

HEADWAY

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH	201	LEAGUE OF NATIONS EXHIBITION AT ST. ALBANS. By G. Skelton	213
THE NEAR EAST	204	AIR BOMBS AND THE LEAGUE. By Lord Robert Cecil	214
AUSTRIA AT THE CROSS ROADS	205	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
THE 1922 ASSEMBLY. By H. Wilson Harris ...	206	Wanted—A Soul	214
A LETTER FROM GENEVA	207	A Pressing Need	215
A LONDON LETTER	208	From the Editor's Post-bag	215
A MATTER OF URGENCY	209	REVIEWS :—	
THE NEW WORLD: II. LITHUANIA	210	The Duties of Nations	216
PRESIDENT WILSON. By Reginald Berkeley ...	211	The Challenge	216
THE MARCH OF DISEASE IN EUROPE (Map) ...	212	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
		Notes and News	216

THE MONTH.

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"Something very queer is happening to the League of Nations—people are beginning to believe in it. Henceforth there is one fact which cannot be disguised. Since the war diplomacy everywhere has returned to its old mistakes, which is as much as saying it cannot solve anything. The only spot in the world where real solutions are being contrived is Geneva.—*Le Midi, Paris.*"

THE remarkable change which has come over French public opinion as a result of the League's action on behalf of Austria is itself a high tribute to the League. The French people are realists. They need to be convinced by practical proof that ideas are workable before they will commit themselves to support those ideals. That practical proof the League has been providing at an increasing rate ever since 1920, but never in a more convincing form than in the scheme by which Austria has been saved from national bankruptcy and ruin. It is not enough to say that the Great Powers of Europe, individually and collectively, failed, while the League succeeded. That is true, but it is only part of the

truth. The real significance of the salvation of Austria lies in this, that only a body like the League of Nations had the smallest chance of succeeding. It is not a question of goodwill; it is a question of ability. In order to save Austria, if there had been no League of Nations, it would have been necessary to invent one.

* * * *

THE plain logic of the situation has evidently made a strong appeal to the logical French mind. M. de Jouvenel, editor of the "Matin," says: "It is impossible to measure the consequences of such an innovation or to deny its importance. What is clear in any case is that new methods are necessary to save Europe from anarchy, and that the League of Nations dares to apply them." These words have a prophetic ring. Lord Balfour predicted in a recent speech at Geneva, that the League, by bringing this great work to an issue, would "confer benefits which would not be confined to the limits of the Austrian Republic, but would be spread far and wide over the whole of Europe, and through Europe, over the whole world." What is the obvious moral? Surely that the League's machinery is, as we have so often urged, the best, and indeed the only, means of solving that other two-fold economic problem which still baffles the individual nations: the problem of international indebtedness. The Third Assembly of the League of Nations decided last September to ask the Council of the League to devote constant attention to this matter, and to be ready to intervene if requested to do so by the Governments concerned. The time is ripe for such a request, and it would redound to the credit of this country if it were to come from Great Britain.

THE solution of the Austrian problem confers, indeed, a direct benefit on this country. The way is now open for the economic recovery of Central Europe, which means the revival of British markets, and the solution of our problem of bad trade and unemployment. To support the League is not only a moral duty but sound business. Conversely, the League's growing influence and prestige, that is particularly marked by its success in the case of Austria, is largely due to the increasing support it is receiving from the League of Nations Union. Many Assembly delegates made it plain that the League recognises that its success mainly depends upon the support of public opinion, especially in this country. The creation of that public opinion is the business of the Union. These undeniable facts lend weight to the Union's financial appeal which we publish on another page. The Union supports the League; the League benefits the business man and incidentally the whole community. Will the business man and the man-in-the-street support the Union?

ISSUES more grave than the collapse or continuance of a voluntary organisation depend upon the answer, and it is these which must justify the unusual amount of space in this issue of HEADWAY, devoted to the finance of the League of Nations Union. As we explain on another page, Lord Robert Cecil lays particular stress on the necessity for an immediate response to the appeal for funds, for without an immediate response the work of the Union must inevitably be curtailed if not entirely brought to an end, and in either event grave damage would be done to the cause of the League of Nations just as the League appears to be entering on a new and greatly enlarged sphere of usefulness.

IT may not be inappropriate here to quote the words of Señor Edwards, President of the Assembly this year, on the work of those voluntary League of Nations Associations of which the most important is the British League of Nations Union. "Every day we receive the enthusiastic and disinterested support of voluntary Associations who are everywhere carrying on a regular crusade to awaken among the peoples the full consciousness of all that is great and beautiful, but also practical and positive in our institution which was born, as men are born, amid pain, and which is destined like them to develop and reach full manhood. Let us then to-day welcome these voluntary associations with all the respect that is due to great convictions whose end is sought without hope of any reward except the triumph of an ideal, and at the price, sometimes, of the heaviest sacrifices."

THE acceptance of the Mudania Convention by the Greek and Turkish Governments, the retirement of the Turkish troops from the Chanak front, and the evacuation of Thrace by

the Greeks are the outstanding features of the present situation in the Near East. The venue of the proposed Conference is still under discussion as we write. The British Government suggests London, the French Paris, and the Turks Smyrna. The alternative to these suggestions, all of which are open to the same objection, is a completely neutral place. Geneva is the obvious choice, but if this is deemed inadvisable because of possible American or Russian participation, then a town might be chosen within reasonable distance of the League of Nations headquarters, such as Lausanne. A more serious objection to the

THE MUDANIA SETTLEMENT.



[By permission of the "Times."]

Conference than its suggested meeting-place is its actual composition. One of the main reasons why we believe that the League should be concerned in the settlement of this particular dispute is that the League's participation would ensure full consideration of the interests of States which are vitally concerned, but which are not to receive an invitation to the proposed Eight-Power Conference—as, for example, Bulgaria. A demand for the admission to the Conference of Russia, the Ukraine, and Georgia, has already come from the Kemalists, while Moscow is agitating for the participation of all the Black Sea States. A significant article in the Paris "Temps" on October 17th, practically invites Russian participation, asking whether it is to Russia's interest that the agreement relating to the Straits should be put into practice without Moscow's ratification.

A SECOND reason for desiring League intervention in the Near East is that the League's administration in the region of the Straits and elsewhere will be greatly handicapped unless founded upon a treaty all of which the League regards as well designed to serve the best interests of the whole world. If this condition be not observed the League may find itself saddled with duties which it may neither desire nor be able to carry out. From every point of view the best solution of the difficulty would have been for the Near East negotiations to be carried out under the auspices of the League. Since this course, however, has not been adopted it remains for the League, acting in accordance with the spirit of the

resolution passed by the Third Assembly, to hold itself in readiness to intervene immediately in the event of the failure of the negotiations or of some change in the situation. As our leading article points out, the possibility of holding a League Conference, concerned with working out the details upon which the permanency of the peace depends, is by no means as yet ruled out.

ATRAGIC by-product of the Near East situation is the problem of refugees and the evacuation of Christians from Eastern Thrace. Dr. Nansen is tackling the problem with characteristic energy, but it is far more serious even than it was represented to the League Assembly. There are some 750,000 refugees, mostly women and children, scattered over every part of Greece, Thrace and the islands, without money, without shelter, frequently without food. Food and transport are the two urgent needs of the moment. The Assembly delegates pledged themselves to place the matter before their respective Governments, and the Council, to bridge over the interim, appropriated out of "unforeseen expenses" the sum of 100,000 Swiss francs to enable Dr. Nansen to act immediately. Meanwhile Great Britain has promised £50,000 on condition that other Governments contributed a similar sum between them. At the time of writing over £16,000 has been promised by New Zealand, Canada, Greece, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Luxembourg.

WHEN the general question of the Palestine mandate was settled last July, a pledge was given by Great Britain, the mandatory for Palestine, for the safeguarding of the Holy Places. A very curious position has arisen in regard to this matter. A scheme was placed before the Council drawn up by the British Colonial Office, under which the final Court of Appeal in any dispute between one Christian denomination and another was to be the President of the Commission to safeguard the Holy Places. The President was to be an American Protestant, a fact that gave rise to considerable misunderstanding, and, in consequence, resentment throughout the Roman Catholic world. As a result the British Government has withdrawn its scheme, and a method of securing that justice is due—not merely between Turk and Jew, Turk and Christian, but between Catholic and Orthodox, Orthodox and Jew, Orthodox and Armenian, and, indeed, between all the various Christian sects who for centuries have disputed certain points in connection with the Holy Places—is still to seek.

THE twenty years' Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq (Mesopotamia) provides a very interesting precedent for the future of the termination of mandates. Article 22 of the Covenant limits the duties of the Mandatory Power, in the case of "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire," to "The rendering of administrative advice and assistance . . . until such time as they (the communities in question) are able to stand alone." No indication, however, is given of the means of determining when tutelage has become superfluous, or of how the transition is to be made from the mandatory status to full self-government as an independent nation. The Iraq Treaty is the

first attempt to give effect to the provisions of Article 22 in the case of a mandated area which, in its own opinion and that of its Mandatory, is "able to stand alone."

ONE practical result of the Treaty is that Great Britain is to endeavour to secure Iraq's early admission to the League of Nations. There is to be no discrimination in Iraq against the Nationals of States members of the League, and equal treatment is to be given by Iraq in the matter of archaeological research to the nationals of such States. Iraq is to co-operate in any common policy adopted by the League to combat disease. Finally, any difference between the two parties is to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

THE Fourth International Labour Conference is in session as we write. It is a significant fact, as Lord Burnham pointed out in his presidential address, that to-day the financiers and the captains of industry, rather than the visionaries and prophets, are insisting upon treating the grave problems of trade and industry from an international standpoint. The Conference will have before it a report on the unemployment crisis, which is still acute throughout the world. The International Labour Office has been investigating this question during the past year, and as a result of its researches the experience of each country in the matter of preventive and remedial measures will be made available for all.

ANOTHER problem which is essentially international in its scope is that of emigration. This is likely to be one of the chief topics for discussion by the Conference. To attempt to settle the problem during the present period of economic and political uncertainty, and without the co-operation of the United States would, of course, be unwise, but valuable work may be done now by standardising emigration statistics and collecting information on the subject. This will enable the Labour Conferences at a later date to examine the wider aspects of the problem with a reasonable prospect of arriving at its solution.

THE right of States outside Europe to obtain larger representation on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation is an important item on the agenda. At present the Governing Body consists of twelve Government representatives (eight of these Governments being those of States of chief industrial importance), six workers' and six employers' delegates. At present the Asiatic and South American States hold only two seats, those of Japan and Argentina, though India's claim to be considered one of the eight States of chief industrial importance was endorsed by the Third Assembly of the League. A similar need for fuller representation is felt in both workers' and employers' circles. The probable solution of the difficulty will be to increase the number of members from twenty-four to thirty-two (sixteen Government, eight employers', and eight workers' representatives), with a definite provision that a certain number of these seats shall go to non-European States.

THE NEAR EAST.

THE interest of the Near Eastern drama does not lie, at least for this journal, in its repercussion upon the political situation at home, nor even in the squabbles it has evidenced among the Powers. The latter are indeed unfortunate, because they portend an unsatisfactory and impermanent settlement. But luckily the resources of common sense are no longer at an end when the great Powers have quarrelled themselves into an impasse, and such quarrels are not necessarily fatal unless the Powers carry into the deliberations of the League the same uncompromising spirit which they too often show in their deliberations among themselves. Europe's attitude to Turkey is traditionally that of a number of bachelor uncles with strong and utterly divergent views on the way to bring up children, faced with the problem of a clever, unprincipled, destructive, and irritating nephew. Sometimes they have beaten him, sometimes given him sweets; but they have never had any other method of treatment than blows alternating with caresses. To-day the world has a chance to try an entirely new method, the method of the League, and that chance imparts new interest to what, without it, would be merely a conventional crisis.

It must not be forgotten that there are two wars to be settled, namely, the war between the Turks and the Greeks, and the war between the Turks and the Allies including the Greeks. The first has practically settled itself—at least, so far as territorial arrangements are concerned. Greece is to lose Smyrna and Eastern Thrace, and she has no power to kick against the loss.

The only really vital point is to provide that Greek and Turkish boundaries shall not march together, for if they do, it is only a matter of time before the resultant friction rekindles the spark of war. There must be some buffer along the valley of the River Maritza which should also serve as a free corridor to the Ægean for Bulgaria, and possibly for Jugo-Slavia.

The second war between the Turks and the Allies will be far more difficult to settle. For example, on the question of the Straits, the Allies apparently desire that no individual State should have the power to close them, whereas Turkey desires security from attack for Constantinople, and the guarantee she wants is a Turkish garrison at Constantinople, and no other troops of any kind anywhere near the Straits. There is also the other apparently insoluble problem of the protection of minorities; and there is the culminating difficulty that all the Allies are in fact members of the League, and that Turkey is not, largely because she thinks it is a League of her enemies.

What should the League do? The settlement of both these wars is bound to bristle with so many danger points that, unless the League had sole charge of the negotiations, for which it is now too late, it should not accept responsibility for the arrangements made any more than it accepts responsibility for the events of the wars themselves. And it is impossible, even if it were desirable, that

the League should take charge of the negotiations. It was always intended that the League should start with a world at peace, and guarantee that peace to the world, without entangling itself in the passions of the Great War itself. All the Near Eastern fighting has been a continuation of the Great War. Of course, any one of the belligerents could have, and ought long ago to have, called in the League to mediate. But the bewildering rapidity of the Greek *débâcle* created a military crisis which could only be dealt with by the military authorities on the spot, and neither the Armistice terms nor the general principles of the peace terms are within the League's control. It is now sheer waste of time to cry over the opportunities which have not been afforded to the League. The duty of a League enthusiast is to examine what opportunities still remain open to it.

The general attitude of the League should be that, though it can accept no responsibility for the terms of any peace which may be concluded, it will do all in its power to preserve peace when attained, and for this purpose will take up any duties entrusted to it under the peace. It is obvious that the League alone can solve the difficulties enumerated above. Any buffer State in the Maritza valley, if it is to be the bond of peace and not the prize of a new war, must be administered by the League. Again, the Turks can have no guarantee against a sudden sea attack on Constantinople, nor the Allies any guarantee against the Turks closing the Straits, except a League guarantee. Finally, no sort of protection either to Christian or to Moslem minorities can be afforded by any agency except the League. Any chance of permanency which the peace may possess depends upon the adequate discharge of these three duties, and their discharge depends in turn upon two factors: first, absolute loyalty on the part of States members of the League to their League commitments, and, second, the assumption by Turkey of the rights and duties of a member of the League. It is so obvious that the permanency of the peace depends on the working out of these details by the League rather than in any general principles of settlement laid down by the belligerents themselves, that it may well be found necessary to hold a second and a League Conference, embracing a larger number of States, and more detailed in scope, after the actual belligerents have finished their conference. It must not be forgotten that the first conference may break down, in which case the whole question must be referred to the League, as in the case of Silesia. It follows that every State member of the League must be most careful not to commit the League to any responsibility in the discharge of which it is not ready to co-operate, and equally careful to give the League no tinge of pro-Turk, or pro-Greek, or pro-Christian, or pro-Moslem bias. The League transcends the boundaries alike of nationality and of dogma, which are respectively the new and the old ideals for which men have been found willing to die. That is why in the League alone lies the hope of permanent peace, and why, with the unselfish help of the League, unselfishly supported, even the problem of the Near East may not be incapable of solution.

AUSTRIA AT THE CROSS-ROADS.

IT is not easy for us in Great Britain to plumb the depths of misery into which the poverty of the Austrian State has plunged the Austrian people. Travellers tales nowadays do indeed often turn upon the startling (and to the narrator not unpleasant) results of depreciated currencies. Some of us may even be already rather tired of hearing about the champagne supper that Brown, Jones, or Robinson gave at the best hotel in Vienna at the cost of half-a-crown per head to himself. We should be more interested if somebody would give us an equally lively picture of the supper table spread in an ordinary Viennese house, and of the anxieties that went to the procuring of that meagre meal.

Some things must be felt before they can be realised. Probably the emotions of the head of a family whose monthly salary appears on paper at thousands of crowns, and which is actually less than the value of a pair of child's boots, are among the number.

Yet some effort must be made to put ourselves inside the thoughts of such a householder if we want to measure the mighty relief of human misery that the League's recent work on behalf of Austria may effect.

The League undertook to work out a plan of rescue a few weeks ago, in response to a direct appeal from the Austrian Government, then arrived at the very crisis of despair. There was also a request from the Supreme Council, whose own efforts to provide financial assistance for the sinking country had inevitably failed.

We say "inevitably" because, with the League's scheme before us we can distinguish the one condition essential for success which was lacking from all the previous plans devised or supported by individual Governments for providing loans or granting reliefs. That condition is the power possessed by the League to intervene, without infringing the sovereign rights of the State concerned. It is a power peculiar to the League, and inherent to its nature.

This is the point about the League's scheme for Austrian relief which is of paramount interest for the public. Economists will find much to engage their attention in the financial details of the scheme (which are sketched in our Geneva letter of this number of HEADWAY). But these, sound and practical though they be, could not sufficiently cover the risks to the lenders unless Austria's own co-operation in carrying them out could be secured. So long as Austria is an independent State only she can stop her own output of paper money, and check her own expenditure of vast sums in salaries to State officials. These are two of the gravest symptoms of disease in the body politic of Austria. But her Government has no longer the strength to apply unaided the stern remedies that alone can cure. We, who have watched the slow and difficult operations of the "Geddes axe" in our own comparatively prosperous and reasonable community can imagine how hard it must be to wield the weapon in a poverty-stricken country where more than 10 per cent. of the whole population are living directly upon State funds.

But the States which desire to help Austria have not been able to exert the influence required to make her set her own house in order. Attempts to control Austrian finance and administration on the part of any particular State would awaken the suspicion and alarm of many others. Moreover, any interference with Austria's sovereign rights would not only be a contradiction of the principles of the Covenant of the League, but would in the long run defeat the object desired, which is the peace and security of the whole comity of nations.

As soon as the League tackled the problem, however, it became plain that it could set in motion a machinery which could run free from the obstacles that hampered the efforts of Governments. The League proposes to appoint a Commissioner-General, responsible *only* to the Council of the League. He will live in Vienna, and supervise the execution of the programme of reforms after its acceptance by Austria. There will also be a Committee of Control, on which the Governments guaranteeing the Austrian loan will each have one representative, but which communicates *only* with the League's Commissioner-General. In such a scheme we have a most striking illustration of the special kind of authority which the League can exercise by virtue of its disinterestedness. There is no trace in all this of the League assuming the position of a super-State. This is a point which cannot be over-emphasised. The proposed scheme for Austrian reconstruction will be put in operation by Austria herself, and only with the consent of the Austrian Parliament. The Austrian Government has agreed to it already, recognising that without the acceptance by Austria of some control the money upon which her future existence depends will simply not be forthcoming.

At the moment of writing the scheme is under debate in the Parliament House at Vienna. It cannot be expected to go through without a struggle, for at the best the outlook for the immediate future is a grim one.

"The period of reform itself" (so runs the Report of the League's Financial Committee), "even if the new credits are forthcoming, is bound to be a very painful one. The longer it is deferred, the more painful it must be. At the best the conditions of life in Austria must be worse next year when she is painfully re-establishing her position than last year, when she was devoting loans intended for that purpose to current consumption without reform.

"The alternative is not between continuing the conditions of life last year or improving them. It is between enduring a period of perhaps greater hardship than she has known since 1919, or collapsing into a chaos of destitution or starvation to which there is no modern analogy outside Russia." The choice, therefore, lies with Austria herself. We, observing from a distance, can see clearly that two roads are open to her, both rough, but one leading upwards and the other down. We can but hope that clear sight and strength may be hers at the parting of the ways. If she sets her feet upon the path that the League has opened for her we believe that the Austrian people will be able before long to re-echo the words spoken lately by Motta in the Assembly. "In my heart I have thanked God for the existence of a League of Nations to which this question could be brought."

THE 1922 ASSEMBLY.

By H. WILSON HARRIS.

ONE thing is certain after the Third Assembly, that the League of Nations is on its feet. It may be said that we had not to wait for the Third Assembly to be assured of that. The claim is in a measure justified. Yet neither the First Assembly nor the Second inspired the confidence that every dispassionate eyewitness of the Third must feel.

That is largely because of the obvious confidence of the delegates themselves this year. For the first time they really understood their strength. There was a new note of resolve, of faith, of challenge, in the speeches. The old unspoken, underlying, subservience to the Supreme Council had disappeared. The resolution on reparations, guarded and half-hearted as it may have seemed to the casual eye, was in reality a warning to the Allied chiefs that if they still remained incapable of solving the problem, the League, sustained by a preponderance of public opinion in every country, would step in and try its hand at a settlement. The Allied amendment to Dr. Nansen's Near East resolution, representing an attempt by Great Britain, France, and Italy to ensure that the League should take the matter up only if invited by one of them, was withdrawn because it became apparent that it would be defeated if persisted in.

The same broad tendency was manifest in regard to mandates. Those who can throw their minds back over so short a space as two years will remember Mr. Balfour's emphatic protest at the claim of the First Assembly to discuss as of right a subject like mandates, which fell exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Council. This year, not only were mandates discussed without cavil or hint of cavil, but the instructive spectacle of the representative of a State like Hayti, itself still subject to alien tutelage, mounting the platform without a moment's hesitation to charge a British Dominion with having countenanced the bombing of women and children from the air in the name of the League, was merely the prelude to a regular tourney between the various sections of the Empire itself, South Africa and India finding themselves more than once in a state of convinced antagonism which they made no endeavour to conceal. The result was a most wholesome reality and candour in the debates, and, so far as mandates themselves were concerned, a signal vindication of the value of the system in the demonstration thus afforded of the vigilance and persistence of the critics and their resolve to let no actual or suspected abuse escape searching investigation.

If the actual results of the Third Assembly are to be displayed and assessed, it must be remembered that it is not the prime function of the Assembly to achieve such results at all. The Assembly is entitled under Article 3 of the Covenant to deal with any question within the sphere of action of the League, but it deals with such matters usually by way of discussion rather than by resolving on decisive action. The latter function rests for the most part with the Council. If the Assembly passes diligently in review the work carried on by the League through its different organs, criticises fearlessly, and shows discretion and foresight in marking out broadly the lines of advance in the future, it will have well fulfilled its particular destiny.

But the Third Assembly, while it did all that with a measure of success that may fully content observers concerned for the welfare of the League, did definitely advance, by at least a stage, certain great reforms on which the achievement of the purposes of the League depends. That is true notably in regard to three problems: mandates, the protection of minorities, and the reduction of armaments. Of these, the last is the most urgent, and appeals most directly to the public of every country which observes the League from outside. What Lord Robert Cecil's scheme will bring forth still

remains to be seen. But this at least can be said of it already, that it constitutes not merely the first serious attempt to secure the effective fulfilment of the aspirations embodied in Article 8 of the Covenant in favour of "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations," but also the first serious attempt to produce any concrete plan of land disarmament at all.

Even so, cynicism is, of course, easy. It may be said that all that has been done is to evolve a mere paper scheme; that that scheme itself is not yet worked out in detail; and that when it is, there is no guarantee whatever that the Governments concerned will accept it. All that is true. Progress must be effected by stages, and it will do neither the League nor the cause of disarmament any good to claim that battles still to be fought have already been won. What may be claimed, and claimed justly, is that the laying of foundations, often the critical phase of the whole operation, has in this case been achieved with marked success in an atmosphere of goodwill and earnest co-operation that augur well for the future of the work if the men who have laboured so far can make their own views prevail in the countries they represent.

That is the test in every League decision. If theorists, who carry no weight with their Governments, are sent to Geneva, then the time spent in discussions at Geneva will be time largely wasted. But in regard to armaments that has not happened. As regards Great Britain, no question arises. In the matter of land armament, any Government in this country can be counted on to go as far as any general plan the League is likely to adopt could require. France holds to a large extent the key to the situation, and it is of some consequence that the French case was entrusted to such a delegate as M. Henri de Jouvenel. For, whatever M. de Jouvenel's present influence—and it is undoubtedly great—his real importance so far as can be seen lies in the future. If he is ready to back the Geneva scheme to the end—and he so far identified himself with Lord Robert's plans that his personal reputation is definitely involved in their fortunes—it will be a serious matter for any French Government to oppose or reject them.

The danger, indeed, is not so much that, as that a French Government will seek to use the Cecil scheme for the special benefit of France. France, for example, has lost the guarantee treaty she looked for from Great Britain and America. Does not the Cecil scheme provide her with an alternative as valuable? That attitude, let it be said at once, is perfectly legitimate. The Cecil scheme was designed to give nations security, and, so far as France feels the need of security, it is to this kind of expedient, definitely linked as it is with the League, that one would desire her to look. That was what made the co-operation of M. de Jouvenel with Lord Robert Cecil so important and so strikingly interesting to the spectators of their friendly duels in the Sixth Commission. Both wanted the scheme to go through. One was thinking wholly of its broad possibilities and prospects, the other of its relation to the special position of France. M. de Jouvenel wanted to get all he could for his country, Lord Robert had to watch that he got nothing that would endanger the success of the scheme as a whole.

With the results achieved we may well declare ourselves satisfied. The prospect, between now and next September, of the drafting of a definite disarmament-guarantee treaty by the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission, of the holding of a world naval conference, and of a further conference on the restriction of the arms traffic and the private manufacture of arms, promises to make the fourth year of the League fruitful in a marked degree in the sphere of all others marked out for the League's labours by the framers of the Covenant.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, October, 1922.

TAKING a general survey of the Assembly, I should be inclined to say that it has left the League stronger and more confident, has given it added authority and prestige, and has increased everywhere the trust placed in its powers and possibilities.

The largest credit for that advance, in so far as individual credit is concerned, should, I consider, be given primarily to three or four men—Lord Robert Cecil, Dr. Nansen, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Lord Balfour. Lord Robert Cecil's sterling sincerity, tenacity, and leadership on all the chief questions, backed up as he was by the same sincere qualities of Professor Gilbert Murray, shone through all wire-pulling and manoeuvre, and substantially triumphed in the end.

Beyond this rough generalisation I will not enter into any discussion of the Assembly as there will be many of your contributors dealing with its various aspects. I will, therefore, devote my space to two notable examples of League work which were concluded after the Assembly had risen, as they show more succinctly than any work accomplished by the Assembly, the precise value of the League in actual international practice.

These two questions are the Austrian problem and the affair of the French nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco. The means by which the settlement of the Austrian problem was arrived at is an object lesson in the new international development. Here was the almost insurmountable difficulty of Austria's position right in the centre of Europe, virtually bankrupt, containing a mass of dangerous political possibilities the consequence of which might have been—and truth to say might still be—most serious. The Supreme Council had made no serious effort to solve the problem, and foreshadowed no chance of any effective steps to save Austria. It was thrown at the League in an almost hopeless condition with the assertion that the Allied Powers could grant no further credits. Faced with this cheerful prospect, the Council immediately appointed a Committee of five of its members, adding for this purpose Czecho-Slovakia, as a representative of the Little Entente which was particularly interested, and, of course, according to the constitution of the League, Austria.

This Committee which was skilfully presided over by Lord Balfour, had at its disposal not only the whole moral force of the Assembly which was in session at the time, but the League's Financial Committee, the League's Economic Committee, and the League's legal advisers. The Council Committee submitted to these bodies a series of difficult practical questions which were answered with complete candour and fulness. The Council itself dealt with the political side of the matter, and having around the Council table all the Powers directly interested, it centralised these negotiations in place of the separate pourparlers between Austria and Italy, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, or Austria and Germany, which had been going on before the Council was entrusted with the task. Making use of the technical organisations of the League, the expert services of the Secretariat, and the presence of the delegations of all the Powers concerned, the Council was able within a few weeks to draw up a systematically conceived plan for putting Austrian affairs in order, stopping the economic chaos within two years, bringing the budget into equilibrium, putting an end to inflation and waste, and providing for credits, guarantees, and control on a completely international scale. It was done and unanimously agreed upon so rapidly that it might convey the impression that the

The discussion on minorities demonstrated in quite a different way the growing strength and confidence of the League. There is no more fertile cause of dissensions and wars in Europe than the grievances, usually real but not infrequently imagined or exaggerated, of racial or religious or linguistic minorities. It is a delicate enough subject to handle when the minorities form a small fraction of an established and firmly based State. When, as in half-a-dozen countries in Europe to-day, they constitute a large and formidable hostile faction in a country which either did not exist at all, or existed in some quite other form, before the war, the task of endeavouring to improve relations between the dominating section and the dominated makes as heavy a draft as could be conceived on goodwill, diplomacy, sound judgment, and restraint.

That those qualities should be displayed by the very able section of the League Secretariat charged with the handling of minority questions, is matter for profound satisfaction. That they should be displayed by a League Commission of between forty and fifty members, including, of course, representatives of countries where minority questions are so critical as they are in Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia and Poland, is much more reassuring still, for it constitutes a striking demonstration of the effect the actual spirit of the League and the atmosphere of Geneva has in smoothing out differences and stimulating every conciliatory impulse. The manifestation of that spirit in the Glass Room of the Secretariat during the discussion of Prof. Gilbert Murray's resolutions on the rights and duties of minorities was unmistakable, and it cannot be doubted that in this vitally important field—far more important than nine people out of ten ever realise—the Assembly of 1922 has registered serious and solid progress.

The Assembly of 1922, to put it briefly, while it marked and could have marked no spectacular or revolutionary turn in the fortunes of the League, did incontestably mark a notable consolidation in all those directions in which consolidation was most to be desired. The actual machinery of the League is more efficient to-day than it ever has been. Round its three main organs, the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat, are developing a network of subsidiary agencies—the Transit Commission, the Financial and Economic Commission (greatly strengthened by the return of Sir Arthur Salter to Geneva), the Health and Epidemics Commissions, the Opium Advisory Committee, the White Slave Traffic Committee, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission and others—which give the League an expert competence in practically any field in which it may be called on to work.

And valuable as that steady development is for the particular effects it carries with it, more valuable still is the fact of this progressive increase of ordered and systematised international co-operation in almost every sphere of the relationships between nations. The main purpose of the League is not to draw an Upper Silesia frontier, not to restore a bankrupt Austria to solvency (a matter only touched on here, because it was the Council and not the Assembly which dealt with it), not even to produce schemes of disarmament, but to school the nations to work for the future together where they worked as separate units in the past. To stimulate that tendency, to inculcate that habit, is ultimately the most effective of all safeguards of peace.

That, more than anything, justifies confidence at the close of the Third Assembly such as could not be entertained in the same measure before it opened. In reliance on one another, its members are taking courage. There is no disposition to-day to shrink from any task, however formidable, that may offer. Meanwhile, there are tasks in abundance in hand, and (apart from humiliating difficulties in raising funds) they are being handled effectively and well.

difficulties were slight, but this was by no means the case. The solution arrived at succeeded in co-ordinating the various national interests within the League, and the control which it was found absolutely essential to exercise if credits were not to be uselessly dissipated as had happened before, was vested in a Commissioner-General appointed by and responsible to the Council of the League.

This international agreement secured for a plan of action does not mean that Austria's difficulties are at their end; they are, in fact, at their beginning; but the route is mapped out, and credits are forthcoming; it depends mainly on Austria carrying out her share of obligations if solvency and prosperity are to be ultimately restored. How long would it have taken to achieve this agreed programme by ordinary diplomatic channels, and would it have been undertaken at all if it had been left in the hands of the Supreme Council? It was dumped on to the League at the eleventh hour, and the League pulled the Powers out of the mess. There is all the more reason for congratulation that the League has succeeded in showing a definite way out, and in securing the credits for which the Supreme Council held out virtually no hope.

The other example of League efficacy rests also on a last hour reference to the League. The League, in fact, is making its reputation as the only last chance. This dispute between England and France over the French nationalisation decrees in Tunis and Morocco had reached a deadlock. The British Government had protested that they involved conscription of subjects of British nationality in a French protectorate. No agreement was reached between the governments, and Britain finally suggested that the matter should be referred to arbitration. France refused, and the British Government immediately brought the matter before the League. Almost immediately, Lord Balfour and M. Bourgeois, the British and French members of the Council, agreed to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice the question as to whether it was for France a question of purely domestic concern. This course was adopted by the Council as a whole. The British and French representatives undertook that if the International Court decided it was a matter of purely domestic concern for France, the substance of the dispute should be submitted to some form of arbitration. This was the first direct difference between two Great Powers which had come before the League, and the contrast between what had happened in direct negotiations between the governments and what happened when the matter came before the Council, needs no emphasis. Without the League as a body of reference there would have been no obvious friendly way out which would have left both countries full prestige such as is secured by the method followed by the League.

It is early yet to discuss what may be the part of the League in connection with the freedom of the Straits, but so far as one can judge the action might well be based on the precedent of the Aaland Islands. The Straits should be unfortified and neutralised in the form of an international convention, and a High Commissioner appointed by the League to see on the spot that the convention is observed. There seems no reason why there should be any "gendarmierie" to enforce this agreement in normal times, but it might be possible for provision to be made (somewhat on the lines suggested in the arrangements for Lord Robert Cecil's Mutual Guarantee Pact) that if the High Commissioner reported infractions, certain Powers should be detailed beforehand to provide any forces necessary to uphold the convention.

C.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1.

THE THIRD ASSEMBLY.

THE League of Nations Union is at present concentrating a great part of its energies on the task of spreading over the country the story of the Third Assembly, its deliberations and decisions. It is natural that two especial points are being singled out for emphasis from the great body of work achieved at Geneva; firstly, of course, the triumph of the League's financial scheme to rescue Austria. This success is the greater indication of the League's existence and methods, as the Powers which could not assist Austria, either alone or when banded together as a Supreme Council, are the very same Powers which are now providing the larger part of the assistance as members of the League of Nations.

Secondly, the Union is emphasising the progress made towards the reduction of armaments. This progress is mainly due to Lord Robert Cecil's untiring efforts, ably seconded by M. Jouvenel (hitherto known to the British public as the editor of the leading French militarist newspaper—but Geneva has a wonderful atmosphere), and supported by the British Government in the person of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, who will never get the money he needs for educational reform while this country has to bear the staggering burden of armaments.

It is interesting to note that the Assembly asked the Council to be ready to deal with the problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts, problems which are necessarily mixed up with that of reduction of armaments. A great advance is also marked by the Assembly's decision to ask the Council to take such steps as are necessary and desirable with reference to the Near Eastern problem. The Union considers that the League should be concerned in the settlement of these disputes, because:

1. A settlement reached with the League's disinterested assistance and approval would have greater moral authority throughout the world;

2. The League's participation in the settlement would ensure full consideration of the interests of States which are vitally concerned, but which are not to receive an invitation to the proposed Eight-Power Conference—as, for example, Bulgaria.

3. The League's administration in the region of the Straits or elsewhere will be greatly handicapped unless founded upon a treaty, all of which the League regards as well designed to serve the best interests of the whole world.

Mr. Wilson Harris has again written a booklet on the League's proceedings and work at the Third Assembly—entitled "Geneva, 1922." His account will have been published as a League of Nations Union publication by the time this letter appears in print. Every member of the Union should make a point of reading it.

Branch Secretaries and Treasurers are to be congratulated on the fact that the proportion of last year's members who have renewed their subscriptions during the first ten months of this year is considerably greater than was the corresponding proportion a year ago. On the other hand, the number of new members obtained during the last few months has been no higher than the corresponding figure for last year. The influx of new members ought to increase at least in proportion to the growth of the Union. To this end every effort should be made by all members to maintain their missionary fervour at a high temperature.

Delegates at the Third Assembly very strongly stated their opinion that the future prospects of the League depend greatly on the force of British public opinion supporting it, and this force can only be registered by the growth of the membership of the Union. The probable intervention of a General Election and the consequent political excitement may impel some people to lay aside temporarily their work for the League until other counter-attractions have subsided. But this is exactly the opposite policy to that which all members should actively pursue. A period of intense political excitement is precisely the moment at which to gather hosts of new members whose minds have been suddenly stirred to the consideration of home and foreign affairs, of international relationships, of opposing personalities. It is a time for redoubling, not slackening, missionary endeavours.

If there has been recently a slight falling-off in the number of new members, there has been a great increase in the

number of public meetings organised by the Union; twice as many meetings were held in the month of October, 1922, as were held in October, 1921.

INCOME TAX RETURN.

Under this heading an announcement was made in the last issue of HEADWAY, page 187. This announcement was published in error, and is now withdrawn. The following revised statement is published in place of it.

EXEMPTION FROM INCOME TAX AND SUPER-TAX.

Donors of substantial sums to the Union may save themselves the Income Tax and Super-Tax which they would normally have to pay in respect of these sums; and this saving may be effected under Clause 20 (1) (b) of the Finance Act, 1922, without any transfer of securities, by spreading the gift over a period exceeding six years, and making use of a suitable deed.

Thus, a donor who pays Income Tax at 5s. in the £, but does not pay Super-Tax, could, at a cost to himself of £100, enable the Union to benefit to the extent of £133 6s. 8d., while a donor who is rich enough to pay Super-Tax at 6s. in the £ could, at a cost to himself of £100, enable the Union to benefit to the extent of £222 4s. 5d.

In the case of the donor who does not pay Super-Tax, the figures would be as follows:—

The Union would benefit half-yearly by the gross amount of £10 5s. 1d., made up of £7 13s. 10d. received direct from the donor, and £2 11s. 3d. (being Income Tax at 5s. in the £ on £10 5s. 1d.) recovered from the Inland Revenue. Thirteen half-yearly payments of £10 5s. 1d. equal approximately £133 6s. 8d.

In the case of the donor who pays Super-Tax at 6s. in the £, the figures would be as follows:—

(1) The Union would benefit half-yearly by the gross amount of £17 1s. 11d., made up of £12 16s. 5d. received direct from the donor, and £4 5s. 6d. (being Income Tax at 5s. in the £ on £17 1s. 11d.) recovered from the Inland Revenue. Thirteen half-yearly payments of £17 1s. 11d. equal approximately £222 4s. 5d.

(2) The donor would pay half-yearly £12 16s. 5d. But he would save half-yearly on Super-Tax £5 2s. 7d. (being Super-Tax on £17 1s. 11d.), thus reducing the actual half-yearly cost to himself to £7 13s. 10d., and reducing his total costs to (thirteen times this sum, or) £100.

In order to save himself Income Tax and Super-Tax on the nominal amount of his gift (i.e., the actual amount by which the Union benefits from his gift), a donor should make use of the following form of deed:—

FORM OF DEED FOR A GIFT COSTING THE DONOR £100 SPREAD OVER A PERIOD OF SIX AND A HALF YEARS.

I, hereby covenant that for six and a half years from October 1st, 1922, or thereabouts, I will pay half-yearly the sum of £..... [see Note (a) or (b) below]..... (deducting Income Tax) from my general fund of taxed income, to the League of Nations Union, so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in any of the six and a half years from October 1st, 1922, to April 1st, 1929, from the said sum of £..... [see Note (a) or (b) below]..... or any part thereof.

Given under my hand and seal this..... day of Signed, sealed and delivered by the said

in the presence of.....

Name of witness

Address

Occupation

This day of

NOTE.—(a) The donor who does not pay Super-Tax and wishes to benefit the Union to the extent of £133 6s. 8d. at a net cost to himself of £100 should here insert £10 5s. 1d. For a gift costing the donor £1,000 the inserted figure should be £102 10s. 10d., and so on in proportion.

(b) The donor who pays Super-Tax at 6s. in the £ and who wishes to benefit the Union to the extent of £222 4s. 5d. at a net cost to himself of £100 should here insert £17 1s. 11d. For a gift costing the donor £1,000 the inserted figure should be £170 19s. 2d., and so on in proportion.

A MATTER OF URGENCY.

LORD ROBERT CECIL has just returned from the Third Assembly of the League of Nations impressed by the growth of the League's influence and prestige during the past year. It has proved itself an indispensable and increasingly useful piece of international machinery. Its activities are no longer confined to minor international affairs. It has showed itself prepared to deal with the greatest problems, and its successful handling of Austria promises well for the future.

The League's power for good depends as much as ever upon the support of public opinion, operating through the League of Nations Union and the thirty-five similar societies abroad. This public support for the League must go on increasing in volume and enthusiasm if the League is to be in time to cope with the dangers that still threaten the world, and just now when the Union's efforts are more necessary than ever, it is approaching the end of its financial resources.

Since its inception on October 13th, 1918, the Union has received donations totalling £138,845. During the same period the Union has spent £166,651 (including £2,563 on capital account). The excess of this expenditure over the donations is £27,806, of which £9,434 has been supplied by the Headquarters' share of membership subscription, and the balance by a Bank overdraft of £18,372. But promises of sums not yet paid to the Union amount to £36,069, exceeding the Bank overdraft by £17,697. On the other hand the Union has certain further liabilities (other than its Bank overdraft) which exceeds its remaining assets (other than donations promised but not yet paid) by £2,534. So the Union's total assets at present exceed its total liabilities by £15,163.

In spite of drastic economies that have reduced its expenditure by more than one-third during the last two years, while its membership has increased five-fold, the Union is at present spending £36,000 a year, and, in the opinion of its Finance Committee, its expenditure cannot be appreciably reduced below this figure without a far larger proportionate decrease in the effectiveness of its work. So the sum required to carry on the work of the Union for three and-a-quarter years—until the end of 1925—is approximately £100,000, of which sum £10,000 is expected (at the rate of £3,000 a year) from membership subscriptions. The sum that must be obtained by means of new donations is, therefore, £90,000.

The Executive Committee will summon the Council of the Union to meet in London shortly to discuss the methods by which this sum of money may best be raised. It is hoped that, in connection with this meeting of the Council, there will be a public meeting in the Queen's Hall on the preceding or following afternoon, when the President of the Third Assembly, Senor Augustin Edwards, and Lord Robert Cecil will describe the work of the Assembly.

The completion of the Union's work—marked by the instructed and enthusiastic support of the League of Nations by the great mass of British public opinion—is estimated to cost approximately one million pounds, inclusive of the sums already received; and this was the sum named in the appeal made in April, 1920, and renewed in October, 1921. But having regard to the prevailing trade depression and unemployment, the Union has decided not to press its appeal for more than the £90,000 that is immediately and urgently needed to ensure that the Union's efforts will continue without relaxation to the end of 1925.

Unless a substantial proportion of this £90,000 is promised within the next few months, the Union's work will have to be seriously curtailed in the immediate future. This would do incalculable damage to the cause of the League of Nations throughout the world, and so Lord Robert Cecil has written to several supporters of the Union asking them to send him within the next few weeks an emergency gift of £10 or as much more as they can possibly afford. To this appeal they can hardly fail to respond. It is vital that their example should be widely followed.

THE NEW WORLD.

II.—LITHUANIA.

WHAT is Lithuania, and who are the Lithuanian people? To answer those questions at all adequately would call not for a brief article, but for an entire volume. The history of peoples, as distinct from that of actually existing political States, is the history of a gradual evolution dating back hundreds and thousands of years. Although, therefore, the Lithuanian State as at present constituted is of recent origin, the story of the Lithuanian people carries us back to the remotest antiquity.

The Lithuanian people are a branch of the Indo-European race entirely distinct from the Slavonic and Germanic branches. Their language is one of the oldest in Europe, and closely allied to Sanscrit. To confuse it, as many have done, with Russian, Polish, or German, is fundamentally wrong, for it has no more in common with either of those tongues than has English, say, with Persian or Greek. From pre-historic times the Lithuanian people have inhabited the Baltic regions in the basin of the Nemunas (Niemen) and the Nerys (Vilija), where for many centuries they pursued the tranquil little-troubled existence of a peaceful peasant folk, hemmed in by their forest fastnesses, innocent of aggressive designs against their neighbours. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century Lithuania formed an independent State.

As the result of the unfortunate personal and political unions with Poland, dating from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, Lithuania was involved with the latter in the partitions of the eighteenth century (1773-1795). The greater part of Lithuania was attributed to Russia, the smaller (districts of Memel, Tilsit, and Labiau) was attached to Prussia.

With the loss of independence the Lithuanian people once more withdrew into themselves, and to a large extent contact with the outside world ceased. Here, on the shores of the sacred river Nemunas (Niemen), the Lithuanian peasant continued to engage in agriculture, singing to himself the plaintive dainos or folk-songs of his native land, the while he bent over his heavy plough, often seemingly oblivious to the thunder of the guns and the whine of German and Russian shells during the earlier phases of the Great War, yet ardently cherishing the hope of national renaissance in the near or distant future.

Sur les confins de deux mondes—between two worlds, between two distinct intellectual and material conceptions of existence—it is in some such terms as these that one must express oneself in an effort to describe the

spiritual and physical location of Lithuania. On the East she is bounded by the vast Slavonic mass of Russia, wherein is embodied much that is Oriental; while to the West stretches the civilisation of Western Europe, so typically occidental. Poland is situated to the South, as another branch of the Slavonic people. Lithuania has, therefore, been aptly described by Stasys Salkauskis as a new world between East and West, where the two conflicting principles may meet a synthetic new civilisation.

During the entire period of Russian domination, lasting for over a century, all that tyranny could devise was done to stifle the national spirit, even to the unheard of extent of suppressing the native language under Muraviev's iron rule in the sixties of last century. This prohibition of the language lasted for about half a century, till repealed in 1904, when the movement for political emancipation began again to stir in Russia proper. The famous Vilna university was closed down in 1831, and in general in the matter of popular schools the country was hopelessly starved. In combating this official policy, Lithuanian literature of all descriptions

was smuggled over the frontier from Prussian Lithuania, then a stronghold of Lithuanian intellectual life.

With the outbreak of the revolutionary movement in 1904-5, Lithuania was among the first of the subject races to react in an effort to achieve political freedom, when the famous Diet of Vilna was convened in the latter year, and issued the celebrated Memorandum of that name which demanded independence. Certain concessions were won, but not for long, and in the wake of the failure of the revolution most of these concessions were unscrupulously revoked. Space will not permit more than the briefest reference to this phase of history.

Then came the Great War, and with it an inspiring recrudescence of the struggle for the liberation of small nations, in which Lithuanians both at home and abroad played a prominent rôle. Numerous conferences were convened—at Berne, again at Vilna in 1917, among Lithuanians in America and other places.

The historic struggle found Lithuania engaged in the work of culture and education, with energy and enthusiasm. The percentage of illiterates had dwindled. There were about sixty daily and periodical magazines published at home and abroad.

Lithuanian territory was occupied by the Germans after the Russian débacle, and groaned under the alien yoke from 1915 to 1918. About half a million Lithuanians fought on the side of the Allies in the British, American and Russian armies. While gallant Belgium and other invaded countries were well known to the civilised world, which came forward with generous aid,



Lithuania, although she had suffered no less from the horrors of invasions, received scant attention.

Nevertheless, with the defeat of the German armies the opportunity came for further assertion of the national demands, and with great difficulty permission to convene the National Council was extorted from the German occupying authorities. The Council worked under tremendous difficulties, the members being even forbidden to leave the town of Vilna.

The independence of Lithuania was formally proclaimed on February 16th, 1918, within her ethnographic limits, with the historic capital Vilna, but a provisional government could not be formed before the second half of 1918. A Constituent Assembly was elected in 1920. The Peace Treaty with Russia of July 12th, 1920, confirmed the separation of the independent and sovereign State of Lithuania from Russia, and fixed its frontiers in conformity with ethnographical principles. The Lithuanian Republic became a member of the League of Nations in 1921. Owing to Poland's unlawful occupation and annexation of the Vilna territory, the actual area at present administered by the Lithuanian Government falls considerably short of her real ethnographical territory. Polish occupation of the Vilna region was accomplished through General Żeligowski's celebrated *coup de force*, which was formally condemned by the League of Nations.

Lithuania has been recognised *de jure* by nearly all the neutrals during the war; by Russia, Germany, and by the United States unconditionally, and by the Allied Powers, on condition of agreeing to the internationalisation of the Niemen. Under the Versailles Treaty, and subsequent declarations of the Allied Powers, Lithuania should eventually secure Memel as her natural sea outlet.

The wonderful recuperative power of Lithuania has been well demonstrated since the termination of the German occupation in 1919. Despite the fact that the Germans fairly depleted the land of foodstuffs and raw material of every description, in cruel requisitions, Lithuanian energy and industry have now achieved results that can show what is actually an asset balance on the annual turnover of the import and export trade. Lithuania has no external debt to speak of, and her budget is balanced with the help of an insignificant internal loan. England is one of Lithuania's biggest customers, her purchases of foodstuffs, dairy products, flax, and timber representing a very big proportion of the total figures. During 1921 she took more than 27 per cent. of all Lithuanian exports. On the other hand, Lithuania is a customer for English textiles, coal, machinery, &c.

The Lithuanian Government has now established the litas, with a gold backing, as the new monetary unit. The most recent quotation at the time of writing is 44-45 litas to the pound sterling.

What has already been accomplished during the last three years by the steady-going, industrious, and law-abiding Lithuanian people, under the most adverse conditions conceivable, should afford an earnest of continued and increased success in the development of their great natural resources. After the vicissitudes of her history and her sufferings during the war, Lithuania desires nothing more ardently than the opportunity for peaceful work. Her ambition is to contribute what may prove more than a negligible quota to the common task of promoting peace throughout the world, which is the noble ideal of the League of Nations, in order to attain that state of intellectual and economic prosperity enjoyed by other small nations of Western Europe, who in the past have been more favoured by circumstances.

I feel that I cannot more fittingly conclude this incomplete sketch of a big subject than by quoting Milton's majestic phrase—perhaps not wholly inapplicable to Lithuania: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble nation rousing herself like a strong man and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam."

PRESIDENT WILSON.

(A Chronicle in the manner of John Drinkwater.)

BY REGINALD BERKELEY.

(Continued.)

SCENE III.

The ante-room of a public hall at Pueblo in the Western States during PRESIDENT WILSON'S tour on behalf of the Treaty of Versailles. September 25th, 1919. When the door is open the speaker's voice in the main hall is distinctly audible.

ADMIRAL GRAYSON is waiting anxiously. MRS. WILSON hurries in.

Mrs. Wilson: The President—it's critical. He must be persuaded against continuing this tour.

Grayson: I have been saying that, ma'am, for a long time. Mrs. Wilson: But it grows more urgent. I left the platform to find you. How he'll finish I don't know. He was swaying and the utterance seemed more difficult each minute. Nothing but his iron determination sustains him.

Grayson: Nothing but the depth of his convictions and of his devotion to the task he has begun have brought him so far.

Mrs. Wilson: You must prevail on him, Admiral. If he breaks, the League breaks. Use that with him.

Grayson: Prevail. Have you ever tried, ma'am, to prevail upon a monolith? (TUMULTY enters jubilant.) How does it go?

Tumulty: He's carrying them. The old wonderful Wilson touch. Listen.

He throws open the door. The President's rich, musical voice full of power is borne in upon them.

Mrs. Wilson: Why, he sounds to be quite recovered. Grayson (reverently): Hush, ma'am. It is the voice of a prophet.

Wilson (off): Now that the mists of this great question have cleared away, I believe that men will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before.

Prolonged applause. The President enters followed by local magnates and his staff.

Tumulty: Oh, Governor, this is the best you've ever done.

Wilson: Tumulty, it does me good to hear you speak so. I guess—why, surely this building is strangely unsteady—or—Everything's going. Why, Grayson, it's—it's dark. Grayson: Bear up, Sir. A touch of vertigo. You're tired.

Wilson (horror in his eyes): No. My speech. Failing. I can't—articulate.

He sinks into GRAYSON'S arms, and is lowered into a chair. MRS. WILSON falls on her knees beside him.

Tumulty: In God's name, Admiral—?

Grayson: Paralysis. The tour is over.

They prepare to carry the President away.

THE SCENE CLOSES.

SCENE IV.

A room in the White House. January 16th, 1920.

WOODROW WILSON, a shadow of himself, is at his desk. TUMULTY as usual is behind the President's chair. The President is reading a telegram.

Wilson: Tumulty, this is bitter. Bitter.

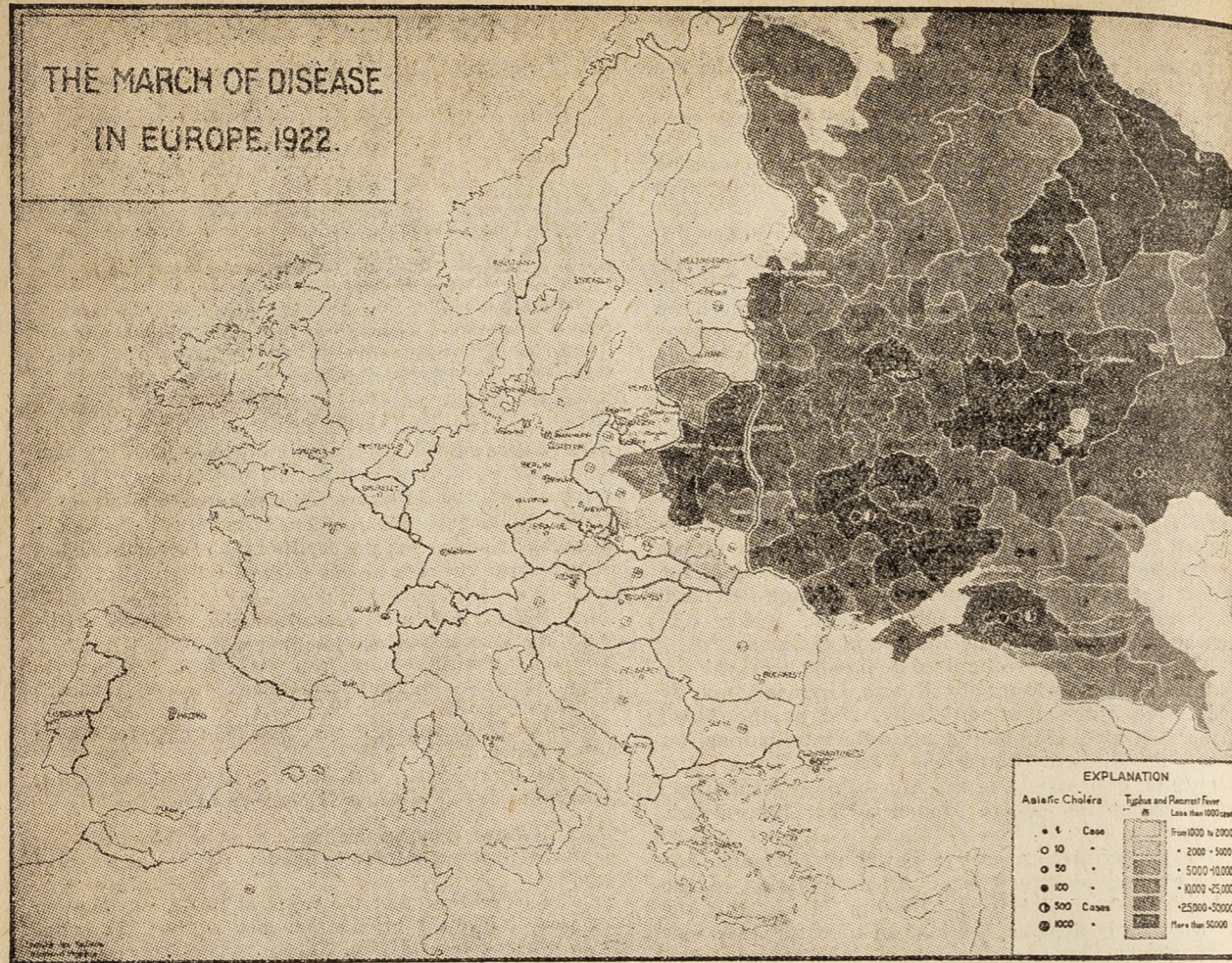
Tumulty: Yes, Governor.

Wilson: They're meeting beyond the sea in Paris. The League that received birth in American ideals. And the chair of America is empty, not by the declared wish of the people—I'd not believe it, were such a wish expressed—but by the strength of personal rancour in the Senate. It's unbelievable.

Tumulty: And no one there to represent American ideals and aspirations.

Wilson: Brazil. This telegram says the Brazilian spoke for the whole American continent: that was brave and far-

H. R.



sighted of him. But it cuts me to the heart to think that the duty of speaking for America should rest elsewhere than on us.

Tumulty: It's hard.

Wilson: Hard. It's cynically false. Tumulty. I can't believe that is the wish of the country. I will take them the Covenant with my two hands, reason with them, explain . . .

Tumulty (gently): No, dear Governor, you have done all that a man could do. Another effort would waste your life—

Wilson: I would give it gladly.

Tumulty: To no purpose, now.

THE SCENE CLOSSES.

SCENE V.

The Presidential Room at the Capitol, Washington. Just before 12 noon on March 4th, 1921.

WOODROW WILSON, MARSHALL, the Vice-President, and TUMULTY are waiting for the hour to strike that will make WARREN HARDING President of the United States of America and WILSON a free citizen again.

Wilson: They have been great years to live in. I've tried to be worthy of them.

Tumulty: And succeeded, with Lincoln and George Washington, Governor.

Wilson (shyly): You put me in mighty good company. Anyone can be great in great times. The events we've been through called for something superhuman. I wish I could have given that.

Marshall: No man could have done more, Mr. President. Some day the world will see it.

Wilson: Marshall, I'm not ambitious for the world to see any such thing. I want my work to prosper. That is all.

Tumulty: It has make a beginning.

Wilson: A small beginning, a halting beginning, but a beginning, yes. Yet when I think what the League could be doing to facilitate a general settling down to peace if only America were behind it— And yet again perhaps it is well. Maybe if things had not so fallen out the weaknesses

of the thing we made would not have become manifest until it was too late for improvement.

Marshall: You think it has weaknesses?

Wilson: The highest product of man's mind, the law, is full of weaknesses, Marshall. How can this new conception have escaped them? But the idea will surely triumph. I have faith.

Tumulty: The new administration will kill it if they can.

Wilson: I have faith. . . . It must be nearly time now.

A tall, spare man followed by his colleagues walks into the Chamber. This is SENATOR LODGE, the President's life-long political foe.

Lodge (stiffly): Mr. President, we have come as a Committee of the Senate to notify you that the Senate and the House are about to adjourn and await your pleasure.

Wilson (rising with majesty): Senator Lodge, I have no further communication to make. I thank you. . . . The few seconds now remaining no more than suffice me to lay down the authority derived from my office. (The clock strikes twelve.) Gentlemen, I wish you well and farewell. Come, Tumulty.

He goes. Simultaneously a roar of applause without proclaims the accession of PRESIDENT HARDING.

THE SCENE CLOSSES.

[THE END.]

AN APPEAL FOR RUSSIA.

A tragically urgent appeal comes from the Friends' Emergency and War Victims' Relief Committee on behalf of starving Russia. It is a mistake to suppose that help is not needed in Russia this winter, for the results of last year's famine are already operating to produce famine this year. Little seed corn could be sown, and the death of horses resulted in insufficient ploughing of the land. In Buzuluk County, where the Friends are working, about 200,000 out of a population of 500,000 will be faced with starvation unless help is forthcoming. Food, clothing, blankets, fuel, medical help are all needed. To meet these needs at least £100,000 is required. Donations should be sent to the Friends' Relief Committee, 10, Fetter Lane, E.C.4.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS EXHIBITION AT ST. ALBANS.

By G. SKELTON.

THE Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts to be held at St. Albans from November 6th to 14th, is a new departure in the work of the League of Nations Union. It is an experiment in education, with a view to bringing before plain folk the breadth and magnificence of the League of Nations ideal, in pictorial fashion.

The opportunity of seeing objects of beauty from fifty-two countries, all of which are members of the League, is in itself noteworthy, and the diversity of the exhibits will convey, far better than any written or spoken word, the wide area of the globe covered by the mantle of the League. There will be glass from Czecho-Slovakia (formerly famous as "Bohemian" glass), carpets from Persia, ivories from India, silver and gold filigree from Sweden; from Peru come relics of a lost civilisation, metal masks, and strange pottery, and also evidences of the Spanish conquest in the shape of coffers and stamped leather; Australia sends a collection of etchings, by a group of her younger artists, which have not so far been exhibited in this country.

Some of the exhibits have been arranged for direct by the Legations; in all instances the Ministers have given their hearty approval and support, and many ladies of the Legations are helping as stall-holders, and it is hoped that some of them will wear their beautiful national costumes. The exhibits will be shown in fifty-two pavilions of Greek design—each representing a Member-State of the League. The centre of the hall will be hung with painted and designed tapestry, made specially for the League of Nations Union, representing earlier attempts in history to achieve a League of the nations for the maintenance of peace, and the hall will be reserved for opening ceremonies, dramatic presentations, and other events. The Marchioness of Salisbury has promised to open the Exhibition on November 6th, and the Duchess of Hamilton on November 7th. There will be a series of lectures on various aspects of the League by Mr. Whelen, and Rear-Admiral Drury Lowe will speak on "Disarmament and the Moral Issue." Mr. A. Mansbridge, founder of the Workers' Educational Association and the World Association for Adult Education, will give a lecture on "World Education and Internationalism." A group of "Mystery Plays" will be acted by the Norwich Players on a cart drawn into the midst of the audience as they were performed in the fourteenth century; they will include the "Martyrdom of St. Alban," which shows the conversion to Christianity of the patron saint of the city. An Australian tenor will sing old English songs of the seventeenth century, and a Russian tenor will sing Lithuanian national songs. The Japanese Society of the "Budokwai"—or "Way of Knighthood"—which takes for its standard the Samurai ideal of clean living, courteous speaking, and noble thinking, will give a display of ju-jitsu and other methods of obtaining physical efficiency; and also of a Samurai knightly combat, in the dress and arms of the period.

It is hoped that all members of the Union who are able will pay a visit to the Exhibition and help to insure its success. By arrangement with the Midland and Great Northern Railways, all places within sixty miles of St. Albans will have the benefit of half fares during this period. In the event of its success it might be possible to repeat it in other parts of the country, so that the greatest possible number might have the pleasure of seeing objects of beauty, and be stimulated by a sense of the solidarity of mankind.

For art is, after all, the most ancient bridge across the morasses of national misunderstanding, and the appeal of art lies deeper than the national passions and prejudices from which the armoury of strife is made.

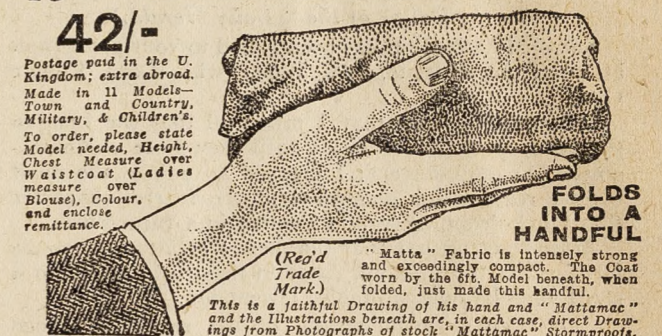
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AIR-BOMBS AND THE LEAGUE.

STATEMENT BY LORD ROBERT CECIL.

[Many erroneous statements have appeared in the Press regarding Lord Robert Cecil's speech in the League Assembly on the subject of air force. The following letter, which we reproduce by courtesy of the *Daily Herald*, gives Lord Robert Cecil's real views on the matter. The actual text of his Assembly statement is as follows:

"Perhaps, also (this is another interesting line of inquiry which we must pursue), something may be done by making air forces the special weapons which the League will have a right to call upon in order to carry out its duties under the Covenant, and more particularly which the guarantor Powers will have a right to call upon in execution of the provisions of the Treaty of Guarantees. But I fully admit that that part of our problem is the most difficult, and I am quite certain it is the most urgent."

—ED. HEADWAY.]

To the Editor of the "Daily Herald."

SIR,—My attention has been called to your paragraph in yesterday's issue, "A Word with Lord Robert Cecil."

It is quite untrue that I proposed that the League should drop bombs on cities until they were uninhabitable. On the contrary, I pressed as one of the most urgent reasons for disarmament the fearful character that bomb-dropping would assume in a future war.

After pointing out that the means of attack were so terrific that the greatest cities in the world might in a short time be uninhabitable, I went on:—

"What an awful picture of the result of human progress. What an awful possibility to contemplate, that unless the opinions we entertain here are realised, the only way of settling our disputes is by levelling to the ground the cities of the world and destroying the fruits of years and generations of human effort."

I added that the possibilities of poison-gas attack were even more fearful.

It is quite true that earlier in my speech I did say that the difficulty of limiting air armaments was very great because of the special character of those armaments and the possibility of converting commercial aeroplanes into bomb-dropping machines, and I suggested that it would be worth inquiring whether some mitigation of this danger might be found by making air forces the special weapon which the League would have the right to call upon in order to carry out its duties under the Covenant.

But I certainly never suggested that the League would make use of such machines to render cities uninhabitable. Aeroplanes could be used for the purpose of attacking armed forces of a Covenant-breaking State.

—Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CECIL.

15, Grosvenor Crescent, London.
October 19th.

Correspondence.

WANTED—A SOUL!

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Lord Robert Cecil, speaking at the Conference on the Re-affirmation of the World's Moral Ideal, pleaded that the League of Nations should be given a soul. As a member of the Union's "Committee of Religions and Ethics," I beg to point out that the means of begetting a soul are already in Lord Robert's hands. For that Committee—which includes representatives of the Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, and other religious and ethical bodies—exists to do that very thing. Its declared object is to promote a League of Religions, by linking all religions up for conference on matters affecting "Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Peace," throughout the world; and thus to supply a

Smyrna Calamity

Relief Units working at Salonica, Athens and Constantinople, report:

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"spiritual counterpart" to the more political League of Nations.

Unhappily, the Committee has received such inadequate backing from the Union's Executive, of which Lord Robert is chairman, that its members are much discouraged, and already discuss the advisability of disbanding.

If, as Chairman of Executive, Lord Robert will more strongly support the work of that Committee he will not need to invoke the heavens for a soul. The soul is already here, beseeching the Executive and Chairman to give it embodiment in the actualities of the Union. Surely, to bring the world's religions together in conference for the world's peace is the fullest way to furnish the League of Nations with a soul.

Believing that the circumstances I have indicated are vitally affecting the Union's power for good, I trust you will print this letter.—Yours, &c.,

WALTER WALSH.

Whetstone.

A PRESSING NEED.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As a teacher, I find grave difficulty in meeting with a suitable English History Book with a broad, international outlook, simple, clear, and interesting to young children.

The heroes are mostly war heroes; many of the pictures are military, and acts of aggression or acquisition seem to be a ground for glory! Cannot the war facts be mentioned (as bad old laws are mentioned) as something we are growing out of?—Yours, &c.,

TEACHER.

[The League of Nations Union is very much concerned with the teaching of history in the schools; and is helped in this matter by an important committee composed of some of the leading historians in the country. Its objects are: (1) To emphasise the Lessons of a League of Nations to be learned from the ordinary English History as now written; and (2) To alter the treatment of History teaching generally so as to make it international in outlook.

The Union organised a deputation to Mr. Fisher in order to secure the Board of Education's encouragement for a broader treatment of the teaching of history so as to promote international sympathy. This deputation has had satisfactory results. The Union has organised a large number of teachers' conferences, where the subject has been discussed, and as a result educational interest has been focused on this important question. The Union has drawn the attention of publishers to the need for school histories written so that the lessons of the war are not forgotten, and many educational publishing houses are now trying to meet the demand which we have stimulated.

The "Evolution" Histories now being produced by Messrs. Constable & Co., written by Dr. Robert Jones, a member of the Union's Historical Sub-Committee, "England in Her Days of Peace," published by George Philip & Sons, and the "New World" History series of Messrs. Collins & Co., are excellent examples of the new type of history book. Mr. Marvin's "Living Past" gives an admirable survey of the development of the human race from the dawn of civilisation to the world society of to-day. Other useful geographical school books are "Europe of To-Day," by Professor J. F. Unstead (Sidgwick & Jackson); "Peoples of the World" in the Junior Regional Geography series (the University of London Press); while George Bell & Sons are producing very shortly a simple reader suitable for children between the ages of ten and twelve, containing stories about the League of Nations.—Ed.]

FROM THE EDITOR'S POST-BAG.

A "HEADWAY" SYMPOSIUM.

The October HEADWAY is a fine piece of journalism, and must be of immense advantage to all workers and speakers for the Union.

* * * * *
HEADWAY is DULL and HEAVY! The whole paper wants re-shaping, re-making, and re-editing.

* * * * *
I am so glad maps are substituted for the former cartoons.

* * * * *
Why have you dropped the cartoons?

* * * * *
This is a very interesting issue.

* * * * *
The Round Table is a better exemplar for HEADWAY than the Spectator.

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I do not admire the design of the cover of HEADWAY. Why not get a good artist to design it?

HEADWAY, though its title and contents are so fine, is too packed for the present day; too good, too much of it.

HEADWAY is indeed a hill from which one sees the gleam of sunshine in the distance. Month after month I read it from cover to cover.

[S.O.S. !—ED.]

Book Reviews.

THE DUTIES OF NATIONS. By F. N. KEEN, LL.B. (London: Sweet & Maxwell, Limited, 3, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2, 1922.)

IN a recent book on Psychology by a well-known authority, it is laid down as a general principle on the first page that "Man is only a partially reasonable animal." Mr. Keen's address before the Grotius Society, of which this pamphlet is a reprint, is an unanswerable statement of the fundamental principles which underlie the League of Nations, and to induce the citizens of this country to accept the application of these arguments, is the duty of the League of Nations Union. All speakers and all those who try to convince the doubters and the scoffer should read Mr. Keen's pamphlet, however reluctantly man is in the end compelled to accept "the dictates of reason," and that day will be hastened in International Affairs by clear and logical statements such as those of Mr. Keen.

M. C.

THE CHALLENGE.

"The Challenge," which appeared in a new form on September 29th, represents an attempt to interpret in terms of human interest the vague and unformulated desire of the bulk of mankind for a new and nobler civilisation based on justice instead of force, generosity instead of greed, comradeship instead of competition. The applicability of Christianity to all the problems of life, national and international, appears to be the basic principle on which the new "Challenge" rests. We wish our contemporary all the success it deserves. It supplies a long-felt need.

[Owing to pressure on our space this month longer reviews are unavoidably held over until the next number.—ED.]

League of Nations Union Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November, 1918	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	135,450
October 21st, 1922	...	...	210,144

The 3 best counties of England and Wales, so far as membership of the Union is concerned, are:—

Westmorland	...	1 member for every 42 of population
Hertfordshire	...	1 " " " 66 " "
Oxfordshire	...	1 " " " 71 " "

Corporate Members.

Since the September issue of HEADWAY the following new Corporate Members have been registered: Aberdeen—St. Paul's Street Congregational Church. Birmingham—Selly Oak, Raddle Barn Road Early Morning School; United Methodist Church. Buckingham—Congregational Church. Durham—Beamish Air Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association. Ealing—Congregational Church. Glasgow—Rutherglen United Free Church Bible Class. High Barnet—Women's Adult School. Kettering—British Legion. Lancaster—District Co-operative Society. London—Cracow Jewish Friendly Society; Order Shield of David Friendly Society. Montrose—Craig United Free Church. Newcastle—Gosforth, All Saints Church; Jesmond Presbyterian Church. Nuneaton—Manor Court Baptist Church. Perth—Brotherhood. Sutton Coldfield—Congregational Church. Shrewsbury—1919 Club. Smethwick—Baptist Church. Swindon—Gorse Hill Wesleyan Young Men's Class. Tollesbury—Women's Institute. Wellington (Som.)—Congregational Church.

Branches.

On October 26th there were 981 recognised Branches, together with 50 Junior Branches and 137 Corporate Members.

Scottish Activities.

A highly successful Summer School was held at Bonskeid, from September 29th to October 3rd. Sixty-nine Scottish members were present, and Professor J. Y. Simpson and Mrs. Simpson acted as host and hostess. The School included one or two English visitors and one from New Zealand.

The sessions were of three kinds. In the first place, Mr. Frederick Whelen, fresh from the Third Assembly at Geneva, gave an interesting exposition of the Covenant and the League's work. The second group of sessions consisted of free lectures as the background of the League's work, given by Major Ewing of Edinburgh University, Mr. R. L. Mackie of Dundee, Professor L. J. Russell of Glasgow University, and Mr. W. H. Marwick of the W.S.A. The third type of sessions consisted of group discussions. The School was divided into five groups, all of which presented their findings at a meeting of the whole School.

The surroundings of Bonskeid are very beautiful, and, favoured by good weather, the party enjoyed itself to the utmost. Several interesting expeditions were made.

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch has already arranged for 90 meetings to be held at which speakers from the local panel will take part. These gatherings include Church services, Literary Societies, Social Clubs, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Ex-Service Men's Associations, British Legion, and Co-operative Guilds. The Branch now numbers over 2,000.

The Autumn Campaign in Wales.

The news from Wales continues to be encouraging, and the Autumn Campaign in the Principality gives every promise of being a great success.

In Anglesey an interesting experiment in organisation is being tried. The Rev. Owen Thomas, of Menai Bridge, is acting for the Welsh Council as County Organiser for Anglesey, and he is putting into effect a scheme whereby he hopes that a Branch of the Union will be formed in every church in the island. Already numerous reports of Branches formed there are reaching the Welsh Council, and the percentage of members in proportion to numbers is likely to be high. For instance, at a church at Glasfryn, 85 out of a total of 115 are members of the League of Nations Union. Anglesey promises thus to have a high percentage of members, if not the highest percentage in the country.

At Llanelly the Free Churches met in conference, and decided upon whole-hearted support to the movement by the immediate formation of Branches in the Churches. St. Clears has moved similarly, here all the Churches have formed Branches under the general chairmanship of the Rev. Canon Lambert Rees. Such conferences of Churches have also been initiated at Merthyr Tydfil, Pontypridd, Barry, Newport, and other centres. At Newport the ministers and clergy met under the chairmanship of the Rev. Father Hickey, B.A., when the Lord Bishop of Llandaff and Sir George Paish spoke to the gathering which had met through the hospitality of Alderman J. E. Evans, J.P. Later in the day a Public Meeting was held at the Newport Town Hall, at which the Lord Bishop of Llandaff and Sir George Paish spoke.

The October meetings in Wales have been of great interest. On October 13th Professor Gilbert Murray spoke at the University College, Cardiff, and on October 14th at the Cory Hall, Cardiff, where a Public Meeting under the auspices of the Welsh Federation of Head Teachers was held. Mr. W. G. Cove, of Pentre, Rhondda, President of the N.U.T., proposed the resolution at this Meeting.

Mrs. Philip Snowden spoke on the League at Pontardawe on October 31st and at Barry on November 1st, under the auspices of the Branches at these places.

The flourishing and progressive Blaenau Festiniog Branch held on October 21st a successful procession and demonstration, at which Captain Ernest Evans, M.P., and the Rev. D. C. Davies, of Cardiff, were speakers. Blaenau Festiniog has one of the most enthusiastic Branches in Wales, and here again the members of the Union form a very high proportion of the population.

During the latter part of September and in October, in addition to those already mentioned, Public Meetings and Conferences have been held at Garth Maesteg, Llangynwyd, Senghennydd, Cardiff, Blaenau Festiniog, Nantymoel, Glanamman, Ammanford, Saundersfoot, Pontypridd, Rhymney, Barry, Penarth, Pembroke Dock, Pengam, Penrhyndeudraeth, Mountain Ash, Talsarn, Portmadoc, Carnarvon, Carmarthen Training College, Abercarn, Builth Wells, and at other places. Branches have already been formed or are being formed in most of these centres.

A District Committee has been formed in Cardiff to co-ordinate the work of the various Branches of the Union in

the city. Dr. Jowett is to be asked to come to Cardiff to speak, and Conferences on International Peace are to be arranged in other parts of the Principality.

On October 27th to 30th the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh Council met at Gregynog for the second time, and discussed ways and means of enlisting the interest and work of the schools—primary and secondary—in the aims of the League. It is hoped to make a general move forward in this respect in Wales and to enlist the aid of the various Education Authorities on this side of the work. The teaching of history and allied subjects in schools and its connection with the ideals of the League was thoroughly investigated by this Committee, whose members are leading Welsh educationalists. Fuller details of their findings and schemes will appear in a later number of HEADWAY.

The wonderful response from the children of Wales to the proposal for sending a wireless message to the children of all other countries in the world on Covenant Day, June 28th, has had the effect of stimulating a desire amongst the women of Wales to take a share in the work of furthering World Peace. The Women's Section of the Welsh School of Social Service is proposing to arrange for a Conference

The Casting Away of Restraint

One ominous feature of the present day and generation shows itself as a revolt against moral authority. All over the world men are defying established conventions and breaking loose from discipline and restraint. Indeed, one epigram declares that people are beginning to take the "nots" out of the Commandments and to put them into the Creeds instead.

Now it was said by an ancient prophet—and age cannot wither nor custom stale this truth—that "where there is no vision the people cast off restraint." Men reject the Commandments, because they lose sight of their Eternal Commander and Judge. The world's supreme need, if only to save it from anarchy, is to recover the vision of God.

In the Bible, as nowhere else, we come face to face with the living God, revealed by His Spirit and incarnate in His Son. It is the single aim of the Bible Society to place that revelation in the hands of every human being in the speech in which he was born.

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- £1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
- £25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.
- All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

of Women, at which the Hon. Director of the Welsh Council (the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A.) will outline the proposal to initiate a movement for a Wales-wide memorial from the women of the Principality to the women of America, calling attention to the interesting historical fact that the first Peace Congresses ever held in Europe were organised jointly by an American citizen, Elihu Burritt, and by a Welshman, Henry Richard. The memorial will plead that the women of Wales and the women of America should covenant to do the utmost to further the ideals for which so much was done in the middle years of the last century through the co-operation of Wales and America.

Aberystwyth Chair of International Politics.

Professor C. K. Webster, Professor of Modern History at the University of Liverpool, has been appointed to the Wilson Chair of International Politics at Aberystwyth, in succession to Professor Zimmern.

The Wilson Chair was founded by Lt.-Col. David Davies, M.P., and his sisters with the object of encouraging the study of international relations and as a contribution towards the maintenance of the world's peace and the success of the League of Nations.

Work in the Metropolitan Area.

The London Federation met on October 4th to welcome its President, the Rt. Hon. the Viscount Burnham, C.H., who was formally inducted by the Chairman of the Federation Executive, Mr. E. W. Morton George, J.P., and delivered a most interesting address on the International Labour Organisation. The Federation is applying itself earnestly to helping the work of the Branches in the London region.

A Step Forward in Oxfordshire.

A Federation of Oxfordshire Branches has been formed and a Provisional Committee appointed.

Thundersley Pageant.

Great and well-deserved success attended the League of Nations Pageant and Fête organised by the Thundersley Branch of the Union. All the nations members of the League, and some without direct membership, such as Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, were represented. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Redskins and Highlanders, and historical personages, such as King John, formed part of the procession and pageant. In the evening a concert was given in a marquee in the grounds of Thundersley House.

Salisbury's Winter Campaign.

The Salisbury Branch has now embarked upon its winter campaign with considerable activity. On October 5th a public meeting was held, at which Professor Gilbert Murray spoke and the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Salisbury was in the chair. A Press Secretary has been appointed and Press notices of local activities published. Addresses have been arranged by members of the Branch to various literary societies and other local bodies which cordially welcome speakers on the League.

Congleton and the Opium Traffic.

Congleton has been taking up strongly the question of the opium traffic. Following an address on this subject by Mrs. W. H. Walker, a letter was sent to the local Member of Parliament urging him to ask in the House of Commons whether the importation certificate scheme of the League of Nations was now in force in Great Britain, and what steps the British Government had taken towards carrying out the recommendations of the League's Advisory Committee on the opium traffic. A reply was received from Mr. Remer, M.P., to the effect that, as Parliament was not sitting and the matter was urgent, he had written to Mr. Shortt on the subject. Mrs. Walker's inspiring lecture is to be repeated at several places in the district.

The Congleton Branch is also taking steps to promote League education in the schools, and hopes shortly to convene a conference of head-teachers to meet with a sub-committee of the Branch. Later a general meeting of all teachers in the Elementary Schools in the town is envisaged.

Trade Union Corporate Member.

The Beamish Air Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association is the first Trades Union Lodge to make application for corporate membership.

Lecture-Card.

A useful lecture-card is published by the Buxton Branch. The front page gives the "World and Stars" design and a

quotation from the Prime Minister; the back page, the officers of the Buxton Branch. The middle consists of a list of monthly meetings of the Branch with their subjects and speakers.

Rhodes Scholars.

During the vacation eight Rhodes Scholars from Oxford volunteered their services for a month's campaign during September and a part of October. They were: Messrs. P. M. Hamilton, M.A., B.Litt. (Australia); W. P. Hamilton, B.A. (U.S.A.); N. M. Richmond, B.A. (New Zealand); A. A. Hope, B.A., B.C.L. (South Africa); E. D. Ford, B.A., (U.S.A.); J. R. Stirrett, B.A. (Canada); J. D. Krijie, B.A. (South Africa, a nephew of General Smuts); and G. C. D. Edwards, B.A. (U.S.A.).

Meetings were held in all the Regions except London, and most enthusiastic reports have been received as to the excellent work done. It would be invidious to refer specially to any one of these Scholars, but special mention must be made of Mr. P. M. Hamilton, who made the necessary arrangements in the first place. Mention must also be made of the great demonstration held in Lytham, at which there was an attendance of between 3,000 and 4,000, and to the enthusiastic gatherings of school children in Derbyshire.

Mr. Whelen has also reported that wherever he has been the work done by the Rhodes Scholars has been most thoroughly appreciated. The Union owes them a great debt of gratitude.

Savings Bank Branch.

For two years now our Post Office Savings Bank Branch at Kensington has been the only one formed in a Government Department and whose membership is limited to officers of the Department, but steps are afoot to form branches in other Departments. The membership of the Savings Bank Branch now exceeds 800, and one person in every five of the authorised establishment of the Department belongs to the Branch, which is very closely and intimately connected with the Kensington Branch of the Union.

Poster Publicity.

Certain Branches have arranged for Union posters to be displayed on special notice-boards outside places of worship. Results have been most gratifying; in fact, the Secretary of one of the Branches in a town in the North, of the inhabitants of which one in five are members of the Branch, claims that the use of these special notice-boards—on which notices of meetings and other Branch activities are displayed—has contributed very largely to the success of the efforts made to increase their membership.

Lord Windsor at Ludlow.

A successful meeting was held at Ludlow on October 13th, at which Lord Windsor spoke eloquently on behalf of the League and the Union. Some 60 members were enrolled.

Empire Day Play.

A short League of Nations play, entitled "Kenneth's Dream of Peace," has been written by Miss R. Parker, of Stroud Green, and typewritten copies may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W., price 8d., post free. The play has already been performed with considerable success, and resulted in an increase of membership to the Union.

The League and the Agriculturist.

Members of the Union residing in agricultural districts may be interested to learn of a leaflet entitled "Does the Farmer Benefit from War?" prepared by the Welsh Council of the Union, 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff. Another leaflet has been prepared by Captain Colin Coote, D.S.O., M.P., a member of the Executive Committee of the Union, explaining the special nature of the League's appeal to agriculturists. Both leaflets demonstrate the bitter folly of the old toast of agriculture: "Here's to a bloody War and a bad Harvest"; and show that though war brings a temporary prosperity to the farmer, in the long run he loses heavily by such disadvantages as the depopulation of the land, the grave decline in his live-stock, violent fluctuations in prices and values, and crushing taxation.

Typewritten copies of the latter leaflet may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

An Opportunity at San Remo.

Any member or friend of the Union who is accustomed to speak for us, and who finds an opportunity, during travels or holidays abroad, of visiting San Remo should bear in mind that the English centre there will be glad to arrange for a meeting. This would include people from Bordighera and

Ospelelli. Hospitality is offered to the speaker for the night. Any speaker notifying his or her ability to take a meeting there at any time would immediately be put in touch with Miss Dorothy Hood, the organiser.

Headquarters Library.

Readers of HEADWAY will be aware that the Union has a small library on the ground floor at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. Lack of sufficient funds alone prevent this small venture from developing into a complete League of Nations Reference Library and supplying a long-felt need. Under these circumstances gifts of books for the Library would be warmly welcomed, and our readers are urged to bear this fact in mind.

Dr. Jewett and the League.

Branch Secretaries will be interested to know that Dr. Jewett, whose recent utterances have attracted such widespread attention, is a keen supporter of the League of Nations, and is a member of the League of Nations Union, for which he is one of the oldest workers.

Aaland Islands.

The Union has just produced a new one-reel film dealing with the dispute between Finland and Sweden about the Aaland Islands, and its settlement by the League. This new film, which will run for about fifteen minutes, is slightly shorter than the one entitled "World Peace"; it is also more interesting from the point of view of the ordinary picture-theatre-goer.

A most effective way of displaying this new film would be for Branches to arrange with local cinema managers to include it as part of their ordinary programme. Some of the more well-disposed managers might give the local Branch an opportunity to enrol fresh members, or for a representative to address the audience for a couple of minutes at some part of the performance, preferably immediately after the film has been shown. The Manager at the Palace Theatre in London has allowed our representatives to make short speeches at the interval of the "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." Probably only very few cinema managers will hire the Aaland Islands film in the ordinary business way, but if Branches offer to provide the film, experience shows that even managers who are not particularly interested in the League are ready to include it in their programme.

Important Meetings in October.

Four hundred meetings were arranged for the month of October in addition to those arranged by Branches. Amongst the principal meetings were those held at: Carlisle, Westminster, Battersea, Tollington Park, Tottenham, Nottingham, Chapel-en-Frith, Salisbury, Bushey, Camberley, Hanwell, Gilderspool, Blackheath, Dudley, Manchester, Canterbury, Glasgow, Hatfield, Fulham, Stoke Newington, Peterborough, and Sidcup. Amongst the speakers were: H.H. Prince Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.I.; the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., G.C.M.G.; Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O.; Lt.-Gen. Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, G.C.M.G.; Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.; Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.; Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, G.C.M.G.; Lady (Victor) Horsley; the Bishop of Woolwich; the Bishop of Madras; J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Esq., C.B.E., Sc.D.; G. R. Thorne, Esq., M.P.; Tom Myers, Esq., M.P.; Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.; Professor Gilbert Murray; Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G.; Brig.-Gen. C. D. Bruce, C.B.E.; Mrs. Oliver Strachey; Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale; F. J. Gould, Esq.; and Frederick Whelen, Esq.

New Publications.

Since our last issue the Union has produced the following pamphlets: No 94. *Land Law and Policy in Tropical Africa*, by Norman Leys, M.B., D.P.H.; No. 96. *The International Labour Organisation*; No. 98. *The Righteousness of God* (sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Geneva Cathedral); and No. 99 (an account of the work of the Third Assembly by Mr. H. Wilson Harris) *Geneva, 1922*, price 6d. A new edition of No. 14, *Hints to Study Circle Leaders*, is in the press.

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