



HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THIS issue of HEADWAY, as might naturally be expected, is devoted largely to the meetings of the Eleventh Assembly. As a record it is necessarily incomplete, as it has to go to press just when the Assembly session has half run its course. It is, therefore, altogether premature to express any considered opinion as to the success or otherwise of the Assembly, or to draw any comparisons between this year's meetings and their predecessors. On the whole, the beginning was good. Fully the average number of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers were present, and though the general discussion in the first week followed mainly routine lines it testified to a fully sustained interest in the League on the part of the men who are directing the international relations of their countries. It is true, no doubt, that the fine words on the Assembly platform did not tally altogether in every case with the policy of the Government whose spokesman was at the tribune. That may be unfortunate, but it is almost inevitable, and it has to be remembered further that the Foreign Ministers who come to Geneva are often not the men responsible for various acts of their Governments which it would be easy to criticise—for example, the treatment of Minorities. As for the later phases of the Assembly, on which any permanent verdict on the work of 1930 must be based, they must be held over till next month, when the final resolutions and results are known.

The New League Council

THE election of the three new members of the League of Nations Council leaves the general strength of the Council very much as it was before. Norway, Ireland and Guatemala take the places of Finland, Canada and Cuba. As between Guatemala and Cuba there is little to choose, and the same may be said of Norway and Finland. Canada is obviously a Dominion of considerably greater importance and longer political experience than Ireland, but in the Council of the League personalities count at least as much as countries, and the representative the Irish Free State is likely to send will no doubt prove as useful a member of the Council as Senator Dandurand, the Canadian delegate, has been in the past three years. If Canada had been able to send throughout a statesman of the quality of Sir Robert Borden, who sat for a few days on the Council at the beginning of last month, the case would have been different. There are many grounds for regretting China's failure to secure permission to stand as candidate, but her prospects of election next year, when Persia retires, are distinctly good.

A Ghost of a Plan

THE course of the Briand European Federation scheme at last month's Assembly was curious. No one condemned the plan, but no one very warmly blessed it. That is, perhaps, natural enough, because in fact there is no plan either to

bless or to condemn. Nothing indeed was more astonishing than the total absence of any constructive suggestion as to the shape the Briand scheme should take. M. Briand had not a word to say concerning that, and no other speaker filled the gap. The principle that any action taken should be taken definitely under the authority of the League was established, and it was left to a committee of all the European States to decide within the next twelve months what that action should be. On this committee any other States Members of the League can apparently sit if they choose, and the committee itself can invite non-Member States like Russia and Turkey to collaborate with it. It may easily, therefore, become a body of considerable size. The results of its deliberations will come back to the Assembly in 1931 and need not then be accepted as they stand. The Assembly of the League will remain sovereign, and it can accept in whole or in part, or not at all, the proposals the committee it has appointed may lay before it. It cannot be said that the prevailing opinion regarding the Briand scheme at Geneva was optimistic. No one, that is to say, understood what the European Union could achieve which the League itself could not have achieved quite as well in any case. That opinion, however, may have to be reversed in twelve months' time.

Minority Claims

THE discussion on Minorities at the League Assembly was unexpectedly mild. Neither the German representative, Dr. Koch-Weser, nor Count Apponyi, who has vigorously championed the rights of minorities from the point of view of Hungary in the past, made any violent attack on the existing methods followed by the League in discharge of its duty as protector of minorities. The reason apparently was that the aim of those who brought up the question this year was merely to establish the principle that Minority questions should be regularly discussed by the Assembly, as they have not usually been in the past. If any serious friction had arisen this year, some attempt might have been made to avoid a discussion in 1931. As it is, there is little doubt that Minority questions will be regularly placed on the agenda of the Sixth Commission, as mandate questions always have been. The suggestion of a permanent Minorities' Commission was thrown out by several speakers, but no one definitely proposed it. The Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, put once more the unvarying point of view of the minority States, to the effect that they might be willing to accept such changes if, but only if, procedure were applied to all States with important minorities in their borders—notably Italy, and everyone knows that Italy would never agree to that. As a whole, the discussion undoubtedly did good, as its initiator, the German delegate, was the first to acknowledge.

Nation and Party

THERE has been evident at the League Assembly this year, as last, a slight tendency on the part of the British delegation to emphasise the fact that they represent a Labour and Socialist Government. There may, no doubt, be occasions when a legitimate argument can be based on that fact.

Mr. Buxton, for example, in the debate on Minorities, refuted the suggestion that Great Britain was always disposed to side with minorities by observing that the Labour and Socialist Government, which he represented, had never any sympathy with exaggerated national claims, and, therefore, by no means favoured any excessive assertion of such claims by national minorities. Whether that argument is inherently sound or not, no objection can be taken to it, but it is obviously to be desired that the British delegation at Geneva should be content with representing Great Britain and nothing else. A good deal of harm has been done already through the reversal by one British Government of policies a former Government has approved, as, for example, in the case of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol. Under these circumstances any observations which suggest that one British delegation is taking a substantially different view from a former one is ill-advised. After all, the Assembly delegations do not represent parties, but the national Government.

An Appeal for a Pound

THE League of Nations Union is making a determined effort to secure 100,000 members who care enough about the League of Nations to pay an annual subscription of £1 to the Union. It is not a case of enlisting 100,000 new members, though any fresh recruits on this basis will be extremely welcome. The main object of the campaign is different from that. It cannot be doubted that there are, in the ranks of existing members of the Union, 100,000 men and women, or something very near that figure, who could without any undue sacrifice back the Union to the extent of £1 every year—or 1s. 8d. every month. No one is asked to give beyond his means, and it is fully recognised that a large proportion of members of the League of Nations Union are not in a position to give even the desired £1 a year. Their presence in the Union is none the less valuable for that, for members are not assessed according to what they take out of their pockets. But even without their help the needed £100,000 ought to be easily forthcoming. The Union needs the money, and if it can get it its financial anxieties will vanish permanently. That is said primarily of headquarters, but the branches would benefit equally, since only a proportion of each subscription would go to London. The rest would remain to strengthen the local machinery in the district where the money was given. Reference is made to this subject in a leading article on a later page of this issue. There is everything to be said for the campaign that is being prosecuted, and all readers of HEADWAY are urged to put it plainly to themselves whether they could not, and should not, do their manifest duty in this matter. Those who can, most indisputably ought.

The International Man

ONE of the questions a great many people are talking about as a result of discussions at Geneva is the making of the "international man." That arises in connection with the League of Nations Secretariat, and the argument as to whether that important institution should be staffed by men and women who are essentially international in aim

and outlook, or rather by officials conscious of the claims of the countries of which they are citizens. In that connection the suggestion has been made in a letter to *The Times* that to get your true international you must catch him young, and that therefore it would be wise to found at Geneva some kind of school of diplomatic studies through which candidates for positions on the Secretariat would pass before submitting themselves to competitive examination for entry into the international civil service. The proposal is not entirely new, but it is well worth consideration. It may indeed be predicted with some confidence that sooner or later it will be adopted. Meanwhile, Professor de Madariaga has contributed a further suggestion of some interest to the effect that all new members of the Secretariat should, on entry, take an oath of loyalty to the League and the League alone, just as most occupants of offices of importance under national Governments regularly do.

Earphones for Delegates

A PHOTOGRAPH of the League Assembly, on another page of this issue, shows a number of delegates with earphones on their heads. When M. Briand was speaking, of course in French, Mr. Henderson, by means of this device, listened to him in English and declared that the whole address was as clear and lucid as an ordinary English public speech. Similarly M. Briand heard in French Mr. Henderson speaking in English. This is not merely a mechanical marvel, though mechanism plays a large part in it. It still needs the human element to turn French into English, or vice versa, and the human element in this case performs no less astonishingly than the mechanical. While M. Briand was speaking an interpreter, sitting just below the platform, was whispering an English translation of each sentence into a microphone connected with the earphones which each delegate found hanging below his desk. The voice was amplified in course of transmission, so that the listener heard it at its ordinary volume. That is remarkable enough, but what is still more remarkable is the ability of the interpreter to listen to one sentence at the very moment when he is translating the previous one aloud, or, to put the same thing the other way round, his ability to translate one sentence aloud while he is listening to the next one and taking it in. But the League has found men who can do that, and the result appears to be completely satisfactory. The ordinary translation at the end of a speech has not been given up yet, partly because there are not earphones for all delegates, but it soon may be. The device has been tried successfully at the International Labour Conferences, the first experiments having been financed by Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, an American admirer of the League.

On the Qui Vive

PUBLIC evidences of the utility of the League of Nations Opium Committee may be noted from time to time by observant readers of the daily papers. There was recorded, for example, a week or two ago, a seizure of heroin to the value of about £10,000 by the Rotterdam and Hamburg police, who had been put on the alert by information forwarded to them from the League Headquarters at Geneva.

Almost every seizure of this kind reveals the existence of a gang of international traffickers whose activities are disclosed at half a dozen centres. This particular consignment of heroin had been dispatched from Constantinople by an international gang, with its headquarters at Paris. It was to have been landed at Marseilles, but as the Marseilles police have been particularly vigilant lately it was diverted to Hamburg and Rotterdam, where it was duly seized by the police authorities. How Geneva secured the information which enabled it to give its effective warning to the police is a question which Geneva very wisely prefers to leave unanswered. The international gang responsible for this particular transaction consisted of American, Japanese, French, German and Swiss members.

Real News

IT is very justly complained that the British Press takes relatively little interest in the League of Nations—much less than the French or German, or, rather curiously, the American. But a burglary in the rooms of a British delegate brings the League suddenly full into the Fleet Street orbit. When a malefactor of unknown origin scaled the verandah and entered Mr. Noel Baker's bedroom at the Beau-Rivage Hotel at Geneva at four o'clock one September morning, covered Mr. and Mrs. Baker alternately with an oscillating revolver, and retired backwards through the door with the keys of Mr. Baker's Foreign Office dispatch boxes in his pocket, the wires from London were kept humming with instructions to the local correspondents to send full accounts with every graphic detail. London, apparently, was about ten times as excited over the affair as Geneva. It was an unpleasant experience, nevertheless, for Mr. and Mrs. Noel Baker, and a great many people in all Continents of the world are gratified that the revolver did not go off. The thief, it may be added, retired from the bedroom to the adjoining sitting-room, out through the window, and down over the verandah, leaving nothing behind him but some finger-prints, which unfortunately did not enable him to be identified.

The Flag Question Again

THE need for some kind of flag or emblem for the League of Nations becomes increasingly apparent. The question has arisen more than once in connection with the arrangements now being worked out for rapid communications affecting the working of the League in times of emergency. Plans have been drafted for detaching special aeroplanes for League service, and these must bear some distinctive mark, which has not yet been decided on. Now there comes a report from the Transit Committee regarding motor transport in times of crisis. The Committee's first recommendation is that motors on League service "shall bear a distinctive identification mark, either a plate marked 'S.D.N.' (Société des Nations) or a flag." The flag would be more readily visible than an identification plate, but the League itself has not moved in the direction of a flag as yet. The International Federation of League of Nations Societies, of course, has, but the designs that have secured the prizes in the competition the Federation initiated are hardly so outstanding as to suggest that the League is likely to adopt them as its own.

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE LEAGUE WILL "HEADWAY" READERS HELP TO GAUGE IT?

THIS article is an appeal to HEADWAY readers—not for money, simply for a little thought, and the effort required to put the results of that thought on a sheet of paper. You are asked to help in an attempt to discover what people in this country think of the League of Nations.

The question may sound simple. In reality it is bafflingly difficult. Public opinion on a given subject can never be precisely measured. Often it cannot even be guessed at with anything like accuracy. And when it is a matter of discovering what the average man thinks about this or that it has to be recognised at once that no such thing as an average man exists.

What Other People Think

For those reasons an inquiry into the state of public opinion regarding the League of Nations can admittedly never lead to anything like decisive results. But it can at least produce better results than if no inquiry were made at all. Such an inquiry, therefore, has a definite value. That is why readers of HEADWAY are invited to co-operate in it.

What you are asked to say is not what *you* think about the League of Nations. Readers of HEADWAY are all already interested in the League, and most of them believe in it. To that extent they cannot be regarded as typical. What is wanted is your estimate of what other people—the people, men or women, you are personally best acquainted with in everyday life—think about the League.

Different Viewpoints

It would, no doubt, be more scientific to try and discover what special classes of persons—taxi-drivers and tax-collectors, charwomen and chartered accountants—thought about the League, but that would make the inquiry far too elaborate. The only differentiation suggested is in matter of sex and age. Readers, therefore, are asked to limit their answers to stating *what, in their opinion, people of their own sex and of their own age-class (under 25, between 25 and 50, and over 50) think about the League.* Not too much stress need be laid on these distinctions, but there is some value in discovering how far the standpoints of youth, middle age and riper years differ, if, in fact, they differ at all.

Please Send Answers

What is asked is this. There follows below a series of questions designed to elicit the kind of information required. Will you send in your own answers to them, expressed in all cases quite briefly? Whether the answers bear your name or only initials is of no consequence. But please mark on the paper M. or F. to indicate whether the replies are from a man or a woman, and A., B. or C. to indicate the age-group—A. if under 25, B. if between 25 and 50 and C. if over 50. M.C. will thus indicate that the writer is a man of over 50, F.A. a woman of under 25, and so on.

The questions are these:—

1. Which of the following words would, in your opinion, express the general attitude towards the League—enthusiastic, approving, tolerant, indifferent, disapproving, hostile?
2. Do you consider any special class of the population more (a) favourable, (b) unfavourable, towards the League than others?
3. Are you more struck by a general ignorance about the League or by a general familiarity with its work?

4. What are the commonest objections to the League?
5. What part of the League's work do people know most about?
6. What part do they believe in most?
7. What part of it is most criticised?
8. Does the attitude of a Parliamentary candidate towards the League gain or lose him votes on any substantial scale?
9. How is interest in the League best aroused at present?
10. How might it be better aroused?
11. Is the League generally regarded as a burden or as a benefit to Great Britain?
12. What percentage of the people of your acquaintance have read the Covenant?

Other People's Views

A few observations on the answers to these questions may be added. It must be repeated that what is wanted is not so much readers' own views as their estimate of what the general view—the common view—is in each case. Answers need not be at all lengthy, and the questions need, of course, not be quoted. For example, a reply to No. 11 could be either "11, a benefit" or "11, a burden", unless it were desired to elaborate the answer a little. Readers, moreover, are asked to answer some of the questions if they do not answer all of them.

Such an inquiry as this is frankly experimental. The answers received may point to fairly definite conclusions or prove quite uninforming. They may well suggest the prosecution of further particular lines of inquiry in special fields. Whatever they are, they will be tabulated and interpreted and presented in subsequent issues of HEADWAY in as clear a form as is practicable. Readers will be doing a real service by co-operating in as large numbers as possible, so as to give the answers a fully representative character.

Envelopes should be addressed to the Editor of HEADWAY, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, and marked "E" in the top left-hand corner.

LISTEN IN!

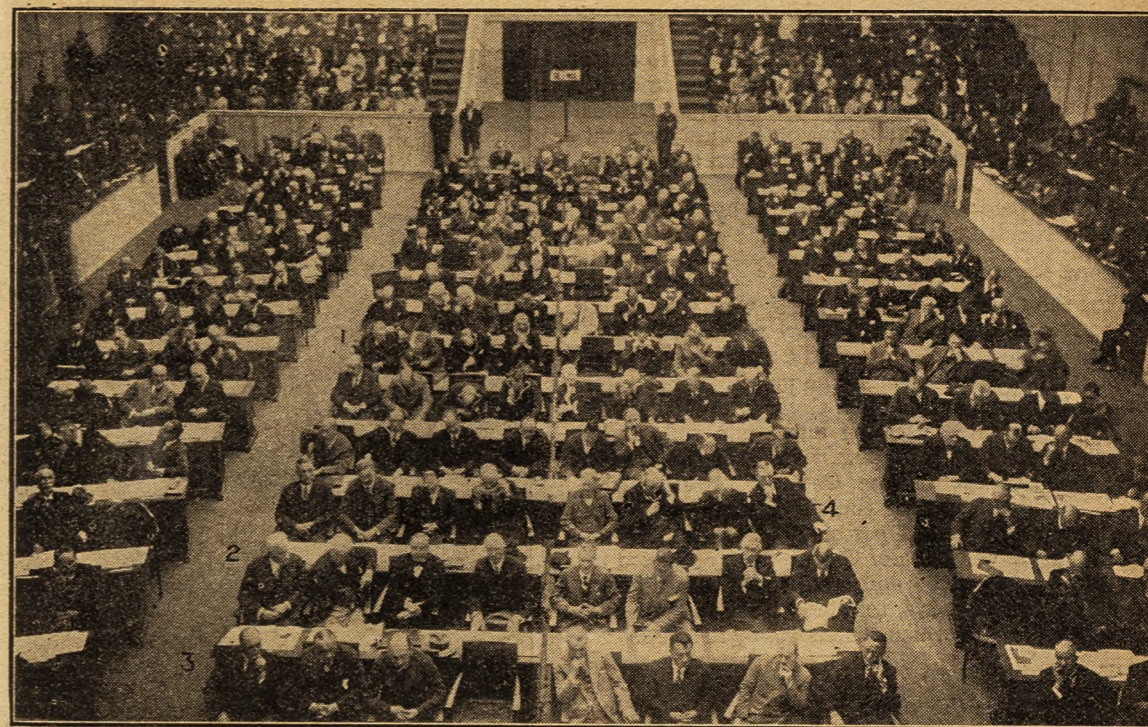
FORTUNATELY every member of the League of Nations Union will have the opportunity of hearing the speeches made at the Guildhall on October 30, when a dinner is to be given on behalf of the Union to Imperial Conference delegates and to the British and Dominion delegates at Geneva. These speeches will be relayed from 9.45 to 10.15 p.m., when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the Chairman, Lord Grey, will be speaking; other speakers will be the Prime Minister of Canada—Mr. Bennett—Mr. J. H. Thomas and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Mr. Henderson emphasised at Geneva that one of the most important tasks before the Imperial Conference was the consideration of further contributions from the British Commonwealth towards disarmament and world security; it seems suitable, therefore, that the delegates who have this task before them should come in contact with the League of Nations Union and know something of its work in this country towards that goal.

As far as the Union itself is concerned, the broadcast will take place on the eve of the launching, on November 1, of its new £100,000 Foundation Membership Scheme. It may well serve the double purpose of stimulating this important project and of giving pleasure to all those who are interested in the future of the British Commonwealth and the peace of the world.

THE ELEVENTH ASSEMBLY THE OPENING PHASE: OUTSTANDING FEATURES

EVERY Assembly of the League of Nations is divided into two phases—or, rather, into three. It begins with a week or so of speeches, which delegates from different countries have for the most part brought with them in their pockets. The technical subject of discussion is the Report presented by the Secretary-General to the Assembly on the work the Council has been doing in the preceding year. As every branch of the League's activities is mentioned in this document, it follows that speakers in the general Assembly debate can talk about any subject they choose. They put their names down on a list, and are called on in that order. This is the first phase of a normal Assembly.

So far as the Eleventh Assembly of 1930 is concerned, the second and third phases will have to be left for the November issue of HEADWAY. The Commissions did not begin their sittings till well into the second half of the month, and, consequently, no report of their labours is available at the time of writing. The first phase, however, is sufficiently important, for it consists of a statement of the points of view of most of the countries members of the League. When the week of speeches is over it is generally possible to see what subjects are uppermost in delegates' minds and what, therefore, is likely to occupy most time and arouse most interest when the Commissions meet.



The Assembly in Session

1. M. Briand 2. Herr Schober (Austrian Chancellor) 3. Dr. Curtius (German Foreign Minister)
4. Mr. Henderson; beside him, from right to left, Mr. Graham, Lord Cecil, Miss Lawrence, Mr. Dalton, Mrs. Hamilton. Lord Cecil and Mr. Dalton are adjusting their headphones to receive simultaneous translation

The second phase consists of Commission work. Since the activities of the League are so manifold that if all of them had to be discussed by the full body of delegates the Assembly would be sitting into the following year, a division of labour is arranged. Six large Commissions, or Committees, are formed, and the various questions are divided up between them. One Commission deals with humanitarian questions, another with political, another with financial and economic, another with disarmament, and so on. Ten days or more after the end of the first week are given up to their work.

Before that is completely ended the third phase, namely, consideration by the full Assembly of the reports the different Commissions present to it on various subjects, begins. The earliest Commission reports, that is to say, can go to the Assembly, while the later items of the Commission's agenda are still being discussed. When all the reports have been to the Assembly and been adopted (or otherwise) by it, the third phase is completed and the Assembly ends.

The New Setting

The Assembly this year had found itself a new habitation. The long familiar Salle de la Réformation had been endured for ten years, from the First Assembly of 1920 onwards, but it provoked more general and more emphatic complaints each year. At last, largely at the instigation of Lord Cecil, the resolve was taken to rake Geneva for some better building. The only one at all possible, the Bâtiment Electoral, seemed utterly unsuitable, for it consisted of one vast empty hall. Thanks, however, to skilled forethought and the well-justified expenditure of a little money, an admirable meeting place was constructed, with the desks of the delegates on the floor, tiers of seats at the side and back for secretaries and distinguished visitors, and with the Press and public accommodated in an upper gallery. For the first time since the League was founded the maintenance of something like dignity and order during the Assembly meetings was possible, and M. Titulesco, formerly Foreign Minister of Roumania, whom the Assembly elected President by an almost unanimous

vote, saw to it that a new standard of deportment was set and observed. These may hardly seem matters of general interest, but, in fact, the Assembly has suffered seriously in the past from the makeshift character of its setting.

Seen from The Gallery

There were not many touches of colour among the delegates' seats in the arena of the hall. Women were rather more numerous than usual, but they were soberly clad to the point of severity. Amongst them may be mentioned Miss Susan Lawrence and Mrs. Hamilton, of the British Delegation—Miss Lawrence, after the departure of Mr. William Graham at the end of the first week, assuming the position of the first woman delegate (as distinct from a substitute-delegate) to sit for Great Britain in the League Assembly. The Scandinavian countries, as usual, had sent women delegates, and so had Australia and Canada, Mrs. Parlyb for Canada being a full delegate. The Countess Apponyi, a Hungarian substitute-delegate, had the honour of being the first woman to preside over one of the League's six Commissions. Otherwise the only delegates to catch the roving eye were the coal-black Abyssinians and the rather lighter-hued negro delegate for Haiti, M. Dantes Bellegarde, who is, incidentally, one of the most eloquent speakers heard at League meetings. Nansen and Stresemann were very consciously missed, and repeated tributes were paid to their memories by succeeding speakers on the tribune.

Prominent Speakers

Now for the general discussion itself, with the indications it gave of the trend of policy at the Eleventh Assembly. Almost all the principal delegates took part. Mr. Henderson, of course, made the principal speech for the British Government, and Mr. Graham supplemented him a few days later with an important address on purely economic questions. M. Briand was the French speaker and Dr. Curtius the German. Most of the British Dominions had their contribution to make, and among the more important personalities on the floor of the hall only M. Venizelos of Greece (who remained at Geneva only a few days) and Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, refrained from adding their voices to the many to which the Assembly listened.

Great Britain's Views

To British readers the views of Great Britain and her Dominions are naturally of the greatest interest. Mr. Henderson's general statement of the British attitude on various activities of the League is summarised at adequate length on another page of this issue of HEADWAY, and it is only necessary here to emphasise the impression created in the Assembly by the vigour and determination of the British Foreign Minister's demand for a fulfilment of disarmament pledges that for ten years and more had gone unhonoured. Mr. Graham's speech was necessarily largely technical. His task was to suggest, in a moment of profound economic depression, what steps the League might take to find remedies for this all but universal evil. To such remedies there is no short cut and the principal suggestion put forward by the President of the Board of Trade was that the League should set itself to discover what are the causes of such periods of depression and what steps could be taken to prevent their recurrence in the future. He sounded a grave note of warning, as he sounded one at the Assembly a year before, on the evil of the increasing European tariffs. He announced that Great Britain would ratify the so-called tariff truce, which binds its signatories not to increase their tariffs before April, 1931, but indicated that Britain might abandon that attitude if other nations did not follow suit. He

appealed meanwhile for an earnest prosecution of the coming negotiations between European States, with a view to the general lowering of tariff barriers.

The Dominion speakers were Sir Robert Borden of Canada, General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Frank Brennan of Australia, Mr. Ernest Blythe of Ireland, and the Maharajah of Bikaner, who this year headed the Indian delegation, being the first Indian prince to fill that rôle. The Maharajah, it may be noted, was considered by good judges to have spoken better English than any other delegate who addressed the Assembly. Each of these speakers had his individual viewpoint. Most of them dwelt, as the British Foreign Minister had done, on the urgent need for some measure of disarmament.

Mr. Brennan of Australia made a notable pronouncement on this subject. He was the representative of a Labour Government which had come into office since the last Assembly meeting, and the note he sounded was markedly different from any



M. Briand leaving the Assembly Hall

heard from the lips of Australian delegates before. "Victories," he said "are not won without risk, and the greatest victory in history will be the conquest of war . . . Australia tells the world as a gesture of peace, speaking for her part, that she is not prepared for war . . . We have drawn our pen through the schedule of military expenditure with unprecedented firmness. So far as our country is concerned we have reversed the policy, which has subsisted in Australia for a quarter of a century, of compelling the young to learn the arts of war."

A Variety of Problems

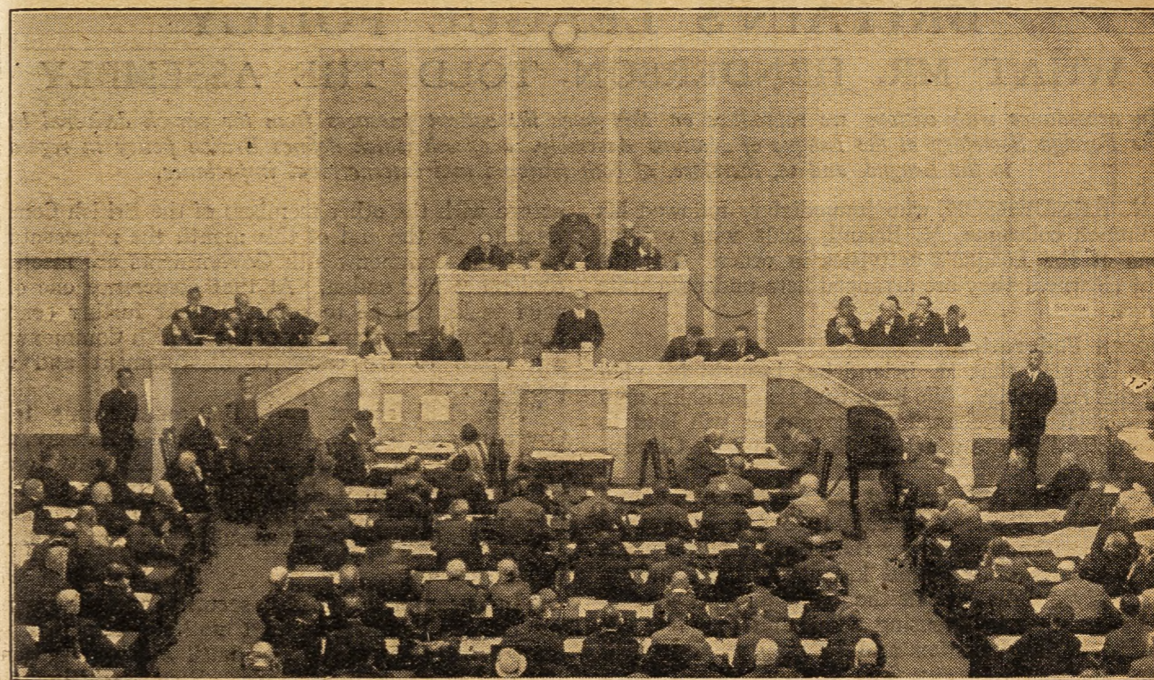
From other speakers came references to a wide variety of subjects. The economic condition of the world was weighing on every speaker, and it was noteworthy that delegates from such countries as China and India and the Latin-American States put the view that a better organisation of Europe would in the end benefit them, because the prosperity of one quarter of the globe

made necessarily for the prosperity of the rest. Some subjects of which it was expected much would be heard were hardly mentioned. One of these was minorities, on which Count Apponyi of Hungary has in the past regularly discoursed with vigour and at length. The German delegate, Dr. Curtius, again hardly mentioned minorities, but he had already taken the precaution of moving that the question be referred to the Sixth Commission. Then there was the mandate problem. Many references to the troubles in Palestine had been looked for, but these again were not forthcoming. General Hertzog had something to say about South Africa's attitude as a Mandatory Power, and Mr. Brennan touched on Australia's problems in the mandated territory of New Guinea.

Disarmament, on the other hand, was the theme of almost every speaker. There was unfortunately nothing very specific to be said, but satisfaction was expressed at the results of the London Naval Conference, and

for too close an association of the new project with the League, but most other States, notably Great Britain, took the opposite view, and at the close of the meeting referred to it was agreed that M. Briand should lay before the Assembly an outline of the project, with an indication that it would be carried out within the framework of the League of Nations. The French Foreign Minister, therefore, when he went to the Assembly platform, was speaking neither in his own person nor as the representative of France, but as mouthpiece of the States whose resolution he had to present. He made it clear that this fettered his utterance considerably and his failure to impress the Assembly is perhaps thus explained.

Dealing with the same subject, Mr. Henderson emphasised strongly the necessity of keeping the new movement well inside the League, and other speakers like Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, the Dutch Foreign Minister, and M. Motta, the Foreign



The Speakers' Rostrum.

Minister of Switzerland, strongly supported him. M. Motta expressed the views of many delegates when he laid down as the ideal "the organisation of Europe through the League." In the end complete agreement was reached on a resolution whereby the 27 States of Europe were constituted a definite League Committee to work out their plan with the assistance of the League Secretariat and bring back definite proposals to the Assembly of 1931.

Monsieur Briand's Plan

But there was one subject which dominated all others in these opening discussions; hardly a delegate failed to refer to it. This was, of course, M. Briand's scheme for a federation of Europe, loosely and rather seriously misdescribed as a plan for a United States of Europe. The chief speaker on that subject was frankly disappointing. But he was handicapped by difficult conditions. Just before the Assembly opened there was held in the League Council Chamber a meeting of the twenty-seven European States before which M. Briand's original proposals had been laid. They had to discuss the next step to take and there was no very general agreement regarding it. As Count Apponyi put it later, speaking from the Assembly platform, the replies to M. Briand had consisted of a chorus of "Yesses," followed in most cases by a chorus of "Buts." The impression had been created, rightly or wrongly, that France was not anxious

Minister of Switzerland, strongly supported him. M. Motta expressed the views of many delegates when he laid down as the ideal "the organisation of Europe through the League." In the end complete agreement was reached on a resolution whereby the 27 States of Europe were constituted a definite League Committee to work out their plan with the assistance of the League Secretariat and bring back definite proposals to the Assembly of 1931.

The Farming Crisis

There was one other question to which such constant reference was made that it must be touched on, however briefly. Ten days before the Assembly opened, a Conference of the mainly agricultural States of Eastern Europe had been held at Warsaw to consider how the desperate state of agriculture could be remedied. Prices had fallen to abnormally low levels and the farmers in something like a dozen countries were unable to earn a living. The States primarily concerned were Poland, Roumania, Jugoslavia and Hungary, but five others were present at the Warsaw Conference and the resolutions adopted were unanimous. What they amounted to is a question of detail and need not be entered into

here; but a succession of speakers brought up this subject before the Assembly, urging that the League should concern itself with this grave question—its part, of course, of the general trade depression. But the endeavour of the unorganised agricultural States to pull themselves together and try and get better prices for their produce from the mainly industrial States of Europe is a new development, and the decision of the Assembly to refer the whole question to its second Commission gave promise of a discussion of much interest on an increasingly important problem.

A Dull Beginning?

A fairly common verdict on the first phase of the 1930 Assembly was that it was a little dull. That conclusion is hardly justified. The speeches came so thick and fast that it was difficult to give proper attention to them all. One or two principal delegates, moreover,

were cramped by special considerations—M. Briand for the reason that has been explained, and Dr. Curtius, of Germany, by the fact that two days before he rose to speak a general election had left his Government in a minority, so that he could clearly not profess to have much definite authority behind him. But if the successive speeches were analysed at leisure it would be found that they cover a vast variety of topics. Making due allowances for perorations and other forms of effervescence, they did throw definite light on national points of view, and constituted as a whole indications of some value as to the direction in which the members of the League of Nations desired the League to move. The extent to which it followed that path during the meetings of 1930 will have to be discussed in the November HEADWAY, when the results of the second and third phases of the Assembly are known.

BRITAIN'S LEAGUE POLICY

WHAT MR. HENDERSON TOLD THE ASSEMBLY

In accordance with custom we reproduce on this page the salient passages from the speech delivered by the Foreign Secretary at the League of Nations Assembly, a speech which defines British policy in regard to the League, and is, therefore, of both national and international importance.

MR. HENDERSON, who immediately followed his French colleague, M. Briand, dealt with various sections of the League's activities in order. For the sake of clearness they are arranged here under separate headings.

European Federation

"We are glad that M. Briand has brought his plan before this Assembly. We hope that its discussion may promote such an exchange of thought as will lead to those practical results which M. Briand and his Government desire. . . ."

"We expressed a desire that the machinery required for promoting closer co-operation should be League machinery, without incurring the risks and difficulties which a system of new and independent institutions might involve. Whatever method is adopted as a result of this discussion for securing a full and complete examination of the question and to prepare a detailed scheme, we trust that any final decision will be taken on the authority of the League of Nations."

Economic Action

"There is a growing opinion that the economic problem can never be effectively dealt with except on an international basis. . . ."

"In our opinion, in order to cope with the present world economic situation, the fullest use should be made of the powers and activities of the Economic Section of the League."

Arbitration

"We hope that in the coming year we may find the acceptance of the Optional Clause become practically universal among the nations of the world, but the Optional Clause we only regard as a first step. We stand for the acceptance by all States of the principle that disputes not only of a justiciable nature, but of every kind, shall be settled by pacific means, and we hope to see a further step taken this year by the acceptance of the proposed amendments to the Covenant to bring it into harmony with the Peace Pact."

"We are more confident than ever that the abolition of the right of private war will make the Covenant a true charter of peace. . . . We have always been favourably disposed towards the principles of the General Act."

"We have, however, made it clear that in this matter of such vital concern we desire to proceed in close

accord with the other members of the British Commonwealth. At the end of this month the representatives of all the Commonwealth Governments are meeting in conference in London. At that conference one of our chief tasks will be to consider what further contribution the various members of the British Commonwealth can make to the cause of disarmament and world peace. . . ."

"We shall accept both the amendments to the Covenant and the Treaty of Financial Assistance, as we shall accept all similar measures of security, on one condition, namely, that a general treaty for the reduction and limitation of armaments is carried through. Our ratification will be given subject to that condition."

Disarmament

"In our profound belief, security and disarmament are closely interlocked, and nothing can make our peoples truly safe from war until a treaty of general disarmament has been made. Security is impossible if competitive military preparations continue as they are doing to-day. . . ."

"There is none of us who does not know in his heart that of all security measures disarmament is in itself the most important. . . ."

"The authors of the Covenant never believed that international co-operation could succeed if national armaments should remain unrestricted and if armament competition should revive. It was for that reason that they inserted in Article VIII the obligation to accept a general reduction and limitation of national forces by international treaties. That obligation has not yet been honoured, though it was incurred 11 years ago. And yet that obligation forms part of the treaties of peace, and is not less sacred than any other obligation which those treaties contain. . . ."

"The pace is slow, and the peoples of the world are growing impatient and doubtful of our good faith. . . ."

"The time for practical results has now arrived, and we hope, therefore, that the Preparatory Commission, when it meets in November, will press on with its task and finally complete it. We hope that the world conference on disarmament may be summoned by the Council for next year, and that within a measurable future we shall take a decisive step towards the fulfilment of the undertakings which bind us all."

THE WORLD'S TRIBUNAL

A SURVEY OF THE HAGUE COURT'S FIRST PHASE

THE Permanent Court of International Justice, more commonly known simply as the Permanent Court, or the World Court, is just entering on the second chapter of its existence. At the Second Assembly of the League, in 1921, its nine judges and four deputy-judges were elected for a term of nine years. That period expires at the end of 1930, and the Eleventh Assembly had, therefore, last month to choose a new bench of judges to sit as from January 1, 1931.



Sir Cecil Hurst

How far, on the basis of nine years' experience, has the Court fulfilled original expectations? To begin with it has had more work to do than was at first thought likely. Instead of its sittings being occasional they have been constant, with the consequence that the revised statutes approved by a meeting of Court members in 1929 (but not yet in force) provided that judges should reside normally at The Hague and regard their work there as a full-time occupation. Altogether the Court has, up to the present, given 16 judgments and 17 advisory opinions. An advisory opinion can be applied for only by the League Council, not by an individual government, and the Council is not bound to act on it. But since in practice it almost always has, the effect of a judgment and an advisory opinion tends to be much the same.

It is clear, therefore, that the Court has satisfied a real need. Never before has the world possessed a recognised Court of Appeal in the form of a regularly constituted tribunal, its authority resting on treaties and its prestige created by its own record of activity, capable of settling once for all disputes that have defied every other method of settlement. The jurisdiction of the Court does not cover all classes of disputes. It is confined to legal, or "justiciable," cases—more simply, disputes about what a country's rights are, not about what it thinks they ought to be. That involves, mainly, decisions on the basis of actual treaties, or of recognised international law as represented by established practice or by authoritative opinion in the past.

The Optional Clause

There is another steadily diminishing restriction on the Court's jurisdiction. When its statutes were being drafted ten years ago it was laid down that it could deal with a dispute if both the parties concerned agreed in that particular case to lay the dispute before the Court. It was always open to either of them to refuse. But a gradually increasing number of States have agreed to do voluntarily what they need not have done unless they chose. By signing the Optional Clause they have said, in effect, "We undertake always to consent to go before the Court if we find ourselves involved in the kind of case the Court exists to deal with." The number of States bound by the Optional Clause has now reached 30, and it includes Great Britain and all the Dominions, France, Germany, Italy and Spain.

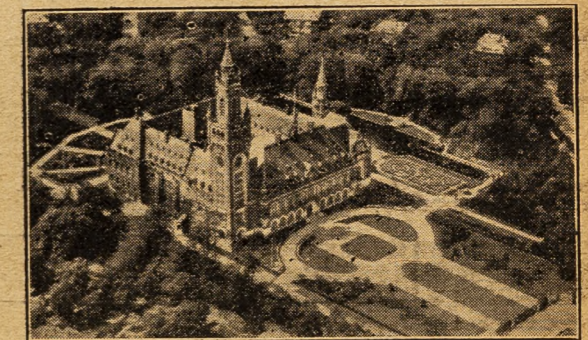
More States will certainly sign the Optional Clause, but it may be said already that complete submission to the Court's jurisdiction is now the rule and not the ex-

ception. That is due largely to the confidence the Court's own actions and decisions have created, and the immense relief of strain and tension involved in the transference of a dispute from the heated atmosphere of politics to the coolness and deliberation of a court of law. It is due also to the growing confidence of the public in the fairness of the judges. Before the Court was created, many even of those who believed most in the idea declared regretfully that it would be hard to find judges who would vote against their own country if it happened to be a party in a case before them. That fear has been dispelled by the facts. More than once the British judge (Lord Finlay) gave his decision against Great Britain even though several of his colleagues declared in her favour, and in at least one case the French judge joined in a unanimous decision against France. On the other hand there have been several cases when on a divided vote (for like the higher courts in this country the World Court gives its decisions by a majority) the national judge has voted in favour of his own country.

Important Cases

Altogether 23 countries have so far appeared as parties before the Court in the case of judgments or advisory opinions, Great Britain, France, Germany and Poland having put in the highest total of appearances. The statistics prove conclusively that the Great Powers are quite as ready to make use of the Court as smaller States—another falsification of early expectations. The most important cases involving Great Britain were the disputes with Turkey over the Mosul frontier and with France over the Tunis-Morocco conscription question.

Great though its value is, the Court is no more perfect than any other human institution. This article is being written, of necessity, before the election of the new bench of judges has taken place. But there is some reason to fear that criticisms directed against the old judges will hold good in some measure in regard to their successors. As a whole the quality was not as high as it should have been, though the Court, in spite of that, has worked well.



The Peace Palace from the Air

There was a rather large element of professors, and the appointment of Sir Cecil Hurst and M. Henri Fromageot, Legal Advisers of the British and French Foreign Offices respectively, to succeed Lord Finlay and M. André Weiss, was widely criticised on the ground that men whose life's career has been devoted to furthering national interests must find it difficult to become suddenly as dispassionate and objective as judges of an International Court ought to be. That general contention is incontestably sound, but in this particular

case the personalities of the two men concerned went far to justify their appointment.

No Place for Politicians

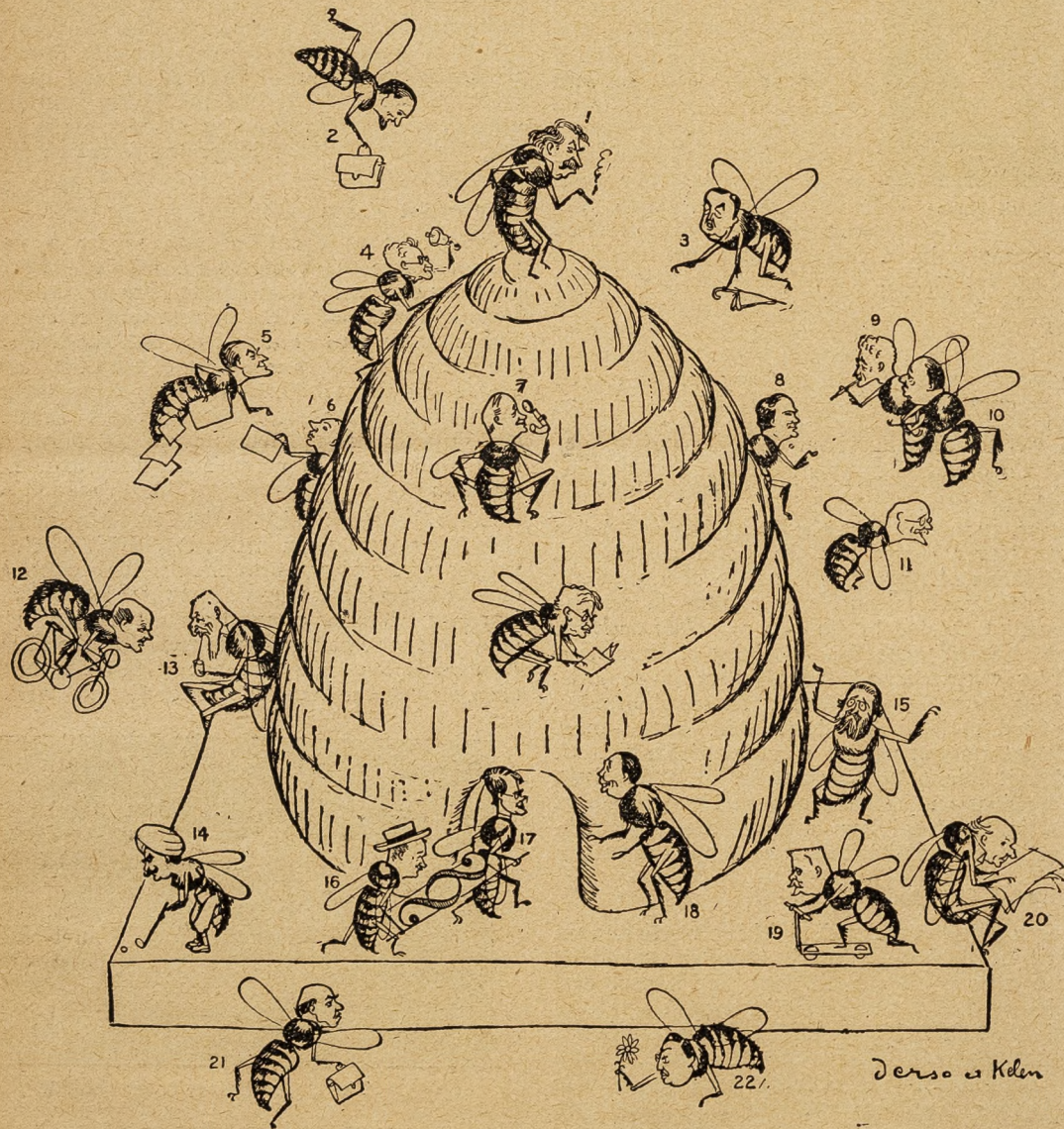
Equally objectionable is the tendency to appoint distinguished politicians with no judicial qualifications and quite possibly no special knowledge of international law. That criticism does not apply to the outgoing American member of the bench, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, for, before becoming Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes was for six years a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. It does, however, apply to

Mr. Kellogg, who has been influentially nominated as Mr. Hughes' successor.

Another disturbing tendency is the declaration by a number of Latin American States that they consider Latin America entitled to a fixed number of representatives on the bench of the Court. That is introducing a wholly unacceptable principle into the election and the suggestion does little credit to its authors.

But on balance the verdict on the Court's record in its first nine-year term must be predominantly favourable. It has done its work well and made itself an indispensable factor in international life.

THE ASSEMBLY HIVE

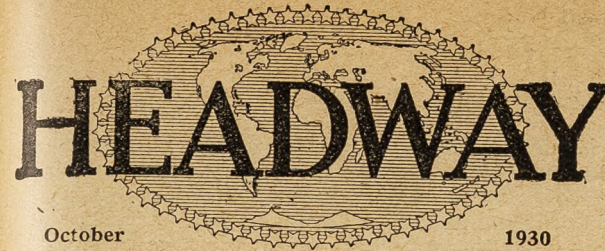


- 1. M. Briand
- 2. Signer Grandi
- 3. Mr. Henderson
- 4. Senor Zumeta
- 5. Dr. Curtius
- 6. M. Zaleski
- 7. Sir Eric Drummond

- 8. M. Hambro
- 9. M. Hymans
- 10. Senor Quinones de Leon
- 11. M. Venizelos
- 12. Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland
- 13. Count Apponyi
- 14. The Maharajah of Bikaner
- 15. M. Albert Thomas

- 16. Dr. Benes
- 17. M. Uden
- 18. M. Titulesco
- 19. Herr Schober
- 20. Lord Cecil
- 21. M. Marinkovitch
- 22. M. Matsudaira

Derso & Kelen



October

1930

IS IT WORTH IT?

IS the League of Nations worth supporting? The question may seem a little fantastic. But it is the sort of question that ought to be asked now and then, none the less. It is all too easy to sink into dull grooves, to take things for granted because it is too much trouble to examine them, to support an institution in the future for no better reason than that we have supported it in the past.

That is not the right attitude towards the League. The unexamined life is not worth living, an old philosopher declared. In the same way it might be said that an unexamined institution is not worth supporting. If it be contended that the League has so completely proved itself that it is certain in advance how the examination would go, a rather formidable case against that argument could be made. Consider the state of Europe. Look at political and economic conditions in Poland, in Germany, and the relations between those two countries. Remember the tension between France and Italy and the greater tension between Italy and Yugoslavia. Read the ceaseless protests of Hungary, ringed round with former foes, against the treaty that has dismembered her and keeps her fettered. Study the tariff barriers that divide the Continent like a network and tend in the main to get higher instead of lower. Is it really well with a League under whose auspices, or, to put it at the lowest, under whose eyes, all this can happen?

The answer to that question is, of course, that these evils flourish in spite of the League, that some of them are clearly not its business, and that without it some of them would be much worse than they are. But there are other problems that are quite distinctly the League's business and that are defying its endeavours so consistently as to throw some doubts on its capacity. In the matter of disarmament notoriously little has been done to honour the pledges all members of the League gave when they signed the Covenant in 1919 or on joining it at some later date, and the vigour of Mr. Henderson's language on that subject in the course of the Assembly last month was abundantly justified. In the economic field, equally, hopes have been gravely disappointed. The World Economic Conference of 1927 reached a remarkable conclusion—remarkable, that is to say, for a gathering consisting almost wholly of representatives from protectionist countries—in declaring that tariffs generally had been raised too high and the time had come to move in the opposite direction. That movement has not taken place.

This disappointing list could be lengthened. A League Conference on the treatment of foreigners reached no conclusions. The Conference on the codification of international law did little better. These are unwelcome facts, but they must be frankly faced. Of course, there are other facts far more encouraging to set against them, and on balance the verdict in favour of the League is decisive. It is developing international co-operation over a wider field every day. It is building up an effective and increasingly comprehensive machinery for the settlement of international disputes. It is regulating

and regularising international transit by air and river and sea, by rail and by road. In humanitarian enterprises, most notably in the field of health, it is developing international co-operation as it has never been developed, or even imagined, in the world before. On all those grounds, and a dozen others that could be mentioned, the League has shown itself indispensable and it is impossible to conceive of the world without it.

But what about the League's future? That future will not merely happen; it will be made. The question is how to organise. That to some extent is a question each country must answer for itself. Great Britain, at any rate, has its own methods, and it may be claimed, after ten or twelve years of experience, that they have served it well. The League of Nations Union has many critics. No institution worth creating is without them. But there can be no shadow of question about the enormous value to the League of the work the Union has done in Great Britain. That work must continue. The day is far distant when British opinion will need no stimulus in regard to the League. The day will probably never come when British opinion needs no education regarding the current work of the League. In these fields the Union has developed its own technique, and the League is understood and believed in in Great Britain as it never could have been if this nation-wide organisation, with its careful co-ordination of local branches, regional and district councils and central headquarters, had never been created. The Union has prospered and is prospering, but one thing it still lacks. Money is needed, for obvious reasons, to keep the machinery moving, for the machinery is created and staffed by human beings who, so far as the central staff at headquarters is concerned, are full-time servants of the Union, and have to be paid something, approaching, at any rate, the salaries they would command in the ordinary labour market. There are premises to maintain. There are large bills for printing and postage, for the Union's work of instruction is carried on as much through the written as through the spoken word. Even in regard to the spoken word there is a vast amount of organisation in connection with the arranging of meetings. And this, like everything else, costs money.

So far the money has been forthcoming. Generous supporters of the League have given relatively large sums to enable the work to go on. For their bounty all gratitude is due. But that is not the way the Union ought to live. It is not the democratic way. Suppose, for example, headquarters needs an income of £30,000 a year—the figure is taken more or less at random—it is far better that that sum should be made up of £1 subscriptions from 30,000 different people than of £1,000 subscriptions from 30. An urgent appeal is being launched at this moment for the mobilisation of 100,000 £1 members, men and women, that is to say, who are ready to pay the not excessive sum of £1 a year each to enable the work of the Union to be carried without anxiety or the necessity of curtailment. The £100,000 that it is hoped may thus be raised will not go to subsidise headquarters. Part of it will, but the other part will finance the work in the localities where the member lives, and he will see it spent before his eyes. He will, indeed, since local branches of the Union are democratically governed, have his due say in the spending of it.

It ought to be enough here merely to mention the appeal, for no arguments in its favour can be seriously needed. It is so obviously in accordance with the attitude every convinced supporter of the League should wish to adopt. The only final word, therefore, that should be called for is an exhortation to give readily, to give quickly, and to give annually. The answer to the question "Is it worth it?" is Yes.

THE WORLD IN 1930 JAPAN AS A FACTOR FOR PEACE

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THERE are few countries in the world whose policy has a greater bearing on the question of world peace than Japan. That island empire, situated off the coast of Asia, very much as Great Britain is situated off the coast of Europe, and primarily like Great Britain a Naval Power, looks westward to the Asiatic mainland and eastward to the Pacific Ocean. Its intentions and aims in both those fields mean the difference between peace and war.

What are Japan's intentions and aims—not merely in those particular fields, but generally? The question has to be answered a little hesitantly, for the Japanese, as a nation, are notoriously inscrutable. But there is ground for the conclusion that Japan's chief desire is to be known as a progressive and law-abiding member of the international society. The steps by which she moved towards that attitude are interesting. Till about 70 years ago Japan was a closed country. She wanted no foreigners on her shores, and would admit none. But in 1859 an American naval commander, Commodore Perry, forced the doors of Japan open to external trade, and the country had to adjust itself to the new conditions.

Catching Up with the West

It lost little time about that. If Japan had to meet Western nations, she would see to it that she met them on equal terms. Her constitution was revised. The old noble families voluntarily relinquished their feudal privileges. Education was stimulated; nowadays illiteracy is unknown in Japan. Trade increased and industries—textiles in particular—developed to a point where their products became serious competitors with those of Manchester and Birmingham.

Japan learned other things from the West. She learned that Western nations considered themselves safe only if they had strong navies and armies to defend them. So Japan became a naval and military Power. She fought China in 1895 and defeated her. She fought Russia in 1904 and defeated her. She entered the Great War in 1914 as an ally of Great Britain and gave a good account of herself wherever her forces were in action.

But, meanwhile, contact with the West was having other effects. In 1902 Japan became a definite ally of Great Britain. The alliance was renewed twice, and lasted right through the War, only being dissolved in 1922 in favour of a wider—though looser—understanding, whereby Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan bound themselves to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific and consult together in the event of any attempt to alter it.

Noblesse Oblige

Before that, however, a good deal had happened. Japan had been accorded the rank of a Great Power at the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919, and accepted without hesitation as a Permanent Member of the League of Nations Council side by side with Great Britain, France and Italy. That had a marked psychological effect on a highly impressionable people. Not only was Japan recognised as a Great Power, but she was the only Great Power on the continent of Asia. It is altogether to her credit that she interpreted that position as requiring from her, not a display of political domination, but the observance of high standards of international conduct. It is characteristic of the Japanese that, in negotiations like, for example, those of the Washington Naval Conference of 1921 or the London Naval Conference of 1930, they will fight to the last ditch for the policy they want, but when once

they have signed an agreement they are meticulously honourable in observing it. Japan signed the Covenant of the League in 1919, and it is a matter of honour to her to fulfil its obligations to the full.

White Races and Yellow

That in itself is a valuable guarantee of peace in Asia. Not, of course, that Japan has always and everywhere been regarded as a conspicuously peaceful factor in that continent. She gained possession of Korea in the early years of the century by methods that can hardly be admired, and before the War, and, indeed, to a less degree after it, rumours of a possible conflict between Japan and the United States or a Japanese invasion of Australia have been frequent. Neither of the rumours need to be taken too seriously. The facts of geography remain constant, and a glance at any map of the Pacific will show that the distance between Japan and the American mainland, and Japan and the coast of Australia, are too great to make any aggressive action by the Japanese in either case possible. The limitation of the size of war vessels and, consequently of their cruising radius, as a result of the Naval Conferences, has reduced any danger in these quarters still further. Japan, it must be remembered, was a willing signatory of both Naval Treaties. There has, undoubtedly, been friction between Japan and the United States over the exclusion of Japanese immigrants on the Pacific Coast and over the treatment of the Japanese settlers already there, but it is hardly too much to say that no responsible person now regards the prospect of war between American and Japan seriously. When it is considered what would be needed in the way of transport and supply services if it were ever thought of transporting a Japanese army to Australia, the project is seen to be utterly impracticable.

Relations with China

A far more serious situation would arise if Japan should ever embark on an imperialistic policy on the mainland of Asia. She is under some temptation to take that course. Her trading interests in China are increasingly great, yet her trade is constantly being dislocated by boycotts of Japanese goods for political reasons. Another temptation to intervention is that the teeming population of Japan has urgent need of an outlet, and the temperate regions on the mainland offer most suitable colonisation sites for Japanese emigrants.

In all of this Japan, schooled it may be hoped in international ethics during her alliance with Great Britain, deeply conscious of the standards expected of her as a member of the Council of the League of Nations, must be regarded as an important element of peace and stability in Asia. Her population, becoming more and more industrialised, is less and less anxious to see money squandered on armaments. The keynote of Japan's attitude, both at the unsuccessful Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 and the successful London Conference of 1930, was a desire to get armament expenses reduced somehow. This industrialisation, of course, constitutes a menace of a different kind of other countries, particularly Great Britain and the United States, for cheap Japanese products, the result to a large extent of low wages, are cutting out British and American products in neutral markets, like China and India. But here, too, Japanese standards are being raised, thanks in part to the I.L.O. Convention, which Japan has ratified. As an industrial competitor, nevertheless, she may still cause more alarm than she is likely to do as a military danger.

THE PALESTINE TROUBLE GREAT BRITAIN AND THE MANDATES COMMISSION

THE little controversy between the British Government and the Permanent Mandates Commission over the Palestine Mandate would have aroused more public interest if it had not been overshadowed by the greater issues given prominence at the Assembly.



Dr. Drummond Shiels

But Assembly or no Assembly, something must be said about the mandate controversy here, if only to present a different point of view from that displayed in many of the newspaper comments on the subject. Into the details of the controversy itself it is unnecessary to enter. But certain facts about it should be stated.

Rather more than a year ago—in August, 1929—an alarming conflict between Jews and Arabs broke out in various parts of Palestine, resulting in heavy loss of life. The Jews suffered more heavily than the Arabs. The League Council at once took cognisance of the question and Mr. Henderson, on behalf of the British Government, promised that the fullest investigation should be made, and the results of it laid before the League.

A British Enquiry

That investigation took the form of the Shaw Commission, which visited Palestine, took evidence, and made its report in the spring of this year. The Mandates Commission could not meet till the Shaw Commission's report was available, but it held a special session at the beginning of June, when Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. W. B. Luke, Acting High Commissioner of Palestine at the time of the riots, attended to represent Great Britain.

After discussing with the British representatives, at eleven sittings, the causes of the disturbances and the steps taken by the Mandatory Power to prevent any recurrence of them, the Commission produced its report, in the course of which, while commending British action in many respects, it criticised it in certain others. The British Government took exception to the criticisms and sent to Geneva a note rather strongly criticising the Mandates Commission in its turn.

Newspapers Angry

Newspaper comment in Great Britain was much less restrained than the Government statement. It was evidently regarded as an outrage by certain journals that the Commission should presume to criticise anything a British administration did. Most of such comments were clearly the work of writers who had merely read the report and not the record of the discussions on which it was based.

Now it is perfectly possible that the Mandates Commission made some comments which on a sober survey of the whole situation may be considered unjustified, and that it omitted certain criticisms which it might have directed to other addresses than that of the British Government. All that is a matter of opinion, and opinions will continue to differ regarding it. But as to the right—and indeed the duty—of the Commission to pass the acts of Great Britain or any other Mandatory Power in review and deliver judgment fearlessly on them there is no question at all.

Mr. Henderson, who in discussing the whole question before the League Council last month used language

very different from that of the British Note, said expressly: "His Majesty's Government recognise that it is the duty of the Permanent Mandates Commission to criticise."

So important is that, that a word or two must be added here to recall the precise function of the Commission and explain how it carried it out on this occasion. The general purpose of the mandates system—to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants of the countries concerned—is well understood. The body ultimately responsible for this is the League of Nations Council, but a special body of experts has been created to help the Council to discharge its task.

"A permanent Commission," says the Covenant (Art. XXII), "shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates."

These are wide powers, and the Council decided at the outset that the widest interpretation should be placed on them. Clearly, therefore, the Commission is not merely entitled but required to investigate fully and criticise frankly when occasion requires it.

But does the Commission possess the technical qualifications for this? One paper has called it lately "a heterogeneous body." That is precisely what it is meant to be—a body of men, eleven of them, from as many different countries, including one distinguished British ex-administrator, Lord Lugard. Another paper speaks of it as consisting of "certain aloof gentlemen at Geneva." It is difficult to imagine an adjective more inappropriate. The three members of the Commission most prominent in the discussion on Palestine were M. van Rees (Dutch), M. Orts (Belgian), and M. Rappard (Swiss). Of these the two former, experienced colonial administrators themselves, have been members of the Mandates Commission from the outset, and M. Rappard, the first Director of the Mandates Section of the League Secretariat, was made a member of the Commission as soon as he resigned that post. All three of them have been following the Palestine question assiduously for years—for five or six times as long, incidentally, as the British Government representative who attended to speak for Great Britain. That is not said as any kind of reflection on Dr. Drummond Shiels, who, in fact, acquitted himself particularly well. But it is necessary to make it clear that a Mandatory Power on these occasions is not heckled by mere academic amateurs.

Sympathetic Critics

The Mandates Commission exists to criticise where necessary, and its criticism up to the present has been, with few exceptions, if any, both intelligent and sympathetic. It no doubt makes mistakes on occasions, but there can be no question that this investigation even of British administration (a Frenchman would say "even of French administration") by an international body at once expert and impartial is an altogether healthy thing.

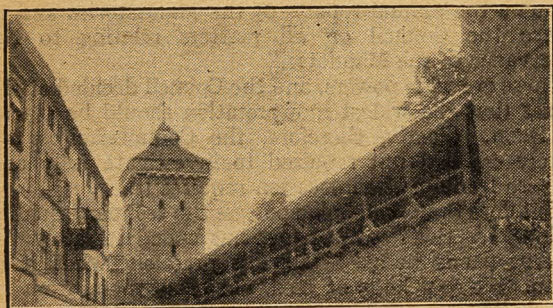
That is the essential fact that emerges from the Palestine controversy. The British Government may or may not be thought to have acted wisely in giving prominence to the criticisms passed by the Mandates Commission, and so creating the impression that the Commission's report was on balance adverse to Great Britain, which it certainly was not. But it would be unfortunate in the extreme if the effect of the British comments were that the value and usefulness of the Mandates Commission itself were called in question. It is certain that the Government neither desired nor intended that,

POLISH IMPRESSIONS A LAND THAT LOST A CENTURY

By WINIFRED PAYNTER.

ONE experiences an under-current of excitement in going to a country which has disappeared from the map for more than a century, and this feeling was intensified in my own case by the fact that the train by which I travelled to Poland reached Krakow at half-past one in the morning.

In the mysteriously dim light of that early hour I followed my porter through the famous Florian's Gate and many narrow streets, irregularly paved with cobble stones, to my hotel, where I received a friendly welcome in German. And let me say at once that the language difficulty is not an insuperable obstacle to a holiday in



Krakow: City Walls and Tower

Poland? French or German will elicit a satisfactory reply in nine cases out of ten, and English of a sort is spoken in most of the hotels.

I must confess that the menu utterly confounded me. How was I to know that Chlodnik Poziomkowy was a lovely pink, creamy soup made from strawberries, one of the most delicious of the many delicious things in Poland? In some hotels the menu is in French and German as well as Polish, but usually one is dependent on the good offices of the waiter in the all-important matter of choosing one's daily food. Tea, such as I had in Krakow, is a joy. It is served with sugar and slices of lemon in a microscopic tea-cup, accompanied by a hunk of chocolate cake and an incredible amount of whipped cream. Tea with milk you cannot have. "It is not possible," said the head waiter in a tone that permitted no discussion.

Krakow, the ancient capital, is perhaps the most fascinating as it is the most interesting of Polish towns. The goal of all tourists is, of course, the Wawel, half castle and half church, crowning a hill above the Vistula. Here, if you care for such things, you can see the coronation robe of John Sobieski, and the banner he took from the Turks, the chapel of St. Stanislas, and the tombs of the national heroes Thadeus Kosciuszko and Prince Joseph Poniatowski. If your interest is with the living rather than the dead, you can look beyond the fortifications at the bathers sunning themselves, in perilously inadequate costumes, on the banks of the river, or watch, near at hand, the sturdy peasant women with gaily-coloured shawls over their heads, coral necklaces, cotton blouses, very full skirts, and, as often as not, bare feet.

Native Garb

I was fortunate enough to see St. Catherine's Church filled with such women, and their head-gear made the whole place a blaze of colour. In the country districts the national costume is worn without self-consciousness every day in the week, and on Sundays it is to be seen occasionally even in the large towns. In Zakopane, at

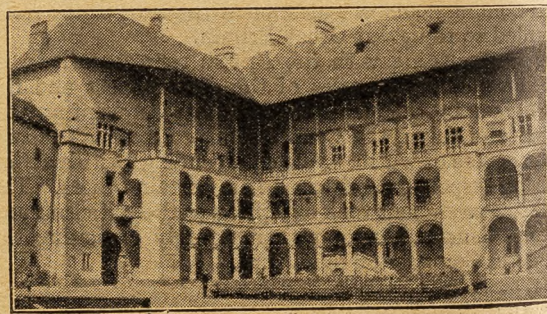
the foot of the Tatra Mountains, the men wear long white trousers embroidered in blue and red, sleeveless leather coats trimmed with astrakhan, and round black felt hats. Their love of decoration expresses itself further in the knots of coloured ribbon with which they adorn their whips. In the country the houses are built of wood, and are often painted a bright blue.

There are Jews everywhere. They are easily recognised by their beards and side curls, and their distinctive dress—high beaver hats, long black coats and elastic sided boots. A great many of the married Jewesses wear wigs, which is, I believe, a sign of orthodoxy.

In the business parts of towns the names over the shops are largely German and Jewish, reminding one that these two races constitute the middle class in Poland. The Poles themselves belong to the lower and the upper classes.

A Religious People

And what are these people like of whom, by actual contact, we know so little? They are, above all things, deeply religious. A peasant bares his head on passing a church. Deep down in the Wieliczka salt mines there are chapels where the miner can make his peace with God before beginning his labours. But with this devoutness, which takes us back to the Middle Ages, they have kept the superstitions of the past. At Zakopane, on midsummer night, the people light bonfires and dance round them, and make their cattle jump over them to protect man and beast from the baleful arts of witches and evil spirits. By the baroque church in Skalka, where the patron saint of Poland, St. Stanislas, was slain, is a holy well. The saint's finger was chopped off and thrown into it, and immediately the scales of the fish began to



Krakow: The Wawel Courtyard

glitter. On the finger being taken out of the water, it joined itself to the hand of the dead martyr, and from that time the well has wrought miracles of healing.

A Country Freed

The well-educated Poles speak German and French fluently, and know something of modern English literature, if only through the medium of translations. This should give us furiously to think, for how many of us could make a list of even six of Poland's famous writers?

Among the Poles of all classes there is a feeling of intense satisfaction that their country is once more independent. Those who live in what was formerly German Poland still tell how whole families were compelled to settle in Germany, while their place was taken by Germans—an organised attempt to Germanise the country. But they speak of these things without bitterness. They are of the past; Poland belongs to the future. Her people have the will, the enthusiasm and the means to make that future a great one.



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"I took up your Course with a view to improving my French for the Intermediate Arts exam. of London. You will be pleased to hear that I passed in French, and I feel it was largely owing to your excellent Course." (W. 794.)

"Although I have little aptitude for languages I have acquired in a very short time sufficient knowledge of Spanish to be able to read, with enjoyment, classic and modern authors." (S. M. 188.)

"I have learnt more (Italian) in these few short weeks than I ever learnt of French (by the old system) in several years. It is perfectly splendid, and I have very much enjoyed the Course." (I. L. 108.)

"My son started your Course in French, and went as far as the sixth work sheet (Part II) when he went away to School, and therefore could not further continue with the Course. I have just received the result of the School Certificate Examination, and he has passed in all his subjects with the Credit Mark, which entitles him to exemption from the London Matriculation Examination. He always stood well in his form in French, usually being third. We attribute his success in French to the foundation laid down by his study of this portion of your Course. He holds his own in this subject with lads who have studied French for about three times his period." (B. 666.)

In fact, everyone who has followed the new Pelman method is delighted with its ease, simplicity, interesting nature, and masterly character.

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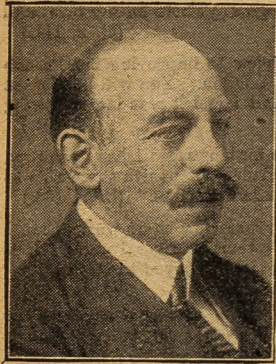
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A WORLD POLICE PUTTING FORCE IN THE HANDS OF JUSTICE

WHY, it is constantly being asked—it was asked by a writer in last month's HEADWAY—has not the League of Nations at its disposal an armed force to ensure compliance with its decisions and to defend the innocent against the aggressor? Why, in short, is not the peaceful State to be protected by a League police as the peaceful citizen in this or any other country is protected by the local police?



Mr. David Davies

Mr. David Davies, formerly M.P. for Montgomeryshire, coal owner, railway director, sportsman and philanthropist, to whom the League of Nations Union and the International Federation of League of Nations Associations have since their inception owed vastly much, is among the many who have asked themselves this question, and has come to the conclusion that there is every reason why the League should possess such a force and none why it should not. Having concentrated on the question for years, Mr. Davies has now embodied his convictions in a volume of substantial portliness,* which can hardly fail to achieve what is, no doubt, its author's first object, to provoke discussion and controversy on the question he is discussing.

Can the League Protect?

The fundamental thesis of the book is that the League must have sanctions. We have taken a first step towards world government. A League of Nations and a Permanent Court of International Justice are in existence, but there is no guarantee—no sufficient guarantee, at any rate, for Mr. Davies emphasises the qualifications and uncertainties of Article XVI of the Covenant—that nations relying on the League or the Court will not find their trust betrayed and be left undefended before the armies or navies of a more powerful foe.

So much for the present. But there are historical arguments to consider as well. Mr. Davies recalls the various leagues and confederations of the past, those that have played their part on the stage of history and others that have figured only as the project of some idealistic brain—William Penn's or the Abbé de St. Pierre's or Sully's or Immanuel Kant's—and points out that in every one some system of sanctions, some means of enforcing the common will for peace against any turbulent State attempting war, was an essential feature of the plan.

Building a Police Force

Then why not an international police force now? asks Mr. Davies. Convinced that such a force must be created, that justice, now at last enthroned in international affairs, must be vindicated against the lawless, he proceeds to demonstrate how an international force could be raised, how it would be organised and what functions it would discharge. And whether the serious reader of these 700 pages finds himself at the end in agreement with their writer or not, no one is likely to dispute the interest or the ingenuity of his proposal.

Let us assume the case for an international police force established. That being so, how shall we set about constituting the new police? First of all, says Mr. Davies, let us distinguish between the tasks to

be discharged. Each State must guarantee day to day security to its citizens in the ordinary round of their lives. That it does, and will go on doing, through ordinary local constables. But it must have some other force available in the background to assist the constables in case of serious civil disorder, and also to maintain order in overseas possessions. This is the national police, or national quota, which will at the same time, in combination with the national quotas of other countries members of the League, join with the international force in time of crisis in carrying out the duties devolving on the latter.

Arms New and Old

Of these the chief interest attaches to the international force. The great feature about it is that it, and it alone, will have command of all the latest military inventions—the latest guns, the latest tanks, the latest aeroplanes, the latest cruisers, and not only the latest, but all, submarines. Some year, preferably 1914, is to be taken as the datum point, and the national quotas will retain only the weapons in vogue at that date, an armament quite adequate for the limited tasks for which it would be needed. All types later than that date will be handed over (of course, under equitable financial arrangements) to the international force, which will thus at any moment have an overwhelming superiority over any national army or navy with which it may have to cope.

The essential feature about the international force is that it would be fundamentally international in the sense that the Secretariat of the League of Nations is international. It would be no mere collection of national contingents. It would consist of men from all countries, enlisting internationally and bound by an oath to the international authority they serve. Mr. Davies touches very lightly on the analogy of the French Foreign Legion. He would be justified in pressing a good deal further the argument that if a corps recruited from men of every country who enlist for the most part out of despair, or to get away from their past, can prove efficient, a force depending on men whose honourable motive is the maintenance of justice and the suppression of aggressors can be relied on not to fail in the hour of need.

World Headquarters

Mr. Davies shirks none of the details that would have to be decided. He fixes the world headquarters of the force in the mandated area of Palestine, midway between east and west, and other detachments of it could be conveniently placed in various demilitarised zones, e.g., in the Rhine or in Thrace, in mandate areas or in various small States, which would welcome the protection its presence would confer.

Any such summary as this does an obvious injustice to Mr. Davies' volume, for it has necessarily to omit the arguments by which he justifies proposals which, taken by themselves, may seem a little startling. So persuasive, indeed, is he that he is in some danger of making a complex and difficult question look almost too simple. If it be asked why the world cannot accept a plan so plainly logical, the answer may well be because the world is inhabited by 1,600,000,000 people, mostly fools. But this, at least, may be said with confidence, that anyone at all concerned for the future of humanity will find the time most profitably spent that he devotes in studying Mr. Davies' arguments and deciding what, if anything, is wrong with them.

H. W. H.

THE ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT A CASE AGAINST SUCCESS

By T. C. MACAULAY

MR. BOURDILLON has told us in his article, published in the September number of HEADWAY, that a universal language is inevitable, and that we should therefore do well to learn Esperanto, which has already stood the test of practice.

The object of the present article is not to criticise Esperanto in particular, but to challenge the whole basis of the movement of which it is an outcome. The writer believes that every artificial language must be doomed to failure for reasons which are inherent in the nature of all language. No one, of course, disputes the fact that an artificial grammar and vocabulary can be made. Many such have been made, but my contention is that they could never serve any higher purpose than that of a jargon or *lingua franca*, suitable only for purposes of barter or travel, and that they can never be used for the accurate interpretations of human thought. The whole artificial language movement rests on the assumption that grammar and vocabulary alone constitute language. It leaves entirely out of account a third and equally important element, namely, idiom, and idiom is infinitely more complex than either grammar or vocabulary, infinitely more voluminous and infinitely more subtle. Idiom, to put it simply, is the way in which we say things, and no two nations say things in the same way. The Frenchman says "I have right," the Englishman "I am right," the Arab "With me right," and the Turk "My right there is." This particular instance of difference of idiom has been brought within the scope of grammar, as have also a definite number of other idiomatic phrases, but the great mass of idiom is outside grammar, and entirely unrecorded in any text book. Yet it is almost impossible to express the great majority of our ideas without the use of those conventionalised groupings of words which constitute the idiom of a language, and which differ bewilderingly as between one language and another. Hence, we are faced with this dilemma, that the maker of an artificial language must either invent a whole body of idiom or leave to each speaker the freedom to use his own. To invent an idiom is impossible; it is far too vast a task, so that the second alternative is the only solution. But if speakers use their own idiom, it is impossible to avoid misunderstanding and often total non-comprehension. The inter-linguists have felt this difficulty and have told their pupils to strip their language of idiom when speaking an inter-language. The trouble is that this cannot be done—a language without idiom is like clothes without a body. Idiom is language.

Incidentally, this fact explains the ease with which everyone learns an inter-language. People are constantly telling us how they learn it in the family and rattle it off at breakfast. Codified English! It reminds one of the African language described in *Punch* which "had no grammar or syntax, or anything like that, but, if you wanted to say a thing, you just said it." Unfortunately, there is no royal road to getting rid of the "Babel Bother." The only road is the laborious process of learning the other man's language, which means his idiom. Another difficulty is the framing of the vocabulary. Almost every word in every language has a vast number of shades of meaning, and these variations never correspond exactly with the accepted equivalent in a foreign tongue, so that no word has its true "opposite number" in any other language. This I have called elsewhere differences of word boundary.

Now, the interlanguage dictionary maker must, if he wishes to make an accurate vocabulary, decide in every case the limits of the word boundary, an exceedingly complicated task as between two languages only—an impossible one as between 10 or 20. Have the Esperantists, for instance, determined the word boundaries of such words as *people, heart, character, honest, play, run, opportunity*? As between English and French alone there are endless sources of confusion in the use of these words.

It is only possible to illustrate how the two factors of difference of idiom and difference of word boundary operate by the multiplication of instances. Every leader in *The Times* or the *Temps* will furnish a dozen cases. I must content myself with the first half-dozen that occur to me. For convenience I have confined myself to differences between English and French. Has Esperanto, then, legislated for the following cases:—

In English "your wrongs" mean "the wrongs you have suffered." A Frenchman would understand "the wrongs you have committed." In French "This will go in developing itself" means "It will continue to develop," and an Englishman would understand "It will disappear in its development." A Frenchman would say "I am going to change myself," and an Englishman would not understand that he meant "I am going to change my clothes." How does one say in Esperanto "He suffered little if at all?" Does one say, as in French, "He suffered little, if so much is that he suffered?" Which of the two idioms is permitted, or, if both are barred, has a means of expressing the thought been provided for? May a Frenchman say "I made confidence to him," meaning "I had confidence in him," or "I made abstraction of this question," meaning "I left it out of account," and, if not, what form of words has been selected by Esperanto? How does an Englishman say "I take his word for it," and is a Frenchman debarred from saying "I believe him on word?" Is a Frenchman entitled to say in Esperanto, "He calls himself of his true name Jones" or should he use the English idiom "His real name is Jones"?

If I have reasoned correctly, an artificial language must be incapable of expressing all finer shades of meaning, and its use must often give rise to direct misunderstandings. The only solution, then, would seem to be the adoption of a living language as a second auxiliary language, but I have no space to discuss this thorny question. I must content myself with having thrown down the apple.

LEAGUE LECTURES IN LONDON

THE London County Council has given its sanction to a course of 25 lectures on the League of Nations and International Problems, which will no doubt interest readers of HEADWAY. Mr. E. Livesey Fowler, well known as a speaker for the Union, will conduct this course at the Chelsea Literary Institute every Wednesday evening after the beginning of October from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m. The fee for the session, which will last until the end of March, is 4s.; those wishing to enrol can do so at the Sloane School, Hortensia Road, Chelsea, on any Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday or Friday evening. The opportunity is a good one for studying—at a nominal cost—the varied activities of the League of Nations, and its contact with international problems of the day.

* "The Problem of the Twentieth Century." (Benn. 218.)

BOOKS WORTH READING

LAWS FOR THE NEXT SEA WAR

Maritime Trade in War. Lectures on the Freedom of the Seas. By Lord Eustace Percy. (Oxford University Press. 6s.)

Lord Eustace Percy wants to disturb the complacent. He is at pains to emphasise that we have not got nearly so far in our peace-building as optimists like to suppose, and that we must not be hopeful about short cuts. And in truth there seems little cause for hope in the situation as he sees it. Evidently he is still a sceptic at heart as to the Covenant: he regards the Kellogg Pact as no better than "a party platform at an election"; he finds in the League's debates a source of danger and a "growing undertone of jealousy and recrimination." He rejects the principle of compulsory arbitration even for legal disputes, condemns acceptance of the Optional Clause, condemns the proposed amendments of the Covenant, and is scornful of the policy of the League of Nations Union. And he assumes that we must be prepared not only for wars in which the League is concerned, but also for private wars both between non-members and between members of the League. The League's authority may not be thrown into the scale on either side.

So the writer concludes that we must renew yet again the attempt to "defend neutral rights in time of war." He shows in a just and admirable summary that the last attempt at devising such a code of rules of naval war, the Declaration of London, proved a fiasco; but he notes, nevertheless, that we must still try to patch up some compromise between the claims of the sea-fighters who want to prevent their enemy's commerce and the claims of the sea-traders who want to maintain as much trade as possible. He proposes that the way should be prepared by private discussions, between British and Americans only, of "a tentative draft of new legislation." And then, recognising that we cannot well revert now to a perfectly amoral attitude towards war, he adds the suggestion that there should be two codes of law, one for the more respectable belligerents, the other for the less respectable. The legal principle might be laid down that "the party who is willing to submit his claims to judicial determination shall have wider rights as a belligerent than the party who refuses such submission." In short, the "innocent" belligerent who accepts the arbitral principle would be allowed to prevent as much of his enemy's commerce as he could: whilst the bad belligerent would be expected to accord complete immunity to the "private property of belligerents as well as of neutrals, both ships and cargoes." (What is to happen if the bad belligerent refuses to play the game, or fails to draw the unreal distinction between "private" property and state property is not indicated.)

The book should be a useful prod to complacent optimists; and it should serve admirably as a basis for discussions and for comparisons with other recent publications on the same subject, such as the Union's pamphlet, or the pamphlet issued by the Labour Party last year. Readers of HEADWAY will certainly find it courageous, probably provocative, probably unconvincing. The description of Article XVI of the Covenant is, in the reviewer's opinion, erroneous, and the reference to Article XIII misleading. W. A. F.

IN TOUCH WITH INDIA

India and the Simon Report. By C. F. Andrews. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Cloth 5s.; Paper 3s.)

In this book Mr. C. F. Andrews gives us a vivid picture of Mahatma Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement in India. He writes with knowledge gained from intimate personal contact with the Indian leaders, and the understanding and sympathy derived from close

study of Indian social problems, first as a missionary and afterwards "as a wanderer in the world gladly entering into living touch with all who would receive him of whatever class, creed or religious faith."

He describes the magnetic influence that Gandhi exercises over all classes throughout India, and likens it to that of Sun Yat Sen in China, "another of the great village areas of the world." The chief fault that Mr. Andrews finds with the Simon Report is its lack of insight into the Gandhi movement and all that it denotes. It is, he says, in effect a religious revolution which has taken a national form, changing the hearts and minds of the people and transforming the old spirit of submissiveness and subservience to alien rule into a spirit of moral revolt and independence.

It must be remarked, however, that this subservience is not the product of a century of British rule, but has become ingrained in the people by centuries of alien rule and oppression before the advent of the British established the Pax Britannica which alone has made any National Indian Movement possible. But, as Mr. Andrews shows, the admiration and enthusiasm for Western culture which animated the early Indian reformers has undergone a change; the revolt of the East against the domination of the West which has been manifested in Japan and China has now spread to India, so that British rule is felt to be a bondage and independence appears to be a necessity if the moral fibre of Indian manhood and womanhood is to be restored.

The means by which Mahatma Gandhi has brought about this vital upheaval is his doctrine and practice of passive resistance, but Mr. Andrews in his appreciation of the moral effects which have undoubtedly been produced in places does not apparently realise the ultimate danger to the well-being of India and its people. This has been admirably brought out by Philip Kerr in a recent article on Mahatma Gandhi and India's future in the *Christian Science Monitor*, in which he recalls the disastrous effects of the non-co-operation of the early Christians with the Imperial Government of Rome. "The founder of Christianity," he writes, "saw what the early Christians failed to see—that to destroy honest human government would be to delay and imperil religious progress—'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.' It is through the positive 'rendering' of co-operation, not through non-co-operation, however non-violent, that India will reach the freedom of Mahatma Gandhi's dreams." L. M. W.

AN UNUSUAL FRENCH OPINION

The Eastern Frontiers of Germany. By Rene Martel. (Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.)

This is an unusual book to come from a Frenchman—unusual both in its absence of rhetoric and in its conclusions. The first section, which is well documented and confined in the main to facts, gives a brief sketch of the negotiations, in America, at Versailles and at Geneva, which resulted in the Danzig settlement and the attribution to Poland of the Corridor and part of Upper Silesia. The writer then presents, briefly and very fairly, the German and Polish points of view, and ends by giving his own opinion, which is mainly favourable to Germany. Poland is accused roundly of planning to annex East Prussia and Silesia (the author supports his contention with quotations from Polish statesmen and writers, but perhaps makes too little allowance for the Polish habit of exaggeration), and the work closes with a plea for a "final and just settlement." Unluckily, there is little indication of the exact form which this settlement should take, although it is obviously expected to include Treaty Revision through Article XIX of the Covenant. This omission, comprehensible as it may be, deprives this little work of some of the constructive value to which its sincerity and impartiality entitle it.

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WAR AND A WOMAN

Mrs. Fischer's War. By Henrietta Leslie. (Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.)

The output of war-books has slackened a little, and this in any case is a war-book of a new kind. Mrs. Fischer was English. Mr. Fischer was to all intents and purposes English, too. He had come from Germany as a boy. He was in business in England and had prospered at it. His only son was a typical product of an English public school. And Mr. Fischer loved and admired England and disliked most things about Germany.

One July husband and wife went on a walking tour in Germany. The end of the month came and they began to turn homeward. But something else came, too, for the year was 1914. It was a question whether they would get out of Germany at all, but at last the overcrowded train carried them closer and closer to the frontier. But then came to Fischer the question whether he ought to get out of Germany. Was he German or was he English? Stepping out of the train at the frontier station in an agony of indecision, while his wife dozed fitfully in the carriage, he was challenged by an officer and acknowledged himself German. That was the last Mrs. Fischer saw of him till she found him, an exchanged prisoner, shattered and blind, in Switzerland. Meanwhile Mrs. Fischer tasted to the depths the bitterness of an alien enemy's life in England in wartime. Her only son went to the Front, reviling his father, and like his father came out of the war a shattered wreck. But even so it is the spiritual rather than the physical horrors of war that Mrs. Leslie portrays. The theme is unusual and has great possibilities, of which the writer does not make the most. The characters are speakers of words rather than personalities, and the narrative lacks strength and restraint. But, as Mr. Galsworthy says in a commendatory foreword, it at least makes the reader think.

READERS' VIEWS

THE ITALIANISED TYROL

SIR,—The interesting article "A Contented Minority," by Dr. Ewald Ammende, in your September issue, confirms a chance conversation that my husband and I had with a Czech lady in the train from Innsbruck to Basle last month. We had been discussing the burning question of the Tyrol, through which my husband and I had been walking for a week, and we had observed that what struck us most forcibly in our conversations with the country folk was the bitter resentment caused by the attempt to extirpate the German language by the Italianisation of the schools. Our Czech fellow-passenger entirely agreed that annexation of territory counted for little compared with annexation of language, and instanced Estonia, where every racial unit retains its own mother tongue and its own schools, and, in consequence, everyone is happy and contented.

A very interesting feature of our walk through the Tyrol was the cordiality with which we were received as soon as we stated our nationality. To the simple folk of the isolated mountain villages through which we walked, "foreigner" spelled "Italian," and we were at first greeted with surly looks, bordering on rudeness, but we had only to say that we were English to be received (literally) with open arms. On one occasion an exuberant Tyrolean, smoking a pipe that reached to his waist, and dressed in a costume that I would never have believed possible outside comic opera, nearly embraced my husband (much to the latter's embarrassment) in his delight at learning our nationality.

We left with a feeling of intense sympathy for this little nation, the process of whose enslavement goes on so steadily and so relentlessly. Is the opportunity of the present Assembly of the League to be allowed to pass without anyone raising a voice in defence of the rights of this small nationality? "*Italia redenta*" forsooth! As though this entirely Germanic race wanted to be redeemed by a foreigner.—Yours, etc.,

JESSIE CAPPER.

The Bungalow, Padworth.

A DECISIVE TEST

SIR,—HEADWAY is sometimes attacked on the score of its dullness. You may be amused to hear that recently, when waiting to go into a hospital "theatre" for an operation, I spent an hour, which might otherwise have been an unpleasant one, in reading HEADWAY, and so full of interest did I find it that I was able to keep my mind diverted until the summons to the "theatre" came.—Yours, etc.,

T. G. GARDNER,
Hon. Secretary, Midhurst Branch.

WANTED— Women Writers!

Learn to write ARTICLES and STORIES. Make spare hours profitable. Write to-day for free booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer," which describes how many women students have earned while learning.—Regent Institute (Dept. 219A), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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ESPERANTO

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO, 4d., of all booksellers or British Esperanto Assn., 142, High Holborn, W.C.1.

MISCELLANEOUS

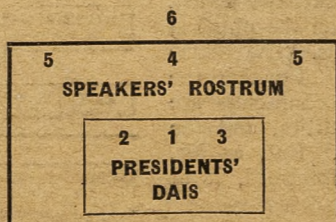
PERSONS required immediately to write display cards at home. We instruct you, supply work and pay cash weekly.—Apply Grant & Gray, Ltd., 8, 187, St. Albans.

Eleventh Assembly PLAN OF THE HALL

This plan is reproduced as a key to the photographs on pages 185 and 187, and for the guidance of readers who wish to arrange model assemblies. The seats follow the alphabetical order of the names of the countries in French.

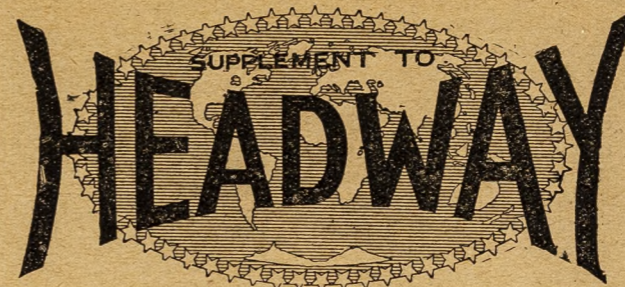
VENEZUELA	YOUgoslavIE					
URUGUAY	YOUgoslavIE					
TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE	SUISSE	SUÈDE	SUÈDE			
POLOGNE	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL	ROUMANIE	ROUMANIE	SALVADOR	SIAM
POLOGNE	PÉROU	PERSE	PAYS-BAS	PAYS-BAS	PARAGUAY	
LUXEMBOURG	LUXEMBOURG	NICARAGUA	NORVÈGE	NORVÈGE	NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE	PANAMA
LITHUANIE	LIBÉRIA	LETONNIE	JAPON	JAPON		
INDE	État libre d'IRLANDE	ÉTAT LIBRE D'IRLANDE	ITALIE	ITALIE		
INDE	HONGRIE	HONGRIE	HAITI	GUATÉMALA	GRÈCE	
ESTONIE	FRANCE	FRANCE	FINLANDE	FINLANDE	GRÈCE	
ÉTHIOPIE	ESPAGNE	ESPAGNE	RÉPUBLIQUE DOMINICAINE	DANEMARK	DANEMARK	CUBA
CHILI	CHINE	CHINE	COLOMBIE	CUBA		
CANADA	CANADA	EMPIRE BRITANNIQUE	BULGARIE	BOLIVIE		
AUSTRALIE	AUTRICHE	BELGIQUE	BELGIQUE	BOLIVIE		
AUSTRALIE	ALLEMAGNE	ALLEMAGNE	ALBANIE	AFRIQUE DU SUD	AFRIQUE DU SUD	

1. President [M. TITULESCO, Roumania]
2. Secretary General [Sir ERIC DRUMMOND]
3. President's Interpreter



4. Speaker
5. Interpreters
6. Shorthand Writers

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



OCTOBER, 1930

THE UNION'S PROGRESS

NO sooner is one obstacle overcome than another is encountered. Like Christian in "Pilgrim's Progress," we have caught a vision of the Heavenly City and have set out to achieve it. We have progressed some distance along our way. We have safely overpassed the Slough of Despond. We have almost got clear of Doubting Castle of which the owner was Giant Despair, but perhaps we have not yet shaken off his wife, Diffidence.

Once upon a time the Union was regarded as a destroyer of patriotism. Those were the days when the meaning of the coming of the League of Nations into the world was not fully appreciated. Fear was at the root of the objection. By supporting the League the individual was sure, it was said, to become less attached to his country and fall into a kind of vague cosmopolitanism. That has been shown to be untrue. The best supporters of the League in word and deed are those who are good nationalists first. They have achieved the wider loyalty, the loyalty which is given to mankind.

Now fear has taken on another aspect. The Union has become a menace. Such is the point of view that is quite seriously held by some quite influential people. The League, they say, is an admirable institution. It has proved its worth and won its spurs as a means of international co-operation. This country is quite right to base its foreign policy upon it.

So far, so good! How then has the Union become a menace? It comes about in this way. The Union is urging public opinion to support the League. In Great Britain public opinion is more advanced than in any other country. By concentrating upon the limitation and reduction of armaments we are influencing the British people to reduce their means of defence. Other countries are only paying lip service to the same idea. But as their trust in the League is not so great as ours, therefore the Union is misleading the British nation. Some of the holders of this point of view have even gone so far as to say that they would be ready to give money to convert public opinion in France in order to bring it up to the same high average level as it is here.

Does this opinion rest upon any shadow of foundation? We are inclined to think not. The International Federation of League of Nations Societies is performing a great work in co-ordinating the efforts for the acceptance of the League of Nations as the most potent means for the preservation of peace. It is acting as a disseminator of information of each new scheme and each new successful method of getting the knowledge of the League into every hearth and home in the world. Quite

recently the Federation has published its annual report. In addition to the account of its own activities which we see to be increasing, the slender volume contains an account of the work of some of the affiliated societies. As a matter for personal gratification we find that it is true that in Great Britain there has been more work done, and the consequence is our influence in the affairs of the Federation is great. As the President of the Federation once said to our delegates: "The efforts that you are making in England are a constant source of inspiration to us all."

Were we the only League of Nations Society in the world, the adverse opinion expressed above might have some justification, but not much. Public opinion, as has been heard in many quarters, is the foundation and the cement of the League. The Empire's need for peace is greater than that of any other country in the world and of any other Member State of the League. It is only fitting, therefore, that our Union should be so good. But too much insistence cannot be placed upon our continued and active support of the Federation and all that it stands for.

As is mentioned on another page, the Union has had a signal honour promised to it in the shape of the attendance of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at the banquet to be given at the Guildhall to the Imperial Conference delegates. At the time of our foundation, and again upon the tenth anniversary of that occasion, His Majesty the King was pleased to honour us with a message. He has been pleased also to grant us a Royal Charter. Now we are to be privileged to have a member of the Royal Family at one of our functions, and one, moreover, which has a wider significance than a purely local one. This is shown by the fact that the broadcast of the proceedings on October 30 will be both national and imperial. The effect on League opinion within the Empire will be immeasurable and, by a further reaction, its ramifications will spread throughout the world.

The more firmly convinced does British opinion become of the worth of the League and the greater the detailed knowledge that it obtains, the more the need for a continuance and extension of our work. Dame Diffidence has been one of our bugbears. The peculiar mentality that is ashamed of membership of the Union is curious, but after such an occasion as this it need continue no longer. We must cast off our shamefacedness and strive to make the Union such a bulwark for peace that the League is ensured of success. As one means of furthering this end, strive for the Foundation Membership Campaign.

A LONDON LETTER

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT.

ARMISTICE POSTERS

Mr. Montague Burton, the head of the well-known tailoring firm of that name, has again offered to display special League of Nations Union Armistice Posters in his three hundred shops during Armistice Week. The principal one to be used will be a variant of the Cenotaph Poster that was in such great demand last year. Mr. Burton has already rendered magnificent service to the cause of world peace and international co-operation. He has already endowed the Chair of International Relations at Oxford and a Chair of Industrial Relations at Cambridge. It is hoped that other firms will follow his example, especially in the matter of poster display. Here branches can be of great help. Members can go round and ask the proprietors or managers to put one or more posters in their windows. The posters will be supplied free for this purpose. For anything else they cost three-pence each.

THE UNION AND THE T.U.C.

The speech of the Director of the International Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas, at the meetings of the Trades Union Congress was at once one of the best and one of the more courageous. The Director was not allowed to leave Nottingham, however, without entering into relationships with the members of the branch. The *Nottingham Journal*, to which the Union has for a long time been under a debt of gratitude, arranged a special tea party to which members of the branch were invited. The Director made an excellent speech in English—and quite unprepared—which has made him, if possible, yet more popular than formerly. A member of the Headquarters staff was present at the T.U.C. meetings as an observer and his presence has strengthened the cordial relations that exist.

THE FOUNDATION MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

Even though the Foundation Membership Campaign has not yet got into its stride, things have been happening. A joint meeting was held a short while back at Grosvenor Crescent between members of the Executive Committee, Federal and District Councils, and Regional Representatives. The whole subject was discussed very fully, but the outstanding feature is that the branch remains the fundamental unit for collection. Others may play their part, but as always the burden and heat of the day has to be borne by those thousands of anonymous and indefatigable workers in the branches.

PEACE, PERFECT PEACE!

Few things are more noticeable all over Europe than how things slack off in August. Despite the objurgations of the railway posters to "Take your holidays early," few people take the hint. In the busy little world of Headquarters the same slowing-down during August is noticeable. Neither the Executive Committee nor the Advisory Committees hold meetings. Some of their members are in Geneva giving up yet more time to League work. The others, as well as those of the staff who can be spared, are perhaps on holiday. But for those who remain there are still between two and three hundred letters a day to be answered. The Press Section has to maintain its regular output; and a bit more, for quite a few papers are ready to give some extra space to League of Nations news during their own slack period; and public interest in the Assembly gives rise to many inquiries from editorial quarters. The Union's Travel Section reaches the peak of its activity, for it is in August that most parties go to Geneva.

TRINITY COLLEGE

THERE can be few more pleasant places in a heat wave than the Great Court of Trinity College, Cambridge, with its cool green and grey colourings and the soothing splash of its fountain. Members of the Nineteen-Thirty Summer School, and the Teachers' Conference which preceded it, found there a real oasis in the desert of torrid England.

The experiment of putting back the date seems to have been justified by the increased numbers, but so good a programme should have secured a much larger attendance.

To the school proper, which commenced after a weekend Teachers' Conference, exigencies of space only allow a very summary reference. "*What We Think of War*" was dealt with by Karl Britton of Clare College, chairman of the C.U. Branch of the B.U.L.N.S., from a Youth point of view, and by Oliver Bell in a survey of post-war tendencies in literature, drama and the film. "*The Organisation of Peace*" called for, and secured, prophesy from Mr. F. E. Lawley, who roundly condemned *laissez faire* and called for a careful planning of activities to come. "*The Completion of Machinery for Dealing with International Disputes*" was Mr. Geoffrey Mander's subject. Mr. Clifton Robbins, on the I.L.O., Mr. Wilson Harris on the 11th Assembly, and Mr. Alec Wilson on the results of the Naval Conference, were all excellent. A number of half-hour refresher lectures which really refreshed were a new departure.

Special aspects of British policy were dealt with by Miss Freda White, by Dr. Driberg, and by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who made an earnest appeal for clear thinking and honest dealing with India.

The League Celebration, conducted by Dr. Hayward, and the delightful Garden Party in the Fellows' Garden of Trinity, given by the Mayor, who throughout the week showed us the greatest kindness and courtesy, will linger in our minds as one of the pleasantest memories of summer.

N.B.—Detailed reports of the lectures may be found in the Cambridge daily papers, and a summary in the *Cambridge Press and News* for Friday, September 5, 1930.

J. E. H. FORTY.

A POINTED PARABLE
PROCRASTINATION

THERE was once a Branch Secretary, a Worthy Man, but given to putting off till the morrow what he should have done to-day. Upon a time he wished to organise a meeting, and he wrote to London about a speaker. By return of post he received a reply offering one of the greatest names of the realm to come and appear in public before his audience. "Time was short," said the letter, and added that it was great good fortune that the Great Man could come, but an early answer was expected.

The Branch Secretary put the letter on one side, meaning to answer in the affirmative in the evening after his work was done. That night he went to the pictures instead of doing his duty. The following evening some friends came in to play a Round Game. So the letter was unanswered and he was unable to obtain his Great Man to speak to his audience.

As a result he had to make what shift he could with one of the lesser fry on the speakers' list. The audience was small, the questions were answered none too well, and he failed to obtain even one new shilling member, let alone any Foundation Members.

As a sequel to his unanswered letter the Union's overdraft grew yet larger, its headquarters had to curtail its activities, and when an international crisis arose a few months later the Union was unable to mobilise sufficient public opinion to weigh down the scales in favour of the League. It might happen!

NOTES AND NEWS

Foundation Members

In these times of trade depression many collectors are afraid to ask members for a renewal of their subscriptions. The following extract from a letter from a Foundation Member in the Bradford area may give heart to those who are chary:—

"Financially, we have had a fairly stiff time, and are trying to get our breath back. Although we economise everywhere, I do feel that I cannot economise on such a thing as the League of Nations. I must admit that I had seriously thought of having to cut it down, but, on reflection, decided that whatever else had to go, this must not."

The Crowning of Peace

The Broadway Women's Institute organised a novel open-air function in a natural amphitheatre in the woods. Two plays were produced, the first "The Princess and the Woodcutter," by A. A. Milne, and second, "The Crowning of Peace," by J. O. Francis. The latter dealt with the return of Peace to her rightful place after the war. It is essentially propaganda for the League of Nations, and the arguments contained in its lines serve to prove the desirability of permanent peace and lasting friendship among the nations. Women's Institutes all over the country are Corporate Associates of the Union and can render great service to the branches in their vicinities by following up the idea thus inaugurated at Broadway.

Lambeth and the League

The issue of the *Church Magazine* inset, which is being published this month in time to be bound up in the November issue of Church magazines, is devoted to a consideration of the resolutions on "Peace and War" passed by the Lambeth Conference. In view of the strong appeal that the bishops make to all Christian people to support the League and the Union, every effort should be made to give this edition of the inset as wide a circulation as possible. Workers for the Union should find it most useful in their approach to churches. They might use it, too, as a leaflet at church services and meetings, in addition to trying to get it bound up with church magazines. Copies may be had at 2s. per 100 on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. When it is intended that the inset should be bound up with a church magazine, the name and address of the printer of the magazine should be enclosed.

Conferences and Essays in Germany

The following is an extract from the Annual Report of the German League of Nations Society for 1929-30:—

"It must not be forgotten that the League of Nations is still regarded as a 'child of Versailles,' and, consequently, unpopular. The opinion is, however, gradually penetrating into Parliamentary circles that the foundations must be laid for a friendly acceptance of the League, which shall later spread to the realisation of the necessity of an active German policy in support of the League, and the consequent benefits to be derived therefrom."

The Educational Section of the Society includes representatives from more than 60 well-known German organisations. Last autumn a three-day course was held in Berlin under the heading of "The League of Nations and the Schools," in which teachers from every district took part. This was organised with the co-operation of the Prussian Minister of Education.

This year an Essay Competition on the subject of the League has been inaugurated at all the German educational institutions. The prize winners have been enabled to go to Geneva during the summer school of the Federation and the League Assembly.

Stamp Collectors

The Lane End Branch has started a new idea. In order to interest the lads of the village in the work of the Union, a philatelic section has been started. Fortnightly meetings are held to compare notes and, at the same time, to inculcate the principles of the League. The boys have their own committee responsible for the conduct of the work, supervised by the Branch Treasurer, who is himself a keen stamp collector. Later on the members of the section hope to conduct correspondence with foreign countries, not only to obtain more foreign stamps, but to promote interest and goodwill with the members of other nations.

Carnivals

The Southbourne Branch in the Bournemouth District participated both in the Christchurch and the Boscombe Carnivals. The subject presented was a new tableau, "Peace versus War." Peace and her attributes, Music, Art, Literature, and Plenty, were shown overcoming War and the attributes of War, Famine, Sorrow, Horror and Death. The tableau was sufficiently successful to gain the first prize at the Christchurch Carnival.

A Service for Armistice Day

Many people have felt in recent years that a more positive note needs to be struck at Armistice Services. In an attempt to meet this need, the Christian Organisations Committee of the Union has, in co-operation with the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and the Christian Social Council, drawn up a service for use on Armistice Day. This has been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as No. 4 of their series of "Service for Armistice Day." The price is 2s. 6d. per 100. Copies may be ordered from the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. A specimen copy will be sent for 1½d., post free.

League Progress in New Zealand

The Annual Report of the New Zealand League of Nations Union shows that the total membership is now about 2,500, the branches numbering 24, Corporate members and groups number 83.

The principal subject which has engaged the attention of the Executive Committee has been an effort to secure that the children of the Dominion shall, in their schools, receive an adequate measure of instruction on International Peace and the League of Nations. A deputation waited on the Minister of Education, by whom they were favourably received, and the necessary sum for furnishing teachers with books, maps, etc., for this cause was promised.

At a luncheon given by the Executive Committee to Mr. Riches, a member of the staff of the International Labour Organisation, a resolution was adopted and a copy forwarded to the Prime Minister thanking and congratulating the Government on having carried out their decision that the Dominion should no longer be unrepresented at the International Labour Conference.

Portugal's Fresh Start

The Portuguese League of Nations Association, which has recently been reorganised, held its first meeting on July 14, when it was decided to send greetings of goodwill to all affiliated League of Nations Associations and assure them of the ardent wish of the Portuguese Association to co-operate with them in the furtherance of the ideas of peace between the nations.

Diario de Noticias, of August 13, 1930, mentions that the National Library is creating a special section to deal with the League of Nations. This section will co-operate with the Portuguese organisations relating to the League, and direct contact will be established with similar institutions and organisations abroad.

The Imperial Conference Dinner

We are happy to announce that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has consented to attend the Dinner which the League of Nations Union is organising in honour of the delegates to the Imperial Conference on October 30. Earl Grey will be in the chair and Mr. J. H. Thomas and Sir Austen Chamberlain will be among the other speakers. The proceedings will be broadcast from the Guildhall nationally and imperially between 9.45 and 10.15 p.m. Listen in!

Scotland's Autumn School

The West of Scotland District Council is holding its Annual Autumn School on the League of Nations from October 17 to 20 at the Dunblane Hotel Hydropathic. Amongst the speakers are the Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, the Earl of Home, Captain L. H. Green, Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union, Professor Brodetsky of Leeds University, and Lord Polwarth. All details can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Mr. David Crawford, 213, West George Street, Glasgow.

The Strategy of Peace

The National Council for the Prevention of War, feeling that the time is opportune for a reconsideration of the Strategy of Peace, is organising a conference, the two sessions of which will be held on October 18 at the Livingstone Hall, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. The speakers include Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Wickham Steed, Professor Delisle Burns, Professor Gilbert Murray and Dr. F. W. Norwood. The organisation of peace is a formidable task calling for far more than the mere denunciation of war's horror and futility. Tickets, price 2s., can be obtained from the N.C.P.W., 39, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

Scotland's Scholarships

The Glasgow and West of Scotland District has been energetically organising scholarships to enable budding teachers in Training Colleges to attend the Geneva School organised by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. From the branches in the West of Scotland, the branches of the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Soroptomist Club, the County Council Education Committees, etc., enough money was obtained to grant thirteen scholarships. The party was under the leadership of Mr. William Love, lecturer at Jordan Hill Training College, and Miss Isabel Wilson.

This is an idea well worth developing. Nothing impresses the League of Nations so firmly upon the mind as a visit to Geneva.

A Youth Group's Efforts

During June and July five fortnightly lectures were arranged by the Study Circle of the Ealing Youth Group. The lectures were based on the B.B.C. booklet of public lectures on international subjects, such as International Co-operation, International Politics, International Economics, etc. The lecturers for the circle were supplied by Headquarters. After each meeting the members of the group wrote papers on the subject under discussion. These showed clearly that an intelligent interest was awakened and that the members had read widely and understandingly in order to write their essays. These were subsequently corrected and criticised by Headquarters.

Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's vote for 1930:—

Budleigh Salterton, Blyth, Cuckfield, Cowes, East Brent, Guildford, Godstone, Houghton Conquest, Kelvedon, Mytholmroyd, Otley Wesleyan Church, Princes Risboro', Pitsea, Portsmouth, Rainham, Redland, Sowood, St. Dennis, Taunton, Thirsk, Welwyn Garden City, Winscombe, Winsford, Yarm.

Welsh Notes

The Welsh Secondary School pupils who were awarded Scholarships by the Welsh League of Nations Union spent a fortnight at Geneva in September under the guidance of the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A. Members of Junior Branches of the Union in County and Secondary Schools will be eligible to compete in a similar examination for two Geneva Scholarships next year.

Welsh Headquarters office will be delighted to give all possible assistance in preparing programmes for the autumn and winter sessions. A real effort must be made, particularly during Armistice Week, to secure the renewal of all subscriptions and to increase membership.

Never Destroy Literature

A short note was received at Headquarters the other day accompanied by a cheque for £1, which came from a gentleman who found a copy of the News Sheet in a railway carriage. It helped him to pass the time so pleasantly, and convinced him so thoroughly of the value of the League of Nations, that his first act on getting home was to become a Foundation Member.

"Little Song Book of the Nations"

Branches desiring to enliven their meetings or social gatherings with community singing, are reminded that the "Little Song Book of the Nations" contains songs of 17 different countries. The songs are all easy to learn and are all suitable for choral singing. The book is obtainable from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, price 1s. 6d.; copies of the words only are 1s. per dozen.

New Publications

No. 286, "World Labour Problems in 1930." A record of the Fourteenth Session of the International Labour Conference. Price 4d.

Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	...	822,903
Sept. 13, 1930	...	...	...	...	867,685

On Aug. 31, 1930, there were 2,951 Branches, 901 Junior Branches, 3,300 Corporate Members and 668 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

Foundation Members £1. Registered Members 5s. Ordinary Members 1s. minimum.

Foundation Members are entitled to receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post, and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union. Registered Members are entitled to receive HEADWAY monthly by post, and occasional important notices. Ordinary Members subscribing not less than 3s. 6d. a year are also entitled to receive HEADWAY by post. All Members are entitled to the free use of the Union's Lending Library.

Those who are able and willing to help the Funds of the Union are begged, if possible, to become Foundation Members.

Corporate membership, for churches, societies, guilds, clubs, and industrial organisations, HEADWAY and pamphlets, £1 (not applicable to Wales and Monmouthshire).

Applications to Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

Cheques should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank."

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.