation between executive and the elected representatives of the people, the Government will therefore be asked to submit to the House of Commons a panel of people it is prepared to appoint to represent the County at the Assembly, and to include in its panel people admittedly representing those ideals. So will democracy be gradually realised, and the supremacy of Parliament be maintained.

A suggestion has recently been made that some seats in the British House of Commons should be contested by candidates making the League of Nations their sole appeal. That is surely one which, upon reflection, cannot be favourably considered. The League is, after all, the machinery through which, we hope increasingly, our international affairs shall be conducted but, great as the influence of international upon domestic affairs may be, they do not constitute the main work of any Government, and no candidate should seek the suffrage of a British constituency who will declare his attitude only upon international affairs. This suggestion is significant, however, of the increasing realisation in the community of the importance of the League of Nations, and of our Government's attitude towards it, and it is a hopeful sign that in the recent by-election at Cambridge, the Conservative, the Liberal and the Labour candidates each appeared on the one platform to state his attitude to the League of Nations, and to answer the questions of constituents thereupon. On the platform were members publicly identified with the politics of each candidate—eloquent proof of the fact that a League of Nations consciousness is developing which unites men and women who have in domestic politics widely divergent attitudes. The encouraging note in the answers of all three candidates at this Cambridge meeting was the note which entitles this article. They believed profoundly in the League of Nations but, not inconsistent with, indeed governing their attitude to the League, was their equally deep belief in the supremacy of Parliament.

THE General Election, with its searching tests of political principle, hangs like the sword of Damocles over the House of Commons. Some say that the thread by which it is suspended has still capacity for resistance; others say that it will snap forthwith. But in the minds of most it is the sword and not the thread that attracts the eye, since, sooner or later, it must fall on the just and the unjust alike. It is unpleasant to be judged and to be found wanting, and the prospect of such a fate, with its resulting exclusion from the Elysian fields of politics, creates in members of Parliament a caution commensurate with their instinct of self-preservation. The passion of the electorate for peace; that determination never to allow a repetition of universal war, which adds its weekly thousands to the membership of the League of Nations Union, are factors in the political situation familiar enough to both member and candidate.

The imminence of the day of reckoning then may account for the lowered voices of those courageous few who can still be counted as enemies of the League of Nations. The open opposition that we have to face is small in volume, but pertinacious in its almost instinctive hatred of international ideas. Such opposition should not be disregarded, since it is no doubt the articulate reflection of a certain silent minority that dislikes the principles it is unable to impugn. It is important, therefore, to watch the attitude and arguments of those who oppose the League in the House of Commons. It is curious to observe how invariably the shallow political mind adapts the "cry" of the moment to any vulgar use that necessarily demands. The popular stick is brought to bear upon the back of every kind of dog. What is sauce for the goose is heated up to season every variety of gander. If the "stunt" of the day had chanced to be Chamberlain's Imperialism, we should have been told in solemn tones that the League of Nations was certain to entail the downfall of the Empire. If, on the other hand, it had been Rosebery and Efficiency, elaborate enquiries would have been made into the organisation of the League and the capacities of the Secretariat. But, since Geddes and economy is the catchword of the hour, it is the latter's salary and not his brains that is called to account. These deep political thinkers seem to share with the cave-man the delight in picking up any axe they see lying about, and applying it to the trunk of any fig-tree, whether it be barren or fruitful, as long as it will provide fuel for the fire of popularity.

Let us examine the vast extravagances of the League, and weigh the burden that its existence places upon the taxpayer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is understood, hopes to reduce our national expenditure this year to £900,000,000, out of which sum the League of Nations appropriates the sum of £111,000. It does not seem a large premium as an insurance against war; it compares rather favourably with the vast millions that have to be spent upon naval and military preparation. It is, indeed, rather instructive to compare also this £111,000 with similar sums, the expenditure of which is not often by economic purists. The upkeep of the Houses of Parliament, for instance, costs £115,000; the land Registry costs £102,000; the British Museum costs £301,000; Reformatory and Industrial Schools cost £105,000; scientific investigation costs £197,000; the Audit Department of National Insurance costs £183,000. We may be idealists; but surely it is not unpractical to suggest that the hopes centred in the League of Nations are not unworthy to be placed among such items of national expenditure. Even the most determined of anti-waste members could hardly find here a fertile field for his otherwise salutary agitation.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, March, 1922.

WHILE the prospects of a really fruitful outcome of the Genoa Conference have gradually diminished, to the disappointment of all good Europeans, it is a melancholy satisfaction that during these long weeks of discussion the position of the League in relation to the Conference has improved. It is still vague as to what part the League will play, but it seems fairly generally accepted that in some form or other it will be asked to carry on the work involved in any decisions arrived at. Whatever views may be held about the motives inspiring the French Government in the line they have followed, there is not the slightest doubt that this almost aggressive championship of the League by a great Power—an entirely new experience for an organisation which is more accustomed to being referred to as a fragile barque—has brought the League plump into the middle of international polemics. This is all to the good, though it is possible to foresee a considerable struggle at some time in the future between those who, like the existing French Government, see in the League an institution as sacred and as immutable as the Treaty of Versailles, and those who see in it an instrument of a precisely opposite kind. It is better, however, that Governments should fight about the League than forget about it. Though the French Government was the first to show some sensibility as between Genoa and Geneva, I believe it was Dr. Benes, Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, and a sound supporter of the League, who successfully acted as a go-between with the British and French Governments in this matter. Unfortunately, in the present current of events, there does not seem a great prospect of the League being overburdened with the execution of vital Genoa decisions.

There is a League matter which, though it has not attracted the attention it deserves, has a fundamental bearing on the whole problem of European reconstruction. I suppose everybody admits that the one outstanding need for this is to put Russia on her legs again, and it is a curious thing that even Governments who fully realise the necessity, fail to grasp the obvious truth that it is useless to expect seriously to effect Russian revival when millions are dying from famine and hundreds of thousands from disease. The League has played a valuable part in endeavouring to check the spread of disease, and an international conference of Government health experts is meeting at Warsaw this month under the auspices of the League to consider what further steps should be taken to meet the appalling conditions that now exist, and to avert as far as possible the very grave possibilities of an extension of disease into Europe. When these experts have seen the position on the spot and have reached conclusions as to what ought to be done, their report will perhaps provide some enlightenment for the Governments taking part in Genoa. In this connection the League has received a memorandum from the Government of

Czecho-Slovakia, which puts the point with clarity and commonsense. This has been published, but nobody seems to have taken any notice of it. Dr. Nansen has written a commentary on the memorandum, and this, I believe, is shortly to be published as well; no doubt Dr. Benes will have something to say about the subject at Genoa, which, whatever it does or fails to do, should bring up into relief two outstanding points, namely: that it is virtually impossible to deal effectually with European reconstruction until the reparations problem has been definitely settled on a reasonable basis; and that to talk about the restoration of Russia with its starving and diseased millions, is putting the cart before the horse if these millions are not first cared for. The League is laboriously showing the way in tackling disease, and its efforts will only be limited by the amount which its members are prepared to give to finance its operations.

I have noticed in one or two English papers, generally favourable to the League, an argument that the League could not be relied upon to carry out successfully a conference like Genoa because of the rule of unanimity. There might certainly be occasions when this rule would prove an obstacle to progress in certain directions, but I can remember no single instance where the unanimity rule has so far prevented action. It is absurd to suppose, as such critics say, that France, for instance, could block any decision at Genoa if it were under the League and could not block it if the conference were outside the League. It is useless to imagine that any vital thing can be done for Europe without French agreement, either inside the League, outside the League, at Genoa or anywhere else. If the decisions of an outside conference could, by any chance, go ahead against French wishes, they could equally go ahead against French wishes inside the League. If, where a League Assembly decision should be unanimous it is not unanimous, it then becomes a recommendation, and the Governments are just as free to act upon it as if it were a resolution; beyond that, even, there are various forms in which the League may summon conferences, especially technical conferences, where the unanimity rule will not arise at all. There is an Assembly resolution which permits any Government in the League to summon, under the auspices of the League, special conferences for special purposes such as is being done at Warsaw by Poland, and so far as I know, such conferences would be completely autonomous, so to speak, in their action; even if it does not go so far as that, they would be probably in the same class as the technical conference under the League organisation, and here the Council has no power to veto decisions arrived at unless its vote is unanimous against it. Here you get a complete reversal of the unanimity rule in circumstances which are rarely likely to arise. I mention this point because an extension of the argument on unanimity might seriously affect the amount of work placed in the hands of the League.

This month the Permanent Court has been finally established—robes and all; the Austrian question has again been debated, but still remains in a somewhat indecisive state; and the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission in Paris, after what I gather was a very unpromising start, concluded with a set of Resolutions which seem to indicate a definite effort to produce by the next Assembly the general plan for reduction of armaments for which they were asked.

C.

## Makers of History.

## RAYMOND POINCARÉ

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

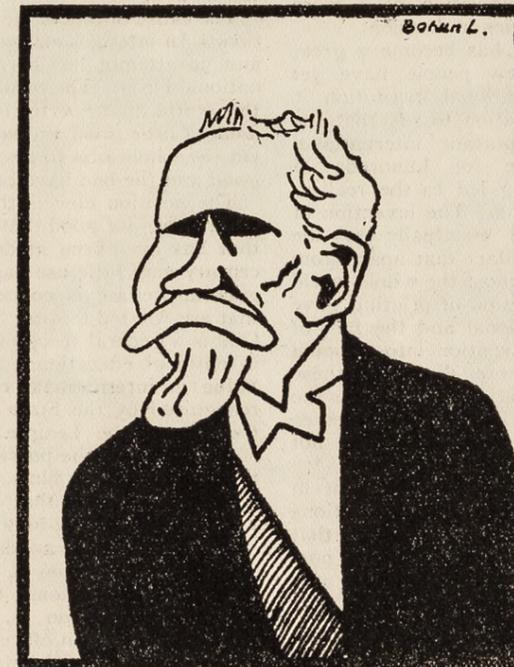
YOU would never, if you saw him, take M. Poincaré for a statesman. He is a little man, so erect as to lean back slightly from the perpendicular, and with an uplifted chin "tip-tilted," not, like the lady in Tennyson, as "the petal of a flower," but rather like an insurgent shaving brush. He is more fluent than eloquent, speaks in a voice which is resonant but not distinguished, and is quite incapable of impressing his personality on those who see him or hear him other than as a human mechanism which is immensely busy, very efficient, and without any interest of another kind. I remember well his opening the first sitting of the Peace Conference. He entered the room so fast that if he had not kept his heels on the ground it would have been a trot instead of a walk. He wore a frock-coat and the preposterous green tie which, for some reason or other, academicians use to advertise their dignity. He produced a sheaf of manuscript, and opened the Conference as if he had been opening a bazaar. When he had finished, without one glance at the eminent statesmen like President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and M. Clemenceau round him, he stalked rapidly out of the room. It was only when the bugles rang out in the courtyard, in the President's salute, that one realised he was not saying "this way to the glove department."

All this must sound rather unjust, but, in fact, M. Poincaré is not, and never has been, a public figure in the sense in which M. Clemenceau was, or even M. Briand. When, as President, he resumed, the day after the Treaty of Peace, the custom of attending in state the *Grand Prix* at Longchamps, his procession, with its escort of chasseurs, passed into the gardens of the race-course without a sound, while M. Clemenceau, following him on foot and decorated with a silk hat of the early 'eighties, was received with tumultuous cheers. Paris has never forgotten, and never will forget, the rapidity with which he transferred himself to Bordeaux on the threat of a German advance on the capital. To change the Government to an unmenaced city was certainly right, but most people think the President ought to have stayed in Paris, and for many months after his return he was known as "Tournedos à la Bordelaise." None the less, few French statesmen suffered materially from the severity of the war as he did. His property in the country, in French Lorraine, was maliciously and completely destroyed by the Germans. M. Poincaré, who had been Prime Minister

when the *Entente* was cemented, and as President in 1914, gave it its ceremonial baptism by his official reception of the King in Paris, and his return official visit to London, is certainly friendly to this country, though his friendship may be on terms. Temperamentally he dislikes what he would regard as our political slipshodness, our lack of definition and logic, and our proneness to sentiment, and even to sentimentality. All the same, he knows as well as most people on which side the bread of Europe is buttered, and however willing he was to climb into power on the scaffolding of slanders against this country and its ministers, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity with which he maintains Anglo-French friendship as the basis of an international policy in Europe.

And he is a sincere friend of the League of Nations. His policy in Opposition was always to be more militarist than Marshal Foch and more Imperialist than M. Clemenceau, to set the drums of France beating in every capital on the Continent, and to pursue, so far as political conditions in Europe would allow, a Napoleonic policy without a Napoleon. Once he returned to power as Prime Minister, the students of his career noted a startling difference. To the irresponsible and adventurous critic of other ministers

succeeded a man cautious, careful, quite undismayed by the necessity of throwing over everything he had said and written when he was outside the Cabinet, and determined to confront the failure of the new Napoleonism with a policy based strictly on those parts of the Peace Treaty to which France had been most reluctant to give assent, and to find in the utilisation of the League of Nations a means for securing the European stability which he had urged his predecessors to secure by the force of arms. Two aspects of this policy concern the friends of the League. In the first place, we ought to be gratified that the French Government is using, and desires to use, its machinery to an extent far beyond the present ideas of any other European Government, even our own, and to that degree is to be supported, and, secondly, that French industry, application, and a single-minded determination to achieve the ends of the policy of France, must mean the danger that, under the inspiration of M. Poincaré, the League may become more and more an instrument of the Government in Paris, and less and less an instrument of the countries in Europe to which it belongs as a whole. The remedy for this is not to attack France, still less to attack M. Poincaré. It is to see that the same application and the same eagerness and enthusiasm which is applied by him, and by his supporters, in handling questions through the League, shall be applied by our own people.



## THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS OF THE FILM.

BY ROBIN GRENVILLE.

THERE are still many people who decry the cinematograph, but there are very few in these days who successfully affect to deny its possibilities. It possesses an enormous power for good or evil, and it is a power that cannot be ignored. Indeed it would be dangerous to do so. Of the power of the film for doing good or harm in this country a great deal has already been heard. Its power for good is admitted by the cultured men and women who have turned to it as a means of expression. Its power for evil has been suggested quite lately by the imposition of a more strenuous censorship on its activities in London.

Everyone realises that the film has become a great national institution, but very few people have yet realised what a powerful international institution it might become. It is no exaggeration to say that the cinematograph is the most important international discovery that has been made for hundreds of years. The invention of printing led to the realisation of the culture of other nations. The invention of the cinematograph should lead eventually to the realisation of the more important fact that apart from superficial differences of culture almost the whole world is one great nation. The introduction of printing gave merely a glimpse of the international and the fact of language inevitably turned the invention into national channels. The film is once more diverting these national channels back into internationality. It has the seeds of a real rebirth of knowledge and possesses potentialities that even the Renaissance could not aspire to.

The film might be a most powerful instrument in the promotion of understanding between all the nations of the world. At the moment it is to be feared that its possibilities have hardly been realised. It is now a purely commercial speculation. Film producers give the public what they think the majority wants, and, as a result, the film in these days is almost entirely devoted to entertainment. Even then it is doing good by accident. It must be remembered that the cinematograph is the only popular international entertainment that we possess. Music and dancing are to a great extent international, but they are for the select few. The film is for the many and still it is international. Take, for instance, a comedian like Mr. Charles Chaplin. He is essentially an international comedian. If he cuts a caper in Los Angeles a Chinaman in Pekin will be laughing at it within a few weeks. He is the promoter of an "International League of Laughter."

Film comedies and film dramas now go all over the world. British films are seen at the same time in London, New York and Amsterdam. American films go from land to land, and eventually reach this country. We look at Italian films in London, and Glasgow is sometimes thrilled by a Japanese tragedian. All these films are gradually doing a great international service. They give audiences some idea of life in other lands. Sometimes it is a travesty of life that they give, but always there is a substratum of truth and, after all, it is a substratum that falls on very receptive soil, for a person is never so likely to learn as when he is trying to enjoy himself. These films give some idea of what other nations are like. With comprehension comes understanding and the seeds of a complete international understanding are thus being laid without anyone being aware of the fact. It can be understood, therefore, that as an agent for good the possibilities of the cinematograph are boundless. Even as international entertainment it is useful. As international education it would be invaluable.

I have spoken at length of its possibilities for good, but there is another and very important side of the question. The fact that the film is international is at

the present time its greatest advantage and its greatest drawback. That is because the creators of films possess enormous powers of which they are not in the least aware. They make films which may be perfectly suitable for national exhibition and then send them to all countries on the earth without a thought as to whether they are suitable for the particular localities to which they are going. General Booth commented on this fact quite recently, and pointed out what harm unsuitable films could do in different countries. One example is sufficient. During recent years a large number of films have been sent to India for exhibition there in which there are scenes representing white women in unpleasant episodes. The result on the minds of natives can be imagined.

The cause of this is the lack of international organisation. An international entertainment has been created, and no attempt has been made to put it on an international basis. The result is that films journey through the world in a perfectly haphazard way, sometimes doing a little good and very often a great deal of harm. On the whole it is to be feared that of recent years the good and the bad have been nearly equal.

The position now is that we have an invention with possibilities for good that far exceed any other invention that has ever been made, and that in a quarter of a century very little use has been made of it so far as the general welfare is concerned. There are two things that are wanted to alter this anomalous state of affairs. One is a general recognition of the value of the cinema in national education. The other a realisation of its value in international education. Films should be recognised by the State and by the representatives of the States—the League of Nations. Once Governments admitted the possibilities of the film and assisted their development, films would become a great national institution. From that to an international institution would not be a very long step.

This, however, is an ideal. It will probably be a long time before the value of the cinematograph is properly recognized by national Governments and its international recognition is, therefore, a matter for the remote future. An official film League of Nations is at the moment a very remote contingency. To fill the gap an unofficial film League of Nations is necessary.

It should not be a very difficult thing to create, although it certainly premises two things in the film industries of the world. One is that the nations should put their own film houses in order. The other that they should then be willing to combine to put the international film house in order. In the United States there has now been formed a body which aspires to direct the steps of the whole American film industry. That is a move in the right direction, and if the example were to be followed by other countries, the foundations would be ready for the creation of a species of international board of film control.

If each film producing country could create a real ruling body for its industry, and if from this ruling body representatives could be selected to form an international ruling body then we should have a practical film League of Nations. Such a body would confine itself to international matters—to the international effects of the film—and its possibilities for good would be enormous. It would—like the League of Nations—not attempt to dabble in domestic affairs, but would lay down certain broad guiding rules and principles for the satisfactory exchange and distribution of films throughout the world, and in this way a great amount of good could be done with very little trouble (and at very little cost).

Such a body is likely to spring up within a short time, although it is probable that its origin will be commercial. When it does arise it will from the nature of things insensibly widen its scope, and, with a very little widening, that scope will be exactly what I have already outlined. It could thus become the first film League of Nations and might be a very practical League indeed.

## Cartoons of the Month.

### EUROPE'S RACE WITH THE SHADOW.



Lustig Blatter

High Costs and Empty Pockets.

[Berlin.]

### THE GENOA CONFERENCE.



Mucha

[Warsaw.]

LLOYD GEORGE: "Greetings! I am bringing Mercury, the god of commerce."

POINCARÉ: "All right: but I shall have with me Mars, who, I think, knows much more about trade than Mercury does."

### NEW ERA FOR CHINA.



Times

[Los Angeles.]

"Get Up, John Ketchum New Doormat!"

## Correspondence.

(We do not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by our Correspondents.—ED.)

THE RETREAT FROM RUSSIA: A CORRECTION.  
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In your February number, which has just reached me you say that "some 700,000 Russian emigrants" are expected at the frontiers of Poland and the Baltic States in spring. It is, however, somewhat misleading to call these refugees "Russian emigrants," a phrase which implies Russians who are leaving their native country. All these refugees are Polish citizens who are being repatriated into, not out of, their native country.

When the army of the Tsar retreated in 1915, it drove in front of it about three million inhabitants of Congress Poland, East Poland and White Poland, and sent them eastwards to the Volga and the Urals, and even as far as Siberia. Of these three millions, roughly two millions are citizens of what is now Poland; of these two millions, two hundred thousand are Jews, eight hundred thousand are Poles, and the remainder White Russians. All of these are returning to their pre-war homes, and, in passing, I must point out that your figure of 700,000 is a very conservative estimate. Every organisation and official dealing with the repatriation problem has calculated a different figure; a careful sifting and comparison has brought me to the conclusion that there are still one million, as a minimum figure, to be repatriated into Poland.

As for the sanitary cordon, the breaking of which you prophesy in February, it broke completely in December and admitted the typhus epidemic into East Poland. It was bound to break. The richest and best-organised countries of the world would have been hard put to it to deal with the repatriation problem.

To return to my original point; the importance of making it clear that these people are "répatriants" and not "réfugiés" is that to confuse the two is an injustice to the Russian peasant who has, with almost superhuman heroism, decided to await in the famine area the harvest of this year rather than fly from the country.—Yours, &c.,

Warsaw.

ARCHIE MACDONELL.

## THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I was very glad to see in the February HEADWAY your article upon the Teaching of History.

Undoubtedly it should not be possible for one version of the American War of Independence to be taught in America and another version in England.

The United States, within the last twenty or twenty-five years, have taken a right step in revising their earlier text books upon this subject, and the League of Nations Union is doing right in pressing for a drastic overhauling of existing text books of history generally.

A long cherished wish of mine has been to see the formation of a committee of history professors of various nationalities commissioned to write jointly an impartial history of each country, to serve as the accepted view upon which the examination standpoint in all countries might be based.

Yours, &amp;c.,

JAMES LEAKEY.

Hatfield.

## THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCHES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In reference to the letter in your January issue on the subject of the opportunity of the Churches for furthering the aim and work of the League of Nations Union, may I beg to suggest that the first practical step towards helping on the work effectually may presumably be for the leaders of the Churches to join together in some common expression of conviction to the League of Nations Union that the success of the work entirely depends upon Almighty God, and to suggest that the League may put forward an appeal for earnest and continual prayer to all its members? Can and will the leaders of the Churches take such action?

Yours faithfully,

WALTER M. SMITH-DORRIEN.

Crediton.

## LEAGUE DRAMATIC CLUB.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The Dramatic Club which has been formed amongst the members of the League of Nations Union staff, proposes to give its first performance on Wednesday, April 19th, at 8 p.m., at the Theatre attached to the Guildhall School of Music (nearly opposite Blackfriars Station).

It has been decided to give three one-act plays, and the following have been selected:—*The Monkey's Paw*, by W. W. Jacobs, dramatised by Mr. Louis N. Parker; *The Will*, by Sir James Barrie; *Defeat* by Mr. John Galsworthy. Mr. Galsworthy has very kindly undertaken to produce his own play. Tickets, price 5s., 3s., and 2s., can be obtained at Headquarters, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1., or by writing to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss E. N. D. Brewer, at that address, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for reply. Profits will go to the Central Fund of the League of Nations Union.—Yours, &c.,

Oxford.

E. A. MURRAY.

## THE LEAGUE AND THE YOUNG IDEA.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—It may be of interest to your readers to learn of the progress made by the League movement among young people in Colchester.

In the Colchester district where several junior branches of the League of Nations Union are now working, enthusiasm for the League was first aroused by a visit last June from Mr. Whelen, who spoke on this occasion to about a thousand children. Immediately after his visit work began in the schools. League of Nations Societies were started first in the senior and junior branches of the largest school in the town, each with a membership of over a hundred. In the case of the Senior School Society, which manages its own affairs, a committee calling itself the Council was at once formed. It consists of the usual executive officers and form representatives, and meets frequently to carry on the administrative work of the Society, which it does with great energy and quite successfully. The whole Society—the Assembly—has now met four times. At the first meeting, a member of the School Council gave an account of the work of the first Assembly of the League at Geneva; the second was a general business meeting. For the third and fourth Assemblies, more ambitious arrangements were made. Each form was instructed to take a particular interest in certain members of the League assigned to it. They then began keeping League of Nations books, into which were put newspaper cuttings relating to the affairs of their adopted countries. When the Assembly met, this time with the representatives of the different countries grouped in alphabetical order as at Geneva, instructed reports on which each member-state had been doing during the past months, were read. The Chairman of the Council was in the chair and made an earnest appeal for further zeal on the part of all members of the Society. An opportunity to get the latest information about League activities came shortly afterwards, when Miss A. E. Murray spoke to the Society and answered questions which had cropped up in the course of studying the newspapers. This was much appreciated; with Miss Murray's help the Chairman's appeal bore fruit, and the next Assembly was a great success. The reports were confined to the countries chiefly interested in the Washington Conference, and had far less of the journalistic flavour about them, while towards the end of the meeting, when the general work of the League was being commented upon, notes were discarded, and members began to speak instead of reading. With more help from authority the same kind of thing is being done by the Junior School Society which is equally interested in the cause.

A BRANCH SECRETARY.

## LECTURE ON THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the end of May and the beginning of June a distinguished Danish lady will be visiting England. Froken Henni Forchhammer, the technical adviser of the Danish Delegation to the Assembly of the League. Froken Forchhammer has been one of the pioneers in introducing University Extension lectures to Denmark, and has played a prominent part in the international women's movement, representing her country on the International Council of Women. During her stay in England Froken Forchhammer is willing to lecture to the branches of the League of Nations Union, and all those who heard her at the Oxford Summer School last year will realise of what immense interest and importance it will be to the

LA FRANCE  
TAKES BRITAIN BY STORM!

LA FRANCE, the delightful little Review of the French Press, has taken Britain by storm. Its appeal is irresistible. Its original articles on French life and manners, its charming storyettes, and its clever drawings make it the paper *par excellence* for all who can read French.

The Editor of the "Spectator" says of it:—

"We can conceive of no more useful or entertaining periodical for French students than this journal. It is precisely what many young readers of French have needed."

The Editor of the "British Weekly" says of it:—

"We hear encomiums on all hands for the new French periodical, 'La France,' a charming little paper printed in this country for all who are interested in the French language. 'La France' has warm admirers amongst the statesmen of both countries; amongst its contributors are: Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, M. Poincaré, M. Briand, Marshal Foch, &c."

The Editor of the "Manchester Guardian" says of it:—

"'La France' should be of service to everybody who is learning French."

J. Franc-Nohain, de "l'Echo de Paris," says of it:—

"'La France' est une publication de langue française, admirablement présentée, d'une lecture plaisante et instructive—même pour un Français."

LA FRANCE Only 2<sup>d</sup>. Weekly

Send this form or a postcard (mentioning the *Headway*) for two presentation copies, which will be sent free and post paid.

To The Manager, "La France," No. 6, Montague House, Russell Square, London, W.C. 1.

Please send me 2 presentation copies of LA FRANCE post free, as announced in HEADWAY.

Name .....

Address .....

branches who are able to secure her. Froken Forchhammer's lecture will be illustrated with a series of very interesting slides, and she can speak from the most intimate personal experience of the work of the Assembly, having served as Danish representative on three Commissions, besides addressing the Assembly itself on questions affecting women and children. Froken Forchhammer's command of the English language must be a matter of envy and despair to many of our native lecturers. An early application to the general secretary of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1., should be made by those branches who wish to obtain the services of Froken Forchhammer.—Yours, &c.,

M. CURREY.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUMMER SCHOOLS, 1922.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The Secretariats of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office co-operated last year with the League of Nations Union in the conduct of a unique, informal Conference. Two hundred enthusiasts, drawn half from branches of the Union and half from Trade Unions, studied the above organisations under the leadership of members of the Secretariats in the course of one busy week. Time was also found for the delights of a Lake and Mountain holiday. Although the experiment threw an enormous amount of work upon our already overworked hosts at Geneva, it is gratifying to find them strongly of opinion that the Union should make the Geneva Summer School an annual institution, and should arrange in future for even larger delegations of holiday-time students.

Arrangements for this year are accordingly being made on approximately last year's lines. The chief modifications of the previous scheme will be an extension of the period to probably ten days, and a consequent arrangement of the lecture time-table to enable members both of the League of Nations and of the Labour Office Courses to attend together certain lectures of common interest, thereby leaving more time for enjoying Switzerland, for group debates and for meetings of branch secretaries. Travel to Geneva will be second class, and last year's mixed blessing—twelve hours in Paris on the outward journey—will be avoided.

The Oxford Summer School is also to be repeated this year. Professor Gilbert Murray will give a course of lectures on the League, Mr. C. Delisle Burns a course on the History of International Relations, and other distinguished publicists and speakers have been secured for single lectures. The time-table will provide longer periods for discussion following lectures, and the holiday aspect will not be neglected.

A Scottish Summer School is being planned by the Education Sub-Committee of the League of Nations Union in Scotland, to be held at Bonskeid, Pitlochry, Perthshire.

At Geneva, Oxford, and Pitlochry, in order to gain that mutual stimulation which comes from pooling ideas about carrying on the Union's work, a provision will be made for meetings of branch secretaries and for group debates on the conduct of special phases of Union activity, educational and Parliamentary work through the Churches, and the organisation of public meetings and other functions.

In connection with this year's International Conference of Voluntary Societies for the League of Nations at Prague, from 4th to 6th July, the Union has arranged a tour which will include receptions by the German and Belgian League of Nations Unions, and a visit to the Hague in time for the opening ceremony of the International Court of Justice.

On the Continental journeys the approximate charges quoted below are inclusive, and cover second-class travel throughout. Supplementary charges for transferring to first class will be stated on the separate notices to be issued for each course.

Place.	Date.	Approximate Maximum Charge.
Prague	May 31st to June 16th	£30
Verona	June 1st to June 10th	£14
Oxford	July 24th to July 31st	£4 4s.
Geneva	August 4th to 14th (?)	£15

Copies of the several detailed programmes will be obtainable immediately from the office of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Early applications should be made. The holding of summer schools in Verona and Copenhagen is also contemplated, if sufficient applications are received to justify them.—Yours, &c.,

LOTHIAN SMALL.

League of Nations Union,  
15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

## Book Reviews.

## THE NEW EUROPE.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN EUROPE, 1917-1921. By DR. L. HADEN GUEST. (Hodder & Stoughton. 16s.)

THIS book goes far deeper than its title implies. At the first blush one expects to find it concerned with the rather worn-out topic of the struggle for supremacy of the nations of Europe *vis-à-vis* each other. Actually the purpose of the book is to show the conflict in each State of the new and so-called democratic tendencies which have developed so strongly since the war, against the ruling classes of the pre-war period.

Dr. Guest takes us on a personally conducted tour through Eastern and Central Europe, pointing out to us as we go the vigorous and entirely new systems that have grown up in place of what used to be called the chancelleries of Europe, and in doing so gives us an idea of Europe that must be quite unexpected to those who have not followed closely the trend of events since the Armistice. There is a tendency to-day to regard the condition of affairs in that part of the world as one of unmitigated chaos only to be repaired by the restabilisation of industry and finance into something akin to the conditions that prevailed before 1914. Dr. Guest, however, shows us that whatever the issue may be, it must inevitably be something entirely new; and, in place of the economic chaos to which perhaps we have attached too great importance, he draws our attention to the neglected factor of the growing political stability, which in our anxiety upon the economic score, we have tended to overlook.

As a writer, Dr. Guest is admirably fitted for the purpose he sets out to fulfil. He wants to interest us in the political cross-currents and also in the economic development of the countries of which he is writing; and most wisely, instead of posing as a pontifical "know-all," he tells his story straightforwardly and without literary embellishment. The result is a narrative told with all the gusto of an enthusiast, the wisdom of a clear political thinker and the humanity of his profession, that carries one from beginning to end of the book almost as breathlessly as the best works of fiction. Most of all, one is reminded of a brilliant raconteur telling his experiences to a circle of his intimate friends; and this utter absence of self-consciousness in the tale is one of its most attractive features.

Having said that to make quotations from the book would be to detract from its proportions, let the rule be violated once in favour of one of the most apt renderings of a foreign word with which it has ever been the good fortune of the reviewer to encounter. Speaking of Bucharest, he says, "one of the chief virtues claimed for it is that it is so 'simpatico' (sympathique)"; and then follows this definition—"which can only be translated into English by a long paraphrase describing the warmth of the heart, or at any rate somewhere near the heart, diffused after a good dinner in well-lit, warm, and not too responsible surrounding." Having made this quotation, one is all the more confirmed in the view that no quotation should have been made; for perhaps this gives the impression that Dr. Guest watches out for opportunities to make epigrams; and this is not so. His comments, witty, humane, caustic, appreciative, follow naturally and without effort upon the subjects he is discussing. There is a delightful picture-gallery in the book, including Lenin, a somewhat sinister personality; Tchicherin, "a thin, sandy-whiskered man with a little voice sometimes rather piping and a nervous handshake," who comes, it seems, of noble family; Sverdlov, a splendid vigorous character; President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia, whose words "the life of others must be holy to man; and man must respect the

personality and life of his fellow-men," might well be a motto for the League of Nations; and M. Stamboulsky, the peasant Prime Minister of Bulgaria. But perhaps the most charming portrait of all is that of the sincere, broad-minded, and impartial thinker who is unconsciously revealed in these wise and well-written pages as Dr. Haden Guest himself.

R. B.

## A STUDY OF NIETZSCHE.

SELECTED LETTERS OF FREDERICK NIETZSCHE. Edited by OSCAR LEVY. (William Heinemann. 15s.)

IT is an unreflecting type of criticism, all too common in the country, that regards Nietzsche as nothing more than a propounder of paradoxes with an irrational bias against the current morality of his day. This, the most modern of iconoclasts, has been compared to Voltaire, but the comparison does less than justice to his robust antinomianism. Voltaire hated not morality *per se* but the methods employed by those institutions traditionally charged with its preservation. Nietzsche does not select any particular expression of the religious spirit for attack, but strikes at the very "idea," at the basis of Christian ethics. To him Christian teaching was "slave-morality," the negation of the will-to-live, in which the most unsocial virtues of pity and charity were exalted at the expense of a healthy individualism, and the elimination of the ego made the supreme end of existence. Religion in Nietzsche's mind was bound up with all the crudities and insincerities that emerge in the traditional estimate of moral values. His *bête-noir* was pedantry. His aim was a "transvaluation of values," a change in the whole *rationale* of modern culture as it had emerged from a civilisation based on Christian ethics.

Nietzsche cut too deep into human prejudice and prepossession not to arouse antipathy and incur the hatred that pursues the man who challenges the existing order. If he escaped the fate of Socrates it was only because he lived in an age when private opinion and public security were no longer considered interdependent.

But these letters, if they show nothing else, prove that Nietzsche was not the semi-demented egotist that popular criticism has declared him to be. Cradled in Schopenhauer and the most acutely critical school of German thought he penetrated beneath the surface of life and laid bare those obscure relations of ideas, those endless antinomies which emerge in any exhaustive analysis of human thought and motive. His intellectual range was immense, though he cannot be altogether acquitted of that hyperbole of spirit which often overtakes a great mind surcharged with a message that transcends the power to express it.

Two popular fallacies at least these letters help to explode. His superman was no "German," for he had a supreme contempt both for German culture and the spirit that inspired it. Nor is there any hint of that insanity which has often been alleged as clouding his last days. These letters reflect a wholesome, thoroughly human outlook, tempered only by the underlying current of the writer's life's philosophy. We are grateful to Dr. Levy for these letters. The force of Nietzsche's thought seems to have lost nothing in translation.

R. F. R.

## THE NEW PATRIOTISM.

THE QUEST OF NATIONS. By T. R. W. LUNT. (United Council for Missionary Education.)

MR. LUNT'S "quest" is the "building of a new international life in which nations will find themselves as parts of a larger whole, and wherein each will be truly free because they recognise an obligation

## RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE.

## 12 SPECIAL NUMBERS

OF

## The Manchester Guardian Commercial

Edited by JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES.

Reconstruction in Europe is the concern of the hour, without great and concerted effort there can be no return to industrial and financial stability, no recovery of trade and employment.

The "Manchester Guardian Commercial," as a contribution to the settlement of these difficulties, has undertaken one of the greatest enterprises in the history of journalism. It will publish, under the editorship of Mr. J. M. Keynes, a series of twelve special numbers, in five or six different languages, dealing with the financial, economic and industrial conditions of Europe, and written by the chief authorities of Europe.

Special staffs of translators have been engaged and arrangements made for the world circulation which the eminence of the contributors will ensure. Exchanges, tariffs, public finance and credit, communications, emigration, food supplies, raw materials, the prospects in Russia—these and kindred topics will be dealt with by some of the greatest living authorities, and the whole series will be the most complete guide to the problems of reconstruction that has been anywhere attempted.

An important and novel feature will be the BUSINESS BAROMETER, which will consist of a series of charts and tables prepared by experts in Great Britain, the United States, and the chief European countries, setting forth the current and probable future tendencies of world finance, trade, prices, employment, and so forth. This barometer will constitute a new departure in the presentation of economic facts, and will be the most authoritative graphic survey published. The European sections will be compiled by the London School of Economics, assisted by correspondents abroad; the American section will contain the BUSINESS BAROMETER prepared by the Economic Research Department of Harvard University, which has an influential circulation among business men in the United States.

The list of writers so far arranged for the earlier numbers includes, among other distinguished public men:—

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (who will contribute an introductory message),  
Mr. ASQUITH,  
M. PAINLEVE (former Prime Minister of France),  
Signor NITTI (former Prime Minister of Italy),

LORD ROBERT CECIL,  
Dr. BENES (Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia),  
Dr. WIRTH (the German Chancellor),  
Dr. RATHENAU (German Foreign Minister),  
M. LENIN,

Economic and business authorities like

Sir WILLIAM GOODE (late Chairman of the Austrian Section of the Reparations Commission),  
Sir A. GOLDFINCH (late Director of Raw Materials at the War Office, now Chairman of the British-Australian Wool Realisation Association),  
M. BUISSON (French ex-Minister of Mercantile Marine),  
M. VINGENT (French ex-Minister of Labour),  
Sir JOSIAH O. STAMP (late Assistant Secretary Board of Inland Revenue),  
Sir LEO MONEY (late Parliamentary Secretary Ministry of Shipping),

Sir WESTCOTT ABELL (Chief Shipping Surveyor, Lloyd's Register),  
Sir FREDERICK LEWIS (Chairman of the Furness, Withy Steamship Co.),  
Stato Secretary SCHROEDER (of the German Treasury),  
Professor CASSEL (Currency Expert attached to the Brussels Conference),  
Dr. CIANNINI (Commercial and Financial Attache to the Italian Embassy, London),  
Dr. MELCHIOR (Head of the German Financial Experts at the Paris and Spa Conferences),  
Dr. CUNO (Chairman of the Hamburg-America Line).

Other names will be announced shortly. Mr. Keynes will himself contribute a number of important articles on the subjects on which he is the leading authority in Europe.

The first number will deal mainly with questions of foreign exchange, the consideration of which will be among the chief tasks of the Genoa Conference. Its chief feature will be an article in which Mr. Keynes puts forward a definite scheme for the stabilisation of the chief European exchanges.

The numbers will be printed in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

The first will appear on April 12th, and successive numbers at intervals of two to three weeks.

The price of each Reconstruction Number is 1s., post free, or from an agent; or an Annual Subscription to the Manchester Guardian Commercial: 16s. home, 18s. abroad, entitles the Subscriber to the 12 Reconstruction Numbers free.

To the Publisher,	THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN COMMERCIAL,	H
	Guardian Building, Manchester, England.	
I enclose 12s.	for the 12 Reconstruction Numbers.	Address.....
I enclose 16s.	for M.G.C. 1 year with Numbers.	Address in U.K. ....
I enclose 18s.	for M.G.C. 1 year with Numbers.	Address Abroad.....
Name.....		
Address.....		
Reconstruction Numbers desired in English, French, German, Italian or Spanish.		

## The Gospel in many Tongues

**SPECIMENS OF 543 LANGUAGES IN WHICH  
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY  
HAS PUBLISHED OR CIRCULATED SOME  
PORTION OF THE WORD OF GOD.**

NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION.

The *TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT* writes:

"As a chapter of literary history it provides a record unique and amazing. The British and Foreign Bible Society undertook in 1804 the task of circulating the Word of God throughout the world. The multitudinous scripts and languages in use among civilized and uncivilized people might well have dismayed those who embarked on this great enterprise. The present little book is a summary record of what has been achieved. During the 117 years which have passed since the founding of the Society it has accomplished the translation, printing, or distribution of the Scriptures in 543 languages, representing nearly 320 millions of books distributed during the period all over the earth. A specimen of every one of the languages—in most cases a translation of St. John iii. 16—is here given. The work still continues, and every six or seven weeks, we are told, some fresh language is added to the list."

Price, in paper cover, 6d., postage 2d. extra;  
in cloth, 1s. 6d., postage 2½d. extra.

**British & Foreign Bible Society,**  
146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

## WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS

*Read the facts for yourself*  
in the publications of  
the International Labour Office.  
(League of Nations.)

**International Labour Review**  
(Monthly).

A scientific popular publication containing articles, statistics and information relating to labour and industry, of interest and value to employers, workers and governments. Published by Messrs. Allen & Unwin Ltd. Annual Subscription post free £1 10s.

**Official Bulletin** (Weekly).

Contains the texts of official documents, reports of meetings of the Governing Body and the various International Commissions. Annual Subscription post free £1.

**Industrial and Labour Information**  
(Weekly).

Contains information derived from the Press and from technical and co-operative journals of the whole world, together with extracts from the growing volume of information received directly by the Office. Annual Subscription post free £1 10s.

Catalogue post free on application to:

**International Labour Office,**  
26, Buckingham Gate,  
London, S.W.1.

and a loyalty beyond themselves." In illustration of this task he describes in vivid language five episodes of world history during the last century in which great leaders have reached out towards this ideal. There is a sense of reality and united purpose running through the whole book, and Mr. Lunt contrives to make us see events happening before our own eyes. Thus he describes the Congress of Vienna of 1814, its difficulties and the reason of its failure. To this follows the glowing story of the making of a united Italy, centring round the figure of Mazzini. From Europe Mr. Lunt turns to America, and deals with the part that Abraham Lincoln played in securing the freedom of the slaves and the securing of unity in the States through all the terrible scenes of the Civil War. Asia and South Africa follow America; in regard to the one we learn how India and Britain were linked in a common destiny and a common purpose when led by such men as Henry Lawrence and what the principles which will bring India to-day through her time of trouble; in South Africa General Smuts fills the picture, and we read of the generous peace of 1902 which stood the supreme test of the Great War. In a closing chapter Mr. Lunt deals with the present situation and the hope, the only hope for the world, that lies in the League of Nations. Here and all through the book he insists on the need for the application of the principles of Christ to the problems of international life, and has shown that success or failure, peace or war, have followed in proportion as these principles have been accepted or disregarded.

While it is intended primarily for those of school age, the book should have a wider circulation. We understand that a series of outline studies is being prepared for the use of study circles, for which it is admirably adapted.

H. W. F.

**THE TRUTH ABOUT PALESTINE.** By LEONARD STEIN.  
(London Zionist Organisation. 3d.)

**THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE.** By HERBERT SIDEBOTHAM.  
(British Palestine Committee. 3d.)

"It may reasonably be asked," says Mr. Herbert Sidebotham, "why the British taxpayer should be called upon to assume any burden at all for the administration of the mandate over Palestine." It is a question that is continually being asked, and all the more since the provisions of the mandate have been attacked by a delegation of Arabs and Christians from Palestine who have secured a considerable hearing for their views in this country. Mr. Leonard Stein has published in "The Truth about Palestine" an effective reply to the Palestine Arab delegation, while Mr. Sidebotham meets the financial objection to the mandate.

It used to shock one to read of the disgraceful bores between pilgrims of different persuasions at the Holy Places in and around Jerusalem. One realised with dismay how different the actual was from what the rather fervid imagination had pictured as the atmosphere of the Holy City. The world was thrilled by the capture of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Turkish dominion less than four years ago. This unseemly wrangle has driven away all the romance and ruined the sense of religious mystery. It is no doubt inevitable. Mr. Stein says . . . "the rebuilding of Palestine is the translation of spiritual values into terms of economic reconstruction." Our only quarrel with Mr. Stein is that he fully makes out his case.

**THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.** By J. F. UNSTEAD, M.A., D.Sc. (League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.)

A plea for the inclusion in the school curriculum of teaching on the League of Nations.

## DO YOU CONSENT?

Twenty million Russian peasants are on the verge of starvation, and even if present relief plans are carried out, ten millions must die unless greatly increased help is sent immediately. For good or ill, it rests with such as read these words to consent or to protest. Every protest must be something more than a word—it must be a deed.

In the midst of comfort and security it is impossible for us to imagine the conditions under which these Russian peasants are dying.

## WHAT OUR WORKERS SEE.

Conditions are unthinkable. People are lying dead in the street. . . . They use dried leaves of all kinds and grind down bones into powder to make them up into a kind of cake. It seems so terrible to think that there are more than enough supplies in the world, and we stand by and see these people die of hunger.

I have seen terrible sights, the dead lying in the streets and left there for days, and heaps of bodies pitched like cabbage stumps on to the grass at the cemetery, waiting to be shovelled into the common

grave, already half full of other bodies. There are men, women, and children stripped of every vestige of clothing wanted for the living.

One father brought his three starving children to a home, saying he had no means of feeding them. They replied that they could only take in orphans. He said: "Then they shall be orphans," and went away to commit suicide. I could fill pages with such stories and worse. Oh, people are cruel to hold back from helping. The most tragic thing is that things are getting worse every day.

## FIFTEEN SHILLINGS WILL SAVE A LIFE UNTIL THE NEW HARVEST BRINGS NEW HOPE.

This appeal is issued by the Friends' Relief Committee, which is co-operating with the Save the Children Fund and the Russian Famine Relief Fund in the All-British Appeal for the Russian Famine. Donations, which may, if desired, be earmarked for any of these three Funds, should be sent to the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 10, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

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

League of Nations Union  
Notes and News.

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

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November, 1918 ... ..	3,217
November, 1920 ... ..	49,858
November, 1921 ... ..	135,450
March 24, 1922 ... ..	171,324

Meeting of the Welsh Council.

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council of the Union at Shrewsbury, at which Major David Davies presided, it was decided to institute a campaign for 100,000 members for the Union in Wales by Armistice Day, 1922.

A cablegram was sent to Viscount Finlay at the Peace Palace, The Hague, wishing the Permanent Court of International Justice God-speed in its work of peace; and a most cordial reply was received from Viscount Finlay.

The Welsh Council is making arrangements for the holding at Llandrindod Wells in Easter week of a Conference of the Representatives of the Branches throughout Wales.

Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.

This Branch has been conducting a very active campaign during the winter months. Commencing in September, over 120 meetings have been held up to date, resulting in an increase of close on 1,500 members. The Branch is singularly fortunate in having on their panel of speakers, ladies and gentlemen of outstanding ability, and it is owing to their unselfish efforts that the Branch is so flourishing.

A meeting of all the Branch members was held in February, addressed by Miss Margery Locket, of the Secretariat, Geneva, her subject being, "Personal Impressions, Geneva," and Miss Helen Fraser, who spoke on "Personal Impressions, Washington."

A Mile of Pennies.

As a means of raising £400 for the Appeal Fund of the Union, the Bridlington Branch is asking the inhabitants of the district to help by laying a mile of pennies along the sea-front. An influential committee has been formed to make the necessary arrangements, and the event has been fixed for Easter Monday.

A Year's Progress.

At their first Annual Meeting the Wilmslow Branch could point to a good year's work. Among the useful propaganda attempted may be mentioned a successful whist drive and dance, and an essay competition in the schools. In order to ensure that the interest of the Churches is aroused and maintained, a representative has been appointed for each of several denominations.

The Nottingham Branch has also an excellent record. The membership at the end of 1921 was 2,031, as compared with 548 at the end of 1920.

In Barnoldswick the membership has risen from 236 in March, 1921, to 822 in February, 1922. A vigorous junior branch is in existence, whose activities include an essay and a doll-dressing competition, and a jumble sale.

The Annual Meeting of the Brighton, Hove, and District Branch was attended by some 400 people.

A Reigate Appeal.

Reigate is making a big effort to stimulate interest in the work of the League of Nations Union. A copy of "Reigate Echoes," a circular containing League news and an appeal for more members and donations, has recently been distributed to every house in the borough. The response has been most encouraging. Subscriptions have come in from one shilling to £10, and in one case a whole family joined the local branch.

Essays on the League.

Bath is turning its attention to the education of the next generation. Addresses on the League are being arranged in most of the public and private schools, with a view to getting essays written in a prize competition.

A New French Periodical.

Readers of HEADWAY might with advantage peruse the advertisement which appears on p. 73 of the present issue. Some 2,000 Public and Secondary Schools in this country are deriving considerable help in their studies from the new French periodical, "La France," which acts as a useful link between the school text-book and French literature proper. We can cordially recommend this magazine to those who wish to maintain the true spirit of the Entente, based on a real understanding of the real France.

Sydenham Branch and the Churches.

The feature of the report adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Sydenham Branch was the account of the active co-operation of all the local churches. The Churches had appointed representatives to sit on the Branch Committee, and to conduct active propaganda in all the congregations. This was a big factor in the increase of the membership of the Branch from 81 to 282. Religious organisations everywhere give moral support to the Union; and it is hoped that the example of Sydenham will be more generally followed in seeing that this support is turned to practical account. If it is, there should soon be no room for the rebuke that, although many millions of people pray for peace every Sunday, there are still only 170,000 members of the Union.

Bucks Federation.

The Marquis of Lincolnshire, Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, presided at a gathering of leading Bucks residents at Aylesbury on March 3rd, when a County Federation of the League of Nations Union was considered. The meeting enthusiastically adopted the proposal, and decided to press forward with the Appeal for the Central Fund of the Union.

Important Meetings.

During the past month some 250 meetings have been arranged by the Union, amongst the most important of which were Manchester, Plymouth, Swindon, Hampstead, Birkenhead, and Oxford; the principal speakers being the Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Lady Astor, M.P., the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Lit., the Marquess of Hartington, and Mr. H. Wilson Harris.

The Empire and the League.

Even from the membership records of the League of Nations Union it is easy to prove that there are few parts of the world where enthusiastic supporters of the League of Nations do not exist. Not everywhere, however, did it at once seem clear that the only way in which to secure behind the League the necessary volume and solidity of public opinion is the formation of societies to promote its ideals and spread knowledge of its work. It is quite comprehensible that countries where the ideals of the League are most widely endorsed have sometimes been the slowest in organising the expression of public opinion. It thus happens that League of Nation Societies were formed in many countries in Europe before they developed out of the abundant sympathy and goodwill of people in our own Dominions. To-day, however, the movement for consolidating the support of the League has made great strides throughout the Empire. Australia has societies in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, and South Australia, and possibly by the time this is printed, will have united these societies in a general federation covering the Australian Continent.

The Canadian Society has been in existence less than ten months, but is already a powerful organisation with its own journal. In several centres in South Africa branches of the South African League of Nations have been formed since the inauguration of the Union, February 17th, 1921, at Johannesburg, when 4,000 people met to hear General Smuts.

More recently in New Zealand, largely owing to the activity of Professor Pringle, of Otago University, no less than twelve branches of the New Zealand League of Nations Union have been formed in the islands. In India, while a great many individuals are interested, and meetings in support of the League have been held in many places, the uncertain political situation has hitherto prevented the widespread support of the League taking concrete shape in a society.

Correspondence from British people from all over the world shows that not only in the Dominions which are directly represented in the League, but in every part of the Empire, the progress is being eagerly followed of the great experiment in world-co-operation.

CAN YOU SPEAK IN PUBLIC?

Every man or woman who wishes to speak in public will find "THE BOOK OF PUBLIC SPEAKING" an absolutely indispensable work. However unusual the subject upon which they lack material, they will find it here. Parallels, analogies, ideas and suggestions—all are to be found in profusion in its pages. Alike for the practised speaker and for the man who wishes to acquire this valuable art, no work so important has ever been issued.

For that reason, the publication of "The Book of Public Speaking" is an event of the greatest importance. For it is the first comprehensive work upon this subject published in this country.

It is edited by A. C. Fox-Davies, Barrister-at-Law, and contains articles by:—

Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England, on "Parliamentary Oratory." The late Miss Mary MacArthur, on "Women on the Platform." Rt. Hon. T. J. Macnamara, M.P., on "How to Make an Effective Speech." Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, on "The Art of Oratory." Arthur Bourchier, M.A., on "How to Prepare and Deliver a Speech." J. L. Griffiths, on "After Dinner Speaking." The late Spencer Leigh Hughes, on "Humour in Public Speaking." A. C. Benson, M.A. (Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge), on "The Art of Lecturing." Albert Crew (Barrister-at-Law), on "The Conduct of and Procedure at Meetings."

But this is only a portion of the work, for "The Book of Public Speaking" is of the greatest interest even for the man who never has to speak in public, because it presents for the first time an entirely new form of literature of enthralling interest. Its handsome covers contain the greatest speeches of modern times.

Mr. Philip Snowden writes:—

"The articles on 'The Book of Public Speaking' are full of very excellent advice."

Sir W. Bull, M.P., writes:—

"What a godsend 'The Book of Public Speaking' will be to a busy man who is called upon at short notice to make speeches on all sorts of subjects."

A FREE BOOKLET.

To the CAXTON PUBLISHING CO., LTD.,  
287, Surrey Street, London, W.C.2.

Please send me, free of charge, and without any obligation on my part, illustrated Booklet of "THE BOOK OF PUBLIC SPEAKING."

Name .....

(Send this form or a postcard.)

Address .....

If envelope is left open 1d. stamp is enough.

The Appeal.

Well organised drawing-room meetings of this nature have been held at Jordans, Beaconsfield, and Gerrards Cross, while a considerable sum of money was recently raised at a drawing-room meeting kindly arranged by Mrs. Timothy Davies, of Kensington, at which the Duchess of Hamilton was the principal speaker.

Lady Mount (Newbury), Mrs. Wheeler-Bennett (Keston, Kent), Lady Clwyd, Mrs. Owen Mitchell, Lady Barran, and Mrs. Muspratt have kindly promised to lend their drawing rooms for meetings in the near future.

The Co-operative Societies are continuing to give us their active support. Thirty-two individual societies have contributed to the Central Fund of the Union.

Branches.

The total number of recognised Branches was 794 on March 24th, an increase of 46 on the previous month.

Corporate Members.

The following are now Corporate Members of the Union: Barnet, Men's Adult School; Bath, Trim-street Unitarian Chapel; Bethnal Green (E.) Women's Liberal Association; Birmingham, Acocks Green Congregational Church; Bury and Radcliffe Y.M.C.A.; Blackburn, St. Silas Church; Brighton, Florence Baptist Church; Cambridge, St. Columbia's Presbyterian Church; Carlisle, Church of Christ; Carlisle, Y.M.C.A.; Denby Dale Free Church Council; Derby, Victoria-street Congregational Church; Eltham Park Brotherhood; The Erdington Women's Sisterhood (Birmingham); The Green Cross Corps; Letchworth, Free Church; Liverpool and District Federation of P.S.A.s; Loughton, near Bletchley, Baptist Church; National Women's Auxiliary Committee of the Y.M.C.A.; Newcastle, Gateshead and District Trades and Labour Council; Rangoon, Cathedral Parish; Romford, Men's Meeting; Ruiton, Congregational Church; Wolverhampton, Queen-street Congregational Church; Woodford, Congregational Church.

The General Council.

The Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Union will be held in London on May 25th. There will be two sessions—morning and afternoon.

THE IDEAL NON-IRRITATING  
NON-STAINING  
IODINE OINTMENT

**IODEX**

THE SCIENTIFIC  
REMEDY FOR STIFF  
AND SWOLLEN  
JOINTS, SKIN ERUPTIONS AND  
IRRITATIONS,  
CHAPS, CHILBLAINS,  
CUTS AND BRUISES,  
STRAINS AND  
SPRAINS, INFLAMED  
CONDITIONS  
GENERALLY, AND AS  
AFIRSTAIDRESSING

Iodex has healing anti-septic, and inflammation-reducing virtues not to be found in any other ointment or curative agent whatsoever.

It is rapid in action, causes no pain, and can be applied freely to either broken or unbroken surfaces, with none but beneficial results.

For more than ten years doctors have used Iodex successfully. Therefore you can use it with every confidence in those simple conditions which do not ordinarily require medical attention.

Try it to-day!

Iodex supersedes even the finest of older remedial agents, because it possesses all their advantages in an enhanced form, yet does not stain or burn the skin. Of all high-class chemists. Menley & James, Ltd., 64, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.1. Price 2s.



"A valuable, concise record."—The Times.  
**The 2nd YEAR of the LEAGUE**  
By HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY

Reader in Modern History in the University of Cambridge  
Author of "Life of George Canning," "History of the Peace Conference of Paris," &c. In cloth, 6s. net.

The important developments in the growth of the League are indicated, and the new position as regards Mandates and Minorities and the Permanent Court of Justice explained. Particular attention is given to the two greatest achievements of the League—the settlement of the Albanian question and the Upper Silesian Award. There are many remarkable quotations from the speeches of the leading personalities both in Committee and the Assembly, which throw an interesting light on their national policies, and which have not been reproduced in this country. Special attention is given to the part played by the British Dominions and the present attitude of the United States towards the League.

Obtainable from all booksellers and from the Publishers  
**HUTCHINSON & Co., Paternoster Row, E.C.4.**

**Banners!** FOR BRANCHES OF THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Have you got your Banner?

WE MAKE THE FINEST BANNERS IN THE WORLD.

Let us make yours.

BEST MATERIAL. FAST COLOURS. BEST DESIGNS.

WRITE TO US FOR PARTICULARS.

**J. WILLIAMS BUTCHER,**

2 & 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, Farringdon St., London, E.C.

Telephone: CITY 4914 and 4915.

**Lantern Lectures and Slides.**

Arrangements have now been made with the firm of J. Williams Butcher, 2 and 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, Farringdon Street, London, E.C. 4, to act as the League of Nations Union's agents for the hire of the lantern lecture and slides produced by the Union. All inquiries for the lecture and slides must be addressed to Mr. J. Williams Butcher, and not to the office of the Union.

**The Empire's Policy.**

Among the resolutions adopted by the General Council of the Union in January last, occurs the following:—"The British Government should . . . finally lay it down that the League is the keystone of its foreign policy, and so inform all its representatives abroad." On March 7th, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher stated at Leicester that "the policy of the League is the policy of the British Empire."

**Easter Vacation School.**

The Women's International League is holding an Easter Vacation School on "International Understanding" at the Guest House, Newlands, Keswick, from April 13th to 27th. Apply to Miss D. E. Evans, 35, Gower Street, W.C.

**The League at Elections.**

A letter, just received from J. D. Joyce, Vice-President of the British Legion, urges the League of Nations Union to participate actively in the forthcoming Parliamentary elections. The Union is, indeed, vigorously pursuing the policy which the Legion recommends. Reference has already been made in these columns to the suggested questionnaire for use at Parliamentary elections (P.D. 3a), issued by the Parliamentary Department of the Union.

Other Societies which agree with the British Legion in making genuine Parliamentary support of the League a test question at elections, are the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and the Industrial Christian Fellowship.

It is hoped that the cordial feeling that exists between the British Legion and the League of Nations Union will be a considerable factor in assuring the success of the British Legion's great membership campaign in April.

**TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.**

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

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

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

The minimum subscription 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:—

I desire to become a Member of the League of Nations Union and a Subscriber to "Headway." I enclose my first annual subscription of £ : s. d.

Mr., Mrs. or Miss.....

Address.....

**THE BRITISH TOURING CLUB****SEASIDE and COUNTRY CENTRES**

KENT BOURNEMOUTH DEVON WYE VALLEY THE LAKES JERSEY GUERNSEY WALES Etc.

**MOTORING HOLIDAY TOURS 7 to 21 days.**

**CENTRES ABROAD—**

ST. MALO DINARD PARAME OSTEND KNOCKE VEVEY INTERLAKEN ROME FLORENCE, Etc.

**ALPINE RESIDENCES at FINHAUT.**

SUMMER COASTING TOURS . . . 4 to 13 days.

**TOURS ABROAD AT REDUCED PRICES**

FRANCE (Paris, Picardy or Brittany). PLEASURE CRUISES—13 days S.Y. "Meteor" TOUR  
BELGIUM—HOLLAND. NORTH CAPE—20 days' Sea Tour  
SWISS RESORTS—Highlands and Lakes.  
ITALY—Special 10 to 30 days' Tours.

Trips to the Mediterranean. 23 days—Madeira & Canary Isles. Complete Programme post free for stamp to non-members. Write "H," care of The Club, 17, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.

**ARLINGTON TOURING CLUB.**

*Why not help forward the League of Nations by studying other Nations on your holidays?*

Spring and Summer tours to Holland, Belgium, Norway, France, Italy, Tyrol and the Passion Play, Spain and the Pyrenees.

Walking tours in Normandy and the Bernese Oberland.

Send for programme to FRED TALLANT, 28, Red Lion Square, London, W.C. 1.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION—WELSH COUNCIL.**

The Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union invite APPLICATIONS for the undermentioned FULL-TIME POSTS.

1. ORGANISER—Must possess real organising ability and be able to address public meetings in Welsh and in English. Salary £300—£400, with travelling expenses according to scale.

2. CLERK—Must possess experience of office administration, and keep correctly books of account and be able to reply to Welsh letters in Welsh. Salary £250.

Applications, marked "Organiser" or "Clerk," setting forth experience, accompanied by copies of recent testimonials, to reach me not later than the first post on April 4th, 1922.

On behalf of the Council,

GWILYM DAVIES, Hon. Director,  
6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

**CAUTION.****To Those About to Advertise—DON'T**

Overlook HEADWAY—the best advertising medium of all the Monthly publications.

Write to ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER, Castle Court, Poppins Court, E.C.A., for RATE CARD

**Crosses & Headstones**

In the Beautiful SILVER GREY CORNISH GRANITE ALSO IN WHITE MARBLE & STONE

HEADSTONE | MALTESE CROSS  
3ft. 6ins. ... £17 | 4ft. ... £19 10s.

CARRIAGE PAID ANY STATION. Illustrated Booklet H. Post Free



G. MAILE & SON, LTD., 365-367, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1