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No doubt many Unionists might demur, or only accept with reluctance the claim of the Irish to a distinct nationality, and would be prepared to stand by the Act of Union. This position is logical, though no longer capable of realisation. No section of the British people has a monopoly of wrong-doing towards Ireland, but no party should be less in sympathy with the prevailing anarchy in Ireland than those Unionists who followed Lord Har- ington and maintained that Ireland could be governed in the same way as any other portion of the United Kingdom, provided only that she had in every direction the same rights and the same consideration. This basis of government is the direct opposite of government by reprisals and terrorism, but unfortunately a large number of Unionists have been dragged into acquiescence.

The main argument of the present Prime Minister in support of his Irish policy appears to be by reference to a supposed analogy to the conditions which prevailed in America at the outbreak of civil war between North and South. Analogies are seldom a basis for sound argument, and a similar analogy, stated in the same broad outline, would justify the maintenance by Austria, Russia, and Germany of their sovereignty over races claiming a right to determine for themselves their national future and destiny. If the proposition is sound that Ireland is a nation, there is no analogy to the American precedent; and, so far as history is concerned, no nation could have expressed its disapprobation of the Act of Union more certainly than did the Irish nation in 1800. "In fact," said Lord Grey, "the nation is nearly unanimous," and this seems not to be too wide a generalisation if the bribed interests are excluded.

It is not my purpose to dwell on the terrible conditions which prevail in Ireland. There is a vendetta of violence, accompanied by a growth of savagery and the lowering of the whole moral atmosphere. The Castle Connell outrage is fairly typical. It only came in a special manner to my knowledge because my brother and his wife were dangerously assaulted, without a shadow of excuse. A British citizen is no longer able to claim protection in Ireland, owing to the outbreak of crime and anarchy, and he is told that his evidence is not required for an impartial inquiry. What is the lot of an average Irishman if an Englishman can be treated in this way with impunity? Who is there who believes that the evidence would have been discredited had it been offered to prove similar outrages by a body of Sinn Feiners or of the I.R.A.? What would be said if a British citizen and his wife had been treated with this indignity in a foreign country?

What is the remedy? Two distinct propositions have been made. On the one side there is the remedy connoted in the expression of "getting murder by the throat." The power of militarism may prevail in Ireland for a time, but, permanently, military law and reprisals by killing, arson, and looting can never pacify Ireland, or do other than arouse indignation in the vast body of Irish emigrants who live outside Ireland. The plea of law and order sounds hollow in face of an increasing anarchy and disorder. The time is passed when a racial claim for a free life and free development can be met

the electoral farce which has just been enacted. The members of the movement, of which I am the spokesman on this occasion, think the moment is opportune to seek support and public discussion of the proposal.—Yours, &c.,
E. A. ASTON, Hon. Secretary.
The Irish Constituent Assembly Movement, 66, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin,
May 31.

"GREEK MASSACRE OF MOSLEMS."

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Your correspondent in the Near East, whose communication you published in your issue of the 27th, has done a real service to humanity in helping to lift the veil hitherto deliberately drawn over the atrocious treatment by the Greeks of the Moslem inhabitants of Asia Minor. Persistent reports have, for some time, reached both here and India of outrages on women and girls, of the slaughter of innocent men, and of the deliberate destruction of places of worship. In the profligacy of wilful murder even women and children have not been spared. Whilst the effect of these reports in India has been galvanic, in England they have hitherto escaped notice. To your correspondent and your paper a special debt of gratitude is due from all who uphold justice and humanity for the courage in bringing to light the cruel wrongs to which the Moslems of Western Asia and Thrace have been subjected as the result of an utterly misconceived policy. This policy has brought about two results, the one deplorable from the standpoint of humanity, the other deplorable in the interests of the Empire—namely, the bitter estrangement of probably the staunchest element in India, whose loyalty it has been my endeavour for the last fifty years to weld to the British Throne. The idea apparently was to revive the old Byzantine Empire on the ruins of the Moslem Empire to act as a counterpoise to the Latin States in the Eastern Mediterranean. Such an idea was doomed to failure; and, as might have been foreseen, the Greeks have proved themselves by their conduct utterly unfit to rule over alien races. Human memory is always short, and what happened in Thessaly and Crete was either brushed aside or forgotten.

It seems to me that for her own fair name and the avoidance of further commitments in men and money it behoves England to shake off the odium of supporting Greek ambitions in the East. As I write, however, I see in a prominent journal a direct suggestion that England should actually participate with the Greeks in the war which is still afflicting harried and suffering Western Asia.—Yours, &c.,
AMEER ALI.
May 30.

ARMENIA: WHAT IS STILL POSSIBLE.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Under the heading "Silesia and Armenia: A Contrast" you published on Friday a powerful indictment by Mr. Noel Buxton of the action of our Government and the Allied Governments towards Armenia. It is not, I think, too much to say that they have betrayed an ally who had trusted them and

the essential point is that we are leaders in industry at a time when our followers are about to suffer, mainly as a result of their own follies. Therefore we have the duty of sacrificing every selfish interest in order to help them, remembering that our efforts will be vain if we act from fear of revolution or from any other motive except affection for them. For men are perishing for want of leaders in religion, in politics, and in every kind of human activity. Cannot we, who are called leaders of industry, at length prove our right to the title by showing that, in claiming leadership, we claim only the heaviest burden and the least reward?—Yours, &c.,
AUSTIN HOPKINSON.

House of Commons.

BERLIN AND UPPER SILESIA.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—I am reluctant to take up any more of your space by dealing with Mrs. Buxton's reply to my last letter, especially as I really do not believe that Mrs. Buxton's figures, even if they were proved to be true, help us at all to decide on the future of Upper Silesia. Unless Mrs. Buxton has very much changed her opinions, I should imagine that she would regard the wishes of the Upper Silesian people as the outstanding consideration, and that she would most anxiously scrutinise the results of the plebiscite, not the unofficial majority figures circulated by German propaganda, but the results as shown in the method prescribed by the Treaty of Versailles.

Nothing can more promote unsettlement in Europe and impede its economic recovery than that Mrs. Buxton and others should give Polish miners to believe that they and theirs are simply pawns in a reparation game to be played out between Great Britain and Germany.

But is Germany really so badly off as Mrs. Buxton imagines? I have been at some pains to disentangle the 1920 figures, and I find that in that year Germany excluding Upper Silesia, consumed 112,897,078 tons of pit coal and 90,639,293 tons of lignite, or in all 203,536,000 tons. What is Germany's output to supply this demand? From January to December, 1920, she produced 151,346,722 tons of pit coal and 111,633,300 tons of lignite, or in all 262,980,000 tons. Deduct from this 12,000,000 tons, the amount of the Upper Silesian output in the same year, and you get 250,980,000 tons of coal available in Germany, without Saar and the Palatinate, to supply the internal demand of 203,536,000 tons. That means that, without Upper Silesia, she has a surplus of 47,444,000 tons (without coke), which is ample to meet those demands which, according to Mrs. Buxton, are going completely to crush her.—Yours, &c.,
J. H. HARLEY.

County Hall, Spring Gardens,
London, S.W., May 30.

EMPLOYMENT FOR EX-SERVICE MEN.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Will you permit me to appeal to your readers for assistance in the effort to obtain

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AFTERNOON TEA

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British citizen and his wife had been treated with this indignity in a foreign country?

What is the remedy? Two distinct propositions have been made. On the one side there is the remedy connoted in the expression of "getting murder by the throat." The power of militarism may prevail in Ireland for a time, but, permanently, military law and reprisals by killing, arson, and looting can never pacify Ireland, or do other than arouse indignation in the vast body of Irish emigrants who live outside Ireland. The plea of law and order sounds hollow in face of an increasing anarchy and disorder. The time is passed when a racial claim for a free life and free development can be met by a coercive Act imposing military dictation.

On the other side is the policy of a truce. There is probably a large measure of general agreement that some form of truce is the first step in the direction of settlement. The difficulty is how to bring about such a truce. Surely it should be a matter of common agreement to desist from further violence on either side. If such a common agreement is found to be impossible, it is time then to formulate some fresh proposal. It is not a case in which the stronger nation should demand humiliation from the weaker. The thing should be done, and no spirit of dominance should stand in the way. If it is made a condition that Ireland should first be, in a military sense, conquered, then a truce cannot be made, and the vendetta of evil will demand fresh victims and fresh losses. What can be gained by such a course? The purpose of a truce would be to find a basis for a friendly settlement which may be expected to be permanent, but the terms of which it would not be wise to attempt to forecast at this stage.—Yours, &c.,
 PARMOUR.

AFTER THE ULSTER ELECTIONS

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Not quite six weeks ago the Government finally rejected the proposal—pressed steadily upon them for two years—that the work of hammering out an Irish settlement should be committed to a Constituent Assembly elected by all Ireland. Even the eleventh hour rejection was conditional. For it is now notorious that the Government's hope is that the representatives elected by "Southern" and "Northern" Ireland respectively should form the proposed Assembly. The tragedy is that all minorities in "Southern" Ireland have disfranchised themselves, while the false issue upon which the "Northern" elections have been fought has only served to accentuate traditional hostilities. At the last moment—too late to avert the travesty of the elections—the Vatican definitely threw its weighty influence into the scales in favour of the Constituent Assembly movement. Yet not, let us hope, too late to secure all that is essential in the proposal. Now that the *amour propre* of the principal parties may be assumed to be satisfied—the Government by the issue of its writs; Sinn Fein by rendering them completely void; and "Ulster" by showing her determination to go her own way in the last resort—the moment has arrived

afflicting harried and suffering Western Asia.—Yours, &c.,
 AMEER ALI.
 May 30.

ARMENIA: WHAT IS STILL POSSIBLE.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Under the heading "Silesia and Armenia: A Contrast" you published on Friday a powerful indictment by Mr. Noel Buxton of the action of our Government and the Allied Governments towards Armenia. It is not, I think, too much to say that they have betrayed an ally who had trusted them and served them, and had no power to protect herself from the consequences. It is easy to see what ought to have been done, and has not been done, but there is still something that can be done—I hope we shall all do our utmost to see that it is done—to redeem, at any rate to some small extent, the honour of our country in this matter.

If one speaks about our Government not maintaining the rights of Armenia one is apt to be met with the retort "You are wanting us to send a British army to the Caucasus or the mountains of Anatolia." In the present state of the country's affairs it is very little good asking that. There was a time when the retention of the British troops which were in the Caucasus and the sending of a few British troops to fortresses in Asia Minor would have saved Armenia, and at the same time saved this country from enormous expense due to the Komalst uprising and its fanaticism. That, however, is matter of history; we have to ask ourselves what is possible at the present time.

I answer that our Government can at least:

1. In any concessions that they make to Turkey stipulate that Turkey shall, in return, evacuate the "Armenian home" in the North-east of Asia Minor and evacuate any territory she now occupies in the neighbourhood of Kars and Alexandropol.
2. In any negotiations with the Russian Soviet Government they can stipulate that the Armenians in the Caucasus shall be allowed the right of self-determination, to join themselves with Russia if they choose, or with the rest of Armenia if they choose.
3. In the many difficult problems in which France needs our help they can make it a condition of our co-operation that France should carry out the obligation she undertook to protect the Christian inhabitants of Cilicia from their age-long foes.

France received Cilicia from us on this distinct undertaking. Earlier, during the Great War, she received thousands of recruits from the Armenians on a distinct undertaking that their national aspirations in Cilicia should be satisfied. It is now for France to fulfil these promises, and for England to insist that she should do so.

I believe that on these lines much might still be done to save the remnants of the Armenian people without involving this country in the use of military force.—Yours, &c.,
 ANEURIN WILLIAMS.
 House of Commons, May 30.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

205,356,000 tons. That means that, without Upper Silesia, she has a surplus of 27,644,000 tons (without coke), which is ample to meet those demands which, according to Mrs. Buxton, are going completely to crush her.—Yours, &c.,
 J. H. HARLEY.

County Hall, Spring Gardens,
 London, S.W., May 30.

EMPLOYMENT FOR EX-SERVICE MEN.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Will you permit me to appeal to your readers for assistance in the effort to obtain employment for ex-service men of superior education and attainments? It has been the privilege of the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour to find employment in its north-western district, for more than 5,000 ex-officers and rankers, but its registers still contain the names of about 1,600 who are looking for work. Many of them have been unemployed for months. They include a large proportion who are fitted for the positions of bookkeepers, clerks, or cashiers; there are others who are qualified for responsible positions in almost every trade and profession.

I want your readers to promise personal effort on behalf of these men, each of whom has rendered service to his country, and I shall be delighted to hear from anyone who will undertake to endeavour to find employment, not necessarily on his own staff, but within the circle of his acquaintances, for even one of them. Will any reader who is willing thus to act as "godfather" to one or more ex-service men let me know whom he thinks he can help? He may be so situated that he can best assist a clerk; he may be in contact with firms who employ salesmen or travellers, or he may know an architect who is looking for an assistant. If he will tell me what possibilities his circumstances suggest I shall be pleased to supply him with particulars of candidates who seem to have the required qualifications, and also, should he desire it, to arrange for him to interview selected men.

I believe that if the commercial community will give this assistance, "adopting" individuals English towns have "adopted" French towns, a large percentage of these men will speedily be found work when trade begins to improve; and I believe, too, that everyone who succeeds in placing an ex-service man in a situation will feel that he has done something towards paying off a national debt.—Yours, &c.,

J. FRANKLIN SMITH, Lieut. Colonel,
 Director 3, Ministry of Labour Appointments Department.
 4, Cathedral Gates, Manchester, May 31.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS AND INCOME TAX.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—Now that the principle of payment for members is admitted to be a correct thing, it seems an anomaly to continue paying them at the rate of a second-class civil clerkship. Surely our legislators should be placed on a higher scale, and their remuneration fixed at least at £750