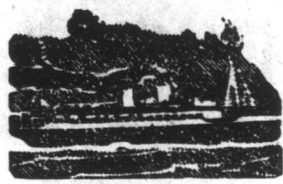


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Where Shall the League of Nations Find a Home?

By Major David Davies, Member of the British Parliament.

One of the most important matters to be determined by the Assembly of the League of Nations, when it meets on November 15th, is the location of the permanent home of the League of Nations. Geneva is mentioned in the Covenant, but the Council have decided to refer the final choice to the Assembly. It has taken this action partly because it is aware that there was no time for adequate consideration when Geneva was selected, and partly because it realises the tremendous influence which the decision may have on the future of international relations.

There have been many attempts in the past to form Leagues of Nations, although none has yet been established on the present scale. All have failed. Why? Because the former Leagues have never gripped the imagination of the public. They have lacked substance. They have been regarded as paper instruments contrived for the convenience of princes and diplomats. When difficulties have arisen, the public have placed no trust in them. In fact, they have been immediately forgotten.

How can such a fate be averted in the case of the League of Nations—the only alternative to the slaughter, the suffering, the envy, the hate and the waste of war? The answer is very simple and very difficult. It is—by popularising the League. The people must be taught to regard it as a permanent, businesslike institution, as substantial, as just and as inevitable as the Law Courts. When one man has a dispute with another man which he cannot settle amicably, he immediately thinks of the Law Courts. So when one nation has a dispute with another nation, the citizens of each must instinctively turn to the League.

The first step towards this popularising is to select as Headquarters a city of such universal fame and significance as to keep the existence of the League always fresh in the minds of everyone. The capital must appeal equally to all the world. It must be as well-known in the East as in the West, and it must not belong too much to either. It must be away from the atmosphere of the Chancelleries, ex-territorial, international, and be endowed with the pomp and cir-

cumstance which are as necessary in peace as in war. Religion is a bond among countless millions. The seat of the League should therefore be of interest to the religious. Historical associations must preserve continuity between the old and the new. But above all, a place must be found which will demonstrate that the League seeks to benefit equally every single State—that it does not exist for the sake of a few great powers.

Is there a city which possesses the qualifications outlined above? Let us look around. What are the names that spring to the mind? Geneva, singled out in the Covenant, Jerusalem, the old-time City of Peace, Rome, so full of renown, Brussels, Versailles and Strassburg, convenient to Great Powers, Constantinople, junction of East and West, the Hague, home of Congresses, Washington, seat of the League of States—these are the places from which the choice must surely be made.

The reasons advanced in favour of Geneva are two-fold: firstly, it was a neutral city throughout the Great War, and secondly it is associated with a famous International Convention. The replies to these arguments are that the principles of the League are entirely at variance with neutrality when oppression is afoot, that what occurred during the war should not affect our decisions now, and that the relation with the Geneva Convention is one of singular ill-omen, because no other agreement was more universally abused. The city is far from the sea and cannot be internationalised. Just as Geneva is too closely identified with the West, so Jerusalem is too Eastern in character. Its distance from the sea and difficulty of access must weigh heavily in the scale. Rome is a city with an atmosphere of politics which cannot be internationalised. The latter overwhelming disadvantage applies equally to Brussels, Versailles, Strassburg and the Hague. The selection of any of those cities would suggest that the League was purely an instrument for the powers of Western Europe—an idea which would be absolutely fatal to its permanent success.

When all these famous names are considered, a process of elimination

points to Constantinople, but elimination is far from being the only argument. The advantages of Constantinople are solid, surpassing and unique. The name grips the imagination. This has ever been a capital city. It possesses a romance and prestige matched by no other place. It figures in the history books of all the world.

The actual seat of the League can be built, near the city, in the Zone of the Straits. By the terms of the Turkish Peace, this Zone comes under the control of an International Commission. The home of the League would thus be on international soil. It would be the freehold of the world, just as Washington, the seat of the American Parliament, is the freehold of the United States as a whole and owes allegiance to no single state.

Historical and religious associations will appeal to all creeds and countries. Roots, sunk deep into the past, will link the historical with the present. This was once the capital of Christendom. It is intimately associated with Mohammedanism and with the Greek Church. Its selection would greatly impress the myriad followers of the Prophet, for the League could be housed within a mile or two of the palace of the Sultan, Commander of the Faithful.

From time immemorial Constantinople has been regarded as the meeting-place of East and West. It therefore possesses natural claims for its selection as the political capital of the world. In the opinion of many well qualified judges, the East will play a more important part in the evolution of the world during the next hundred years than it has in past decades. The choice of Constantinople as the seat of the League will impress Eastern peoples that the League is a World institution—not another alliance of Western powers.

How magnificent is the strategic situation of the Bosphorus! Here is the only access to the riches of Black Sea ports, the waterway from the mighty Danube to Western Europe, a submarine base of infinite menace to the Suez Canal. Small wonder that the city of Constantinople has been a potential cause of war since earliest history.

A strong power is made too strong by its ownership. In the hands of a weak power it is a menace to international relations, because sooner or later covetous eyes are certain to be cast towards it. Russia will become a great nation again. If Germany should keep apart from the League of Nations and should form an alliance with Russia, the future of Constantinople may be raised anew. Experience has shown that conflicts concerning Constantinople invariably embroil many nations in addition to those who are directly concerned.

Constantinople is a traditional disturber of the peace. The city would be freed from all risks of further attack if the League were established near by. No power would then dare to face the prejudice which it would incur if it threatened a place made so sacred to the world.

Yet another danger would be averted. Everyone knows that the Balkans are the cradle of wars. Constantinople is the ideal situation for studying the insidious influences ever at work in this part of the globe. Disputes are best settled, and policies are best planned, "on the spot." Here the influence of the League will be close at hand to extinguish smouldering flames before the breath of intrigue has fanned up a conflagration.

The only argument that can be raised against Constantinople is that it is not at present very readily accessible to some of the Western powers. For the world generally, there is no more central city than the Junction of the East and West. Its selection for the purpose in view would greatly stimulate the development of transit routes by land, sea, and air, which would bring it within easy reach of countries at present remote from the Bosphorus. Delegates will undoubtedly be willing to suffer at first a little inconvenience in order to assist so great a cause. They will remember that the League will succeed only if it unites all the nations of the world, and that a location is required which will be of unanimous acceptability. No State will think that Constantinople has been chosen for the convenience of others.

Steps have been taken to bring the foregoing considerations to the direct notice of every President, of every Prime Minister and of every delegate who attends the first meeting of the Assembly. It is not suggested that the League of Nations should go at once to Constantinople. What is urged is this—that the delegates should look ahead, should search now for the location that will prove ideal when normal conditions reign again throughout the world. The choice is of paramount importance. This is no matter for haste. A small commission might be appointed to investigate the question. The planning and building will occupy from five to ten years.

Here is an opportunity to demonstrate to our children our faith and our foresight. It is an opportunity that will come once only during the life of the League. Let it be grasped before it has been stolen by the hand of time.

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Germany to Ask Holland to Expel Kaiser.

Owing to the former Kaiser's active propaganda to regain the German Throne the German Government may request Holland to expel him. He is seeking to organize a strong Royalist movement, aiming at the restoration of the Hohenzollerns, and ultimately at the reconstruction of a Bismarck-made empire. The backbone of the movement is a Prussian Council of twenty Junker militarists, who are in constant communication with Wilhelm. Their programme calls for the maintenance of Prussian superiority above other Germans, holding that the restoration of the absolute hegemony of Prussia is essential to German unity, because Prussian qualities made Germany a great world power. An attempt is being made to keep fresh in the mind of Germans the magnificent record of the Monarchy which it seeks to restore out of "gratitude to the Hohenzollerns."

Negroes Besieged in Chicago Church.

CHICAGO, Sept. 21.—Three negroes were besieged for more than an hour in St. Gabriel's Church on the south side last night. A mob of a thousand people were after the negroes, who had killed a white man, Charles Barrett, who is said to have gone to the rescue of a white girl insulted by negroes. They were rescued and placed in jail, when squads of policemen were sent to avoid a possible race riot. Shortly after Barrett had been killed, three negroes were dragged from a street car two blocks away and severely beaten.

The negroes who killed Barrett, cutting his throat with a razor, were chased several blocks by a continually increasing crowd and finally dashed into the church. Two hid in the confessional and one back of the altar. Sticks and stones were thrown at the church and frequent yells of "Lynch them" came from the crowd. Father Burke, pastor of the church, appeared at the entrance and for several minutes pleaded with the crowd to disperse but without avail. Only when policemen armed with rifles appeared did the mob break up.

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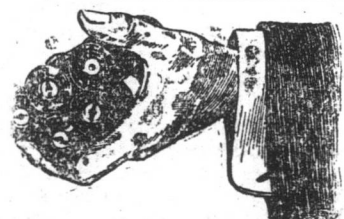
(From the Charlottetown Examiner.)

Self-determination does not, we apprehend, mean that any section of any nation may detach itself when a majority of that section has voted to do so. The principle of "self-determination" involves the "determination" of the whole nation.

British Columbia could not, for instance, be permitted to go out of the Canadian Confederation if a majority of its people were to take it into their heads that they would do better as an independent republic. A few years ago the United States underwent a terrible civil war rather than let the Southern States go because they were "self-determined" to go.

The principle of "self-determination" implies that the majority of the whole nation shall "determine"—not that any section of the nation shall have the power to rend the nation.

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Irish-Americans Ask for Apology.

NEW YORK, Sept. 22.—The National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom to-day announced that at a secret session of the council here last Friday night, resolutions were adopted calling upon Secretary of State Coby to protest against and seek immediate withdrawal of the British Admiralty's order forbidding vessels sailing under the American flag to enter the harbor of Cork, and to insist upon an apology, "for

this flagrant violation of the freedom of the seas in time of peace." Other resolutions adopted protested against "England's desperate efforts to overthrow the Republic of Ireland" and demanded that the United States insist upon the immediate release of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, and

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his fellow-hunger strikers from Brixton prison, London.

Another resolution adopted declared that "unalterably opposed as we are to the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, even with reservations, we denounce the misleading and wholly unfounded statements recently made regarding it by Governor Cox as affording Ireland an opportunity to obtain her liberty."

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