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HEADWAY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	181	SINFUL MEN	191
THE NINTH ASSEMBLY	184	THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH. By H. Duncan Hall ...	192
ASSEMBLY ECHOES	185	GENEVA LIFE	193
HOW IT STRUCK ME	187	THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME	194
BRIAND AND MÜLLER	188	THRIFT OR WASTE	194
THE NEW LEAGUE COUNCIL	189	CHINA AND THE LEAGUE	196
SERVING TWO MASTERS	190	BOOKS WORTH READING	196
ARMOUR AGAINST TEMPTATION	190	READERS' VIEWS	198

MATTERS OF MOMENT

BY a misfortune of dates, which is likely to continue, the October issue of HEADWAY has always to be prepared for the press while the Assembly of the League of Nations is still in session. While, therefore, there is contained in the pages immediately following as full an account of the Assembly proceedings as is possible, it is important to realise that by the nature of things it can be no complete account, and that it is even possible that by the time this paper reaches the hands of readers some later decisions may have been taken which in some respects modify the situation as described here. The Assembly is of considerable importance in the life of the League and no apology is needed for devoting most of the space in this particular number of HEADWAY to it. The latter phases and final decisions of the Assembly will be dealt with in November. During the first week the most marked feature was the slowness with which the main business got under way. There was one afternoon, after the discussion on the Annual Report was thrown open for debate, when no speaker came forward. After twenty minutes the session was adjourned. Nevertheless, the general verdict on the earlier phases was that, while the Assembly had been in the main uneventful (M. Briand's speech, which made a stir for a couple of days or so, soon ceased to trouble anyone), plenty of solid work had been done and there promised to be no reason for anything but satisfaction with the session as a whole.

Sharp Words and Good Tempers

THE parallel extracts printed on another page from the speeches delivered by the German Chancellor, Herr Müller, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Briand, in the League of Nations Assembly, are put in right proportion by subsequent events. Certain passages in the German delegate's speech seemed to jar on his French colleague, who replied in language a good deal more pointed than is usual on the platform of the Assembly. Many of the phrases used provoked surprise and rather disturbed comment. The German papers wrote bitter leading articles. Something like a breach seemed for a moment to have been opened between the two countries. Yet not a week later a conference, in which Herr Müller and M. Briand were the two leading figures, succeeded in reaching complete and very friendly agreement on the first steps to be taken towards the evacuation of the Rhineland. The agreement, it is true, was only concerned with beginnings and the hopes it inspired may never be realised. But an important eye-witness, Lord Cushendun, has borne testimony to the admirable temper displayed by the two chief negotiators throughout, and the conclusion seems to be justified that if fine words butter no parsnips, on the other hand hard words break no bones, particularly if they are uttered in the spirit of frankness now recognised as legitimate, and frequently valuable, at Geneva.

Troops in the Rhineland

THE decision taken at Geneva by Germany on the one hand, and Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium on the other, to begin negotiations regarding the evacuation of the Rhineland forthwith, is an event that must receive at least passing mention in any record of the League of Nations Assembly. The negotiations were, of course, between a certain number of signatories of the Treaty of Versailles and had no direct connection with the League itself. But once again, as so often in the past, the presence of a number of statesmen brought to Geneva for League purposes has opened the way for important agreements designed to further the ultimate aims of the League itself. On the face of it the accord reached amounts to comparatively little. It is avowedly only a beginning. The very fact that an agreement regarding evacuation is to be made dependent on other agreements, regarding a reparation settlement and the establishment of some form of control to take the place of the occupying troops, suggests that many months yet must elapse before the French leave the Rhineland. But nothing can be finished till it has begun. It is, therefore, something that a beginning has been made.

Empire Incidents

THE discussions on Mandates and slavery in the Sixth Commission of the League Assembly was notable for two incidents in both of which Great Britain figured. One was a lively and quite unexpected attack by the Persian delegate, who complained bitterly of the treatment accorded to Persians in Iraq, a country for which Great Britain is responsible before the League. There is unfortunately some tension between the two countries and Persia has never recognised the Iraq Government, but Mr. Locker Lampson, who was sitting as British Member of the Commission, had a complete answer to all the charges and the matter was not pursued. The other incident—of a more satisfactory kind—was the warm tribute paid by M. Rappard, who was formerly Director of the Mandates Section of the Secretariat and was this year sitting as Swiss delegate, to the legislation just passed in Sierra Leone where over two hundred thousand slaves were given immediate freedom. It will be remembered that this legislation was made necessary by an unexpected decision of the local courts that the status of slavery still existed in Sierra Leone. Mr. Locker Lampson, in acknowledging M. Rappard's compliments, observed that the atmosphere of the League had done much to facilitate the action taken.

A Minorities Commission?

THE suggestion put forward by the Dutch Foreign Minister at the League Assembly, and supported by one or two other speakers, that the League might profitably create a Minorities Commission on the lines of the Mandates Commission, to examine the execution of the minorities treaties more diligently than the Council itself at present does, has at first sight everything to commend it. It aroused, however, the immediate opposition of States who are themselves bound by minority treaties. It must be remembered that these

number only half-a-dozen. There are no treaties affecting countries like Germany, Italy or Spain, all of which have considerable alien minorities within their borders. What the States at present bound by the treaties say is, "Before you begin drawing our own bonds tighter, extend the system to States at present free from any bonds at all." The Polish Foreign Minister declared in so many words that he would be all in favour of a Permanent Commission if all States would bind themselves by a general convention regarding the treatment of minorities. As certain States where minorities need most protection would quite certainly refuse to have anything to do with such a plan matters are likely, for the present, to remain where they are.

China and the Council

THERE is no doubt room for two opinions about China's failure to secure the right of re-election to the League of Nations Council. She sat there from 1926 to 1928, when an unreal and almost powerless Government was in office at Peking, then by an unhappy chance just when a far more effective southern Government came into being her term of office at Geneva ended and the rules adopted in 1926 compel her to stand aside for the next three years. An application that this rule should be set aside (as it can be by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly) produced only twenty-seven votes in China's favour against twenty-three—a clear majority but not enough. All of the Great Powers, including certainly Great Britain, are believed to have voted for China on the ground that it was extremely important that her new Government should be kept in close touch with the League, but many European States, taking the ground that the principle of re-eligibility was bad in itself, voted, with reluctance but with a sense of duty, for China's exclusion. The Latin American vote was apparently cast the same way. That gave Persia an opportunity to be elected as an Asiatic State and there seems no prospect now that another representative of Asia will be added to the Council before 1931.

Council and Court

AN attempt was made during the Assembly to put an end to the unsatisfactory situation which exists as between the League Council and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Under the Covenant, the Council can ask the Court for advisory opinions on any legal question. In deciding to make such a request is unanimity on the Council necessary or is a majority vote sufficient? Curiously enough that question has been left undecided, and still more curiously, a Swiss proposal at the recent Assembly, that a definite ruling once for all should be sought for from the Court, met with almost universal opposition. There are a variety of reasons for that, too lengthy to set out in detail. The principal one put forward is that advisory opinions are already so important that they are regarded as morally binding and, therefore, equivalent to a formal judgment. Formal judgments can only be given in cases where two parties have gone voluntarily before the Court (either by special agreement or as signatories of the Optional Clause), and, therefore (it is argued), an advisory opinion ought not to be imposed on

them except by a unanimous vote of the Council, in which they themselves as interested parties have a right to take part. For these reasons, and others, not all of them convincing, the Swiss proposal was quietly shelved.

Poles and Lithuanians

THE deplorable tension between Poland and Lithuania continues, in spite of all the endeavours of the League of Nations Council to improve the situation. The Poles, who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by securing the establishment of something like normal relations, are doing all in their power to come to agreement with Lithuania. M. Voldemaras, the Prime Minister of the latter country, however, is quite intractable. He appeared once more at the League Council table last month and made an almost interminable speech, the essence of which was that if his country came to a peaceful agreement with Poland, the Vilna question would be regarded as closed. In other words, it could only be kept open by the maintenance of agitation. The fact is that, for better or worse, the Vilna question is closed already in everyone's eyes except Lithuania's. The matter has been settled for good or ill and there is no prospect whatever of its being resettled in any other way. The present position is that a Conference between the two countries is to be held in November to endeavour to secure accord on working relationships. If this fails, the League will then send experts to examine the situation on the spot and report.

A Moslem Voice

THE election of Persia to the League of Nations Council is more important than it seems, in that the Mohammedan world thus obtains representation on the Council for the first time. When it is remembered that among the vast Mohammedan population of the world is included the inhabitants of Arabia and Turkey and Iraq, and of large parts of India and Northern Africa, and, incidentally, that Great Britain is the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, the significance of Persia's election will not be under-rated. The country itself is in a state of fairly rapid transition towards Western ideas and Western manners, the latter tendency being exemplified by the recent decision to adopt Western dress instead of the Oriental costumes hitherto prevalent.

Broadcast Opinions

THE interesting question of the broadcasting of statements or opinions likely to embitter the good relations between States was raised in two different Commissions of the League of Nations Assembly. During the discussions on the purely technical question of Communications and Transit, a Rumanian delegate, M. Pella, urged that every Government should make all possible efforts to ensure that broadcast messages "be not utilised for propaganda which might prove harmful to the good relations between the States," while in the course of the discussions on Intellectual Co-operation in another Commission the double question of cinema films whose spirit was contrary to that of the League, and of wireless programmes, was dealt with. The point raised is important.

Babbitt and Britain

LOOKERS-ON are said to see most of the game, and foreigners can often make pretty shrewd diagnoses of tendencies in a particular country. It is interesting, therefore, to find Mr. Sinclair Lewis, the well-known American novelist, author of "Main Street," "Babbitt" and other familiar books, writing as follows in the *Evening Standard* after a prolonged visit to this country:—

"Britain seems to me at present the most pacifist nation I have ever encountered. It is not that there is any diminution of pride, any willingness to endure insult or injury, but that there is a universal conviction that war is the stupidest and least efficacious as well as the most horrible way of accomplishing anything whatever. This opinion about Britain I derive from talking to scores of the most varied people.

"I am told that there is now arising a generation of youngsters eighteen years old or younger who, being but eight years old or less at the end of the war, have no notion of its abomination, and who, like generations before, conceive of it as a romantic and rather desirable business. But their parents, I find, are resolute to do everything possible to instruct them that peace is not dull, but the very mother of civilisation."

The Nation and the League

IT is some time since the Prime Minister has made a considered statement in public on the subject of the League of Nations. Particular importance, therefore, attaches to the meeting Mr. Baldwin has consented to address at the Albert Hall on October 26. The chair is to be taken by Lord Grey, and as Mr. Clynes is also to speak, all the three political parties will be adequately represented. The Prime Minister will speak specifically in his capacity as head of His Majesty's Government, and not in any sense as the leader of a political party.

Latin Absentees

THERE was a good deal of disappointment at Geneva that the Argentine Republic did not, after all, make its peace with the League in time for a delegate to be sent again to the Assembly, from which Argentine representatives have absented themselves since 1920. There has, nevertheless, been a perceptible change. Last year the Argentine Minister at Berne, Señor Cantilo, was definitely instructed not to put in an appearance at Geneva while the Assembly was in session. This year his instructions have evidently been precisely the opposite, for he was visible at the Secretariat and Assembly almost daily, and even had a place in the Assembly Hall in the space reserved for accredited delegates. If, therefore, there is not so very much movement as yet, at any rate what there is is in the right direction.

The League Sermon

THE English service regularly held in the Protestant Cathedral at Geneva on the day before the opening of the Assembly was this year fixed for the Sunday evening instead of the Sunday morning. The preacher was Dean Inge, and his words, it is needless to say, were stimulating and suggestive. As to whether they were too much in the nature of a lecture and too little in the nature of a sermon opinions differed. One sentence, at any rate, is well worth underlining: "The unruly wills and affections of sinful men," said the Dean, "are the material on which the League has to work."

THE NINTH ASSEMBLY AN OLD HAND'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS

THE question inevitably asked about any Assembly of the League of Nations is: Was it a good Assembly this year? Such a question ought not properly to be answered till the Assembly is over and done with, which it is not as this article is being written. But so far as things have gone the verdict must be that it has been quite a good Assembly. Not exciting. There have been none of the sensations attaching to the Corfu incident of 1923, or the intensity of interest provoked by the Geneva Protocol discussions of the following year. Still less has there been anything comparable to the entry of Germany in 1926. But it has been a good Assembly all the same. Delegates, after all, do not come to Geneva either to create or to enjoy sensations. They come to pass judgment on what the League has been doing in the twelve months preceding, and to lay down policies for it to follow in the twelve months to come. That has been done this year as in years past, and done, on the whole, with a spirit of quiet resolution which speaks well for the future of the League.

And if there have been no sensations there has none the less been plenty of interest. There was, to begin with, the return of Spain. It would, frankly, have been better if that return had been as completely "without reservations and without conditions" as the Spanish letter to the League declared it was. But the promise of re-eligibility (which does not necessarily mean re-election, but only the right to stand again) for the Council

in 1931 and the appointment of a Spaniard to run the Minorities Section of the Secretariat is, perhaps, no excessive price to pay for the return of what is after all one of the half-dozen greater States of Europe. China's failure to gain the right of similar re-eligibility now was, in most people's view, unfortunate, and was made the more so by the comparisons necessarily drawn between her lot and Spain's. However, what is done is done, and it remains now to take every reasonable means of assuring China of the League's sympathy with her endeavours to put her house in order, and its readiness to give her whatever help may be desired.

In view of the importance of the personal contacts for which the Assembly provides such abundant opportunities, the personnel of the delegates each year matters a good deal. The delegates to the Ninth Assembly were at least as weighty a company as their predecessors in any previous September. The absence of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann was severely felt, but it was much that the German Chancellor should have come in his Foreign Minister's place, and though the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, in no way discharged the same functions as Sir Austen Chamberlain (this was left to Lord Cushendun), his presence for the first time at Geneva lent weight and

importance to the British Empire delegations. It is unfortunate that Australia and New Zealand never find it possible to send actual Ministers to the Assembly, but it is to be noted, on the other hand, that all the three Canadian delegates and all the three from the Irish Free State were members of their respective cabinets. The total of seven Prime Ministers and eighteen Foreign Ministers at the Assembly is notable.

And if there was a lack of sensations there was certainly no lack of interest. As separate articles on other pages of this issue of HEADWAY indicate, the League had various internal affairs of its own to deal with, notably the charges brought against the Secretariat of losing something of its international character, and allowing national interests to creep in gradually; the housing problem created by the failure to obtain one of the three sites necessary for the erection of the League's new buildings; the annual attack on the budget, led this time by the British delegation; and the question of the construction of a wireless station of which the League could make use in times of crisis.

Apart from these more domestic concerns there was the liveliness created by the speeches of the German Chancellor and the French Foreign Minister on the Assembly platform, the latter oration notable for some unexpectedly plain language, which, on the whole, was felt to have done more good than harm, though the first effects of it were disturbing. There was the proposal of M.

Motta, of Switzerland, that the Permanent Court should be asked to settle once for all whether the Council could ask the Court's opinion by a majority vote or only by unanimity, and if the latter, whether the votes of interested parties counted.

There was the suggestion put forward tentatively by the Dutch Foreign Minister, but never formally moved, that a Permanent Minorities Commission should be created analagous to the Permanent Mandates Commission. There was the proposal of Lord Cushendun that an inquiry into opium-smoking should be carried out in the Far East, a proposal which the Chinese delegate capped by moving that the inquiry should apply to countries that manufacture drugs, as well as to countries where opium is smoked. There was, in the same connection, the creation of a Central Board to keep check of the international traffic in drugs under the Convention of 1925, which came actually into force a day or two after the Assembly ended its sittings.

And there were, of course, lengthy discussions both in the plenary meetings and in the Commissions on the effect of the Kellogg Pact and the responsibilities it might throw on the League of Nations. Those discussions necessarily formed part of the League's continued study of the disarmament, security and arbi-



M. Herluf Zahle
(President of the Assembly)

tration questions on which it has been concentrating for so long. This was not a field in which the Assembly (at any rate up to the time when this article was being written) can be said to have achieved much progress. Hungary indeed signed the Optional Clause while the Assembly was sitting, but no Great Power, apart from Germany, has made a move in the same direction, though passages in Mr. Mackenzie King's speech suggested that Canada is considering her future course of action very seriously.

The calling of the Conference on the private manufacture of arms and munitions is still deferred, because no agreement can be reached as to whether publicity should be given to manufacture in State arsenals as well as the output of private factories, or as to what precise statistics (whether number, weight and value or value only) should be required. As for disarmament, it proved difficult even to get a decision as to whether the Preparatory Commission, with the Anglo-French naval compromise to help it, should meet within a reasonable time after the Assembly ended. Many of the speeches devoted to disarmament expressed keen disappointment that so little had been accomplished, and the attempts of the French and Polish Foreign Ministers to show that more had been achieved than seemed the case at first sight failed to carry complete conviction.

These, of course, are only a few of the multitudinous questions to which the Assembly devoted itself. In addition to them there were discussions on Mandates, on all the large and effective work of the Economic and Financial organisations, on Health, on Transit, on Women and Children, on Intellectual Co-operation. The delegates have worked hard, and it may be hoped—and, indeed, believed—that they have worked well. The opening week of speeches in the plenary sessions was distinctly less tedious than usual, and the fact that a critical note was frequently struck is a matter not for regret but for quite unqualified satisfaction. The men who criticised would never have done so if they had not been convinced that the League was strong enough to stand criticism and profit by it. Similarly, M. Briand would never have used the outspoken words he did if he had not recognised that the League is helped more than it is harmed by plain speaking from the Assembly platform.

The work of the League is increasing every year, and it becomes correspondingly less easy to follow the details of it as they are dealt with in a League Assembly. But so far as the field of vision can be comprehended at a glance the impression created is one of health and vigour. The Ninth Assembly was, on the whole, a little better than the Eighth, and not quite as good, it may be hoped, as the Tenth will be. H. W. H.

ASSEMBLY ECHOES SALIENT POINTS FROM GENEVA SPEECHES

Hands off Tariffs

"There are many reasons why it is a dangerous, even a hazardous, undertaking for the League to concern itself actively with the question of customs tariffs."—**Senator Maclachlan, Australia.**

Tackle Tariffs

"I do not agree with the speaker who on Thursday last suggested it was improper and perhaps dangerous for the League to deal in any way with the complex problem of customs tariffs. It is obviously not enough that the League should strive to bring about the reduction of armaments and to prevent war when disputes have arisen which involve the danger of war; the League must endeavour to dissuade nations from the adoption of policies which are likely to produce exasperation or a sense of injury among their neighbours."—**Mr. Ernest Blythe, Minister of Finance, Irish Free State.**

Fruits of the Spirit

"Looking back over the space of three years, one sees two summits as proof of the value of the work which the League has done and of the new spirit it has created. In the realm of politics you get the Locarno policy and the Locarno agreements, and in the world of technical arrangements you get the International Economic Conference."—**M. Paul Hymans, Foreign Minister of Belgium.**

The Council and the Court

"A question that should be finally cleared up and settled is the competence of the Council to apply to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. Can the Council do so on a majority vote, or is a unanimous decision necessary, with or without the votes of the parties to the dispute? The Permanent Court should give a ruling on this."—**M. Mowinckel, Prime Minister of Norway.**

Organising Peace

"It is not sufficient to proclaim the renunciation of war. Peace must be organised."—**M. Motta, Foreign Minister of Switzerland.**

Minority Problems

"Before the war there were a hundred millions of mankind who were members of minorities. Now there are only twenty millions. Before the war they suffered, but their cries of suffering were not heard by anyone. Now I do not think anyone can say that the League of Nations is deaf to the complaint of minorities; but the question of minorities must not become a lever to shake the confidence of peoples in their Governments, or the confidence of Governments in the work of the League and in the work for peace."—**M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France.**

Slow Progress

"The discussions of the Preparatory Commission have not carried the work of disarmament any farther since last year's Assembly. They had to be adjourned owing to the marked differences of opinion which made themselves felt in regard to certain preliminary points. One would almost be tempted to say that every year fresh obstacles arise, and the fulfilment of the promise solemnly made by the Members of the League under Article 8 of the Covenant is meeting with objections in ever increasing numbers."—**M. Uden, Sweden.**

East and West

"You are no doubt aware that in certain quarters in the East there is a suspicion that the League is intended for use as an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races. I do not believe that this view can be honestly entertained by anybody who studies the facts deeply and without prejudice. But the suspicion exists, and suspicions, even when unfounded, may produce mischief if not dispelled by the solid evidence of facts."—**The Nawab of Palanpur, India.**



THE NINTH ASSEMBLY IN SESSION

In the front row are the German delegates, with the Chancellor, Herr Müller, at the left next the gangway. In the second row are the Canadian and British, the names from right to left being as follows: Mr. Mackenzie King, Senator Dandurand, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Roy, Dr. Skelton, Dr. Riddell (Canadian), Mr. Locker Lampson, Sir Cecil Hurst [gangway], Lord Cushendun, Dame Edith Lyttelton, Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. Cadogan (British).

The Small Nations

"Before the League of Nations was established the small nations had no access to great and important political conferences."—M. Mehdi Frasherri, Albania.

A Minorities Commission

"It is clear that these considerations suggest the idea of a Permanent Commission on Minorities, and it is unquestionable that the creation of such an organisation might present certain dangers. Nevertheless, if we consider the manner in which the Permanent Mandates Commission has functioned, and how well it has understood its duties in the matter of petitions, I ask the Assembly whether it would not be possible in fact to institute such an organism and to provide it with all the necessary safeguards to which I have alluded."—Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, Dutch Foreign Minister.

Reason and Force

"Canada is a country vast in territory but as yet small in population. We have not yet a population of ten millions. The United States have a population of over a hundred and ten millions. We have no armaments of any character on water or land along those three thousand and more miles of frontier which divides us, no fortresses or forts of any kind. Do we live in greater fear of our neighbour on that account, or have we less fear because we have put our faith in the appeal to reason rather than in the appeal to Force? All I can say, speaking for the Government of my country, is that the element of force never enters into any of our calculations. The Minister of Finance in presenting

his budget to the Cabinet and to Parliament, does not so much as suggest the expenditure of a single dollar through fear of American aggression. The public moneys which, but for the policies I have mentioned, would have had to be voted annually for the construction and maintenance of naval and land forces along the international frontier are saved and utilised for the purposes of productive industry. There, I believe, is the key to our prosperity."—Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada.

New Values

"I look upon the Paris Pact as an instrument that proclaims a new era and creates a new outlook. That may not be immediately observable, human beings have to adjust themselves to a new environment; but the up-growing generation, assimilating the new *Zeitgeist*, will be nurtured in the idea that war, except in bona-fide self-defence, is not a gallant adventure, but a national dishonour. Armaments beyond what are requisite for national safety as prescribed by the Covenant will be recognised as a costly and discreditable anachronism . . . The Paris Pact, in complete harmony with the work of the League of Nations, is at once our proclamation of purpose and our testament to posterity. It is the faith of to-day and the hope of to-morrow. Hitherto it has been on conquerors and the great masters of the art of war that history has bestowed her most glittering decorations. Hereafter a fresh scale of values will be called for. When this new page is turned we may be sure that we shall find the names of those who initiated the Paris Pact inscribed among the greatest benefactors of mankind."—Lord Cushendun, British Empire.

HOW IT STRUCK ME

NOTES ON A FIRST VISIT TO GENEVA

It is an astonishing experience to one with as little imagination as the writer to find himself for the first time in the lobby of the Secretariat on the day of a sitting. I may as well confess at once that when I first stood for an hour in the broad passage crowded with ministers, civil servants, parliamentarians, journalists and specialists of all kinds from every country in the world, I became conscious that the League had hitherto never been reality to me. I had accepted its existence intellectually, as one does that of an unknown art or person or country, but without any real appreciation of the magnitude of the step which has been not merely planned and discussed, but actually taken, in setting up the League organisation as now in operation. So much of what one reads was written before the war, and for this and other reasons one still largely writes in pre-war terms, as if the League were still half in the nature of a project. But there, in the League building, at a moment when one or more of the League Commissions are sitting, one feels that, however much one may have grown up in a pre-war atmosphere, however much we may live in national compartments, we have already in being the World Forum which is necessary to work out the problems of our common future, and that in the Assembly and Council, and, above all, in the committees, the world legislative machinery is already at work. This all seems very obvious; but it needs to be seen to be believed.

What Britain Thinks

Another point which particularly struck me, after six years' absence from any sort of international conference, was the extent to which well-informed and responsible people in Europe (I am not sure if the same applies to other parts of the world) still regard as an axiom the pre-eminent influence for good or evil of Great Britain. One would say that we mostly think of ourselves as being just one of a number of Powers, no more important in matters, let us say, of disarmament or tariffs or international conventions on conditions of labour than any of a number of other Powers. By members of Continental States, including members of their delegations at Geneva, we seem, however, still to be looked to for a lead; if Great Britain, with its wealth, its naval strength and the freedom of its position, is not prepared to assume responsibility, how, they say, can we have the courage to do so without her? It is a little disquieting to find this feeling still so strong, and to think of some of the responsibilities which it suggests lie upon us. One may hope we are living up to them. Perhaps the most obvious comment of all, and the first point which strikes a stranger, is the large proportion of British and Americans among the visitors. There are some obvious contributory causes: the large scale organisation of the L.N.U. and the Non-partisan Association; the various summer schools at Geneva, either wholly or at least half conducted in English; the fact that only persons familiar with either French or English can follow the proceedings; and the great development of travel in Anglo-Saxon countries. Whatever the historical explanation may be, it seems that though the Anglo-Saxon countries provide only about one-eighth of the delegations they send half or more of the onlookers. One is tempted to ask oneself, however, is there anything which should be done in order to increase the participation of other than Anglo-Saxon visitors in, say, the various summer schools?

Catering for the Public

The general number of visitors of all kinds and from all countries must, one would think, be larger than it

would otherwise be owing to the remarkable way in which the League seems to welcome those who come to see it at work. One is struck by the variety of ways in which this shows itself. The number of seats available at the Assembly, the vast hall in which the sessions of the Council are held; the mere fact of such a large public being admitted, or indeed any public at all being admitted to such sessions; the ease with which the official journal is obtainable and the fact that throughout the busiest months of the year officials are continuously occupied in conducting visitors, explaining the organisation; some even brought to Geneva for the purpose. The effect of all this is something quite different from what is obviously meant by publicity. Still more does this apply to the arrangements connected with the Press, in regard to which a striking point is the perfectly natural way in which the representatives of the Press are given the obvious place of honour.

All this struck me as leading to the conclusion (which is practically obvious to anyone who has been there) that openness to the world is one of the fundamental principles on which the League organisation is being built up. It is as if the explanation might be expressed: "This is a world affair; the world has a right to be there. Besides, if there is not the fullest publicity, how can we be sure that what seems to us to be progress is in reality so?"

Drinking It In

A further point which astonished me was the extent to which Geneva, particularly in September, of course, is a gathering place of persons concerned in the study of international affairs. My own experience is illustrative, as my purpose in going to Geneva happened to be that of making and renewing acquaintances. The result far exceeded my expectations, having enjoyed in six days the opportunity of individual conversations with over 70 persons of 15 different nationalities. One has only to think of 2,000 persons spending a fortnight each in Geneva, each making similar use (as they can hardly fail to do) of their chances, to get some idea of the extent of the international making and renewing of "contacts." One hears the lobbies of the Secretariat and the Assembly compared to the Stock Exchange. It is certainly a market-place of international information at which I do not think I can again afford to be unrepresented.

There seems to be a general feeling that in the capture of the citadel of Mars the period of open warfare is at all events temporarily over and that we have to lay our plans, as it were, for a long siege. I formed the impression that for purposes of this siege two developments, external to the League organisation itself, were generally required, no doubt among many others. One of these is increased attention to the promotion of general popular education in foreign and international affairs, in addition that is to knowledge of what the League itself is doing; the other is the need for working out what academic circles would call a theory or philosophy of world affairs—that is, thorough systematic discussion in advance of the great variety of possible developments and of the means which would have to be adopted in order to meet them.

These are ways in which one hears it suggested that the further advance may be prepared. But, above all, it is perhaps necessary to organise ourselves for whatever may be the duration of the struggle, in such a way as not only not to lose heart, but to gain an ever-growing conviction of victory.

F. B. B.

BRIAND AND MÜLLER OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE AT GENEVA

[The outstanding feature of the early days of the League Assembly was the unexpectedly outspoken speech made by M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, in reply to the speech of the German Chancellor, Herr Müller, a day or two before. The speeches are much too long for reproduction here, but certain salient passages in each are sufficient to show the nature of the difference in the points of view of the French and German statesmen.]

HERR MÜLLER



Dr. Hermann Müller

"I WILL not conceal from you that I view the present situation of the question of disarmament with feelings of the gravest concern. We have to face the incontestable fact that the prolonged discussions that have taken place so far at Geneva have not produced any positive results whatever."

"I ask you to realise the effect on a people which by an extraordinary effort has accomplished complete disarmament and yet finds itself

exposed on each and every occasion to the gravest insinuations and reproaches from certain quarters in foreign countries, and which even finds itself accused of constituting a menace to the peace of the world, while it sees other countries continuing to increase their own armaments without any opposition and without any criticism."

"If we now survey the whole field of the activities of the League of Nations and consider what hope we can really draw from such a survey, we are always led back to the same point—that is, to the necessity of mutual confidence."

"How can the great popular masses on which, in the last resort, all depends, feel confidence in the League of Nations, and in those other pacts which have been concluded in the spirit of the League, if they observe in the Governments themselves a lack of confidence in the efficacy of these international efforts. How can we work against that scepticism which is so often expressed by the public, if the Governments themselves, when pursuing their policies, act as if all these guarantees of peace were non-existent, or as if they were, in any case, devoid of any practical value? . . . We must not be surprised if the man in the street comes to the conclusion that international policy presents a double countenance, and, indeed, one cannot proceed simultaneously along two such roads. The Governments must decide to choose one road or the other, and there cannot be a moment's doubt as to which they will select if they desire to further the progress of humanity and civilisation."

After M. Briand's speech the German Chancellor in a statement to the International Press, observed that he had spoken in the Assembly as a German, not as a Socialist (as M. Briand had suggested), and that the aims of all Germans regarding disarmament were the same. Germany was definitely disarmed. She had, for example, only 4,000 officers, as against 40,000 formerly. She had no doubt a professional army, but so had other countries. Certain armaments were essential in warfare, such as heavy artillery, tanks and aeroplanes, and all those armaments Germany lacked. He was, he contended, entitled under the Treaty of Versailles to claim the evacuation of the Rhineland without any conditions on the ground that Germany was punctually fulfilling her obligations under the Treaty.

MONSIEUR BRIAND.

"The League of Nations has prevented many conflicts. It has even stopped some which were already in progress. Without the League the German Chancellor and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs would not be found in the same Assembly, studying questions of moment to their two countries. Without the League and the atmosphere it has created there would have been no Locarno. To speak of more recent events, there would have been no Pact of Paris."

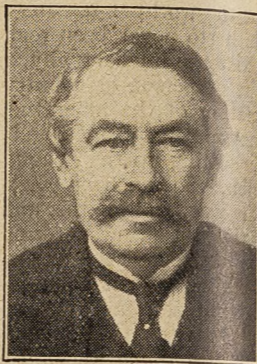
"My skin may be a little sensitive, but it seemed to me that certain passages in the Chancellor's speech were rather directed against that facility of speech and hesitation in action sometimes attributed to me. I do not deserve that reproach. Locarno is not a speech, it is an act. The Treaty of Paris in which I co-operated up to the measure of my capacity, is not a speech, but an act."

"The German Chancellor has said, 'Disarmament? Look at Germany.' Why, when Germany has completely disarmed, did other nations not disarm immediately, and in particular France? I say that even if you admit the facts, the problem cannot be exactly stated thus. Barely two years ago the question could not be stated in this way at all, and if the work of disarmament, linked necessarily with questions of security, has been impeded and delayed for years the reason is that certain countries were not fulfilling certain obligations with the good grace that might be desired."

"The necessary result has been achieved. Germany has been disarmed, but not completely, to speak frankly. Germany has an army of 100,000 men, but it is a very specialised army. It is composed of officers and non-commissioned officers—what is called a framework army. While there exists outside it an immense reservoir of splendid, heroic and courageous men, who for eight or nine years to come might still be fitted into this framework, it cannot be maintained that disarmament is complete."

"The material Germany possessed during the war has been greatly reduced, but who could maintain that a vast country so powerfully equipped for peace—that is to say, for industry—would find any difficulty in providing an army with war material in case of need? Unhappily, the same equipment which produces the instruments of peace can serve to produce, just as rapidly, the instruments of war. What is essential is that the peoples should take a loyal determination never to employ these for that."

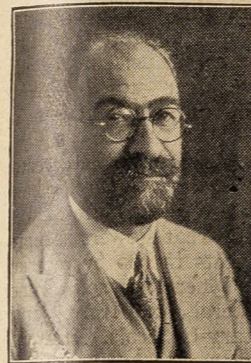
"You, yourselves (turning to the German benches), will profit by the atmosphere of general security which the League has striven to create. Whenever the idea of peace is threatened in any point in Europe, immediately the whole of Europe will be threatened equally."



M. Briand

THE NEW LEAGUE COUNCIL THE FIRST MOSLEM STATE TO GAIN A SEAT

THE League of Nations Council has become so important an instrument for the conduct of international affairs that the annual changes in its composition demand more than passing notice.



M. Foroughi (Persia)

This year the three members retiring under the rotation rule (which prevents them from offering themselves for election again until three years have passed) were Holland, China and Colombia. Holland, it may be observed in passing, will be greatly missed, for her representative, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, has been a most valuable member of the Council for the past two years. China, which now goes off, stands in a quite separate category. She was elected two years ago when the Peking Government was the only one recognised by the various States Members of the League, and her representative down to June, 1928, has been the nominee of that gradually disappearing Government. Between June and September the Nationalists in the South gained possession of Peking, and claimed, with a good deal of justice, to be qualified to speak in the name of China as a whole. For that reason it appeared to many of those who have the League's interests most at heart that it would be singularly unfortunate for China to disappear from the Council at the moment when a really effective representative could be appointed. It was felt, moreover, that the Nationalists themselves would almost inevitably take it as a slur if at the moment when they came into power China lost her seat on the Council.

China and Re-eligibility

Strictly speaking there is, of course, no ground for any such feeling, since China's retirement is due merely to the automatic working of a rule designed to enable as many States as possible to take their turn as Council Members. Under that rule, however, provision is made for occasional exceptions. The Assembly can if it chooses decide by a two-thirds majority that a State may offer itself again for election at the end of its term of office, instead of standing aside for three years. There was a strong feeling that this privilege should be accorded to China, and the matter was, therefore, put



M. Zumeta (Venezuela)

to the vote. Although all the Great Powers were understood to have been in China's favour, she could only secure 27 votes out of 50, and this, though it constituted an actual majority, did not amount to the two-thirds necessary. China, therefore, was precluded from standing for re-election.

Spain Returns

There thus remained three vacancies to be filled, and the successful candidates were Spain, Persia and Venezuela. Spain's election was from the first assured. She had just returned to the League after abandoning her intention to withdraw from it altogether as a result of the unfortunate controversies of 1926. Her representative, Señor Quiñones de Leon, has in the past been a most useful member of the Council (Sir Austen Chamberlain has always held a particularly high opinion of his value), and he now returns to the seat he so long filled. Spain, moreover, as a special privilege has been granted the right to offer herself for re-election in 1931 when her present term of office expires.

Venezuela takes the place of Colombia. There is a kind of tacit agreement that the Latin-American States, who number 17, shall be given one seat each year, and it is left pretty much to them to decide which State shall be chosen.

Persia's Reward

Persia's first appearance at the Council table may occasion some surprise. It is the result of a general feeling (not, however, amounting by any means to a fixed principle) that Asia should usually be represented by a second State in addition to Japan, which, of course, holds a permanent seat. The range of choice at present is small, for, so far, China, India, Persia and Siam are, apart from Japan, the only Asiatic Members of the League, and India would certainly not be elected at a time when Canada as well as Great Britain is represented on the Council. Persia has long coveted the distinction she has now achieved, and it seems reasonable to hope that the recognition thus accorded her at a time when she is steadily re-organising herself as an independent State, will increase her self-respect and stability and enable her to resist other influences which might be a good deal less salutary than that of the League.

On the whole, the new Council is neither much stronger nor much weaker than the old. On broad political grounds it is a matter for regret that China should have disappeared at this juncture, but as far as actual contribution to the Council work is concerned the Persian representative should be as competent as the Chinese. Similarly, Venezuela will not be necessarily inferior to the Colombian whom he replaces, and much though the Dutch delegate will be missed the return of the Spanish will be generally and genuinely welcome.

The Council now consists of the usual five permanent members, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the following nine non-permanent:—

- Poland, Chili, Rumania (retiring in 1929).
- Canada, Finland, Cuba (retiring in 1930).
- Spain, Persia, Venezuela (retiring in 1931).

SERVING TWO MASTERS THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SPIRIT

MORE than one reference was made in the general debates of the League of Nations Assembly and in the more intimate discussions in its Fourth Commission, of the danger of the League of Nations Secretariat losing that reputation for disinterestedness, impartiality and the highest kind of internationalism of which it has so far been justly proud.



Sir Eric Drummond

The matter has been raised in more than one quarter in the British Press, particularly in two striking articles by Professor Madariaga in *The Times*. The falling away, if falling away there has been, is a serious matter. The Secretariat even to-day is an astonishingly efficient and astonishingly impartial body, but it has to be admitted that the national element bulks considerably larger in it than it did five years ago. The standard aimed at is admittedly high. It is defined specifically in resolutions adopted by a meeting of the Council held at Rome in 1920, laying it down that "the members of the Secretariat once appointed are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being the servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national but international." What this means in other words is that a League Secretariat official is expected to serve the League with the same unquestioning zeal with which a British Government official serves the Government of the day regardless of what its political colour may be.

This is asking a great deal. It means, for example, that in the event of a dispute between, let us say, Greece and Bulgaria, a Greek member of the Secretariat should be no more Greek than he is Bulgarian. That is not entirely possible and no one asks it, but it is asked of Secretariat members that no one of them should employ his position at Geneva to further the interests of his country. He is there not for that but to further the interests of the League of Nations.

Nationality versus Competence

Of late years there has developed a definite demand on the part of certain States, particularly but not exclusively Great Powers, to have important posts in

the Secretariat allotted to their nationals and very often to particular individuals. This cannot be done openly, for under the Covenant the Secretary-General alone makes appointments to the Secretariat, and the only criteria to be observed are those of competence and loyalty. No one indeed has said a word against Sir Eric Drummond throughout this controversy, but Sir Eric would be placed in a very difficult position if some important country whose enthusiasm for the League may not be excessive ever urged him to make a particular appointment on which it set its heart.

Any criticism of the present situation is directed merely to strengthening the Secretary-General's hand against such pressure. It is at present more than a coincidence that each of the five Great Powers is represented by one of the highest posts in the Secretariat, Great Britain by the Secretary-General himself, France by the Assistant Secretary-General, and Italy, Japan and Germany by Under-Secretary-Generals. It would be doubtful wisdom to stereotype that arrangement even though the officials concerned may make themselves valuable channels of communication with their governments in the interests of the League.

Principles Reaffirmed

No doubt it is a healthy sign that governments should regard the League Secretariat as a body of such importance that they feel it necessary to press for representation in its higher posts. But that tendency may develop grave abuses, and some abuses not necessarily grave as yet have in fact been developed. The ventilation of the subject at the Ninth Assembly was calculated to do nothing but good, and Sir Eric Drummond himself in an admirable speech in the Fourth Commission expressed himself as more than willing to accept the resolution proposed, confident as he was that its only object was to strengthen his hands against any pressure that might possibly be exerted in the future. The resolution in question reaffirmed the principles on which members of the Secretariat should hold their offices and emphasised the need of the most scrupulous observance of those principles at all times.

The criticisms made in the course of discussion were mainly to the effect (a) that certain higher positions in the Secretariat seemed to be a prerogative of particular Powers, (b) that as a result promotion of deserving younger men to those higher posts was barred, and (c) professional diplomats were now being appointed to the Secretariat in excessive numbers.

ARMOUR AGAINST TEMPTATION

MADAME HAINARI, of Finland, presented the Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children to the Assembly.

The points which stand out of the resolution are three: firstly, the League is now definitely committed to the view that the licensed house should be abolished since it creates the demand which the traffic exists to supply. Then ably supported by Lord Cushendun comes the application of more severe measures as punishments to those who live on the proceeds of vice—the *souteneurs*. This, most English people would agree, should be a penal offence for which atonement can only be made by several years of enforced detention.

A new feature was introduced into the resolution in these words: "The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women

police as a preventive measure." Mrs. Macdonnell, an Australian delegate, spoke on this during the debate before the resolution was finally adopted.

She said that in South Australia, where she is a Justice of the Peace, the work of women police has been of great value. There the women are absolutely the equals of the men, but their work is mainly of a preventive and reformatory character. For instance, they do not wear uniform, only a badge which they wear in an inconspicuous place. This has the advantages that they can approach a girl as a woman and a friend and they can watch more easily over undesirables. The result of this preventive work is seen in the fact that during the last ten years, in spite of the great increase of population, and the increase of crimes committed by men, there has been no corresponding increase of crime amongst women and girls.



OCTOBER

1928

SINFUL MEN

THERE is quoted in a note on another page of this issue of HEADWAY a striking sentence from the sermon preached by the Dean of St. Paul's in the Protestant Cathedral at Geneva, on the day before the recent Assembly of the League of Nations. "The unruly wills and passions of sinful men," said the Dean, "are the material with which the League of Nations has to work." The language, of course, is Biblical. It would not occur to most of us in the ordinary way to refer to the unruly wills and passions of Lord Cushendun or Mr. Wang King-ky. Still less should we dream of characterising either of those eminent diplomatists as sinful. The Dean's statement nevertheless enshrines a profound truth which it will be entirely profitable to explore a little farther.

Let us put the same thing in homelier words. The League of Nations has to take both nations and the men who represent their nations as it finds them, and it finds many of them no better than they should be. There are over fifty nations in the League, and most of the readers of these pages would agree that if they happened to be fifty Great Britains or fifty nations with the same tolerance, far-sightedness, generosity and statesmanship as characterises our own country, everything would be much better than it is. There are, no doubt, other nations who might not take exactly that view of us. We are frequently more conscious of our own virtues than other people are. That no doubt only means they are wrong and we are right, but the fact nevertheless has to be taken into some account.

To avoid the necessity of too precise an assessment of our own high qualities let us be content to say that if the League consisted of fifty odd nations with the same general outlook and temper as Sweden or Norway, again everything would be much better than it is. The truth of that statement is incontestable. In point of fact the League consists of a number of States of the standard and mentality of—but it is obviously better to omit specific illustrations. All that matters is that we should realise that the League of Nations has, as best it may, to associate in common progress towards a common goal nations as advanced and as disinterested as the Scandinavians and others as inexperienced as, let us say—but here once more particular names had better be avoided.

Let no one think that this is a simple problem. Let everyone remember, on the contrary, when tempted to criticise the League for faltering action and halting progress, that processions often have to go the pace of

the slowest member, and that if the League is succeeding in stimulating its laggards so that they quicken their normal gait as much as the more enlightened have to slacken theirs, then it is far from failing in the achievement of its mission. It may be suggested in reply to this that an institution which slows down the advanced States at the same time that it quickens up the backward is leaving things on the average much where they are. That, in fact, is not the case. The progressive States can still go their way as they would have anyhow. If, for example, they are observing a seven hours day, the signature of the Eight Hours Convention does not compel them to extend the seven to eight, whereas it does compel States working nine or ten hours to reduce that time to the Convention figure. To that extent League action, when it is achieved at all, is really making a solid difference in world conditions. In the same way League agreements which compel all States to reach a certain minimum standard in such matters as Opium Control or the White Slave Traffic, by no means preclude the more enlightened States from maintaining a higher standard still.

The problem of the unruly wills and passions of sinful men and selfish and reactionary Governments is with us still. This, however, at least can be said for our encouragement, that as the League takes deeper root, as contacts between individuals at Geneva continue, the inexperienced gain experience, and the men and nations with axes to grind for their personal and selfish ends become increasingly embarrassed, when the necessities of League practice compel them to disclose their ends and motives on a public platform. Evil communications do not always corrupt good manners. The old fallacy that human nature cannot change has been exploded a million times. It can change, and it does, and contact with men of true international spirit, working for the good of the whole community of nations without sacrificing the interests of their own particular State, can gradually and imperceptibly instil with their own ideals colleagues whose aims to begin with were substantially less laudable.

The Dean's dictum may indeed be a little expanded. It is not only the unruly wills and passions of sinful men that form the material the League of Nations has to work on, its progress is equally frustrated by the incompetence and inexperience of quite well-meaning people. With our long political tradition, with the standards of efficiency as well as of honesty we have established in our public life, it is not always easy for us to remember how great are the difficulties encountered by small States that have broken away for no more than a decade or so from dependence on some autocratic empire, and have now to equip themselves with an ordered and orderly parliamentary system and a civil service that shall be at once efficient and honest. In many cases they have not yet succeeded, nor can they altogether be blamed for their failure. Here, too, the League of Nations, by promoting closer contacts, will make more visible before their eyes models on which it should be their purpose to base themselves. Evolution is in progress, education is being carried on. The mission of those States which feel they have something to teach and something to offer to those younger Governments still groping for stability, is a high one. It involves a certain responsibility, and makes it so much the more imperative that our own Government, with which alone we have a direct concern, should both by its general policy in world affairs, and in particular by the acts and words of its delegations at Geneva, maintain traditions and standards worthy to be set as pattern before any nation in the League.

THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH

SOME LITTLE-KNOWN CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE

By H. DUNCAN HALL

AT night in a canyon in the Blue Mountains. Backs against a sandstone rock; faces to a huge fire of iron-bark logs—a fire discreetly built 30 feet away from the heap of leaves serving as a bed, and even then fierce enough to make one think the smell of wool burning was rising from our blanket. Beside us a huge pool of black water, with just a glimmer of light at the far end, the reflection from the thin strip of starlit sky between the cliffs. Above us the firelight flickering on the red limbs of a giant red gum tree, whose leaves quivered with the hot draught from the fire. We asked ourselves again an old question, one often raised beside our camp fires: What is the Australian bush—the elemental thing known by the Australian black fellow, and how did he live in it and from it?

Because the black fellow was once here in this lonely gorge. We had found traces of him earlier in the day. That very morning we had broken camp at our cave ten miles away on the river. We had awakened at what the old English called "aer daeg" (the ere-day, the hour before "daeg-red"), the cold hour when the ground becomes doubly hard until you suddenly awaken. You can just see things dimly. There is a mist on the river; the air is so still that the thistle-down—the "Scotchmen"—had fallen upon the face of the water, where they will lie for an hour, till the wind drowns them.

Then suddenly the birds awaken. There is a great burst of laughter in the top of the tree by the cave from a laughing jackass or kookaburra. A lyre bird in a nearby gully answers with a long flute-like whistle. All the birds in the bush seem in that gully; but we know there is only one cock lyre bird there—the world's greatest mimic. For half an hour he fills the gully and the whole river valley with almost every bird note in the bush. He sings them all truly, but how magnificently better!

By this time all the birds are awake and singing, so that the river is flooded with sound long before it is flooded with sunlight. As the sun mounts the song slackens, till at noon it has almost ceased.

If the new chum doesn't hear the birds when he moves in the bush in the hot hours, he must not think they don't sing.

The billy is boiled, tea made and packs loaded before the sun strikes the top of the cliff. We are cutting ourselves off completely from civilisation for a whole week. We set out up the narrow canyon-like gorge, which enters the river at this spot. We shall see no human beings till we return. We enter the bush as the blacks knew it, save for the scanty link with civilisation which we carry in our packs—the flour and the tea and the sugar and the fish-hooks and lines. The black fellow who went up that gorge before us—less than a hundred years ago—carried no such pack. He had only a spear and a stone axe. We found part of the blade of his basalt axe that very morning halfway up the gorge, at the foot of a huge iron-bark tree in which there was a bees' nest. Maybe he had broken his axe on the hard wood as he cut into the hollow where the bees were.

And so as we lay that night by the camp fire up the gorge we wondered about him and his life. Suppose we had to live in this gorge and the river valley as he did? Suppose we came only with a stone axe and spear and a bone fish-hook—and no packs or clothes or food; no house save an open sandstone cave or a bark lean-to or gunwah; no pottery, no metal tools,

no cultivated crops or domesticated animals? (For in this continent there was never an acre of cultivated land or a single domesticated animal till the white man came.)

As we came up that morning what had we seen that could be eaten? No fruits, save a few strange wild cherries with the stones on the outside, which only made you hungry if you ate them, and some other small fruits that might keep you alive—if you were only a bird! Were there roots? We didn't know them. Animals? Yes, a few 'possums asleep in the hollow spouts up immense eucalyptus trees. We had looked at the smooth bark and had seen the 'possum claw marks. But were they up or down marks—last night's or the night before? And, anyway, how climb a smooth trunk 3 to 6 feet in diameter and 60 feet without a branch? The black fellow knew whether the 'possum was at home or out visiting and could climb the tree nearly as easily as we walk under it. We saw a wallaby, too (like a small kangaroo), but he was away like a flash up the cliff side. We had nearly trodden on a death-adder. But who would eat that ugly, loathsome, fat little snake, who is credited with giving you about twenty minutes to live if he strikes you and if you don't instantly ligature and apply permanganate of potash (part of our civilised equipment, even when clambering naked up the gorge was always a belt from which hung a little lancet and some permanganate of potash)? When one was stepping on a stick or a little mottled ridge in the sandstone it might turn out to be a death adder. (But then, one eyed all sticks and little ridges of rock very warily!)

Besides, there were birds—but in the trees! Sometimes, too, a 6-foot lizard, a goanna, sliding up a gum tree—but how to get him? They say he tastes like other good white meat, but we thought it must take some hunger and training to eat roast goanna. There were fish in the creek—listen to the big perch flopping in the dark pool—and big eels, too. The black fellow would have stood motionless on the rock there and suddenly cast his spear into the dark water. But we had never been so desperately hungry that we could learn to throw the spear straight or even to learn to see what to throw it at.

We knew there were big fat white grubs in the she-oaks and the sally-wattles growing along the creek-bed. The black fellow chopped them out with his stone axe and ate them greedily. We had heard that when roasted slightly on the coals until they straightened the white grubs taste like scrambled eggs. It was that very night by the fire that my brother and I made a solemn covenant that if I ate the first white grub he would eat the second. But that was years ago. He has reminded me often of the covenant. Then I have threatened him and he has pretended to be ready, but that's only because he thinks he is perfectly safe! There are lots of other things that fly or crawl or wriggle in the bush which the black fellow knows how to eat. But we don't think enough of them even to have discussed a covenant.

For white men, naked of civilisation, this would be a hard country. In some ways it offers a harder and less inviting environment than any other continent in the world. Man reaps crops there only because he has worked out with great patience and skill a new agricultural technique. He grows rich on the Australian grasslands only because he has brought to them the sheep, the cow and the horse from Europe. And even

then he had to breed laboriously from those types adapted to the peculiar conditions of the country. The extent of this achievement may be realised when we remember that though this continent lay all through history at the feet of Asia, linked up to it by an easy chain of island stepping-stones, that though Asiatics must have touched its shores many times, it was never colonised from Asia.

The black man remained undisturbed for thousands of years. There were some things in his favour—a climate in which he needed no clothes or permanent shelter and a complete absence of dangerous beasts of prey. Perhaps as a consequence he lived, and lived easily, in a country where the civilised white man, cut off from his civilisation, would have starved. (Some of us think ourselves good enough bushmen to be able to keep body and soul together living as the black man lived; yet there is not one of us but would have a very hard first few years before he learned the bush as he must know it to live off it as well as in it.) The black fellow was able to live easily because of his marvellous knowledge of the bush—a knowledge based on close observation. He knew the trees and plants and animals and insects and classified and named them.

In hunting, tracking and stalking he was perhaps without a superior in the world. He could stalk and spear the wary kangaroo on the bare treeless plains. He could swim under water to a flock of wild ducks and pull them one by one under the water and break their necks without disturbing the rest of the flock.

To write him down as many have done as the lowest of human beings almost completely lacking in intelligence is ludicrous. If intelligence consists in capacity for complete adaptation to one's environment, then he was extraordinarily intelligent. He so completely adapted himself to his surroundings that he left no permanent marks on it—not an acre of tilled land or a single building or a mound of earth, save only huge heaps of shell along the sea coast. It is only in face of a new environment—new diseases and social organisation—that he is rapidly withering away. And without him we shall never solve our camp-fire question—what is the Australian Bush?

GENEVA LIFE

THE latest addition to the steadily lengthening list of Geneva novels is called "The Peacemakers." Its author is a Miss Alice Ritchie, who has clearly been a member of the League Secretariat. Its publishers are the Hogarth Press, and its price is 7s. 6d.

It is in many ways a curious work. Its plot cannot be summarised, for there is no plot to summarise. All there is to it is a curious, meandering, rather involved story of an unattractive society of exiles in a strange land, consisting for the most part of the English members (male and female) of the Secretariat, with a few foreigners thrown in here and there. Of peacemaking there is nothing at all. Even the use of the words "League" and "Secretariat" in this review is not strictly justified, for all the book refers to is "the office," presided over by a gentleman called "the chief Secretary," who awakens as much instinctive dislike as practically every other character in this singular work. We are not even told that the scene of this chronicle of pettinesses is Geneva at all; but as it is a city by a lake, with a mountain called the Saleve on one side of it, and other mountains called the Jura on the other, and as the

lake flows down under bridges into a river called the Rhone, it does not involve a wholly illegitimate leap at conclusions to decide that what is in question is in fact the League town, and that "the office" is the Secretariat.

As for the peacemakers, they are engaged consistently in anything and everything except making peace. Usually, indeed, they are making trouble for one another; women for other women, and men for some women, too. There is an attractive old Japanese gentleman called Yamanaka, with a Polish secretary (this is just a little too close to actual fact) who constitutes on the whole the one pleasant character in the book, and he, no doubt, owes his attractions to the fact that we hear next to nothing of him.

But, no doubt, in some aspects the novel does draw a more or less faithful picture of Geneva life, as some members of the League Secretariat live it. But only some, happily. There are drawbacks enough to Geneva, after all; the members of the Secretariat are exiles, living in a small society of their own creation, with little to distract them in their pensions or flats evening by evening, particularly in winter. But since anyone who picks up this novel and reads it would inevitably conceive a most violent dislike for the people portrayed, it is well to add with some emphasis that this is not a typical picture of life at Geneva.

WHAT THEY PROMISED

IN view of the fact that the Kellogg Treaty has been signed since the last issue of HEADWAY went to press and the great importance that attaches to this international agreement for the renunciation of war, it seems desirable to reproduce, for purposes of reference, the two salient Articles of the Treaty. They run as follows:—

"I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare, in the names of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

"II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

BOOKS RECEIVED

Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden. (Authorised translation.) Two volumes. (Constable. 42s.)

Our Oral Word. By M. E. De Witt. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

A World Outlook. By W. Watkin Davies. (Methuen. 6s.)

My Life. By George Lansbury. (Constable. 10s. 6d.)

Close Quarters. By R. D. Rees. (Student Christian Movement.)

In the Furnace. By George G. Barnes. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)

China in the Family of Nations. By Henry T. Hodgkin. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME

THE League of Nations is to move house, but not to the site so long contemplated. No problem agitated the Ninth Assembly more than the question of whether the plans so long matured should be carried out or abandoned. In the end they are to be abandoned, and the League will construct its new buildings in what is now a public park.

Here, very briefly, is the story. To-day the League Secretariat lives and works in an adapted hotel, which serves its purpose surprisingly well, and provides reasonably good accommodation for Council meetings and committees. Its Assembly is held in a concert hall attached to an hotel on the other side of the Lake, a hall as unsuitable in arrangements, in atmosphere, in acoustics, and in every other necessary quality as anything the worst enemies of the League could wish to impose on it. Hence the decision to build as soon as possible a new Secretariat and a permanent Assembly Hall, equipped with Council chamber and committee-rooms, on some new site.

That new site had to be found, and it was only after many alternatives had been discussed that three adjacent properties on the lakeside, between the present Secretariat and the International Labour Office, were chosen as most suitable for the purpose. One was obtained by voluntary agreement. In the case of the second expropriation by the Swiss authorities was needed. The third belongs to an English lady, Mrs. Barton, a generous benefactor of Geneva. This third site was earmarked for future expansion, and there was no expectation that it would be needed during its owner's lifetime.

But Mr. J. D. Rockefeller's gift of £400,000 for an international library changed the whole situation. Room had to be found for three buildings on a site meant for two. The thing could not be done, and the question of securing the third of the contiguous properties meant negotiations with its owner, and its owner, who had made of it an estate of peculiar charm, was not ready to give it up. Should the Swiss authorities be invited to apply compulsion? Members of the Council were reluctant to take a step so drastic, though it had, as stated, been taken in the case of the owner of one of the other two properties.

A little out of Geneva, on the Lausanne Road, and just opposite the new buildings of the International Labour Office, is a park belonging to the city of Geneva. It is called the Parc Ariana, and its area is larger than that of the three properties on which the League proposed to build. Would Geneva make this over to the League if the League, on its side, made over to Geneva the two lakeside properties it had already acquired? By good fortune, they already adjoined a small municipal park, and its enlargement in this way would go far towards reconciling the Swiss to the loss of the Parc Ariana.

So far as the Geneva City Council is concerned the scheme will not go through without a struggle, for there is a Socialist element on the Council which holds strongly that private property should be taken compulsorily before public property like a park is handed over voluntarily. From the League's point of view any reasonably good solution is better than none. The situation is getting serious, and building must be begun without delay. The new site has much to commend it. It is in the right position, it gives room for expansion, the levels and soils are such as to make the builder's task easy. A railway line running across the front of it will be a nuisance, but the line is electrified, and a special halt opposite the League site would simplify the problem of transit.

THRIFT OR WASTE?

THERE is always a lively controversy about the League's annual budget. One of the six commissions, the Fourth, appointed by each Assembly, has the duty of going through the estimates point by point and trying to reduce expenditure where it can. As two or three smaller bodies have already been engaged on the same task it is usually found difficult to make any further cuts at all. As a strong protest against rising expenditure, the British Government proposed that the whole budget be cut down by 1,000,000 francs to a sum total of a million pounds sterling.

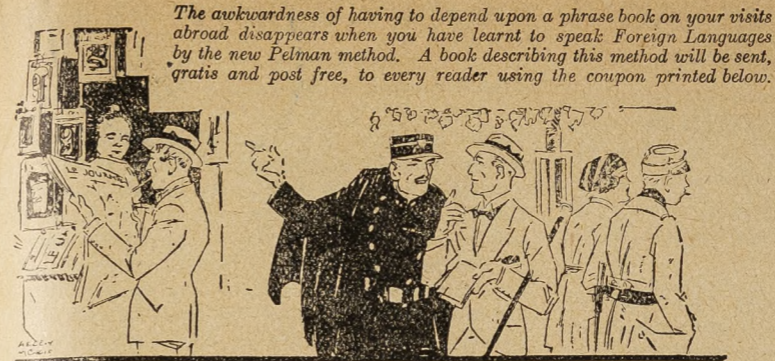
That brought the Secretary-General to his feet. The strictest economy, Sir Eric Drummond contended, was being observed, but he had to emphasise the fact that if the League was to carry out the work it had to do in the world that work must be paid for.

A little later M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, entered the fray. The British delegate had suggested that a considerable sum might be saved by holding immediately after one another two Labour Conferences which it had been decided to hold next year with an interval between them. On that, M. Thomas, after explaining the reasons for the arrangement, observed that the British Government representative on the Governing Body of the Labour Office had definitely agreed to the plan adopted and to the expenditure it would involve. With this as text, and permitting himself a freedom of speech which provoked a little comment, the Director observed caustically that if one thing was more necessary than another in Governments it was unity of policy and speech.

On the whole question one or two observations may be relevant. What really matters is not how much money is being spent but what value the League, and the nations' members of the League, are getting for it. On that members of the different national delegations seem to be divided among themselves. When, for example, the Fourth Commission of the Assembly, composed of one member of each national delegation, urged the postponement of as many conferences as possible from 1929 to 1930 the First Commission, composed likewise of one member of each national delegation, replied that the Codification of International Law Conference, in which it was particularly interested, was much too important to be postponed. And so on all along the line.

It is worth while recalling in that connection the views expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee appointed to carry on the work of last year's Economic Conference. The Committee, of which one of the chief officials of the British Board of Trade was a member, planned out a careful programme of necessary work and declared specifically that it "has throughout had in mind considerations of economy and has proposed only such work as in its deliberate opinion is worth much more than the necessary expense it would entail." In spite of that the British member of the Fourth Commission specially singled out the work of the League's Economic Organisation as offering scope for retrenchment.

Needless to say Mr. Locker Lampson was only the mouthpiece, quite possibly the reluctant mouthpiece, of the Treasury in this matter. But it is as well to realise that what is involved is simply an increase of Great Britain's £800,000,000 budget by £6,000, equivalent proportionately to the increase of a £800,000 budget by £6. The income-tax payer has heavy burdens to bear, but that addition is not going to break his back, particularly since it would be easy to show that what he gives to the League he more than gets back in other ways. In the long run the existence of the League reduces national taxation, not increases it.



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He was then handed a little book of 48 pages, printed entirely in Spanish, and asked to read it through.

There was not a single English word in this book, yet, to his utter amazement, he was able to read it from cover to cover without a mistake.

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"I was able to pass London matriculation (in Spanish) last June with minimum labour and no drudgery, although I was always reckoned a 'dud' at languages." (S.B. 373.)

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CHINA AND THE LEAGUE

[FROM OUR PEKING CORRESPONDENT]

NOW that the Chinese Nationalist armies have subdued the whole of China proper and the capitulation of the Manchurian provinces is in sight, the unification of this country has been brought nearer to realisation than it has been at any time within the experience of the present generation of diplomatists.

Under the circumstances, it may be asked whether the League of Nations might not initiate a discussion of the outstanding grievances between China and those foreign Powers who have in the past negotiated what progressive Chinese have come to describe as "Unequal Treaties." The tenor of these treaties is frankly contemptuous of China's sovereign rights. Among other substantial privileges, they secure to the nationals of the foreign contracting parties the right to live in China under their native laws. It is debatable the extent to which these treaties are still necessary to secure the safety of foreigners living and trading in China, but it is safe to assume that the Chinese as a nation have a case against the Treaty Powers.

If treaty revision took place at Geneva, probably most of the Treaty Powers would be prepared to submit the question of its territoriality to the League, and undoubtedly China and the Powers could be induced to agree to the handing over of the International Settlement at Shanghai to a League of Nations Commission, for administration on lines similar to those of the administration of Dantzig.

But there are several serious obstacles to effective League intervention. It is difficult to discover whether there is much enthusiasm for the League among the new generation of Chinese politicians, and her non-election to a temporary seat on the Council may dissipate that little. Many Chinese claim that the League has treated their country rather contemptuously and that they were badly tricked by the Treaty of Versailles, with which the League is, of course, associated. But in actual fact the concessions made to the Chinese at Versailles and subsequently at Washington provided the inspiration for their present attack upon the "Unequal Treaties."

The three great obstacles to the League settlement of China's difficulties with the world at large consist of the United States, Japan and Russia. Japan is an influential permanent member of the League Council, whose policy, particularly in Manchuria and Shantung, shows tendencies which are absolutely at variance with the principles of the League. The difficulties in connection with the United States and Russia lie, of course, in their absence from Geneva. Both have enormous interests in China dependent on the goodwill of the Chinese. Further, a ridiculous tendency to regard Europe as a collection of unimportant, quarrelsome and bankrupt States, precariously federated by the League of Nations, may cause in time an enormous reaction on the part of the Chinese to American and Russian influences.

Whoever can stimulate and sustain the interest of China in the League of Nations and whoever can convince her new headstrong rulers that only by loyal adhesion to the League and its cause can she attain to the exalted place in the comity of nations, to which her greatness entitles her, he will render greater service to China than a host of Rockefellers and do much to dispel the threat of a great Asian war.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THINGS TO THINK OF

The Economic Problems of Europe. By M. Philips Price. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

The ordinary citizen in all centuries is strangely unconscious of the changes which are coming over the society of which he forms a part. He is aware, as Mr. Philips Price points out, of the violent upheavals which stand out as landmarks in history manuals, but of the slower evolution which comes between the revolutionary episodes he takes little notice. There are not wanting signs to-day that the control of international affairs, and that is ultimately the decisions of peace and war, is quietly changing hands without observation, and that the historian of the future will consider the years since 1918 more deserving of his attention than those which immediately preceded them.

In more than one country, not excluding our own, the parliamentary system has been weakened, and the voice of the official diplomatist counts for less than in the past; their place is being taken by the masters of finance and industry. If the political actions of the League have been disappointing, greater results for the stability of the world, though less spectacular, will probably come from the attention which it is paying to financial and economic and industrial questions. This fact, here put rather crudely, seems to be the moral and the motive of Mr. Philips Price's book, although he makes no reference to the League's work. He attempts, as Mr. Sidney Webb says in his foreword, "to expound and explain what seems to him to be happening in the economic and political transformations that are proceeding whilst politicians are talking."

He is largely concerned with capital and trade exports, with the changes that have been taking place in their spheres of action, and with the effects which these changes are making in international affairs. Among the points which he emphasises are the international industrial combinations, which are receiving the support of the great banks of Europe and the United States to a degree which was unknown before the war. Thus, industry and high finance are interlinked in their interests instead of being in conflict, and their co-operation is a distinctly hopeful factor in the prospects of world peace.

Mr. Philips Price does not overlook the effect of this fact upon such vital problems as national production

and war debts, since the latter can only be paid by an increased production sufficient to secure a balance of exports over imports, and in this connection he points out the importance of opening new markets in Russia and the middle zone of Africa. How important may be the latter he shows when he says: "The population of the vast continent is so great that even a small rise in its consuming power," i.e., in its standard of living—"would have a tremendous effect on European exports of manufactured articles." He adds, nevertheless, that unless a sympathetic attitude is adopted towards native movements both in Asia and Africa, "unless the social and political problems are solved, the economic advantage will not accrue to Great Britain." Here is an instance of the way in which enlightened industrial power may be expected to influence political action.

Mr. Philips Price has opened up what will be to many persons a new field of thought and study, and although he writes of a technical subject, he treats it in such a way that it becomes perfectly intelligible to a non-technical reader.

BUILDING UP PEACE

From Paris to Locarno and After. By F. Alexander. (Dent. 5s.)

This is a very useful volume, based on lectures the author gave in Western Australia on behalf of the League of Nations Union in that State. It links up several events that are often treated separately, particularly the making of the Covenant, the work of the League and the Treaties of Locarno. The dangers besetting the League were most of them foreseen at Paris when the Covenant was being made, and some knowledge of that process is, therefore, necessary to an understanding of the working of the Covenant to-day.

Mr. Alexander has the disadvantage of living at a great distance from Geneva, and being, therefore, largely dependent on documents rather than on personal contacts. But he has made good use of his materials, and his book, while it is extremely useful to English readers, should be quite invaluable to Australians. On certain points no doubt the author's judgment might be challenged. He seems to suggest, for example, that the phrase in Article 13 of the Covenant whereby members of the League undertake not to resort to war against any member of the League that complies with an arbitral ruling applies only to members other than the two parties. The more general view is that it equally prevents the discontented party from going to war with the successful claimant. Similarly, Mr. Alexander perhaps a little over-emphasises the contrast between what he terms the Anglo-Saxon and Continental views on security questions. The distinction is much more between the Anglo-Saxon and the Franco-Polish view or the view of France and her semi-Allies. Many of the smaller States, notably the Scandinavians and Holland, and to some extent Germany, come down on the Anglo-Saxon side of the line.

Danzig, Poland und der Volkerbund. By H. A. Harder. (Berlin: 1928.)

Herr Harder writes as a German, and as an interested party in a very burning dispute. His work is thus very distinctly rather a political plea than a dispassionate study.

It is easy to understand that Herr Harder feels that "the compromise of 1919 brought no solution to the Danzig question. On the contrary, it brought about a state of continuous tension." His own suggestion is for a reincorporation of the Polish corridor into Germany, Poland being guaranteed a free outlet to the sea in some form or another, this guarantee being placed in the hands of the League, probably through "the tried institution of the League Commissioner." It is

Post Time is Adventure Time!

By Anita Richmond

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"

"It's time the postman came."

"But—"

"Ah, there he is." Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.

"It's quite an adventure nowadays," she exclaimed.

"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"

"My pen name. This letter's from an editor, and—"

She tore open the envelope. "Yes, there's a cheque. Ten beautiful guineas."

"For heaven's sake, explain, Norah. Don't be so tantalising."

Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live authoress, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it."

She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."

"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"

"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."

"And you joined?"

"Eventually I did. I doubted my ability to write; but the Course people were so friendly and helpful in their letters that I plucked up courage and enrolled."

"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.

"I didn't till I learnt more about this one. My dear, you wouldn't believe the trouble they take. I hadn't the foggiest notion how I should even start an article before I joined, yet two months afterwards the Director of Studies wrote and said that my last exercise would be up to standard if I revised it in a certain way, and he gave me a list of papers to send it to."

"Well?"

"The first paper bought it. I got two guineas. Since then I've sold nearly everything I've written."

"It's perfectly wonderful, Norah. I wish I could do it; but then, writers are born, not—"

"Rubbish! It's a matter of training. If you can write a good letter you can learn to write 'copy' for the papers—I'll tell you what I'll do, Marjorie. I'll write and get the Institute's new prospectus for you."

"The Institute?"

"The Regent Institute, Palace Gate."

"But I couldn't afford the fee, Norah."

"It's really quite reasonable, and you can pay it in instalments. You might get it back in no time. I did within five months. Do let me get that prospectus for you."

"I'll think about it."

"Take my advice, Marjorie, and act now. I wish I hadn't waited so long. I'd have earned pounds more."

"All right, Norah." Marjorie rose to her feet. She was quite enthusiastic by this time. "Let's send for it now, dear."

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satisfactory to note that Herr Harder concludes that the League has, in fact, fulfilled its duty as "protector of Danzig and guarantor of its constitution." In certain cases, indeed, he considers that the League's decisions have been modified by considerations of political expediency. The remedy which he proposes is, however, not to alter the League system, but to strengthen it. The stronger the influence of the League in comparison with other factors the more satisfactory the result. The League, in fact, may be regarded as the leaven in what is at times an exceptionally heavy lump.

READERS' VIEWS THE AMBASSADORS' CONFERENCE.

SIR,—The functions of the Ambassadors' Conferences dwindle. Whereas, in the years immediately following the war years, it was natural to expect the Supreme Council or its instrument to cope with international difficulties, it is becoming instinctive to turn to the League Council.

There remain, however, in existence decisions of the Ambassadors' Conference which may interfere with the freedom of decision of the League Council. Here is an instance suggested by a recent letter of Lord Lamington to *The Times*. He referred to the suspicions that certain of Albania's neighbours might be considering annexation of Albanian territory. Although this does not seem probable in view of Article 10 of the Covenant, it might conceivably prove to be the case. In such an event the Article places on the Council the duty to "advise upon the means" by which the obligation of members of the League "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of Albania should be fulfilled. In carrying out their duty four Members of the Council would have to take into consideration the Declaration of the Conference of Ambassadors in regard to Albania, signed at Paris on November 9, 1921. The Declaration was signed by the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan. It cannot be ignored. Modern treaties generally have time limits and require ratification. This Declaration had no time limit and required no ratification. Therefore, unless previously abrogated by the four member States of the Council who signed it, they will have to honour their signatures and cannot advise their fellow members of the League in freedom.

The limiting Articles of the Declaration are very explicit. Article 1 states: "If Albania should at any time find it impossible to maintain intact her territorial integrity, she shall be free to address a request to the Council of the League of Nations for foreign assistance."

Article 2 states: "The Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan decide that, in the above-mentioned event, they will instruct their representatives on the Council of the League of Nations to recommend that the restoration of the territorial frontiers of Albania should be entrusted to Italy."

Circumstances have changed since 1921. The Council of the League now has nearly nine years' experience. Will not the nations of the League expect their experienced Council to exercise its functions and make its decisions in cases of external aggression in such a manner as seems at the time most suitable, untrammelled by declarations made by some of its members when the League had been barely two years in existence?

But the Declaration of 1921 exists. It must be respected. Unless, indeed, it should be found to conflict with Article 20 of the Covenant by which members of the League have severally agreed that "this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or undertakings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof . . ."

Would it not be fitting that the four Powers, now, before the question arises acutely, should consider to what extent, if any, the Declaration of 1921 is inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant?

Should they find that it is inconsistent, they could then, honourably, before the Declaration becomes a complication, take the necessary steps to abrogate it.—Yours faithfully,
FREDERICK WHELEN.

NAVIES OF THE WORLD

SIR,—Will you allow a brief comment on Dr. Silby's article in your August number, which I have only just seen? I agree with him that we have made a sacrifice in the cause of peace and set an example of which we may be justly proud. But it is quite incorrect to say that other nations have so far merely discussed reduction of armaments (whether naval or military), and that actual reduction has been made by the British Empire and by that alone.

For instance, to France her army is as important for her security as our Navy is to us, yet the cadres of the French Standing Army have been reduced from 44 divisions in 1914 to 20 divisions to-day.

And as regards navies, in 1921 the U.S. had under construction 13 capital ships of the most modern type, to our four, a number which would have by now ensured for her a formidable superiority which, for financial reasons alone, we would have been unable to challenge.

But by the Washington Agreement she scrapped the lot, and accepted equality.

To argue that the naval needs of the U.S. cannot be compared with ours is not relevant and does not alter the fact that if she had so desired she could have out-built us, and could still do so.

If each Great Power is to take the line that it alone is sincere in the matter of reduction of armaments and that others have done nothing, I am afraid the hopes for further progress in International Disarmament will be small.—Yours truly,

S. R. DRURY-LOWE,
Vice-Admiral (Retired).

September 28, 1928.

"QUESTIONS OF RIGHT"

SIR,—It might not have been necessary to comment upon the note appended to my letter in your last issue had you not omitted from the letter the final sentence, which would have suggested to readers my purpose in writing. Your reference to *de facto* and *de jure* rights of occupation in Egypt begs the whole question. From my standpoint, and I hope the League of Nations standpoint, no strong Power has a right to appropriate the territory of a weaker nation, or to assert rights therein without the assent of that nation. We entered Egypt under promise of withdrawal, repeatedly made. I contend that the bartered approval of other Powers to our continued control of the country carries no juridical or moral weight. Reverse the positions, put yourself in the place of the Egyptians, and would you think differently?

As to the "reservations" made by the British Government, these were to be regulated by "future agreements." But what sort of "agreement" is an ultimatum which imposes upon another State conditions against which it protests? In my opinion, the issues between the two countries would be best met by the internationalisation of the Suez Canal and the guaranteeing of Egypt's neutrality by the Great Powers (including America) to begin with, but later by the League of Nations. In this way Great Britain might obtain all she has a right to expect.

As to Lithuania, you are no doubt aware that the Lithuanian Government's claim is that the mediation of the League of Nations was sought by it without prejudice to a prior agreement with Poland, which would have ruled Vilna out of discussion. In any

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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LONDON, W.C.1.

event, what moral right had the Ambassadors' Conference or the League of Nations Council to dispose of the Lithuanian population without consulting it? If any Power had that right it was Russia, and Russia by the Treaty of 1920 ceded the Vilna region to Lithuania. I trust that I shall not be reminded of the manipulated Polish "elections."

You, like every other moral man, want to see a new world and a far higher and purer civilisation established, but the foundations of both must be justice and right dealing.—Yours faithfully,

Headington, Oxford.

W. H. DAWSON.

September 14, 1928.

[We continue to differ from Mr. Dawson on many points, but cannot pursue the matter further.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

CHEMICAL WARFARE

SIR,—With reference to Mr. Brightman's criticisms of our resolutions on chemical warfare research, the following is the skeleton form of our argument, which Mr. Brightman seems to have misunderstood:—

We believe strongly in the total abolition of war with no discrimination whatever as to its form. We therefore believe, of course, in the decisive elimination of all its causes, of which one of the worst is undeniably a competition in armaments. Our normal sanity is, in consequence, particularly struck by the abnormal insanity of a suicidal competition in government-subsidised secret research devoted solely to methods of chemical warfare and having no industrial interest whatever. Major V. Lefebure, F.C.S., the eminent expert, however, says: "Given international prohibition of gas warfare and an intelligent central organisation with certain powers, there is no reason, in my opinion, why research on poison gas (for purely military purposes—my parenthesis) could not be very largely suppressed." We therefore urge in the first place, universal renunciation of the use of chemical warfare merely as a legal measure for facilitating the prohibition of research on chemical warfare and not because we believe it is possible, in itself, to abolish that form of warfare. We do not.

Then, in the second place, we urge the abolition, firstly, of government-subsidised laboratories, which have the honour of producing, for example, "Lewisite," a gas directed to no industrial purposes; and secondly, the vast testing stations (e.g., at Porton, in England; Edgewood, in America; and Fontainebleau, in France), which are engaged in methods of propagation of poison gas in warfare and which are, in fact, large "ad hoc establishments" absolutely necessary to this research and having no vestige of a connection with industry. Major Lefebure proves this superlatively important point by saying: "I suppose hardly any measure could so cripple serious development in the new agencies of war as the suppression of these vast experimental stations."

Mr. Brightman's point on the temporary paralysis of military operations is a debatable point, and is, nevertheless, like his first three, irrelevant to the sequence of our argument, which deals with the war-breeding competitive element alone. Nothing more nor less. Moreover, having drawn up a 23-page report, we are only too well aware that such gases as phosgene, chlorine, bromine, methyl-ethyl-ketone, acetone, etc., etc., are used extensively in industry; but here again the element of intense military competition is non-existent. In short, the chemical industries affect war in its form but not in its promotion.—Yours faithfully,

MARTIN J. H. GOODCHILD,

Hon. Secretary, Inter-Branch Circle

for the Study of Disarmament and Arbitration.

5, Wood Vale, London, N.10. September 6, 1928.

[This correspondence is now closed.]

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

of the

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

The Prime Minister

WILL SPEAK AT THE

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

On *FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26th, 1928, at 8 p.m.*

SUPPORTED BY

Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G.

AND

The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.

TICKETS - - - Numbered and Reserved, 10/6, 5/- and 2/6

A limited number of Free Reserved Seats to be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1

No seats reserved after 7.50 p.m.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS

SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY

OCTOBER, 1928

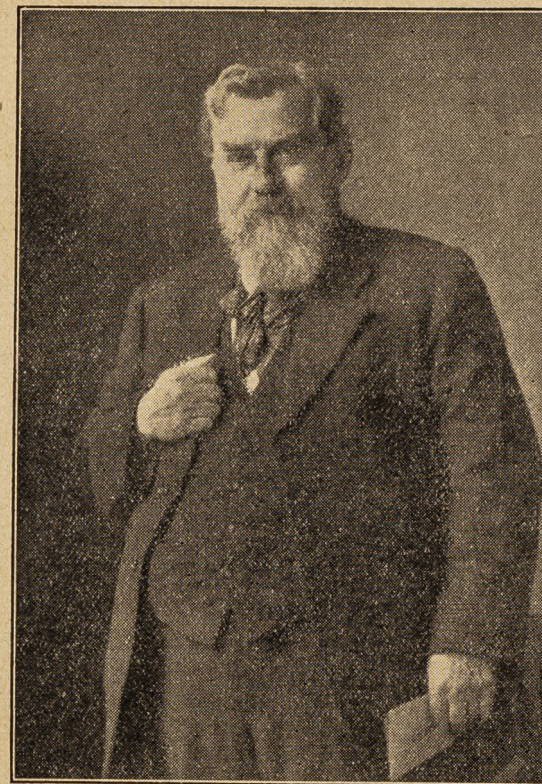
PEACE, INDUSTRIAL AND INTERNATIONAL

"PEACE can be established only if it is based upon social justice" are the opening words of the "Charter of Labour" (Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles). That is why the League, with all its major political, legal and technical activities, works hand in hand with the International Labour Organisation, whose business is to achieve better conditions for the workers in industry. For the same reason, we in Great Britain who are devoted to promoting the success of the League of Nations cannot dissociate ourselves from one of the most remarkable attempts to apply the principles for which we stand to the internal difficulties of our industrial life—the Turner-Mond conversations. Class war at home and peace in international life are absolutely incompatible; and those who are bitter enemies of the League of Nations are also bitter enemies of the great forces in the Trades Union movement and of the progressive employers who are now striving towards a real co-operation between Capital and Labour in industry.

Hence, the Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the Trades Union Congress could not fail to interest the League of Nations Union. There is no doubt that it has marked an epoch in the history of the Trades Union movement. The Congress, which has very frequently passed resolutions dealing with international forces, this year decided to request the Labour Party, if returned to power, to ratify the Washington Convention. It also called upon the Government to introduce legislation for the ratification of the Convention upon the weekly day of rest in industrial undertakings. These are matters with which the Industrial Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union are very directly concerned. But the main interest of the Congress meetings surrounded the debate upon the conversations which, on the suggestion of Mr. George Hicks, last year's President of the T.U.C.,

had taken place between representative employers and members of the Trades Union Congress General Council. These, it will be recalled, resulted in an Interim Report, signed on July 4th by both Lord Melchett and Mr.

Ben Turner. In dealing with Rationalisation, one of the most important sections of the Report, the Joint Committee endorsed the resolutions of the World Economic Conference held by the League of Nations at Geneva in May, 1927; and it is of interest that the opposition to the adoption of the Interim Report centred round the recommendation concerning Rationalisation. The motion of the General Council for the continuation of the discussions with employers and for the adoption of the Report was carried by a majority of over six to one. The Congress deserves the warmest thanks from all men and women of goodwill for its courageous decisions. It now remains for the employers to constitute themselves into a representative body, in order that the decisions already reached may be carried into effect: for it is only between individual employers and the Trades Union Congress that the discussions have taken place so far.



Ben Turner, J.P.
President Trades Union Congress, Chairman Industrial Advisory Committee and Member Executive Committee League of Nations Union.

Apart from the political aspects of the Trades Union Congress, there was a more intimate reason why this year the League of Nations Union should take a sympathetic interest in its work. Mr. Ben Turner, President of the Congress for 1928, is also Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union, and so far as any resolutions connected with the League or the International Labour Organisation are concerned, they could not have been left in better hands. We who appreciate Mr. Ben Turner's kindly guidance upon one of our most important Committees may be entitled, without any consideration of party, to congratulate the T.U.C. upon having so benign and far-sighted a President.

SUMMER SCHOOL FEVER

AT first sight a Summer School conjures up for most of us visions of desks, note-books and perspiring lecturers endeavouring to arouse enthusiasm in the stuffy halls of ancient seats of learning. It required a brilliant genius to recognise that a holiday could be arranged where all who desired an undeserved holiday could attend something devoted to serious study, in which recreation is not merely possible but is an essential part of the scheme. Oxford, despite its ancient sanctity, this year as heretofore made the study of League affairs cheerful, congenial and pleasant.

It is a long twenty-four hours from Oxford to Geneva. There is luggage; perhaps, if Neptune is unkind, a wan arrival in France; but *quelle joie* when we beat a Parisian Jehu at his own game of "cutting in" in our well-protected charabancs. The usual eight in a carriage to Geneva may not be in keeping with our national desire for a maximum of one to a compartment, but by now we know each other and do not mind. Finally we reach Geneva and bed.

During the two sessions of the holiday Institute we were of all sorts: British, like you and me, enthusiastic boys and girls—one from each of fourteen Quaker schools—Americans, keen-witted if a little sceptical; all meeting daily in the Secretariat where often that august body, the League Council, is wont to meet. There were two groups of us: to the first session came those who did not know but who were not afraid to learn, and to the following week, those who had learned but had realised their shortcomings.

Let it not be thought that we were oblivious of the Saleve and Mont Blanc; and remembering them we naturally went on our excursions. Others were entranced by the blue of the Lake and explored that mysterious horizon. Likewise, we had our usual festive evening at the familiar La Residence, with an impromptu play which maintained the tradition of delicate allusion to the personalities of the Institute. The time seemed to be all too short when finally we were sent on our homeward journey cheered loudly by the lucky ones who were staying for an extra week-end.

After we left a large party from London came to attend the sessions of the first week of the Assembly and to hear a series of lectures given at Professor Zimmern's Geneva School. They were as unable as we were to resist the delights of the surroundings and, we may add, the excellent music in the evening at the Café du Nord.

During the first two weeks of September the British Universities League of Nations Societies held a Conference of British and Dominion students, their centre was the somewhat remote Institut Widemann, where besides giving receptions to Dominion delegates, holding discussions and making visits to the Assembly, they had their full share of business cum pleasure.

There have also been some foreign-speaking schools. Perhaps one of the most interesting was that given in French under the auspices of the Bureau International d'Education and the Federation of League of Nations Societies at Geneva. Again at Thonon there were some fifty young women of nationalities varying from French and German to Chinese, attending a school organised by the "Association de la paix par le droit."

Whether we will be strong enough to resist the temptations of the Summer School habit next year will hardly bother those of us who have developed it, but those who are not so afflicted should remember Lord Chesterfield's advice in another connection, that the "best way to resist a temptation is to fall to it."

THE NEXT STAGE

TEN years ago the Union was founded. Its first task was to explain the character and constitution of the new world organisation and to commend it to the British people; except in a few sleepy backwaters of our national life that stage is all but accomplished. Its next task, to which for some years it has been steadily devoted, was to labour for the "full development of the League" until it should become the accepted guardian of international justice; that stage may well occupy a whole generation. It was soon seen to be inevitable that the Union's efforts to this end should crystallise into the demand for a sound system of pacific settlement of disputes by judicial settlement, arbitration or conciliation, and for the genuine suppression of rivalry in arms and reliance upon force: for these are two essential conditions of an ordered community of nations and as such are explicitly or implicitly recognised in the Covenant. Without them the technical co-operation of Governments through the League is a perpetual incongruity.

Now a new epoch in the Union's work begins. It begins under favourable auspices; for close upon the signature of the Pact comes the news from Geneva that, taking the opportunity of their meeting at the Assembly, the spokesman of the Allied Powers and their former enemy have agreed to set about the process of ending that most bitter legacy of the War—the Occupation of the Rhineland. It is a time to take counsel together. Hence the Executive Committee of the Union has urged the holding in convenient centres of every county, of Conferences at which delegates of Branches and all others able to lead and influence opinion can meet its own representatives for a full and frank discussion of the issues we have mentioned and of the best way of winning support for the Union's policy. Several of these Conferences are already organised: speakers are being found for many more. They will neither interrupt nor lessen the number of ordinary meetings and lectures. On the other hand they are intended to stimulate the Union in every area to further and better-prepared educational action; they are intended to provide mental munitions for speakers and organisers in all parts of the country. They will be characterised by that abstraction from Party politics which the Union has solidly sustained through a full year of criticism, misunderstanding and heart-burning, and which is to be vindicated by the support given by Lord Grey and Mr. Clynes to Mr. Stanley Baldwin when he addresses the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the Union in the Albert Hall on October 26. Our work is still only beginning.

J. E.

NOTES AND NEWS

For Elusive Non-Members

Harassed Branch Secretaries whose ingenuity has been somewhat exhausted in their attempts to devise new methods for adding to the membership of their branches will be very grateful for the suggestion which comes from the Winton and Moordown Branch. When collectors go round to collect members' subscriptions, they hand each subscriber a post-card to which is attached another card, asking the member to secure at least one new member. The card is then detached, and after being filled in is sent with the name and address of another possible member to the Branch Secretary.

Cobbler's Wisdom

It would be hard to equal the loyalty of the monthly report of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives. Hardly a month passes without there being

some appeal in that paper for the League of Nations Union. Surely other trade papers might follow their excellent example.

"Dance, Dance . . ."

An International Ball at which over 25 nations were represented is the way the New South Wales League of Nations Union brings about world co-operation and incidentally adds £400 to its funds.

Federation of League of Nations Societies

The Federation's Economic Conference will be held in Prague on October 4, 5 and 6. The object of the Conference is to give publicity to and gain support for the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

The chief items on the agenda of the Conference are as follows:—

- (1) The work of the League of Nations for the economic reconstruction of Europe and its results.
- (2) The Resolutions of the Economic Conference of Geneva, May, 1927; how applied by the States concerned; and the prospects for their future adoption.
- (3) Study of important principles and tendencies in economic policy and practice tending to create or destroy conditions favourable to peace.

A great many international organisations have accepted invitations to be present. One of the chief speakers at the Conference will be Sir Arthur Salter, and among the persons going from this country will be Sir Hugh Bell, Mr. Henry Bell, Major J. W. Hills, M.P., Sir George Paish and Mr. Arthur Pugh.

Rain, Rain . . .

Preston decided recently that, "So long as we reach peace, it does not matter greatly whether we travel there by Geneva or Washington."

The supporters of this motion attended an open air meeting in favour of this sentiment. Undeterred by the inclemency of the weather, they retired to a covered market, where several of them spoke of the Kellogg Pact.

After Ten Years

Tickets for the "Birthday" meeting, mentioned elsewhere, at the Albert Hall on October 26 are in great demand. May we recommend an early application?

Professor Gilbert Murray

The "Halley Stewart Trust Fund" Lectures will be given this year on October 9, 16, 23, 30, November 6 and 13, by Professor Gilbert Murray, at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, at 6 p.m. His subject is to be, "The Ordeal of Civilisation: The War, the League and the Future."

New Studies for Leif and Ingertha

An admirable practice started recently by the Danish Government, is for all schools, as a celebration of the opening of the Assembly, on the first Monday in September, to devote the day to the study of the League. In addition, on the normal syllabus of primary, secondary and intermediate schools there is special provision for the study of the League.

Notes from Wales

At the recent Assembly of the South Wales Association of the Calvinistic Methodist Church, held at Nantgaredig, and again at the Assembly of the North Wales Association of that Church, at Bangor, special attention was given to the League of Nations and World Peace. The South Wales Association is organising a "Peace" meeting at its next Assembly at Cardiff in November. Quite recently, also, the Union of Welsh Independents at its annual meetings gave a whole evening to addresses on "World Peace."

The winners of the Welsh Council's Geneva Scholarships, all of them pupils from Welsh secondary schools, spent an interesting fortnight in Geneva, August 24 to September 7. This year, again, quite a number of visitors from Wales spent the first fortnight of September in Geneva. Miss Celia Evans, B.A., of the Barry Girls'

County School, addressed the Summer School of the Bureau International d'Education on the subject of "League Teaching in the Schools of Wales." A number of students from the Welsh University Colleges travelled to Geneva under the auspices of the B.U.L.N.S.

The occasion of the Trades Union Congress at Swansea was an opportunity not to be missed, and on the last evening of the Congress a meeting was held, at which Mr. Ben Turner, Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P., Mr. E. L. Poulton and Mr. T. W. Gillinder spoke.

Branches have already begun their winter campaign; it is evident that Armistice Week this year will witness a more vigorous effort than ever for the cause of the League. The North Wales Committee of the Welsh Council met at Llandudno Junction on Tuesday, September 25, to prepare plans for the winter session for North Wales.

The Gift of Tongues

Many readers of HEADWAY will no doubt have come to some decision from their own experience as to the value of the language teaching methods of the Pelman Institute. We feel, however, that a little booklet, "The Gift of Tongues," which has recently been issued by the Languages Department of that Institute, deserves something more than the attention which an advertisement receives. It is an undoubted fact that a knowledge of foreign languages brings with it some acquaintance with the thoughts and mental outlook of which those languages are the expression, and that this certainly makes for international understanding and goodwill. Only a minority of our people can afford to travel abroad. It may, therefore, be said that those who have made a fine art of bringing French, German, Italian or Spanish idioms within easy reach of English homes deserve the support and encouragement of those of us who are consistently working for international peace.

An Apology

We regret that by an oversight in our last number the membership of the Sussex Federation was said to be over a thousand, actually it is over 17,000!

League Education

The Union of South Africa has been making effective recommendations of the Eighth Assembly for educating the younger generation in League affairs. The various educational departments of the Union have organised special classes in the schools and have added chapters on the League in various text-books. In addition the Universities now hold courses on the League of Nations.

"First Blood"

The winter drive for the Forfar Branch opened with a "social" at which Captain Reish, of Tanadyce, spoke to a hall crowded to overflowing. Many were unable to obtain admission and were turned away. Of those who were fortunate sixty became new members. A goodly bag!

Gentle Persuasion

At a recent Garden Party, held at Rozelle in Ayr, Lord Meston delivered an interesting sketch of the League to explain the importance of the Kellogg Pact. As he said, "The Pact makes the League of Nations more necessary than it was before. At the same time it would serve as the machinery that would enable the Pact to be effective." The success of the event may be gauged by the £188 handed over to the Treasurer on the ground at the end of the meeting.

At the Antipodes

At the recent conference of the League of Nations Union of New Zealand, many resolutions of interest were passed with a view to stimulating the Dominion to a greater activity in League affairs. Perhaps the most interesting was a request that New Zealand be represented at the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation. At the Assembly it

was felt that there should be more than one delegate, and that among the delegation there should always be one woman. The conference, showing how it took its responsibility as a mandatory power and conscious of the difficulty of understanding the mentality of the Samoan, suggested that all officials proceeding to Samoa should be given adequate training for their duties and that anthropology should form part of their education. The League of Nations Union at the Antipodes is doing excellent work in the schools and is founding numerous local branches. This year it is hoped to have a salaried lecturer who will tour round and so keep this flourishing three-year-old alive. We take this opportunity of wishing every success to all those who are doing this work in the Dominion.

"The Road"

There comes to our notice a reprint of the Bishop of Winchester's recent speech, broadcast from York Minster, to be used as an "inset" for parish magazines, prepared by the Abbots Morton Branch. It is obtainable through the Reverend A. Dauncey, Rous Lench Rectory, Evesham, and is priced at rs. 6d. per 100 copies.

A League Fair

The Edinburgh Branch and the East of Scotland District Council are bringing the nations to Edinburgh on October 26 and 27, when they are holding a League of Nations Fancy Fair. At the Music Hall, George Street, there will be enough to interest everybody. Whether it is a present of foreign origin or amusement that is sought, all will be there for the finding.

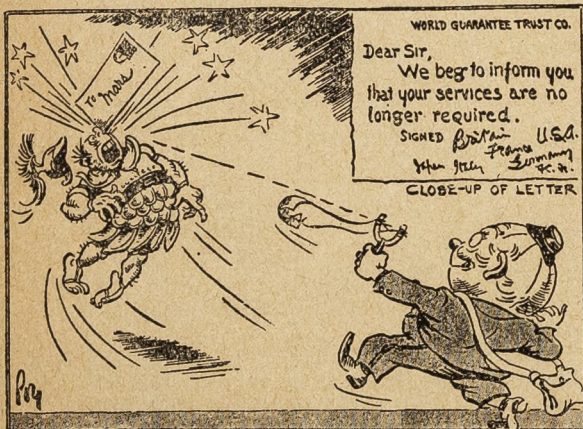
Tasmanian Notes

The visit of the Japanese training squadron to Hobart was made the occasion for a "Service of Goodwill," at which the President of the Tasmanian League of Nations Union delivered the address. The occasion for many was notable in that this was the first time that a member of the Royal House of Japan had attended a Christian Service.

A new feature in the State schools is drill at which the children are grouped on a map of the world representing the various nations, and then "marched past" a saluting base in a body to represent a League of Nations. The teacher then delivers the following exhortation:—

"Children, you represent the League of Nations. The British Empire is a leader in the League of Nations, which exists to prevent another war. The Empire is loyal to the League of Nations, and we must be loyal to the Empire."

Constant agitation is being made to persuade the Australian Government to sign the "Optional Clause."



LETTERS BY CATAPULT

The use of the "Catapult" for expediting the delivery of mails is being pressed forward in France

(By kind permission of "The Evening News")

Broadcastings

Every Thursday, after the second General News Bulletin, Mr. Vernon Bartlett speaks from the London Studio on "The Way of the World."

October 10, 7 p.m., 2LO, Mr. Wickham Steed will speak on "An Eyewitness of the Ninth Assembly."

October 26, 8 p.m., 5GB, the Prime Minister's speech will be broadcast from the League of Nations Union's Birthday Meeting at the Albert Hall, London.

In November, Mr. H. M. Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Organisation, and Dame Rachel Crowdy, Director of the League's Humanitarian Work, are hoping to be able to get to England to speak to listeners on their respective tasks.

New Publications

- No. 254. "Geneva and the Health of Nations."
No. 255. "The League Cares for the Homeless."
No. 256. "Feeding the World."

Meetings in October

Date.	Place.	Speakers.
Oct. 5	Birmingham (in connection with Labour Party Conference).	Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., and Mr. A. Hayday, M.P.
" 5-8	Scottish National Council Autumn School, Dunblane.	Mr. Jan Mazaryk, General Crozier and Colonel Carnegie.
" 8	Halifax	M. Mazaryk.
" 9	Buxton	Lord Cecil.
" 11	Southend, Cliff Town Congregational Church.	Lord Cecil.
" 11	Carshalton Public Hall, 8.15 p.m.	Lord Meston.
" 14	Yarmouth (in connection with Annual Conference of National Liberal Federation).	Sir Charles Hobhouse, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and F. Kingsley Griffiths, Esq.
" 22	Finchley	Lord Cecil.
" 24	Leicester	Lord Cecil.
" 25	Crumpsall	Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P.
" 26	Albert Hall	Mr. Baldwin, Lord Grey and Mr. J. R. Clynes.
" 31	South London Tabernacle	Lord Meston.

The Council's Vote

The following is a list of branches which have completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1928:—Bramhall, Blantisham, Crawley, Heywood, Gedhott West, Ch. Huddersfield, Kings Lynn, Maldon and Heybridge, Manchester District, Oxted, Silvertown: Tenterden.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

Total number of enrolments as recorded at Headquarters (less deaths and resignations):—

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	...	...	...	...	587,221
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Sept. 15, 1928	...	...	...	...	719,664

On Sept. 15th, 1928, there were 2,710 Branches, 607 Junior Branches, 136 Districts, 2,679 Corporate Members and 444 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh Council of L.N.U., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.