



Vol. VI. No. II

Published by the
[League of Nations Union.]

November, 1924.

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission
by the Canadian Magazine Post.]

Price Threepence

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	201	WARFARE BY POISON	212
HOW THE ASSEMBLY ENDED ..	204	OVERSEAS SOCIETIES MEET IN LONDON	213
THE PROTOCOL IN BRIEF ..	205	PROTOCOL AND ELECTION	213
THE PROTOCOL EXPLAINED ..	206	THE FILENE PEACE PRIZE ..	214
OPIMUM AT GENEVA. By Dr. A. L. Warnshuis ..	207	GREEK REFUGEES ..	214
JAPAN AND THE PROTOCOL. By Mr Adatci ..	209	BOOKS WORTH READING ..	216
M. BRANTING AND THE PROTOCOL ..	209	GENEVA PUBLICATIONS ..	216
GENEVA LETTER	210	CORRESPONDENCE ..	217
YOUR BUSINESS	211	LONDON AND THE LEAGUE ..	218
		UNION NOTES AND NEWS ..	218

MATTERS OF MOMENT.

SO far as the League of Nations is concerned, nothing that has happened in the past month, or for many months and years before that, can compare in importance with the approval by a unanimous vote of the Assembly of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Unlike the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, whose place it has taken as the approved way of approach to the eternal problem of the reduction of armaments, the Protocol has attracted immediate attention in this country. But for the General Election it would have attracted much more, and now that the polling is over it may be expected that both public and politicians will examine the Geneva agreement much more closely than they have been able to do yet. Elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY will be found some suggestions as to the duty of League of Nations Union members in regard to the Protocol. Here it is only necessary to touch on those aspects of the situation to which some, though of course not excessive, attention should be paid. France has been endeavouring ever since the Armistice to reach some agreement with this country (and others) regarding her own necessity. She hoped for a Franco-Anglo-American Treaty at the Peace Conference, but the hope came to nothing. She hoped for a direct agreement at the Cannes Conference in 1922, but the hope came to nothing. She hoped to get what she wanted

from the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, but the hope came to nothing. Now she has welcomed the Protocol with enthusiasm, and signed it on the spot. She will almost certainly ratify, and she looks with confidence to this country to sign and ratify, too. That, as has been said, is not a factor that can determine our action, but it may legitimately influence it within limits. A fresh strain on the now harmonious relations existing between Britain and France would be matter for grave regret.

* * * *

ONE of the aspects of the League Assembly to which too little attention is attracted is the opportunity it gives for conversations and agreements which have often no bearing on the main current of the Assembly discussions at all. Three examples of this may be mentioned in connection with this year's meetings. The first and most notable is the agreement arranged by both Greece and Bulgaria with the League Council to invite the League representatives on the Migration Commission now at work on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier to charge themselves specially with the welfare of Greek minorities in Bulgaria and Bulgarian minorities in Greece. The initiative in this case came from the two countries themselves, not from the Council, though it was Professor Gilbert Murray who by his persuasion brought them finally to the point. Then there were the discussions between the Dutch and Belgian Foreign Ministers over the Weilingen Channel question. It may seem odd

that the Ministers of next-door neighbours like Holland and Belgium should have to get to Geneva before they began talking, but the same thing happened last year between Dr. Benes, Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, and Count Bethlen, of Hungary. The third example is the discussion between Portugal and the Union of South Africa over their common frontier, negotiations regarding which were stated by the Portuguese delegate, M. Andrade, to have advanced materially owing to the opportunity he had had of going into the matter with the South African representative, Mr. Hofmeyr, at Geneva.

THE activities of the League Council at the various meetings it holds during the month of the Assembly sittings are naturally overshadowed, as a rule, by the activities of the larger body. In point of fact, however, the Council had a number of important pieces of business on hand during its September meetings. The subject of greatest general interest was no doubt the question of the frontier of Irak. After some beating about the bush, both Lord Parmoor, for Great Britain, and Fethi Bey, for Turkey, agreed to accept whatever decision the Council might give, and the Council on its part, in order to qualify it to give any decision at all, resolved to appoint an expert commission to examine the situation in all its bearings, going out if necessary to Irak to make a survey on the spot. Unfortunately, trouble had arisen since this agreement was reached. Both Britain and Turkey agreed that their representatives at Geneva should respect the *status quo* while the Council was investigating. This was done at the moment when Turkish troops were actually on the wrong side of the provisional frontier, and Turkey has since justified her action by explaining that by *status quo* she meant the position existing at the time of the Geneva discussions, whereas Lord Parmoor and most other people understood by it the position existing at the time of the Treaty of Lausanne. It was ultimately decided to submit this difference of opinion to the Council itself, which will have to hold a special meeting for the purpose.

THE other important piece of business handled by the Council was the approval of a scheme laying down the lines on which the League should carry out the supervision of the armaments of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria when invited to do so under the appropriate clauses of the treaties by which those nations are bound. The importance is obvious, as one of the stages of the liquidation of the Peace Treaties, substituting League for Allied Control of the defeated states. Since the League has not yet been invited in the case of any one of the countries actually to carry out this task, the details of its plan are not perhaps of the first importance. They provide, however, for the creation of special commissions of investigation which can be despatched to any one of the countries in question if it is alleged that an infringement of its disarmament undertakings has taken place. There will be a considerable neutral element in these commissions, and there is no doubt that their operation will provoke less hostility than the inter-

vention of purely Allied commissions. At the same time, the task is a thorny one, which the League might well have been glad not to have thrust on it.

AN important little event in the League's history has gone so far practically unnoticed, that is the final entry into operation of four of the amendments to the Covenant approved by the Second Assembly in 1921. Under Article 26 of the Covenant, an amendment comes into force only when it has been ratified by all the Council members and the majority of members of the Assembly. For one reason and another the full list of ratifications from Council members has not been forthcoming till within the last few months, when first a change in Article 6, providing that the Assembly shall decide the scale of contributions of members of the League, was brought into operation by the arrival of the last ratification needed, and then three Articles dealing with arbitration (Nos. 12, 13 and 15) were also definitively amended, the alteration in each case consisting merely of mention of the Court of International Justice as well as the League Council and Boards of Arbitration in relation to the settlement of disputes. The amendment was needed because, when the Covenant was drafted, the International Court was not in existence.

NO one acquainted with the work of the Mandates Commission has ever doubted its thoroughness or practical value. There has, however, been one real obstacle in the way of anyone desiring to study the mandate question, in that the reports on administration rendered to the League annually by mandatory States on the areas under their supervision were reproduced in only a few type-written copies, and were, therefore, practically unobtainable except by members of the Commission and League officials. The Fifth Assembly has wisely adopted a resolution changing this, and providing that the reports shall in future be printed and put on sale like other League documents, even if this involves some financial loss, against which contingency a sum of 25,000 francs has been set aside in the League Budget.

THE London papers in the third week of October gave considerable prominence to a sensational gun-running case in which consignments of machine guns and other arms were shipped from a wharf on the Thames by a vessel which was subsequently seized in the North Sea. It was suggested in court that the consignment was intended for Latvia (which one of the learned counsel appears to have believed was a State in the Balkans), but it was authoritatively stated that the real destination was Leningrad. Two of the prisoners concerned pleaded guilty, and finally penalties running into some tens of thousands of pounds were imposed. Such an incident—coupled with the comparative freedom with which generals in the Chinese Civil War appear able to obtain aeroplanes and munitions from such countries as France and Italy—are striking evidence of the necessity for the new Arms Traffic Convention,

which it is hoped to get definitely signed by all the nations of the world at the Conference to be called for that purpose by the League in April or May of next year. This matter has been under discussion since the abortive convention of St. Germain was drafted in 1919. It will be a disaster if effective action is not forthcoming now.

THE Saar Valley seems curiously ill-starred in the matter of its government. Last March, it will be remembered, two or three changes of importance were made by the League Council in the personnel of the Saar Governing Commission, the net result, to put the matter plainly, being that the members likely to be particularly solicitous for French interests would in the future be two out of five—a minority—instead of, as in the past, three out of five—a majority. One of these changes was the substitution of a Spaniard, Col. Espinosa de los Monteros, for the former Danish-Parisian member Count Moltke. Col. Espinosa immediately established a considerable popularity with the Saar inhabitants and gave every promise of becoming a most valuable member of the Governing Commission. Most unhappily, while on holiday just before the League Assembly opened, he fell victim to a sudden seizure, dying within twenty-four hours. In his place the League Council appointed in September a Czecho-Slovakian, M. Verensky, who has for four years been a judge of the Supreme Court of the Saar Territory at Sarrelouis. M. Verensky thus starts with the advantage of a full acquaintance with local conditions and the disadvantage (in the minds of German critics) of being a citizen of a country rather closely associated with France. He is a personal friend of Dr. Benes, and the Saar Socialist papers have welcomed his appointment.

MOST public men have said openly at one time or another what they think about the League. Among the exceptions is Marshal Foch, and he has now broken silence by giving an interview to M. Henry Ruffin, published in a recent issue of *La Revue Hebdomadaire*. The French Commander-in-Chief takes, as might be expected, essentially a soldier's view. France, he holds, can put complete faith in the League (in the matter of security) only when it is endowed with material force. The League can effect a reduction of armaments, but only in so far as it confers security through material guarantees. Moreover there is the question of the armaments of the enemy States. Here the League must assume control some day, but only when the demands of the Allies themselves have been fully accomplished and when the League has drafted a plan of action in whose efficacy the Allies can have confidence. Asked his opinion on the motto "If you wish for peace, prepare for war," Marshal Foch declares that war is an abominable profession, that the League is a generous and attractive idea, but that time must be given to consolidate it before it is entrusted with the sole responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

THE election of the non-permanent members of the League Council resulted in the whole batch being sent back to serve for another year.

That is a far from satisfactory arrangement, and it may be hoped it will not be repeated. The non-permanent seats ought to be held in turn by as wide a range of States as possible, and, though a complete change of the whole six in a particular year would be undesirable, new blood ought to be perpetually introduced. As a matter of fact, it is an open secret that one country—Spain—is the obstacle to a reasonable reform of the procedure of Council elections. An amendment providing that the Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules for the election of the non-permanent members and their tenure of office has been adopted by the Assembly, but it needs ratification by all Council members, and Spain declines to ratify because she knows that one rule which would be made immediately would be that when a State had served a two or three-year term on the Council it should not be eligible again till after a two or three-year interval. This would at once hit Belgium, Brazil and Spain, which have been elected every year since the League was created. Regrettable as it would be to lose the representatives of those States, particularly M. Hymans, a change is necessary. Brazil, to take one special case, ought unquestionably to give place for a period to Chile or the Argentine.

IT is a matter of great regret that space prevents us from reproducing in full the most admirable address on the League of Nations broadcast by Lord Balfour from Edinburgh on October 10. Nearly every sentence of the statement calls for quotation. Nothing could be more timely than Lord Balfour's observation that "the whole atmosphere of the League tends to make the separate nations of which it consists more conscious that, in spite of all their differences, they have common interests and common duties and share common life. But there is not the least reason for supposing that this will weaken true patriotism or diminish in the smallest degree the vigour of national life."

DURING the recent sessions of the British Association at Toronto advantage was taken of the presence of well-known supporters of the League of Nations movement to arrange a number of important meetings in different centres in Canada. At one such gathering, which was addressed by Principal Barker, of King's College, and Mr. C. W. Kimmins, the chair was taken by Sir Arthur Currie, who commanded the Canadian forces in France for a considerable part of the war, and is now, by a rather strange change of vocation, Principal of McGill University. His former rôle, even more than his latter, lent special force to his unqualified declaration of faith in the League. In General Currie's view, the common duty of all men to see to it that nothing was left undone to prevent war was emphasised in a special way by the sacrifice of the 55,000 Canadians left to lie beneath the poppies of France. "The League," he declared, "may not be perfect, but it is the best thing we have had yet." Such words are worth the considered attention of the people who are talking nonsense to-day about the Dominions and the League in connection with the Protocol.

HOW THE ASSEMBLY ENDED.

THE general review of the Fifth Assembly in the October number of HEADWAY broke off at the point where the first drafts of a possible protocol on arbitration, security and disarmament had been agreed on in principle by the British and French delegations, in consultation with Dr. Benes, and referred for closer examination (so far as sanctions and disarmament went) to a Sub-Committee of twelve members of Commission III. Sub-Committees of Commission I set to work simultaneously on the arbitration part of the Protocol. While this work was going forward, the other four Commissions of the Assembly were, of course, fully occupied on their various tasks, and apart from a short adjournment, arranged in order to give them the opportunity of concentrating on the business before them, the Assembly was meeting daily to deal with the harvest of reports coming in from one Commission and another.

In most cases no very prolonged discussion in the plenary body was necessary, as the Commissions had thrashed out every question fully. There was, however, a lively debate on the French offer of a building and an endowment to the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, Mr. Charlton, the Australian Labour leader, stoutly resisting acceptance of this gift, and only desisting when the head of his delegation, Sir Littleton Groom, declared that the Australian vote must be cast in favour of it. Even so, Mr. Charlton took the opportunity to add that if the vote had been in his hands, it would have gone the other way. Another matter on which some slight differences of opinion existed was as to the expediency of passing any resolution on the situation in Georgia, in regard to which the Assembly decided in the end to repeat the rather colourless resolution of 1922 instructing the Council to keep an eye on the question and take any opportunity that might offer of intervening as mediator.

The smoothness with which the main routine business flowed on was due in part, as has been said already, to the adequate preparation of the ground by the Commissions, and in part to the fact that as the Assembly drew near its close attention was centred more and more on two outstanding issues. One was the question of the admission of Germany, interest in which matter increased as the time for application grew short, and the German Government at the same time seemed increasingly disposed to apply. The obstacle that had overshadowed the prospects of Germany's admission during the earlier part of the Assembly—the threatened issue from Berlin of a Note on war guilt—seemed to be safely out of the way, and expectation was further quickened by the news which leaked out gradually that Dr. Nansen's disappearance from the Assembly scene meant that he had gone off to place the whole situation before the German Chancellor, who was then on holiday at Sigmaringen.

But, in spite of everything, the German Cabinet failed to get quite so far as tendering an application before September ended. Delegates dispersed, however, in the fairly confident belief that Germany would have applied before the year 1924 was out, in which case there was every likelihood of a special Assembly being held to admit her formally into the League.

The other dominating issue was, of course, the discussions on the progress of the Geneva Protocol. These proceeded with a large degree of harmony, having regard to the complexity of the problem, but inevitably points cropped up from time to time on which differences of opinion arose, which caused serious, if momentary, anxiety. There was the question between the French and British as to how closely the arbitration and sanctions system should be linked with disarmament. France desired the former to come into force at once. Great Britain, at first at any rate, was for holding over signature and ratification of the Protocol altogether

till after the Disarmament Conference had been held. In the end a reasonable compromise was reached, under which the Arbitration and Sanctions Protocol was to be signed and ratified by at least a minimum number of States before the Disarmament Conference could be held at all, and its actual entry into operation suspended till that Conference should have arrived at satisfactory decisions.

Then there was, of course, the scare about the Protocol meaning the handing over of the British Navy to the League Council. Though Lord Parmoor has since stated in a letter to the *Times* that he has failed to discover how this misunderstanding arose, it appears to have originated in a misunderstanding regarding a statement made by him in an informal interview with certain journalists. Fortunately, repeated statements by Lord Parmoor himself, Mr. Henderson, and others, made the matter perfectly clear to everyone prepared to be convinced, but there is no doubt that the original travesty of fact did a good deal of harm, and was never completely overtaken.

Finally, there was the difficulty in the last week of the Assembly over objections raised by Japan to the Protocol in the form it then assumed. As long ago as the Peace Conference of 1919, when the Covenant itself was under discussion, Japan had resisted vigorously that clause of Article 15 which withdraws matters of domestic jurisdiction from the scope of the League's action. There is nothing inherently unreasonable in this, even though Japan's demands could not be conceded. She felt that a genuine grievance might arise over such a question as immigration, and that the Covenant made it more difficult for her to gain redress. At Geneva this year she was afraid that the Protocol might make it more difficult still, in laying it down that a nation with such grounds of complaint could neither go to war nor compel her opponent to accept arbitration. What then was left for her? That question frankly cannot be answered in a manner completely satisfactory to Japan, but her wishes were largely met by the insertion in the Protocol of a reminder that such a dispute could still be brought before the Council under Article 11 of the Covenant—though in such a case the function of the Council would simply be to mediate and it could not impose any decision on the two parties.

A change was made in another article of the Protocol making it a little more difficult for a nation which took up arms in face of a decision that the dispute concerned solely the domestic jurisdiction of its opponent to be automatically presumed to be the aggressor, though if it struck the first blow it certainly would be declared aggressor by unanimous vote of the Council. On this basis, after days of serious agitation as to the fate of the Protocol as a whole, a harmonious agreement was reached, and from that moment all was optimism among the delegates. Dr. Benes and M. Politis explained the two sections of the Protocol in luminous speeches from the Assembly platform, and then followed a series of addresses, of which the most notable were, by general consent, those of M. Briand and M. Paul Boncour, though special mention must be reserved for the last contribution of all, in which Mrs. Swanwick, striking a more human note than any of her predecessors, touched the atmosphere with emotions which took a deep hold on all who were gathered in the hall that day. The Protocol was adopted by the unanimous vote of the 47 nations present. Portugal, none of whose delegates were in the hall when the vote was taken, notified her assent at the following sitting. Then after an eloquent speech from the President, M. Motta, who ended with a singularly appropriate quotation from his favourite poet, Dante, the Fifth Assembly, in almost all respects the most important and successful that has yet been held, closed after a sitting of four weeks and a half. France, Czecho-Slovakia and eight other States signed the Protocol before they left Geneva. H. W. H.

THE PROTOCOL IN BRIEF.

THE main purpose of the Geneva Protocol, in the three adjacent fields of arbitration, enforcement and disarmament, can be sufficiently appreciated from the following summary of its provisions:—

1. The League Covenant to be amended on the lines laid down in the present Protocol, whose provisions, nevertheless, will be operative as soon as the Protocol comes into force [i.e., without waiting for the Covenant to be actually amended].

2. "The signatory States agree in no case to resort to war," except in resistance to acts of aggression or when acting in agreement with the Council or Assembly under the present Protocol.

3. The jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice to be accepted in all cases falling within its scope.

PRESSURE.

4. Article XV. of the Covenant to be amended so as to establish the following procedure for the settlement of every class of dispute:—

(a) The Council itself attempts to settle the dispute by conciliation.

(b) Failing this the Council endeavours to persuade the parties to make their own arrangements for judicial hearing or arbitration.

(c) Failing this, the Council shall at the request of one party appoint arbitrators, acting so far as possible in agreement with both disputants. Points of law arising may, once only, at the request of either party be referred to the Court of International Justice.

(d) If neither party requests arbitration the Council shall resume direct consideration of the case as arbitrators (not merely as conciliators). Its findings if unanimous are binding.

(e) If the Council fails to reach unanimity it shall itself appoint arbitrators whose decision shall be final.

Signatories undertake to accept and carry out in good faith awards or findings so determined. Should a State fail to carry out this undertaking the Council shall "exert all its influence to secure fulfilment," suggesting, if necessary, measures to secure this end (e.g., economic and financial pressure). Should the non-complying State resort to war all the sanctions specified in Article XVI. of the Covenant become immediately operative.

DOMESTIC MATTERS.

5. Matters falling within the domestic jurisdiction of one party cannot be subjected to the procedure specified in the Protocol, and a decision of the Permanent Court that a question is of this character shall be binding on the arbitrators. This, however, shall not prevent such a question being brought before the Council under Article XI. of the Covenant.

[Note.—This last sentence was added at the urgent insistence of the Japanese Delegation.]

6. Deals with the procedure (broadly analogous to that already specified for the Council) to be followed when a dispute is referred to the Assembly.

7. Signatories undertake to refrain from any kind of military action or preparation while an arbitration or inquiry is in progress. The Council may initiate (by a two-thirds majority) any kind of investigation into alleged infractions of this undertaking, and should a State be found guilty of illegal acts and decline to desist from them, the Council shall decide on the measures to be taken against it.

8. Signatories agree to refrain from any act which might constitute a threat of aggression. A nation suspected of preparing such acts may be cited before the Council under Article XI. of the Covenant.

9. Existing demilitarised zones may be permanently or temporarily supervised by the Council and the demarcation of new zones recommended where desirable.

THE AGGRESSOR.

10. Should hostilities break out, that State shall, unless the Council unanimously decides otherwise, be presumed to be an "aggressor" within the meaning of this Protocol which

(a) Refuses to submit a dispute for pacific settlement;

(b) Refuses to conform to a judicial or arbitral decision or a unanimous finding of the Council;

(c) Commits an act of war in face of the Council's prohibition of the movement of its forces (see Article VII.);

(d) Violates a demilitarised zone. (See Article IX.).

If the Council cannot at once determine the aggressor it shall impose an armistice on the belligerents and either party violating its terms shall be deemed an aggressor.

When the Council has declared a State an aggressor on one of these grounds it must forthwith call on signatories to apply without delay the appropriate sanctions.

SANCTIONS.

11. As soon as an aggressor has been declared by the Council all the measures indicated in Article XVI. of the Covenant become immediately operative.

"These obligations shall be interpreted as obliging each of the members of the League to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League and in resistance to any act of aggression in the degree in which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow."

"In accordance with Article XVI. of the Covenant the signatories give a joint and several undertaking to come to the assistance of the State attacked or threatened," and to give each other mutual support in the matter of finance, economic measures and transit, and to take all measures in their power to keep open the sea and land communications of the threatened State. If both parties are aggressors the sanctions apply to both.

12. The Council shall invite the economic and financial organisations of the League to advise it on the most effective method of putting economic sanctions in force and definite plans based on this advice shall be prepared.

13. In view of the military sanctions provided for in Article XVI. of the Covenant and Article XI. of this Protocol the Council "shall be entitled to receive undertakings from States determining in advance" the forces they would be able to bring into action at once.

Furthermore, as soon as the Council has called on signatory States to apply sanctions, the said States may, "in accordance with any agreements which they may previously have concluded," set their forces in motion in defence of the threatened or attacked State. Such agreements shall be registered and published by the League. "They shall remain open to all States members of the League which may desire to accede thereto."

[Note.—This is all that remains of the so-called sectional agreements, or regional understandings.]

14. The Council shall declare when sanctions are to be withdrawn.

15. The whole cost of measures of enforcement shall be borne by the offending State up to the limit of its capacity.

16. States not members of the League shall, if involved in a dispute with a League member, be invited to accept the provisions of the Protocol in the manner contemplated in Article XVII. of the Covenant. If such a State declines and resorts to war the provisions of Article XVI. of the Covenant shall be applicable against it.

DISARMAMENT.

17. The signatories agree to take part in a Disarmament Conference, to which all States shall be invited, at Geneva on June 15, 1925. The Council shall draw up a programme of reduction and limitation in preparation for the Conference.

If by May 1, 1925, this Protocol has not been ratified by a majority of the Permanent Members of the Council [Britain, France, Italy, Japan] and at least ten other members the Conference shall be either abandoned or postponed.

18. In decisions taken by the Council under this Protocol the votes of parties to the dispute shall not be counted.

19. The Protocol in no way affects the Covenant except where so expressly stated.

20. Disputes regarding the interpretation of the Protocol shall be decided by the Court of International Justice.

21. The Protocol shall come into force as soon as a plan for the reduction of armaments has been approved by the Disarmament Conference.

In the event of the Council declaring, on grounds to be defined by the Conference itself, that the disarmament plan has not been carried out, the Protocol shall become null and void.

THE PROTOCOL EXPLAINED.

THE source and origin of what is likely to be known as the Geneva Protocol was the resolution introduced in the League Assembly on September 6, 1924, by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, supported by M. Edouard Herriot, and adopted by a unanimous vote, instructing various Commissions of the Assembly to consider the amendment of certain articles of the Covenant and take other steps with a view to "settling by pacific means all disputes which may arise between States."

The resolution contained other provisions. In particular it spoke of the convocation of "an international conference on armaments to be summoned by the League of Nations at the earliest possible moment," and it invited the Commissions mentioned above "to examine the obligations contained in the Covenant of the League in relation to the guarantee of security which a resort to arbitration and a reduction of armaments may require."

It will be seen, therefore, that the Protocol which was the ultimate outcome of the joint resolution of the British and French Prime Ministers was designed to strengthen the Covenant, if at any point it needed strengthening, in order to convert it into an instrument for enforcing the pacific settlement of all disputes, and it will be noted that though the Protocol itself will have force temporarily, the intention is that the Covenant shall be actually amended. When that is done, the Protocol will be to a large extent superseded.

But does not the Covenant itself provide already for the pacific settlement of all disputes? The answer to that is, not quite. It compels conference; it does not compel settlement. In order to understand just what changes the Protocol effects, and why, it is necessary to consider the actual procedure for the regulation of disputes under the Covenant. The alternative methods (which were explained in an illuminating speech by Lord Cecil before the League Council during the Corfu dispute) are set forth in Article XII of the Covenant. They are as follows:—

Reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Arbitration.

Enquiry by the League Council.

If a dispute is referred, by consent of the two parties, to the Court of International Justice, the matter is settled when the Court's judgment is given. If the matter goes to arbitration by consent of the parties the matter is settled when the arbitrators' decision is given. If it does not go either to the Court or to arbitrators, then it **must** be submitted to enquiry by the Council, and the matter is settled if the Council's findings regarding it are unanimous, in that all members of the League agree not to go to war with any State accepting them.

Where, on examination, is that procedure seen to be defective or incomplete?

(1) In the first place, it fails to provide that all disputes capable of being dealt with by the Court go to the Court. As things stand (except for a small number of States which have signed a special undertaking to submit every suitable dispute to the Court) only those disputes go there which the two parties to a particular quarrel agree to submit.

(2) When the Council fails to reach a unanimous conclusion about a dispute, the two parties are left free to fight it out.

(3) The guarantees that when a verdict has been given by the Court, or by arbitrators, or by the Council, it will be duly executed are not sufficiently binding for the average State to be willing to rely on them.

This third point needs further consideration still, for it raises the whole question of what are known as "sanctions," that is, the penalties to be imposed on a State which declines to submit its quarrel for pacific settlement, or to abide by the verdict when one is given. And this really raises the whole "security" issue in

another form, for unless a State which is itself willing loyally to submit its disputes for peaceful settlement and loyally to carry out the findings of the Court or the arbitrators or the Council, can be assured that its opponent will either do the same willingly or be compelled to do the same, it will not feel it can trust to the League and will keep its own army and navy ready to protect its rights in case of need. Hence the attempt to complete the Covenant in the matter of the settlement of disputes does link together the three inseparable questions—Arbitration, Security, Disarmament.

But, to return to the Covenant, what provision does it make for the submission of disputes and the acceptance of verdicts? The answer is this:—

(1) If it is a question of a decision by the International Court, or by an agreed board of arbitrators, "the Members of the League agree that they will carry out in good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith" (Art. XIII). This means that the loser cannot take arms against the State in whose favour the verdict is given.

(2) If it is a question of a unanimous finding by the Council, a similar undertaking is given not to go to war with any State accepting the finding. (This is not in express terms an undertaking to carry out the award).

But suppose a State fails to live up to its obligations, and either (a) fails to carry out an award or (b) goes to war instead of submitting its dispute to peaceful settlement? In that case two provisions of the Covenant operate:

(1) According to Article XIII, "in the event of any failure to carry out an award or decision (whether of the Court or of arbitrators) the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

(2) If a State goes to war in disregard of any of its "pacific settlement" obligations, it is considered (under Article XVI) to be at war with all Members of the League, which shall forthwith subject it to complete financial and economic boycott, while as regards other methods of pressure it shall be for the Council "to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League."

So, then, League Members undertake to submit every quarrel (except those declared not to be international at all, but between two parts of the same State) to peaceful settlement. But if their dispute comes before the Council and the Council members cannot agree about it, the two parties are free to fight. League Members agree to carry out the findings of the Court of arbitrators, but if they fail to do so all the Council can do is to "propose what steps should be taken" to give effect to it. League Members promise not to go to war instead of letting their dispute be settled peacefully, but if they do, and force is needed to restrain them, all the Council can do is to "recommend to the several Governments concerned" what military or naval forces they shall lend to the League for the purpose. There is no guarantee that these States, or indeed any State, will comply with the recommendation. It is not surprising, therefore, that a State which wants genuinely to reduce its forces, to settle all its disputes peacefully and to depend on the League to defend it against any lawless neighbour, should feel that as yet it is hardly justified in doing that.

Such are the shortcomings the new Protocol was designed to correct. It is clear enough what "holes need to be stopped up" in the Covenant if it is to be equal, on paper at any rate, to all the calls likely to be made on it.

(1) All cases that can go to the Court must go to the Court.

(2) Provision must be made for a decisive verdict to be given by one tribunal or another in every dispute.

(3) Effective measures of enforcement must be devised

against any State which for its own ends prefers breaking the law to keeping the law.

This is precisely what the Protocol endeavours to do. Its provisions may be divided roughly into three categories:—

(1) The creation of a comprehensive "pacific settlement" system.

(2) The provision of effective "sanctions" against law-breakers.

(3) Formulation of a disarmament scheme, inseparable from the operation of (1) and (2).

With these explanations the text of the Protocol becomes clear enough. It may be worth while none the less to examine its provisions briefly under each of the three heads just mentioned.

(1) **Arbitration.**—(a) All "legal" cases to be settled by the Permanent Court. (b) A necessarily elaborate arbitration system, to cover every contingency, to be devised as follows:—

(1) The Council itself attempts to settle the dispute by conciliation.

(2) Failing this, it endeavours to persuade the parties to arrange arbitration on their own account.

(3) If both sides will not agree to this, the Council, at the request of one of them, appoints arbitrators.

(4) If neither side desires arbitration, the Council shall become the tribunal and its decision if unanimous is final.

(5) If the Council is not unanimous, it shall appoint arbitrators in spite of everything, and their ruling shall be final.

Thus the "hole in the Covenant" in the matter of the settlement of disputes is stopped up, the only reservation remaining being in relation to "domestic" questions, and even these can be raised before the Council in quite a different way under Article XI of the Covenant.

(2) **Sanctions.**—This raises the two difficult questions of who is to be punished and how. The former has been answered by laying it down that the "aggressor" (the term was borrowed from the old Treaty of Mutual Assistance) shall be the State which

(a) Resorts to war rather than submit a dispute for pacific settlement.

(b) Resorts to war rather than conform to a verdict given against it.

(c) Commits an act of war when the Council has forbidden it to move its forces.

It has been endeavoured so far as possible to make the decision as to an aggressor automatic and relieve the Council of the onus of threshing the question out, though the responsibility for actually "declaring" the aggressor must always remain with the Council.

How, next, is the "aggressor" to be dealt with, once he has thus branded himself, or been "declared" by the Council? Here we are carried at once to Article XVI of the Covenant, and carried at once full into a serious difficulty, which made itself abundantly evident during the Geneva discussions. What was essential was to show that Article XVI consisted of something more than empty words, that if it were ever necessary to enforce an arbitration verdict, or coerce a State that sought the short cut of war to gain its ends, the States members of the League would stand in together and take whatever steps might be needed. That on the one hand. On the other was the fact that considerations of national sovereignty made it out of the question for the Council to be given the right to call on this nation or that nation for a particular contribution in the shape of men or ships or money. National opinion in the different countries would never tolerate that, as the almost unanimous expression of British opinion showed when a foolish legend about placing the British Navy at the disposal of the League gained currency.

Faced by these opposing considerations, the Assembly steered the straightest course it could between them. Article XVI of the Covenant was left unamended, but

it was declared by all the signatories of the Protocol that they understood its terms "as obliging each of the members of the League to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League, and in resistance to any act of aggression." That was equivalent to saying that in accepting Article XVI of the Covenant the signatories of the Protocol meant business, that, without any definition of the extent of their liability, they admitted liability for coercing a lawbreaker who took up arms, even, in case of necessity, by the use of their military and naval forces. It is always open to any State—great Britain, for example—to say, "I can only help to a certain limited extent." It is not open to her in honour to say, "I can give no help at all."

(3) **Disarmament.**—Finally comes the third term in the formula. What has the arbitration and sanctions agreement to do with disarmament? It has everything to do with it, as the British Delegation at Geneva insisted, even at the cost of some little friction with the French. The three terms are to be inseparable, and therefore the Protocol lays it down that the arbitration and sanctions provisions shall only take effect when the Disarmament Conference has been held and held successfully. On the other hand, nations can only be expected to disarm if it is certain that a reign of law will be instituted and upheld. Accordingly, there will be no Disarmament Conference unless a reasonable number of States have first shown their sincerity over the arbitration and sanctions clauses by signing and ratifying them.

But one more contingency had to be provided against. It is possible for a Disarmament Conference to be held and fail, or for agreements to be concluded at it and never carried out. What happens to the Protocol in that case? That depends. It is assumed that any plan adopted at the Conference will be a sound plan. Failure would be the adoption of no plan at all. It is assumed, further, that the Conference itself will set a limit for the execution of its plan. If within that time there is a general failure to execute, the Council will declare the Protocol null and void. If only certain individual States have failed to execute, they will be excluded from benefit from the Protocol till they do.

So does the Protocol supplement or give new force to the Covenant. Its provisions regarding arbitration and sanctions strengthen Articles XII, XIII, XV and XVI, and its disarmament provisions Article VIII. If and when it is ratified and loyally carried into effect the outlawry of war will be an accomplished fact.

OPIUM AT GENEVA.

By Dr. A. L. WARNSHUIS.

THIS month two international Conferences are to meet in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations. These conferences will be of unusual importance, not only with reference to the problems of the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, but also because by their success or otherwise they may well have a considerable effect upon the future of the League itself. Underlying the difficult problems of controlling the traffic in these drugs so as to reduce the abuse of them will be the question of whether the League can successfully serve as an agency in securing that measure of international co-operation that is essential in dealing with such world-wide problems. If it cannot succeed in these matters, why—it may be asked—deceive the hopes of mankind by attempting to "outlaw war," or even to abolish slavery?

The Convention adopted by the international Conference in the Hague in 1912, and since ratified by almost all the Governments represented in the League (in many cases as the result of pressure exerted by the

League), and by the United States, Germany and others, stated in its preamble that the signatory Powers were "determined to bring about the gradual suppression of the abuse of opium, morphine and cocaine, as also of the drugs prepared or derived from these substances, which give rise, or might give rise, to similar abuses," and they recognised "the necessity and the mutual advantage of an international agreement on this point." Further, by the terms of the Convention, these signatories undertook (1) to control the production and distribution of raw opium, (2) to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium, and (3) to limit exclusively to medical and legitimate purposes the manufacture, sale and use of morphine, cocaine and their respective salts, and to co-operate with one another to prevent the use of these drugs for any other purpose. To these purposes the signatories are pledged.

This Hague Convention has, unfortunately, failed to accomplish the purposes expressed in it. The state of the world so far as the abuse of these dangerous drugs is concerned is certainly not better, and is probably worse, than it was in 1912. Their abuse is a physical and moral evil that menaces the welfare of mankind in every part of the world.

By the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations is charged with the responsibility of carrying The Hague Convention of 1912 into effect and of endeavouring to realise its purposes. The Advisory Committee on this subject, appointed by the First Assembly, has been working continuously, and has succeeded in acquiring a large amount of information bearing on the problem, with the result that in 1923 it was able to report to the Fourth Assembly that it considered that the time had come when another international conference might be called to consider what further action was needed to secure that larger measure of necessary international co-operation which would ensure the effective restriction of the traffic in these drugs to legitimate purposes. In defining these legitimate purposes, the Assembly accepted two statements of principle that had been urged before the Advisory Committee by representatives of the United States Government, which stated that only the medicinal and scientific use of these drugs was legitimate, and that any other use of them was an abuse, and should be prohibited. To this statement the Government of India made the important reservation that the use of opium as practised by the people in India (*i.e.*, eating, as opposed to smoking) was not to be considered illegitimate. This reservation is now seriously challenged by many people in India. Further investigation evidently is needed to justify it.

In accordance with these resolutions of the Fourth Assembly, the Council of the League have called two Conferences. The first is to meet on November 3rd. It is limited to representatives of those powers that have possessions in the Far East in which under The Hague Convention the non-medicinal use of prepared opium is temporarily tolerated, and of China, in which country the use of opium is prohibited by law, but where there has been a most serious recrudescence both of poppy growing and of opium smoking. The purpose of the first Conference will be to consider the measures that should now be taken by these Governments to control this use of opium with the purpose of its gradual reduction and ultimate abolition.

The second Conference is called to meet on November 17th. To it there has been invited representatives of all Governments who are members of the League of Nations and of all who are signatories of The Hague Opium Convention. This Conference will consider the problems of the traffic in all drugs manufactured from opium and of cocaine. A strong delegation from the United States will take part in it.

The programme of the First Conference, as prepared by the Advisory Committee of the League, will include a consideration of certain recommendations proposing the establishment of Government monopolies, and the prohibition of all sale of prepared opium by private persons. The present opium situation in China will also be considered, and the Conference will have the responsible task of discovering whether and how assistance may be given to China in dealing with the evil.

For the second Conference, the Advisory Committee has suggested a series of measures which are to be the basis of its deliberations. These measures have not yet received the full assent of some of the Governments represented on the Committee, notably France. They provide for the constitution by the Council of the League on the advice of the Opium Advisory Committee of a permanent Central Board, composed of experts. To this Central Board the Governments are to agree to send (a) estimates of their annual import requirements of raw opium, coca leaves, and of their derivative drugs for medical and scientific purposes, whether for domestic consumption, manufacture or commerce; (b) quarterly statistics of their imports and exports, of their manufactures, and, if possible, of the stocks in the hands of wholesale dealers, regarding all the substances referred to in these agreements; and (c) annual statements of the total quantity of these substances consumed in each country. These statistics are to be reported periodically to all Governments, and the international traffic is to be limited to the requirements of each country as stated by its Government. Import and export certificates are to be issued accordingly by the Governments concerned, and the legitimate trade will be restricted to the quantities and shipments of only such drugs as are covered by such certificates. The Central Board will have power to revise import estimates which it deems excessive, reserving to those Governments whose estimates are so revised the right of appeal to a special conference called for this purpose. Finally, it is proposed that the Governments signing these agreements shall undertake not to allow the export of these drugs to any country which is not a party to the agreements. Additional recommendations urge upon each Government to forbid all persons within its jurisdiction from violating these agreements, and to forbid all ships sailing under its flag from carrying any consignment of these drugs in violation of the regulations agreed upon for the control of this trade.

There is not space here to enter upon the discussion of these proposed measures, the deliberations upon which promise to occupy these two Conferences for four weeks or longer. The conclusions of the Conferences are dependent upon thorough-going and genuine agreement between the Governments concerned. That, of course, constitutes an inevitable limitation, for it compels the acceptance of what is practicable, even though ideals may not be fully realised.

These considerations also place a responsibility upon all who share even in a small measure in the shaping of public opinion. Their duty, it may be suggested, is to urge on Governments the acceptance without reservation of a principle, and its consequent and necessary application. The principle is: That the use of opium, cocaine, and all dangerous drugs shall be strictly limited to only such legitimate purposes as are required in medicine or science. The application is: That Governments shall, without excuse or evasion, but with sincerity and genuine earnestness, undertake immediately to control the production, manufacture, and commerce of and in these drugs, and to adopt such practical and effective measures as will gradually but certainly reduce the misuse of these drugs, so that within a limited period (say, ten or fifteen years) such misuse shall be prohibited and abolished.

JAPAN AND THE PROTOCOL.

By M. ADATCI.

M. Adatci, Japanese Ambassador at Brussels, and one of the Japanese delegates at the Fifth Assembly, who was personally responsible for negotiating what are known as the Japanese amendments to the Protocol, was invited by the Editor of "Headway" to place before its readers a brief statement explaining plainly the purpose and effect of the amendments. The Japanese Delegate has courteously authorised us to publish the following:—

THREE weeks have passed since my amendments were unanimously approved by the last Assembly at Geneva, and to-day all my colleagues in the League of Nations must look back with stupefaction at the great difficulties which were raised before they lent me their support. My point of view now seems so natural and so simple to everybody.

As soon as a rough draft of the texts defining the aggressor and of the exclusion of questions held to lie within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, I attempted, in order to avoid any misconception, to recall at the same time the great rule of the Covenant under Article XI, and to apply it logically to the system of defining which State is to be presumed an aggressor. Article XI expressly says: "Any war or threat of war . . . is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be decreed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council."

Now, would it not be supremely absurd if, on the purely technical pretext that the Council had recognised that the disputed question lay within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, the League of Nations should remain deaf as a post to the roar of war and to the growl of threatening war; that it should slam the door on the heart-rending cry of despair of its Members? The best proof that the League of Nations is not so wicked is the very existence of Article XI.

This is why the Assembly, on our proposal, added a paragraph to the end of Article 5 of the Protocol which runs thus: "If the question is held by the Court or by the Council to be a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State, this decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council or by the Assembly under Article XI of the Covenant."

As a logical consequence of this idea, we considered that you must give to a State, whose appeal for settlement was denied on the ground of domestic jurisdiction of its adversary, a last opportunity of arriving at a friendly solution by leaving open the final door of conciliation contained in Article XI of the Covenant. It is only in a case where, disdaining this last resource, such a State resorts to war that it will be held automatically to be the aggressor.

It is thus that in Article X of the Protocol, which defines the aggressor, after the words—" . . . A State which has disregarded a unanimous report of the Council, a judicial sentence or an arbitral award recognising that the dispute between it and the other belligerent State arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the latter State"—the Assembly, on our proposal, unanimously added a phrase: "Nevertheless, in the last case the State shall only be presumed to be an aggressor if it has not previously submitted the question to the Council or the Assembly in accordance with Article XI of the Covenant."

It is thus agreed that even after the recognition that the dispute lies within the domestic jurisdiction of one

of the parties, that party, or its opponent, shall have full right to appeal to the Council or the Assembly; and that the party which shall thus have loyally claimed the intervention of the League as a means of final reconciliation shall not be automatically labelled as the aggressor.

Is it not in reality a simple expression of the most elementary common sense? It is, moreover, in complete accord with the actual stipulations of the Covenant and gives neither powers nor new functions to the Council or the Assembly, which bodies merely retain the competence granted to them for the last five years by the Covenant. The entire system of the Covenant remains on this point entirely unchanged. No modifications or innovations are introduced.

Thus it is clear that the so-called "Japanese" amendments have only as their object, with a view to avoiding all misunderstanding, a simple statement of the actual position of the system of the Covenant.

For this reason all the delegations, no matter from what country or continent, did not hesitate for a moment, as soon as they grasped the real meaning of my suggestions, to adopt them as their own, and all the friends of peace have to-day shown themselves unanimously grateful for our intervention at Geneva.

M. BRANTING AND THE PROTOCOL.

THE following important statement on the work of the Fifth Assembly has been specially made to members of the League of Nations Union by M. Branting, who has attended every Assembly as representative of Sweden, and has just resumed the position of Prime Minister of his country:—

"Ever since the plan for a special treaty of mutual assistance outside the Covenant began to take shape under the leadership of Lord Cecil and M. de Jouvenel in the Temporary Mixed Commission and the Assembly, I have always quite openly declared that in my opinion such a treaty could not lead to the desired result. In these days the very difficult problem has for the first time been tackled in a much more promising way; that is, the Covenant has been maintained as a basis, and all the efforts have been directed to fill the gaps in this instrument and develop its stipulations when these have been found incomplete or not quite clear. Although when I write these lines, all difficulties have not been overcome, the whole spirit in which the extremely difficult work has been done of drafting the protocol, which is to be the conclusion of the work of this Assembly, has been something quite new. It has been a spirit of goodwill and unanimous desire to make a definite progress. We who are here and feel how this novel spirit is surrounding us all, have been given a new hope that the League of Nations has finally reached the stage when it can, after many vain efforts, make a definite and remarkable step forward. What we have tried to do is to realise in a practical form the great object already outlined in the Covenant, and which has been defined by the two Prime Ministers of the great Western democracies in their formula Arbitration, Security, Disarmament. The masterly way in which the broad principles of the new proposal were outlined this afternoon by Mr. Henderson and M. Paul Boncour, speaking from different angles, but also with the same convincing force, and inspired by the same feeling of responsibility and solidarity, gave the whole audience the impression of an historic moment, a moment that will be marked down as one of the decisive turning-points on the difficult and laborious road mankind has to wander towards a time when war is definitely abolished and justice and peace will reign.

"H. BRANTING."



October 18.

THE biggest event at present is the forthcoming Council meeting which, I hear, is likely to take place in Paris and to begin on Monday, the 27th. The object of it will be to confirm what the Council meant when pledging the Turks and the British to respect the *status quo* in Mosul. The Turks contend that the *status quo* referred to was the situation prevailing on the day the Council's resolution was passed, namely, September 30—and, of course, took good care to push forward some troops on the 28th and 29th so as to occupy as much territory as possible—whereas the British contention is that the *status quo* referred to is that laid down in the Lausanne Treaty. The Council is expected to sit for two days at most, and, if the minutes and other records of the last meeting are any criterion, will decide in favour of the British thesis. This, however, will not remove all ambiguities, for the Turkish contention is that the *status quo* referred to by the Lausanne Treaty is the so-called "armistice line," whereas in the British view it is the northern administrative frontier of the vilayet of Mosul. The difference between the two views amounts to about 18 miles in width.

It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that we should have been spared a good deal of this trouble if our representative on the Council had been more alert and more awake to the fact that the Turk is proverbially wily and "slim," and consequently insisted that the Council resolution should have specified with great clarity and precision exactly what was meant by the *status quo*. If the General Election does nothing else, it is at least to be hoped that it will strengthen Great Britain's representation in League matters.

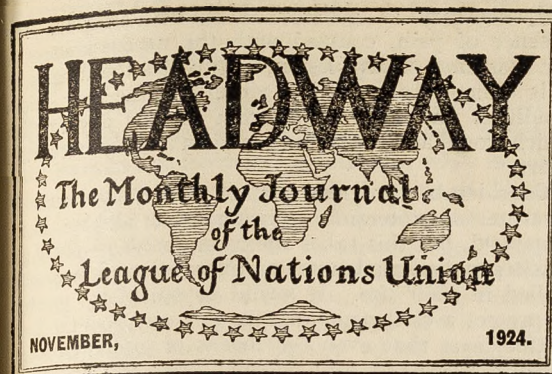
There is the usual spate of Committee meetings flowing on endlessly; for instance: the Committee on Double Taxation and a Sub-Committee for Railway Transport, on October 20; the Mandates Commission three days later; a Sub-Committee of Enquiry on Road Traffic four days after that (also the Council); a Bibliographical Sub-Committee a week after that in Brussels, and the First Opium Conference (unless it has to be delayed owing to the election) in Geneva on the same day; the Permanent Advisory Committee on Armaments on November 12; the Second Opium Conference five days later, together with the Council Committee on Reduction of Armaments; a Committee of Experts on Tonnage Measurement the day after that, and the Plenary Session of the Transit Committee on November 26. There is also an "interchange" of health statisticians in Geneva on October 27.

The latter reminds me that the League Health Committee held a very important session which was rather obscured by the end of the Assembly, but was graced by the presence for the first time of both the American members, namely, Surgeon-General H. S. Cumming, Chief of the U.S. Public Health Service and Vice-President of the League Health Committee, and Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Harvard Medical College. It is impossible to give any idea within the scope of this letter of the activities of the Committee—there were ten Sub-Committees before the full meeting of the Committee—but it may be worth while to draw

attention to the "constitutional tendency" of this organisation. Health conventions are being to an increasing degree concluded with clauses stipulating that Health Ministries may communicate directly with each other instead of, as previously, only through their respective Foreign Offices; that copies of the information sent by them to each other should be transmitted to the Health Section of the League Secretariat; that disputes arising out of Health conventions should be submitted for mediation to the Health Committee; and generally providing for the use and mediation in one capacity or another of the League Health Organisation. The interchanges of Public Health Officers and the fact that the latter have formed an international association keeping in close touch with the League Health Section; the further fact that the Health Organisation is now studying methods of public health instruction for officials as well as public health education for the public, with a view to co-ordinating methods and raising standards all round, as well as the growing rôle of the Health Committee as a sort of mandatory for undertaking "applied research work" or special enquiries on behalf of groups of Health Ministries, are all straws showing a rather interesting wind, if I may use the expression. The truth is we are moving from an age of national political organisation to an age where society finds it necessary to organise also along international professional lines, and in the League Health Organisation we see the first rudimentary beginning of such an organisation. Progress is slower in such matters as transit and still slower in financial and economic questions, since they are mixed up with political matters in which co-operation is difficult, but the same tendency is at work there.

I understand the Protocol is being dealt with on another page of this issue, but may perhaps mention that the number of signatories is now twelve, and that opinion in Belgium and Holland is running strongly in favour of early signature. Curiously enough, the Belgium Government has announced, through the mouth of M. Jaspar, that Belgium can adhere only if Germany becomes a member of the League. The Dutch Government, too, has intimated that conditions will also be attached to its signature (presumably also that Germany should come in, as well as some reservation minimising Holland's commitments in the way of sanctions). Now that Mr. Branting is resuming power in Sweden, Sweden's adhesion is also likely; but I hear that the Scandinavian States will probably be very much influenced by the attitude of Great Britain, and in any case will also demand Germany's adherence and take as restricted a view as possible of their commitments to use sanctions. All this, incidentally, shows that Germany need have no fears of not getting a permanent seat on the Council in case she does apply, for even a state like Belgium (which is perhaps the most anti-German state in existence) realises that Germany must join the League if the League is to be able to guarantee the security of its members. The Border States are all very much pleased with the Protocol, but wondering what Russia is going to do about it, and how much security they could hope for if Russia is not a party to the Agreement or a Member of the League. American opinion apparently feels rather rudely jolted by the Assembly, which is taken as a demonstration that the rest of the world has at last taken American advice to come to an agreement without America. Consequently, the question of America's relation to the League may be expected to assume great importance in America so soon as the elections are over.

Z.



YOUR BUSINESS.

THAT the Geneva Protocol has been overshadowed in this country by the General Election is a platitude so obvious as to be hardly worth uttering. It could not have been otherwise, and, on the whole, it is as well that it was not otherwise. If the General Election had been fought to any large extent on the Protocol itself and the part played by the British representatives at Geneva in preparing the document, the effect would have been to cast the whole issue into the maelstrom of Party politics and, what would have been more serious, to have plunged the nation into heated discussions on a question on which it is as yet entirely uneducated. That the Protocol should as yet be fully understood is not to be expected. It was only completed in the very last days of September, and the many misleading reports on its contents telegraphed from Geneva had to be counteracted by a sober examination of the text of the document itself. Such an examination takes time, particularly when men's minds are occupied with other great questions. Even the actual text of the Protocol was not easily obtainable until the League of Nations Union produced an edition of its own.

But if all this held good in October, little or none of it holds good in November. By the time these lines are being read, it will be clear what Government is to control the destinies of this country in the immediate future. At the time when these lines are being written that is not clear at all, nor is it for that matter of great moment so far as the Protocol is concerned. Whether the actual administration be Conservative, Liberal or Labour, and whether it command clear majority in the House of Commons or not, it could not take so momentous a step as the ratification of the Protocol with all that that involves unless it were satisfied that at any rate a solid balance of public opinion were in favour of that course. How is the fulfilment of that condition to be ensured? It may, of course, not be possible to ensure it at all. The main part of public opinion may decide in the end, after full consideration of the Protocol, that it is undesirable for one reason or another that it should be ratified at all. If that should be so, and it is earnestly to be hoped that it will not, then whatever Government is in power must bow to the decision. What we are concerned with now is not that public opinion should decide this way or that, but that whatever public opinion decides, it should decide with a full and intelligent knowledge of all the issues. That is where your part in this issue comes in.

You are a reader of HEADWAY; you are in all probability a member of the League of Nations Union. It is the purpose of HEADWAY to place its readers in possession of all the necessary data to form sound conclusions on what the League is doing. It is the purpose of the Union not by any means to encourage a blind support of every decision of the League, but to make widely known and fully understood the conclusions at which the League has arrived and the reasons why it reached them. It may or may not be felt right also to press on the Government of this country adherence to a particular agreement the League has drafted. In this case the duty of the Union, working through its local organisations and its individual members, is clear. For there is abundant justification for the resolution of the Union's Executive Committee giving all approval for the principles underlying the Geneva Protocol. But whether or no we are right in thinking that our duty as a Union is twofold, involving both explanation of the Protocol and advocacy of its principles, there can be no question that an imperative obligation lies upon us to see that no sincere and intelligent citizen of this country has any excuse for ignorance of the purport of the document and the means devised to achieve its ends. Various channels of education are open. The Press, it is true, is an instrument of doubtful value. Part of it has appeared to be hopelessly prejudiced against the Protocol in advance, much less on account of the actual contents of the document than by reason of the general political outlook of the editors and leader writers in question. At the same time amazing statements have appeared in reputable organs. It has been suggested, to take a single example, that under the Protocol as adopted at Geneva, Australia will be forced to submit the question of Japanese immigration to arbitration and be exposed to armed action by the other Members of the League, including Great Britain, if she declined to accept the verdict of arbitrators on what is universally agreed to be a question of domestic jurisdiction. For such a suggestion, of course, there is not the smallest foundation, and it is the business of members of the League of Nations Union to make it clear to everyone that there is not. Most papers of any standing are prepared to print letters of reasonable length correcting mis-statements of fact. In any case there is the method of the public meeting, particularly the public meeting with ample opportunity given for questions by the audience, and with a speaker sufficiently versed in his subject to be able to give accurate and unhesitating answers. Every Branch of the Union in the country ought to make an endeavour between now and Christmas to hold at least one such meeting, quite apart from the discussions which it may be hoped will take place also among smaller groups of members; that is one thing to be well understood. If the League of Nations Union takes no steps to educate public opinion in this great matter, it is certain that no one else will. Through the organisation the Union has created, its members have a great opportunity. Great opportunities mean great obligations, and it will speak ill for our faith if, through slackness or lack of enterprise, we fail to do what may reasonably be expected of us as pioneers in this country in the defence of the League of Nations ideals.

WARFARE BY POISON.

FAR too little attention has so far been attracted to the reports of the League of Nations Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments on Chemical Warfare. This was a question which was, of course, before the Washington Conference, which, however, failed to reach any conclusions as to effective methods for restricting the use of gases and chemicals whose manufacture could be carried on in all kinds of industrial establishments converted with little difficulty and very brief delay to war purposes. The Second Assembly, which adopted a resolution on the subject, was under no illusion regarding the possibilities. All it asked was that the Temporary Mixed Commission should address an appeal to scientists of the world to publish their discoveries in poison gas and similar subjects "so as to minimise the likelihood of their being used in any future war." The Commission duly executed this mandate and itself came to the convinced conclusion that to attempt to control production of poison gas and similar agents was futile, but that an important psychological effect might be created by plain statements of what chemical warfare might mean in future conflicts between nations. The report compiled on this subject was presented in due course to the Council and came, as a matter of ordinary routine, before the Fifth Assembly. The report notes, first, that chemical warfare is effective in circumstances in which other arms would have produced little effect. Professor Angeli, of Florence, for example, writes:—

"Though the experience of the recent war has shown that no fortifications or armour can resist the force of modern explosives, the men themselves could at least find safe shelter from them in trenches, caves or dugouts sunk deep underground. But poisonous gases can go everywhere, both in the open and into the dugouts."

That, however, was only a beginning. "It is possible," says the Commission, "to conceive of other methods in the future, such as the dropping from aircraft of bombs or other containers filled with noxious products, which would strike at civilian populations as surely as combatants." "It is doubtful," writes Professor André Mayer, "whether the peoples of the world are aware of the power of this weapon and the danger which threatens them." Professor W. B. Cannon goes still further when he states that "we have seen in the great war nothing approaching the probabilities of destruction of manufacturing centres and civil populations that would be likely in case another great conflict should occur." There followed in the Commission's Report a discussion of the precise effects on the human body of the various gases used or likely to be used in modern warfare. They are divided roughly into three categories, irritant agents, suffocating or asphyxiating agents and toxic agents. Into these it is unnecessary to go in detail. The following observations, however, on the effects of asphyxiating agents are significant: So-called suffocating or asphyxiating bodies cause fatal damage to the lungs. Thus chlorine, bromoacetone, chloropicrine, carbonic oxychloride and acrolein, when inhaled, cause hæmorrhage into the air cavities of the lungs. Pulmonary œdema causes death in the same manner as drowning, death being attended by very painful spasms. Of all the gases in this category, carbon oxychloride, also known as phosgene, has been the one most effectively employed.

Other agents directly affect the blood, e.g., carbon monoxide, which usually causes death by syncope

and, contrary to general belief, without pain. The absence of pain, coupled with the unconsciousness of the existence of any lesion, aggravates the dangers, as it is difficult to make the victims realise their serious condition and keep them from making any exertion which would add to the burden of an already overworked heart.

Considerable progress has, of course, been made in measures of protection against most or all gases so far employed, but this takes the form almost wholly of gas masks supplied in adequate numbers to troops thoroughly drilled in their use. It would be out of the question to protect a civil population in this way, and the Committee fears that even the means of protection so far efficacious may at any moment prove insufficient. It summarises its report with the observation that the chemical arm, as employed during the last war with increasing intensity and undeniable efficacy, produces the most varied physiological effects. "There are no conceivable limits to its power, its efficacy, and its variety, any more than there are limits to pharmacology or any other branch of chemistry." But although its very serious effects on unprotected men may be mitigated by adequate protective measures, the problem of the protection of the civil population remains to be solved.

There is indeed a sufficiently arresting paragraph to which attention must be drawn in that section of the report which deals with the possible use of the chemical arm against civilians. "It must be admitted," says the Commission, "that technically there does not appear to be any reason why a poison gas attack from the air or by long-range guns used in modern warfare, either on land or sea, might not be very effectively carried out against a great city. There is every reason to believe that in a future war, aircraft would be much more numerous than in the last, and they would be able to carry much heavier weights. However reprehensible such an action might be, there would be nothing technically to prevent them dropping large bombs filled with some heavy poison gas over localities essential to the political or economic life of an enemy country. The gas to be employed would not necessarily be one which only disables human beings for a time, since the object would be to hamper or destroy some continuous activity aimed at by the attack. Mustard gas, for instance, dropped in large quantities would be likely to hang about the cities and slowly penetrate the houses. It is much to be hoped that some means of protecting the civil population from such an attack may be found. But it is right to point out that the problem is a difficult one. To furnish a whole population with gas masks would seem almost impracticable, and methods for collective protection have yet to be proved efficient; yet, short of that, and especially in the absence of any knowledge as to where the attack was to be delivered, no complete protection could be secured. Moreover, heavy poison gases linger, even in the open country, for quite a long time. In a city it is difficult to say how long they might remain, and during all that time the danger would continue."

The Commission discusses the possibility of such development of warfare being regarded as too horrible for use and of the conscience of mankind revolting against it. It recognises, however, that no reliance can be placed on those contingencies. A nation with its back against the wall will reject no weapon that comes ready to its hand. But something at least may be attempted in the direction of studying the human conscience in time of peace in the hope, if not entirely in the faith, that such overwhelming mass of feeling in every country would be mobilised against the use of poison gas that even a nation in extremis would hesitate to fling itself athwart the considered opinion of the world.

OVERSEAS SOCIETIES MEET IN LONDON.

AS many of our readers will know, there exist in some forty countries League of Nations Societies. These societies are federated together in what is called the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The Federation itself consists of a large annual Congress, attended by as many as 20 delegates from each of 30 countries; a Council—a smaller body, but also representative of the Societies in 30 countries—which meets two or three times a year; and an Executive Committee or Bureau which meets more frequently still. The office of the Federation is at Brussels.

From October 13 to 16 the Council and the Bureau of the Federation were meeting in London. The members of the Bureau included representatives of France (M. Prudhommeaux), Great Britain (Sir Wiloughby Dickinson, Mr. David Davies and Viscountess Gladstone), Germany (Count Bernstorff), Japan (Baron Adatci), Poland (Professor Feodorowicz), and Hungary (M. de Paikert). The Council was attended by representatives of no less than 21 countries, including the U.S.A., Germany and Turkey, the last-named being represented by three delegates who had travelled the whole way from Constantinople to London for this special purpose.

The principal subjects under discussion dealt with minorities, equitable treatment of foreigners, and disarmament. Among minorities questions were the plight of Magyars in Czecho-Slovakia and Bulgars in the Roumanian Dobroudja. It was particularly interesting to observe the determination of the Council to grapple with the question of emigration; however delicate the question may be, it was felt that unless a solution was found to this world-wide problem, future wars would be inevitable. The Council warmly welcomed the new Geneva Protocol, and urged its early ratification in order that the proposed Disarmament Conference planned for June, 1925, might take place.

The delegates (the majority of whom were the guests of private hosts during their stay) were entertained to dinner by Mr. David Davies at the Cecil Hotel. Among the many important speeches made at this function, two were of peculiar interest. One came from Count Mensdorff, who was Austrian Ambassador in this country when the war broke out. Even during the war people in this country never regarded the Austrians with any profound hostility, and anyone who has been to Austria will know that the Austrians are a charming and peace-loving people. It was good, therefore, to hear Count Mensdorff, who incidentally seemed to be quite at home in his English surroundings, expressing the gratitude of his country for what the League had done, and his own personal determination to do all in his power to help this great world-wide movement.

The other speech—it was, in fact, the speech of the evening—came from Count Bernstorff, formerly German Ambassador in the United States, America. He expressed his conviction that the democracy in Germany had come to stay, and that there is no longer any doubt whatever that Germany would soon become a member of the League. Incidentally he told his audience that he (Count Bernstorff) was probably one of the first persons that President Wilson had spoken to of his intention to create the League of Nations.

The other great feature of the meeting was the splendid reception given to the delegates by Lord and Lady Chelmsford at Admiralty House. On the whole, it may be safely said that their visit to London has

encouraged them in their work, and that they will use their newly-acquired knowledge of what the Union is doing and how it does it to stimulate their own national societies.

PROTOCOL AND ELECTION.

THE fact that the approval of the Geneva Protocol by the Fifth Assembly was followed immediately by the announcement of a General Election in this country, was both fortunate and unfortunate. On the one hand it gave rise to a serious danger of the Geneva agreement being made a matter of purely Party controversy in Great Britain, a disaster against which Viscount Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray have uttered warnings in the Press. On the other hand, the Election provided an opportunity of bringing the Protocol legitimately to the notice of prospective Members of Parliament, and the Union Executive felt that to advise Branches to take this course did not in itself involve in any way making the Protocol a Party issue. It was accordingly suggested to Branches that candidates should be asked whether they would work for a reduction of armaments and whether they were prepared to support the Geneva Protocol.

The Executive for its own part passed unanimously on October 9 the following resolution, which, it will be observed, embodies approval of the principles underlying the Geneva Protocol, not necessarily of every word and letter in the document:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union warmly approves the principles underlying the Geneva Protocol and congratulates the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on the great advance towards permanent peace achieved by the general recognition that arbitration, security and disarmament go hand in hand;

Believes that it is vital that this great opportunity should not be lost; and therefore

Requests the Government forthwith to summon a special Committee, representative of all sections of opinion here and in the Dominions, to examine these proposals with a view to their approval; and

Appeals to the Branches and Members of the Union to co-operate in the education of public opinion and in the furtherance by all constitutional means of the policy embodied in the Protocol unanimously adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Executive also resolves to send copies of this resolution to all the League of Nations Societies overseas.

"BALKAN UNREST & THE FUTURE."

WE have received from responsible Greek and Jugo-Slav sources courteous protests against various statements made in a signed article in the August HEADWAY entitled "Balkan Unrest and the Future." So far as the passages complained of contained merely opinions, the writer of the article must be held to have a right to express his views. Conditions of space, if nothing else, make it impossible to open a discussion on the rights and wrongs of the relationships of various Balkan States to one another. There is, however, one statement in the article which, in the interests of historic fact, must be corrected. The second Balkan war in 1912 broke out not, as was suggested in the article, as the result of a sudden attack by Greece and Serbia on Bulgaria, but by Bulgaria on Serbia.

THE FILENE PEACE PRIZE.

AS announced in our last number, we print below summaries of the first two prize essays in the Filene Peace Award:—

SUMMARY OF FIRST PRIZE PLAN.

By BOLTON C. WALLER.

How can peace and prosperity be restored in Great Britain and in Europe through International co-operation?

1. By rendering more effective the League of Nations.
(a) The forthcoming Assembly to be attended by Prime Ministers and used as the starting-point of a policy of European appeasement.

(b) The League to be re-organised for certain purposes in regional groups. Intensive measures of co-operation to be undertaken within the European and other groups.

(c) The United States, Germany and Russia to be invited either to become Members, or to co-operate closely with the League.

2. By a final settlement of the post-war financial problems.

(a) The Dawes Report to be accepted by all parties.

(b) A special Conference of the countries concerned to settle:—

Total amount of Reparations and period of payment.

Shares of Reparations receipts.

Reduction and funding of inter-Allied debts.

Evacuation of the Ruhr.

3. By measures to establish security and promote economic progress in Europe.

(a) The Treaty of Mutual Assistance, or a similar Pact, to be accepted by the whole European Group.

(b) The European members of the British Commonwealth to adhere to this Pact with the assent of the non-European.

(c) Improved regulations for the fair treatment of minorities.

(d) Drastic reduction of armaments.

(e) Fixation of ratios of European currencies.

(f) Removal of hampering trade restrictions.

(g) Development of co-operation in economic matters.

SUMMARY OF SECOND PRIZE PLAN.

By FREDA WHITE.

Any scheme of reconstruction must envisage (1) The creation of a sense of security, with a view to the reduction of armaments; (2) the settlement of the Reparations and inter-Allied debts problems; (3) the adoption of international measures likely to relieve political tension and produce political stability and economic efficiency.

(1) *Disarmament.*—Peace in Europe still very precarious, especially in danger zones of France and Germany, Russia and its neighbours, the Balkans, Hungary and the Little Entente States. Unrest is due mainly to suspicion and fear, of which armaments are both a cause and an effect. Crying need, therefore, is for a definite and general plan for disarmament.

Therefore, let Prime Ministers at next Assembly meeting make definite pronouncement on disarmament, and call special conference in 1925. To this conference definite draft suggestions to be submitted aiming at an armaments-building truce or holiday, through

(a) adoption of a general pact of non-aggression based on Articles 12, 13, 15 and 17 of the Covenant;

(b) signature of the revised Convention for controlling traffic in arms and munitions, drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League in

March, 1924, with the co-operation of the United States;

(c) adoption of a convention for an air armament and submarine truce;

(d) consideration of national control of "scientific" and "chemical warfare."

To supplement this first conference an effort should be made to extend the principles of the Washington naval treaty to non-signatory States.

The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and the Government comments thereon, should be submitted to the Temporary Mixed Commission for re-drafting, and in its amended form to the 1925 Assembly.

Other steps towards peace and disarmament would be the entry of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice; the admission of Germany, Russia, and Turkey to the League, Germany being given a seat on the Council; the establishment of a non-governmental Minorities Commission, modelled on the Mandates Commission, to safeguard the rights and liberties of minorities; and the announcement of plans and dates for the evacuation of the occupied areas of Germany.

(2) *Reparations and Inter-Allied Debts.*—The Dawes Report to be accepted and put into operation. When this has been done, Great Britain to call a conference on inter-Allied debts, and offer to remit the Allied debts to herself in return for an engagement that in the first year of German full payment under the Dawes Scheme (1928-9) the total German reparations will be fixed by a further conference at a sum covering only the Belgian priority and devastation account, the French devastation account, and the British war debt to the United States.

(3) *International Political and Economic Measures.*—The general *de jure* recognition of Russia, the extension by Great Britain to Russia of the Export Credits and Trade Facilities Acts, and the adoption of various conventions, drawn up at League conferences at Barcelona and elsewhere, to remove artificial barriers to trade and communications.

[In our last number the name of Miss L. P. Mair was incorrectly given as "Mr. L. P. Mair."]

THE GREEK REFUGEES.

THE following letter, signed by Viscount Cecil, has been widely circulated. It is hardly necessary to commend it to the special attention of readers of HEADWAY. Any financial help that can be given should be sent to the Imperial War Relief Fund, 26, Gordon Street, W.C.1. Old blankets and clothes, which are still urgently needed, should be sent to the Imperial War Relief Fund, care of New Hibernia Wharf, London Bridge, S.E.1.

Imperial War Relief Fund, 26, Gordon Street,
Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

13th October, 1924.

DEAR SIR,—Last Easter I appealed for the relief of the refugees in Greece in the hope that my appeal would be the last for that object.

Unhappily the loan for their permanent settlement has not, for various reasons, yet materialised, while their present condition has been worsened by a further influx under the Exchange of Populations. The general situation is serious in the extreme; the individual suffering is appalling; and I fear that some months must yet elapse before the weight of this regrettable burden can be removed from the shoulders of the charitably disposed.

The British record of relief is one that will not, I am sure, be dimmed by a lack of adequate response at such a critical time. I do most sincerely ask you to consider what help you can give us in this terrible contingency.—Yours faithfully,

CECIL,
President of the Council.

THE NEW METHOD OF LEARNING
A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

Pelman Institute's Great Achievement.

How to Learn French, Spanish or German Without the Use of English.

AT last a method of learning a Foreign Language has been devised which really satisfies those who adopt it.

It is a method which enables you to learn French or Spanish or German without using a single English word and in a much shorter period than is required by the ordinary old-fashioned "translation" method.

By this new method you learn French in French, German in German and Spanish in Spanish. There is no laborious translation from one language into another. Consequently you learn to speak the particular language in question without that hesitation which is produced by the necessity of mentally transposing your own language into the other. Those who learn French or Spanish or German by this new "direct" method learn to speak, write and read it with the greatest ease and fluency.

No Vocabularies.

But this new method has many other advantages. For example, it dispenses with the necessity of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. You learn the words you need by using them and in such a way that they are fixed in your mind in the most effortless fashion.

And further—and this delights everyone—this method enables you to read, write, speak and understand a Foreign Language without spending weeks and months, or even years, studying dreary, boring and complex grammatical rules and exceptions. You are introduced to the Language right away, and you absorb the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

Lastly this method enables you to learn French or Spanish or German in your own time and in your own home. There are no classes to attend and the whole of the tuition is given through the post.

Indeed, the introduction of this new method is a really great achievement and one of the most valuable things the Pelman Institute has ever done. Those who would like to read more about it should write for particulars to-day (using the coupon printed on this page) to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

This method enables you to read the leading German, French and Spanish reviews, newspapers, books and Government publications, and thus to keep in close and intimate touch with Continental opinion.

Celebrated General's Tribute.

Everyone who has taken one of the Pelman Courses in French, Spanish or German is delighted with the new method. Here are a few extracts from letters received from those who have adopted it:—

"I find that the Pelman Method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."
Lieut.-Gen. Sir AYLMER HALDANE, K.C.B. (H682.)

London, W.2.

"If I have succeeded in speaking French with considerable fluency and, above all, in writing it without running the risk of

making too bad mistakes, it is largely due to the Pelman Course, which is not only a miracle as regards the system of teaching by correspondence, but exceeds also in efficacy oral instruction—unless one has a specially clever teacher. And even in this case, how much cheaper it is!"

L. S. de P. WESTRUP. (W713.)
(First Secretary, Swedish Legation, Paris.)

New College, Oxford.
"The Course is most remarkably ingenious and deserves the highest praise. It is unique." H. DUNSMORE. (S.D.115.)

West Calder, Scotland.
"I am delighted with the Course—it is the best thing of its kind I have ever seen."
(Dr.) GORDON FLINT. (F364.)

Enfield.
"By your method, which is gradual and sure, the pupil learns more in one year than in four years by the ordinary method."
(The Rev.) J. MARE. (S.M.163.)

Boscombe.
"In the space of eight months I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in eight years at school."
B. S. C. KNOWLES. (S.K.119.)

St. John's Vicarage, S.W.9.
"Last week I spent a few days in Brittany. I was astonished and delighted at the ease with which I was able to converse in French—comparatively fluently—as opposed to my last visit. Many thanks to you."
JOHN PHILIP SMITH.

The new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in three little books, entitled respectively HOW TO LEARN FRENCH, HOW TO LEARN SPANISH, and HOW TO LEARN GERMAN.



Any one of these books (with full particulars of the method) will be sent you gratis and post free, on writing for it—using the Coupon printed below—to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. Post this Coupon to-day.

COUPON

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

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

NAME

ADDRESS

BOOKS WORTH READING.

IT has been credibly reported by travellers in Spain that a breed of sheep exists there with tails so fat and so heavy that they perform carry them on a little cart which they drag behind them. The fortunate possessor of the two massive volumes of **These Eventful Years** (Encyclopædia Britannica Co.; £2 10s.) will need some similar contrivance if he wishes to handle them outside his study; but fourteen hundred pages are none too many in which to describe all the political, economic, social, scientific and aesthetic ingredients which have gone to the making of the twentieth century, and to forecast the future. Eighty-four writers of more than a dozen nationalities, experts or participators in the story they tell, have been enlisted for the task, and their task has been on the whole well done. If some of them present only one side of their subject, their own side, that is a defect which could hardly be avoided, and if there is a predominance of American writers, and if Freud alone expounds psycho-analysis, there is ample compensation in reading the variant views of Lord Jellicoe and Admiral Scheer on the battle of Jutland or the opinions of Major-General Maurice, General Mangin and Major-General Ludendorff on the military parts played by their countries in the war. Even more instructive is it to contrast the estimates of Germany which are given by Ludendorff and Tirpitz on the one hand, and by Maximilian Harden on the other.

The pride of place in these volumes belongs to Mr. J. L. Garvin. He contributes a masterly review of the world during the past thirty-five years; his summary of the events leading up to the crisis of 1914 is unrivalled in its brilliancy and comprehension; his description of the war period in all its phases is only equalled by that of the last five years. Mr. Garvin gives considerable space to the League of Nations; he is frank, with the frankness of a friend, and his enthusiasm for peace does not blind him to what he considers to be "profound defects" in its foundations and "in the disastrous departure from the real moral inspiration of the project." He emphasises the weakness caused to the League by the exclusion of Germany as an original member and by the absence of Russia and the United States; it is well to be reminded of this imperfection, even if it be an overstatement to speak of "a half-League devoid of the moral and practical authority required for the sound restoration of Europe and for the security of peace." Such criticism as this, given in no spirit of reproach, is a useful corrective to contentment, and this fearless facing of the post-war situation cannot be ignored with equanimity. But with Mr. H. G. Wells in his "Forecast of the World's Affairs" it is different and it is more difficult to be patient. The League is always as great a bugbear to him as are the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; he is blind to any virtue that either may possess; but when he describes the League as "this cluster of bureaus, this council of Foreign Office agents and this debating society of second-rate politicians," it is clear that prejudice has passed the bounds of common sense, and he discounts any attention that might otherwise have been paid to his comments.

It is curious that while a much larger measure of popular support for the League exists in Great Britain than in any other country, it should be left to two Frenchmen to give it due appreciation. There is, however, no cause for complaint, for none have fuller knowledge of the League, its work and its possibilities, than M. Léon Bourgeois and M. Albert Thomas. The former describes in adequate detail the League and its accomplishments, while the latter in his chapter "France again the Dominant Power on the Continent" recognises the responsibility which the position of his country

entails for strengthening the real authority of the League. The following words are a challenge:—

"A nation placed in a position of preponderance can help more than any other to transform all pacts of special guarantee into a unique pact such as the organisation of the League constitutes. If France places her preponderance at the service of peace, she will aid in developing democratic ideas and the will for peace in all nations. She will have assisted powerfully in the establishment of peace, and at the same time she will have secured her existence and her future greatness."

One criticism, however, must be made; it is surprising that the I.L.O. is almost neglected; this entirely new factor in the world's industrial history, to say nothing of what it has already done in "these eventful years" for human welfare, demanded more than the two and a-half lines which M. Bourgeois gives, nor is it so much as mentioned in the index.

Mr. G. N. Barnes needs no commendation to the readers of HEADWAY, and his **Industrial Conflict and the Way Out** deserves all that Lord Cecil says of it in his foreword. "Everyone interested in the condition of industry question should read and ponder this book. They will find in it the fruit of great knowledge and ripe judgment." Mr. Barnes takes as the foundation of his argument the common interests of employers and employed in their relations as men and citizens, co-operation to secure the greatest possible production and agreement on the just division of its proceeds. He examines critically the rival schemes of profit-sharing, co-partnership and consumers' societies; the value and the defects of trades unions and employers' organisations, of Whitley Councils; Industrial Courts and compulsory arbitration are passed in review, but it is significant of the present day that his eyes are not only fixed on this island. One chapter deals with Labour legislation in the Dominions, and another with the International problem. There is much to learn from the self-governing Dominions, but the industrial conflict will only be ended by such work as is being done by the I.L.O.; the world regulation of industry is, in Mr. Barnes' opinion, essential to the promotion of industrial peace.

GENEVA PUBLICATIONS.

- Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat (A.8 (a), 1924). 1s. 9d.
Annex to the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat (A.8 (a), 1924 Annex). 9d.
Official Journal, 1924. No. 7. 5s. 6d.
Official Journal, 1924. No. 8. 4s.
Austria: 19th Report by the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations for Austria (C.398, 1924; 11). 9d.
Hungary: 3rd Report by the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations for Austria (C.401, 1924; 11). 4d.
Reduction of Armaments: Verbatim Record of the Debate in the Fifth Assembly, 1s. 3d.; Limitation of Naval Armaments: Replies from Governments (A.36, 1924; IX), 4d.; Treaty of Mutual Assistance: Replies from Governments (A.35, 1924; IX), 1s. 3d.; ditto (A.35 (a), 1924; IX), 1d.; ditto (A.35 (b), 1924; IX), 1d.; Limitation of National Expenditure on Armaments: Replies from Governments (A.40, 1924; IX), 3d.; ditto (A.40 (a), 1924; IX), 1d.; ditto (A.40 (b), 1924; IX), 1d.; Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments (A.16, 1924; IX), 1s.; Statistical Information on the Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Material of War (A.30, 1924), 2s. 6d.
Financial Position on August 31, 1924 (A.49, 1924; X), 3d.
Monthly Epidemiological Report, No. 69. 1s.
Memorandum submitted by the Chinese Delegation on behalf of its Government with regard to the request for the Reduction of the Proportion of the Expenses of the League of Nations allocated to China from 65 to 35 Units (A.47, 1924; X). 4d.

Correspondence

THE CHURCHES AND THE L.N.U.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The August number of your paper records the fact that the membership of the Union has not yet reached 400,000. Does it mean that there are only that number of Christians in the British Empire alone?

I feel convinced myself that the churches are not doing their duty. Every person who claims to be Christian in any degree cannot escape the responsibility of giving all the support to such a movement in the service of the Prince of Peace.

Unless the League of Nations receives the support of the people it cannot be a success. It is no use making the excuse that it is not perfect; it is a step in the right direction, and that is enough for the present. Reform will come with experience.

I beg to suggest therefore that some Sunday be set aside in the church year for the League of Nations Union, when the ministry shall enrol every member and adherent of his church.

What is the use of the people attending Holy Communion or reciting the Lord's Prayer with their lips unless it takes practical form in the way the Prince of Peace would have them?—Yours, &c.,

E. J. WELLMAN.

Johannesburg.

[While there is much in our correspondent's contention, it is worth observing that there are now close on 100 Anglican, 168 Congregational, 80 Wesleyan and 78 Baptist churches enrolled as corporate members of the League of Nations Union. Those numbers should be far larger than they are, but they do represent at least a beginning. As to a League of Nations Union Sunday, the Union has since 1922 united with the Peace Society and the World Alliance for Friendship, through the churches, in appealing for the observance of the Sunday before Christmas as "Peace Sunday." A large response is made to the appeal and the League of Nations figures prominently in sermons on that day. We are relying on our Branches and Members to secure a much larger response in 1924.—ED., HEADWAY.]

AUSTRIAN TRAVEL BUREAU.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As a member of the League of Nations Union, I am writing to draw your readers' attention to the existence of an interesting development on the Continent.

The Austrian League of Nations Union, recognising that the encouragement of foreign travel is the best form of promoting international fellowship and goodwill, has recently established at its headquarters in Vienna a Travel Section.

The purpose of this Travel Section is, roughly, that of the English Hospitality Committees—that is to say, it forms a general inquiry bureau for all strangers visiting the country. Besides helping travellers in the way of buying railway tickets, finding hotel accommodation, suggesting and arranging itineraries and visits to places of interest, &c., the Section acts as a sort of clearing-house for the different aspects of the intellectual life of Austria. It supplies valuable introductions and information to those visiting the country for some special purpose—e.g., musical or psychological investigation. This information and assistance is given gratis to all comers provided that they are members of the Austrian League of Nations Union.

As many intending visitors will not wish to wait until reaching Vienna before availing themselves of the help of the Travel Section, it has been arranged that the Wayfarers' Travel Agency, 33, Gordon Square, W.C.1, will act as English representatives to whom applications for membership and for further information should be addressed.

Managers of hotels and boarding-houses who are willing to co-operate in welcoming Austrian visitors to this country are also invited to become members of the Austrian League of Nations Union, and to have their names placed on the

Horror of Horrors.

Serious reports are to hand. Small isolated groups of Armenian children have been left behind in Asia Minor.

Unprotected. Starving. Dying.

We have urged our Missionaries to make every effort to discover the whereabouts of any such group.

First Reply Just to Hand:—

NEAR TALAS. Two hundred Armenian orphans left without any provision, untold misery exists, a few loaves of bread daily is all they could obtain.

Turks enticing elder girls into their homes for immoral purposes.

Forty-three of above, with two or three exceptions, all young women, are now on their way to the coast for Syria—others to follow as soon as arrangements can be made.

Those concerned are very grateful for your generosity in furnishing the means for their relief.

ADDITIONAL £1,000 wanted for this urgent work.

Armenian Massacre Relief

At the Office of the Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society.
(No Office Rent or Salaries.)

S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, 358¹ Strand,
Hon. Relief Commissioner. London, W.C.2.

Geo. M. HAMMER & Co., Ltd.

Church, School, Institute, Library, Office,
Laboratory Furniture—Chairs—Memorials.

CROWN WORKS, ST. JAMES'S ROAD,
BERMONDSEY, LONDON, S.E.16.

UNIQUE OFFER. SHIRTS PYJAMAS COLLARS

Union flannel (2/- yd.)	..	9/6	..	15/6	..	—
All-wool flannel (2/9 yd.)	..	12/6	..	18/6	..	—
Silk and wool Taffetas	..	15/-	..	21/-	..	1/3

Send for Patterns of these or others and Order Form (stating needs).
Carriage Paid on two garments. Satisfaction Guaranteed.

JAMES CRAMB, 73, ROCHDALE RD., BEECH MOUNT,
HARFURHEY, MANCHESTER.

We propose handing over to the funds of the League of Nations 1/- for every garment bought (out of profits).

EDUCATIONAL.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO. Easy and lucid. 3d. of all booksellers.—DREADNOUGHT PRESS, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.

"DIVINE TEACHING" on important subjects. A summary of widely neglected Bible Truths of essential importance to all Bible lovers. This brochure and other literature free.—SIDAWAX, 34, Chesterfield Terrace, Lichfield.

TOURS.

ARLINGTON TOURING CLUB.—Christmas tours to Marseilles, Tunis and Sicily and the Riviera (Hyeres and San Remo). Winter sports tours to Kandersteg and Engelberg. Old-fashioned Christmas Party at High Leigh, Hoddesdon. Send for Programme to FRED TALLANT, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.

list of specially recommended establishments which is published periodically by the Travel Section for the benefit of Austrians intending to visit England.—Yours, &c.,
32, Gordon Square, W.C.1. R. M. ANTHONY.

THE SIX NATIONS AGAIN. To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The insolent and threatening letter of your Lewes correspondent in this month's issue has induced me to re-read your comments on this subject in the August and September numbers.

No one who is not quite blinded by mistaken zeal and prejudice can, in my opinion, come to any other conclusion than that you have stated the case from the League's point of view in a perfectly fair and reasonable way.

Some of the phrases used in the communication, such as "monstrous statement," "grossly insulted," "damnable," &c., are much more appropriate to it than to your comments.

If "Rica Flemyng Gill" is a fair specimen of those who claim to be friends of Chief Deshakeh he may well say "Save me from my friends."

BEN. F. MEADOWS
(Member of the Committee of the
Hastings & St. Leonards Branch).

St. Leonards-on-Sea,
October 19th, 1924.

LONDON AND THE LEAGUE.

ARMISTICE DAY is once again at hand, and with its approach comes a crowd of memories and resolutions. Special significance, then, attaches to the Special Campaign Week, which is to be held from November 9-16 by the Federation of League of Nations Union Branches in the London Region.

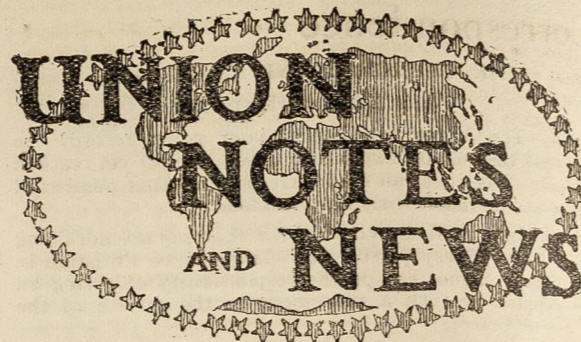
Every district of the metropolitan area will have its share in making the "London Week" a success. Every one of the London branches will do something—and in most cases it will be a big "something"—to let the man in the street know more about the work of the L.N.U. in educating and mobilising the full force of public opinion in this country in the cause of peace.

There is no space here for more than a short summary of the programme that is to be carried out during this week. All religious denominations, as well as all political parties, are taking part. On the opening day of the campaign the Chief Rabbi has promised to conduct a special service at the Central Synagogue, at which he will preach a sermon on the League. One of the most impressive services will undoubtedly be that which is to be held in St. Paul's Cathedral on Wednesday, November 12, at 5.30 p.m. Occasions on which special services of this character are permitted in St. Paul's are rare indeed. There is no doubt that the service will be well supported, especially as the sermon will be given by such a well-known preacher as the Bishop of Winchester. Among the other important services may be mentioned that at the Brixton Independent Church on Armistice Day, at which the Bishop of Southwark is to be the special preacher. But, in fact, special services are to be held by all denominations throughout the Metropolitan Area, and the co-operation of the Salvation Army is assured.

Among the meetings of a more secular character, the Mass Meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Armistice Day is of outstanding importance. The Bishop of London has promised to take the chair, and the speakers will include the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Horne, and a prominent Liberal statesman.

In order to stimulate the interest of the young people of London in the aims, ideals and achievements of the League of Nations, the London Regional Federation has instituted a Prize Essay Competition, in which a number of prizes are offered for the best essays on "What the League of Nations is." All young people stand a chance, for the essays will be graded into three sections according to the age of the competitors.

Further information about the Campaign Week is contained in a Special Booklet which is being distributed among the branches, or can be obtained on application at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Apart from its present interest, this should prove an interesting souvenir of a great effort by London in the cause of peace.



Do You Want L.N.U. Literature?

Some members of the Union—£1 members—apparently find themselves faced with a serious problem, how to prevent themselves from getting Union literature pushed through their letter-boxes. One member, a lady endowed with amiability, intelligence, and all other virtues, has lately resigned her membership as the simplest way she knew to save herself from Union pamphlets. Now, as a matter of fact, there are better ways than this. As things are, most £1 members pay their £1 on condition all Union literature is sent them. But it is just as easy to pay the £1 on condition it is not. Under the latter system, indeed, the Union stands to gain by some by no means negligible shillings every year. Literature (including HEADWAY) need, therefore, never stand in the way of a desire to pay an annual subscription of £1 to the Union.

The £1 Member.

This in point of fact raises a very serious question. The Union badly needs more £1 members. It ought to be kept going largely by subscriptions of about that figure, instead of having to spend time and energy constantly in obtaining relatively large donations from wealthy sympathisers. That is undemocratic, and it ought not to be necessary. It may indeed be seriously questioned whether it is necessary. There is no question that the £1 membership could rapidly be trebled or quadrupled, to the great benefit both of headquarters and of branch funds, if branch secretaries would put the matter plainly before their members. The intimation is heard far too often at public meetings that "You can join the Union for 1s." You can, and members who can afford to pay no more are abundantly welcome at that figure. But a very great many who could well pay £1—and would if the need were explained to them—are not paying £1. There is room for valuable work by branch secretaries here.

And Other Members.

There is other work, too, of equal urgency. That is getting new members at any figure. After moving steadily on at the rate of some 2,000 new members every week, the Union experienced a rather disquieting slump in September, the recruitment dropping to roughly 500 a week. Since then, of course, the General Election has deadened things badly. That is all the more reason for exerting a real effort now to swing back to the old rate of increase and something beyond it. Mere numbers have no supreme virtue in themselves, but the cause of the League of Nations will prosper in this country just so far as the League of Nations Union maintains and expands its educative work. This is less than ever a moment to rest on our oars.

Bennington Hears Lord Balfour.

An unexpected item was added to the programme of a village meeting at Bennington on October 10. This was the date on which Lord Balfour broadcast his speech on the League from Edinburgh. A local amateur was asked to lend his loud speaker, and it was announced that Lord Balfour's speech could be heard after the meeting. The village hall was crowded, and after the ordinary programme was over the audience were entertained by music until 9.40, when the speech came on.

Another Successful Pageant.

The pageant season has been a long one this year, and it has been a remarkable phenomenon that the minute

percentage of fine days this summer has included almost all those fixed for League of Nations pageants. The Bath branch were indeed intimidated into transferring the scene of their performance to St. Luke's schoolroom, but at the last moment it was found possible to hold it out of doors after all.

The principal feature of the pageant was the offering of homage to the Queen of Peace by all the members of the League of Nations. America was represented by a figure which did not actually do homage, but laid her flag at the feet of Peace as a symbol of her country's sincere pursuit of peaceful ideals. The 54 nations were represented by local Girl Guides.

Before the performance a meeting was held in the schoolroom, at which Mr. E. Everitt Ried answered a number of current criticisms of the League of Nations by giving a short account of its achievements. About 400 to 500 people were present.

Congratulations to Sutton.

As a result of a series of "summer meetings," the membership of the Sutton Branch has increased from 288 to 396. It is notoriously difficult to interest people in serious subjects in summer, so that this advance merits particular congratulation.

Lectures on International Affairs—

Professor Philip N. Baker, who was recently appointed to the Sir Ernest Cassel chair of International Relations in the University of London, is giving a course of twenty lectures on International Politics this winter at the London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych. The lectures are given on Tuesdays at 5 p.m., and the fee for the course is £2. The opening lecture on October 7 was a public one, and the chair was taken by Viscount Cecil.

League of Nations Diary.

In response to numerous requests, the Union is producing a Pocket Diary for 1925. The Diary will contain about 24 pages of special League of Nations matter in addition to other information. It will be bound in real leather, size 4in. x 2½in., one week to an opening, price 1s.6d., postage 2d. The Diary will be ready towards the end of the month. Orders should be sent at once as they will be dealt with strictly in rotation.

BOOKS FOR JAPAN.

The Union is sending a selection of books to Japanese libraries to replace those destroyed by the earthquake. Already a large number of the books has been sent, but the following we have not as yet been able to obtain. Can any readers help us either by supplying the books or informing us where they may be obtained?

"Away with Arms," Von Suttner; "Armed Peace," Davis; "Clemabault," Romain Roland; "China at the Conference," Willoughby Wester; "Economic Functions," Norman Angell; "Germany in Travail," Zorn; "Introduction to the Study of International Organisations," Pitman B. Potter (Century Co.); "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," (Hutchinson—out of stock); "An Introduction to the Peace Treaty," Pearson Scott; "League of Nations To-day and To-morrow," H. M. Kallen; "League and Labour," C. Delisle Burns; "The New World Order," Fred Charles Hicks; "The Next War," Will Irwin; "The New Internationalism," Bloce; "Nation of Nations," Alfred Owen Crocier; "Passing of the Old World Order in Europe," Silboorg Gregory; "The Tragedy of Europe," Nitti; Francesco; "Three Peace Congresses" (Mayer and Lord), Harvard University; "American World Politics," Charles Thomas Haskins; "Monroe Doctrine and the World War," Hall; "While Europe Waits for Peace," Pierrepont B. Noyes; "Modern Italy," Tittoni; Tommaso.

What War Means.

An arresting and original circular has been published by the Halifax Branch. It is headed with a photograph of seven young men, all from Halifax, taken in 1913 as a souvenir of a holiday spent together. Everyone of them fell in the war; six were killed in action and one died at home from the effects of poison gas. "They left a legacy and a duty to us: To make the dream of a war to end war come true."

Lancaster Peace Demonstration.

The Lancaster "No More War" Demonstration lasted two days, and included an open-air meeting on the Saturday and a Sunday Schools procession on the Sunday. Seventeen schools, including about 1,500 children, took part. The procession was headed by members of the Branch carrying a banner, and three bands played. The proprietor of a local cinema house filmed the procession. This should be a splendid advertisement of the Branch to many more than the crowd of 2,000 which turned out to see the demonstration.

Labour and the League.

The Blackburn Trades Council and Labour Party jointly organised a meeting on September 9, when Mr. Tom Gillinder, of Headquarters, spoke on "The League of Nations and the International Labour Office." The Chairman, Mr. H. Beardwood, J.P., said that among the working classes there was a suspicion that there was something in the League of Nations movement which needed watching. In view of the prevalence of that feeling, much would be gained if members of trade unions gave the League

their full attendance and support. Blackburn has shown them how to set about it. It is only because the work of the I.L.O. is insufficiently known that there is not a greater interest among working men and women in the League. More than once converts have been made by a presentation of the very practical work that is done in the field of Labour Conventions, who have previously imagined that the League was something too far remote from everyday affairs to merit their consideration.

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE OF £20,000.

Received to date of going to press	£10,723
Required before December 31, 1924	£9,277

AN EARNEST APPEAL

is made to all Branches to remit their quotas for 1924 before December 31, 1924.

It is of the utmost importance that the total sum of £20,000 should be obtained by this date.

The League Gospel in the Wilds.

Carr Bridge is a small village in the Highlands, 10 miles from anywhere, and it has just achieved the distinction of being the first place in Speyside to found a branch of the Union. An energetic campaign, followed by a meeting on September 24, resulted in the immediate gain of 30 members, with a promise of many more. The whole countryside is to be divided up into districts and systematically canvassed, so that Carr Bridge bids fair to become a centre of internationalism for Speyside.

Scottish Autumn School.

A short conference, lasting over one week-end, was organised at Dunblane from October 3 to 6 by the Scottish National Council. Not only were the numbers at this Autumn School greater, but the interest shown in the discussions was more marked than with any of its predecessors. A number of real authorities spoke on special points of international interest. Colonel Turner, who had just come from the Assembly, traced the history of the League's efforts to find a way to disarmament, culminating in the Geneva Protocol. Mrs. Moorhead, of the American Foreign Policy Association, and Mr. Rutherford Hill, Secretary of the Pharmaceutical Society, spoke on the International Drug Trade, and Mr. Basil Matthews on the Racial Problems of the East. On the Sunday an inspiring service was held in Dunblane Cathedral.

Galston's Success.

A fête held in the grounds of Cessnock Castle by the Galston Branch resulted in the splendid sum of over £70. The Branch describe its programme as containing "the usual shows." These included a pageant and a programme of national dances. There must have been something more than "the usual" quality about the fête to result in such magnificent takings.

London's New Regional Organiser.

Mr. George A. Innes, who has just been appointed Regional Organiser to the London Federation, was before the war an active worker for the League of Young Liberals in Stockport. During the war he served with the Friends' Relief Missions in France and Salonica, and later became administrator of the Serbian Relief Fund in Corsica. Since the Armistice he has travelled extensively in the Balkans, and has attended several Assemblies.

Westminster Branch.

A naval evening is being arranged at the Essex Hall on Friday, November 14, at 8 p.m. "Should the British Navy be handed over to the League?" is the subject of the debate.

WALES.

Most Branches have now entered actively upon their winter programme of work, and many of them have met with great success in securing the introduction of subjects bearing on the League of Nations into the programmes of the various literary, debating and similar societies in their respective areas. A few of the Branches have reported their intention of devoting a considerable portion of their energy to a study and explanation of the Covenant itself. The Protocol approved by the Fifth Assembly will provide them with another absorbing topic of a similar nature.

At the time of writing, however, Branches throughout Wales and Monmouthshire, realising their grave responsibility, are devoting their energies to securing from all candidates for election to Parliament definite declarations as to their attitude towards the League of Nations, and especially towards the Protocol approved by the representatives of forty-eight States—Members of the Fifth Assembly at Geneva.

During the month of October three successful series of meetings have been addressed by the Rev. D. C. Davies—one week in Pembrokeshire, one in Montgomeryshire and another in Monmouthshire.

Great credit is due to the Branches at Briton Ferry, Abergavenny, and Neyland for the successful Daffodil Days organised by them during the month of October.

New Corporate Members.

BAKEWELL—Society of Friends; Free Church Council. BEDMINSTER—St. Francis Church Council. BOWDEN—Trinity Presbyterian Church. BRIGHTON—Co-operative Society. BURSLEM—Holy Trinity Church. CHIP-PING SODBURY—District Council. CHORLEY—Park Road Wesleyan Men's Bible Class. COBHAM—Congregational Church. DERBY—St. Luke's Parochial Church Council. DUNMOW—Congregational Church. EDINBURGH—The Y.M.C.A. National Council. FARNWORTH—St. Peter's Men's Class; St. Thomas' Men's Class; Urban District Council; Wesleyan Sunday School Men's Class. FARNWORTH WITH KEARSLEY—Parish Church Mutual Improvement Society. HARPURHEY—Wesleyan Church. HARROW—Silver Street Congregational Church. KEARSLEY—St. Stephen's Men's Class. KETTERING—Silver Street Wesleyan

Church. LEIGHTON BUZZARD—Society of Friends; St. Barnabas' Lodge of Freemasons; Men's Adult School. LITTLEMOOR—Independent Church. LONDON—Highbury Hill Baptist Church; Lee Working Men's Club; North Dulwich, Christ Church (Presbyterian); Upper Tooting Wesleyan Church. LOWESTOFT—St. Margaret's Parochial Church Council. MANCHESTER—The Spiritualists National Union, Ltd. NEW BARNET—Congregational Church. NOTTINGHAM—The Nottingham Printers, Ltd. OXFORD and District—Association of the Co-operative Union, Ltd. (Southern Section); Oxford Co-operative Society. PAIGNTON—Y.M.C.A. Brotherhood. PETERSFIELD—Congregational Church. PURLEY—Christ Church. SANDERSTEAD—St. Mary's Church. SCARBOROUGH and District Teachers' Association. SOUTHALL—Amalgamated Engineers' Union. SOUTHAMPTON Brotherhood. STIRLING—Branch of B.W.T.A. STOKE D'ABERNON—St. Mary's Parochial Church Council. STREET—Parochial Church Council; Society of Friends. TORQUAY—St. Michael's Church. UXBRIDGE Sisterhood. WARRINGTON Co-operative Society. WEST AUCLAND—Branch of the Durham Miners' Association. WESTON-SUPER-MARE—Branch of the U.K.C.T.A. WIDNES—St. Mary's Parish Church. West of England and South Wales Federation of the U.K.C.T.A.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.
SUBSCRIPTION RATES.****TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).**

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

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

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

with the various pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.

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

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

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

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

HEADWAY is published by the League of Nations Union, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.
Telegrams: "Freenat, Knights, London."
Telephone: Victoria 9780.

All communications respecting advertisements must be sent to the Fleetway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1, and not to the offices of the Union.

**MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED 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
Oct. 20, 1924	...	...	...	...	...	408,990

BRANCHES.

On October 20 the number of Branches was 1,902
Junior Branches 132, and Corporate Members 879.