

HEADWAY

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THE MONTH.

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"The League of Nations, like everything new and great, is subjected to many and contradictory criticisms. It is criticised for what it does and for what it does not do ; it is criticised for its action and for its lack of action.

Meanwhile it makes progress." — M. Askenazy, Polish delegate to the Assembly of the League.

It is very encouraging to read words like these at a time like the present. In a world still distracted by wars and rumours of war, racked and ruined by the struggle of 1914-1918, and by the so-called peace which succeeded that struggle, it is good to be assured by nation after nation that the organisation created to maintain peace, and the "good relations between nations upon which peace depends" has justified its existence and is achieving its purpose. No feature of the Third Assembly of the League of Nations which is in session as we write is more striking than the tributes paid to the League by those nations which have come directly under its conciliatory, or coercive, influence. One of the most interesting of these tributes came from the Albanian delegate,

M. Frasherri, who declared that the remarkable progress of his country recently was "due in large measure to the benevolent protection and good counsels of the League of Nations," and that the example of Albania constituted "a striking landmark in the progress of the League" itself. Other tributes came from Bulgaria, Greece and Jugo-Slavia. It may be objected that these are only words, and as such count for little. But the tremendous truth which underlies the appreciative speeches of the Assembly delegates is that the League of Nations has made good, and is universally recognised to have done so, even by States to whom League intervention has meant a certain curtailment of the freedom to do wrong.

* * * *

WE discuss on another page the whole question of the intervention of the League of Nations in the Near East. The Assembly discussions on Dr. Nansen's proposal are proceeding as we write, but though a forecast of their outcome would be premature we can at least point to certain significant factors in the situation. The delegates of three of the British Dominions—Canada, Australia and New Zealand—have telegraphed to Mr. Lloyd George asking him to accept the Nansen proposal for League intervention. The Australian delegate, indeed, acting on instructions from his Cabinet, would have himself proposed action by the League, had not Norway forestalled him. The French delegate, contrary to general expectation, raised no objection to the inclusion of the Nansen resolution in the Assembly agenda. The Kemalist representatives at Geneva and at Rome have stated that the Angora Government would accept League mediation in Thrace. Here are three factors of the highest importance. The

first means that isolated action by the British Empire is no longer a practical proposition. The second implies an attitude on the part of the French at least not unfavourable to a solution on "Upper Silesian" lines. The third shows that the victorious Turk may be amenable to reason when it is the League which measures out the dose. "The League," said Mr. Fisher recently in another connection, "has become an established



[By permission of the "Daily News."]

hospital for incurables." It succeeded in the question of Upper Silesia where the Supreme Council of the Allies lamentably failed. It is a safe prophecy that whatever the League may decide, if the question be entrusted to it, in the blood-stained region of the Near East, no other and necessarily less representative body can hope to achieve a lasting settlement. All the difference between an armed truce and a permanent peace lies between the two alternatives with which Europe is now faced.

THE Near East question apart, outstanding questions at the Assembly are Armaments, Economics, and Mandates. The report of the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission is now in the hands of the Third Commission of the Assembly. It consists, as is well known, of three main proposals: Lord Robert Cecil's scheme for a mutual defence treaty, linked with reduction of armaments; a plan for a definite reduction of armies on the Esher principle, but rejecting the Esher scale; and a proposal for the convocation of a new naval Conference, and for the adoption by the non-Washington powers of a naval reduction plan on the Washington model. The disarmament debates have been some of the most instructive of any, revealing as they do, on the one hand, the curious divergence between the French and the British points of view, on the other, the marked desire of the French delegation to maintain good feeling and cordial relations with Great Britain. There is no doubt that France is taking the question of disarmament very seriously. The crux of the difficulty is that France wants guarantees first and disarmament afterwards, while Great Britain (for Lord Robert, though technically representing South Africa, may be considered to be voicing British public opinion in this matter), wants disarmament as a necessary condition of guarantees of protection. After a ten days' battle the outstanding differences between the two sides appear to have been composed by a compromise satisfactory to both parties. As we go to press we learn that the Armaments Commission of the Assembly

has adopted with acclamation a triple scheme on lines we have indicated. The full Assembly has yet to pronounce its blessing on these proposals, but this may safely be taken for granted.

THE Austrian Chancellor's appeal to the Assembly to save his country—an appeal which was all the more moving because it was entirely unsensational—made a deep impression. Scarcely a delegate has failed to make sympathetic reference to the Austrian tragedy, and some, notably M. Motta, M. Scialoja, and Lord Robert Cecil, have shown a determination to reinforce moral support by something more tangible and effective. The Council of the League is now devoting all its energies to discussing a practical scheme for immediate aid to Austria. The Austrian Committee of the Assembly, of which Lord Balfour is Chairman, have also decided to ask their respective Governments—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia—to guarantee part of a loan required to carry Austria on over the next ten years. But, as Lord Robert Cecil pointed out, the Austrian problem is only part of a larger whole—the economic crisis which is threatening Europe, and indeed, the whole world. Acting under definite instructions from General Smuts, Lord Robert has proposed to the Armaments Commission of the Assembly that the whole question of the economic condition of Europe—including reparations, inter-Allied war debts, and relief credits—should be discussed by the League. It is interesting that M. de Jouvenel, the French delegate, expressed his complete agreement with Lord Robert's contention that disarmament could not be effected without a settlement of the reparations problem.

THE cheers which greeted Dr. Nansen's praise of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission will find an echo outside the walls of the Assembly Hall. We indicated last month the scope of the League's achievements in regard to mandates, and characterised the progress made as epoch-making. A perusal of the Report of the Commission to the Council of the League, and of the Minutes of the Session of the Commission held last August strengthen us in that opinion. No one can read these apparently dry, in reality extraordinarily human, documents without becoming aware that an amazing change has taken place in the history of Colonial administration and of international relations. On August 1st the Japanese representative underwent a fire of cross-questioning from the representatives of five different nations in regard to the administration of the Japanese mandated islands. On August 3rd it was the turn of Sir Joseph Cook in regard to New Guinea; on August 5th Sir James Allen replied to searching questions on the administration of Samoa by New Zealand. The questions of indentured labour, liquor traffic, arms traffic, education, economic equality, were raised and thrashed out thoroughly, the members of the Commission making it very plain that in cases where they were not entirely satisfied with the reports furnished by the Mandatory Powers, fuller information must be provided to the League, and any apprehensions or scruples aroused must be allayed.

THE courageous and impartial attitude of the Commission was shown in its handling of the Nauru question, and of the Samoan problem of indentured labour, and it is highly significant

that these two matters of "grave concern" were also dealt with at a public session. This example of open diplomacy not only sends up League stock by leaps and bounds and ensures public confidence in the League, because of League confidence in the public, but gives a guarantee of good faith towards the inhabitants of the mandated areas which no other international organisation could possibly provide.

IT is not easy to refuse to remedy abuses which have had the searchlight of the League turned upon them in full view of the whole world. One of the most dramatic moments of the present Assembly, for instance, was when the brilliant Negro delegate from Haiti, ascended the tribune to protest against the punitive expedition against the Bondel Hottentots, and to urge that a full and impartial inquiry should be made, and that in the meantime the Mandatory Power concerned (the Union of South Africa) should make every effort to relieve the suffering of the victims. Another point of very great importance to the native races was raised by Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, namely, the recrudescence of slavery in Africa. The trade exists as a result of the traffic in arms and ammunition which it is one of the objects of the League to suppress. Unfortunately, Abyssinia, where the trade is now concentrated, is neither a member of the League nor a mandated territory. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland's suggestion, under the circumstances, is for the Council of the League to call for accurate information from the legations of the Council Members in Abyssinia, and in the light of this information, to consider what action can be taken to combat the evil. As we go to press no action has been taken on the former question—the Hottentot expedition—but the Assembly has voted for an inquiry by the Council into the alleged revival of slavery in Africa, and for the investigation of the latter question as a whole by the League, with the assistance of competent African administrators.

THE admission of Hungary to the League by a unanimous vote—bringing the total of Member States up to 52—was made under interesting circumstances. The Czecho-Slovak delegate made a striking declaration on behalf of the Little Entente States, to the effect that, although Hungary had not fulfilled certain definite obligations, notably the abolition of compulsory military service, under the Treaty of Trianon, the Little Entente were strongly in favour of her admission to the League, believing that the Hungarian Government would thereby be strengthened to fulfil the solemn obligations she was now undertaking. The case for the admission of any State to the League, but especially of an ex-enemy State, could not have been better defined. The admission of Hungary marks a definite step forward. Another "new" State that is contemplating applying for admission is Ireland. The Provisional Parliament has passed a resolution in favour of application as soon as Ireland has a really stable Government.

THOSE who pinned their faith to formulæ must have suffered a rude shock when the practical difficulties of "self-determination of nations" became apparent as soon as the war came to an end, and the task of redrawing the map of the world was

undertaken. Without expressing any opinion upon the merits of the various Peace Treaties, it is evident that the demarcation of boundaries on racial lines is in many cases a sheer impossibility. A district—and there are many such—where the towns are mainly inhabited by the people of one race, and the countryside by people of another, is a case in point. Hence the "minorities" problem which is now being tackled by the League Assembly. The fate of Poles, Germans, Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians, Austrians, Hungarians, Greeks, Turks, and Armenians, to mention only a few, lies in the hands of the League. The Treaties of Peace contain certain important "minorities clauses," but it is for the League to see that these clauses do not become mere "scraps of paper."

IMPORTANT resolutions on this subject have been brought forward by Professor Gilbert Murray. These have been passed by the Sixth Commission, but at the time of writing have not been endorsed by the Assembly as a whole. These resolutions, which are based on the experience of the working of the Minorities Treaties, recognise that in ordinary cases the best way for the League to encourage good relations between the different Governments and the minorities for whom they are responsible, is by the method of informal and friendly communication with these Governments. For this purpose it is suggested that the membership of the Council may have to be reinforced. In the case of serious breaches of the treaties, the Council might have to preserve its full right of direct action, but this is definitely regarded as a last resort. In special cases, where conflicts are more frequent and more serious, the establishment of impartial representatives of the League is suggested as the best means of assuring the protection of minorities. Macedonia, "a country in which the danger and the fear in which the population live are actually written on the landscape," provides a tragic example of the need for more adequate protection than the League has as yet been enabled to give. One of the most hopeful aspects of a difficult situation is the splendid support given to Professor Murray's proposals by the Bulgarian delegate, M. Radeff. Describing as "illusory" the charge that control by the League of Nations could in any way offend the national susceptibilities or imperil the independence of the States concerned, M. Radeff declared in the most solemn manner, that his country consented in advance to any action which the Assembly might consider necessary in order to secure adequate supervision by the League over the rights of minorities.

A DEADLY analysis of the cost of the Armies of Occupation was recently made by Mrs. Philip Snowden in *The Westminster Gazette*. Sir Robert Horne—she recalled—stated that Britain had spent the money received from Germany on account of Reparation on the armies of occupation. This is of course accurate. But the total Allied armies of occupation are estimated to cost Germany itself three times the whole of their own pre-war national expenditure. This summer there have been 110,000 Allied troops on the Rhine (92,000 French, 10,500 Belgian, 5,000 British, and 1,600 American). The figures are more eloquent in themselves than any comment upon them could be.

THE LEAGUE AND THE NEAR EAST.

“USE every means possible to promote League intervention in the Near East”—was Lord Robert Cecil's wire to the League of Nations Union on September 21st. On the same day it was announced that, as a result of Lord Curzon's visit to Paris, the Near Eastern question was to be referred to a new “ad hoc” conference of eight Powers only—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Turkey. At the same time a Committee of the Assembly was considering Dr. Nansen's proposal for League intervention under Article II. The issues involved are so complex and far-reaching in their implications that it is perhaps well to review the whole position.

We must begin our review at the lull that followed the Armistice, during which the Principal Allied Powers alone were responsible for maintaining peace, and when British troops were carrying out the disarmament of beaten Turkey without resentment. There were not then the complications that followed the Greek occupation of Smyrna and its hinterland—an occupation which came about because the Allies were unwilling to maintain their own victorious forces until they had made peace. Before the Greek landings the situation was much simpler and the prospect of settlement close. The foreseeable collapse of the Greek forces has again made the position fluid, but with the important difference that there is now a new factor which promises to become in itself a political problem of the first magnitude. This factor is the revival not only of the Turkish spirit but also of Pan-Islamic enthusiasm, which, in the flush of success, and with perhaps a right abhorrence of the hitherto purely self-interested motives of the Allied Powers, may lead to a “holy war” of unparalleled magnitude. It is almost certain to lead to excesses, and the jeopardising of the lives of many thousands of the minorities of Asia Minor.

The position is much too serious to allow of an attempt to make capital out of any controversy between the efficacy of “ad hoc” conferences and the League machinery. Our one object is to secure world peace through international co-operation, and if the Eight Power “ad-hoc” conference can suspend hostilities in the Near East, we think that it will not have been in vain. At the same time, however, we believe that the basis of a permanent peace, including, in particular, the means for securing the freedom of the Straits, the future administration of Constantinople, and the safeguarding of Minorities of all kinds, can be secured only by reference to the League of Nations. We understand that both Greeks and Turks have appealed to the League for intervention. This is a pointed admission of the moral authority possessed by the League. It is clear that the League would be better able to envisage all the conditions that make for permanent peace in the Near East than any “conference of Powers” as such. It is therefore to be hoped that the Eight-Power Conference will not be satisfied by merely “patching-up” an “armed truce”: but will ask the League to lay down a permanent basis of settlement.

Our readers will understand, of course, that the Near East problem does not come technically within the terms of reference of the League as such. Article 17 of the Covenant, which might be thought to apply in this case, deals with a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member. When this article was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles it was not intended to apply to the outstanding disputes that were to be settled by the Treaties of St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, and Sévres. Circumstances have changed so much, however, that it is not a stretch of the imagination to regard the present crisis in Asia Minor as a “new problem” which in actualities is within the province of the League to settle.

It is clear that any treaty embodying the basis of a permanent settlement would devolve many duties upon the League. It is equally clear that the League cannot carry out these duties without the full authority and complete support of all its members. The League must be enabled to tackle this problem not only with expert knowledge but also with adequate “sanctions.”

It is important to remember also that the territorial rights of the Turks once estimated may in no way be tampered with, either by the Turks themselves in Europe, in Mesopotamia, Syria, or Armenia, or by neighbouring Powers anxious to upset the settlement. What the League needs to do is to accommodate the full force of its machinery to the facts of the case and to devote its right judgment, its energy and initiative, to the fashioning of guarantees which would bring no injury to Turkish responsibility, but would establish once and for all a Court of Justice whereby both Turks and Minorities alike would derive an effective benefit.

The conduct of the victorious Turks as of the retreating Greeks should bring home the nature of the passions and methods with which the League will have to deal, and no amount of idealistic sentiment is likely to impress the peoples of the Near and Middle East. Further it must be remembered that the chief ally and supporter of the Kemalist régime is the Soviet Government of Moscow, which may use endeavours to discredit and render powerless any action by the League. The problem of Turkey with all its ramifications through Asia, North Africa, the Eastern Europe is on the scale of the great problems of Central Europe, and if the League is to play its part in the reconstruction of civilisation and the maintenance of peace it will require much more effective support from the great Powers of the West than it has hitherto received.

The moral to be drawn from this should be clear to all believers in the League of Nations ideal. Wars, secret diplomacy, financial intrigue, isolated action—the result is unrest, misunderstanding, oppression, massacre, and ultimately (to use the words of the Prime Minister) “the doom of civilisation.” There is only one way out, and that is through the League of Nations, whose terms of reference are, in essence, the safeguarding of civilisation, as we know it, by establishing conference, consultation, justice, and publicity as the normal means of settling disputes between nations instead of the bayonet, bomb, big gun, tank, and poison gas.

SOME ASSEMBLY IMPRESSIONS.

By GLADSTONE MURRAY.

ROBUSTNESS of spirit and determination—these are the two things which struck one most at the Third Assembly. A good many of the delegates themselves had come to Geneva with misgivings, expecting, as one of them put it, “to participate in a month of pleasant but futile chatter.”

In the very first meetings of the six main Committees, these delegates discovered their error. The period of the Assembly was to be for all of them a time of unremitting toil; nor, indeed, was any of their work to be divorced from “actualities.”

There were not a few moments of suspense. Lord Robert's inspiring lead in his “all or nothing” speech, clearly defined the main issue and challenged the Great Powers to entrust the League with the work which it alone can do. Then came cautious and, on the whole, disappointing responses by Lord Balfour and M. Hanotaux, who, no doubt, were still tied by the terms of reference they had received from their Governments at the beginning.

But the spirit of Lord Robert's speech was not to be denied. From then on, both in the Committees and in the plenary meetings of the Assembly, it was clear that all outstanding problems of international politics would pass under review.

The Third Committee—that on disarmament—was followed with most interest. Lord Robert's proposals of mutual guarantee with simultaneous reduction of armaments, had a good many vicissitudes before it was passed unscathed in essentials. It was almost wrecked on the question of priority of disarmament and guarantee. That inimitable debater, Monsieur de Jouvenel, the French representative, wanted to establish the guarantee before any disarmament took place. Finally, a basis of compromise was found in the understanding that the guarantee would take effect upon the beginning of clearly defined preparation for disarmament. It was clear that the terms of reference of the principal Allied Powers were such that it would merely have wrecked the whole scheme to have attempted to press for its immediate enforcement. But the acceptance of the principle was a remarkable advance, and when the Temporary Mixed Commission has completed its further considerable tasks during the coming year, it should not be difficult at the Fourth Assembly to formulate the necessary legislative proposals to carry out this principle.

It was a very dramatic moment indeed, when, in reply to Lord Robert's suggestion of a year's delay, Monsieur de Jouvenel declared with great earnestness: “France cannot afford to wait for disarmament.” He then put his interesting and novel proposals for a scheme of partial guarantees with partial disarmament, which really meant a series of regional understandings leading ultimately to a general agreement. These proposals will have to be considered most carefully by the Temporary Mixed Commission; otherwise there is a distinct danger that instead of leading to a general agreement, they may result in another system of competitive groups.

The possibility of the Prime Minister going to Geneva was continually discussed, but to Mr. Wilbur Forrest, the Paris Correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, belongs the credit of having evolved the most interesting explanation of how the Prime Minister was to be trapped by Lord Robert Cecil. The outline of Mr. Forrest's reasoning was as follows:—

- (1) Lord Robert evolved his scheme of mutual guarantee with simultaneous disarmament last November.
- (2) The Prime Minister stole this scheme for the Geneva Conference, and called it a “non-aggression pact.”
- (3) Realising the growing strength of League of Nations opinion in Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd George, on

July 28th, in his great speech at the Conference of Free Church representatives, endeavoured to take from Lord Robert the popular leadership of the League of Nations cause in Great Britain.

(4) Lord Robert's reply to this move was to set an elaborate trap for Mr. Lloyd George at Geneva. The mutual guarantee scheme was to be introduced, discussed, and deferred for a year, according to plan. Great clamour was to take place then for Mr. Lloyd George to go to Geneva. When he got there he would have to make an inspiring appeal for immediate action, in other words, he would urge for the mutual guarantee scheme to be put into effect at once, and not delayed for a year.

(5) The final act of this hypothetical drama was to be Lord Robert's acknowledgment of the acceptance of his own policy by Mr. Lloyd George, and the latter's genuine conversion to a real League policy. Sequel—Mr. Lloyd George's final eclipse in international politics!

The Assembly tackled the Minorities question with characteristic boldness and frankness. The personality of Professor Gilbert Murray—his irresistible logic, unvarying tact, and broad sympathies—enabled the Minorities Committee to avoid numerous deadlocks when they appeared almost inevitable. The Minorities problem has so bristled with difficulties that both the Supreme Council and the Council of the League have been leaving it severely alone. It was only Professor Murray's plan of approaching the problem from a new angle that made progress at the Assembly at all possible. While not losing sight of the duty of the League to safeguard Minorities, he laid stress on the co-relative responsibility of Minorities to make a genuine effort to work in harmony with the other elements in their State.

Dr. Nansen once more harrowed the feelings of the Assembly delegates by recounting some of the horrors of the Russian famine and of the epidemic which always follows hard upon the heels of famine. This year's harvest has been good, but the famine has not yet been stopped. It has only been checked, largely because sufficient grain has not been sown to produce the crop necessary to maintain the population. Much of the seed corn sent last autumn was eaten by the starving peasants instead of being sown. But the most tragic aspect of the whole ghastly situation is that some of the worst horrors could have been avoided if only adequate steps had been taken in time. Lord Robert Cecil voiced the opinion widely held when he said: “I cannot help expressing my very great regret that the League last year did not feel able to intervene more decisively in the question of the Russian famine. . . . I do feel that if we had been able to do something more decisive last year, we really should have been fulfilling more completely the duty cast upon us of dealing with all matters affecting the peace of the world and the good understanding upon which that peace depends.” Most of the delegates certainly welcomed the fact that the Council is now instituting an inquiry into the present situation in Russia and treating it as a matter of great urgency.

The manner of the admission of Hungary should not pass unnoticed in Germany. Hungary has not carried out all the terms of the Peace Treaty—indeed, her neighbours believe that she has not even completed the disarmament laid down for her. Yet the solemn and obviously sincere pledge of her chief delegate, Count Banffy, was accepted, and her election was not only unanimous but enthusiastic. As Lord Robert Cecil has pointed out in one of his special despatches to the League of Nations Union, it is almost certain that Germany, too, would have been admitted in the same way had she but applied. The obstacle to Germany's inclusion in the League is from within; indeed, it may well be the growing strength of Monarchist reaction that persists in seeking a military alliance with Russia for a war of revenge. It is high time, therefore, for German democracy to assert itself and make sure that the Fourth Assembly will not disperse until Germany is a member of the League.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

(A Chronicle in the manner of John Drinkwater.)

By REGINALD BERKELEY.

[The importance of the decisions now being taken at Geneva and Paris has tended to obscure a movement in the United States which may have a great influence upon the European situation. The elections for Congress take place in November, when it is believed that ex-President Wilson will issue a statement of great importance in regard to the entry of the United States into the League. Another factor in the situation which lends colour to the belief that the League must always be an issue in American politics until America enters the League is the entry upon the political scene of former Justice Clarke, a strong League adherent.

Throughout the debates at the Assembly one was constantly reminded of the relation of the United States to all the really comprehensive measures of world policy. Both M. de Jouvenel and Mr. Fisher emphasised the importance of American co-operation in proposals such as that designed to restrict the private manufacture and sale of arms.

Under these circumstances it may be as well to remind ourselves, first, of the precise nature of the debt which the world owes ex-President Wilson, and, secondly, of the kind of opposition he had to meet in the United States in 1919. The main object of this Chronicle is, of course, to give not historical accuracy in details, but a true historical perspective.—ED.]

SCENE I.

The President's Chamber in the White House, Autumn, 1918.

WOODROW WILSON, lean, single-purposed, masterful, is signing State documents with inflexible pen. JOSEPH TUMULTY, a chubby little man, is leaning affectionately on the back of the President's chair, following the movements of his pen with dog-like veneration. The President, still writing, breaks the silence without looking up.

Wilson: Tumulty.

Tumulty: Yes, Governor.

Wilson: I wouldn't have you think I'm insensible to the merits of your proposals—but I can't accept them. In the bargainings and shifts of the Allies I must be unfettered, if necessary blindly followed, by the American delegation. Otherwise there'll be another Congress of Vienna. . . . It's not that I criticise our Allies, I would be loath to do that, but I understand their passions and distress. Firmness on our part may perhaps redress the balance. . . . Where's Lansing?

The Secretary of State comes in.

Lansing: Good morning, Mr. President.

Wilson (wistfully): Why—you're mighty formal, Lansing. I've not to convince you again, I trust. Why, Lansing—

Lansing: I hold, as you know, that with the Republicans in a majority in both Houses, it's an act of I won't say folly, Mr. President, but an act of ill-judgment to have them uncommitted to the terms of peace.

Wilson: I'm taking Hoover and White.

Lansing: White means nothing and Hoover is only an expert. Lodge, Root, Leonard Wood should all go with you as delegates.

Wilson: No, Mr. Secretary. (TUMULTY bows his head as if to a blow.) No, a thousand times.

Lansing: They'll tear up your work otherwise. I speak as your friend, Mr. President. Myself as you know I don't think extravagantly well of your plan for a League of Nations. I've never disguised that. Though a fine ideal it isn't practical—But setting my views aside, and speaking as a friend to the proposal, because it's your proposal, I feel bound to say that if the Republicans aren't pledged to it in advance, it will never pass Congress.

Wilson (affectionately): Lansing, you're so logical and clear there seems to be no escape from your reasoning. I've no doubt you size up the Republican intentions mighty well. But you're wrong for all that; and where you go wrong is right at the beginning. Don't you see the choice of evils before me? If I don't take the Republicans they may try to wreck my work when it's done, true; but if I do take them the work won't be done at all.

Lansing (stiffly): I can't allow that, Mr. President. They're good, patriotic Americans.

Wilson: Who says they aren't? Who suggests for one moment that they won't do their best for America and the Allies? But will they do the best for the world? (LANSING is silent.) Will they tie the world up in a League against war, or will they inflict a vindictive peace that'll do no more than sow the seeds of another?

Lansing: You distrust their patriotism?

Wilson: Never. I distrust their passions. Or say I'm wrong. Say their conception of the peace is the proper one and mine a delusion. How can we work together? The Delegation couldn't be depended on to agree in the smallest particular. I should just be playing a lone hand and the Allies, knowing my house to be divided against itself, would put me aside in the Conference like a cipher. No, Lansing. I'll go to Paris with those on whom I can rely. I'll so tie up the peace with the League that the one can't live without the other; and if, as you prophesy, I find myself deserted by Congress, I'll go over their heads to the American people in whose ideals the thing has its roots. That is my final decision.

Lansing: I hope you'll not regret it.

He takes his leave. The others follow him with their eyes. The President gives a half laugh.

Wilson: Ah, if one could only add to the good qualities one's friends possess the good qualities one would have them possess. . . . (He sighs.) These Commissions (holding up the papers he has signed) they're all in order now.

Tumulty: Yes, Governor.

Wilson: Deliver them yourself. (He reads out the names as he hands them over.) House . . . Lansing . . . White.

THE SCENE CLOSES.

SCENE II.

WILSON'S house in the Place des Etats Unis, Paris, in the year 1919. A spring morning. The windows of the room look out upon an old-world square made safe for democracy by American detectives.

WOODROW WILSON sits in a deep armchair by the table. His colleagues CLEMENCEAU, DAVID LLOYD GEORGE and ORLANDO are grouped around him.

Wilson: Gentlemen, a little merriment would season our labours. (Polite murmurs.) There was a man, a Confederate soldier, in our civil war, who soliloquised thus on a long hard march. "I love my country, and I'm fighting for my country, but if this war ends I'll be dad-burned if I ever love another country."

The others (spiritedly): Ha, ha, ha.

Wilson: Signor Orlando, you don't laugh.

Orlando: No, sare.

Wilson: I'm sorry. The point of my story was somewhat directed to you. I feel rather like that Confederate soldier. I took the American people into war, but I don't mean to have them dragged into another by a bad territorial settlement in the Adriatic!

Orlando: Well, Fiume can be waiting.

Wilson: All things can wait. But don't, I beg you, fall into error. My view of that matter will never change. Monsieur Clemenceau, Gentlemen, be with me in this I entreat you. (A brief silence.) And now, Part I. of the Treaty. We are agreed to incorporate the Covenant of the League of Nations there? (There is still silence.) Gentlemen, I can't think that you hesitate—

Clemenceau: Sur cette question de la Société des Nations. Il est bien entendu, n'est ce pas, que la Traité de Garantie, La Pacte, entre La France, Les Etats Unis, et la Grande Bretagne—?

Wilson: Why, Mr. Lloyd George will answer for England, but I guess there's no doubt at all concerning America.

Lloyd George: As the President says, I answer for Great Britain. I have agreed in her name that in certain conditions she shall be bound to act with France. On the fulfilment of those conditions she will so act.

Clemenceau: Alors, en principe je suis d'accord.

Wilson: In principle. Yes, Monsieur. In principle we have never differed. But on the concrete position that this Covenant as drafted be embodied in the Treaty?

Clemenceau: Well, I do not object.

Wilson: You take a weight from my mind. . . . I wish to be frank, Gentlemen. I am not happy about the voting of the British Empire in the Assembly of the League. I can't disguise from you that it's a difficult provision to explain to the American people. It may antagonise them. I make a final effort. Mr. Lloyd George, would your Dominions be irreconcilable to exercising their vote in one Empire delegation?

Lloyd George: They would reject it, Mr. President. I myself would move the rejection.

A brief pause.

Wilson: I put the question formally. That the Covenant as drafted stand embodied in the Treaty of Peace. (Aye.) Gentlemen, I thank you for your forbearance. These questions of the Saar Valley and Danzig . . .

They pass to other business.

THE SCENE CLOSES.

(To be continued.)

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1.

A VISION FROM GENEVA.

THE wonderful sermon preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury from Calvin's pulpit in Geneva Cathedral, on September 3rd, created just the right atmosphere for the inauguration of the League Assembly. Speaking from the text, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," the Archbishop expressed his personal conviction that the existence of the League of Nations made possible, as never before, a realisation of the ideal of the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. "The League of Nations is now a living body among us. We want to ensure for it a living soul." To do this mankind must seek for those "unseen sanctions" upon which alone the solution of Europe's troubles can rest.

This is a restatement in slightly different words of M. Noblemaire's words at the last Assembly, that material disarmament must be preceded by moral disarmament. It is what a man thinks in his heart that determines his actions.

THE LEAGUE AND THE CHURCHES.

This fact lends urgency to the need for supporting in every possible way the educational campaign which the League of Nations Union is now conducting in the Churches. We referred to this important work last month. As we pointed out then, every Church can best assist the cause of the League of Nations by joining the League of Nations Union as a corporate member. The next step would be to appoint a special officer to look after the League of Nations work of the Church, just as in many Churches already there is one Church officer specially charged with Foreign Mission work. This League of Nations Registrar (or by whatever title he may be known) would see to it that every member of the Church and congregation was asked to join the League of Nations Union and was given good reasons why he or she should do so. The new members of the Union thus secured would ordinarily become members of the local Branch of the Union. But if any particular Church preferred, they might be formed into a new Branch to which the name of that Church was attached. In the latter case, any existing branch in the neighbourhood ought to be consulted before the new Branch was formed, and after its formation the new Branch should co-operate as closely as possible with other Branches in the same neighbourhood in holding meetings, organising study circles, and other League of Nations Union activities.

Meanwhile, it is encouraging that the National Free Church Council is arranging a movement for the expression of opinion within the Free Churches in support of the League of Nations. The Federations and local councils will be urged to arrange during the coming autumn and winter conferences and meetings to explain the Covenant of the League and pledge the Churches to do all in their power to educate local opinion and arouse enthusiasm. The movement has received the sympathetic support of the King.

In connection with the "moral disarmament" of mankind, it is interesting that the International Congress on the Re-Affirmation of the World's Moral Ideal, which is meeting in London from October 15th to 22nd, is devoting one session, on October 17th, to the League of Nations and the Moral Ideal. Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, General Secretary of the League of Nations Union, is taking the chair, and the speakers will be the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Madras, and E. Leslie Burgin, Esq., LL.D.

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS.

The Union recently approached the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America with a request that it would state the precise points of the difficulties felt by the members of the Churches in the United States as Christians in regard to the League. A most sympathetic and cordial reply has just been received, welcoming the request and promising a definite statement on the subject. In the meanwhile the personal opinion is expressed that the great majority of Church members in the States would favour the entry of America into the League at once, but that "the whole question has been befuddled by the politicians and their efforts to capitalise public opinion one way or another for party interests." The further answer will be awaited with much interest.

INCOME TAX RETURN.

Under Clause 20 (1) (b) of the 1922 Finance Act donors who desire to give the League of Nations Union (say) £100 in cash, can so arrange the payments that the Union may, by means of recovery of Income Tax from the Inland Revenue, receive £100 plus Income Tax recovered, spread over six and a half years. Thus, a donor of £100 can, without further cost to himself, enable the Union to benefit to the extent of £133 6s. 8d. by giving a promise in the form of Deed shown below, and instructing his bankers (and leaving instructions to his executors in his will) to pay thirteen half-yearly instalments as they become due under Deed.

FORM OF DEED APPROVED BY THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF TAXES, SOMERSET HOUSE, FOR A GIFT OF £133 6s. 8d., TO BE SPREAD OVER A PERIOD OF SIX AND A HALF YEARS.

I, hereby covenant of, here by covenant that for six and a half years from August 1st, 1922, or thereabouts, I will pay half-yearly the sum of ten pounds five shillings and one penny (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 August 1st, 1922, to January 31st, 1929, from the said sum of ten pounds five shillings and one penny 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 Address Occupation This day of

In the case of donors who are fortunate enough to pay Super Tax a gift of £100 spread over six and a half years would enable the Union to benefit to the extent of £150, the result being as follows:—

(1) The Union would receive half-yearly £8 13s. 1d. net, and would recover tax at (say) 5s. in the pound amounting to one-third, £2 17s. 8d., total £11 10s. 9d. (Thirteen half-yearly payments of £11 10s. 9d. equal £149 19s. 10d., say £150).

(2) The donor would pay £8 13s. 1d. net, but would save by non-payment of Super Tax (say) 19s. 3d., reducing the real payment to £7 13s. 10d., and in this case the Union would benefit to the extent of £150, spread over six and a half years, but the thirteen half-yearly payments of £7 13s. 10d. would only cost the donor a total of £99 19s. 11d. (say) £100.

THE UNION AND GENEVA.

Out of the 18 British Empire and Dominion delegates to the Assembly of the League no less than seven are members of the League of Nations Union, namely, the Earl of Balfour, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Colonel John Ward (British Empire), Lord Robert Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray (South Africa), Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland (New Zealand), and the Maharajah of Nawanagar (India). One of the two substitute delegates for the British Empire is also a member of the Union—Mrs. Coombe-Tennant.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, September, 1922.

THIS Third Assembly has taken on a tone distinctly more confident than has formerly been the case. It started something of a dark horse. Big things were going on outside its borders, and in the whole of Europe there was, and is, deep apprehension about the whole future of European life. How was the Assembly to give any convincing example of influence or authority if it had to confine itself to everything but the things which really govern the fate of nations? Would there be anyone sufficiently courageous or sufficiently wise to bring the Assembly face to face with realities, and how would the Assembly respond? It is undoubtedly a fact that the horizon of the League has been extended by the discussions which have taken place up to the moment of writing. Lord Robert Cecil, Dr. Nansen, and several other delegates, in a less pointed way, have urged the vital importance for the peace of the world of making the League a real international body for dealing with the first problems.

What has also been marked, notably in the speeches of M. Hanotaux, French delegate, and M. Scialoja, first Italian delegate, is the sense of increased confidence. Both these delegates said the time had come to stop speaking in tones of diffidence of what the League had done, and to take on the confidence of the knowledge of work well done. This feeling is spreading, and the period of tentative groping forward is coming to its term, but it has been disappointing to see the response to Lord Robert Cecil's challenge to a broader outlook, especially the response of those who could give the right answer. Lord Balfour, who is the statesman of by far the greatest reputation participating in League counsels, and who has been a consistent and invaluable friend of the League, was very cautious. His argument was—and in this he was supported by M. Hymans, another good League man, and M. Hanotaux—that the development, not only of the machine, but of the prestige and authority of the League must be a matter of gradual growth. If this means that the general ideas for which the League primarily stands cannot be implanted in the hearts of nations at one stroke, there is all the evidence of the world to-day in support of it; but if it means that authority and prestige to deal with the primary questions of the day are also qualities only slowly to be acquired, then it seems open to criticism.

League methods of procedure have now been fairly well consolidated, and authority and prestige can be given to the League as soon as ever the principal Governments which are Members of it choose to put their full weight behind it. As M. Scialoja pointed out, the League was entrusted with questions like Austria and Upper Silesia when the solution of them had baffled all outside efforts. There was no hesitation about considerations of League authority and prestige then, and if these things had been given over to the League before they had come almost to an impasse, there is no reason to suppose the League would have

been less successful at the beginning of the problem than at the end. Austria was indeed given to the League eighteen months ago, before it had become absolutely desperate, and could have been restored if the League's definite plan had been adopted in time. Now it has come back to the League again, so that the League may remedy the failure to act upon its recommendations of a year ago, and in that respect the League does come right up against one of the real difficulties of the day, whose solution is a matter of first-class political importance, but it has come to the League at a time when it is almost insoluble, and it will have to bring to it every conceivable resource to find a way out. Therefore, though the League is on the fringe of the big things, it is not where it ought to be. But its hold is getting stronger, and confidence is growing.

Austria and Lord Robert Cecil's scheme for mutual guarantees to ensure disarmament are the two big subjects. It is too early to speak of the outcome of either, but at the moment there seems to have been a swing round in French opinion, which, after having given sympathetic reception to the mutual guarantee plan, is now presenting a series of objections. Everybody agrees that there is little hope of reduction of armaments until the bigger political problem has been settled. Then comes the question of securing French adhesion to some kind of plan which would guarantee her security. If that is what she really wants, it is difficult to see why a general mutual guarantee should be unacceptable, unless she is altogether opposed to any relaxation of her military predominance in Europe, and to any return to mutual good relations with Germany. It is not to be expected that Cecil's plan will secure immediate reduction, but there is no reason why it should not be accepted as a basis for further study and action.

The evidence of the increased interest of Mr. Lloyd George in the work of the League is generally welcomed, and he has made it clear to several people here that he is quite prepared to come if the British delegation advise that he can play any useful part. There is not the slightest doubt that he can do that in any case, and it is to be hoped that by the time this is in print he may have done so.

Everyone accepts finally the fact that it is this League or no League, and that if there is to be any real appeasement of the rivalries and miseries of the world it lies only in the path of making full use of the principles and machinery of the only international, political, and Governmental organisation which possesses either of these two qualities. The help that can be given to this by any and every Prime Minister is to be greeted with open arms.

One significant point is that the British Dominions have felt compelled to strengthen their representation, which is altogether different from what has hitherto obtained. This is largely due, I believe, to what the Mandates Commission has had to say on one or two aspects of Mandate administration. This has made them realise that they cannot ignore League matters which concern them so closely, and that the League after all has to be given more than casual attention. We are getting on.

C.

THE NEW WORLD.

[In response to several requests from our readers we propose to publish a series of articles on the new map of the world, which has been drawn as a result of the War and the Treaties of Peace. We shall take first those countries which were politically non-existent prior to 1914; next, countries which have undergone territorial loss or aggrandisement as a result of the Treaties. Other developments of the series may follow if space permits.]

I.—CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

By B. E. C. DUGDALE.

[Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, daughter of the late Lt.-Col. Eustace Balfour, and niece of Lord Balfour, was engaged during the war in intelligence work at the Admiralty and the Foreign Office. The department of the Admiralty of which she was a member was engaged in geographical and political-historical research work, Mrs. Dugdale's particular subject being Poland and the Border States of Poland. Mrs. Dugdale co-operated in the preparation of some of the Peace Conference handbooks published by the Foreign Office, and also of some of the ethnographical maps issued for the use of the Peace Conference. In May, 1920, Mrs. Dugdale became Chief of the Intelligence Section of the League of Nations Union.]

MASTER in the arts of political deduction once gave the writer a piece of advice upon how to study present-day politics. "Keep your eye upon the exchanges of every country," he said, "and draw your own conclusions."

No one who has been pursuing this plan during the last couple of years can have failed to acquire a lively curiosity about Czecho-Slovakia. Here lies a young State, ringed round by countries where currencies are crashing down into unexplored abysses, but whose own money keeps a steady and calculable value in the markets of the world. Is it by an unusual wealth of natural resources, or by an unusual prudence in the conduct of her affairs that Czecho-Slovakia has thus established her position?

To answer the question we must understand something of the character of the people, as well as of the physical nature of the country. The sprawling boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia (whose appearance on the map has been described as like "a pear with a banana attached") enclose over twelve million people. Six million of these (roughly speaking) are Czechs, among whom dwell some three and a-half million Germans. These two races form the bulk of the inhabitants of the "pear." The "banana" is peopled by about a million and a-half Slovaks, and a hundred thousand Magyars, while at its extreme eastern end there is a fairly solid mass of mountain-dwelling people of yet another race—Ruthenians, of the same stock as the Little Russians of the neighbouring territories of the Ukraine, and of East Galicia.

When the State finally emerged from the workshops of Paris with its boundaries all complete (a date which we may conveniently fix in July, 1920, after the settlement of the Teschen area, of which the most valuable coal mines fell to her share) she was one of the richest countries in Europe in proportion to her size, both in mineral resources and in high industrial development of them. There is oil in the country (and the Government is conducting researches which they hope may end in making Czecho-Slovakia self-supporting as regards petroleum), and the richest radium mines yet discovered in the world are also within its boundaries. As regards agriculture, too, the State can nearly feed itself. In this catalogue of bare facts we can easily discover the natural strength, and in the great mixture of races the natural weakness of the body politic. It remains to describe how its constitution has been built up.

The two races from whom Czecho-Slovakia derives its unmanageable name are close relations in blood and language, both belonging to the Slav family. The home of the Czechs is in the territories that before the war were the Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. The Slovaks were under Hungarian dominion.

The Austrian Government had for some fifty years past treated the non-German races under its rule with more liberality than Hungary ever conceded to non-Magyars. The Czechs had, therefore, had experience of a certain amount of free political development in the lifetime of their present leaders, and of the generation before them. They had, moreover, a great historical tradition of the age when Bohemia was the champion of liberty and Protestantism. The forces of reaction had triumphed over her at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, during the first period of the Thirty Years' War. Czech freedom was lost then, but the will to regain it was never entirely crushed. In fact, the memory of these events is so deeply a part of Czech character that a real appreciation of the tremendous drama of the re-birth of the Czecho-Slovak State can hardly come to us until we join present history with past, and read the continuous story with the feelings of a Czech who has seen dreams come true.

Here, unfortunately, we can only give the briefest outline of the latest act of the play, beginning at the supreme moment in January, 1917, when the Allied Powers recognised the Czecho-Slovak national claims by a demand, inserted in their Note to President Wilson, for the liberation of the "Slavs, Rumanes, and Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination." Some account of two of the three men (Masaryk, Benes, and Stefanik) whose policy had led the nations to this triumph is to be found in HEADWAY for June, 1922, in the "Makers of History" series of articles. Masaryk and Stefanik are of Slovak birth. Stefanik had been driven to leave Slovakia in his youth, owing to the laws which closed all careers to non-Magyar subjects of Hungary who refused to adopt Magyar nationality. Thus the oppressed Slovaks (who are largely a peasant people) had the luck to possess champions for their interests in the councils of the Allies when the New Europe was in the making.

When, in May, 1917, compelled by the weakness that could no longer be hidden, the Austrian Emperor at length summoned the Parliament that had never been allowed to meet since war broke out, the Czech leaders claimed the union of all Czechs and Slovaks in a single State. The Austro-Hungarian Governments struggled hard against a demand which implied a dismemberment of Hungary. But in June, 1918, the Allied Powers allowed a "Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Austro-Hungary" to meet at Rome. The manifestations there hastened the collapse of Hapsburg authority within the Empire. The collapse of the morale of the Austrian army that came with a rush in the same month of June, was largely due to the appearance of the Czecho-Slovak units in the Allied armies. The history of the formation of the Czecho-Slovak Legions abroad, and of how they threw their weight into the scale when their time came is again one that is worthy of more than this passing word of mention.

But since a long story must be made short, we hurry over the crowded days of the four months of late summer and autumn of 1918, which, in spite of the rush of events, must have dragged wearily to the impatient Slavs in the dying Empire of the Hapsburgs. At the end of October the hour struck, and three days of bloodless revolution expelled the Austrian administration and established a Czech Government in Prague, the capital of the old Bohemia. A fortnight later the National Assembly met, also in Prague, and the deputies from Slovakia were there, proving by their presence that the



old town had become the chief city of a new State. After three hundred years the defeat of the White Mountain was turned into victory.

On November 14th, 1918, the Republic was proclaimed. Four more years have passed, in which many of the high hopes of that day must have been shattered. But the faith of the Czechs in the future of their State remains firm, and more sceptical observers in the Parliaments and Stock Exchanges of other lands are beginning to share it.

An account of Czecho-Slovakia cannot end without any mention of the Little Entente, that one successful constructive achievement of European statecraft since the Peace Treaties, and very largely the work of the Czecho-Slovak leaders Masaryk and Benes.

The Little Entente, however, is too large a subject for a finishing paragraph. It must be remembered, however, that its power for peace or for war, and for all the good and evil those words imply, is already one of the great factors in the European future. And the influence of Czecho-Slovakia is paramount in it.

THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES.

By W. O'SULLIVAN MOLONY.

THOSE who are searching for an outward and obvious expression of American interest in the League of Nations, if they are searching for the letter and not the spirit, will be disappointed. They might traverse the country from end to end without hearing the term "League of Nations" mentioned, or its programme openly advocated. They would return to this country convinced that the Americans would hold aloof for good.

On the other hand, were one to journey through the States with the express purpose of studying the spirit of the American people, of estimating the degree to which League principles are unwittingly propagated, one would be well rewarded. There is in all probability a greater sense of constructive effort in the United States than in any other country on the face of the globe. And it would be absurd to suppose that such a pronounced sense of progression could be dissociated from the League for long. The issue

of it all, though somewhat far removed as yet, is clear nevertheless.

We have only to study the policy of the leading American political and financial societies to realise that Universal Peace is coming to be regarded by them as an increasingly essential factor to human prosperity. Indeed, in many respects the Americans are proving themselves to be even greater protagonists of peace than we are. The influence of organisations such as the National Council for Reduction of Armaments is more far-reaching than an organisation of that kind would be in this country. Where we have been driven to support the League through the issues of an agony that lay very close to us, the States, on the contrary, have since the Armistice lived in an atmosphere little affected by the breath of war. The urgency to participate in world reconstruction appeared to the Americans, at first, to be less immediate than with us. Then there is also a traditional suspicion of European political tactics—a suspicion which is very powerful in the provincial cities of the United States, and which constitutes a factor of no small importance. The League's supposed association with American party political interests is yet another delusion which can be overcome in time only.

In the face of these many obstacles it is wonderful what progress League principles are making in the States; and that the interest of the American public is increasing can be proved by the response which such organisations as the National Council for Reduction of Armaments, the Association to Abolish War, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends' Disarmament Council, and at least a hundred others have met with.

The happiest feature of this growth of interest is the augmenting desire of the American people to participate in the World Court at The Hague. Americans have always had a soft spot in their hearts for the Hague, even as they have always had for the Judiciary bench. The Legislative character of the League's Assembly appeals to them less strongly than the Judiciary Court. Here they believe to see a practicability and steadiness in tune with their own peculiar nature. And, moreover, their Constitution, in many respects incompatible with the character of the Assembly, adapted itself some thirty years ago to the dictates of the Hague.

Let us, then, welcome this inclination to participate in the functionings of the World Court, and see in it the first promise of that vision and initiative which one has always associated with the American people and without which no lasting peace amongst the nations of the world can be achieved.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

By E. BEDDINGTON BEHRENS.

(Assistant Director, London Office, International Labour Office.)

THE atmosphere of international conferences which at present permeates Geneva will not cease with the proceedings of the Assembly. On October 18th the opening of the Fourth Session of the International Labour Conference will bring together government, employers' and workers' representatives of fifty different nations.

The items on the agenda for the Conference do not appear at first sight to be so important as the questions that have been dealt with at the preceding Sessions. They raise, however, questions which may deeply affect the whole future of the International Labour Organisation.

The first item deals with the reform of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and the periodicity of the Sessions of the Conference. At present the Governing Body consists of twelve representatives of the Governments (eight of these Governments being those of States of chief industrial importance), six members appointed by the employers' delegates at the Conference, and six members appointed by the workers' delegates at the Conference. The composition of this Body of twenty-four members has caused dissatisfaction among certain countries not at present represented, particularly non-European countries. The Asiatic and South American States, for instance, hold only two seats, those of Japan and Argentina. India has made repeated demands for representation, claiming that it has, perhaps, more workers than any other member of the Organisation, and that its loyal enforcement of the decisions of the previous Conferences—more marked than in any other oriental country—is an additional justification for representing the point of view of oriental labour on the executive body. In order to meet these criticisms and claims, a proposal will be made to increase the Governing Body to thirty-two persons; sixteen representing the Governments, eight representing the employers, and eight representing the workers; with a definite provision that a certain number of these seats shall go to the non-European States.

It is interesting to note that the amendment proposed to the Peace Treaty to bring about this change still retains the United States as a member of the Governing Body, though, as at present, her place would probably continue to be taken by a substitute country (Denmark), until such time as she joins the Labour Organisation. Germany, though not belonging to the League, has been a member of the Labour Organisation for over two years.

SHOULD THE CONFERENCE MEET ANNUALLY?

The periodicity of the Conferences is likely to be the most controversial question before the meeting. The Treaty lays down that the Conferences shall take place "from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once every year." The complaint is made, and perhaps with some justification, that the Conventions passed by the Labour Conferences are too numerous to be coped with by the legislative machinery of the various countries. It is suggested, therefore, that the Conferences should take place at greater intervals than one year. This proposal is bound to be opposed by the workers' group. The British Trades Union Congress, at its recent meeting, passed a resolution stating that "the proposal to hold the Sessions of the Conference once every two years is the beginning of a real and determined opposition to international labour legislation by certain Governments and employers. Since the Draft Conventions may only be adopted by a two-thirds majority vote in Conferences where three-fourths of

the votes are in the hands of governments and employers, the Peace Treaty already contains more than sufficient safeguards against over-hasty legislation." It is argued by Labour leaders that the holding of these Conferences at longer intervals would damage the prestige of the Organisation. It is held that the meeting of the Conferences, even every two years, would be but a prelude to the extension of the period still further; and that the Conferences of the International Labour Organisation would gradually become as infrequent as the meetings of the old International Association for Labour Legislation. Moreover, it is suggested, we might see Labour Conferences being held very often when Labour was strongly organised, and much less frequently when the strength of the employer was being more strongly felt. Such conditions would strike at the foundation of the Organisation, whose aim must be to approach, with a broad, impartial, and humanitarian outlook, untrammelled by sectional influences, the important labour problems that confront the world.

It is possible that a compromise which will meet both the above-mentioned difficulties will be agreed to, probably on the lines of a proposal made last year, to the effect that the Conference should take place every year, but that it should be alternately a large and a minor Conference; the small Conference to prepare the ground for the bigger Conference in the following year, and to review the work of putting into effect the decisions of previous meetings.

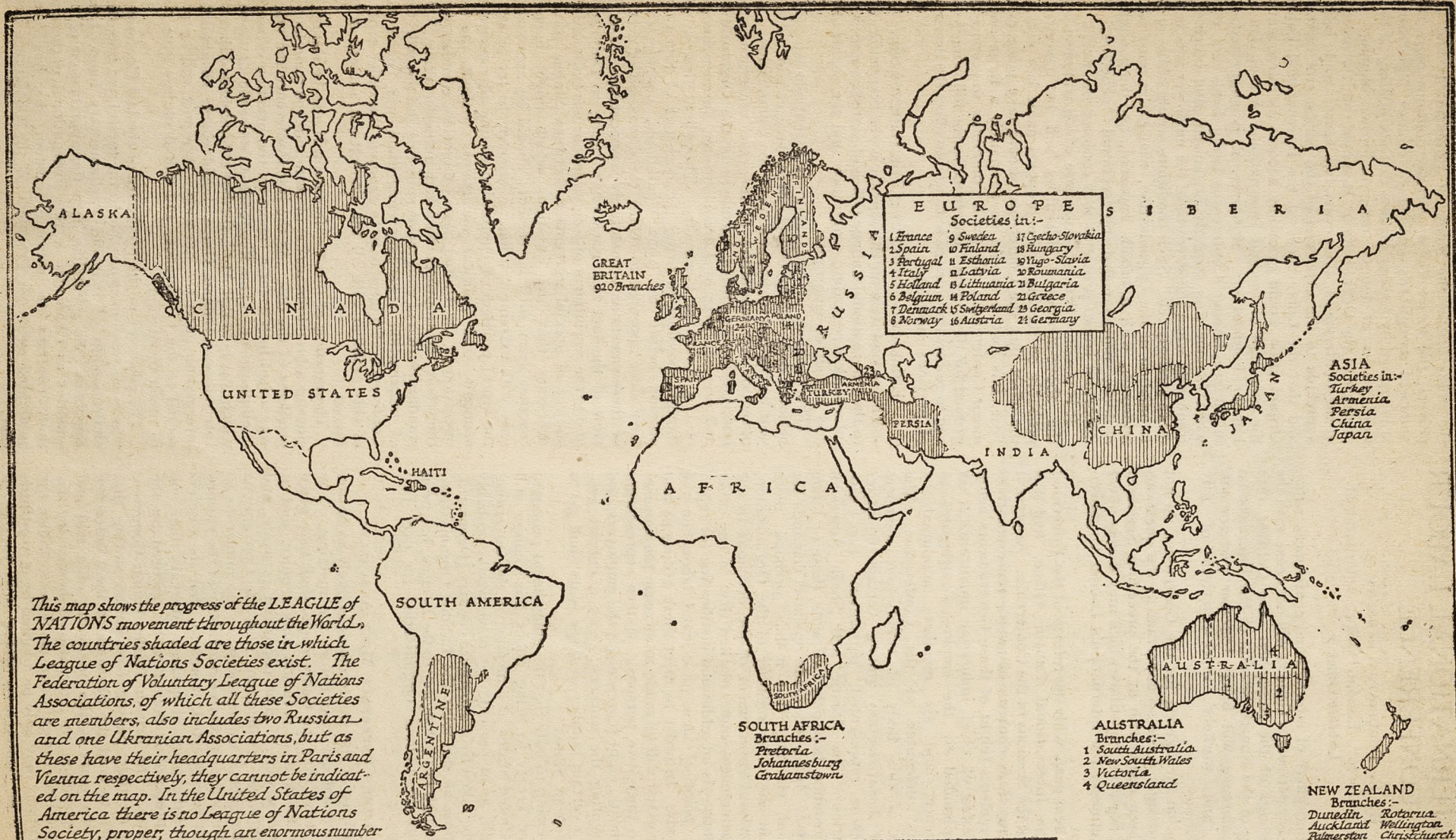
EMIGRATION PROBLEMS: THE GROUNDWORK.

The second item on the agenda is the communication to the International Labour Office of statistics and other information regarding emigration and the repatriation and transit of emigrants.

The problem of emigration is essentially an international one. Many aspects of it were considered last year by the International Emigration Commission, composed of representatives of the chief emigrating and immigrating countries, members of the Organisation, and presided over by Lord Ullswater, former Speaker of the House of Commons. Though at first it was thought possible to bring the decisions of this Commission before the 1922 Conference, considerations have since appeared to render the discussion of certain of these questions momentarily inopportune. Also, in view of the fact that questions relating to emigration and to the recruitment of foreign labour were already the subject of special agreements between States, it was necessary that any questions which might have a reaction upon such agreements should be approached only with extreme caution. Moreover, to try to settle the world problem of emigration during this period of economic and political uncertainty without the co-operation of the United States might have endangered the whole future prospect of such an undertaking. The standardisation of emigration statistics and the collection of information regarding emigration will enable the Conference at a later date to examine the wider aspects of this problem with all the elements of success in its favour.

The meeting of this Conference will also be the occasion for a broad discussion of certain of the main labour problems of the day. At the last Conference the Office was asked to present a report on the question of world unemployment. The Economic Conference of Genoa, which was held last April, further recommended that the International Labour Office should collect all available information upon the question. A report will be presented to the Conference, and will doubtless give rise to much discussion.

The efficiency of the procedure of the last Conference was in no small measure due to the tactful and impartial chairmanship of that old Parliamentary hand, Lord Burnham. So great has been the appreciation of his qualities as Chairman at this international gathering, that, contrary to previous custom, he has been nominated again as President of the Conference this year.



- EUROPE**
Societies in:-
- | | | |
|------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1 France | 9 Sweden | 17 Czechoslovakia |
| 2 Spain | 10 Finland | 18 Hungary |
| 3 Portugal | 11 Estonia | 19 Yugo-Slavia |
| 4 Italy | 12 Latvia | 20 Roumania |
| 5 Holland | 13 Lithuania | 21 Bulgaria |
| 6 Belgium | 14 Poland | 22 Greece |
| 7 Denmark | 15 Switzerland | 23 Georgia |
| 8 Norway | 16 Austria | 24 Germany |

- ASIA**
Societies in:-
- Turkey
 - Armenia
 - Persia
 - China
 - Japan

- SOUTH AFRICA**
Branches:-
- Pretoria
 - Johannesburg
 - Grahamstown

- AUSTRALIA**
Branches:-
- 1 South Australia
 - 2 New South Wales
 - 3 Victoria
 - 4 Queensland

- NEW ZEALAND**
Branches:-
- Dunedin
 - Auckland
 - Palmerston North
 - Napier
 - Gisborne
 - Rotorua
 - Wellington
 - Christchurch
 - Invercargill
 - Tamaru

This map shows the progress of the LEAGUE of NATIONS movement throughout the World. The countries shaded are those in which League of Nations Societies exist. The Federation of Voluntary League of Nations Associations, of which all these Societies are members, also includes two Russian and one Ukranian Associations, but as these have their headquarters in Paris and Vienna respectively, they cannot be indicated on the map. In the United States of America there is no League of Nations Society, proper, though an enormous number of organisations exist whose aims are almost identical with those of the British League of Nations Union.

THE WORLD FOR THE LEAGUE

ASSEMBLY DICTA.

Lord Robert Cecil (S. Africa).

We cannot for ever be barred from considering great international questions on the ground that they arose out of the war.

The League, if it is to be the great international organ, must be all or nothing.

I am profoundly convinced that if we risk nothing, we shall never achieve anything.

Count de Gimeno (Spain).

Perseverance, determination, faith—these must be our watchwords

Dr. Nansen (Norway).

Let me tell those who so readily speak of a League of Nations as possibly desirable, but who always assure us that the League is useless—let me tell them that a League of Nations does not exist, and probably never will, but that the League exists, and that, though imperfect, it is an organism capable of development, and that it is the duty of every one of us to do our very best to strengthen and support the present League. The choice lies between the League or no League.

M. Dantes Bellegarde (Haiti).

The League of Nations must be boldly prudent, or, if you prefer it, prudently bold.

Taxation is the usual form in which civilisation makes its appearance to savages.

M. Hymans (Belgium).

A certain measure of freedom is necessary; nevertheless, when we act, we act and use it in the name of our Governments, and our Governments are bound by what we do. That, gentlemen, is the foundation of the authority of the League of Nations, for if the members of the Council and the Assembly did not represent their Governments, we should be nothing but a mere congress, made up, perhaps, of brilliant members making brilliant speeches, but lacking any authority whatsoever, and we might very easily degenerate into international word-spinning and pure theory.

M. Hanotaux (France).

The spirit which inspires us. This spirit is felt as soon as one enters the Assembly, for an atmosphere has been created—an atmosphere of fidelity to the Covenant, of respect for agreements; a sincere desire to conform, by the very fact of attendance here, to the will for peace which dominates this Assembly.

M. Trygger (Sweden).

It is only by achieving universality that the League can become powerful and effective.

M. Motta (Switzerland).

The Treaties of Peace are one thing, the League of Nations is another.

Correspondence.

SI VIS PACEM.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Everyone is discussing whether the old maxim, "If you want peace, prepare for war," is true or false. It seems absurd to expect a universal answer to so general a question. Two cases must be distinguished:—

(1) If nation A desires peace, but nation B desires war (that is, successful war, for no one desires defeat), then preparedness on the part of A may really discourage B from commencing hostilities.

(2) If both A and B really desire peace, but B suspects that A desires war, then preparations on the part of A may appear to B as evidence that these suspicions are justified, and so increase the risk of war.

It is in the interests of the cause of peace that the true facts should be recognised. Until education, or propaganda,

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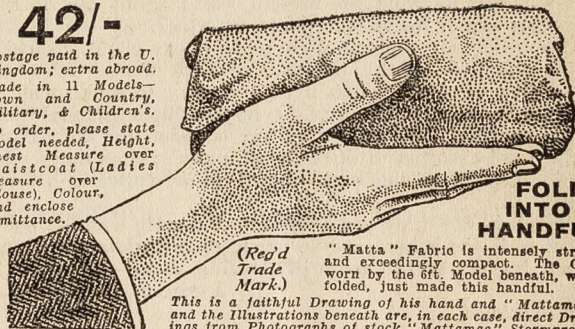
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A "Mattamac" is identical in appearance with the usual five-guinea Weatherproof. In utility also, it equals its much more costly Competitor. It wears as long, weighs one third, and is absolutely Waterproof. Light and compact folding, Wind, Chill and Wet proof, a "Mattamac" is the ideal Coat for Holiday Wear. Take one with you wherever you go, and never mind the Rain.

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has convinced all nations of the futility of war, it is essential to admit the possibility of case (1).—Yours, &c.,

U. R. EVANS.

Cambridge

THE LEAGUE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out that your attitude towards the peace movement, and in particular your editorial page 143, paragraph 3, make some supporters of the League of Nations Union doubtful of the outcome.

The League is apparently afraid of taking a definitely pacifist attitude, and this is a great disappointment to many people I know. Some friends in this neighbourhood joined the Union because its constructive policy seemed to embrace the objects of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation"; but now you appear to stultify the promise and to postulate that after all war may be necessary. When you say "The Union stands for peace, but not for peace at any price"—is not this begging the whole question? What price are you *not* prepared to pay to avoid the present world agony due to the war that began its violent phase in 1914?

If you content yourself with pious hopes about disarmament, qualified by the timorous remark that, "after all there may be times when it is necessary to make war in order to end war," you are false to the whole spiritual ideal of the peace-maker, and by giving occasion for the sceptic and cynic to scoff, you drive away many sympathisers who would respond to the high appeal of adventuring all for peace.

Please do not think me a fanatic—I merely want to point out that I and others are seriously disturbed in mind and wondering where you are really leading us to.—Yours, &c.,

E. ASHMORE THOMPSON.

Stalybridge.

PAGEANT PLAYS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I note in his month's HEADWAY (p. 156) the "performance of an amended version of 'Earth and her Children.'" As no address is given of those actually responsible for the performance, may I ask your courtesy to make known (1) that the fee for the performance of this play is 5s; also (2) that it is usual, if not legally binding, to ask permission of the author before "amending" a published work. I should be glad to hear from the producer of the play at Newbury at the address given below.—Yours, &c.,

FANNY JOHNSON,
Author of "Earth and her Children."

Ramsey House, Barton Road, Cambridge.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I thank you for printing that delightful article on the International Agricultural Bureau at Rome, in the July number of HEADWAY. I hope that many more similar articles may appear in the future.—Yours, &c.,

J. F. MUSTARD.

Geneva.

Book Reviews.

WHO PAYS THE PIPER?

CREDIT-POWER AND DEMOCRACY: WITH A DRAFT SCHEME FOR THE MINING INDUSTRY. By C. H. DOUGLAS. WITH A COMMENTARY ON THE INCLUDED SCHEME BY A. R. ORAGE, Editor of "The New Age." (London: Cecil Palmer.) 212 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

MAJOR DOUGLAS'S book was favourably received on its first appearance in October, 1920, and a second edition is welcome. It offers an original solution of the industrial problem, which lies at the root of all war, and we should be glad to know its worth had been proved by experiment.

The writer argues that since, in the present state of society, all industrial undertakings are based on credit, the issuers of credit—the bankers and financiers—are therefore the real despots who control industrial policy

and fix prices. Organised Labour has made a mistake in concentrating against employers and demanding higher wages and a share in the administration of industry. This is a near-sighted view. Employers, workmen, and consumers are alike in thrall to the money-lords, and a compensating rise in prices follows immediately on a rise in wages. The industrial world cannot come under democratic control until some way is found whereby the community supplies the issues of credit necessary for progress.

The germ idea of Major Douglas's scheme, which he has worked out in detail for application to the Mining Industry, is the establishment of a Producers' Bank to serve one or more industrial undertakings of the same kind within a specified area, through which all wages and salaries should be paid.

Thus those engaged in an industry would have the control of it in their own hands, for no others would use their bank, and each client would have a shareholder's vote. Communal rights in the industrial machine are recognised in the lowering of prices, by which the producers themselves in their capacity as consumers also profit.

Freshness of thought and expression and clearness of print make the book attractive. It is well worth study as the earnest effort of a man engaged in practical industry to find a way to a more equitable state of society, and so to cut at the root of war.

A. D. H.

A HUNDRED BUDGETS.

A SHORT FISCAL AND FINANCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1815-1918. By J. F. REES. (Methuen. 6s.)

IN the estimates for 1914-15 expenditure was reckoned at two hundred and ten million pounds, and "many were of opinion that the limit of tolerable taxation had been almost reached, and that retrenchment in expenditure would soon become inevitable." Six years later a single item, "Interest, &c., on War Debt," amounted to three hundred and twenty and a half millions. We all know why. We all know, moreover, that financial considerations never yet deterred a State from war. Someone, somehow, will find a way, as Louis XVI. thought till France collapsed about his ears. And Mr. Rees shows how worried Chancellors of the Exchequer found a way from the Napoleonic War onwards. The book is not meant for light reading, nor does it clearly illustrate how far the taxpayer is poorer now than he was in 1822, and that presumably is what the student of historical finance would first like to discover. The Napoleonic War was conducted on indirect taxation and loans; the latest war was conducted on direct taxation and loans. Mr. Rees declares that "the circumstances of two different periods, however similar in broad outlines, present such discrepancies in details that the candid inquirer will refuse to draw definite inferences." That may be true, but if it is, historical research into the finance of the nineteenth century is as remote from present needs as research into the Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt. One prefers to think that the material potted by Mr. Rees will illuminate present problems.

H. C. H.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. CE QU'ELLE EST, CE QU'ELLE A FAIT. (Paris: 24, Rue Pierre-Curie.)

This useful pamphlet is published by the Women's Section of the French Association for the League of Nations.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Since Waterloo. A Short History of Europe and of the British Empire, 1815-1919." By Dr. Robert Jones. (Constable. 9s. 6d.)

"Contemporary French Politics." By Raymond Leslie Buell. (Appleton. 15s.)

"The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area of Russia." (Labour Publishing Co. 5s.)

THE LINGERING WOUNDS OF WAR

RUSSIA

BACK FROM THE GATES OF DEATH.

There are many thousands of Russian peasants—men, women and little children—who, thanks to the generosity of peoples of all countries, have escaped from the clutches of famine and pestilence and to-day are looking without dread to the rigours of the coming winter.

CAN YOU FAIL THEM NOW?

The Harvest in Buzuluk Province has again, owing to weather conditions, largely failed, and our work must continue unless these peasants are to be faced again with the terror of an awful death.

BUT NOT ALL.

Again the call comes to us to succour our fellows and prevent another tragedy for the world.

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

POLAND

LIFE IN A POLISH DUG-OUT.

Thousands of Polish Peasants, who had found asylum in Russia, have now returned to devastated homes, without food, clothing, seed, cattle, or agricultural implements.

"Baronowicze will stand out before me as long as life lasts as the most awful concrete example of the lingering horrors of war."

"I am told that in about half the cases they find their homes destroyed, and nothing is left to do but to burrow into the earth for protection."

J. H. MASON KNOX, Medical Field Adviser, A.R.C.

Funds are urgently needed to help these homeless refugees to begin life again.

AUSTRIA

A HELPLESS VICTIM.

Austria has looked in vain to the concerted action of Statesmen who might still avert the collapse of a cultured people. Our workers will have to continue to succour the distressed in Vienna during the winter. Help us to keep alive a civilisation to which the whole world is debtor.

Send your gift, ear-marked "Poland" or "Austria," to Friends' Relief Committee, Room 10, Fetter Lane, E.C.4.

Send gifts of clothing for either Countries (with the name and address of sender outside and inside the parcels to THE FRIENDS' WAREHOUSE, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4.

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NEWS FROM OVERSEAS.

DURING the last few weeks the Overseas Department has received many interesting visitors, both from the Dominions and countries overseas. Amongst these may be mentioned:—

Professor Ruyssen—International Federation, Brussels.
Dr. Robert Jull—National Council of Women, Australia.
Mlle. G. Radziwill—Information Section, Geneva.
The Hon. N. W. Rowell—Canada.
Miss McDowell—Editor of the "World Tomorrow," N. York.

Miss Merriman—Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association in America.

Dr. Arthur Müller—Gen. Sec. of the Austrian Society.
M. Robert Lange—London Correspondent of "La Victoire."

Canon Giesswein—President of the Hungarian Peace Society.

Dr. Polak—President of the Polish Society.

Mr. Golay Chovel—French Secretary of the Swiss League of Nations Society.

From news received from the Dominions and countries overseas it is evident that the question of the League of Nations is more and more engaging the attention of the public. The representation of Australia at the Assembly has been keenly discussed by the Branches of the Australian League of Nations Union both in South Australia and Queensland. The Conference of all the branches of the New Zealand League of Nations Union at Wellington was a great success, resulting in the formation of a "Dominion Union of the League of Nations federating the various branches to be formed in New Zealand." In Canada the Society is forging ahead, and there is every reason to expect that the organisation throughout Canada will be practically completed before the end of the year. In South Africa efforts are being made to stimulate the movement in Johannesburg; the other branches are making headway.

In America an increasing interest is shown in the work of the League for international co-operation.

There is every ground for believing that the new society in Belgium will soon produce a radical change of feeling in the country in favour of bringing Germany into the League. Much interest has been shown in this question during the last few months, it having engaged the attention of the League of Nations Union very thoroughly.

The Czecho-Slovakian Society has been active in drawing up a document protesting against the resolutions passed at the Prague Conference concerning Minorities.

The Austrian Society is doing the best it can under great financial difficulties; the reading-room in connection with the headquarters in Vienna is well organised and well patronised.

An attempt is being made to form a University Group of the League of Nations Society in France and to interest the public in the work that has been done by this Union.

Japan is continuing her activities in connection with her campaign for disarmament. The Society is also doing much good work in connection with the Armenian sufferers.

We learn of the constitution in Constantinople of the Committee for Friendly Relations in the East. The chief speakers at the second meeting were General Sir Charles Harington, C.-in-C. of the Allied Forces of Occupation, and General Fillonneau, of the French Army. Literature on all vital matters in connection with the League has been dispatched, by request, for distribution.

The Council of the Federation of League of Nations Association will meet on October 20th at Budapest.

League of Nations Union Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

Nov., 1918	...	...	...	3,217
Nov., 1920	...	...	...	49,858
Nov., 1921	...	...	...	135,450
Sept. 23rd, 1922	...	...	...	205,285

Work in Wales.

It is remarkable how the Welsh Council seems to be able to give in every phase of Welsh social life due emphasis to the aims and ideals of the League of Nations Union.

At the meetings of the Welsh School of Social Service

held at Llandrindod Wells, August 19th-27th, 1922, reference was continually made to the mission of Wales in the work for World Peace. Wales is determined to continue the pioneer work of Henry Richard, to consolidate his work, and to give his message more and more clearly to the world's peoples. Sir George Paish spoke particularly on behalf of the League of Nations as the only authority able to re-establish normal relations between the nations, though this question continually recurred in most of the addresses given at the School. It was also very strongly supported at the last meeting of the series, when Mr. T. Mott Osborne (ex-Warden of Sing Sing Prison), and Dr. W. B. Selbie, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, spoke. The Hon. Secretary of the Welsh School of Social Service—the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., who is also Hon. Director of the League of Nations Union, Welsh Council—is to be heartily congratulated upon the success of these meetings, both from the Welsh point of view and also of their influence internationally.

During the summer, the Rev. D. C. Davies, of Cardiff, addressed a number of open-air meetings at such health resorts as Barry Island, Porthcawl, Builth Wells, Llanwrtyd Wells, Llanstephan, Aberayron, &c.

Preparations for the autumn campaign are in full swing and meetings are being arranged all over the principality; some such meetings being those of Professor Gilbert Murray, at Cardiff, October 13th and 14th, and Lord Robert Cecil, at Llandudno, on November 10th.

The Knighton Branch organised a propaganda stall at the Knighton Agricultural Show on August 18th, and later at an Auction and Market Day in Knighton. This seems a fruitful method of activity.

The following Branches have recently been formed in Wales:—Barry (Wesleyan Chapel); Denbigh (County School for Girls); Knighton; Pontardawe (Tabernacle); Ruthin (County School for Girls); Talgarth (Trefecca College); Ynysmeudwy (Bethesda Congregational Church); Ystradgynlais (Tabernacle); Cardiff (Tabernacle); Holyhead (Tabernacle Newydd); Pontardawe (English Wesleyan); Rhyl (Clwyd Street); Swansea (Gorse Mission); Wrexham (Seion), and Ystradgynlais (Parish Church).

Welshmen generally are delighted with the appointment of Mrs. Coombe-Tennant of Neath, as a delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. Mrs. Coombe-Tennant is well known as a public worker in the principality, and her influence must give a great impetus to the mobilisation of public opinion in Wales on the side of the League.

The interest of the British Legion of ex-Servicemen in Wales in the League of Nations Union is a marked feature of this last month's events. For instance, they are organising at Maesteg a public meeting, to which they have invited Lt.-Col. David Davies to speak. The support of the men who fought in "the war to end war" is supremely valuable if we are to succeed in making the Union a power in the constituencies.

One of the most encouraging signs in Wales is the readiness with which all the representatives of Wales in Parliament have signified their willingness to help the Welsh Council in every way to make the League of Nations Union a great national movement free from party politics. It is likely that it will become an All-Wales movement on a scale which has not hitherto been possible in the principality.

A Novel Advertisement.

The Welsh Council made use of a novel advertising idea at their stall in the National Eisteddfod of Wales, Ammanford. On a hoarding was fixed a large map of Wales into which were stuck small flags indicating each town or village at which a Branch of the League of Nations Union had been established. An explanatory poster at the side of the map explained the meaning of the flags, and impressed upon all the urgency of covering the whole map with such flags. Apt use was made of the old Eisteddfod cry "A oes Heddwch?" ("Is there peace?") in some effective posters exhibited by the Welsh Council at the Eisteddfod.

A Great Achievement.

The Preston Branch may well be congratulated on the magnificent series of League of Nations tableaux organised in connection with the Trades Procession of the Preston Guild on September 6th. First came the figure of Peace, followed by the fifty-one Member States of the League in alphabetical order—the order in which they sit in the Assembly. Thirteen of the costumes had been lent by the Embassies and Legations, the Roumanian Minister's wife, Madame Tibulesco, even lending her own national costume. The pupils of the Park School and the Holy Child Convent

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

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

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

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

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MISCELLANEOUS.

SPECIALLY DESIGNED BADGES for League of Nations Flag Days. 12s. 6d. per 1,000. Pinned ready. Samples.—Edwards & Bryning Ltd., Rochdale.

REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY.—Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d.; Jackets, 20s. to 30s.; Shawls, 17s. 6d. to 35s.; Spencers, 5s. 6d.; Ladies' Hose, 8s. 6d. per pair. Yarn per head in 2 ply: White, 7s.; Grey, 7s.; Dark Brown, 7s.; Moorit, 8s. Real Shetland Fair Isle Jumpers, 35s. to 50s. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, Stromness, Orkney.

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Four More Witnesses

Sir GILBERT PARKER says:

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The ARCHBISHOP OF WALES says:

"In all these movements forward, helped forward by the inspiration of the Bible, I hear the footfall of the Master's coming, and with thankfulness I support a Society which spreads the knowledge of that Book which proclaims the Gospel of everlasting life to the whole world."

Mrs. BRAMWELL BOOTH says:

"A cadet from East Africa is at present in our Training Garrison. We did not know that the New Testament existed in his own language until I inquired from the Bible Society. I wish you could have seen his coal-black face, and the joy with which he discovered that he could read the Bible in his own language."

Dr. W. H. FITCHETT says:

"Imagine that this Society did not exist! Every separate denomination would have to set up a little Bible Society of its own. You would have a Church of England Bible, a Presbyterian Bible, a Welsh Bible, and I am afraid a Wesleyan Methodist Bible. Thank God that this Society flies the flag of no sect—it is the loyal servant and helper of every sect. Thank God for what this Society does."

Send a gift to the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

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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.

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represented the various nations. A beautifully decorated car, showing the flags of the fifty-one Member States, brought up the rear, carrying the ladies of the Branch Committee and the Secretary, who had organised the procession.

It was estimated that over 500,000 people saw the procession.

Progress in Westmoreland.

Since March last, the Windermere Branch has increased its membership to nearly 1,000 out of a population of 6,000. It is mainly owing to the large membership of this Branch that Westmoreland took pride of place in the table given in the August HEADWAY.

Garden Party at Wigan.

A most successful garden party, organised in connection with the local Branch of the Union, was held in the Rectory Grounds, Wigan, on Saturday, August 19th.

An enjoyable programme of music was rendered during the afternoon by the Wigan Borough Reed Band, and tea was served to the guests on the lawn. In an interval, Sir Arthur A. Haworth, Bart., of Manchester, spoke upon the work of the League, Mr. Arthur Smith, B.A., LL.B., Clerk of the Peace for Wigan, presiding. During the afternoon over sixty new members were enrolled, and other promises obtained.

Braving the Weather.

Nearly two hundred people braved the rain to attend a League Garden Party held recently at Hawthorne Park, by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Forge.

Garden Party at Cross Hills.

Under the auspices of the Cross Hills and District Branch of the League of Nations Union, a procession and garden party were held on August 19th.

The procession, which was formed in Cross Hills, marched to the grounds of Hayfield, thrown open for the occasion by Sir Donald and Lady Horsfall. A gathering numbering several hundreds was addressed in the afternoon by the Rev. S. W. Hughes (London).

Gillingham Pageant.

As a result of a pageant recently held at Gillingham, the Branch membership rose from seventy to over one hundred and fifty. The population only numbers 5,000.

New League Film.

The new League of Nations Union film, which was described in the August number of HEADWAY, may be hired by Branches of the Union at one guinea for each exhibition. Carriage one way must be paid by the hirer, and the film must be returned the day after the exhibition.

League of Nations Pageant Play.

The pageant play "Earth and Her Children," by Fanny Johnson, was performed recently, under the direction of the author, in Sidney Sussex Gardens, Cambridge. The cast consisted of members of the University and well-known amateur actresses for the speaking parts, which were admirably played. The parts in the pageant were chiefly filled by pupils of Miss Fry's Manor House School.

A feature of the three performances, the last of which was unfortunately broken up by torrents of rain, was the specially composed music by Mr. T. V. Griffiths, and the beautiful singing of Mrs. Prior, wife of the Professor of French. The final song, "Oh, not enough the Patriot's deed," was also sung at the children's rally, organised by the Cambridge Town Branch of the League of Nations Union.

The Trail of War: A Play.

A short play, illustrating the horrors of war as it affected a group of West Country folk, has been written by D. J. Darlow, of South Africa. There are fifteen main characters. Typewritten copies of the play are obtainable at Headquarters of the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

Lectures on the New World.

In conjunction with the University of Bristol, the Redland Branch have arranged a course of twelve lectures by W. W. Jervis, M.Sc., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.I., entitled "A Geographical Study of the Peace Terms." Several of the lectures will be illustrated by lantern slides.

Successful Fête at Worthing.

As a result of a most successful Al Fresco Fête and Children's Festival, the Worthing Branch hopes to send £80 to the Union Headquarters. The proceedings included sports, for which prizes were given, competitions, dancing, a concert, a tennis tournament and a comic cricket match, a fancy dress parade, prizes being given for the best costumes, as well as various sideshows.

Earl Winterton, M.P. (Under-Secretary for India), addressed the meeting, and the proceedings were opened by the Mayor (Alderman Mrs. Ellen Chapman, J.P.).

Essay Competitions.

An essay competition was recently organised by the Newport (Mon.) Branch, all the schools in the town competing. Over sixty pupils entered for the elementary schools (junior grade), and seventeen for the secondary schools (senior grade).

A very successful competition among the children in the elementary schools and secondary schools of Richmond has been held during this last month, and over three hundred essays were sent in, the final adjudication of the last twelve being settled by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cave. The subject was the League of Nations Union under the following headings:—(1) What need is there for such a League? (2) What does the League stand for? (3) What the League has done. The essays were the unaided work of the children, written under the supervision of the head teachers, who selected the best three in each group for final decision by the judges.

The distribution of prizes took place at the Gymnasium, Ormonde Road, Richmond, on Wednesday, July 26th, Viscountess Cave, in the absence of her husband, making the distribution with Councillor Gladwell, the Chairman of the local Branch, in the chair.

Sir Oliver Lodge at Salisbury.

The Bishop of Salisbury recently lent the beautiful grounds surrounding his palace for a garden party organised by the local Branch. The programme was divided into three parts: a social gathering, at which tea was served; a meeting, at which Sir Oliver Lodge made a striking speech in support of the League; and a charming pageant performed by the Bishop's School junior band of the Union.

Activity at Kensington.

The Kensington Branch took part in a local festival on July 15th, when the members, in company with representatives of other Kensington associations, marched with band and banners from Palace Green to Holland Park. The procession halted *en route* to place wreaths on the Kensington War Memorial outside St. Mary Abbots, and the beautiful wreath of lilies and red roses presented by the League of Nations Union bore the words, "These are quick buds from which new worlds arise."

A Remarkable Record.

From October 20th, 1921, to May 15th, 1922, the Fleet Branch organised twenty meetings, helped to form two new Branches, held essay competitions for school children, and generally made itself the centre of the public and social life of the community.

A Branch at Debenhams.

The big London stores are forming Branches amongst their staffs. Messrs. Debenhams recently held an enthusiastic meeting at which every member of the audience joined the Union.

Keeping Members Informed.

The Cawthra Branch (Bradford, Yorks.) has undertaken a vigorous programme for the coming year and has distributed a copy of the syllabus to every member of the Branch.

Vagaries of the Post.

On October 24th, 1919, a duly prepaid letter was posted to the Rev. M. Dunne, Catholic Church, Shipley, or incumbent. The letter reached Shipley at 7 p.m. on March 28th, 1922. The letter was returned to headquarters marked "No address." If your HEADWAY is late or does not reach you, it may not be the fault of Headquarters.

Rhodes Scholars at Nottingham.

A well attended meeting, promoted by the Nottingham Branch, was held in the Castle Gate Lecture Hall, on September 13th. The principal speakers were two students of Oxford University, Mr. W. P. Hamilton, M.A., of Princeton University, and Mr. J. D. Krige, B.A., of Stellenbosch.

Smyrna Refugees

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University, South Africa. The American speaker declared that his country had always been in favour of the principle of the League. The South African student made a great impression when he declared: "I stand here, a Boer, who has been conciliated by the spirit the British Empire has shown."

Geneva Interviews.

Councillor Goodere, Secretary of the Derbyshire Branch of the Union, has had two very interesting interviews with Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League, and M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office. Copies of these may be obtained from him at 3d. each, by post 3½d.; per hundred 8s., by post 8s. 6d.

The Union Entertains American Students.

On Tuesday, August 22nd, the Union entertained at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, from thirty to forty American students. They were from the various Universities throughout the States, and have been travelling in Europe, and have become very keen on the League and its work, following upon their visit to Geneva.

More League Propaganda.

The Union has managed to arrange with the manager of the Palace Theatre to send speakers to make short speeches during the interval at the showing of the film, "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." As the audience is usually about 3,000 people, this is good publicity for the League.

Teachers and the League.

At Wolverhampton on September 11th, more than five hundred teachers were stirred to enthusiasm by an address by Mr. S. Sherman on "Education and International Co-operation." The meeting was arranged by the Education Authority in co-operation with the teachers and the local Branch of the Union. The Education Authority have given permission to teachers to order League literature through the school requisition list. The meeting was presided over by the Mayor, supported by the ex-Mayor, the Mayor Elect, George R. Thorne, M.P., the Director of Education, &c. Talks on the League will be given in all the schools in Wolverhampton. Mr. Harrold, the local Branch secretary, is to be congratulated on this splendid achievement in

securing the united support of the teachers and educationists in Wolverhampton.

Mr. F. J. Gould, author of "The Wonderful League," has recently conducted a tour in the North of England, at which he addressed many enthusiastic audiences of school children. At Lancaster six hundred children were addressed, and in the evening Mr. Gould lectured to about thirty-five teachers and others on history teaching in its world aspect. At Orrell, Wigan, two meetings of children were addressed, about one hundred being present each time. They were splendidly responsive. Other successful meetings were held at Heywood at the Technical School (two hundred and fifty children), Crewe (two hundred and eighty pupils of the Higher Elementary Schools), and Shaw (four hundred children, including Boy Scouts). At Crewe Mr. Gould also gave a talk as a class lesson to twenty-four children in the presence of some fifty teachers and others, the Chairman of the Education Committee presiding.

Important Meetings during September.

During the month of September about two hundred meetings have been arranged by Headquarters, in addition to those arranged directly by Branches. The principal meetings were held at Lancaster, Dawlish, Biggleswade, Abingdon, Southport, Leeds, Inverness, Harrow, Windsor, Derby, Huddersfield, Nuneaton, Peterborough, and Penge. Amongst the speakers were: The Duke of Sutherland; Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.; Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.; Robert Young, Esq., M.P.; J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.; Lt.-Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., M.P.; Mrs. Knight Bruce; Miss Agnes Slack; G. P. Gooch, Esq., M.A.; Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, C.M.G.; F. J. Gould, Esq.; Major W. E. Gladstone Murray, M.C., D.F.C.; Lt.-Col. D. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A.; D. H. Mills, Esq., and the Rev. Walter T. Penny.

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