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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT will surprise no one that this issue of HEADWAY is devoted almost entirely to the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations. The Assembly is normally held only once a year—1926 has been the first exception in the League's history to that rule—and a single number of HEADWAY is too narrow a compass into which to compress the most concentrated account of the manifold activities that crowd the three weeks or so in which delegates are assembled. There will be a considerable overflow into our November issue, particularly since dates are such as to confine this one to the first fortnight only of the Assembly; and the booklet "Geneva, 1926," following the lines of its predecessors which have appeared annually since 1921, will be available as soon as the printers can produce it. The Seventh Assembly will remain memorable before all things for the entry of Germany into the League, and to that notable event full justice is done in the pages that follow. Germany's presence brought the number of States attending the Assembly to forty-nine, a higher total than has ever been reached before. That does not, of course, for a moment compensate for the loss of Spain and Brazil, both of which are now living under the statutory two years' notice of resignation from the League, but it shows that interest in the Assembly is certainly not flagging. All this year's absentees except Spain were Latin-American States, and of

these it is confidently hoped that the most important, Argentina, will be back in her place when the Eighth Assembly meets. It will be surprising, too, if Turkey has not by that time applied for membership of the League. She was within a very little of applying before the Seventh Assembly rose.

Mandate Queries

INTEREST in some quarters, regret in others, indignation in others still, has been aroused by the League Council debate on the relation of the League's Permanent Mandates Commission to mandatory Powers. The latter, headed by Great Britain, speaking through the mouth of Sir Austen Chamberlain, took strong exception (a) to an elaborate questionnaire which the Mandates Commission proposed to send to all mandatories, and (b) to the suggestion that in certain cases the Commission might hear petitioners regarding grievances in mandate territories in person. One after another, M. Briand for France, Viscount Ishii for Japan, M. Vandervelde for Belgium, and three representatives of British Dominions ranged themselves behind the British Foreign Minister, and it was finally decided that action should be taken in neither case till the mandatory Powers had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion. It should be added that the Commission's policy was very ably defended at the Council table by its Vice-

Chairman, M. Van Rees. This is an important question, to which we shall return at greater length in the next issue of HEADWAY, for discussions in the Assembly Sixth Commission, and in the Assembly itself, on the matters raised before the Council were fixed for too late a date to permit of comment here. It was unfortunate that Sir Austen should have applied the uncalled-for adjective "inquisitorial" to the Mandates Commission's questionnaire. On the other hand, that document is formidable in volume, consisting, as it does, of 118 questions, some of them subdivided and many requiring lengthy replies. The distinction, moreover, between administration under the League's supervision and under its direction is worth examining. But the principle that the Mandates Commission should make personal investigations in mandate areas should be fought for till it is impregably established.

Disarmament Doubts

THE politicians who gathered at Geneva last month to represent their countries divided themselves roughly, so far as the disarmament question is concerned, into those who think the experts have been doing very well and those who think they have been doing very badly. Some speakers, indeed, seem to think both. M. Paul Boncour, the eloquent French delegate, for example, after suggesting on one day that a Disarmament Conference might be possible much sooner than anyone thought, struck a note of earnest warning some three days later against an attempt to hold such a conference without adequate preparation. As things are, matters are still in the experts' hands, and there they must be left a little longer, for to throw overboard now all the fruits of the last five months' labour would be folly. But there is one point, concerning the politicians rather than the soldiers and sailors, on which the strongest emphasis must be laid. There looks like being a battle-royal over the question whether nations which have reduced their armaments shall submit to League inspection to test whether that reduction has been properly maintained. To this question there are only two sides, a right one and a wrong one. No nation whose pledge to reduce is sincere will have the smallest objection to admitting a League Commission to its territory to investigate and proclaim to the world that promises solemnly given are being kept. It is to be hoped the British Government will be the first to accept the system of League inspection for itself and that it will apply every means of persuasion and even pressure to any state that needs persuading.

Locarno in Force

BY far the most important indirect effect of Germany's entry into the League of Nations is the fact that through it the treaties of Locarno at last come into effect. The ceremony of the exchange of ratifications was duly carried out at Geneva before Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand left, and the treaties thereupon came fully into force. That means, of course, theoretically, that in certain contingencies Great Britain may be committed to fighting for France against Germany or for Germany against France. That has been

made a ground of severe criticism of the treaties in some quarters in this country. The League of Nations Union has never shared these doubts and hesitations. What the treaties mean in reality is that an atmosphere and a set of relationships are created, and specific engagements undertaken, which make it as certain as such things can ever be that Great Britain will never have to fight at all. The best proof of what the Locarno spirit is doing is provided by the historic conversation between M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann in an inn in the French Juras the day before the French Foreign Minister left Geneva for Paris. What was settled in that talk is not yet known in detail, but, as someone observed, the spectacle of the German Foreign Minister going off with his French colleague to spend a day in a French village in the premiership of Poincaré would have been regarded no more than eighteen months ago as unbelievable.

China's Position

A GOOD many comments might be made on the result of the League Council elections. It is unfortunate, for example, that the French Press should have permitted itself to exult so freely at the choice of four avowed allies of France—Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. But the candidate about which there is likely to be most discussion is China. China has to-day no government worthy of the name and she has paid no subscription to the League for four years. Those considerations are very nearly decisive against her. Very nearly, but not quite. Leaving the League is a little too fashionable just now, and neither for China's sake nor for the League's is it to be desired that she should follow Brazil and Spain. If it had been a question of China's going because she could not get a permanent seat she would, of course, have simply had to go. But one non-permanent seat out of nine is another matter, and China after all stands for one quarter of the world's population. Her rising generation will shape her future. They are hanging to-day somewhere between League ideas and Bolshevik ideas. A rebuff over the Council elections would have gone far to tilt the scale the wrong way. There is moreover just a bare chance as things are that the League may yet some day play a part in China's reconstruction. If she had been beaten for the Council and left the League there would have been none at all. On the whole, the reasons for her election seem just a shade stronger than the reasons against.

Numbering the Covenant

SMALL things as well as great fall to be discussed from the platform of the League of Nations Assembly, and one resolution moved by the first delegate of Australia seemed on the face of it to come under the former category. Mr. Latham concluded a general speech by moving that in all official editions of the Covenant in the future the paragraphs of the different Articles be numbered. The resolution was solemnly referred to the Agenda Committee, solemnly by it declared in order, solemnly passed on to the First Commission, solemnly discussed there, solemnly handed back to the Assembly, and solemnly adopted in plenary session. And gradually everyone has come to realise

that it is all quite worth while. Article XV, for example, dealing with the Council's handling of disputes, contains no fewer than ten distinct paragraphs, and in the Geneva Protocol discussions in particular one of them, paragraph eight, was a matter of daily controversy, so much so that everyone had to number up Article XV in pen or pencil to find out which paragraph eight was. Article XVI (sanctions) and Article XXII (mandates) need numbering just as badly. After brushing aside the suggestion that it was doing violence to the Covenant to add numbers that its framers never put there the First Commission unanimously let the Australian delegate have his way. It is unquestionably a good way, and copies of the old unnumbered Covenant will soon, no doubt, be a rarity. But it seems a little portentous to have to call on the delegates of forty-nine governments to authorise the change.

More Reconstruction

THE definite decision of the League of Nations Council to go forward with the Bulgarian Refugee Loan scheme is extremely satisfactory. Though this enterprise is on a smaller scale than any the League has yet undertaken of the same kind, involving a loan of not more than about £2,250,000, it has raised difficulties more obstinate than have had to be encountered anywhere else. Bulgaria is not on good terms with her neighbours at the present moment, chiefly as the result of the activities of lawless "comitadji" bands, which infest the common frontier of Bulgaria and adjoining States, and Rumania, Jugoslavia and Greece were disposed, even if they did not prevent the success of the Geneva negotiations altogether, to force conditions so onerous that Bulgaria would never accept them. Patient discussion has, however, cleared all obstacles away and the loan will be issued in the early future. It may be added that it will probably be as satisfactory to the investor as the Austrian, Hungarian and Greek issues were. Already the Bank of England has advanced £400,000 to buy corn for autumn sowing. The rest of the loan will be expended, as in the case of Greece, on fencing land, building houses and providing tools and draught animals. The general result promises to be to turn a homeless and restive section of the population of Bulgaria into a settled and productive community that will add both to the wealth and the stability of the State. The pivot of the whole scheme will be the League Commissioner-General, who will supervise expenditure and see that no money is used except for the purposes for which it was intended. M. Charron, a very able Frenchman, has been appointed to this post.

Help Where Needed

AS an example of the way in which the League, in smaller matters as well as greater, is enabling its individual members to benefit by the knowledge and experience of the whole, the following extract from a speech in the League Assembly by the Persian delegate, Prince Arfa ed Dowleh, may be left to tell its own story:—

"The East is afflicted by a terrible and persistent scourge, malaria. In response to our appeal, the League of Nations sent us an eminent specialist, Dr. Gilmour. Immediate results have been attained from Dr. Gilmour's

visit and from his enquiry and report. He recommended the draining of the marshes which are poisoning certain parts of Persia. He made proposals to the Health Section of the League of Nations for the training of Persian specialists. Dr. Sheikh, who was appointed by the Persian Government for this work, came to Geneva, and, supplied with the necessary instructions from the Health Section, made a tour in Europe for the purpose of experimental study. His report has made a great impression, and the Persian Government is about to undertake the draining of the marshes with the aid of technical experts whose assistance has already been secured. Thousands of human lives will thus be saved."

The Silent Member

THE value of delegates to the League of Nations Assembly is not determined by the length of their speeches in the public sittings. It has been pointed out by a vigilant observer that the public utterances of Sir Austen Chamberlain, so far as the Assembly was concerned, were confined to proposing that the speeches of Dr. Stresemann and M. Briand might be printed in full in the Assembly Journal, and to enquiring (to lull the anxiety of a perplexed Norwegian delegate) whether the word "Aye" inscribed on a voting paper would be regarded as the equivalent of "Yes." It should be added immediately that the Foreign Secretary was engaged on hard and continuous work as a member of the League Council, and was also constantly occupied by those personal conversations with Foreign Ministers of other countries for which the Assembly provides such valuable opportunities. The British delegation was strong enough this year to allow for a wise division of labour. Even so Sir Austen was a very regular attendant at Assembly debates down to the day he left Geneva after the Council elections.

Decency and Order

THE problem of safeguarding the dignity of the League Assembly has fortunately begun to agitate the minds of those primarily responsible this year. When the League has constructed and entered into possession of its new Assembly Hall, delegates and general public will no doubt live up to their surroundings instead of down to them, as they do now. As things are, the disorder on the floor is as bad as in the public galleries, and the Press gallery which intervenes is no better. Delegates wander about and converse at random to one another while speeches are being delivered from the rostrum, and the beginning of an English translation of a French speech is the signal for all French-speakers, who have understood all the orator said as he spoke, to walk out or talk ceaselessly to their neighbours till the interpreter has finished. The galleries, a far too large proportion of which are occupied by American tourists, add more than their quota to the general tumult, and there is a general and shameless disregard (women being much worse offenders than men) of the sound rule by which a numbered seat is reserved for its holder till five minutes before the Assembly opens. Even in the present hall conditions might be greatly improved, and it is much to be hoped that next year the Secretariat officials responsible will so make their dispositions as to preserve in every part of the hall the order and decorum which mark the proceedings of most national Parliaments.

THE ASSEMBLY: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

By PROFESSOR BASIL WILLIAMS, *Professor of History at McGill University.*

FIRST impressions of Geneva—to write a very brief account of them is the Editor's injunction, with which I gladly comply.

The main impression which I carried away from some ten days at Geneva during the preliminary meetings of the Council and the early sessions of the 7th Assembly is the great strength of the League of Nations as a force for peace in the world. There is no doubt that the League has had some hard blows this year. The unfortunate events in March, when the long- and unanimously-desired accession of Germany was delayed by the exhibition of national jealousies and fears as to the composition of the Council; and even in this session, when the great end was achieved at the cost of a compromise not only disliked by the great majority of the Assembly, but not even effective in retaining Spain—not to speak of Brazil—as an active member of the League, such episodes have certainly not been encouraging symptoms of the ideal spirit of international give and take. Nevertheless, there is some cause for satisfaction to be found as a result even of these serious blows to the League's prestige: that Germany has been admitted with the goodwill of all, and with a memorable welcome from her chief opponents in the late war—France, through M. Briand's moving speech; and Great Britain, through Sir Austen Chamberlain's and Lord Cecil's persevering and conciliatory efforts—that is alone an achievement on which the League might almost rest on its laurels for one year, an achievement which converts the League from an assembly of the old allied powers—invigorated, it is true, by former neutral and even enemy powers—into an assembly much more nearly approaching a microcosm of the real forces governing the world.

A Tribute to the Secretariat

But although the admission of Germany was this year the most impressive exhibition of the League's strength, one that strikes the imagination and appeals to the democratic sympathy on which its power must rest, a visit to Geneva is needed to convince one of the firm position already, after a bare six years, obtained by the League as an effective body for carrying out its main objects. Take the Secretariat, for example. Here is a body of public servants of the League many hundreds strong, and drawn from the subjects of almost every nation represented on the League. For the continuity of its work the League must necessarily depend very largely on this permanent service, who in the intervals of the Assembly's and Council's sessions see to their orders being executed, prepare the work for them, and set up inquiries to establish the facts on which discussions of policy can be based. The League is particularly fortunate in its officials from Sir Eric Drummond downwards, since each nation seems to have made it a point of honour to send some of their best men to serve the League. But that is not enough: a collection of the ablest Frenchmen, Japanese, Swedes, Chilians, Chinese, Englishmen, etc., would be a very inefficient preparatory and executive body for the international purposes of the League if they all carried their particular national aims and differences into their work at the Palais des Nations. Fortunately, a genuine international spirit has from the first existed in the League offices, and is now an established tradition; and in carrying out his or her work there (for women take a full share in League services) each member of the staff may almost be said to sink his national predilections in the wider aspect of his duties. Indeed, one of the English officials told me that there was even more harmony among the different servants of the League than he had found

between British Government departments when he was a British civil servant; while another who had worked for the Reparations Commission was much struck by the far greater harmony and mutual consideration of the League officials. Of course, before the existence of the League a certain amount of international work was done with regard to the Postal and Red Cross Conventions, etc., but never before has such a considerable attempt been made at an international civil service, and had the League done nothing else, its successful launching of its own Secretariat would have been an inestimable advantage to the mutual understanding of national methods of government.

The Council's Achievements

In other ways, too, I think one must look for the most valuable work of the League not so much to the Assembly itself as to bodies more or less dependent on it, the Council, the preparatory committees that work on disarmament or economic questions when the Assembly is not itself in session, and also its own six commissions which do the real discussion on all the questions brought before the Assembly. While the Assembly is indispensable as the great international and representative body which annually brings into a common stock the ideas of the nations of the world and gives, as it were, a democratic tone to all the League's activities, the Council provides the necessary element of executive permanence, since it can be summoned at any time and normally meets at least four times a year. It is a weakness in the Council—perhaps, a necessary weakness—that its decisions must be unanimous; and, though it is interesting to note how rarely this rule has hitherto hampered its proceedings, it may well become a greater obstacle to prompt and effective action now that its numbers are raised to fourteen. This year the Council has some striking results to its credit; among others the final re-establishment of Hungary's and Austria's economic stability, the success of its economic help to Greece, the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian frontier trouble, and the scheme for a settlement of Bulgarian refugees—all undertakings which, if not impossible, would have been far more difficult without the League.

International Patriotism

But to an onlooker the most interesting part of the League's activities is the work carried on in the Assembly's six commissions. Each commission—on judicial questions, technical questions, social questions, disarmament, the budget and political questions—has on it one representative, and one only, of each nation at the Assembly, the meetings are public, and the questions referred by the Assembly to each commission are discussed in an informal and businesslike fashion which really enlightens. The impression I mainly got from attending discussions at most of these commissions was the remarkable ability and international public spirit displayed there by representatives, not only of the Great Powers, but of States which have never before been thought to count in the world's activities. To have elicited such service for humanity in regard to the slave trade, the opium traffic, disarmament—to name but a few—not only is good in itself, but puts the peace aimed at by the League to real use. To sum up: I came away from Geneva with the conviction that without in any way impairing national "patriotism of the most burning character," to use Lord Cecil's phrase, the League is bringing to its own "tremendous and august task" a spirit of human and international patriotism which bids fair to become as much a force in the world as national patriotism itself is in relation to local patriotism.

GERMANY'S ENTRY

THE ASSEMBLY HALL SCENE

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

NEVER probably has the Salle de la Réformation at Geneva been so impenetrably thronged as on the morning of September 10, when the German delegates were to take their places for the first time on the floor of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Two days earlier Germany had been unanimously elected a member of the League of Nations, and by a second unanimous vote had been accorded a permanent seat on its Council. That was a Wednesday. The news had been flashed to Berlin by cable the moment the vote was over, and the same night the Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, and his colleagues took train for Geneva.

The following evening, Thursday, they arrived at the well-known Cornavin Station, pushed their way through the waiting crowds, and so reached the Hotel Metropole, which they were to share as headquarters with the Norwegian, the Australian, the Japanese and other delegations. On the Friday they were to enter the Assembly itself. But for one necessary formality their entrance might have lost all element of the spectacular. It might be supposed that, being already elected, they would merely mingle with the other delegations who drifted into the hall as the customary hour of opening arrived. But no delegation can come to an Assembly till its credentials have been examined by the committee charged with this duty. The chairman of this committee year by year is a white-haired rotund Cuban delegate, named by the providential genius of his parents Señor Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt. Till he had mounted the tribune and reported that the credentials of the German delegation were in due and proper order the German delegation had to while the time in an anteroom.

But the opening formality was soon discharged. Señor y Bethancourt, having ascended the platform from one side, descended it from the other, and the President thereupon observed: "I invite the German delegates to take their seats." Instantly all was stir and excitement. Arc lights in the galleries flashed out their blinding rays. Cinema men made for the handles of their machines. The crowd packed round the door to the right of the presidential platform surged and swayed, and finally divided itself into two still compacter masses to make passage for a square-built, square-jawed and close-cropped figure, whom half the hall, at any rate, recognised as Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister. Behind him filed his colleagues one by one—von Schubert, head of the Berlin Foreign Office, florid, blonde-moustached and stooping; Dr. Gaus, the Foreign Office's legal adviser, dark, bald and clean-shaven, with the sensitive look of the student; and then the four Reichstag deputies, who had come as delegates-substitute, to prove the breadth of support the League idea now has in Germany. Breitscheid, the Socialist, is the tallest, and his thick black hair touched with grey gives him even an inch or two beyond his due. Baron von Rheinbaben, of the People's Party, a former naval officer, still retaining something of the breeziness of the sea, runs him close, but Count Bernstorff (well known in League of Nations Union circles), who represents the Democrats, and Herr Kaas, the nominee of the Catholic Centre Party, and wearing the collar and coat of the priest, make no claim to more than middle height.

Gradually the delegation accommodates itself in the seats allotted to it at the very front of the hall, for Allemagne (the French names of States determine

their seating order) stands high in the alphabet, being preceded at Geneva only by Afrique du Sud and Albanie; the President utters a few words of cordial welcome; and at the intimation "M. Stresemann, first delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly," the first German to make his voice heard in the League's plenary body firmly mounts the platform from the steps which his seat almost touches.

The German Foreign Minister has a penetrating voice, neither melodious on the one hand nor disagreeable on the other. At any rate, it carried. The most distant auditor in a building whose acoustics are far from good must have heard every word. Whether he understood every word is another matter, for Dr. Stresemann read his carefully-prepared speech in German. He speaks English more than reasonably well, but to handle a foreign language in private conversation and to make it your vehicle on a public platform are very different things, and the first German delegate was no doubt well-advised to rely for the present on his native tongue. His speech was subsequently translated first into French, then into English.

Those who felt any anxiety as to the character of this opening utterance had their misgivings completely put to rest. Dr. Stresemann was frank. He admitted Germany had not always looked with favour on the League. He admitted there were certain points of difference with it still. But he paid it as high a tribute as its warmest admirers could have asked; he treated Locarno as the stepping-stone to Geneva; and in his closing sentence he declared it to be "our fervent hope that the tasks of the League may be fulfilled on the basis of the noble conceptions of peace, freedom and unity. So shall we draw nearer the ideals to which we aspire, and it is the firm resolve of Germany to assist wholeheartedly in that task."

By a happy realisation of the appropriate it had been left to the Foreign Minister of France, M. Aristide Briand, to voice for the whole Assembly their feelings in seeing that sinister empty space in the League map of Europe filled at last. M. Briand on his day is perhaps the greatest orator in Europe, and if this was not his day he never had one. Such a speech defies reproduction. It was delivered without a note and portions of it were addressed not so much to the delegates of forty-eight States as to the delegates of Germany alone. It was a speech of high courage, for there are sections of French opinion to which this extended hand of welcome to the enemy of yesterday was bound to be a scandal still. But Briand did not hesitate. He preached the pure gospel of the League of Nations and he preached it without reserve. His speech alone would have made the day historic. When he left the tribune the Assembly gave him an ovation without precedent, the climax being reached when Sir George Foster, the veteran Canadian delegate, leaped to his feet to lead a British cheer.

Then the unfortunate interpreter began his impossible task, and the delegates to an Assembly in which Germany at last had a seat flocked almost in a body from the hall.

Don't destroy "Headway," give it to someone else

GERMANY AND GENEVA

DR. BREITSCHIED ON HER LEAGUE POLICY

NOW that Germany has come to Geneva everyone is naturally displaying considerable anxiety as to what her policy as Assembly and Council member will be. To find that out it is not much use making enquiries in official quarters, where all statements must necessarily be guarded. Independent opinions are a good deal more valuable. Consequently (writes a representative of HEADWAY) it was to Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid, the Socialist leader in the Reichstag and a member of the German delegation at Geneva, that I addressed myself on this all-important subject.

At Geneva Dr. Breitscheid has been playing an extremely important rôle, both outside and inside the actual League meetings, and he speaks at the same time with complete knowledge of the domestic situation in Germany—a factor which cannot fail to have effect on Germany's Geneva policy.

"It would be true to say," observed Dr. Breitscheid at the outset, "that our entry into the League now arouses no opposition in any quarter in Germany. You know that four of our political parties—the Socialists, the Centre, the Democrats and the People's Party—are represented in our delegation here. The only other one of any consequence, the Nationalist, declined to send a representative; but even the Nationalists are in reality very glad the League question is now a *fait accompli*, for it removes one of their causes of dispute with the Government, which they are extremely anxious to enter.

Germany's Problems

"As far as the League itself is concerned," continued the Socialist leader, "a good deal has been said about Germany's desire for a mandate. Not too much emphasis must be laid on that. We are anxious to have our right to the exercise of a mandate recognised in principle, and it has been so recognised. We also want a German on the Mandates Commission, and I think one will be appointed. As for actually obtaining a mandate over undeveloped territory, we are not likely to press that point till some reasonable opportunity of satisfying our ambitions presents itself."

Turning to other problems, some of which directly concern the League, while others have, in the first instance, at any rate, to be approached from outside it, Dr. Breitscheid said that Germany's first hope and desire was, naturally, for the return to her of the Rhineland and the Saar. Those two questions formed part of the general mass of matters in dispute between Germany and France, and the Geneva conversations between M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann had gone a considerable way towards preparing a solution. In regard to the Saar, the Treaty of Versailles, Dr. Breitscheid recalled, provided for a plebiscite of the population in 1935; but if the negotiations between France and Germany went well, there would, he hoped, be no question of involving that quite superfluous machinery. Everyone knew that the Saar was solidly German, and an early settlement could be achieved on the basis of the return of the territory to Germany and the purchase of the mines by Germany from France. The cost was estimated at about 300 million marks, and it would not be beyond Germany's power to raise that sum.

The question of the possible union of Austria and Germany directly concerns the League, because it cannot take place without the unanimous consent of the

League Council. This, in Dr. Breitscheid's view, is one of the questions that must be left to ripen for some time yet.

"As a matter of principle," he pointed out, "if you believe in the right of peoples to determine their own future, any obstacle to the free union of the two countries is unjust. In my judgment, nevertheless, this is one of the changes that must come a little later, as part of larger developments and modifications in Europe. In Germany there is an overwhelming body of opinion in favour of the union, but a good many of those who discuss it show an inadequate realisation of the difficulties in the way."

Disarmament Delays

Speaking of armaments, Dr. Breitscheid underlined the strong desire existing throughout Germany to see the end of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control. The real disarmament of Germany, he claimed, had been completely carried out. There were still one or two matters, regarding the organisation of the police and the existence of certain Nationalist societies, to clear up, but he hoped that by the end of the year the Inter-Allied Commission would be withdrawn.

"And would you object to some form of League supervision, as the Treaty provides, after that?" I asked.

"Not ordinary periodical supervision," was the reply. "What we should object to would be the establishment of a permanent League commission on our territory."

Regarding disarmament generally, Dr. Breitscheid put the normal and reasonable German view, pointing out that the Treaty of Versailles expressly laid it down that Germany was to be disarmed, first, in order that the rest of Europe might disarm immediately afterwards. He expressed some anxiety lest the experts now sitting should drag out their discussions too long, and evidently felt that it lay with the politicians to insist on better speed being made.

The Need for Propaganda

We discussed other questions, notably Germany's relations with the East, which involved numbers of difficult issues, including, as well as the so-called Polish Corridor and Danzig, the restoration of private property and the treatment of German minorities in Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, after which I put a final question as to the importance of League propaganda in Germany. The German delegate agreed that the need was great.

"There exists, of course, a German League of Nations Society," he said, "but its propaganda work is not very extensive. In the political parties a certain amount of work is done. Every member of the Socialist Party, for example, is assumed as a matter of course to be a supporter of the League. But there is a great lack of knowledge about the actual work of the League. We have lessons in schools on the history and greatness of our own country, and it is equally important now to have lessons on the League of Nations. With Germany a member of the League that matter will have to be taken in hand."

With which Dr. Breitscheid, already deeply immersed in Geneva duties, hurried off to play his part as rapporteur to the Fifth Commission.

AN ASSEMBLY DIARY

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS DAY BY DAY

THE week before the actual opening of the Assembly was devoted to meetings of the League Council, the Commission on the Constitution of the Council and the Financial and Economic Committees. Simultaneously a conference of States members of the Permanent Court of International Justice was sitting to consider the possibility of accepting the reservations with which America qualified her adhesion to the Court.

September 6.—The Seventh Assembly declared open by Dr. Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, acting in his capacity as President of the Council during its current session.

M. Nintchitch, Foreign Minister of Jugoslavia, elected permanent President of the Assembly by 42 votes out of a possible 48, emphasises the strength and prestige about to accrue to the League through the entry of Germany.

September 7.—The usual six commissions of the Assembly elect as their presidents respectively, M. Motta (Switzerland), Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Ireland), Señor Villegas (Chile), M. Titulesco (Rumania), Count Mensdorff (Austria), M. de Brouckère (Belgium), and the Assembly itself elects as vice-presidents, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, Signor Scialoja, Viscount Ishii, Señor Figueroa, and Baron Lehmann (Liberia).

September 8.—Assembly by a unanimous vote admits Germany to membership of the League. By a second unanimous vote it endorses double recommendation of Council that Germany shall be given a permanent Council seat and that the non-permanent Council seats shall be increased in number from six to nine. Representatives of Holland, Norway and Sweden protest against the linking together in one resolution of two different proposals with the effect that both must be adopted at once or both postponed for more protracted discussion.

Annual discussion on Secretary-General's report on work of League during past year begun.

September 9.—Discussion of Secretary-General's report resumed. Speeches by Sir George Foster (Canada) urging that belief in League should be inculcated in homes, schools and colleges; and by Lord Cecil (British Empire) emphasising importance of codification of international law, insisting on necessity of ratifying conventions promptly, and moving for commission to examine what questions were really international in character and as such suitable for treatment by League.

September 10.—German delegation takes its seat for first time. Speeches by the President, Dr. Stresemann and M. Briand.

All the six Assembly commissions enter on active work.

September 11.—No Assembly sitting. Commissions at work.

Notice of Spain's withdrawal from the League received.

September 12.—Sunday.

September 13.—No Assembly sitting. Commissions at work.

September 14.—First Commission adopts rules for election of Council members, including provision by which in case of need the Assembly may declare all nine seats vacant and proceed to new elections.

General discussion in Assembly continued. Speeches by Dr. Loudon, Holland, on disarmament, and Dr. Nansen, Norway, on Armenian refugees.

September 15.—Assembly adopts rules for election of Council members. Speeches by Sir George Foster,

Canada, formally asserting the right of British Dominions to stand for Council seats, and Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Irish Free State. Ireland offers herself as candidate for a Council seat.

September 16.—Election of non-permanent members of Council. Voting gives seats to following: Poland, Chile, Rumania, to sit for three years; Colombia, Holland, China, for two years; Salvador, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, for one year. Poland is declared re-eligible for a second term.

First meeting of new Council. Dr. Benes elected president.

September 17.—No Assembly sitting.

M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, on long motor drive in French Juras, lay basis for general settlement of Franco-German differences.

September 18.—No Assembly sitting. Commissions continue work.

September 19.—Sunday.

September 20.—No Assembly sitting.

Third Commission adopts resolution deciding Disarmament Conference shall be definitely convened before Eighth Assembly, "unless material difficulties render this impossible."

September 21.—Assembly adopts resolutions regarding Economic Conference, which is to be convened "at the earliest date possible," and a conference on the Private Manufacture of Arms, to be summoned a year hence, unless the general Disarmament Conference has already been convened by that time.

Sixth Commission scene of lively debate regarding powers of Permanent Mandates Commission. (To be dealt with fully in the November HEADWAY.)

September 22.—No Assembly sitting.

Preparatory Committee for Disarmament Conference holds special meeting. American delegate urges more rapid action by Military and Naval Subcommittee.

September 23.—Assembly discusses report on disarmament. Notable speech by Paul Boncour.

Reply to American reservations to Court adhesion adopted by conference of Court members.

September 24.—Disarmament discussion in Assembly concluded. Speeches by Lord Cecil and Herr von Schubert.

Sixth Commission passes Slavery Convention and attendant resolutions.

September 25.—Seventh Assembly ends. Slavery Convention opened for signature.

A very interesting ceremony took place in the Alabama Room of the Hotel de Ville at Geneva on September 21, when Admiral Drury-Lowe, on behalf of the League of Nations Union, presented to the Council of State of Geneva a picture destined to hang permanently in the room in question. It was here that there was signed, in 1872, the treaty whereby Great Britain accepted the arbitral award condemning her to pay compensation of over £3,000,000 in respect of damages caused to the Union fleet by the Confederate (Southern) cruiser "Alabama," wrongfully permitted to put to sea from a British shipyard during the Civil War of 1861-5. It was thought appropriate that a body striving so assiduously as the British League of Nations Union to establish the principle of arbitration should add a memento of this historic occasion. The picture presented, and gratefully accepted by M. Alexandre Moriaud, President of the Council of State, was painted by Mr. Robert Austin, and represents a sower. On the frame is a tablet explaining the origin of the gift and bearing the following text from the book of Genesis: "Here is seed that ye may sow the soil."

ASSEMBLY ECHOES

POINTS FROM THE GENEVA SPEECHES

Towards Geneva

"It is no exaggeration to say that all diplomatic negotiations, at all events, in Europe, since the last Assembly, have turned in the direction of the League of Nations."—Dr. BENES, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.

Permanent Seats

"I am not so devoid of all sense of political reality as to ignore the full weight of the reasons that militate in favour of permanent seats, but it is none the less true that the theory of permanent seats is not altogether in conformity with democratic doctrines as we conceive them or with the doctrine of equality among nations."—M. GIUSEPPE MOTTA (Switzerland).

Council Dangers

"The Council must not be transformed into a State within a State—that is to say, an assembly within the Assembly. Those countries, great or small, which in future will form the Council must remember that they hold their seats not in order to represent first and foremost their own interests, but, in brief, as representatives chosen by the Assembly to defend the common welfare and the superior interests of the whole community."—PRINCE ARFA ED DOWLEH (Persia).

The Larger Patriotism

"There is no essential contradiction between the League of Nations and patriotism of the most burning character. What is essential is to create in the breasts of the patriots of the world (who, after all, comprise some of the noblest of human kind) a new object and a new purpose of patriotism, namely, to excel in the work of peace and in the prosperity of their own nation through the prosperity of humanity at large."—VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD.

The Assembly's Power

"What is the chief power of the Assembly? We know perfectly well that we come here every year unorganised. We have only one power that is really vital and that is really great, and that is our power to control the Council. We control the Council by our power to elect the majority of the Council. That I consider is the greatest and the most important power the Assembly has."—Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD (Irish Free State).

A Call to Self-denial

"I would make an appeal to those States in whose interests the Covenant created the present position of inequality from which our difficulties arise. Cannot they make a sacrifice? Cannot they freely, of their own accord, abandon their permanent seats on the Council? That may not be possible at this moment, but, at all events, it might be possible in the future, and that would be the remedy for the evils from which the League is suffering."—Dr. GUERRERO (Salvador).

An Unwieldy Council

"In the space of four years we shall have increased the number of seats on the Council from eight to 14. Consider what danger this involves for the League, if the proper balance is to be maintained between the Assembly and the Council and if the necessary unanimity is to be obtained in the Council. Consider what difficulties may arise whenever it becomes necessary to convene the Council suddenly, if some political question calls for immediate action."—JONKHEER LOUDON (Holland).

The League Spirit

"No State inspired with the desire for collaboration attends the Assembly of the League of Nations with the desire to impose its will on other countries. It comes

inspired, rather, by the wish to secure a result by mutual agreement, a result which can be accepted by everyone and which will represent a definite step towards the goal. Such conduct calls for heroism of a sort which does not always win the applause of the public, but which none the less deserves all praise—the heroism of resignation."—Count MOLTKE, Foreign Minister of Denmark.

East and West

"I ask the Assembly seriously to consider what practical demonstration can be made to the peoples of India for whom I speak, what direct evidence can be offered to make them realise that their interests are appreciated and considered at Geneva as of equal importance with the interests of the West. Unless and until India is convinced of this it will be impossible to secure for the work of the League that wholehearted interest and co-operation which is essential for the success of its great task."—H.H. the MAHARAJAH of KAPURTHALA (India).

Personal Contacts

"Is it not highly significant that we should find so many eminent statesmen bearing the heavy burden of responsibility in their own countries coming quite naturally to meet each other at Geneva at this time, moved by a common desire to settle quarrels and bring about the reign of harmony and goodwill among the peoples? How many misunderstandings which might have led to disastrous consequences have been dissipated through such personal contact? How many problems have found their solution at Geneva? Yet there are superficial and malicious minds which affect to believe that we are wasting time on mere academic discussions."—Dr. MOMTCHILO NINTCHICH, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia and President of the Seventh Assembly.

The Folly of War

"If I am not mistaken, it is not so much the chief detractors of the League who require to be convinced of its soundness as the indifferent and lukewarm, who say, with a shrug of the shoulders and a smile of compassion: 'Yes, this League of Nations is all very well, but how can you expect to change human nature?' Change human nature! We should not attempt to do so, nor should we try to minimise the noble sentiment of patriotism, as was so ably pointed out the other day by Viscount Cecil. What we need to-day is to accustom men and nations, led by their Governments, to reflect on the unhappy results, for victors and vanquished alike, of having recourse to arms for the settlement of disputes. Such is the moral disarmament which the League of Nations has in view."—JONKHEER LOUDON (Holland).

Armaments and Psychology

"Ever since its creation, the League of Nations has, in virtue of its Covenant, been concerned with the problem of disarmament. Pessimists may find that these six years of effort have yielded very meagre results. That would be a harsh and an unjust judgment. Naturally, we should all like to be much further advanced than we are, but if we glance back at the road we have travelled, we see that in spite of all we are appreciably nearer our goal. The problem of armaments is nothing less than the expression of the political, social and, above all, psychological state of the world. The progress made towards pacification during the last six, and particularly during the last two years, will, I am sure, bring the first positive results within our reach at an early date."—Dr. BENES, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.

STRESEMANN AND BRIAND

PLEDGES TAKEN AT THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY

We append in parallel columns salient passages from the notable speeches delivered by the Foreign Ministers of Germany and France from the platform of the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 10, on the occasion of the reception of the German delegation

STRESEMANN

"To-day Germany enters the circle of States, to some of which she has been attached for years by untroubled ties of friendship, whereas others were allied against her during the Great War. It is surely an event of historical importance that Germany and these latter States are now brought together within the League of Nations for permanent and peaceful co-operation. It is a fact which indicates, more clearly than words or programmes could ever express, that the League of Nations may indeed be destined to give a new direction to the political development of mankind."

* * *

"I hold that no country which belongs to the League of Nations thereby surrenders in any way her national individuality. The Divine Architect of the world has not created mankind as a homogeneous whole; He has made the nations of different races; He has given them their mother tongue as the sanctuary of their soul; He has given them countries with different characteristics as their homes. But it cannot be the purpose of the Divine world-order that men should direct their supreme national energies against one another, thus ever thrusting back the general progress of civilisation. He will serve humanity best who, firmly rooted in the faith of his own people, develops his moral and intellectual gifts to their highest significance, thus overstepping his own national boundaries and serving the whole of mankind, as has been done by those great men of all nations whose names are written in the history of mankind."

* * *

"During the past six years the League of Nations has already undertaken a substantial portion of its tasks, and it has done valuable work . . . the efforts made towards disarmament are of particular importance for the consolidation of a peaceful order among the nations. The complete disarmament of Germany was stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles as a preliminary to general disarmament. It is to be hoped that this general disarmament may be advanced by active work. Germany's relations to the League are not, however, exclusively governed by the possibilities of co-operation of those great general ideals which the League of Nations is now pursuing. The League of Nations is, in fact, in many respects also heir and executor of the treaties of 1919. From these treaties have resulted in the past, I think I may say frankly, many divergencies between the League of Nations and Germany. I hope that a settlement of these questions will be rendered easier in future by our co-operation within the League. In this respect mutual confidence will, from a political point of view, be found to be a greater creative force than any other method."

* * *

"It is only its universality which can protect the League of Nations against the danger of using its political forces for other purposes than in the service of peace. Only on the basis of a community which includes all nations, without distinction and on a footing of perfect equality, can mutual assistance and justice become the true guiding stars of the destiny of mankind. It is only upon this foundation that the principle of freedom can be set, for which nations and individuals alike are constantly striving. Germany has resolved to found her policy on these lofty ideals."

BRIAND

"Those who indulge in irony and detraction at the expense of the League of Nations, who daily cast doubt upon the soundness of this institution and time after time proclaim that it is doomed to perish, what will they think if they are present at this meeting? Is it not a moving spectacle, and a specially ennobling and comforting one, when we think that only a few years after the most frightful war which has ever devastated the world, when the battlefields have hardly ceased to reek with blood, the peoples of the world, the same peoples who were hurled in combat against each other, are meeting in this peaceful assembly, and are expressing to each other their common will to collaborate in the work of world peace?"

* * *

"Peace for Germany and for France; what does that mean? Ended is the long succession of terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history. Ended are the long veils of mourning for unappeasable sufferings. No more war! No more brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes. Differences between us in truth still exist, but henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure."

* * *

"I have no fault to find with what the representative of Germany has said as to the way in which he conceives the collaboration with us on the League, and as for the delegate of France, the German delegation can be sure of finding in him a loyal collaborator."

* * *

"It is especially those peoples who have not always been in agreement who have most need of the League of Nations; for, if it is true that there may be some divine plan whereby the nations will be brought to cease from making war on one another, M. Stresemann will readily agree that, during the long years of the past, this plan has been singularly disregarded. I would desire that from to-day onwards it might begin to be applied, and I, you may be sure, shall prove no obstacle. I simply wish to say this: If you are here as a German and only as a German, and if I am here as a Frenchman and only as a Frenchman, agreement will not prove very easy. If we come here, not forgetting our respective countries, but as citizens sharing in the universal work of the League, all will be well, and we shall attain spiritual communion with our colleagues in that atmosphere peculiar to Geneva."

* * *

"If we are egged on against each other, if we are urged in interviews and speeches to oppose each other, let us put aside all such temptations; let us put them far from us! That is the road of blood, the road of the past covered with the dead, the road of mourning, of fire and disaster. That is not our road. Henceforth our road is one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness for our countries if we induce them to lay aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their own desires in the service of world-peace. This sacrifice will not diminish; it will increase their prestige."

1920 AND 1926

By SIR GEORGE FOSTER, *First Delegate of Canada.**(Being passages from speeches delivered in the Seventh Assembly of the League.)*

I RECOLLECT being a member of this Assembly at its first session in 1920. Since that time I have not had the pleasure of participating in the actual work of the Assembly at Geneva, and it comes to me as a strong and vivid contrast when I look at the field of work covered in 1920 and the field of work which is covered by the League to-day. In 1920 the League of Nations was but an infant in swaddling clothes. Six years have passed, and that infant has grown into a lusty, strong and virile young manhood. At that time there was a feeling of extravagant optimism with a few, of doubt and scepticism with many, and of active opposition on the part of others. Six years have proved that the idea of the League has come into this era of our world history as a great and beneficent and enduring organisation.

Renewing League Vows

There are many things which we might say with reference to this League of Nations, and I will undertake to say two or three of them. I have already said that it is the duty of this League of Nations every now and then—and no occasion is better than when the annual Assembly of the League of Nations meets—to renew its vows in the spirit in which those vows were taken seven or eight years ago, and to consecrate ourselves again and anew to the brave cause of peace and good fellowship in the world. I also want to say in connection with that that we must keep up the same spirit of self-sacrifice, and self-interest must give way to the general interest in a prudent and moderate degree, and personal ambitions, national ambitions, racial ambitions and religious ambitions must, while having their due place and their due power amongst the nations of the world, contemplate that they are a part and parcel of the wide world as an aggregate and that consequently there must be due subordination of ambitions of that kind to the purposes and the work of the League.

The thing to be remembered is this, that the League of Nations introduces a new principle and a new era before which, and in the carrying out of which, the old principles and practices of the old era must take a subordinate place, if they do not entirely leave the scene of action. I hold for the League of Nations that it should respect itself and its interests and maintain that self-respect and that interest against all comers. There need be no unhealthy rivalry between the Council and the Assembly; they are too intimately related. I do not say that there has been rivalry before, I do not say that rivalry will take place hereafter. But we must each of us, as members of the League of Nations, keep it in our minds that there is not to be any rivalry between the Council and the Assembly and that the two of them, just as they have worked harmoniously together in the past, must continue to work harmoniously together in the future.

No Menaces or Cajolery

There are one or two other things to which I should like to draw attention, and amongst them are these. First, and in continuation of my last remark, the League of Nations must learn (as I believe it does now) that it is an organisation which must not bend either to the cajolery or to the menace of outside Powers. It may be that my statement with regard to that does not get just near where I mean it to get. What I mean is this: in a terse English phrase, this Society of the League of Nations, this Assembly of the League of Nations as one of the main functioning bodies of the Society of the

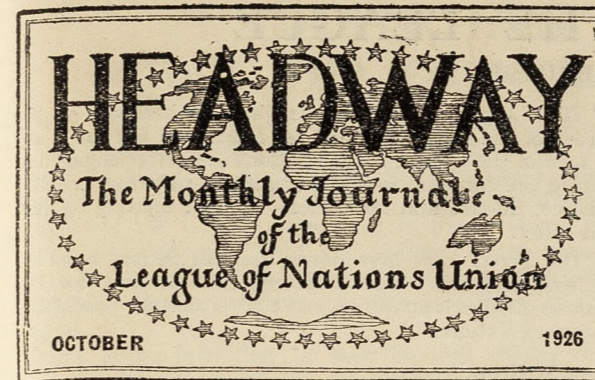
League of Nations, must be conscious of its own rights, conscious of its own purposes and keep them in mind and not deviate from them to the tenth part of an inch, just because some outside body or Power tends to menace them or tends to cajole them. We must have faith in the inherent virtue and power of our organisation, and if outside parties say: "Unless you do so and so we cannot come in with you," regard must first be had to our own purposes and our own ideals. If we can accommodate ourselves so as to bring that Power in, well and good; but if that is impossible, we part with regret, but hope to meet again in a more reasonable atmosphere. That expresses my idea in that regard quite simply.

Under-pinning the Foundations

May I make another point? What we need for the League of Nations as its under-pinning and its foundation is a wide instruction in the purposes and principles of the League, in the fundamental and primary places where that education can alone be effected. You can send your delegates here year after year; you may have your resolutions and carry out your work from Assembly to Assembly and from Council meeting to Council meeting, and that gets a certain distance, but it does not get down where it is necessary for this League to get, if this League is to be a continuous, a growing and a successful Power in the world. Where we want to get is down into the homes, by the firesides, down into the schools where the young mind is being taught and instructed and imbibes its principles for later action, down into the colleges and the universities. Into these places we must get, and we must get there with a feeling that years of patience and years of efforts, unmitigated in their ardour and their difficulties, must be cheerfully encountered and cheerfully passed, in order that at last we may abide with one single generation in the home, the school and the college with our principles and our ideals, and if once we have that one abiding generation of teaching, of precept and of sympathetic instruction, then the League of Nations will be firmly built upon a broad foundation in every nation which belongs to this League, and then, and then only, will the League of Nations be upon a foundation which will make it certain that we can have the strongest hope and the highest optimism for its future.

Canada and the Council

Canada is making no claim for a seat on the Council, but she considers it pertinent to point out that she has equal rights to representation on the Council with all the other 56 members of the League. My view of membership of the League is that it is for every member not to seek for a share of the honours which might be available, but to find out what best it can do to assist the work of the League itself. It has been a great grief to millions of people in the North American Continent to perceive that in March last honours appeared to have been more thought of than service. Happily, that atmosphere no longer remains. It has been dissipated by the assertion made by the representative of France when, in reply to the representative of Germany, he said, "*C'est fini.*" The representatives of those two countries have, I feel convinced, been speaking on behalf of all their countrymen. I have absolute faith in the honesty of their convictions and am entirely confident that they will be fulfilled.

**THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY**

THE Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations was marked by two events of the first moment in the history of the League. One was the entry of Germany, the other the reconstitution of the Council.

Regarding Germany, almost all has been said that could be said. Her assumption of her rightful place at Geneva, involving as it did the entry into force of the Locarno Treaties, marks a decisive stage in the development of post-war Europe. There can be no question that, as Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, said from the Assembly platform, differences in which Germany still finds herself involved will prove far easier of settlement in the conciliatory atmosphere of Geneva than they ever could be anywhere else.

In any event, it can no longer be contended that the League of Nations is in any sense an association of victorious States. Of the five countries forming the coalition defeated in the war, four—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria—are now members of the League, and the fifth—Turkey—is, by all accounts, seriously contemplating an early application. As member of the League and occupant of a permanent seat on the Council, Germany has created an admirable first impression. The statements made in public and in private by Dr. Stresemann have been wise and conciliatory, and the addresses delivered by him and M. Briand from the Assembly platform were of historic importance. As the German Foreign Minister very justly remarked, the significant feature of M. Briand's utterance was not so much what he personally said as the fact that a public opinion in his own country would allow him to say it. From that point of view, Germany's entry was effected in an atmosphere as auspicious as anyone could have hoped.

But it is likely that in future years the Seventh Assembly will be looked back on less as the occasion of Germany's entry than as the occasion of the increase in the non-permanent members of the Council from six to nine. That change was made avowedly in the hope and belief that it would resolve a particular crisis with which the League was faced. As things turned out, it completely failed in that endeavour, and the League was therefore left with a scheme which had to justify itself by its inherent merits quite apart from the special circumstances which brought it into being.

On that question a great deal can be said one way and the other. On the face of it, the arguments against an increase of the Council are the more convincing. A body of eleven members (the original ten, with Germany) is more compact and more likely to retain its solidarity than a body of fourteen. The larger the Council, indeed, the more the prospect of inner circles and cliques being formed. There is, in addition, the whole question of the relation of the Council to the Assembly, and the further—or, rather, the preliminary—question of whether it is possible year by year to find States of sufficient import-

ance and influence to maintain the prestige of the Council, having regard to the fact that what is needed is not merely nine members up to the necessary standard, but another nine to replace these as they lay down their office at the end of three years. If there are not sufficient members of this quality, then, clearly, the Council lose in weight and importance. If there are, then the danger is serious that the Assembly may be stripped of its leading figures if ever there should arise an occasion when the Assembly desired to express itself apart from the Council.

To these contentions advocates of the new system reply, firstly, that if, as was at one time hoped, Spain, Brazil and the Argentine Republic had all been available for election, the number of nine non-permanent members would not have been excessive; that in any case there should be enough places on the Council to give reasonable representation to the different continents and to various regional groupings within those continents; and that the invention of the so-called semi-permanent seats is an advantage in itself, since there are some States whose presence ought for special reasons to be retained on the Council even after their normal three-year term of office has expired.

Between those opposing arguments no decisive line need be drawn here. They raise interesting questions, particularly in regard to the desirability of providing for continental and regional representation. The austere theorist would lay it down that the Assembly should select for the nine non-permanent seats the nine States which are calculated to make the strongest and most efficient Council it seems possible to produce, regardless of their geographical position. But even the theorist begs the question, for it may quite well be argued that the Council cannot be either influential or efficient unless it does in effect represent practically every quarter of the globe. But between admitting that and establishing the principle that a small regional group like the three Little Entente States must never be without representation on the Council there is a considerable gulf.

Another question of manifest importance to the British Empire raised by the proceedings at Geneva this year, is the position of the British Dominions in relation to the Council. Hitherto it has been pretty generally taken for granted that no Dominion would secure a non-permanent seat because the Assembly would not be disposed to create what would be in effect a double British representation. When what was in question was two Council seats out of ten that argument was intelligible. When what is involved is two seats out of fourteen, and when there is established a system of rotation which means that every State of any position must have its turn as a Council member, the case is different. As things were, Canada, which was not a candidate, obtained 2 votes, and Ireland, which was, obtained 10. That is no great showing out of a possible total of 49. The important fact was that the Canadian delegate laid it down definitely that the British Dominions considered themselves eligible for places in the League Council, that Ireland has openly established that principle by actually standing, and that it is understood that a Dominion candidature will be seriously pursued next year.

All these problems will have to be considered in every aspect in the coming months in Whitehall, in Paris, in Berlin and other capitals of League States, at Ottawa and Melbourne and Pretoria and Wellington and Dublin, and in the Imperial Conference about to sit. They cannot be ignored where any group of League of Nations Union members is gathered to discuss seriously the League's future.

SCOUTS AND THE LEAGUE

By W. LEWIS BAILEY

THE Fourth Biennial Boy Scouts' Conference, which met last month at Kandersteg, Switzerland, marks the fourth stage in the evolution of a most interesting international movement. Thirty countries were represented, and, as at Copenhagen in 1924, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations deputed three members of the Secretariat to follow the proceedings.

It can hardly be denied that before the war there was a distinct militarist tendency in the Scout movement; I myself must plead guilty to having in those early days put forward both to parents and boys the argument of "preparedness for the next war." For this reason the gradual evolution of the movement, through its own intrinsic merit, into a world-wide organisation for international co-operation among the young is all the more remarkable and satisfactory.

It was, roughly, from 1913 onwards that the movement began to spread from the Anglo-Saxon countries to other lands. France, Italy, Spain, Greece and other countries began to adopt and develop this new system of education; so that, finally, after the war, it became possible, for the first time, to convene a great international gathering of Scouts from all over the world. Readers will remember the first Jamboree, held in London in 1920. It was a great after-war experiment, which showed what could be done, and it was then that the Boy Scout International Committee was founded.

Copenhagen's Keynote

When, two years later, the second conference met at Paris, the delegates were mainly engaged in discussing technical points, because in many countries the true aims and methods of scouting had not been properly grasped. It was at the third conference, at Copenhagen in 1924, that the keynote of international co-operation was definitely struck by Sir Robert Baden-Powell. It was as if he himself—and certainly most of the delegates—had only then for the first time realised the full potentiality of this movement in the sphere of international friendship.

During the discussions at Copenhagen it became evident that the movement was on the threshold of a definite international development. At Kandersteg this year it may be said without exaggeration that the international aspect of the Scout movement dominated all others. Concurrently with the conference there was an international training camp for Scout officers, at which international questions were regularly discussed around the camp-fire: For instance, "Is Nationalism an Obstacle to International Brotherhood?" "Scouting and International Education," "Scouting and Religion," "Scouting and Destructive International Movements."

League Law and Scout Law

There can be little doubt that the interest shown by the League in the Scout movement has encouraged the latter to follow this excellent path. Indeed, Sir Robert Baden-Powell told the League delegates in conversation that he highly appreciated the League's response to his invitation, for that response was not merely a proof of the interest which the League displayed in the Scout movement, it was, in fact, a great stimulus to the movement itself.

As regards the similarity of aims—and almost, we may say, of methods—the following message sent by the Secretary-General of the League to the Copenhagen Conference in 1924 is highly expressive:—

"The Boy Scouts are a brotherhood of Peace Scouts and not War Scouts; but all the Scouts of all the world have one great battle to wage, a battle that will never end, a war in defence of their Scout Law."

"The League of Nations is the Brotherhood of the nations of the world, working for Peace and not for War; the Law of the League is that nations are better engaged in fighting the common foes of humanity—suffering, cruelty, injustice, disease and ignorance—than in fighting against each other.

"The Scout Law lays down that all Scouts must be brothers, forgetting their differences in working for the common good of humanity—and that is also the Law of the League of Nations."

Two Million Scouts

The number of Boy Scouts in the world has increased by nearly 320,000 during the last two years; the total membership is at present about 2,000,000. Since the foundation of the movement in 1908 some 6,000,000 young people must have received scout training. It is, therefore, a most important matter for future world peace that this movement should have so fully realised the ideal of international co-operation among the young. Since 1923 the League has been advocating the extension of travelling facilities for scout troops, and properly organised groups of young people in general. At the Kandersteg Conference a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing appreciation of the League's work in this connection. Significantly enough, it was moved by the United States delegation.

It is interesting to compare the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts appointed by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to consider the question of the instruction of young persons in the aims of the League and the promotion of contact between young people of different nationalities,* with the work actually being accomplished by the International Scout Organisation. The experts' first suggestion reads as follows:—

"Mutual knowledge and appreciation is the basic requirement of all co-operation, and, in order that this knowledge may be increased, direct or indirect contact should be promoted between young people of different nationalities."

International Holidays

Scouts of all nationalities bind themselves to obey one Scout Law, and an article in that Law lays down—"A Scout is a brother to every other Scout." Thus indirect contact is secured by community of ideals. As regards direct contact, two huge gatherings of young people from every clime were successfully organised in London in 1920 and Copenhagen in 1924. Another of these "Jamborees," perhaps on an even larger scale, is to be held in 1929. In addition, the International Committee have secured a large chalet at Kandersteg as a sort of international holiday home for Scouts. Here, at almost any time of the year, you will find most cosmopolitan groups of young men and boys.

If these activities be compared with the subsequent recommendations of the Sub-Committee, it will be seen that the Scout movement is certainly working on the right lines. The Sub-Committee recommends (a) interchange of individual children between families; (b) international camps for children and international holiday colonies; (c) group excursions under competent leaders. It is, therefore, logical that the League, proclaiming as it does "the fundamental importance of training the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs," should take a keen interest in this virile movement, which is doing such useful practical work in training the younger generation to habits of international understanding.

* Doc. A. 26, 1926, XII.

CHANGING THE LEAGUE
WHAT THE COUNCIL ENLARGEMENT MEANS

THE effect of Germany's entry into the League of Nations does not consist merely in the increase of the total number of States in the League from 55 to 56, and the increase in the permanent members of the Council from four to five. Those are direct consequences. Other and indirect consequences have followed, the net result of which is a profound change for better or worse in the structure of the League.

Before going into that, it may be well to say one word about another direct consequence of Germany's entry—the temporary or permanent disappearance of Brazil and Spain. That, of course, takes us back to the unhappy events arising from the Extraordinary Assembly of last March, or even farther, to unwise promises given to certain States regarding their claims to permanent seats on the Council. Brazil, it will be remembered, claimed a permanent seat and said she would vote against the grant of one to Germany if her own demand was disregarded. That meant keeping Germany out altogether, for she would not come in unless she got a permanent seat on the Council, and she could not get a permanent seat on the Council unless all Council members, Brazil among them, voted for her.

The March Assembly therefore ended without admitting Germany. Brazil, on reflection, shifted her position a little, and instead of remaining to oppose Germany, she gave notice in June of her withdrawal from the League. Spain, meanwhile, who had never threatened to vote against Germany, stayed on and took part in the work of a special commission appointed by the Council to find means of surmounting the special difficulties that arose in March. But the solution adopted failed to satisfy her desires and at the end of the first week of the Assembly she, too, gave notice of withdrawal. The League, therefore, while it gains Germany, loses Spain and Brazil. To gain Germany was essential. To lose Spain and Brazil is regrettable, not fatal. Both States will suffer more than the League by their separation from it—Spain in particular—but the League will undoubtedly suffer, too, till the day comes, as it doubtless will, for their return to the fold.

Let us turn now to the indirect consequences of Germany's entry. When the March crisis developed and Germany's entry had to be postponed till September, the Council decided, at the Assembly's request, to set up a special commission to consider the whole constitution of the Council and suggest changes which might go some way to satisfying the desires of those States claiming permanent places on the Council. That commission sat twice during the summer and proposed radical alterations in the composition of the Council. Its proposals were endorsed by the Council and the Assembly, with the result that the League now has a new Council very different from the old.

To understand just how great the differences are, it is necessary to recall what the history of the League Council has been. Three definite stages in its evolution may be noted.

(1) When the League's constitution was first being considered at Paris during the early weeks of the Peace Conference in 1919, the intention was to create a Council consisting of the Great Powers alone. The smaller States, however, protested so vigorously that—

(2) The Covenant as actually drafted provided for a Council of five Great Powers (U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan) with permanent seats and four lesser Powers to be elected periodically by the Assembly. As the United

States failed to join the League, the Council actually consisted of eight members, with eight great and small Powers in equal numbers, not, as originally intended, with the Great Powers in a majority.

(3) In 1922 the League itself, by a concurrent vote of the Assembly and Council, increased the number of non-permanent members of the Council from four to six. The total number of Council members was thus raised to ten, at which figure it remained till September, 1926.

It was therefore with a Council of ten members, four permanent and six non-permanent, that the commission set up in March, 1926, had to deal. It found itself faced with a double problem. On the one hand, it has always been desired and intended that there should be periodical changes in the Council from time to time. If the same non-permanent members were elected again and again the whole Council would become virtually permanent. A "rotation" of non-permanent members was therefore necessary. On the other hand, certain States, notably Spain, had a vehement desire to be re-elected every time, and they opposed strongly any rule that would prevent perpetual re-election.

How could these two theses be conciliated? It was the ingenuity of Lord Cecil that solved that problem—or, rather, appeared to have solved it, for in the end there was no real conciliation of the two opposites. Let there be, said Lord Cecil, in effect, two classes of non-permanent members of the Council. Let one class be compelled to retire for three years after they have sat for three years. Let the other class be open for re-election if the Assembly by a two-thirds majority so decides.

So far so good. But the question next arose of what the size of the two respective classes should be in a Council whose non-permanent members numbered six. Three States at least—Spain, Brazil and Poland—had to be catered for under the re-eligibility clause, and therefore the new class of so-called "semi-permanent" seats could not consist of less than three. But a Council including five permanent members (the four old members and Germany), three semi-permanent and only three non-permanent, would be far too stereotyped a body. Hence the decision to balance the tendency towards permanency by increasing the non-permanent members from six to nine, three of the nine being what came to be known as semi-permanent.

In that form the scheme was adopted without adverse vote, though not without criticisms and protests, first, by the special commission, then by the Council, then by the Assembly. The League Council therefore now consists of 14 members, made up as follows:—

- 5 Permanent.
- 3 "Semi-permanent"—States which can be elected for two or more successive terms of office.
- 6 Non-permanent—States which must stand aside for at least three years after having sat for three years.

It is to be observed that while the Assembly cannot elect more than three States for a second consecutive term of office, it need not elect any at all. The figure is a maximum. It means that while more than three States can be awarded the badge of re-eligibility, not more than three can actually be re-elected.

As things have turned out, the dangers the Cecil scheme was designed to avert have not, in fact, been averted. It was hoped that the prospect of repeated re-election to a semi-permanent seat would keep Spain

and Brazil in the League. It has not. Poland would, in any case, have obtained one of the non-permanent seats on the old Council and would have accepted it with good grace. The new scheme, involving as it does an increase in the number of Council members to 14, must therefore stand or fall by its inherent merits. There are those who think the enlargement of the Council was to be desired in any case. There are others who consider it a misfortune. Much can be said on both sides, but the real test will be experience.

The first elections under the Cecil plan took place on September 16 and resulted as follows :

- (1) Colombia. (4) San Salvador. (7) Holland.
(2) Poland. (5) Belgium. (8) China.
(3) Chile. (6) Rumania. (9) Czechoslovakia.

In order to provide for the retirement (or re-election) of three members every year in the future, it was necessary in 1926 to elect three States for the full three-year period, three for two years and three for one only. The division made was as follows :—

- For three years : Poland*, Chile, Rumania.
For two years : Colombia, Holland, China.
For one year : Salvador, Belgium, Czechoslovakia.

The new Council held its first meeting on Friday, September 17.

THE LEGION AT GENEVA

The following account of the 1926 meeting of the Geneva Institute was written by Mr. C. W. Jex, representing the East Anglia Area Council of the British Legion.

IT was my happy lot to visit Geneva as a member of the British Legion party to what is known as the "Geneva Institute of International Relations." This is a body brought together each year from England and America for a week's lectures on matters affecting world peace.

We left Victoria Station at 8.10 on Saturday, August 14, the Fulham Branch of the Legion being on the platform, with the Legion standard fluttering in the breeze, to give us a rousing send-off, and as soon as the train moved out we had a chance of examining our travelling companions. The Legion party numbered 20, representing all parts of the United Kingdom; and it was like old Army days come back, especially when, on the French railways, we discovered old Army transport wagons marked in French: "40 men or 8 horses." Altogether there were about 150 in the English contingent, the others being drawn from the League of Nations Union (who had organised it), the Adult Schools Union and the Society of Friends.

At Paris we fed, had a dash round the sights in a motor charabanc, fed again, and then entrained for the long night journey to Geneva. At the Gare de Lyon everything appeared in a hopeless confusion; it was the French Bank Holiday.

Arriving at Geneva, we discovered that the Americans had got there first—nearly 250 of them. They included a party of American professors brought over by Dr. James Brown Scott, a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. They had been staying at Geneva for nearly two months, working at the League of Nations offices in order to get some practical idea of the job. Our first official engagement was a tea and reception at the Chateau Prangins, the beautiful residence of Mrs. Stanley McCormick, who is a member of the American Committee. To get to it we had to make an eight-mile journey up the Lake by steamer, one of the fastest paddle boats being placed at our service. The Chateau is situated on a high hill, and has many interesting historical associations. It was here that Voltaire lived and wrote in 1754-55.

* Declared re-eligible for a second term.

Our meetings were held in the Glass Room at the Palais de Nations. Morning and evening, and sometimes in the afternoon, the Glass Room was filled to the brim while heads of the various departments of the League of Nations and experts in world affairs from England and the United States surveyed mankind from China to Peru. The lecturers included Dr. James Scott Brown, Professor Rappard, Sir Arthur Salter, Professor Laski, Dame Rachel Crowdy, Dr. Garnett, Senor Madariaga, Mr. E. J. Phelan and Mr. Michael Farbman and Frederick Whelen. Sir Eric Drummond, too, gave a brief and concluding address to the Institute. The proceedings of the Institute are to be published. They will make a very fascinating volume.

This is the first time the British Legion has been represented at the Institute, and we regarded it as a great compliment when Dr. Maxwell Garnett wanted us to appoint one of our number to take the chair at the closing session. Mr. Edwin Bayliss (who lost an arm in the Great War), on whom the task devolved, explained the strength of the Legion's will for peace, and said that as a result of the meetings we should all return as missionaries for the League.

ESSAY COMPETITION

THE Editor of HEADWAY announces that a prize of Five Pounds will be awarded for the best Essay, not exceeding 1,000 words in length, on the following subject :—

"The existence of conditions of labour involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people, produces unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled."

RULES FOR COMPETITORS

- All entries must be addressed to "CRUSADER," HEADWAY, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, and must arrive on or before November 30, 1926.
- Competitors may send in as many entries as they wish, but each must be accompanied by one of the coupons printed below.
- The coupon must be enclosed in a separate sealed envelope on which the Pseudonym must be clearly written; this envelope must be attached to the Essay.
- The Pseudonym only must be written clearly at the top of each page of the Essay, and each page must be numbered. Essays may be either in typescript or in manuscript; they must be written or typed on one side of the paper only.
- The Judge's decision will be final. No Essay can be returned, nor can correspondence be entered into with any competitor.
- The Editor reserves the right of printing all or part of any Essay submitted.
- Members of the Staff of the League of Nations Union may not compete.

N.B.—Clear and simple Essays are asked for. Literary style and merit are not essential. It is particularly desired that the Essays should illustrate the truth of the claim made in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, by reference to actual historical events.

(COUPON)

CRUSADER COMPETITION.

I accept the Rules of this Competition as set out in HEADWAY.

Name

Address

Pseudonym

(Fill up in BLOCK CAPITALS).

HEADWAY : October, 1926.

BOOKS WORTH READING

A FATHER OF THE I.L.O.—JAPANESE LABOUR—THE LEAGUE, AS PROF. BAKER SEES IT

The History of the International Labour Office, by The Right Hon. G. N. Barnes (Williams & Norgate, Ltd. Price 3s. 6d.). At last we have it! No longer will the speaker, who has succeeded in firing his audience with the doings of the International Labour Office, shrink nervously from the inevitable request for "a short—very short"—text-book on the subject. In this little volume the needs of the earnest inquirer who would know the aims and objects of the I.L.O., its origins, constitution and achievements, are met in clear, authoritative and soberly inspiring fashion. As M. Vandervelde shows in his lively and sympathetic preface, Mr. Barnes writes here of matters *quorum pars major fuit*. But for his wise statesmanship the post-war movement which found expression in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty might have dissipated itself in a cloud of proposals for which the world was manifestly unready; but for his attitude of mingled conciliation and firmness, jarring forces in the Labour Commission would have made shipwreck of the great opportunity altogether. And we all know (or ought to know) how gallantly, with the able support of Sir Malcolm Delevingne, his associate in Paris and at Washington, he helped to launch the new international ship in 1919 and saw it ride out safely the first of many storms.

Mr. Barnes' story is briefly told, but it is complete. He finds the earliest vision of international labour legislation in the efforts of Robert Owen at Vienna more than a century ago, shows this vision kept alive by like-minded men of other nationality, sees it begin to materialise in the Berlin Conference of 1890 and the subsequent work of the International Association for Labour Legislation till it took final shape as the outcome of conclusions reached during the Great War. This analysis of the Organisation as a piece of machinery is a model of concise statement; his comprehensive account of its achievements up to date ends on a double note of encouragement and warning. Contemplating the effect of its work in the East, especially in India, and among the "new nations" of Europe, we have reason to be of good cheer; but in view of the slowness of the older industrial States to ratify the more important Conventions adopted there is much ground for serious anxiety. To industrial democracy, well-disposed as yet towards the I.L.O. (witness the recent almost unanimous vote of the British Trade Union Congress), the I.L.O. is still on its trial; the final verdict depends on the action of the great Industrial Powers. It is for the peoples in whose name those Powers speak to see to it that their Governments support the Industrial Labour Organisation's conclusions in deed as well as in word.—CONSTANCE SMITH.

LABOUR IN THE FAR EAST

Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan. By Iwao F. Ayusawa. (Geneva, I.L.O.; London, P. S. King & Son. 2s.) Very little information has hitherto been available in the West on the subject of the remarkable industrial development of Japan in recent years. This book is the forerunner of a more detailed report which will be issued at a later date, and which will give the full result of an inquiry undertaken by the I.L.O. Although Japan has started late in the industrial race, the pace of her progress has been rapid, and she now holds a permanent seat on the Governing Body of the I.L.O. by right of being one of the eight states of chief industrial importance in the world; she has compressed into the last twenty-five years more than other countries have accomplished in a century. It need therefore cause no surprise if

her standards of living and conditions of labour do not yet reach the level which prevails in countries with a longer industrial experience; on the other hand, it may be accounted surprising that in so short a time she has been able to do so much.

Mr. Ayusawa points out that Japan can no longer exist as a purely agricultural country; her naturally barren soil is incapable of supporting a population of fifty-nine millions, which increases at the rate of 700,000 a year. This difficulty cannot be solved by any schemes of emigration; it can only be met by an increase in her industrial capacity; the policy of her statesmen is henceforth to be that of "founding the nation upon industry." It is natural that the execution of this policy, stimulated by the experiences of the Great War, should in turn have created its own difficulties; the development was more rapid than the measures of control. Japan has been, however, from the beginning one of the keenest members of the I.L.O., and, so far as her actual conditions have allowed, she has put into practice many of its conventions and recommendations. Mr. Ayusawa describes what has been done in regard to the control of hours of work, woman and child labour, unemployment, industrial hygiene and social insurance, and what he says is, on the whole, encouraging. Perhaps his most noteworthy pages are those which deal with the growth of trades unionism in Japan, a movement which has now won official recognition, but which has suffered much and still suffers from lack of unity.—H.W.F.

THE WORD OF AN EYEWITNESS

The League of Nations at Work. By Philip Noel Baker. (Nisbet & Co. 3s. 6d.) It may be taken for granted that anything which Professor Baker writes about international affairs, and in particular about the League of Nations, is written by a master of the subject. From the first he has been in touch with the men who designed the League, and who have been carrying on its work; behind the scenes he has himself played no small part in that work. With such equipment as this he writes with authority, and also with an intimate knowledge of personalities and occasions. It is this knowledge that makes his account of the League in action different from many of the other books which by now have been written on the same subject. As he outlines—for this book is little more than an outline—the principles which the League is endeavouring to express in deeds, he illustrates them by many incidents within his own experience, and he has very vividly conveyed to the reader what he has seen and heard; with this book in our hands, we might well be sitting opposite to him in an easy chair and listening to his talk; and there is even at times the slipshodness of unstudied conversation. In the two chapters in which he deals with the Assembly and the Council he does well to emphasise the supremacy of the Assembly, a fact which is sometimes overlooked. He is able to state without fear of contradiction that up to the present the institutions of the League "have been equal to the burdens placed upon them"; but to his mind the future of the League depends upon the answer to the question whether these institutions will "be given a real chance to build up their strength before the catastrophe of a new world war sweeps them all away." The pivotal point is disarmament, and upon this point the present generation must make its choice; this book should leave the reader in no doubt as to what the choice must be. It is to be hoped that a second edition will be soon needed, and that then Professor Baker will insert a chapter on the entry of Germany into the League.—H.W.F.

READERS' VIEWS

AN ESSAY COMPETITION ON THE I.L.O.

SIR,—Mr. Mitchell's letter in your September issue is very interesting. I will not burden your columns with discussion of his views on social legislation or the inevitability of limitation of hours of work reducing the wealth of the world.

He says the I.L.O. is concerned with a totally different range of ideas from "the League"; he appears to suggest that "the League" is concerned only with the prevention of war; he indicates that labour legislation is purely a domestic affair.

Surely he means that in his opinion labour legislation should be a purely domestic affair? An international labour convention was adopted as long ago as 1907; there have long existed international associations of labour; the Treaty of Peace included labour provisions; and since the signature of the Peace Treaty a large number of international labour agreements have been adopted and treaties entered into. These few facts show that labour legislation is international as well as national.

As to the objects of the League, are the problems of mandates, health, opium, traffic in women and children (to name but a few) entrusted to the League simply because they are a menace to peace? Are they a greater menace to peace than is social injustice? Cannot it be argued of each one of them that it has its purely domestic side—and therefore "should be" domestic?

In any case, as you, Sir, point out, the I.L.O. is part of the League; the establishment of fair and humane conditions of labour is one of the objects set out in the Covenant (Art. 23). Mr. Mitchell therefore asks, in effect, "Can he support through the L.N.U. some, but not all, of the objects of the League?" I should like to put the question to him in another form. Suppose X is a believer in the suppression of traffic in women and children, but an advocate of war—can he find a *locus standi* in the L.N.U.?

The reason why I say that Mr. Mitchell's letter is interesting is because you quote as its "main answer" the preamble to Part XIII, "whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, etc., that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled." One thinks of Cuba, of the American Civil War, of Chinese slavery and (it may be) of Wrangel; but I have never seen this theme developed. I therefore venture to send you, Sir, a cheque for £5, and ask you to offer this as a prize for a best short essay on the theme which you quote in reply to Mr. Mitchell; I leave it to you to decide the conditions of such a competition, though I hope you will suggest that competitors should as far as possible avoid theory, except in so far as it is deducible from historical events.—Yours, etc., "CRUSADER."

[We gratefully accept "Crusader's" generous offer. Full particulars, rules, &c., of the essay competition on the subject he suggests appear on page 194.—ED.]

THE ECONOMICS OF THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

SIR,—In the September issue of HEADWAY a correspondent, who appears to regard the I.L.O.'s eight-hour day convention as a piece of unwarranted interference, states that "the economic effect of diminished output is not cancelled because other nations suffer it as well as we."

The economic effects that might be expected from a decrease in output (which, incidentally, does not necessarily follow from a reduction in the hours of labour) are: a famine in certain commodities, a fall in wages, or an increase in the cost of production; the first of these alternatives is palpably absurd; trade unionists

may be relied on to prevent or limit the application of the second, so that the economic effect feared by your correspondent is an increased cost of production. If one country increases its cost of production its foreign trade will suffer at the hands of rivals whose cost is stationary, but if fifty nations increase their cost of production the sufferers will be those who are obliged to make the greatest increase, and on the whole the effect will be to put international economic competition on a fairer basis. A general assent to the imposition of certain recognised just conditions at the beginning of any struggle is one of the best safeguards against a free fight at the close.—Yours, etc.,

Southampton.

MONICA G. PAGE.

"A SEAMAN'S CODE"

SIR,—In your August number you publish an article entitled "A Seaman's Code," in which you review the results of the Ninth (Second Maritime) Conference of the International Labour Organisation held at Geneva in June last.

You begin by asking, "What happens to an able seaman when he finds himself stranded far from home through shipwreck or some other cause?" Further on you refer picturesquely, but prejudicially and inaccurately, to the seaman as being "jettisoned" in such circumstances.

You answer your own question as follows:—"Actually the position, so far, is that if the contract between him and his employers is broken by such an incident as shipwreck, he is left to find a job on some other ship or get wherever he wants to get as best he can, and pay the costs out of his scantily lined pocket."

Will you allow me to say that this statement is diametrically opposed to fact? Our Merchant Shipping Acts make ample provision for the free relief, maintenance and repatriation of shipwrecked seamen, and of seamen found otherwise in distress, in any place out of the United Kingdom, by reason of having been discharged or left behind.

The Draft Convention of the International Labour Organisation on this subject will be principally useful as a guide to nascent maritime countries whose mercantile marines for the most part consist at present of visionary fleets ploughing unknown seas, and whose laws for the protection of seamen are naturally as yet undeveloped.

The same observation applies to the Convention concerning Seamen's Articles of Agreement, which, as the result of amendments made to the original draft, emerged from Committee in a form which enabled the employers' representatives to withdraw their opposition to it. No doubt you will desire to publish this correction in your forthcoming issue.—Yours, etc.,

CUTHBERT LAWS,
General Manager.

The Shipping Federation, Ltd.,
52, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.

[If the article (from which Mr. Laws quotes two sentences) had proposed to state what happens to all seamen, his "correction" would have been relevant; yet on a similar hypothesis the "correction" would have been open to the same reproach, for "our" Merchant Shipping Acts do not provide (amply or otherwise) for all seamen in the circumstances which Mr. Laws mentions. Common sense, however, prevents us from accepting the hypothesis. More interesting are the last two paragraphs of his letter. Mr. Law's phraseology might be thought to suggest that the two Conventions were in his opinion of little value, were it not obvious that his reference to the withdrawal of employers' opposition would in that case have been a singular reflection upon himself and them.—ED.]



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The new Pelman method avoids this difficulty. When you take up a Pelman Course in French, or in any other language, you are introduced to that language straight away. You learn to speak, write, read, and understand it. Formal grammar is avoided. You pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along. If, later on, you would like to study the grammar you can do so. But the grammar comes last, the living language comes first. That is why the new method is so interesting—and so successful.

Here are a few examples of the thousands of letters received from people who have learnt languages by this method:—

"In sending in the last paper to the Institute I must congratulate it on its splendid method. I have only been learning German for five months; now I can not only read it but also speak it well." (G.M. 148.)

"I can read and speak with ease, though it is less than six months since I began to study Spanish." (S.M. 181.)

"I have learnt more French during the last three months from your course than I learnt during some four or five years' teaching on old-fashioned lines at a school." (S. 382.)

An important feature of this new method is that it enables you to

- learn French in French,
- learn German in German,
- learn Spanish in Spanish,
- learn Italian in Italian.

And it enables you to do this even if you do not possess the smallest previous acquaintance with any of these languages.

By the Pelman method you can learn any one of these languages without using a single word of English. You can take up a book written entirely in French, German, Italian, or Spanish, and read it right through without making a single mistake. It's very

amazing. Yet it is quite simple. Many advantages follow. There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart. The words you need you learn by using them, and in such a way that you never forget them. There is no translation (either mental or on paper) from one language into another. By learning a language as a native learns it you learn to speak it more fluently; there is none of that hesitation (due to translating mentally words of one language into words of another language) which is almost unavoidable when you learn French or Spanish or German or Italian in the old-fashioned way.

By learning languages in this way you will be able to read the leading French, German, Italian and Spanish newspapers and reviews, and thus keep in close touch with Continental opinion on subjects connected with the League of Nations.

The New Pelman method is taught by correspondence. There are no classes to attend. You can study by this method in your own home, or when travelling (the books are provided with a plain cover, so that no one need know what you are doing).

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German," "How to Learn Italian," and "How to Learn Spanish." You can obtain any one of these books gratis and post free, by writing for it to-day (using the coupon printed below) to the

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MORE FACTS

THREE of the big guns in the Labour movement successfully demolish the objections to the International Labour Organisation in the revised edition of the Union's pamphlet, "Labour and the League of Nations" (No. 157, 3d.). Mr. Ramsay MacDonald contributes a reasoned reply to the charges against the International Labour Organisation of extravagance and a bias towards socialism, which are favoured by the Rothermere Press. Miss Margaret Bondfield's article is concerned chiefly with exposing the false arguments of those critics who are opposed to ratification by the British Government of the various I.L.O. conventions. The third contributor, Mr. Arthur Pugh, Chairman of the T.U.C., puts the case for the I.L.O. so as to appeal specially to the Trade Unionist point of view.

Under the title "Patriotism" (No. 197, 2d.), the Union has reprinted the paper on Psychology of Patriotism, which was read by Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett before the recent meeting of the British Association. It is of special interest to members of the L.N.U., as it deals with the principles upon which the Union's work is based. A wrong conception of patriotism is often at the root of anti-League prejudice, and, as Dr. Garnett points out, the time has come for patriotism to cease to be the differentiator and for it to become the integrator of nations.

As a result of continuous requests, the Union has published a new pamphlet, containing a series of Sunday School lessons on the League (No. 198, 2d.); the outline lessons for children from nine to fourteen are written by Mr. E. H. Hayes, and those for senior classes by Miss D. H. Dent.

THE TRADE UNION VIEW

AT its Bournemouth meeting last month the Trades Union Congress passed a series of important resolutions in support of the International Labour Office. As will be seen from the text of the resolutions, which is given below, they are not mere academic expressions of opinion, and it is particularly useful that the T.U.C. should have definitely recommended its constituent organisations to co-operation with the League of Nations Union. After having affirmed its belief in the I.L.O. as the most hopeful machinery yet created for the establishment of international standards of labour and in particular for the international regulation of hours of work, the Congress called upon the Government:—

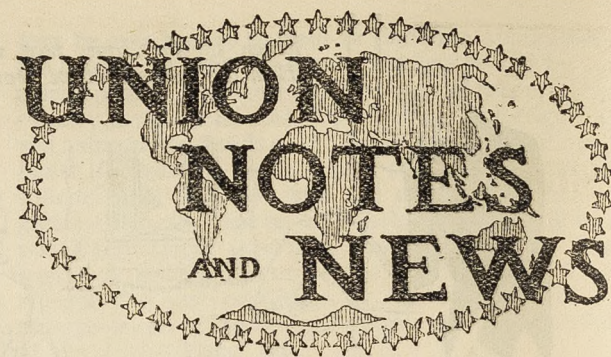
(1) To give evidence of its belief in the value of the I.L.O. by appointing its Minister of Labour as one of the representatives at the Annual Conference of the Organisation.

(2) To do everything in its power to secure ratification of the Washington Hours of Work Convention adopted by the I.L. Conference in 1919, an agreed interpretation of which was signed by the five great industrial powers in March, 1926.

It expresses its satisfaction at the decision of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to place on the agenda of the next session of the I.L. Conference subjects of such importance to the workers as sickness, insurance, an international minimum wage for the less organised industries and freedom of association for the workers in all countries which are members of the I.L.O.

It further expresses its appreciation of the work being carried out by the I.L.O. in the investigation of international conditions of labour in the mining industry, and also conditions of the workers in the Asiatic countries belonging to the I.L.O., and hopes that these inquiries will bear fruitful results.

It strongly recommends all constituent bodies to make a critical study of the machinery of the I.L.O., and to take advantage of the services of the League of Nations Union in creating that public support for the organisation without which its work can never be extended or given effect to.



"God Speed" to Dr. Norwood

The Dedicatory Service, initiating Dr. Norwood's Peace Campaign, which he is to conduct during the coming winter, under the auspices of the Union, was held at the City Temple on September 26. Dr. Scott Lidgett took part as representing the Free Churches, and the Rev. F. G. Forder represented the Church of England. The following letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Dr. Garnett, the Secretary of the Union, was read at the service:—

"Lambeth Palace, S.E.
"DEAR DR. MAXWELL GARNETT,—I think I am right in believing that before long Dr. Norwood, of the City Temple, will be starting on the Appeal Campaign, which he is undertaking on behalf of the League of Nations. I am sure that his eloquence and earnestness will be of immense service in commending to those who are at present strangely apathetic about it the cause of the League of Nations, to which thoughtful men throughout the world are now deliberately committed. I suppose it is inevitable that there should be at the present stage both misunderstanding and prejudice, but this can, I am certain, be broken down by personal advocacy of the sort which Dr. Norwood, beyond other men, is able so effectively to give. Perhaps you will take the opportunity when he is starting to assure him that he is being remembered by those of us—and we are many—who are convinced of the high service he is rendering to the peace and progress of the world and to the common good.—I am, yours very truly,
" (Signed) RANDALL CANTUAR."

At the invitation of the Bishop of Liverpool Dr. Norwood will preach in St. Andrew's Church, Southport, on Congress Sunday, October 3, at the special service arranged in connection with the annual meeting of the Church Congress.

A Seventh Assembly Conference

A Conference on the Seventh Assembly, organised by the London Regional Federation of the Union, will be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 18. There will be two sessions. The first, at which Mr. Wilson Harris is to give a general survey, will begin at 6.15 p.m., and end at 7.30 p.m. The second will open at 8.15 p.m., and will be devoted to particular problems with which the League has to deal. Mr. J. H. Harris will speak on Slavery, and Professor P. J. Baker on Disarmament. There will be questions and discussions at each session. Tickets, admitting to both meetings, price 1s. each, can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Buy a Nansen Stamp

The August HEADWAY contained an account of the Nansen Stamp, which has been issued by the International Labour Office as a means of raising funds for its Refugee Service. The first issue has been limited to 150,000, and at the end of 1926 all unsold stamps will be called in, and a fresh issue made. A small supply of these stamps is available for sale to the public at 5s. each. If any members of the Union, particularly those who are stamp collectors, would buy one of these stamps, they would have the double satisfaction of knowing that they were benefiting not only themselves, but also the cause of the refugees. The stamps can be obtained from the London Office of the I.L.O., 26, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.

The T.U.C. and the I.L.O.

The International Labour Office and its work was well to the fore during the meeting of the Trade Union Congress at Bournemouth last month. A special meeting on the I.L.O. was organised by the Bournemouth Branch of the Union, at which the principal speakers were Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. E. L. Poulton and Alderman Ben Turner. Major-General Sir Harry Brooking was in the chair. Delegates to the Congress formed a considerable proportion of the enthusiastic audience. The important resolutions in support of the I.L.O. which were passed by the T.U.C. appear in the preceding column.

More Garden Parties

Garden Parties continue to hold their own as the most popular form of branch activity during the summer months. Delightful weather and the beautiful grounds of Park Place greatly helped to make the Harrogate Branch Fête, held last month, an unqualified success. Speeches from Canon Guy and Mr. C. W. S.

DON'T RISK A WAR!
SIGN THE PEACE LETTER!
and
**TELL THE PRIME MINISTER
WHERE YOU STAND.**

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TO ADVERTISERS

All communications concerning Advertisement space in HEADWAY should be addressed to—

THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,
FLEETWAY PRESS, Ltd.,
3-9, Dane Street, Holborn, London, W.C.

LECTURES

FIFTEEN LECTURES dealing with the Attitude of Nations to World Problems, with special reference to the League of Nations, will be held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb Institute, Central Square, N.W.11, on alternate Thursday evenings, commencing September 30th, 1926, at 8 p.m. Courses: Tickets, 10/6. Refreshments. World famous lecturers, including Prof. Gilbert Murray, Prof. Salvemini, Prof. Toynebee, Baron Meyendorff, Sir Atul Chatterjee, and others. For syllabus, tickets and information apply to the Hon. Sec., E. C. ELSMORE, 44, Meadway, N.W.11.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

WESTBOURNE PARK BUILDING SOCIETY.—Shareholders receive FIVE PER CENT INTEREST, entirely free from Income Tax payment, promptly on January 1st and July 1st. Ample Reserve Funds with absolute security. Any amount can be paid. Easy Withdrawals. Apply for Prospectus, MANAGER, 136, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2.

PEACE PAGEANT PLAY.—"THE HEART'S DESIRE"—post free 1/2 each.—Rev. A. E. ROSE, The Manse, Rothwell, Nr Leeds.

NEW BOOKS OF EVERY KIND SOLD ON EASY TERMS: Splendid opportunity for Booklovers; particulars sent free.—H. P. LIBRARY, Dept. L.N., 25, Liverpool Street, London, E.C.2.

Greaves were the serious items on the programme. The rest were devoted to side shows and included entertainments, competitions and dancing. The "Harrogate Advertiser" published some excellent photographs of the Fête.

Jesmond Dene, which the local press reporter described as "the most beautiful place in Newcastle," was chosen for the Garden Party of the Jesmond and Heaton Branches. A large crowd attended and patronised the stalls in charge of Mrs. Thomas Taylor of Chipchase Castle, at which gifts from country branches were sold. After tea and a concert in the Banqueting Hall a meeting was held when Mrs. Alderson and Miss Laura Ainsworth spoke.

The Garden Meeting arranged by the Church Stretton Branch was held in ideal surroundings. The Town Band, conducted by the President of the Branch, played during the afternoon and the speakers, who included Miss Muriel Currey and the Reverend T. Darling, persuaded eighty new members to enrol. A feature of the meeting was the organisation of a fleet of motor cars to bring in visitors from the outlying districts.

"Go thou, and do Likewise"

"I enclose my yearly subscription, which I have doubled, as a thank offering for the entry of Germany into the League." (Extract from a member's letter to Headquarters.)

News in Brief

Thetford is a shining example of the success of the ward collector system. The branch has organised its collectors so efficiently that not one membership subscription is overdue.

Penstone, a small town in Yorkshire, was so anxious to secure Dr. Norwood for a League meeting that 300 ratepayers signed a petition asking him to come.

A small girl of twelve recently won a first prize in an essay competition on the League organised among the local schools by the Hamilton Branch. Her essay is a model of its kind, and would do credit to a member of the Union twice her age.

Boys' Brigade Backs the League

A great deal of valuable support is given to the Union's work by the vast majority of the organisations working among young people. It is particularly gratifying to find the following paragraph, headed by the Union's "World and Stars" design, included in the attractive booklet that has been issued as a gift to their hosts by a Scottish party of officers and members of the Boys' Brigade which is visiting Denmark this year:—

"All nations need to know and understand each other better, so that their suspicions may disappear, and they may work together for the common good of humanity. The League of Nations is the political expression of this; what is most needed is its social and personal expression.

"If these visits of the boys of one country to the boys of another bear their full fruit of friendship and understanding, then a very great good is accomplished for the benefit of the whole world.

"We trust that our visit, bringing, as we do, the goodwill of The Boys' Brigade of the British Isles to Denmark, may play some part in the increase of international friendship, and also help forward the great object which both organisations have so much at heart."

Young Journalists

The widespread formation of branches of the Union in schools has provided a new feature for school magazines. The last number of the *Girls' Gazette*, issued by the Wyggeston Grammar School, Leicester, devotes five pages to League matters, including a report of the activities of the Juniors Branch, an account of a meeting at which Mr. Wheien spoke, a reprint of Professor Murray's pamphlet, "The Christ of the Andes," and, finally, a chronicle of the League of Nations Sports held at the school. The competitors included members of the staff and mothers of the pupils.

The *Tollingtonian*, a magazine produced by the Tollington Boys' School, contains an excellent article on the League, by M. J. H. Goodchild.

A New Pageant Play

"Humanity Delivered" is the title of a new peace-pageant play which was first performed in July last at a League of Nations demonstration by 25 children attending Kirkby Stephen Council School. Written by Mr. F. W. Parrott, the Kirkby Stephen Branch Secretary, it is one of the best peace plays we have seen and we commend it to Branches. Copies of the play can be obtained from the author, whose address is Kirkby Stephen, Penrith, price 7½d. each (post free).

A Hint to Organisers

Most town branches have a panel of local speakers upon which it is an established habit of smaller branches to draw; the services of these speakers are always given without a fee. But it should be borne in mind that these meetings generally involve travelling expenses, not great in each case, but amounting to a considerable sum in the aggregate, which the speaker should not be expected to defray. We hope, therefore, that organisers of meetings will bear in mind that the majority of speakers should be offered their out-of-pocket expenses. One other point. If a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed with an invitation to speak at a meeting, the chances are that it will produce a quick and favourable reply.

The Council's Vote

Since the last list was published the following branches have completed their quota towards this year's Council's vote: Brackley, Bourton-on-the-Water, Carlton (Notts), Cropready, Dundee, Derby Borough, Kelvedon, Meltham, Mottisfont, Swaledale, Telford, Tiverton, Winsford.

New Corporate Members

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the last list was published:—

ABERDEEN: Gilcomston Park Baptist Church; Y.M.C.A. BOLTON: First Circuit Primitive Methodist Church. BOURNE-MOUTH: Richmond Hill Congregational Church. BRADFORD: Hebrew Congregation. BRATTON: Branch of C.E.M.S. BURNLEY: Club and Institute Union. CHESTER: City and County School for Girls. CRAWFORD: Wesley Guild. EDINBURGH: Palmerston Place United Free Church Women's Guild. FAILSWORTH: Bethel United Methodist Church. GODMERSHAM: Parish Church. GREAT HARWOOD: St. John's Church Club; Primitive Methodist Church. HARROGATE: Hebrew Congregation. HATHERN: Baptist Church; Parochial Church Council. HAZELGROVE: Congregational Church. HORWICH: Independent Methodist Church. HUCKNALL: Traders' Association. HUDDERSFIELD: Berry Brow Wesleyan Church. HYDE: Hoviley Brow Primitive Methodist Church. ILKESTON: Primitive Methodist Church. IPSWICH: St. John the Baptist Church. LAMBERHEAD GREEN: United Methodist Church. LEEDS: Great Synagogue; New Briggate Synagogue; New Leeds Hebrew Congregation; Practical Psychology Club of Leeds. LEIGH-ON-SEA: Brotherhood. LEICESTER: Practical Psychology Club. LITTLEBOROUGH: Green Hill Primitive Methodist Church; Parish Church; Summit Congregational Church. LIVERPOOL: Richmond Baptist Church Christian Endeavour Society. LOCKWOOD: Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Church. LONDON REGION: BALHAM: Congregational Church. CAMBERWELL: Clements Hall Young People's Guild. Grosvenor Chapel, North Audley Street. HIGHGATE: Jacksons Lane Wesleyan Church. LOUGHTON: St. Mary's Parochial Church Council. NORTH KENSINGTON: Women's National Unionist Association; North West London Synagogue. QUEEN'S PARK: Brotherhood. SOUTHALL: Kings Hall Brotherhood and Sisterhood. UPTON PARK: Associate Synagogue. WEMBLEY: Broadway Congregational Church. WIMBLEDON: Quicks Road Primitive Methodist Church. MANCHESTER: Culcheth United Methodist Church, Newton Heath; St. Pauls United Methodist Church, Newton Heath; Wilton Street Unitarian Chapel, Denton; St. Chrysostom's Church, Victoria Park; Zion Congregational Church, Stretford Road. MARKET HARBOROUGH: Congregational Church. NEW BURY: Wesleyan Sunday School. NEWCHURCH-IN-ROSENDALE: Newchurch Unitarians. NORTHDOWN: Congregational Church. OXFORD: St. Hilda's Hall Junior Common Room. PLYMOUTH: Chamber of Commerce. PORTSMOUTH: Powerscourt Road United Methodist Church. ROCHDALE: Bagslate Wesleyan Church; Gravelhole Wesleyan Chapel. ROTHERHAM: Doncaster Road Congregational Church. RUDDINGTON: Wesleyan Church. SALFORD: Lower Broughton Wesleyan Church. SALTASH: Wesleyan Church. SCARBOROUGH: St. Sepulchre Street Primitive Methodist Church. ST. AUSTELL: Zion United Methodist Church. WAKEFIELD: Primitive Methodist Church and Christian Endeavour Society. WALLASEY: Seacombe Wesleyan Church. WATERFOOT: Hareholme Primitive Methodists. WOLSHAM: Wesleyan Methodist Church. WOODBOROUGH (WILTS): Parish Church. WORKSOP: United Methodist Church.

Welsh Notes

The North Wales Members of the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council met at Bangor on September 10, to consider the vacancy caused by the retirement through ill-health of Mr. E. H. Jones, from the organisership of North Wales. Happily Mr. Jones, who has rendered invaluable service to the movement, although unable to continue with the full-time appointment, will be as ready as ever to help as opportunity serves.

At its Annual Conference in Gregynog Hall on October 15-18 the Welsh Advisory Education Committee will be concerned with a survey of the programme of International Education in the Schools of Wales from 1922 to 1926. Opportunity will be taken to confer with fellow-workers from abroad.

The Cardiff Daffodil Day realised £130. £70 was taken in pennies—the effect of the industrial depression.

All Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are urged to make the week of the Armistice a League of Nations week for the enrolling of new members. It is by a campaign for our cause that we can best pay our debt to the Dead.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Australia

The Tasmanian League of Nations Union has persuaded the University authorities in Tasmania to include the subject of the League in leaving-certificate examinations.

Canada

The Bulletin of the Canadian League of Nations Society prints an extract from a letter of the Reverend Colonel Fallis in answer to a request from the President of the Society in Ottawa for his active co-operation in Vancouver. He writes that at a meeting recently held in St. Andrew's Church of that city, the church, having a seating accommodation of 1,400, was full and a radio was installed. The educational work carried on in Vancouver has also been a great success, "Oratorical Contests" among university students being particularly popular.

New Zealand

Mrs. Denton Leech has been appointed by the Dominion Council to inaugurate new Branches of the League of Nations Union in New Zealand, and to canvass for new members. Up to the present she has visited Invercargill and Oamaru with great success.

In Auckland, there has been a steady increase of members for the League of Nations Union. Successful fortnightly luncheons have been held and an attendance averaging 80 members has been interested in the different aspects of the League.

Belgium

The Belgian Government has given instructions to school teachers in all elementary and secondary schools to educate their pupils in regard to the aims and purposes of the League of Nations. An active exchange of correspondence has also developed between the pupils of several secondary schools in Belgium and those in Great Britain and America.

France

M. Mauret-Lofage, the energetic President of the League of Nations Union at Bordeaux, has instituted Saturday-afternoon meetings for children from the age of 10 to 14. The teachers are present as well as some of the parents. The attendance of the children numbers over 200.

A unique enterprise is being planned by Dr. Sidney L. Gulich, who is busily working for promotion of friendly relations between the nations of the world, especially between America and Japan. He proposes to send 100,000 American dolls as messengers of goodwill to Japan. They will be dressed and contributed mainly by American school children. At a meeting of the American section of schools held in New York last June greetings and wishes of goodwill were sent to the Japanese.

International Federation of League of Nations Societies

The next meeting of the Council of the Federation will take place at the invitation of the Austrian Society at Salzburg on October 1.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Foundation membership, HEADWAY, and all pamphlets issued, minimum, £1. Ordinary membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, minimum 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire, 5s.); Membership, 1s.

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.

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TOTAL NUMBER OF ENROLMENTS AS RECORDED 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
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	...	432,478
Sept. 18, 1926	...	...	...	...	...	565,909

BRANCHES

On Sept. 18, 1926, the number of Branches was 2,350; Junior Branches 382, and Corporate Members 1,983.