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MATTERS OF MOMENT.

AN attempt has been made in this issue of HEADWAY to summarise, so far as was possible at the necessarily early date of publication, the main features of the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations. Out of the 54 nations members of the League, Argentina, Bolivia and Peru were the only absentees. Argentina, which has attended no Assembly since 1920, has in the course of the past year paid the whole of her arrears of subscriptions to the League, but internal political antagonisms, particularly between the President of the Republic, Señor Alvear, who is strongly favourable to the League, and his predecessor, Señor Irigoyen, are responsible for the absence of an actual delegation at the Assembly. It may be hoped that next year the Argentine seats will be filled. Throughout the Assembly two questions were dominant—the working out of an arbitration-security-disarmament scheme and the possible application of Germany for membership. At the end of the third week of the Assembly the former scheme had virtually taken shape, but Germany, to whom the British Prime Minister had given the strongest lead possible, was still undecided. The date, September 23, on which the matter was expected to be definitely settled one way or the other in Berlin, is still in the future as these lines are being written.

THERE seems little doubt at the moment of writing that whatever be the outcome of the Assembly discussions on the broader question of compulsory arbitration, the so-called optional clause of the Statute of the International Court will be signed by Great Britain and France, and probably a good many other States as well. That being so, it may be well to explain just what this means, even though the matter has been dealt with in HEADWAY fairly recently. When the League founded the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague there were very few cases indeed which were bound to go to it as a matter of course. Those were cases in which in some treaty all the parties to the treaty had agreed that in case of dispute they would let the Permanent Court decide. In all ordinary cases when a dispute arose both sides had to agree of their own free will to appear before the Court, and if one party said he declined to go to the Court, the other side was helpless. By the optional clause any State—Great Britain, for example—says voluntarily: "If any case concerning me comes up in the future which my opponent wants to take to the International Court, I agree here and now to accept the jurisdiction, with the reservation that this only applies to disputes with States who on their side are prepared to make a similar declaration." The adoption by a Great Power of such an attitude will

considerably enhance the prestige and extend the scope of action of the Court.

THE question of the codification of international law is a matter which comes into prominence at almost regular intervals. (Those who desire to see the problem clearly and comprehensively discussed may be referred to Prof. P. J. Baker's article on the subject in the latest issue of "The British Year Book of International Law.") President Coolidge has been credited with the idea of calling a world conference on the question, and now the Swedish Foreign Minister, Baron Marks von Wurtemberg, has brought a proposal regarding codification before the League Assembly. There is a certain appropriateness in that, for whereas international law, so-called, consists at present largely of customs based on the writings of jurists or the rulings of judges in national courts, the League, by its practice of securing the negotiation of general conventions and treaties—principally so far on technical matters like transit, or customs formalities, or the traffic in women and children—is introducing a new and more definite and authoritative form of international law. Consequently there is much to be said for the idea that the League shall appoint a body of competent experts to examine international law as at present understood and see what parts of it are so generally recognised as to be suitable for inclusion in a convention which could be signed and ratified under League auspices and so given statutory force.

THE concern exhibited in various quarters at the rather crude suggestion that the British Navy was to be put at the free disposition of the League of Nations is an example of the difficulties that can be caused by a distorted statement with an element of truth at the back of it. No one, of course, ever suggested or dreamed of suggesting that the British Fleet should take its orders from Geneva. What was suggested was that when British statesmen and others in 1919 signed a treaty which spoke of "the enforcement by common action of international obligations" they meant what they said, namely, that under certain circumstances a violator of the peace might have to be forcibly disciplined, and that in such a case the discipline must be exercised by the combined forces of some or all members of the League. All that, and more, is clearly written in the Covenant in three or four separate articles. So far from its being a revolutionary step, it is merely a logical and, indeed, almost inevitable development, for States members of the League to say clearly and unequivocally that if ever the need should arise within the terms of the Covenant they would consider that the obligations they accepted when they signed the Covenant required them "to co-operate loyally and effectively to secure respect for the League Covenant and to resist any act of aggression." There is nothing there to prevent the most agitated British admiral from sleeping quietly in his bed.

THE question of slavery has been more or less before the League for some time now, but it was only at the Fifth Assembly that it could be reported that a Slavery Committee had been

appointed and had actually got to work. A good deal of difference of opinion existed as to the extent of the field the enquiry should cover, but in the end a programme was drafted which ensures an enquiry more thorough and comprehensive than any yet undertaken. The Committee (the British member of which is Sir Frederick Lugard, former Governor of Nigeria, who also sits on the Mandates Commission) is to include:—

- (1) Slave raiding and the enslaving of free persons.
- (2) Slave dealing (i.e., traffic in persons enslaved already).
- (3) Domestic slavery.
- (4) Acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as dowry.
- (5) Adoption of children with a view to enslavement.
- (6) All forms of the pledging or enslaving of persons for debt.
- (7) Measures of compulsory labour, public or private.

The acquisition of really reliable and comprehensive information on these questions should be invaluable.

THE Chinese delegation at Geneva let it be known officially towards the end of the Assembly that the House of Representatives at Peking had passed a resolution demanding that China be given a seat on the League Council, and resolving that she should withdraw from the League if the demand were refused. It need hardly be pointed out that if this grossly improper form of menace became general the League would be reduced forthwith to a society of ten members. As a matter of fact, the case of China is particularly regrettable. The League Council is too important a body to be treated lightly. It must be strengthened and kept strong by every means possible. Now China is unhappily in a state of complete political anarchy. To elect "China" to the Council would mean giving a seat to the nominee of a Peking Government whose authority four-fifths of the country frankly repudiates. China was indeed for a time a member of the Council, and for a time the weakness of her political claims was compensated for in some measure by the personal abilities of Dr. Wellington Koo, who proved in many respects a most valuable member of the Council. But when he went to China his successor quite frankly contributed nothing whatever, and the supersession of China by Czecho-Slovakia was inevitable. Nothing is more certain than that when China has succeeded in putting her own affairs in order she will at once regain a seat on a body that exists to keep the world's affairs in order.

THE two League opium conferences having been fixed for the first and third Mondays in November respectively, the opium question generally did not bulk large at the Assembly. The various committees now existing are a little confusing, but the special committee appointed to prepare for the conferences may be considered to have now done its work. It succeeded in reaching no great measure of agreement as to a programme for the conference, but its material was seized by the

Standing Opium Advisory Committee, which managed to work out an agenda of which it is reported, in carefully chosen language, that it should "furnish a satisfactory basis for the work of the Conference and may prepare the way for a final agreement." A final agreement is urgently necessary if the drug traffic is to be grappled with in earnest at all. For Great Britain there is the serious problem of smoking in our Eastern dependencies to be faced. Sir John Jordan has made the very practical suggestion that India should agree to reduce her export of opium to these dependencies by 10 per cent. every year, and that the dependencies should simultaneously reduce their import (from all sources) by 10 per cent., so that in ten years consumption would cease altogether. That is a thoroughly workable plan, and it ought to have public opinion behind it.

THERE is a familiar old proverb about not looking gift-horses in the mouth. But gifts can be embarrassing none the less, as everyone knows who has ever had one from an aunt. And there is no denying that the League has been quite considerably embarrassed by the generosity of the French Government in the matter of a headquarters for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. This body, which has M. Henri Bergson as its chairman, and includes a number of other distinguished French citizens, including Mme. Curie, of radium fame, has always had a rather peculiarly French tinge, due partly, it is only fair to say, to the apathy of the Anglo-Saxon nations on the subject. There has never been enough money to spare for it out of the League budget, and to help it out of its difficulties the French Government has offered to give it a building to live in and an annual grant of money to keep the building up. Unfortunately the building in question is at Paris, not at Geneva, and the proposal to domicile an organ of the League at Paris instead of at the seat of the League has aroused a good deal of misgiving, particularly since it is felt that the strength of French culture may so affect the Committee's work as to make it lose something of its international character. The French have protested with obvious sincerity that they desire nothing of the kind, and are prepared to contemplate any kind of safeguard. It would, however, be idle to pretend that everyone is quite happy about the plan.

THE League Council, acting on the advice of its Financial Committee, has, it may be hoped, cleared up finally the little difficulties that had arisen in connection with the administration of the Austrian reconstruction scheme. The outlines of the trouble are clear enough. When the Austrian scheme was floated the League experts who drafted it decided provisionally that if Austria was to pay her way she must get her expenses down to an annual total of 350,000,000 gold crowns. As it ought to have been easy to raise taxes up to that amount the budget would thus in a short period be balanced. The figure was admittedly tentative. There were not enough data to enable a total to be fixed with any dogmatic certainty. In point of fact it has become clear that the estimate was too low. The only question was how much too low.

Austria, laying on taxes rather excessively and not troubling as much as she might have done about expenses, wanted to raise her budget figure to 530 millions instead of 350. A League commission of experts once more visited Vienna, returning to Geneva early in September, and advised that the figure should be raised to 495 millions. That, it will be seen, concedes a very large part of the Austrian claim, and its adoption by the Council has left everyone reasonably satisfied. Some agreement about the gradual relaxation of League control as Austria demonstrates her own self-sufficiency has also been reached.

WE are most of us a little apt to talk too much about America's relations to the League of Nations. While everyone will welcome the day when she comes in it is absurd to suggest that the League is largely impotent so long as the United States stand out. Nevertheless when there is some concrete evidence of a changing attitude on the part of the American Government it is just as well that attention should be called to it. And it is fair to see evidence of such a change in a letter lately addressed by the American Minister at Berne, Mr. Hugh Gibson, to the Secretary-General of the League. The subject was the Arms Traffic Convention, which has just been drafted by the League's Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission, with the active co-operation of a nominee of the American Government. Following on the successful accomplishment of that work America was asked whether she would care to be temporarily represented on the Third Commission of the Fifth Assembly when it was discussing the arrangements for an international conference to get the convention finally approved and signed. To this the State Department replied that while fully appreciative of the invitation, they felt (what was indeed perfectly true) that the American point of view had been fully and sufficiently exposed on the commission itself, but that as they understood the chief business before the Third Commission of the Assembly in this connection was the calling of a world conference, they might say at once that if an invitation for such a conference were issued the United States would receive it favourably.

MR. HENDERSON made a very sensible speech during the general discussion at the Assembly on the desirability of presenting the League's activity more regularly as a unity. Dr. Nansen had drawn attention to the fact that the Secretary-General's report on the work of the League in the past year included no full record of the sittings of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the British delegate supplemented this with the suggestion that somehow or other the work of the International Labour Office ought to be identified much more closely with the League itself. He quite rightly pointed out that there was a large class of the population in every country that was frankly not interested in political questions, particularly questions of international politics, but cared profoundly for every effort made to better the lot of humanity, whether through the League's own specifically humanitarian activities or through the efforts of the Labour Office.

THE ASSEMBLY: A GENERAL VIEW.

ANYONE who has seen the Assemblies of any year from 1920 to 1923 can form a pretty clear idea of what the Assembly of 1924 looked like. It looked just like its predecessors. In the first week or two the galleries were packed, and the general unsuitability of the building for the meetings of the League Assembly was made more painfully apparent than ever. No wonder that loud cheers greeted the reference of the Swiss delegate, M. Gustave Ador, when he dwelt on this point, and urged that the League should proceed without further delay to the erection of a permanent Assembly Hall of its own on the site, adjoining the Secretariat offices, presented to it by the City and Canton of Geneva.

In other outward respects the Assembly looked much as usual. The two chairs on either side of the President's desk were occupied as always by the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, and the incomparable official interpreter, M. Camerlynck. Only the face in between was different. Where we had last year a swarthy Latin American there were this year the keen eyes and the warm complexion of a singularly able Swiss, M. Giuseppe Motta. One word, too, ought to be added on the President of the Council, on whom it devolves always to preside for the first two sittings till the Assembly has elected its permanent president. It by no means always follows that the delegate who happens at the moment to be filling the chair of the Council by rota possesses the qualities requisite for even the temporary presidency of a body like the Assembly, and it was therefore particularly fortunate that the Council chairman this year should have been M. Paul Hymans, who had presided with conspicuous success over the whole of the deliberations of the First Assembly in 1920.

And yet in some ways the Assembly has not been like previous years. The visit of the Prime Ministers is a good deal responsible for that. Till they came everything was impatient expectation. After they had gone everything naturally felt a little flat. As for the actual four days of their visit, it must be reckoned a conspicuous success. There was some apprehension lest they should hold themselves almost entirely aloof from the Assembly itself, except for the delivery of one or two spectacular speeches, concentrating their activities on those hotel sitting-room conclaves on which some of their predecessors have set such high store. It was therefore matter for particular satisfaction to find Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who had arrived at Geneva at something after nine after a night journey, appearing in the Assembly Hall before the proceedings began at eleven, and sitting silent the whole of that day in his place at the head of the British Delegation. M. Herriot did the same, and so did M. Theunis when he arrived (by road, driving his own car). The next day Mr. MacDonald spoke, and the day afterwards M. Herriot and M. Theunis, while on the last day of their visit the two Prime Ministers both made brief appearances on the platform again to propose and second a joint resolution laying down the main lines of work for the Assembly for the rest of its session. Altogether the League owes quite as much to the two Premiers for the way in which they made themselves part of the Assembly as for the fact of their coming there at all.

After Mr. MacDonald's and M. Herriot's almost hilarious departure on the Saturday night of the first week, the Assembly settled down to comparatively commonplace routine, and it was recognised that the main work for a fortnight or more was going to be done in committee. That indeed was ensured by the resolution which the two Premiers had drafted, and the Assembly had adopted unanimously. What had to

be devised was some method of making arbitration in disputes between nations all-embracing and compulsory, and some agreement as to how, when a dispute did arise and was decided on by arbitrators, the losing party should, if he made trouble, be forced to accept the verdict. One word of explanation is perhaps necessary here. The word "compulsory" is open to a little misunderstanding. No one can impose arbitration on a nation against its will. No one can compel either Great Britain or Panama to do what it prefers not to do. Both are sovereign States, and one of the attributes of sovereignty is the right to say No. What was in contemplation was what may perhaps be termed compulsion by consent. Nations would declare that of their own free will they undertook to submit to arbitration any dispute in which they might find themselves engaged with another member of the League. Once that pledge was voluntarily given and embodied in any kind of formal undertaking, any State that tried to go back on it later, saying it had changed its mind and decided in a particular case to refuse arbitration altogether, could very properly be held to its original engagement by the other members of the League—even through the use of force if need be.

So it was that in the second week of the Assembly interest shifted from the Assembly itself—which indeed suspended its sittings altogether for a time to give the committees a chance to get ahead—to the various committees and sub-committees ("commissions" and "sub-commissions" is only the French name for the same thing) among which the work was divided. There was one notable meeting of the well-known Commission III (on disarmament and kindred subjects), in which Lord Parmoor and M. Paul Boncour, the French Socialist leader, set forth the British and French points of view respectively. They were by no means identical, for Lord Parmoor threw over the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance altogether, while M. Boncour did his utmost to keep it alive, making a speech so moderate and conciliatory that if the discussion of the treaty had been pursued a good many of the difficulties to which it gave rise would have been removed.

But discussion of the treaty was not pursued. Instead, the Commission took as starting-point the triple formula which the two Prime Ministers, particularly M. Herriot, had consecrated—Arbitration, Security, Disarmament—and tried to work out schemes by which an arbitration system could be set up in which everyone would have such confidence that he would willingly agree to submit all disputes to it; by which the certainty of getting a fair verdict and having it enforced in case of need would create a new sense of security; and by which the security thus achieved would be an effective inducement to all nations to reduce their armaments, for which purpose a Disarmament Conference would be called (by the League) at an early date.

The first essential in such a case was to secure agreement between British and French, or rather to carry out into detail the agreement whose broad lines the two Prime Ministers had laid down before they left. That was achieved in a few private talks, in which the chief participants were Lord Parmoor and M. Loucheur, with Dr. Benes as a ready and resourceful intermediary. Their tentative and provisional plan then went forward to a sub-commission of twelve of the Third Commission, to pass thence to the full Commission, and thence in due course to the Assembly.

And here this brief narrative must break off, for it is at that point that things stand as these lines are being written. Readers of HEADWAY will no doubt have gathered something from the daily press as to the course of subsequent discussions. In any case, the story will be rounded off in these columns next month.

H. W. H.

AN ASSEMBLY DIARY.

- Sept. 1.—Opening formalities. M. Giuseppe Motta (Switzerland) elected President of the Assembly.
- Sept. 2.—Election of six Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and constitution of the six standing commissions. M. Herriot arrives in Geneva.
- Sept. 3.—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald arrives in Geneva. General debate on work of the League opened. Prof. Gilbert Murray on Minorities. Dr. Nansen on compulsory jurisdiction.
- Sept. 4.—General debate continued. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on arbitration, security, disarmament.
- Sept. 5.—General debate continued. M. Edouard Herriot on arbitration, security, disarmament. M. Theunis and Dr. Benes on Treaty of Mutual Assistance.
- Sept. 6.—General debate continued. M. Politis on the sanctions of the Covenant. Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot present joint resolution on arbitration and disarmament.
- Sept. 8.—General debate continued. Baron Marks von Wurtemberg on codification of International Law. Assembly Commissions begin their sessions.
- Sept. 9.—General debate continued. Mr. Arthur Henderson on closer association between Labour Office and League. League Council meets and recommends acceptance of French offer of headquarters at Paris for Committee of Intellectual Co-operation.
- Sept. 10.—General debate concluded. Count Skrzynski on treatment of minorities. Lord Parmoor and M. Paul Boncour define British and French views on arbitration, security and disarmament before Third Commission.
- Sept. 11.—Plenary session of Assembly to receive Second Commission's report on Hungarian reconstruction.
- Sept. 12.—Assembly sittings suspended. All Commissions at work.
- Sept. 13.—Further discussions on security and allied questions in Third Committee. Sub-commission appointed to draft definite proposals.
- Sept. 15.—Private conversations between Lord Parmoor, M. Loucheur, Dr. Benes and others on arbitration and security.

OF LESSER MOMENT.

THREE INCIDENTS.

Sept. 3.—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, having arrived in Geneva from Paris by the night train, appears in the Assembly Hall a few minutes before the proceedings begin and chats to MM. Briand, Loucheur and Camerlynck, leaning against the platform staircase. The Assembly opens, and Mr. MacDonald takes his seat as head of the British Delegation. Five minutes later M. Herriot enters for the first time and makes his way to the French seats. Just then the two Premiers catch one another's eye. MacDonald leaps from his seat, Herriot swings suddenly round, and the two grip each other's hands, while galleries and delegates break forthwith into spontaneous applause.

Sept. 6.—Mr. MacDonald, in his final speech, turns towards M. Leon Bourgeois. "I see before me," he said, "an old master but a new friend. My hair was black and my face unwrinkled when M. Leon Bourgeois, honouring his own name and the name of the nation to which he belonged, proposed at an International Conference that the question of arbitration should be scientifically discussed."

M. Bourgeois, unfamiliar with English, hardly comprehends. Later, as the interpreter translates into French, he smiles with pleasure and turns to bow to MacDonald, now back in his seat among the British delegation. At the end of the translation the French delegate, who rarely walks without help, makes his way slowly on M. Loucheur's arm to grasp the Prime Minister's hand. MacDonald rises to receive him and presses him protesting into the leader of the British Delegation's place, standing himself seatless the while. Once more the galleries cheer the double courtesy.

Sept. 6.—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, leaving Geneva for London, takes his place in his sleeping car and talks from the window to a crowd on the platform outside. M. Herriot, for whom the French Presidential saloon had been reserved further up the train, comes pressing through the crowd. "MacDonald, etes vous bien la?" (MacDonald, are you comfortable there?). The Prime Minister insists that all is well, but his French colleague, manifestly uneasy, mounts the car and leans out of the

adjacent window, where the two are photographed together. Herriot disappears. The train is about to start. Suddenly there is another push through the crowd, and a command, this time in presentable English, "MacDonald, MacDonald, come with me." The Prime Minister protests that he has all his baggage comfortably stowed; but refusals are useless. Once more Herriot mounts the car, and this time drags forth his colleague. They march down the platform, followed by a laughing and cheering crowd, and the train glides out of Geneva with the two Prime Ministers acknowledging the cheers side by side at the window of the French Presidential saloon.

Saar Valley representatives who were at Geneva during the early part of the Assembly brought with them picture-postcards showing the review of French troops in the Saar on the French National Fête Day, July 4th. The customary reviews were cancelled in France on account of the heat, but the Saar troops paraded none the less. At the saluting-post were M. Rault, the French, and M. Lambert, the Belgian, members of the Governing Commission, together with the French General in command. The Spanish, Canadian and Saarois members of the Commission did not attend.

Among the visitors to the Assembly was Mrs. W. G. McAdoo, daughter of President Wilson, who came to see the actual working of the instrument her father was so largely responsible for creating. Another visitor was the ex-Khedive of Egypt, while M. Paderewski, who has a villa on the lake-side not far from Geneva, was frequently present.

Next to the flood of Americans who crowded every hotel at Geneva to overflowing, one of the most notable features of the Assembly was the number of prominent Germans it attracted. Prominent among these were Herr Gessler, the Minister of War, Herr Hilferding, a former Minister of Finance, Dr. Breitscheid, the well-known socialist leader, Count Kessler, who was acting as an unofficial agent of the German Government, and Count Bernstorff. A public meeting addressed by Dr. Breitscheid and Count Kessler on Germany and the Fifth Assembly was largely attended.

GENEVA FACES.

THE French Delegation was probably the strongest any country has ever sent to Geneva. Apart from M. Herriot, who was, of course, only present for three days, the delegates included M. Léon Bourgeois and M. Aristide Briand, both former Prime Ministers, M. Paul Boncour, Chairman of the National Defence Committee, M. Loucheur, former Minister for the Devastated Regions, M. de Jovenel, former Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Sarraut, former Minister for the Colonies. The latter three were assistant delegates, and, in addition, there were three substitute delegates, M. Bonnet, a prominent Deputy, M. Léon Jouhaux, the well-known Labour leader, and M. René Cassin, one of the chief figures in the ex-Service men's movement.

* * * *

There are three or four small vital men who contribute year by year a vast amount of energy and intellectual force to the Assembly discussions. Foremost among them, of course, is Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia. Dr. Benes is never still. His restless eye is always ranging round for some fellow-delegate to button-hole in the interests of some constructive purpose. He goes ceaselessly to and fro between opposing parties, reconciling them to some practical middle course. Usually it is the French and British who have to be brought together. So it was this year. First of all, MacDonald and Herriot had to be helped to agree on their joint resolution for the Assembly. Then that resolution had to be translated into a definite programme, and it was Benes who drafted the programme. While the programme was being thrashed out in private, the Press became clamorous for information, and it was Benes who was detailed to tell them what it was thought proper for them to know. In Council, in committee, in Assembly (though in full Assembly he shines least), the Czecho-Slovak representative is perhaps the most valuable single figure at Geneva.

* * * *

Other vital small men are Hymans and Politis. The Belgian Foreign Minister has a little disappointed some people. In a year when at least one outstanding figure—Lord Cecil—was absent, and no one in particular seemed stepping into the front rank, there were those who hoped M. Hymans would assume a rôle of leadership more fully than in the past. He has not done that. But he has presided over the Council with singular ability and wisdom, and his sage counsel is always of value in the informal discussions which have their place at Geneva as everywhere else. As for M. Politis, formerly Foreign Minister of Greece, whose sagacity and diplomatic skill was abundantly demonstrated by his handling of the Corfu affair last year, he made a new reputation in the first week of the Fifth Assembly by his remarkable exposition from the Assembly platform of the doctrine of the Covenant in the matter of sanctions. Delivered without a note and without a moment's hesitation in flawless French, this lengthy and unflinching explanation of complex and highly important provisions was described by more than one competent judge as the most brilliant performance of its kind they had ever heard.

It would have been worth a good deal to be able to read the minds of the Abyssinian delegates through the four weeks of the Assembly. There were two of them, Aba Wolo Ras Nadeou and Ato Sahlé Sedalou, shepherded by the French adviser of the Abyssinian Government, Count Linant de Bellefonds (on whose father's dead body in an African jungle was found a note that led to the rescue of Sir Henry Stanley). The Abyssinians were gleaming black of visage, and dressed in long clothes even blacker and more gleaming still. Below the cloaks shone white trousers tapering down at the ankles to a kind of puttee form. They religiously attended the Assembly, listened to speeches they could not comprehend, and mounted the platform with stately gait whenever there was need to drop a voting card into the ballot-box. Their presence lent the one genuinely picturesque touch to the Assembly.

* * * *

Europe's two ecclesiastical Prime Ministers both attended some part of the Assembly. One, of course, is Monsignor Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor. Only lately recovered from the effects of a would-be assassin's bullet, Dr. Seipel came to address the Council in his slow emphatic German on the working of the Austrian loan. His clean-shaven face, with the hooked nose and the spectacled eyes, and his tall figure close buttoned into its clerical coat, are all in strong contrast with all the characteristics of the short, sturdy, black-bearded Bishop Fan Noli, now, as result of a revolution, Prime Minister of Albania. Bishop Noli was at Geneva in 1921, when he addressed the Assembly in fluent French. This year his singular half-serious, half-satirical speech was delivered in equally fluent Anglo-American, acquired through long residence in Boston. Unfortunately, an attack of malaria kept the Bishop for some days in bed.

* * * *

Dr. Raoul Dandurand, the first delegate of Canada, followed the example set by Mr. Lapointe in 1922 and Sir Lomer Gouin last year, and addressed the Assembly in French. All three are French Canadians from Quebec, and their choice of what is after all their mother-tongue was a welcome reminder of the most successful of all experiments in the British Empire in the blending of two races under one flag.

* * * *

In some Continental countries a good deal of attention is paid to titles and attributes, but no entry in the official list quite equalled the three or four lines given to the first and second delegates of India, The Right Hon. The Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O., and Major-General His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D.

* * * *

Dr. Nansen was of course, as always, an outstanding figure in his familiar white hat with its sweeping brim. But the white hat looked solitary this year. It was accustomed to jostle in daily promenades and street corner conclaves another hat of almost equal size, lower-crowned and a little more marked by age. That covering unhappily was this year far away protecting Lord Cecil's bent head from Scotch winds and Sussex suns.

ASSEMBLY ECHOES.

THE London Conference has settled the Reparations question, but another problem remains—a very serious problem for those countries which suffered most severely from the war, and which feel themselves in a position of grave danger in the event of any future attack. That is the problem of security. Europe cannot live in a state of uncertainty. Peace must be built upon a firm legal and political foundation. Peace and security must be durably established. At this moment all eyes are turned to the League of Nations in the hope that there a solution may be found.—**M. Paul Hymans** (Belgium).

"At the beginning of our labours allow me to hail with deep-felt emotion the new development which the recent conference in London has given to the principle of compulsory arbitration. Upon this principle there must depend the solution of the question of military disarmament, on which so much hangs."—**M. Motta** (Switzerland), President of the Assembly.

"Last year the Persian Government asked the League of Nations for help in their fight against the epidemic diseases which ravage our country, and which each year claim thousands of victims. Receiving the request favourably the Hygiene Commission of the League has sent to Persia one of its best specialists, Dr. Gilmour, who at this moment is in Teheran, and to whom the Government, the Parliament and the people of Persia have extended the most cordial reception. I have just received from my Government a telegram asking me to express public thanks to the League of Nations for this noble proof of international solidarity."—**Prince Arfa ed Dowleh** (Persia).

"The more we look into the Covenant, the more we study it, the more we shall see it to be a work of wisdom and moderation, full of possibilities and sufficient to guarantee the conditions necessary for the gradual realisation of that world-peace which it was made to try and bring about."—**Jonkheer van Karnebeek**, Dutch Foreign Minister.

"Right is stronger than might. Might without right is barbarism, but might employed in the service of right, that is the supreme goal towards which jurists have for centuries been striving. It is the very essence of the Covenant."—**M. Theunis**, Prime Minister of Belgium.

"We must show public opinion in all countries whether or no the present League of Nations is able to solve the problem of international co-operation by an undertaking to furnish assistance in case of unprovoked attack, and the problem of the repression of crime against international law."—**Dr. Benes**, Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia.

"South Africa will heartily welcome Germany's entry into the League, as she will also heartily welcome the entry of those other nations, some of which, by virtue of the pre-eminent position they occupy in the world, should long ere this have filled the menacing vacant chairs to which Mr. MacDonald so eloquently referred."—**Mr. G. R. Hofmeyr** (South Africa).

"I have seen much of war in three continents, and I would give my right hand in support of any effective scheme to reduce both the danger of war and the armed peace which is the precursor of war."—**The Maharajah of Bikaner** (India).

"Recently, in another sphere, a great event has taken place. In respect of one of the most difficult of all present-day problems—the problem of reparations—the French Government has taken the initiative in acknowledging this vital principle of arbitration. The London Conference has agreed that all disputes arising from the execution of the Dawes Plan are to be settled by arbitration. This is a fine historic achievement. It marks a definite step forward in the betterment of the relations between nations."—**Dr. Nansen** (Norway).

"The just treatment of minorities cannot any longer be conceived as a burden imposed by stronger nations upon weaker—it is not an irksome restriction enforced upon free nations by foreign interference. It is an ideal in which all members of the League equally share. It is a simple duty which all members sincerely accept, and which, by mutual sympathy and counsel in this great society, we will help one another to discharge worthily."—**Professor Gilbert Murray** (British Empire).

"In recent years Albania has been visited by famine, due to drought and floods, which destroyed the greater part of her crops. The inhabitants of the mountainous districts, who were poor and without a roof to cover their heads, fell into the direst distress.

"The Albanian Government did its utmost to alleviate their sufferings, but its resources were limited. But for the generous assistance of the League of Nations, the fate of our poverty-stricken mountain people would have been appalling."—**M. Gurakuqi** (Albania).

"Situated on the edge of Europe, facing towards the new continent, Spain will always be prepared to do her share in the work of international collaboration from which the Powers across the Atlantic cannot hold aloof. I allude to the United States and the other American Republics, particularly those whose help we especially appreciate on account of their Spanish origin, not only those which are already Members of the League, but also those which, we hope, will join the League ere long."—**M. Quinones de Leon** (Spain).

"The present Government of Denmark, guided by the principle of arbitration which, as Mr. MacDonald has said, forms the only really effective guarantee of peace, has considered the possibility of a complete reform of its military system and naval system. I am absolutely convinced that all nations have only one desire, the maintenance of peace. The whole Danish nation is inspired by this desire and the Danish Government, therefore, hopes that Parliament also will acquiesce."—**M. Stauning** (Prime Minister of Denmark).

"Countries, such as Germany, the United States, Russia and Turkey, which are not yet Members of the League of Nations, have taken part in the work of our technical organisations. Thus the League's sphere of action is rapidly extending, and the spirit of solidarity, of which it is the moral expression and the political instrument, is daily gaining in strength."—**M. Hymans** (Belgium).

"Italy has to-day no other ambition than to maintain the position within her natural boundaries which she has gained by her valour, and to promote social progress and the peaceful expansion of her large and industrious population."—**M. Salandra** (Italy).

"We must begin with moral disarmament. This League which you have built is like an arch, through which we see in the far but sunlit distance the generations of to-morrow. All can pass beneath the arch, but for no one shall it be the Caudine Forks; if, and only if, all the world works with a will to build the arch solidly and well, then I am convinced that the League will become in very truth the arch of a triumphant peace."—**M. Skrzynski** (Poland).

"I want to say to my fellow delegates that I stand here to-day not as a representative of the Government. I have the honour to be the leader of the Australian Labour Party, which is His Majesty's Opposition in the Commonwealth Parliament, and am here by the invitation of the Australian Government. The Australian Government has set an example which, I think, should be followed by every country in the world. If you want to secure peace, you must realise that this is no Party question, but is a matter which should be devoid of all Party significance, and should be dealt with from a national point of view."—**Mr. Matthew Charlton** (Australia).

MACDONALD AND HERRIOT.

In view of the importance of the speeches delivered by the French and British Prime Ministers in the first week of the League of Nations Assembly, the principal points from each speech are reproduced here.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

"THE country I represent—Great Britain—will use every means in its power to widen the influence and increase the authority of the League of Nations."

"The danger of supreme importance which is facing us now is that national security should be regarded merely as a military problem and based solely on the predominance of force."

"We do not believe that military alliances are going to bring security."

"This League, if it is to have the authority to give security must be a comprehensive League. This League will remain inefficient unless it has not only got the threatened nations in, but the threatening or the so-called threatening nations in."

"One day, not because you are going to appeal to her, not because you are going to bring pressure to bear on her, but one day because we ourselves have been wise enough to make our own efforts for peace successful, America's own heart will incline her to come in, and then she will find that an honoured and a welcome place is waiting for her in our councils."

"Germany cannot remain outside the League of Nations. We cannot afford to allow her to remain out. There is not a single discussion upon armaments, upon the conditions of peace, upon security, upon the safety and the guarantee of the existence of the small nationalities, that we can sit together and discuss among ourselves with a menacing vacant chair in our midst. Nor can Germany remain out in her own interests. Negotiations with Berlin isolated can never be effective. The London Conference created a new relationship between Germany and the other European countries, and that relationship should now be sealed and sanctified by Germany's appearance on the floor of this Assembly."

"The Russian Soviet Government believes in revolutions. . . . We are evolutionists. . . . But even Russia has changed. I hope that the agreement which the British Government has come to with the Soviet Government of Russia is not only the first of a series of agreements, but is the first indication that Russian Government itself is prepared to be part of the co-operating European system, and so, being here, complete the authority and influence of the League of Nations."

"The one way we can attain security, the one way we can approximate to an accurate attribution of responsibility for aggression, is arbitration."

"I am in favour of arbitration. I see nothing else for the world. If we cannot devise a proper system of arbitration, then do not let us fool ourselves that we are going to have peace."

"We must devise more successfully than we have done hitherto the courts that are to operate under a system of arbitration. We must explore more fully than we have done hitherto the matters that ought to be referred and can be referred to them. We must visualise with more accuracy than we have done hitherto the nature of the obligations upon the States that arbitrate."

"It is the desire of the British Government to sign undertakings like the optional clause of the statute of the International Court, but before taking so great a step it is proper that the clause should be put in the most specific form possible."

"The British Government stands by the Covenant. The British Government has no wish to reduce the authority of the Council. The British Government wishes to extend the authority of the Council consistently with the continued existence and prosperity of the League."

M. EDOUARD HERRIOT.

"IT is the Covenant itself which has linked together disarmament and security. From this idea has issued the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which makes a war of aggression an international crime, which in consequence achieves the immense advance of introducing into public order the idea of crime hitherto confined to domestic law, and which creates a solidarity between the victim powers if they are really victims, if they have carried out all their international obligations."

"We trust that one of the tasks of this Fifth Assembly may be to establish this idea of arbitration, which, I repeat, solves the difficulty of defining aggression, since henceforward the aggressor would be the party which refused arbitration."

"Arbitration is necessary, but it is not enough. It is a means, not an end. It does not respond entirely to the intentions of Article VIII of the Covenant, intentions which I recall once more—security and disarmament. For us French these three terms—arbitration, security, disarmament—are inseparable."

"Arbitration must not become a snare for a nation acting in good faith."

"Arbitration, my excellent friend MacDonald has said, is justice without passion. Yes, but you cannot have justice without force. You cannot leave force to the cruel hands of injustice."

"Pascal has said—and these words should in my view serve as watchword for our League of Nations—'Justice without force is impotent. Force without justice is tyranny.'"

"Of course, we do not believe that security can be achieved solely by methods of force. We are far from underestimating the importance of the economic and financial sanctions provided in Article XVI of the Covenant. We must strive to create in every country a new spirit developing against the public crime of war the same sentiment of reprobation which exists against private crime."

"We, too, believe in the necessity of preparing a general conference on disarmament. But an improvised disarmament conference, as has been justly said, would be doomed to failure. . . . In any case it is indispensable that this enterprise should be entrusted to the League of Nations, which alone is endowed with the organisation essential to the conference's success."

"As regards Germany there shall be nothing equivocal in our declarations. We have fought in Germany destructive militarism and that hideous doctrine proclaimed openly in Parliament, and which is the exact antithesis of everything we proclaim and stand for here, that 'necessity knows no law.' But we have never desired the misery of the German people. France knows no hatred. She does not live by hatred. She does not live in hatred. . . . Articles I, VIII and IX of the Covenant which assume in particular the execution of obligations in the matter of disarmament, lay down the conditions of entry of any State into the League. They are applicable to Germany as to other nations. In our society there must be neither exception nor privilege. Respect for treaties, for obligations—that is the common law."

"Peace must not be an abstract idea, a barren aspiration. If peace is to be actually created it calls for as much virility—perhaps even more—as war."

"Arbitration, security, disarmament—such, in our view, are the three master-columns of the temple you, my dear colleagues, are called to build. Their foundations must be firm if they are to rise high in the light towards Heaven."

SUICIDE OR LEAGUE?

TO those not fully acquainted with the latest developments of Mr. Winston Churchill's views, the conclusion of his recent article entitled "Shall We All Commit Suicide?" in *Nash's Magazine*, may come as something of a surprise. Subjoined will be found the passage in question, preceded by an earlier paragraph which sufficiently indicates the nature of the article as a whole.

"The campaign of 1919 was never fought; but its ideas go marching along. In every army they are being explored, elaborated, refined under the surface of peace, and should war come again to the world it is not with the weapons and agencies prepared for 1919 that it will be fought, but with developments and extensions of these which will be incomparably more formidable and fatal."

"It is established that henceforward whole populations will take part in war, all doing their utmost, all subjected to the fury of the enemy. It is established that nations who believe their life is at stake will not be restrained from using any means to secure their existence. It is probable—nay, certain—that among the means which will next time be at their disposal will be agencies and processes of destruction, wholesale, unlimited, and perhaps once launched uncontrollable."

"Against the gathering but still distant tempest the League of Nations, deserted by the United States, scorned by Soviet Russia, flouted by Italy, distrusted equally by France and Germany, raises feebly but faithfully its standards of sanity and hope. Its structure, airy and unsubstantial, framed of shining but too often visionary idealism, is in its present form incapable of guarding the world from its dangers and of protecting mankind from itself. Yet it is through the League of Nations alone that the path to safety and salvation can be found. To sustain and aid the League of Nations is the duty of all. To reinforce it and bring it into vital and practical relation with actual world-politics by sincere agreements and understanding between the great Powers, between the leading races, should be the first aim of all who wish to spare their children torments and disasters compared to which those we have suffered will be but a pale preliminary."

"TRUTH."

OUR very genuinely esteemed contemporary *Truth* will have to think seriously about changing either its title or its Geneva correspondent, if the latter gentleman sends many more messages like that with which he heralded the opening of the Fifth Assembly.

Truth's Geneva correspondent clearly does not think much of the League. On that he is, of course, entitled to his own opinion. But it is at least reasonable to ask that his readers should be permitted to form their own opinions and be given facts, not a series of inaccuracies, to base them on.

For example. "Up to now the only Prime Minister who has recognised the Assembly by attending it has been M. Meierovics, of Latvia." The fact is that the Assembly has been attended at different times, prior to 1924, by the Prime Ministers of Sweden, of Norway, of Lithuania, of Czecho-Slovakia.

"On political and economic questions the Council starts many things without finishing them." Has the writer ever heard of the Austrian or Hungarian reconstruction schemes, and can he find any parallel in history to either of them?

"The Conference of Ambassadors had the chief say in adjusting the frontier dispute between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia." The fact is that the delimiting of this frontier was the Ambassadors' business. Failing to

settle it satisfactorily, they turned over the whole matter to the League, which rapidly effected a final settlement.

"With the help of the same intermediary [the Conference of Ambassadors] the status of Memel has been fixed." The fact is that here, again, the Ambassadors, having themselves failed, handed the problem over to the League, whose draft settlement was accepted as it stood by all parties concerned.

"Although there is a check on the estimates, it is no one's business to revise the Budget." The fact is that the Budget undergoes a most vigorous revision, first by a strong Supervisory Commission, and then by the Fourth Commission of every Assembly, each State member of the League having a seat on the Commission.

"Some of the members do not pay up, and there is apparently no machinery to compel defaulters to pay. . . . The names of the defaulters are not blacklisted." Blacklisting is a term that needs some defining. At any rate, the names of defaulters are printed in black letters on white paper in a public document for all the world to read.

Really, people who do know something about the League expect *Truth* to do a little better than this.

THE WORLD MOVEMENT.

THE International Federation of League of Nations Unions was active at Geneva during the Assembly. Both its secretary, Prof. Ruysen, and its assistant-secretary, Mr. W. O'Molony, were present, and a temporary office was opened.

On September 15 a public demonstration was held at the Athénée, under the chairmanship of Sir Willoughby Dickinson, the chief speakers being Count Bernstorff, President of the German Society, and Dr. Charles Levermore, winner of the Bok Peace Prize in America. Count Bernstorff, speaking of a possible German application for membership of the League, dwelt on the difficulties presented by the continued French occupation of the Ruhr. Moral disarmament would be very difficult to achieve so long as foreign troops were in occupation of German soil outside the treaty limits.

Dr. Levermore predicted that the United States would very soon identify itself definitely with the Permanent Court of International Justice. He also foresaw various other rapprochements between his country and the League. "President Harding," he observed, "declared the United States would enter the League neither by the front-door nor by the side-door nor by the back-door. But he said nothing about the cellar-door or the windows."

Resolutions were adopted urging the League Assembly to carry to an effective conclusion its labours in the realm of arbitration, security and disarmament.

On September 16 the President of the League Assembly, M. Giuseppe Motta, with whom was the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, received at the League Secretariat a deputation from the International Federation of League of Nations Associations charged with presenting the resolutions adopted at the recent annual conference of the Federation at Lyons. The deputation was headed by Sir Willoughby Dickinson, who was supported by Count Bernstorff (Berlin), M. J. J. Prudhommeaux (Paris), Mr. C. C. Bauer (New York), Mr. Richardson (Ottawa), M. Boves (Switzerland), Dr. Okuma (Japan) and others.

In accepting the resolutions (which were printed in full the next day in the Official Journal of the League Assembly) M. Motta paid a tribute to the methods of work of the Federation, and expressed particular pleasure at seeing among the deputation representatives of two great States not yet members of the League, the United States and Germany.

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR.

IN view of the importance attaching to the discussions on universal arbitration which have occupied so much of the time of the Fifth Assembly, we reproduce in full the joint MacDonal-Herriot resolution of September 6, on which the whole work of the Assembly and its chief committees was based. It runs as follows:—

The Assembly,

Noting the declarations of the Governments represented, observes with satisfaction that they contain the basis of an understanding tending to establish a secure peace,

Decides as follows:

With a view to reconciling in the new proposals the divergences between certain points of view which have been expressed and, when agreement has been reached, **to enable an international conference upon armaments to be summoned by the League of Nations at the earliest possible moment:**

(1) The Third Committee is requested to consider the material dealing with security and the reduction of armaments, particularly the observations of the Governments on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, prepared in pursuance of Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly and other plans prepared and presented to the Secretary-General since the publication of the draft Treaty, **and to examine the obligations contained in the Covenant of the League in relation to the guarantee of security which a resort to arbitration and a reduction of armaments may require.**

(2) The First Committee is requested:

(a) To consider, in view of possible amendments, the articles in the Covenant relating to the settlement of disputes.

(b) To examine within what limits the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice might be rendered more precise and thereby facilitate the more general acceptance of the clause;

and thus strengthen the solidarity and the security of the nations of the world **by settling by pacific means all disputes which may arise between States.**

Though the resolution may seem at first sight a little colourless, its implications—indeed, its explicit provisions—are vastly far-reaching. To speak of “settling by pacific means all disputes which may arise between States” means the end of war between individual nations altogether. It is what Senator Borah and those who have particularly associated themselves with him in the United States have been demanding for years. It is tremendous—if it can be achieved.

To anticipate the final decisions of the League Assembly on the question would serve no good purpose. It is enough here to indicate briefly what steps were taken after the departure of the two Prime Ministers from Geneva to carry out the mandate embodied in their resolution. The Third Committee appointed forthwith a strong sub-committee to prepare its part of the work. Dr. Benes was its chairman, Lord Parmoor and Mr. Henderson both attended for Great Britain, M. Paul Boncour sat for France, Signor Schanzer for Italy, M. Branting for Sweden and Count Szrynski for Poland. Dr. Benes himself got out a general draft as basis for discussion, and although it was considerably modified in the course of the discussions, the publication of the original draft by an enterprising journalist who managed to secure a copy caused a good deal of misunderstanding and perturbation in various quarters. The sub-committee ended its work within a week, finishing up by fixing a World Disarmament Conference

for June 15, 1925, provided that by May 1 the arbitration and sanctions agreement had been ratified by fifteen States, including the four permanent members of the Council.

The First Commission meanwhile had also appointed a special sub-committee. The British member of that was Sir Cecil Hurst, a deputy delegate, and the very able legal adviser to the Foreign Office, while France was represented by M. Loucheur, and several very competent lawyers, such as M. Rolin, of Belgium, Signor Scialoja, of Italy, and Señor Fernandes, Brazil, also had places. The first business of the sub-committee was to put the so-called “optional clause” of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice in such a form that all nations would be willing to sign it. That was soon done, and the sub-committee then set to work to stop up the “leaks” in the arbitration clauses of the Covenant. There is, in fact, only one serious leak, consisting of the provision (in Art. XV) that if the Council considers a dispute and fails to reach unanimity regarding it the two parties are free to fight their quarrel out.

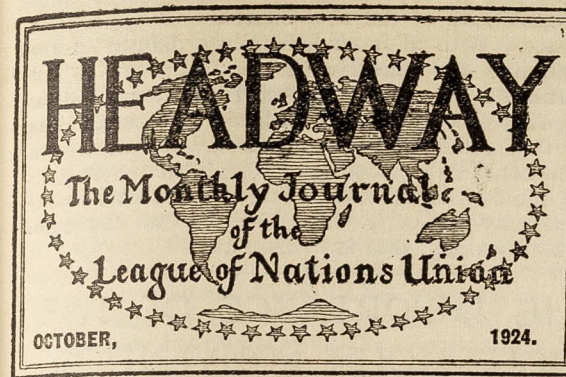
Since the whole essence of the MacDonal-Herriot plan was that in future no two nations should be free to fight anything out, some way round this difficulty had to be discovered. By the end of a week, just about the same time as the Third Commission's sub-committee took to discharge its task, a fairly satisfactory way round had been discovered. On paper, at any rate, a plan for avoiding war for the future had been evolved.

But the fight against war is not to be fought or won at Geneva. It is the peoples of the different countries who have to decide whether they are ready to pay the price of ridding the world of war. For there is a price to be exacted. The Geneva discussions made that clear enough. The doctrine worked out there was plain enough. All nations shall settle their disputes by peaceful means and not by force, and the nation turning to force shall be a public enemy. But if a nation is to be debarred from gaining its ends by war it must be assured of gaining them by other means, provided an arbitral tribunal declares that its cause is just. Therefore there must, if necessary, be means of enforcing the new law of nations against a nation that resists it. That enforcement can only be effected by the joint efforts—diplomatic, economic, and, if need be, military—of League members as a whole. Are League members willing to go that far in the cause of peace? Is Great Britain? Is France? Is Italy? The plan may be drafted and signed at Geneva, but it is in London and Paris and Rome and a score of other capitals that its fate will be ultimately decided.

THE FILENE PEACE PRIZE.

THE results of the Filene Peace Prize, awarded for “the best practical plan for the restoration of peace and prosperity in Great Britain and Europe through international co-operation,” have now been published. The winner of the first prize of £1,000 is Mr. Bolton Waller, a keen worker for the League of Nations, who attended the Lyons Conference of League Societies as representative of the Irish League of Nations Society. Of the twenty-seven prize winners, the following six are members of the L.N.U. Headquarters staff: Miss Freda White, £250 (second prize); Major Gladstone Murray, £50; Mr. S. Sherman, £50; Mr. A. G. Macdonell, £25; Mr. L. P. Mair, £25; Mrs. Dugdale, £25.

[Summaries of the first two prize essays will appear in our next issue.]



THE COVENANT.

NOTHING has been more remarkable at the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations than the place the Covenant has taken in the discussions. It would be almost true to speak of the rediscovery of the Covenant, so constantly were its provisions underlined by one speaker or another who saw in the particular proposals he happened to be discussing some infringement on the principles laid down in the standing charter of the League. The strongest argument adduced against the whole system on which the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance was based was that it threatened to set up some new agreement between nations side by side with the Covenant.

These facts are worth considering. The Covenant is far too often taken for granted. It is assumed that it is merely a document embodying an agreement by which nations undertook to form a League, and the League having once been formed, the agreement itself is dismissed as of little more practical value. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Covenant is a rule of life for nations. Anyone who fails to grasp the Covenant through and through must fail for ever to understand the League and what it is attempting. Yet it is doubtful whether 10 per cent. of the attenders at an average League of Nations Union meeting in England could claim that they had ever read the Covenant consecutively through and given serious thought to its contents—even though the text can be bought for one penny.

These omissions, fortunately, can be rectified, and they are worth rectifying, particularly in view of the new emphasis thrown on the Covenant at Geneva this year. The men of a dozen nations who laboriously worked out the League's charter in those long night sittings at Paris in 1919 did their task amazingly well. The Covenant may not have in it all that is requisite for the salvation of nations, but it has in it far more than most people realise, and what is not there is not there for the most part because it could not be. A League had to be made, and it had to be made under conditions that would commend themselves to States likely to join. The insistence on a unanimous vote, to take one example, is, of course, a grave hindrance to the work of the League. But if any State thought its sovereignty might be violated by a majority vote requiring it, as one of the minority, to do something it wanted not to do, it would never have joined the League at all. Great Britain would have been the last nation in the world to submit itself to any such compulsion.

Similarly with regard to the questions that have exercised men's minds so gravely at Geneva this year—sanctions and security. The Covenant deals at several points with sanctions—a semi-legal word which means simply measures of enforcement. Article VIII speaks quite plainly of “the enforcement by common action of international obligations.” Article X holds out to every member of the League the prospect of effective

protection if any external enemy attacks it. Article XIII calls on the Council in case of need to propose what steps shall be taken in case of need to enforce an arbitration award which some State is trying to evade. And Article XVI, which goes further than any other, apart from laying down explicit regulations as to the boycotting of any State that violates the Covenant, instructs the Council in addition to recommend to the different Governments what military, naval and air forces they shall severally contribute for the protection of the covenants of the League.

All this, it may reasonably be argued, sounds well enough, but what does it amount to in reality? These are mere generalities. They provide no effective protection at all. Article X may impose a kind of general obligation on everyone to protect a neighbour in distress, but no single individual State says openly, “If my neighbour is attacked, I undertake to go to his help.” Everybody's business is nobody's business. In the same way, in Article X, second paragraph, the Council may “advise on” the steps to be taken. In Article XIII it may “propose.” And in Article XVI it may “recommend.” All that is perfectly true. As things stand, the Council's powers are limited to proposing and recommending and advising. And it could not be otherwise. At any rate, it could not have been otherwise when the Covenant was drafted. Suppose the Council were to have the right, if it considered a certain nation had violated the Covenant, to require Great Britain to send a naval flying squadron, or, for that matter, her Mediterranean fleet, to attack it. The whole nation would be in arms in a moment at the thought of the British fleet being commanded from Geneva. And the same, of course, would be true of the French or the Italian or the Czechoslovakian army. The framers of the Covenant in 1919 went the utmost length possible when they imposed on members of the League some sort of moral obligation to put their armed forces at its disposal if ever they were needed to defend the principles to which every member of the League had pledged its adhesion.

But the world does not live for ever in the year 1919. Already we have reached the year 1924, and a good many more decades seem likely to stretch before humanity yet. The Covenant was never meant to be immutable. So far from that, special provision was made for revising it to keep it in touch with the changing needs of a developing society, and already one Article (VI) has been definitely revised. The slowness and difficulty of revision may itself be some drawback. America has found that with her written constitution. But, on the whole, it is as well that a document so carefully and wisely thought out should not be capable of swift alteration in a moment of impulse. Even now it would be quite impracticable to give the League direct authority over the British fleet or the French army. The sovereignty of States would tolerate no such affront. The relevant Articles of the Covenant are not likely to be strengthened up to that point.

But if the League has not the right to require, nations may none the less have the will to give. And here comes the evolution foreshadowed—foreshadowed for the moment, at any rate, and perhaps for all time, outside the Covenant. Britain will say still to the League, “You cannot commandeer my fleet.” France will say still, “You cannot commandeer my army.” But both will say together, “The covenants of the League must be defended, and if to defend them you need our fleets, our armies, we freely offer you for the purpose what you have no right to demand.” (That is no such rash offer, for both Britain and France are members of the League Council, from which the request must come.) Towards that end events are steadily shaping. At what speed is still matter of doubt.

MAKING HAY.

By LOTHIAN SMALL, M.A.

IT is no small matter for the prospects of the International Labour Organisation and for getting its international conventions embodied in our national law that the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour in Britain are so unequivocally pledged both to the principles underlying, and to the conventions adopted by, that organisation. It would be a serious comment on the Union's activities on behalf of the I.L.O. if it did not make hay in so much sunshine. The haymaking started on the 1st of September at Hull.

In its work of permeating organisations of employers and of workers, the groups which, with governments, have representation at the Annual Conference and on the Governing Body of the I.L.O., the Union opened its autumn campaign at Hull during the Trade Union Congress. At a great public meeting under the Union's auspices the Chairman of Congress, Mr. Purcell, presided; the Government representatives, Miss Margaret Bondfield and Mr. Rhys Davies, as well as the workers' representative, Mr. E. L. Poulton, spoke eloquently in favour of this new world parliament of industry which is gradually achieving for the world's workers the standard of life which civilisation demands—achieving it not by the outworn appeal to force expressed in wasteful strikes and lockouts, but by the appeal to reason and the spirit of conciliation expressed in the conferences where governments, employers and workers sit round the same table. At these international round table conferences, harmonising human demand with existing physical and economic possibility, they help to secure and embody in international conventions the greatest possible degree of world agreement about industrial conditions, thus helping to remove those factors of inequitable competition and economic instability which complicate the work of preserving peace.

Miss Bondfield particularly emphasised that here was a broad constitutional path leading to the achievement of many trade union ideals, and appealed for a wider knowledge of its doings and "ought-to-be-doings," the essentials of which, she pointed out, were contained in these four pamphlets, issued for the purpose by the Union, and obtainable, post free, for 9d.

"Labour and the League of Nations—L.N.U." Pamphlet No. 157, price 3d. In the first part of this the Prime Minister defends the I.L.O. In the second, Ben Turner, M.P., Arthur Hayday, M.P., and the present writer discuss the League of Nations from the standpoint of Labour's ideals.

"Four Years' Work of the I.L.O." No. 153, price 3d. An account of the work done by the I.L.O., and a summary of the International Labour Conventions already adopted.

Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, "Labour," price 1d.

"The Necessity for International Labour Organisation." No. 143, price 1d. A lecture by E. J. Phelan.

The Adult School Union (Secretary, Geo. Peverett, 30, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1), in a correspondence course on the League's industrial work, conducted in conjunction with the L.N.U., is using these pamphlets in place of a textbook. Handed to a friend or sent to the local secretary of a Chamber of Commerce, Trades Council or Trade Union, Rotary Club, Industrial Christ Fellowship, Industrial League and Council, National Alliance of Employers and Employed, W.E.A., Teachers' Unions and similar bodies, these pamphlets may well transform their vague sympathy into active, intelligent support, and secure their co-operation with the local Union in the organisation of week-end conferences on the League and the I.L.O.

We can only make possible the democratic control of foreign policy by each one understanding the ways and

the possibilities of the new international organisation of peace. With that understanding diffused in the community, the effective electoral pressure to get Governments to ratify whatever International Labour Conventions have been adopted will be secured. The new two-reading procedure adopted by the Sixth International Labour Conference (see HEADWAY, August, 1924) should also remove whatever grounds for hesitation may properly have existed in the past. Socially speaking, that is making hay.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EIGHT-HOUR CONVENTION.

THE meeting of the Labour Ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium at Berne early in September has again focussed attention on the ratification of the eight-hour Convention adopted at the first annual session of the International Labour Conference of the League, held at Washington in 1919, and it is satisfactory to read that the Ministers discussed the Convention article by article, and ended with the unanimous feeling that common ratification of the Convention is possible.

The Labour Department of the L.N.U. has continually pressed the importance of international action on this question, and, despite occasional criticism regarding "misdirected energy," has never wavered in drawing attention to it. Now that the eight-hour Convention is likely to play a very important part in the settlement of Europe, its efforts are being fully justified. The London Conference has been followed by doleful cries of the ruin of British trade through Germany working longer hours and underselling us in the world market. These cries, incidentally, come from the same quarter which has shown bitter opposition to any move on the part of Great Britain to ratify the Hours Convention. Yet the ratification by Great Britain, Germany, France and Belgium of the Convention must be a great step towards removing the possibility of such a danger.

Heads have been gravely shaken over the criticism that ratification means binding Great Britain to maintain this standard of hours for a certain term of years, but it also means binding other nations in the same way, and if it be said "How can one be certain that the other nations will keep to the bargain?" one can only answer that we must follow one of the basic principles of the League—the faith of one nation in the bond of another. Further, as it is to the interest of both employers and workers in each country to see that the Convention is strictly carried out by the others, industry itself must act as a kind of police system for the League, and it is impossible to believe that either party will be silent when an infringement is in question.

Had the Convention been ratified by each of the important industrial countries immediately after the Washington Conference, it is possible that the present fears of "cut-throat" international competition might never have arisen. But it is not too late now, and it is sincerely to be hoped that this "common ratification" will speedily be an accomplished fact.

Finally, it must always be remembered that the scope of the Convention affects only industrial undertakings, professional, commercial, maritime and agricultural workers are not covered by it. This development may come in the future, but a beginning has been made, and it is incumbent on all who have the peace of Europe at heart to keep a watchful eye on the coming session of Parliament, when the British Government Bill to ratify comes forward for discussion, and to remember the great international implications of the measure when interested parties produce arguments for its rejection.

THE GENEVA SUMMER SCHOOL.

THE Summer School held every year by the Union at Geneva has become an institution. Nevertheless, the 80 or more people who left London on August 8 were a little surprised and awed to find when they reached Geneva that they were members, not of the Union's Summer School, but of the new Geneva Institute of International Relations. It is true that it began by calling itself a Summer School, but half-way through its evolution the American League of Nations Non-Partisan Association arranged to co-operate with the Union in the organisation, and the significance of this new partnership was fittingly emphasised by the dropping of the unpretentious title of Summer School in favour of the impressive Geneva Institute of International Relations. But a rose by any other name will smell as sweet, and the accession of about 100 Americans, most of them armed with horn spectacles, did not alter the character of the week. Like its predecessors, it was an unqualified success.

The English side of the Institute opened according to tradition. The usual member arrived at the station without the faintest suspicion that a passport might be necessary, and there was also inevitably the lady who hadn't got her ticket, but was quite sure that everything would be all right. It was—it always is at the Union's Summer Schools.

In last month's HEADWAY the chronicler of the Oxford Summer School contrasted this year's School with the collection of cranks who came together at the first School. The same contrast was as vivid at Geneva in August. There was the usual devoted band of enthusiasts who each year come to the home of the League to get fresh inspiration for their faith. But there was also a considerable number of young men and women some of whom had come because they believed whole-heartedly in the League, and wanted to study its work close at hand; and, more significant still, there was a leaven of neutrally-minded young people who came to test and to weigh. Their evolution into whole-hearted enthusiasts before the end of the week goes without saying.

The audience that assembled each day in the Glass Room of the Palais des Nations was not an easy one from the lecturers' point of view. In the English Group there were many who were close students of international affairs having a deep knowledge of the League and its work; others came with a very elementary idea of how the League functions. Most of the Americans also were there primarily to be educated. But it would not, perhaps, be fair to state the nationality of the man who, mid-way through a lecture, asked his neighbour what this Covenant was that the lecturer was talking about. It is, therefore, a high tribute to the lecturers, who were generally the heads of the section of the Secretariat or of the International Labour Office responsible for the branch of the work about which they spoke, that all the addresses struck the happy mean, and were not too elementary for the old hands or too advanced for the novices. The programme of lectures was most comprehensive, and covered practically every phase of the League's activities. On the whole the lectures were extremely frank and what has been called "the statesman's complex" was not much in evidence. The handicaps from which the League is at present suffering were admitted and discussed, and a stimulating lecture from Mr. Phelan, of the I.L.O., on the way voluntary societies might influence the development of the League, led to some interesting speculations as to the ultimate function of 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

A well-known student of international affairs said the other day that he believed the greatest danger which might beset the League would be the temptation

for the high officials of the Secretariat to work for the particular interests of their own country, and not those of the League as a whole. After the series of lectures we heard at Geneva given by the staff of the League and of the I.L.O., it is difficult to believe that there are any grounds for such a fear. The lecturers were of many nationalities—American, British, Norwegian, Japanese—and it was impossible not to be impressed by the whole-hearted and devoted service they are giving to the League. This feeling was intensified by the opportunities outside the lecture room which the members of the Institute had to get into personal touch with the lecturers, for both the Secretariat and the I.L.O. gave the Institute their usual cordial welcome, and arranged receptions where the staffs of both organisations, between handing round cups of tea, allowed themselves to be button-holed and cross-questioned by any of the guests who sought information or who wished to unburden their souls.

The Institute in its turn gave a reception to the officers of the League and the I.L.O., where, in honour of the nation which has made the cinema what it is, a movie play of the approved type, with a plot whose intricacies would have baffled the most expert "picture fan," was given to an appreciative audience. The dance which followed was delightfully informal, and the sight of the great brains, which normally are devoted to bringing the millennium appreciably nearer, concentrated on Sir Roger de Coverley was most refreshing.

As this is written in 1924, it is impossible not to mention the weather. It goes without saying that it did its best to spoil the excursions that were arranged at the Petit Salève and to Mont Blanc. Practically the whole of the time the Summer School was at Geneva that august mountain was shrouded in mist, and a visit to the Mer de Glace was made in a drenching rainstorm. But it would have required more than a deluge to damp the spirits of the Summer School. Even the unfortunate who sprained his leg the day after he arrived in Geneva, and had to spend the rest of the week in his bedroom, was never heard to complain of so much as the pattern of the wallpaper. Indeed, complaints were so rare that one was tempted to attribute their absence to some outside influence, perhaps the pacific air of Geneva. But it might be truer to attribute a good deal of the contentment to comfortable quarters and good food. It isn't usual to mention such matters in HEADWAY, but one or two readers may like to know that it is not necessary to be a Spartan to enjoy a Union Summer School.

The co-operation of the Americans was one of the most pleasant features and gave an added interest to the week. There could be no question of the sincerity of their desire to learn about Europe's problems and the League's efforts towards their solution. The American appetite for lectures was prodigious. It was said that the fact that the number of lectures this year was double that of previous Summer Schools, was due to the insatiable desire of the Americans for information. On most days there were four or five lectures, and at the evening ones the Americans appeared as fresh and undaunted as ever. But it was not so with the English members, some of the less robust of whom felt the strain. When next year's programme is arranged, perhaps the Americans will make allowances for our slower powers of mental assimilation.

The School's good-bye to Geneva was worthy of the occasion. In the absence of a massed band, the School sang its own farewell on the station platform. No swan song could ever have been sung in more unromantic surroundings, but whatever its value as a musical effort there was no room to doubt the sincerity of the lamentations. There can never be a happier School or even one so happy; all the same, I shall go next year just to see.

THE UNIVERSITY EXPERIMENT AT GENEVA.

By E. GILCHRIST WILSON.

THE first experiment of the University Federation for the League, which was described in the August number of HEADWAY, has been a marked success. The experiment itself has been best explained as a study of living politics, carried on together by students of fourteen or fifteen nationalities, who met in Geneva under the auspices of the Federation.

The last week of August was devoted to scientific knowledge of the League—on the one hand, a brilliant series of lectures on the judicial aspect of the Covenant; on the other, an account of the League's activities by members of the Secretariat and special visits to the International Labour Office and the Palais des Nations. During September the more urgent international problems were brought forward in speeches by delegates of the Assembly, and in lectures on such subjects as the American and German attitude to the League.

Side by side with this, went on the effort for mutual understanding. Those who took part in the evening debates under Mr. Zimmern's guidance, will not forget the discussion—in English, French and German—on the nature of the State, or the attempt by a representative of each nationality to give his country's conception of the League and what he thought could be done for it by university men. On the eve of the Assembly, a pacifist Czech general came to direct the discussion on disarmament, and a week later there occurred a Franco-German debate on the conditions of a rapprochement between France and Germany.

The third phase, practical politics, came with the opening of the Assembly, as the drama of the debate on disarmament unfolded before the eyes of the fascinated listeners in the galleries. At the same time, the interviews of the leaders of the Federation with the Premiers of France and England, and the speeches of the chief delegates in the Assembly, showed the politicians' sympathy with the intervention of students in international affairs.

In the fourth stage, which was the Congress of the Federation, opened by the President of the Assembly and closed by the President of the League Council, there was an effort towards practical work. The Congress was more than a meeting of delegates from eleven national university groups, to discover the best means of keeping in touch with one another and extending the movement to new countries. It was an education in the all too difficult task of international co-operation, and the reconciling of the different conceptions of internationalism.

The final stage is still in the future, for it lies in the hands of those members of the groups—American, English, French, German, Czech, Danish, Swiss, Austrian, Greek, Polish, Rumanian and Italian—who are going to win public opinion, to study international problems and to advance international co-operation. And to a great extent the success depends on the work of each member of the university branches of the League of Nations Union, who, as belonging to the Federation, will have the opportunity, next year, of joining in a similar effort, at Geneva, to understand the League and the students of other nations.

CO-OPERATING FOR PEACE.

PEACE Congresses are supposed to be attended by cranks alone, and, as Norman Angell reminded his hearers at the opening meeting of the Fourth International Democratic Congress for Peace held in London from September 17-19, on a similar occasion four years ago delegates had to be smuggled in and out of the Central Hall, Westminster, in fear of a hostile crowd. The movement has nevertheless persisted, and inspired by Marc Sangnier, the well-known French pacifist and leader of the "Jeune Republique" movement, its meetings have always been characterised by a spirit of real frankness and courage, the courage that brought together the youth of France and Germany last summer at Freiburg, when the occupation of the Ruhr made the tension between their Governments most acute.

This year the Congress, in the new atmosphere of hope caused by the acceptance of the Dawes Report, has worked for the most part with a more practical determination than heretofore.

About 100 French, 40 to 50 German, and representatives from many other nations were present, and the agenda was divided into three sections—political, economic and moral.

At the Political Commission, Dr. Stocky, Editor of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and M. Marc Sangnier, showed a real appreciation of each other's difficulties, and a knowledge of the delicacy and complication of the international situation. British speakers seemed less practical and less well-informed. The Congress passed eleven resolutions. The most hotly debated were those urging that Germany should enter the League with a permanent place on the Council, and no forced admission of sole war guilt, and that the archives of all Governments should be thrown open for the decision of historians on this point. There was also a keen discussion as to whether a resolution admitting the principle of mutual guarantee should be carried, uncompromising pacifists disagreeing with the more practical politicians.

A resolution urging the League to consider its responsibilities with regard to Minorities was carried at the request of the Slovak delegate.

The Economic Commission urged that the political differences of nations, which are the chief causes of the present economic and financial troubles, should be adjusted, and resolved that the organs of the League of Nations should undertake research into the production and distribution of raw and manufactured commodities. It reinforced the importance of the observance by every nation of every clause of the Labour Charter set forth in Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, and in particular that no extension of the eight-hour day be permitted in the execution of the Versailles Treaty. This latter principle was further reinforced by a resolution of the Political Commission. It urged democrats in each country to bring pressure to bear on their Governments to ratify Draft Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conferences, and put forward a scheme for a social transformation to be brought about by securing emancipation of the workers by democratic and pacific means.

The Moral Commission dealt chiefly with the Education of youth on pacific lines, and the means for spreading peace propaganda.

At a public meeting on Thursday, M. Marc Sangnier, Dr. Quiddé, and Mr. George Lansbury spoke of the contributions of their respective countries to Peace; and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, of the League of Nations contribution. It is a hopeful feature of the whole Congress that a group of pacifists of every sort and nationality should admit publically that "Everybody is responsible for the League," and should not, as so often before, disregard the League machinery as being the work of "mere politicians."

THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

By ANTHONY SOMERS.

I HAVE discovered a remarkable method of learning Foreign Languages, a method for which I have been looking all my life. I only wish I had known of it before; what toil, what drudgery, what disappointment I should have been saved!

It has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never possessed that gift. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French or German, Latin or Greek, I was always somewhere near the bottom of my form. And yet in other subjects—English or History or Mathematics—I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Now, although I never could "get on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read the great French authors in the original. I have wanted to read Racine and Victor Hugo and Balzac, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. Besides, I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. And so I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

How to Learn Languages.

Some time ago I saw an announcement entitled "A New Method of Learning French, Spanish and German." Of course, I read it, and when I saw that this method was being taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, I wrote for their illustrated book, "How to Learn Languages," and this so interested me that I enrolled for the Course in FRENCH. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have seen or heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

Consider, for example, this question with which the book (which, by the way, can be obtained free of charge) opens.

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language of which you do not know a syllable—say, Spanish or German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of language instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I shall be greatly surprised if it doesn't revolutionise the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

The Pelman Language Courses are based upon an original yet perfectly sound principle, and one of their most striking features is the fact that they are written entirely in the particular language (French, Spanish or German) concerned. There is not an English word in any of them. Even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word you can study these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake, and without "looking-up" any words in a French-English, Spanish-English or German-English dictionary. This statement seems an incredible one, yet it is perfectly true, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

Grammatical Difficulties Overcome.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables one to read, write, and speak French, Spanish or German without bothering one's head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening one's memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses, he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

Thousands of letters have been received from men and women who have learnt French, Spanish or German by the new Pelman method. Here are a few of them:—

MONTHS EQUAL YEARS.

"I have managed, during the past few months, to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school." (C. 146)

EIGHT MONTHS EQUAL EIGHT YEARS.

"This is the easiest and quickest way of learning foreign languages. I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of EIGHT MONTHS I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in EIGHT YEARS at school." (S.K. 119)

FOUR MONTHS EQUAL FOUR YEARS.

"I am delighted with the progress I have made. I have learned more French this last FOUR MONTHS than I did before in FOUR YEARS. I enjoyed the Course thoroughly." (W. 149)

RESULT OF EIGHT WEEKS' STUDY.

"I was invited lately to meet a Spanish lady . . . she was filled with genuine surprise and admiration at the amount I had learnt in EIGHT WEEKS. I do most of it in omnibuses and at meals." (S.H. 219)

FRENCH LEARNT IN SIX MONTHS.

"After several years' drudgery at school I found myself with scarcely any knowledge of the French language, and certainly without any ability to use the language. I realise now that the method was wrong.

"After about SIX MONTHS' study by the Pelman method I find I have practically mastered the language." (B. 143)

SPANISH IN SIX MONTHS.

"I am very satisfied with the progress I have made. I can read and speak with ease, though it is LESS THAN SIX MONTHS since I began to study Spanish. All the lessons have interested me very much." (S.M. 181)

ASTONISHING PROGRESS.

"I am more than satisfied with the progress I have made—I am astonished! It would have taken me AS MANY YEARS to learn by any ordinary system as much as I have learnt in SIX MONTHS by yours." (P. 145)

ONE THIRD THE USUAL TIME.

"I have learnt more and better French in the last FOUR MONTHS than previously I had learnt in THRICE THAT PERIOD." (M. 241)

The Pelman method of learning French, Spanish or German by correspondence is fully explained in three little books (one for each language), and I strongly advise those who are interested to write for a free copy of one of these books to-day.



Everyone who wishes to learn FRENCH, SPANISH or GERMAN without difficulty or drudgery should post this coupon to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book desired will be forwarded by return, gratis and post-free.

COUPON

To the PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE,
112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street,
London, W.C.1.

Please send me a free copy of "HOW TO LEARN FRENCH"—"HOW TO LEARN SPANISH"—"HOW TO LEARN GERMAN"—(cross out two of these), together with full particulars of the New Pelman Method of learning languages.

NAME

ADDRESS

Correspondence

THE SIX NATIONS AGAIN.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Again you have published in HEADWAY for this month an article in which the cause of the Six Nations is wilfully and maliciously misconstrued. I can clearly see by the words "unilateral grant" written in the article that you have been completely influenced by the Canadian Government's monstrous statement with regard to the Six Nations case.

You do not, or will not, understand that the Haldimand Treaty is the only protection the Six Nations have against the forcible annexation of their territory by rapacious Canada. Please read the last six or seven words of the Treaty.

If the Haldimand Treaty is ignored or nullified, the Canadian Government will undoubtedly seize the Grand River Lands, and turn the 5,400 Iroquois people who dwell therein right out, and with no chance of redress. Now do you understand?

Chief Deskaheh wrote a very clear letter to you, and in publishing this paragraph, which is as cruel as it is insolent, you have grossly insulted him.

Although the Six Nations little country is situated in Canada, it does not form part of the Dominion, as you state in your article, any more than the little Republics of Monaco and San Marino form part respectively of France or Italy.

Your statement that "the League operates, and must operate, within the four corners of the Covenant" is absolutely unintelligible. Also, what do you mean by saying that "the whole claim is a matter to be examined on its merits by a proper tribunal?" What is the proper tribunal then? Surely not a Canadian tribunal.

It is most disheartening to think that I, and other people as well, who have had the pleasure and privilege of working for Chief Deskaheh and his people during the past three years, should perhaps have to encounter fresh obstacles and set-backs, all caused through the damnable propaganda of those two mischievous articles in your journal, and when I am again in London I will take it upon myself to punish you as I think you deserve.

Lewes.

RICA FLEMING GYLL.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Your August issue contains reference to a speaker's remarks to the effect that the L.N.U. does not follow public opinion, but that it leads it, or, presumably, seeks to do so. Would it not be more correct to say that the L.N.U. is out to organise public opinion, providing a means for the public to express their opinion? The opinion of the public is proved over and over again to be favourable to the League of Nations. This is shown whenever special efforts are put forward to give more ready facilities for the public to give expression to their opinion on the subject. As an instance, a special League of Nations week at Hull last November to enrol 1,000 new members actually brought the number up from 1,500 to some 4,000. Similar efforts will always produce such proof of what the public opinion really is, when facilities are made. What is most lacking is the belief that the League of Nations, in the first place, is in need of any kind of individual support, and, in the second place, that an individual by joining is really doing the cause any good whatever. The public opinion that is already favourable is of sufficient volume to justify the belief that war will be abolished as soon as everybody understands that, no matter how small one's influence, just in so far as that influence is given expression to, the League of Nations will either fail or succeed. The L.N.U. being the only method of expressing one's opinion favourably to the League of Nations, the membership figures of the L.N.U. assume supreme significance. They show us how far we are on the road to the abolition of war. If people approve of the League of Nations, but are not convinced of the necessity of giving any form of expression to that approval, or such facilities as do exist for their enrolment are not made sufficiently adequate to enable the great

numbers of the public who are favourable readily to express their approval annually through their existing organisations, such as clubs of any kind, as well as religious, business and social organisations, then we must accept the position as it is to-day, and admit that we are not very far along the road the ultimate object of which is the abolition of war. The question asked by a Sunday-school teacher of the writer was, "In what way will my joining the L.N.U. help to stop wars?" The best answer I could think of was a reference to the significance of the membership figures as showing the volume of support there was in this country for the League of Nations, and a reminder that the League of Nations will fail if it is not adequately and consistently supported by the public opinion of the countries concerned; and, conversely, that it will succeed if adequately supported; and that each individual is by joining or standing aloof doing his or her bit towards one or the other result.—Yours, &c.,

Hull.

A. E. ENGLAND.

WAR v. PEACE OFFICE?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—In view of the trend of public opinion in this country in regard to international peace, would the present time not be opportune to make an effort to eliminate the word "war" as forming part of the designation of one of our State departments? I refer, of course, to the War Office and to the official who presides over that department.

I notice that the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, for instance, draws a distinction between aggressive and defensive warfare. It is generally admitted, I think, that the forces of the British Empire are maintained for the latter purpose only. If this is so, it would appear that a more appropriate title could be adopted which would clearly indicate such a policy. The designation might be "Office for Imperial Defence" and its chief as "Minister for Imperial Defence."

This may appear a small matter, but I venture to think it would at least be significant in the eyes of the world.—Yours, &c.,

MALCOLM LEGGETT.

London, E.C.2.

GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, 1924 No. 7. 6d.

Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organisations, No. 8. 1s. 3d.

Agenda of the Fifth Session of the Assembly and Supplementary List of Items. (A.3 (1), 1924.) 4d.

Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, 1924, No. 7.

Treaty Series, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-4. 12s.

Financial Reconstruction of Austria, 18th Report by the Commissioner General of the League of Nations for Austria. (C. 342, 1924. 11.) 9d.

Financial Reconstruction of Hungary. First Report by the Commissioner General of the League of Nations for Hungary. (C. 250, 1924. 11.) 4d.

Second Report by the Commissioner General of the League of Nations for Hungary. (C. 351, 1924. 11.) 4d.

First Opium Conference. (C.O.P. 1.) 4d.

The Prophylaxis of Diphtheria. (C. 169, M. 45, 1924. 11.) (C.H. 184.) 1s. 9d.

Refugees. Extract No. 26 from the Official Journal (July, 1924.) 6d.

Request of the Chinese Government, &c. (A. 24, 1924.) 1d.

Report from the Government of Abyssinia. (C. 209, M. 66, 1924.) 2d.

Allocation of the Expenses of the League. (A. 14, 1924. 11.) 1d.

Item 14 of the Agenda of the Fifth Assembly. (A. 11, 1924. VII.) 1d.

The Principle of Closer Municipal Relations. (A. 12, 1924. XII.) 1d.

The Daily Journal and Verbatim Records of the Fifth Assembly now in session. (All numbers of the above two periodicals are issued on receipt of 14s., or for one only 7s.) Single numbers 3d.

Opening Speech at the Fifth Assembly by M. Paul Hymans. 3d.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

A REPORT has been received from the Tasmanian League of Nations Union concerning their work during the past year. The Union is to be congratulated on the many and varied efforts which it has made to arouse public interest in the League of Nations. The Union is finding its progress slow, but is making fresh appeals for help in the knowledge that "it is imperative that the work of the Union should flourish."

The League of Nations Non-partisan Association continues its energetic work in the United States and, amongst other activities, has for the last six months been engaged in organising Greater New York for the League of Nations with highly successful results. Greater New York City comprises twenty-two Congressional Districts with an average population of 250,000 in each district and representatives of fifty different nations. The work entailed in such an organisation is great, but, in spite of this, an excellent organisation has been built up consisting of well-balanced committees with Democratic and Republican representatives.

The work of the Swiss Society for the League of Nations goes on apace and news has now reached us of the formation of two new branches at Thun and Solothurn.

We should be glad to hear of still more readers who are prepared to post their copies of HEADWAY to supporters of the League of Nations in other countries. Offers should be addressed to the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. If there is any delay in supplying an address, it is hoped that readers will not think it is because their offer is not fully appreciated.

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BOOKS WORTH READING.

EVEN if fifty years be needed in order to place correctly responsibility for the outbreak of a war, far less time is sufficient to show the roads which lead to its conclusion, to the alternatives of victory, defeat or stalemate. With abundant knowledge and material at his disposal, Dr. K. F. Nowak has described the breakdown of the Central Empires and their failure to withstand the stress and strain of the Great War, and he exposes the causes of that breakdown. In *The Collapse of Central Europe* (Kegan Paul. 15s.) he has written what Lord Haldane in his brief introduction considers to be "a very brilliant book. Nowhere else that I know of," he says, "has the story been told so strikingly." The period which Dr. Nowak covers is the twelve months from the negotiations at Brest Litovsk to the Armistice of November, 1918, during which it became increasingly clear to those who were conversant with the situation in Austria and Hungary at least that victory could not fall to the lot of the Central Powers. The author is no soldier, and he has very little to say about the military conduct of the war; this is not his purpose, though incidentally he points out the disastrous moral effect of the tanks and the very rumour of their employment, the breakdown of transport and the Austrian shortage of munitions. He is concerned with other though consequent causes of the collapse, with the political, economic, moral and personal causes that became more and more evident. He does not give his own opinions, however valuable these would have been, but he records what is far more important—the words and actions of the leaders and the steadily crystallising movements of the peoples. The political domination of German Army Headquarters, the Emperor Charles' ineptitude and lack of straightforward dealing, Ludendorff's nervous breakdown in the autumn of 1918, the failure and impotence of Austrian statesmen were matters of equal moment with the steady pressure exerted by the Allies on the sea, in the field and in the air. Add to this the famine conditions in Austria and Bulgaria, the wholesale and uncontrollable desertions of war-weary Austrians and Bulgarians—the latter in 1915 were entering upon their fourth year of war—and the effects of the revolutionary propaganda of the Soviet Government; add yet again the growing self-consciousness of the peoples, the principle of self-determination, which even before the war was infecting the non-coherent elements of the Hapsburg Empire, and which President Wilson's message served rather to encourage than to create, and by the end of 1917 the issue of the war could no longer be in doubt, provided only that the Allies could hold out together. In an interlude of several pages Dr. Nowak gives an intimate account of the attempts made by Lord Haldane, Sir Edward Grey and Sir William Tyrell from 1906 onwards to bring about a British-German Entente; their efforts were seconded by von Kühlmann, when he was secretary to the Embassy in London, and a draft treaty covering points at issue in Africa and Asia Minor was actually due for ratification on August 4, 1914, when the great work of bringing about this understanding was destroyed in a moment. From the first Lord Haldane had made it clear in his conversations with the Kaiser that any German crossing of the French frontier would mean war with Great Britain; but, in spite of the Kaiser's unresponsiveness, Lord Haldane, while perfecting his army plans, continued to work with his friends and with von Kühlmann for a policy that

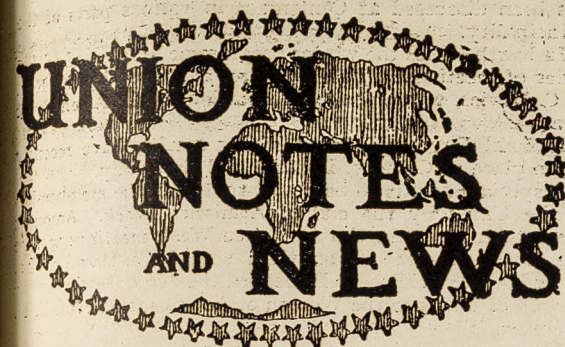
should provide "a way out of all difficulties more simple, more reasonable and more attractive than war," in which all the Great Powers of Europe might be united in "a genuine league of humanity." The sequel has justified the honourable attempts which these men made; the force of arms, in their opinion, could never solve international difficulties; mutual slaughter would never bring peace. The world is slow to learn the lessons of history and experience, but the story which Dr. Nowak tells suggests to the reviewer at least the reflection that the fighting machine is destined not to occupy the same sole and predominant place in matters of conflict as it has occupied in the past; peoples will no longer be docile and subservient to their rulers, especially when those rulers are of their own choice, and others may as easily be chosen in their place; they will not continue indefinitely to suffer in order that statesmen may realise their own plans and ambitions. The peoples have learnt that they possess power; they may misuse that power, but they have come of age, and will not blindly follow the path the leaders securely point. If in any future war the point at issue is not immediately secured by some swift and sudden stroke, those who are responsible for its maintenance will be forced to regard their fellow-countrymen as something more than pawns and puppets.

These conclusions which have been drawn from Dr. Nowak's book in some ways find their complement and corrective in Professor Irving Babbitt's *Democracy and Leadership* (Constable. 15s.). His philosophic position is that of a "thorough-going individualist"; a follower of Burke, he subjects the theories of Rousseau to a severe criticism; the latter's sovereign people can only lead to a new and decadent Imperialism, more dangerous than that which it has displaced. It is with a perhaps healthy and only half-veiled cynicism that Professor Babbitt utters a warning against the peril arising from the fact that "no one is more reckless in his attacks on personal liberty than the apostle of 'service.' He is prone in his furtherance of his schemes of 'uplift' not only to ascribe unlimited sovereignty to society against the individual, but to look upon himself as endowed with a major portion of it, to develop, in short, a temper that is plainly tyrannical." The individualism, however, that Professor Babbitt believes that the world needs for its peace is not unbridled, but must be controlled by those expressions of the divine will that are to be found in the teachings of Christianity and the religions of the East; it must be tinctured with the almost archaic grace of humility. There is much here that will repay careful study.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED.

The Life-Work of Lord Avebury (Watts. 6s.). An appreciation of a great man, who died thirteen years ago, by seven eminent men, dealing with his political, scientific and educational activities. In a short account of his life, prefixed to these essays, it is stated that "he believed it to be one of the greatest of the many great missions of science to draw the nations of the earth into a closer conscious brotherhood, and so eventually eliminate war."

Die Satzung des Völkerbundes. By W. Schücking and H. Werberg. (Berlin: F. Vahlen. 33 gold marks.) The second edition brings this study of the principles and work of the League up to date, and its 800 closely-printed pages are an evidence of the attention with which the League is observed in Germany. H. W. F.



established. Swindon is clearly not like that much-maligned Scottish city where the streets are alleged to be deserted on flag-days.

Manchester and the League.

The scheme drawn up by Mr. Spurley Hey at the request of the Manchester Education Committee comprises a thoroughly sound basis for the instruction of older children in the constitution and objects of the League of Nations. Full discretion is granted to head teachers in selecting their methods of introducing the subjects, and a comprehensive list of reference books, many of which are in the local education library, accompanies the memorandum. Brief notes are given of the Covenant of the League and the contracting parties; the membership of the League with the thirty-two signatory nations, the constitution including the Assembly, the Council, the Court of International Justice, the Secretariat, and the International Labour Office; the Reduction of Armaments; Aggression; Wars and Disputes; Breaches of the Covenant; Open Diplomacy; Mandates; Social Activities of the League; Amendments to the Covenant; and International Bureaux. The whole forms a connected course of training in citizenship, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated.

Leamington.

The Leamington Branch of the League of Nations Union organised a United Service of all Denominations for Sunday, September 7th, in the Pavilion in the Jephson Gardens, while the Assembly was in session at Geneva. The service was conducted by Canon Feist, Vicar of Leamington, and the Rev. A. J. Billings, a leading Free Churchman. Bishop Hamilton Baynes, in an impressive address lasting some 40 minutes, riveted the attention of the large audience. In spite of the very doubtful weather, there was a congregation of some 800 to 1,000 people—probably the largest meeting ever held for the League in mid-Warwickshire; it was representative of every shade of religious and political opinion and of every social grade. It is remarkable that such a gathering should have been brought together during the absence in Vienna of Mr. Wolstencroft, the hon. secretary; but his place was ably filled by Mr. New, acting hon. secretary.

Swimming at Shoreditch.

In order to raise funds for the Shoreditch Branch a most successful Swimming Gala was held at the Haggerston Baths, Mansfield Street, before a large audience, which included the Mayor and Mayoress of Shoreditch. Music was played by the Leysian Mission Band, and an exhibition of swimming was given by Miss E. M. Long. The swimming races were keenly contested, and the closeness of many of the events reflected great credit on the handicappers. The prizes were given away by the Mayor, who outlined in a brief speech the objects of the League, and paid a well-deserved tribute to Mr. L. Johnson, the Chairman of the Branch.

"Headway" rivals "Punch."

From the *Methodist Recorder*:

AUDACITY AT LYTHAM.

Past experience does not permit me to suspect that HEADWAY, the somewhat-too-dry organ of the League of Nations Union, has deliberately allowed itself to give way to humour. It has, however, whether by accident or design, proved its right to be henceforth classed amongst journals with a sense of humour, by printing this item of news in its current issue: "The Lytham Branch had the

Co-operative Society and the Union.

At a monthly meeting of the Colne and District Co-operative Society the Rev. F. S. Stafford, Secretary of the local branch of the League of Nations Union, appealed to the Society to join the Union as a Corporate member. In his speech, Mr. Stafford pointed out that the League itself stands for co-operation in international affairs just as the Society stood for it in trade. Several other speakers supported the proposal very warmly, and the resolution put forward was passed unanimously.

Demonstration at Heywood.

Although bad weather interfered considerably with the fourth annual demonstration of the Heywood branch of the Union, nevertheless the demonstration was otherwise a great success. The procession was almost abandoned on account of the rain, but at the critical moment the shower ceased and the processionists were able to proceed to the park. The silver shield, the prize for the best tableau representing the League of Nations in Peace, was competed for by several schools and won by the Heywood Baptist School. The prize for the best individual costume was won by Mr. Busby, All Souls School, who was disguised as an Indian Chief. We sincerely hope that Mr. Busby's costume was accompanied by a large pipe of peace or else that he was compelled to bury a hatchet before becoming eligible for a prize at a Peace demonstration. A scalping knife, we feel sure, would bring him within the jurisdiction of the Commission for the Reduction of Armaments.

At the meeting after the demonstration Colonel England, M.P., in an eloquent speech, moved a resolution urging the admission of Germany to the League with a place on the Council. Mr. A. G. Walkden seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously. Dr. Geddes appealed for old clothes for the Greek refugees, and described the organisation which has been set up in Heywood for helping these unfortunate people. The "Heywood Advertiser" published two excellent photographs, one of the prize-winning tableau, and one of the tableau of the Heywood Labour Party.

However much rain may interfere with hostilities in China, Heywood has shown that it cannot damp the spirits, at least, of those working for peace in England. The warmest congratulations are due to all concerned in the organisation of the demonstration and the meeting.

Flag Day in Swindon.

Nearly £45 was collected for the League of Nations Union funds by means of a flag day in Swindon. A particularly encouraging feature was the splendid work of the women's section of the British Legion in collecting £25. Close co-operation between the Union and the Legion can only result in good for both, and without the warm support of the ex-fighters the basis of future peace cannot be firmly

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS REGISTERED AT HEADQUARTERS.

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Sept. 13, 1924	...	...	...	...	405,570

BRANCHES.

On September 13 the number of Branches was 1,891 Junior Branches 178, and Corporate Members 852.

audacity to hold their annual open-air meeting in the open-air." I have enjoyed the subtle humour of that sentence more than I have appreciated its grammar.

Special Campaign in London.

The Special Campaign Week, which is being arranged by the London Regional Federation, is likely to prove a red letter week for the League of Nations Union in the Metropolitan area. From the 9th to the 16th November a number of important meetings will be held in all parts of London. On the opening day of the Campaign the Chief Rabbi will conduct a special service at the Central Synagogue; on Wednesday, 12th November, the Bishop of Winchester will preach a special sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral; while the Bishop of Southwark is to be the special speaker at Brixton Independent Church on November 11th. Special services will also be held by other denominations, and the co-operation of the Salvation Army is assured.

The Bishop of London has promised to take the chair at a mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Armistice Day, at which Sir Robert Horne, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes and a prominent Liberal statesman will speak. An important Conference at Kingsway Hall, which the British Legion and all trades unions will be invited to attend, has been arranged for November 15th. The chair will be taken by Captain Elliot, M.C., M.P., and well-known speakers include Mr. Rhys Davies, Under Secretary to Home Office.

Dr. Nansen's Appeal.

Members of the League of Nations Union who have generously responded to Dr. Nansen's appeal in HEADWAY last May, on behalf of the Christian Refugees in Greece, will be interested to hear that the nineteenth shipment of clothing to Piræus sent out on September 4th amounted in value to £664. Help is still needed, especially in view of the approaching winter. Parcels should be addressed to The All British Appeal, New Hibernia Wharf, London Bridge, S.E.1.

New Map of Europe.

Our readers are reminded of the new Hand Map of Europe, published for the Union by George Philip & Son, price 2s. 6d. The map, which is light and portable, illustrates territorial changes since 1914, and should be invaluable to lecturers or to teachers. No student of international affairs can afford to be without it.

Copies may be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

"The Christ of the Andes."

The well-known picture of this famous statue has been reproduced in postcard form by the League of Nations Union, and is obtainable at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, for 1d. A brief explanation of the statue appears on the postcard.

"The World and Stars."

The North Staffs District Council has had a die made of "The World and the Stars" (the same size as the flag for Flag Days) for the invitations for their Ball that is being held on November 7 at Stoke-upon-Trent. This die may be borrowed by any Branch for stamping for a small charge and postage.

A Correction.

On page 172 of our last issue it was announced, in error, that Lord Cecil would address the International Universities' Students' League of Nations Federation during August and September.

THE WORK IN WALES.

The fifth Assembly, followed with eager interest all over Wales, has given an impetus to the work of the Union throughout the country. And the campaign for the winter has already begun. The plan has been adopted of dividing Wales and Monmouthshire into 18 areas. In every area a conference is being held to give the organising and general secretary of the Welsh Council an opportunity of meeting with the representatives of the Branches in each area. During September the programme for the winter's work

has been discussed at Conference in various parts of the Principality.

In North Wales the winter programme has opened with a series of meetings in Denbighshire, addressed by the Rev. D. C. Davies, who attended the sessions of the Assembly at Geneva.

Daffodil Days, with encouraging results, have recently taken place at Conway, Dysert and Caerphilly.

A special effort is to be made to double the membership of the Union by the end of Armistice Week. Amongst those taking part in the Armistice Week meetings will be the President of the Union, the Bishop of St. David's, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, who headed the deputation from the women of Wales to the Women of America, and Prof. C. K. Webster.

Much interest is being shown in Cardiff in the visit during the winter of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Lord Cecil will speak at a public meeting on the Friday evening of January 16, 1925, and he has accepted an invitation to deliver the University Technical Lecture at the Cardiff University College on the morning of January 17.

The Education Committee of the Welsh Council—which is due the initiative for the excellent work done in the schools of Wales—will meet at Gregynog Hall for its half-yearly session towards the end of October.

RECEPTION TO MRS. SWANWICK.

The President and Executive Committee of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship are giving a reception to meet Mrs. Swanwick, Substitute Delegate for Great Britain at the League of Nations Assembly, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday, October 24, at 3.45 p.m. Mrs. Swanwick will speak on the work of the Assembly, and it is hoped that other women who were present and took part in any of the proceedings connected with the Assembly will also be able to be present and speak. Tickets (price 2s. 6d., including tea) may be obtained from the Secretary, 15, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.

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Membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, *minimum*, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire 5s.).

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Membership, *minimum*, 1s.

The above minimum subscriptions do not provide sufficient funds to carry on the work of the League of Nations Union, either in the Branches or at Headquarters. Members are therefore asked to make their subscriptions as much larger than these minima as they can afford.

A "corporate member" pays £1 a year and promises to endeavour to secure that every member of the Church or Club or Institute or Branch of a Society shall become an individual member of the Union, and in return receives a copy of HEADWAY, the monthly journal of the Union, together with the various pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.

All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment, and become renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription was paid. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY. Neglect of this is the cause of many complaints of non-receipt of HEADWAY.

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 Midland Bank.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas. Also see that your Public Library has one.

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