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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THERE still appears to be every prospect that the central place in the Geneva discussions of this month will be held by the Briand proposals for a European Federation. Replies from all European Governments addressed have now been received, with a result which from one aspect, at any rate, may be regarded as distinctly satisfactory. M. Briand's inquiry has resolved itself unintentionally into what a leading French journalist describes as "a plebiscite on the League of Nations." Practically every reply received has laid stress on the vital necessity of maintaining the League as the central instrument for the organisation of world peace and for preserving it against the danger of competition with any new and rival organisation that may be created in Europe. Apart from this a great diversity of opinions has been expressed, but so far as the inquiry did convert itself into a plebiscite on the League, the League has every reason to be gratified with the response forthcoming. The declarations against a European Assembly, Council and Secretariat are sufficiently weighty to make it practically certain that that part of M. Briand's proposals must be abandoned.

China and the Council

IN an article in last month's HEADWAY a Chinese writer put in the most favourable light possible China's case for election to a seat on the League Council this month. He argued, no doubt with justice, that however China might be divided

internally, all parties were agreed on questions on foreign policy and in particular on the necessity of the country being accorded her rightful place at Geneva. However true that may be, it is obviously difficult to elect to a seat on the Council a Government too conspicuously lacking in authority in its own country and not sufficiently supplied with funds to enable it to discharge its financial obligations to the League. For that reason the ebb and flow of the civil war is a process with some necessary bearing on the Council seat question. The most recent news at the time of writing would appear to indicate that the tide is turning once more in favour of the Nanking Government. If that Government should achieve any considerable permanent success it would make China's election much easier. To accord China a seat simply in the hope of increasing the prestige of the national government would be to use the League unjustifiably in the interests of a particular section in a particular country.

Arbitrate First

THE most important of the resolutions of the recent Lambeth Conference on the subject of "Peace and War" are printed in another column of this issue. One of the resolutions in particular arrests attention, that, namely, which declares that when a nation has pledged itself by treaty to the peaceful settlement of international disputes the Christian Church in that country should refuse to countenance any war that may be entered on unless

the Government has declared itself ready to accept arbitration or conciliation on the question in dispute. This implies definitely, if words have any meaning, that the Church would approve, or at any rate, not disapprove, the refusal of individuals to take part in a war entered on in the circumstances described. So far as our own country is concerned, we are entitled to assume that there never will be a case in which a British Government would refuse arbitration or conciliation, though it may be added that there have occasionally been speeches by prominent statesmen which might convey the contrary impression. It is doing bare justice to a handful of individuals who a few years ago started an organisation known as "The Arbitrate First Bureau," to recognise that the Anglican Church, as represented by its Bishops in conference, has now publicly adopted as its own substantially the principle which this small organisation attempted without conspicuous success to popularise.

Off the Stage

THE decision of the Lithuanian Government to banish from the capital to a remote provincial retreat the late Prime Minister, M. Augustinas Voldemaras, has been received with special interest in League of Nations circles. M. Voldemaras has for years been one of the stormy petrels of Geneva. He represented Lithuania at the first encounter between that country and Poland before the League Council as long ago as 1920, and he continued to fill that rôle down to the date of the last Assembly. It was, indeed, while he was at Geneva in September of 1929 that the President of Lithuania decided to appoint another Prime Minister in his stead. This was something of a *coup d'état*, for M. Voldemaras had been virtually Dictator of Lithuania since 1926. Lithuanian questions will be before the Council this month, and it has been rather too hastily assumed that M. Voldemaras' disappearance will improve the relations between his country and Poland. That by no means follows, for the general public opinion of Lithuania upon the subject of Vilna is very much the same as the opinion of M. Voldemaras himself. What may be hoped, and indeed assumed with some confidence, is that the late Dictator's successor as Foreign Minister, Dr. Zaunius, will be a good deal less tiresome in his appearances before the Council than the Dictator invariably chose to be.

Lithuanians and Poles

DR. ZAUNIUS is likely to have to argue two cases before the Council, both of them connected with the same eternal subject of Vilna, and the closed frontier maintained by Lithuania between herself and Poland in consequence of Lithuania's views on the injustice of the Polish occupation of Vilna. The League's Transit Committee will bring before the Council certain proposals for the opening of the frontier at one point to through international traffic (this does not include traffic merely from Poland to Lithuania or *vice versa*), and Dr. Zaunius will have to accept or reject the proposal. At the same time, he himself is suggesting that with a view to avoiding incidents between Polish and Lithuanian guards on the frontier, or to minimising the consequences of such incidents if they should occur, some special commission with a League representa-

tive on it should be appointed to deal immediately on the spot with such occurrences. In this case it will be for the Poles to say whether they accept the idea of such special arrangements on this frontier in particular. The presence of an impartial League representative in an area where difficulties frequently occur might have its value, and, on the whole, there is more to be said for the Lithuanian proposal than against it.

Oxford and the League

BOTH a personal and a general interest attaches to the appointment of Mr. A. E. Zimmern, Deputy-Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, as the first occupant of the new Chair of International Relations at Oxford. To introduce Professor Zimmern to HEADWAY readers would be almost an insult to him. By his writings, his conduct of the Geneva School of International Studies and by his daily lectures during the Assembly each year, Mr. Zimmern has made himself well known to a multitude of readers of this journal. No one is better qualified to fulfil the purposes of the new Chair founded on the basis of funds offered by Mr. Montague Burton, namely, the delivery of lectures on international relations with special reference to the League of Nations. It is a notable fact that within the last ten years three such Chairs should have been founded at British Universities, that in the University of Wales, held first by Mr. Zimmern and now by Mr. C. K. Webster, that in London held first by Mr. Noel Baker and now by Mr. Manning, and now the Oxford Chair with Mr. Zimmern as the first Professor. Oxford, it may be added, with four of its Chairs held by men so intimately familiar with the work of the League as Professor Gilbert Murray, Professor de Madariaga, Professor Brierly and Professor Zimmern, is acquiring an authority all its own on international affairs.

Minority Petitions

IN the middle of last year the Council of the League of Nations decided to revise its procedure with regard to petitions concerning the treatment of Minorities, and, among other things, to publish statistics of the cases dealt with. The first published figures have just been issued and they do not convey a very encouraging impression. In the twelve months between June 13, 1929 (the date of the Council's resolution on the subject), and May 31, 1930, 57 petitions were received by the League Secretariat, out of which 26 were ruled out as "non-receivable" because they did not comply with the quite reasonable conditions laid down. In other words, close on 50 per cent. were condemned. The number of petitions whose examination by a Minorities Committee was completed in the course of the year was 29, but of these 20 had been received during the previous year. It appears, therefore, that of the 31 petitions admitted as receivable during the period 1929-30, only 9 were disposed of in the course of the year. No particulars are added as to the fate the petitions met with at the hands of the different committees. The increased publicity promised by the Council does not seem to amount to much.

The Palace in the Air

IT appears that the Assembly delegates who watched the foundation stone of the League's new buildings laid a year ago are not after all to return to Geneva this month to see the site looking precisely as it has looked for twelve months. In view, possibly, of the advent of the said delegates, the Building Committee has galvanised itself into sudden activity and has set gangs of men levelling and building roads. To that extent its aspect in September, 1930, will differ to some extent from the aspect in September, 1929. So far, however, as the actual building goes, it will be represented still by the single stone, for builders' tenders are not due till the middle of October. The expectation, however, has been officially proclaimed that the Assembly Hall, at any rate, will be ready for the Assembly of 1933. It would be rash to count on any such achievement, but it is something, at any rate, that the hope should be entertained.

A Canadian Leader

THE announcement that Canada has appointed Sir Robert Borden as delegate to this month's Council Meeting at Geneva, and presumably as chief delegate to the Assembly also, is proof that the senior Dominion is taking its duties to the League of Nations as seriously as it has always taken them. The new Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. R. B. Bennett, will be prevented by a special session of Parliament from getting to Geneva at all, and in his absence no one better than Sir Robert Borden could have been chosen. Sir Robert must now be regarded as the chief of Canada's elder statesmen. He is a former Prime Minister and attended the Peace Conference and the Washington Naval Conference of 1921 as chief Canadian delegate. He has always been an unflinching supporter of the League of Nations and in inviting him to go to Geneva the new Canadian Premier has rendered the League a notable service.

The New Judges

ONE of the more important of the several matters to be dealt with at the League Assembly is the election of the judges of the World Court of International Justice. The whole of the eleven judges go out of office at the end of this year and if, as is probable, the new regulations increasing the number are approved, fifteen new members of the Court will have to be chosen this month. Several of the present judges will no doubt be re-elected, including in all likelihood the British member, Sir Cecil Hurst, who was chosen only a year ago to succeed the late Lord Finlay. Among distinguished Americans who have been nominated for a seat is the late Secretary of State, Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, the joint author of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. His name has been put forward by Denmark and U.S.A. Great, however, though the service Mr. Kellogg has rendered to the world is, his distinctions have not been gained in the field of international law, knowledge of which should be an essential qualification for a seat on the Bench of the World Court.

"The 519th Meeting"

ONE possible danger about an institution like the Permanent Court of International Justice is that States may be tempted to resort to it without

making any serious attempt to settle their differences by agreement first. A case actually before the Court last month, concerning a dispute between Greece and Bulgaria over a rather obscure emigration question, provides an extreme example of the opposite tendency. The question fell properly in the first instance under the jurisdiction of a mixed commission on which both countries were represented, and in a letter to the Secretary-General of the League requesting that the matter be finally handed on to the Court it is remarked that "at the 519th meeting" the representatives of the two bodies on the mixed commission declared their willingness to submit the question to the Court. Five hundred odd attempts to reach a settlement by agreement before final reference to the World Court is no such bad record.

Costa Rica Returns

IT has been announced that the President of Costa Rica will not exercise his right of veto against the decision taken by Congress in favour of a return to membership of the League of Nations. Costa Rica left the League a few years ago owing to difficulties consequent on the non-payment of her subscription, but a feeling soon manifested itself in favour of a return to Geneva, and it appears now that a decision to that effect has been definitely taken. It may be hoped, therefore, that a Costa Rican delegation will be present in the Assembly Hall this month. Unfortunately, the Argentine Republic and Brazil will, to all appearance, still be absentees, though the Argentine remains technically a member of the League, and Brazil is still an active member of the International Labour Organisation.

The League and the Lungs

A LEAGUE of Nations Conference in South Africa is something new. Indeed, Mr. E. J. Phelan, of the International Labour Office, in presiding last month at the Conference in question, the subject of which was silicosis, went so far as to state that this was the first Conference convened outside Europe by an organ of the League of Nations. That does not seem quite accurate, for there has been at least one conference in South America, that on Infant Mortality, convened by the Health Organisation of the League. That, however, was for South American States alone, whereas it can be claimed for the Silicosis Conference at Johannesburg that it was attended by delegates from distant continents like Europe and North America. But what, it may be asked at this point, is silicosis? The name indicates a disease of the lungs, a form of consumption to which workers in certain industries are peculiarly susceptible. It is produced by the action of dust on the lungs and attacks in particular miners and quarrymen of different kinds. Gold-miners suffer seriously from it, which is one reason why this conference has been called in the gold-mining area of South Africa. The United States, Germany, Great Britain and Australia, are among the States that have sent delegates, and quite apart from the intrinsic value of the conclusions which the Conference may reach as to the cause and cure or prevention of the disease, this demonstration of the League's activity in a country like South Africa should have an importance of its own.

HOW THE LEAGUE STOPS WAR RAPID ACTION IN THE RED AND BLUE DISPUTE

SPECIAL REPORT FROM GENEVA.

The air manoeuvres held in Great Britain last month ended at dawn on the 15th, "the Powers," according to the official announcement, "having agreed to accept the mediation of the League of Nations in their dispute." It is gratifying that the two Powers concerned, Redland and Blueland, should have decided to recognise the League's authority even so late in the day. When air warfare is in question events of necessity move rapidly and this particular war began with a short ultimatum, on whose expiration the Blueland forces opened a concentrated attack on Redland territory. The League, however, can move rapidly in an emergency, too, and it may be of value here to describe in some detail the steps which led, in the cold official phraseology of the British Air Ministry, to the two Powers agreeing to accept the mediation of the League.

THE dispute between Redland and Blueland having developed with remarkable suddenness, owing to the high-handed action of the Blueland Cabinet in presenting unexpected demands to Redland at the point of an ultimatum (as the result of an attack made by a Redland mob on the residence and person of the Blueland Ambassador, Señor José Ultramarino), the League Council had no intimation in advance that any strained situation existed. The first knowledge of the crisis acquired in Geneva, apart from certain unconfirmed rumours circulated in the B.B.C.'s Second News Bulletin from London, to which one or two English-speaking members of the Secretariat happened to listen, was derived from an urgent telegram addressed to the Secretary-General by the Redland Cabinet appealing for League action under Article XI of the Covenant.*

First News at Geneva

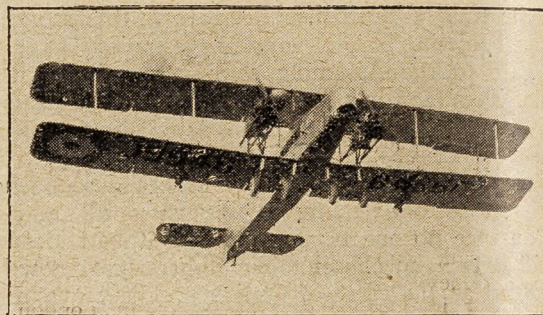
The telegram reached Geneva between 3 and 4 a.m. on August 12th, the ultimatum being due to expire at 11 a.m. the same day. The Geneva Telegraph Office



immediately despatched the message to the Secretariat by the pneumatic tube which connects the two buildings, and it was dealt with forthwith by the resident clerk (there is always an official in residence at night for emergency duties) who was in communication with the Secretary-General as soon as the latter had had time to don dressing-gown and slippers and get down from his bedroom to his study. The Secretary-General's

* "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council."

first act was to give orders that the Wireless Station at Prangins should at once be taken over by the League under emergency orders and he then and there dictated a message to the President of the Council (it happened this time to be the Dutch member) informing him of the Redland appeal and stating that he, Sir Eric Drummond, was summoning the Council for the following Thursday, as Article XI requires him to do on the request of any member of the League.



The Council Summoned

By nine o'clock the same morning (Tuesday) summonses had already been despatched to all fourteen members of the Council to a meeting to be held at Geneva at 11 a.m. on Thursday the 14th. Redland was also, in accordance with Article IV† of the Covenant, invited to be represented. (Blueland, being an elected member of the Council, would be present in any case.) Simultaneously the League's air experts were turning up the route-charts showing how any Council members arriving by air would travel, with a view to advising all countries likely to be flown over by aeroplanes bearing the special League mark, so that all delays and impediments might be avoided. At the same time the Cointrin aerodrome at Geneva was warned of the probable arrival of Council members, and cars were ordered in readiness to convey them immediately to League headquarters.

The President's Telegram—

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General having had a long conversation with the President of the Council by telephone, an urgent telegram was despatched in the President's name to the Governments of Blueland and Redland, reminding them that by their action they were violating their most solemn engagements as signatories of the Covenant, and calling on them to cease hostilities forthwith and submit their quarrel to the League. (It was necessary, obviously, at this juncture to avoid all prejudgment of the issue and address both disputants in identical terms, in spite of the probability that one of them might be found in the end to be the more responsible for the conflict and the other to have acted mainly on the defensive.)

† "Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a Member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League."

—And the Two Replies

The President's message was acknowledged by both parties. The Blueland Foreign Minister explained that the action his Government had reluctantly felt itself compelled to take was the only course open to it in view of the refusal of Redland to make immediate apology and reparation for the intolerable insults offered to the Blueland diplomatic representative in the Redland capital. He added, however, that no State member of the League was more firmly resolved to fulfil its obligations conscientiously than his own, and that he would welcome any action at Geneva calculated to secure the cessation of conflict and the vindication of justice. The Redland reply was confined to the declaration that Redland had done no more than defend its own frontiers when they were suddenly and unwarrantably attacked and that it placed itself unreservedly in the hands of the League. It would be represented at the Council meeting on the 14th by its Foreign Minister, who was travelling partly by train and partly by air.

Delegates Arrive

Nothing further of importance took place before the actual meeting of the Council on the Thursday, but hostilities continued in the meantime, neither side gaining any marked advantage, though three or four isolated Blueland bombers penetrated the Redland defence and did considerable damage in the important mining area of Neurothen. At the Council table twelve of the fourteen regular delegates were present in their places, several of them, including the British, Swedish and Greek members, having travelled from their respective capitals by air, while those coming from Madrid, Warsaw and other centres, divided their patronage between aeroplane and train. Two countries, Canada and Japan, whose regular delegates were unable to reach Geneva, were represented by their High Commissioner in Paris and Ambassador in London respectively. The Redland Foreign Minister, Herr Weisskopf, attended as promised.

Jonkheer van Stuyven (Holland), as President, had a slightly delicate task before him in holding the balance scrupulously even between his own Council colleague, the Blueland delegate, and Herr Weisskopf, who was a member of the Council for that occasion only as representing Redland. Fortunately M. Stuyven is a personality of considerable force and his handling of the situation left nothing to be desired.

The Secretary-General, having indicated briefly the circumstances under which the Council had been summoned, mentioned that all papers relating to recent relations between Redland and Blueland were available in the room, together with a statement of the latest military position.

The President then immediately addressed the representatives of the two countries, emphasising the deep concern with which all his colleagues, like the general public in, he believed, every country of the world, had learned of the unlicensed resort to arms by two members of the League of Nations, who had bound themselves by the most solemn undertaking never to resort to war till the alternatives of a settlement by conciliation or arbitration or by reference to the World Court had been exhaustively explored. He could only express the earnest hope that then and there, in the presence of their colleagues on the Council, at a meeting on which the eyes of the whole world were fixed, the representatives of the two countries concerned would be able to give a definite assurance that the fighting still in progress should immediately be stopped and methods of settlement in consonance with the provisions of a Covenant of which both were original signatories be substituted.

The Blueland delegate was the first of the two disputants to speak. He desired, he said, to begin by

expressing his unqualified respect and that of the Government he represented, for the high authority of the League of Nations. Nothing but a situation demanding immediate and drastic action would have led his country to move a single gun or despatch a single aeroplane across the Redland frontier. Never was a country more reluctant to have such action forced on it. But he could, he was convinced, prove conclusively to the Council that the real responsibility for the present unhappy situation lay not with his country but with—

At this point the President of the Council intervened. He regretted, he said, to interrupt the honourable delegate for Blueland, but he must make it unmistakably clear that there was at that moment one question, and one question only, before the Council—whether the two Governments were prepared to give immediate orders for a cessation of hostilities. It would be necessary for the original causes of the dispute, and the question of responsibility for aggression, to be examined from every angle, on the basis of the fullest evidence that could be assembled, and the Council would certainly not shirk its duty in that respect. But first things must come first, and the first thing in this case was to secure a complete and permanent cessation of hostilities. As he had found it necessary to interrupt his colleague from Blueland he would put to him first the definite question—was he prepared to give an assurance to the Council that his country would cease hostilities and entrust the settlement of its dispute to the League of Nations? He proposed, he added, to address precisely the same question to the Redland delegate.

The Blueland delegate, speaking with some emotion, replied that he regretted he was not at that moment in a position to give the assurance required. He had come to Geneva to explain the action his country, confident in the justice of its cause, had found it necessary to take, but he could not, without further reference to his Government, give the binding undertaking the President had asked for.

The President observed that he had hoped the Blueland delegate would have obtained the necessary powers before he left his capital for Geneva. The League's wireless station was, however, at his disposal. Would he communicate with his Government and have an answer ready to present to the Council if it met again that evening?

The Blueland delegate said he would certainly make the desired communication at once, but he could not promise that his answer would be ready for a meeting that evening. It was obvious that a meeting of the Blueland Cabinet would be necessary. Meanwhile he thought it would be reasonable that the President should at once seek a similar undertaking from the Redland representative.

The President replied that he had been about to take that course, and forthwith called on the Redland delegate.

M. Weisskopf spoke briefly and slowly. His country, he said, compelled to defend itself against an unprovoked attack, had immediately taken the course prescribed by the Covenant and appealed to the League under Article XI of the Covenant. Redland was ready to put itself completely in the hands of the League and to cease its military action, which throughout had been wholly defensive, the moment Blueland was prepared to do the same.

Waiting for Blueland

After all the members of the Council had successively urged both parties to respond fully and immediately to the appeal the President had addressed to them, the meeting was adjourned till 6.30 that evening, or such other hour as the Secretary-General might indicate (after consultation with the President) by special

messages to the delegates. The British, French, German and Italian members lunched together at the Hotel des Bergues, and it is understood that they discussed informally the measures it might be necessary to take under Article XVI of the Covenant in the event of either of the two parties continuing recalcitrant.

As things turned out the second meeting of the Council was not held till 9.30 p.m., news having been received from the Blueand capital that the Cabinet was to meet at 5 o'clock to consider the answer to be given to the League. When delegates had taken their seats the President turned at once to the Redland representative and repeated the question he had put to him at the morning session. M. Sagesati, who had laid a decoded telegram on the table before him, replied, speaking with obvious relief, that he had now the authority of his Government to state that they were prepared to order the cessation of hostilities provided the Redland Government took the same action simultaneously.

The President remarked that the fulfilment of that condition was already assured, for the Redland delegate had declared himself at the morning session prepared to give the desired pledge. It was now close on 10 p.m. He assumed that both delegates would communicate with their Governments forthwith. Could the Council take it that orders would be given on both sides for hostilities to cease at dawn?

Both the Blueand and Redland delegates assented.

The French delegate raised the question of the execution of this pledge. While he had complete confidence in the good faith of both Governments he thought it was only right that Council members should remain at Geneva till it had been ascertained by independent observers that the fighting had in fact actually ended. The warfare had been almost entirely aerial, and probably aerial reconnaissance by such observers would be desirable. At any rate, aerial transport represented the quickest means of arriving at the scene of action. He proposed that five officers from air forces of States members of the Council should be instructed to assemble as soon as possible at a given point on the Blueand-Redland frontier and arrange to survey the whole length of the frontier as soon as possible. A report could be in the hands of the League in not much over 36 hours. He would be prepared to have a French officer detached for this purpose if desired.

The British delegate supported this proposal and suggested that the Council's observers should consist of a French, a Danish, a German, an Italian and a Spanish officer, the Spanish officer to undertake general direction of the survey. The Danish, German, Italian and Spanish delegates having expressed themselves as certain that their Governments would at once detach officers for this purpose, the proposal was adopted.

The Cease Fire

The Council held its third meeting on Saturday, August 16, to receive the required report from the committee of observers. It was decided to hold a special session of the Council on September 1, at which the question of responsibility for the conflict would be investigated.

After general expressions of satisfaction by the President and other delegates at the response made by the two disputants to the Council's appeal, and a warm acknowledgment by the Redland representative of the effect of the League's intervention, the Council adjourned.

NOTE.—This account of a League Council meeting is, of course, as imaginary as the Air Ministry's announcement that war between Redland and Blueand had been ended because the Powers concerned had agreed to accept the League's mediation. But it is based throughout on actual occurrences, particularly those in connection with the Greco-Bulgarian dispute of 1925, and gives an accurate picture of the League's procedure in an emergency.

THE BISHOPS ON PEACE AND WAR

NOTABLE pronouncements on the subject of "Peace and War" and on the duty of support of the League of Nations are embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference, which closed early last month.

In the general encyclical letter issued by the Conference thankfulness is expressed "for the achievements of the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact which condemns war as a means for settling international disputes." But it is in the resolutions adopted by the Conference that the most arresting declaration by the Bishops occurs. The following four resolutions fall under the heading of "Peace and War." The declaration of the duty of supporting the League of Nations Union will be noted:—

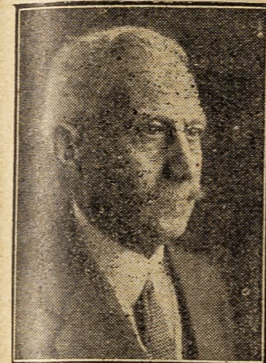
25. The Conference affirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ.
26. The Conference believes that peace will never be achieved till international relations are controlled by religious and ethical standards, and that the moral judgment of humanity needs to be enlisted on the side of peace. It therefore appeals to the religious leaders of all nations to give their support to the effort to promote those ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice for which the League of Nations stands. The Conference welcomes the agreement made by leading statesmen of the world in the names of their respective peoples, in which they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another and agree that the settlement of all disputes which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means: and appeals to all Christian people to support this agreement to the utmost of their power and to help actively, by prayer and effort, agencies (such as the League of Nations Union and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches) which are working to promote goodwill among the nations.
27. When nations have solemnly bound themselves by Treaty, Covenant or Pact for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the Conference holds that the Christian Church in every nation should refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the Government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation.
28. The Conference believes that the existence of armaments on the present scale amongst the nations of the world endangers the maintenance of peace, and appeals for a determined effort to secure further reduction by international agreement.

Two other resolutions under the same general heading deal with social and economic evils as a menace to peace and with the League's effort to control and limit the traffic in dangerous drugs.

GENEVA'S MONTH

A FORECAST OF THE ASSEMBLY DISCUSSIONS

WHAT may be termed Geneva's annual month opens with the 60th meeting of the League of Nations Council on the 8th, followed by the Assembly on the 10th. Various technical Committees will also be in session during the early days of the month.



Senor Zumeta

Readers of HEADWAY are in the main no doubt familiar with the regular Assembly procedure, which consists of some days of general discussion followed by a period of a fortnight or more of concentrated committee work, all the subjects before the Assembly being divided up and allocated to one or another of the six Commissions (on legal questions, technical organisations, disarmament, internal business, social questions, political questions, respectively) which are regularly constituted every year. In the last week or ten days the Assembly in plenary session receives the reports of these Commissions, and, for the most part, approves them without prolonged discussion.

The Principal Delegates

Not all countries have appointed their Assembly delegates at the moment of writing and no full lists of outstanding personalities can, therefore, be compiled. The principal British delegates, as has already been stated in HEADWAY, are Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Minister; Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, and Lord Cecil. For France, M. Briand will be conspicuous, with two Cabinet Ministers as colleagues. The personnel of the German delegation is uncertain, for most unfortunately a General Election in that country takes place on September 14, just after the Assembly opens, and it is impossible to foresee what Ministers will be in office when the result of the voting is known. The probability is that Dr. Curtius will still be Foreign Minister. Signor Grandi, the Italian Foreign Minister, will no doubt be at the head of his own delegation, and several notable figures are expected from the British Dominions, including General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Scullin, Prime Minister of Australia. As stated elsewhere, the chief Canadian delegate will be Sir Robert Borden, for the new Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, will be kept at home by his parliamentary duties. The absence of the familiar and arresting figure of Dr. Nansen will be universally deplored.

The Assembly is being held experimentally in a different building from that occupied in previous years, namely, the Bâtiment Electoral, and a serious endeavour is to be made to impart a little necessary dignity and order into the proceedings. An improvement in these respects is gravely needed.

What They Will Talk About

Several of the principal subjects to be dealt with have already been discussed in HEADWAY, but it may be for the convenience of readers who desire to follow the Assembly as intelligently as possible through the daily newspaper reports to enumerate briefly here the most important questions likely to arise.

European Federation.—The scheme, prepared by M. Briand since the last Assembly met for some form of European Federation, has not been placed definitely on the Assembly agenda, and it is possible that any formal discussions regarding it may take place outside the Assembly Hall rather than inside. It is certain, however, that the subject will figure largely in Assembly speeches.

Amending the Covenant.—As a result of the proposal made by the British delegation last year, that the League Covenant should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, which prohibits war altogether, a series of amendments has been drafted by a special committee and these will now be presented to the Assembly. Considerable opposition has been raised in Great Britain to one of the amendments, which authorises the Council to take whatever measures may be necessary to give effect to any decision it may have reached unanimously (apart from the votes of the parties concerned) on a dispute submitted to it.

League Organisation.—As indicated elsewhere, the report of the committee appointed last year to consider conditions of service in the League Secretariat is disapproved by the German and Italian Governments, particularly the latter, and an Italian Note criticising the predominance of British and French citizens in the Secretariat has been published. A lively discussion on this subject is in prospect.

Disarmament.—It is generally assumed that the League's Preparatory Commission, which meets at the beginning of November, will be able to clear up its business sufficiently to pave the way for the holding of the World Disarmament Conference some time next year. This course is likely to be urged at the Assembly, which may feel it desirable to fix an actual date for the Conference.

World Court of Justice.—The whole of the bench of judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice goes out of office at the end of 1930, and the Assembly and the Council, voting simultaneously, will be required to elect a new bench. Several of the present judges are in any case retiring.

General Act.—The Ninth Assembly two years ago gave its approval to a document known as "The General Act," providing machinery for the peaceful settlement of all disputes not dealt with by the Permanent Court. Only six nations have so far adhered to the Act, but it is expected that several others will this year announce their intention of doing so. There may be also a question of revising the Act in certain particulars.

Council Election.—Three members of the League Council—Finland, Cuba and Canada—retire by rotation this year, and their seats have to be filled. It is generally assumed that the new Council members will be chosen from among the following States: Norway, Greece, Guatemala and China. Main interest centres around the candidature of China, owing to the strong claims that country is putting forward in spite of the unfortunate political condition in which it finds itself. There is some feeling in British circles that another British Dominion should succeed Canada, and if a

Dominion candidate should be proposed it will be the more difficult for China to gain a place in the face of such competition.

New Members.—It does not at present seem likely that any fresh application for membership of the League will be received, though there has been some expectation that Mexico might apply. Costa Rica, however, which retired a few years ago, is understood to be returning.

While the principal subjects which will almost certainly come under discussion have been here enumerated, it must always be remembered that at the Assembly it is the unexpected which commonly happens. There is every possibility, therefore, that some new issue may arise which will engage public attention quite as fully as any of those here mentioned.

IMPORTED PUPILS EXCHANGING ENGLISH BOYS FOR GERMAN

By G. McWILLIE.

THE growing importance of modern foreign languages, both from the commercial and the cultural point of view, has given German a popularity greater than it ever enjoyed before the War in this country, and when in 1927 the Chatham Junior Technical School was allowed to incorporate a foreign language into the curriculum, German was chosen. At this school the course of study lasts but three years, for boys from the age of 13 to 16, and as that is but a short period in which to attempt to master a foreign tongue, the language master (viz., myself) cast about for some method of giving his pupils a more intensive course of study than the usual. A chance visit of a Bremen school leader to Chatham led the way to an exchange of letters between one of the Chatham classes and a group of boys in the Realschule-Altstadt of Bremen. This correspondence ripened into the well-known exchange of pupils during the months of June and July of last year, the chief features of which were that the boys exchanged homes and attended the school of the town which they were visiting. This experiment was so successful that not only was it repeated this year, but I organised a similar exchange with Solingen, in which 25 English boys visited this town during April, while the German boys spent August in Chatham.

Grammar or Conversation ?

These exchanges were organised primarily to accelerate the pupils' mastery of the foreign tongue they were learning at school, and here the experiments have been extremely successful for all concerned. Had these boys never gone abroad the language would in all likelihood have remained a series of grammar rules with their appropriate exceptions, that would never have risen to life out of the dead pages of the text-book. The success has shown itself in three ways: (1) the pupils understand the correctly spoken English or German of ordinary daily conversation, (2) they are able to express themselves in simple phrases, (3) they can write at great length in the foreign tongue about their visits abroad.

Though this linguistic success has been very gratifying, it was noticed in the very first exchange that there were far greater results accruing than mere language-learning. Our English boys were getting to know Germany and Germans at first hand as well as their language. The young people saw in each the human being in the first instance, and almost ignored the accidental fact of their being English or German. It was as if in their attitude they were echoing the words of St. Paul, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free." The parents, too, did all in their power to make their young guests feel at home, and many parents on both sides wrote letters to each other expressing thanks for the kindnesses shown to their boys. In a word the experiments were something far bigger than mere exchanges of some 40 or 50 boys. They involved whole families, and aided by the local Press became known

throughout the town and surrounding districts. The numerous invitations and offers of hospitality from firms and private people all served to deepen the good impressions which every boy formed of the land and people among whom he sojourned.

Revised Aversions

Boys usually have no prejudices to live down with regard to foreign nations. They are conscious of no past which might poison present opinions. But, owing to war-time propaganda, English parents might have influenced their boys against the Germans and *vice versa*. One mother told me that the chief reason why she did not let her son go to Germany during the first exchange was that she lost her husband in the War, being left with four children, none of whom were over school age. But the similarity between the Bremen visitors and her own people had convinced her that her attitude was wrong and she sent her boy with the second exchange. Another father I heard of had vowed never again to have any dealings with Germans, but the manly bearing and friendliness of the Bremen boys had completely changed him.

The boys themselves went about with their eyes wide open, as their diaries reveal. The English lads courageously noted everything that seemed superior in Germany. They praised German cleanliness and organising powers. They envied the German boys their magnificently equipped schools. They commented on their excellent tram services. They were struck by the splendour of German public buildings and by the absence of slums. Much they had to criticise. Most boys did not think highly of their police. They felt somehow the schools lacked that something or other which makes even youthful English schoolboys self-reliant. They did not, of course, have kind words for the third class railway carriages or for German roads; and there were difficulties with the food.

Unlike and Like

The people themselves the English boys appreciated very highly. Some boys who had previously the idea that everything foreign must be different from us, otherwise it would not be foreign, were amazed at the countless similarities between Englishmen and Germans. Others were struck more by the differences, but all realised that Germany was a country worth living in, and that Germans had their great contribution to make to the sum of European civilisation. No boy discovered that the Germans were a military nation; they noted that they were energetic enough and that they were clever at foreign languages, but they saw that these talents were put to ordinary peaceful uses. First-hand knowledge of a foreign nation is the best antidote to that fear which is the cause of all war, and it is a good philosophy that teaches that knowledge is the worst foe of evil.

MOBILISING KNOWLEDGE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION UNDER FIRE

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY

Many people very little familiar with Intellectual Co-operation as organised by the League of Nations know at any rate that Professor Gilbert Murray is the Chairman of the Committee which has the subject in hand. There have lately been severe criticisms of the Intellectual Co-operation enterprise, and the whole of the mechanism has been overhauled. In this article Professor Murray shows how and why.

INTELLECTUAL co-operation, like opium, is not nearly so soporific a subject as its name might imply. Perhaps the original proposal to create a Committee for that purpose did not



Prof. Murray

rouse much feeling, but the proposal to furnish the Committee with an Institute as an organ to work with gave rise to one of the few "scenes" in the history of the Assembly, when Mr. Charlton, the Australian Labour Delegate, openly opposed his own delegation, and now, after seven years, the scheme of reform proposed for the organisation by a unanimous international committee, under the Presidency of M. Roland Marcel, head of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has produced a storm in the more excitable organs of the Parisian Press. One set of newspapers has accused the Director of every obscure crime from "gabegie" to common barratry, while another has discovered that the whole scheme of reform is a Fascist plot, engineered by Signor Rocco, in order to destroy the Institute and undermine the prestige of France.

Let me explain first the outline of the organisation which was to be reformed. There is (1) the International C.I.C., or Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, consisting of fifteen savants of different nations; this is the supreme authority. (2) There are National Committees, which have only gradually come into existence, to advise and help the C.I.C. in matters affecting their own countries. (3) There is a small section of the Secretariat charged with the arrangements at Geneva. (4) There is an Institute in Paris, provided by the generosity of the French Government, to be the "executive organ" of the C.I.C. That is to say, when the C.I.C. decides that an inquiry is to be undertaken, a body of experts summoned, or the like, the Institute pursues the inquiry and organises the meetings.

A Pruning Operation

As to the Paris Institute in particular, it had suffered from what English people are apt to consider the demands of "the Latin mind": it had been started in too complete a form with six departments, six departmental heads, and an all too inclusive programme. Again, one result of the practice of holding only one annual meeting of the C.I.C. was that subjects were very imperfectly studied, or not studied at all, before being accepted by the Committee. When any member proposed a new subject, that extreme politeness which is a second nature in international bodies led to the proposal being practically always accepted and handed on to the Institute to treat as best it could. Such sifting as was absolutely necessary was left till some later stage. Under the reformed plan the organisation will be much less rigid; the staff, which, owing in part to political and diplomatic pressure, had been allowed to grow far too numerous, will be reduced; the salaries will be raised; every subject proposed for

study will be subjected to a preliminary inquiry to see whether any other institution is engaged upon it or is well fitted to undertake it, whether it will repay study, how the necessary experts are to be got together, and the like. The organisation will be more assimilated to that of the League Secretariat, and the relations between the two made more intimate. The regular instrument of study will be a Committee of Experts, summoned *ad hoc* for particular questions, meeting at the Institute, and provided with the necessary funds and secretarial help.

The New Director

Lastly, it is hoped that the new Director, M. Bonnet, whose work at the League has won the warmest confidence and admiration from all his collaborators, will succeed in winning the goodwill of the great savants who are so numerous and so influential in Paris. There are, of course, certain obvious disadvantages in having the Institute of a League Committee placed in Paris instead of Geneva—but there are advantages, too. And one of them is the presence in Paris of great museums, great libraries and great savants in almost every subject. To win the interest of savants of all nations, and to resist or evade the interest of politicians of all nations,



M. Bonnet.

to do good work and to eschew display; such will be the road of wisdom for the C.I.C. and for its Institute.

The Director Emeritus, M. Luchaire, a most accomplished man, from whom we shall all part with regret, has worked bravely at a difficult task, and has done all in his power to keep the Institute truly international. I may illustrate by an anecdote one of his difficulties. A few weeks ago a group of intellectual co-operators were being photographed outside Geneva, and, as chance would have it, there were two photographers present, one with an ordinary camera and one with a cinema. "Ne bougez pas, ne bougez pas!" cried the first. "Bougez, bougez, parlez!" shouted the second. "Those," observed M. Luchaire, "are just the kind of orders I used to receive from my Committee!"

What They are Driving At

Now that the organisation is reformed one may ask what exactly it proposes to do. That question cannot yet be answered. The programme is to be settled by the Executive Committee after the Assembly. It may be assumed that most of the existing activities will be continued; the Conferences for furthering co-operation between museums, libraries and the universities of Europe (those of Great Britain, unfortunately, are hardly affected) will go on with their useful work; the meetings of experts on the bibliography of the various sciences will continue their efforts to see that the discoveries or researches made in one country are immediately accessible to students of the same subject in other

countries; the problem of securing to inventors and artists some share in the product of their works will be further studied, and it is hoped that a definite international convention on the question will be prepared for acceptance; the various institutes for the study of international politics, like the "Hochschule für Politik," the "Ecole des Hautes Etudes Politiques," and our own Royal Institute of International Affairs, will continue to meet and study in co-operation the world problems which in the past were mostly studied in a spirit of national rivalry.

Meantime, the C.I.C. itself will continue its relations with the international student societies, greatly increase its undertakings in the way of exchanges, both of pupils

and teachers, and superintend the great enterprise now on foot in every State Member of the League, for giving League teaching to the new generation and training them to regard international co-operation as the normal method of human progress.

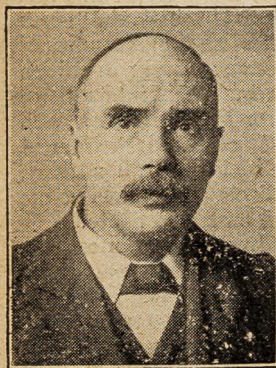
Beyond all these, the reform scheme has definitely put upon its programme a proposal for the international expert study of some one "major problem of general interest." When the time may be ripe, what the major problem selected should be, and how the embattled forces which resist all such inquiry may be overcome, are matters that must still be left upon the knees of the gods—or, if the gods are deaf, on those of the Executive Committee.

A DELEGATE'S FREEDOM UNOFFICIAL VIEWS AT THE ASSEMBLY

By THE RT. HON. GEORGE BARNES

In an article in last month's HEADWAY, discussing the degree of individual freedom allowed to a British delegate at the Assembly, reference was made to an occasion on which Mr. G. N. Barnes, a delegate at the First Assembly, voiced from the platform views which some at least of his fellow members of the British delegation avowedly did not share. In regard to this incident Mr. Barnes now sends the following instructive communication. It may be recalled that its writer was in the latter years of the War a member of the War Cabinet and in 1919 went to Paris as one of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference, setting his signature to the Treaty of Versailles in that capacity. He is, therefore, fully familiar with the discussions carried on at Paris in regard to the framing of the League of Nations Covenant.

IN last month's issue of HEADWAY I note an article by "A Former Delegate" on the question of the British representation at the League Assembly. The names of the delegates for the ensuing gathering are given and he poses the question, "Must they do as they are told." Then he sums up in the affirmative. And, of course, I agree if the question is confined to the vote or to the Government policy underlying the vote.



Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes

But the Assembly is a deliberative body. It reviews current events—may even review current tendencies; it has to discuss the report of its Executive; it may, and I think should on occasion, advise its commissions, and there is surely in these things ample scope for diversity of view without weakening of Government authority.

When President Wilson—on behalf of his colleagues of the League Commission—introduced the Covenant to the Paris Peace Conference, he laid stress upon the need, about which, he said, they were all agreed, for the voicing at Assembly of unofficial opinion. And, in 1919, everybody seemed to agree. At all events there was no dissent. And, as your anonymous contributor points out, I interpreted my mandate at the First Assembly in that light—a fact, however, which ended my career as Assembly delegate.

Criticising the Government

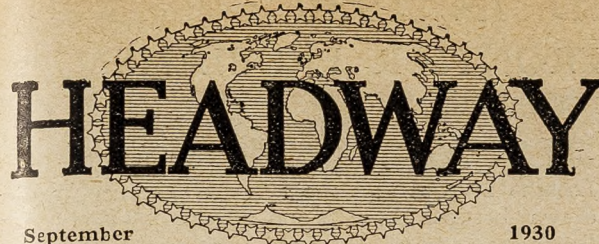
I ventured to voice an opinion, which I knew to be largely held here, in favour of an early admission of ex-enemy states to the League. I criticised the Council in regard to inaction *re* Polish aggression and I made a suggestion in regard to procedure which brought down upon me the fierce wrath of M. Viviani. Of course I made it clear on the major issues that I was not

speaking for my colleagues, but I made it no less clear, I hope, that I was not speaking for myself alone, as your contributor seems to imagine.

I believed then, and I believe now, that I was speaking the mind of a good many of my fellow countrymen who, like myself, were not of the Government of the time. What I said conflicted with the French and the Polish view of things, but, after all, the French and Polish view was expressed, and expressed, I may add, as regards the former, with a good deal more vehement oratory than I could command. No harm was done—unless possible curbing of French ascendancy could be so described—matters were ventilated which needed ventilation, and President Wilson's interpretation of the Covenant—shared by all his colleagues at Paris a year before—was upheld.

But there is no disguising the fact that since then unofficial opinions have been taboo. And the writer in last month's HEADWAY justifies the change. The Assembly, he says, would become a mere debating society if all the delegates cast off their fetters and gave expression to their inmost thoughts. With due deference I would reply that this is a misuse of words, to create a prejudice in the minds of his readers. No responsible person who had been honoured by being given a place as delegate at an Assembly would make such a preposterous claim. But there is a vast difference between that and voicing the thoughts of his fellow countrymen at variance with Government policy.

The latter, for instance, might include the preparations now going on for another war. This ought to be brought before the Assembly by someone, but most governments are perhaps too deeply involved to do it. Then there is the non-fulfilment of economic and other conventions which might be profitably discussed and related to world-wide unemployment. And, in this connection, emphasis might be laid on the need for world co-operation instead of hanging on to the remnants of insular national sovereignty which, in some respects, is being superseded, willy nilly, by private capitalist operations. Our Government might even welcome a free and open ventilation of matters upon which its official spokesmen could only speak with embarrassment.



BACK TO WORK

THE date of the League of Nations Assembly has been altered this year so that Ministers whose Parliamentary work in their own countries keeps them hard at it till the end of July or later may get the opportunity of an adequate holiday before they meet one another in the International Parliament at Geneva.

That is reasonable and wise, and should enable them to come with fresher minds to the tasks awaiting them at the Assembly. The need for that is great, for what is wanted most of all from those concerned in the working of the League of Nations is a comprehensive vision that will enable them both to shape great purposes for the League and a sober discernment that will show them how far it is filling, or failing to fulfil, those purposes to-day. Even in inactive though interested observers like the writer and the readers of these lines, some measure of the same qualities is called for if their support of the League is to be of some value to it. Enthusiasm for the League's ideals can serve as no substitute for blindness to the League's actual or prospective failures.

And to-day there are several critical questions to be answered. What, for example, is the attitude of the principal nations of the world towards the League? Of the United States of America and of Soviet Russia nothing need be said, except that the cordiality of Washington towards Geneva is certainly not diminishing. Our concern here is with States Members of the League—not non-members. Can their loyalty be counted as certainly as it should be? If we begin with our own country there need be little hesitation in answering yes. When Mr. Henderson told the League of Nations Union Council two months ago that for him the one test of a policy was whether it would strengthen the League of Nations or not he was giving expression to a principle that in varying measure—and not so greatly varying—has animated his predecessors in office, as it will undoubtedly animate his successors.

And what of France? France looks to the League primarily for defence of the existing order in Europe—a perfectly proper attitude so long as what is meant is defence of frontiers against forcible change by war, not a mere stereotyping of the conditions of to-day for ever. France, moreover, possibly mistrusting the power of the League to protect her and her friends against a sudden assault, has put at least half her confidence in a system of alliances which, while they are genuinely non-aggressive in purpose, undoubtedly militate in some degree against that spirit of unity in Europe which it is the purpose of the League to engender. Just now, moreover, M. Briand's idea of a European organisation functioning side by side with the world organisation of the League, creates some small disquiet, which this month's discussions at Geneva may or may not dispel.

Of Germany it is difficult to speak with assurance at this moment, for a general election is impending which may materially affect the country's foreign

policy. The present Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, who is expected to retain office unless a Government of the extreme right or the extreme left should be returned, is faithfully following the lines laid down by his predecessor, Dr. Stresemann, which means that he will base German policy largely on the League. But there would appear to be growing in Germany a tendency, evidenced particularly by the recent speeches of Herr Treviranus, to insist on the revision of Germany's eastern frontiers. That demand will encounter obstacles calculated to make any excessive or tactless emphasis on it dangerous. Article XIX of the Covenant exists to meet such situations, and that Article cannot be allowed to remain a dead letter for ever. But facts are what they are, and it may well be doubted whether the omens are propitious for an appeal by Germany to that Article at this moment.

And Italy? The fundamental fact here is that the League is avowedly based on liberal—it might justly be said, democratic—principles, and Fascism avowedly is not. That is not to say that Fascism is wrong, but simply that Fascism is different. The League, of course, has no concern with the internal politics of the countries belonging to it, but when a particular country has decided to organise itself on lines divergent from those followed by the League, it is inevitable that the representatives of that country at Geneva should occasionally find themselves a little at variance with their fellow-delegates. All things considered, that difficulty has arisen singularly rarely in connection with Italy, and the decision of Signor Grandi, now Foreign Minister, to attend League Council meetings and Assemblies regularly himself is a welcome testimony to an increase of interest in Geneva on the part of the Italian Government. But that very fact raises problems in itself. The present rulers of Italy stand for an accentuation, an intensification, of nationalism. The League stands for a harmonisation of nationalisms, and if nationalisms are too intense they cannot be harmonised with success. The recent Italian Note criticising the League Secretariat is significant. For much of the criticism there may be good grounds. What really matters is the spirit behind it and the purposes it is sought to achieve. Light will be cast on that in the course of this month, and it may, in some degree, illustrate and explain Italy's attitude towards the League as a whole.

There are other countries about which rather different questions must be asked. China, for example. Here it is not so much a matter of loyal support of the League as of doubt whether the League concerns China enough to make a continuance of Chinese membership worth while. There can be no real uncertainty on such a point. There is no country in the world to which the League is capable of rendering greater service than China. But the Chinese, distracted as they are by their civil war, do not fully realise that, and the suggestion that their future allegiance to Geneva may depend on whether they get a Council seat or not is disquieting. There are many good grounds for giving China a seat and some good grounds for withholding it. But it ought not in any case to be extorted under menace.

The position of other countries individually might be examined with some profit if space permitted, particularly that of the Latin-American States, which seem a little too ready, where voting is involved, to pool their votes and cast them in a solid *bloc*. But enough has been said to indicate that, along with cause for considerable encouragement, there is cause for considerable speculation as to what, amid these diverse tendencies, the coming Assembly will reveal. It promises, at any rate, to be a singularly interesting occasion.

THE WORLD IN 1930

GERMANY AND HER FRONTIER PROBLEMS

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THERE are two reasons why Germany should be dealt with in this series this month. One is that a General Election is to take place in Germany on the 14th. The other is that the whole question of a revision of Germany's eastern frontier has been raised by a German Cabinet Minister, Herr Treviranus.

The General Election is mainly an internal affair, though it has a very definite bearing on Germany's foreign policy. The frontier question is foreign policy pure and simple, and something had better be said about it first. Germany is singularly well provided with



frontiers. She is said to have more next-door neighbours than any other country in Europe. You can trace them round the map. There is Denmark, there is Holland, there is Belgium, there is Luxemburg, there are France, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania. If Danzig is to be considered as a separate State, that makes eleven neighbours all told.

Lost Territory

Germany's relations with those neighbours are what the war and the peace has made them. To seven of them—Denmark, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Danzig and Lithuania—she lost territory. Denmark got (as result of a plebiscite) the southern part of Schleswig-Holstein. Belgium got two small districts called Eupen and Malmédy. France got Alsace and Lorraine. Poland got part of Upper Silesia, Posen and a section of Pomerania, which gave her a direct access to the sea, East Prussia being in consequence cut off from direct contact with the rest of Germany. In addition, Danzig was cut away from Germany altogether and made into a Free City, subject to Poland in matters of customs, foreign policy and some others. Lithuania got the port and district of Memel, which, however, enjoys considerable autonomy.

Now it is not a pleasant thing losing territory as result of a defeat in war, and it is natural to feel some resentment against the nations to whom the territory has passed. In Germany's case, she is resentful against some of the States that have taken her territory, but not against others. Not, for example, against Denmark; Germany acquiesces in her small loss in that direction. Not against France, so far as loss of territory is concerned. Germany took Alsace and Lorraine from France in 1871, and though she was naturally reluctant to lose them in

1919, she declared when she signed the Treaty of Locarno in 1925 that she accepted the new frontier drawn between herself and France by the Peace Conference. As for Belgium, Germans are dissatisfied with the plebiscite by virtue of which Eupen and Malmédy were awarded to Belgium, but the district concerned is not large enough to bother about seriously.

The Eastern Frontier

Broadly speaking, therefore, Germany accepts her new frontiers in the west, but protests violently against them in the east. Her main hostility is against Poland, for the loss of Memel to Lithuania has never stirred feeling at Berlin very deeply. Polish-German relations constitute one of the chief dangers to peace in Europe, though Dr. Stresemann, the late Foreign Minister of Germany, declared that while Germany would continue to claim an alteration of her eastern frontier, she would not seek to alter it by war. About Posen the Germans say little. They are disposed to concede that region to Poland. But the frontier in the north, which gives Poland her access to the sea and thereby cuts off East Prussia from the rest of Germany, is the object of ceaseless attack, and Herr Treviranus in saying in public lately that Germany's next task is to get her eastern frontier changed, is only saying what every German insists on in private.

Such an attitude naturally causes perturbation in Poland, where no one is disposed to abandon territory which, it is claimed, is inhabited by an almost wholly Polish population, and to which Poland considers herself on every ground to have a just title. Herr Treviranus has explained that he is thinking only of a change by consent—as, for example, through the operation of Article XIX of the League Covenant—not by war, and has thus brought himself into line with Dr. Stresemann's attitude, but the new declaration that the Polish-German frontier is not accepted by Germany as permanent, creates in Poland a state of uneasiness which tends to cement that country's alliance with France and to make a reduction of Polish armaments increasingly improbable.

A Vital Election

All this links on to the coming General Election, for what the polls on the 14th will reveal is the relative strength of the Right and the Left, represented primarily by Nationalists at one end and Socialists at the other. The Nationalists have lately split, the more moderate wing breaking away from the extremists, and a new middle party, called the State Party, has been formed out of various small sections. There is also the Catholic centre, which habitually takes a moderate line, except on certain occasions when ecclesiastical questions have been involved.

Germany has almost as serious an unemployment problem to contend with as Great Britain, and she has no oversea possessions of her own to which emigration can be encouraged. That fact lends force to the demand for the return of some, at any rate, of the lost colonies. But that demand is not, at present, in reality very serious. No moderate Germans would ask more than that Germany should be given a mandate over one of the territories now held by some other mandatory Power, and the practical difficulties in the way of that are recognised to be formidable.

Brighter Spots

In the past twelve months Germany's position has been improved in two respects. The adoption of the Young Plan means that her reparations are finally fixed at a definite figure, which is believed to be well within her capacity, and as result of that step the occupied area has been completely evacuated by Allied troops. The Saar Valley does not revert to Germany until 1935, unless some free agreement with France regarding it is reached earlier than that, and it is considered as something of a grievance in Germany that a demilitarised

zone has still to be maintained on the German side of the Franco-German frontier but not on the French.

But, speaking generally, it may be said that the prospects of trouble on the western frontier of Germany are fewer and less serious than on the eastern. And, to take a wider view, there is some reason to look with apprehension on the possibility of a coalition between Germany and Italy in favour of the revision of treaties, against France and Poland and the Little Entente, standing firm for their inviolability.

ITALY'S ATTACK

LEAGUE SECRETARIAT CRITICISED

A RATHER lively interlude at the Assembly this month appears to be promised, in the shape of an attack by Germany and Italy on the Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, and the Deputy Secretary-General, M. Joseph Avenol. It is not to be anticipated that criticisms will be directed against Sir Eric and M. Avenol personally, but the power they exercise and the action they take in their official capacity has suddenly been brought publicly under adverse comment by the Italian Government.

It was explained in an article in the August HEADWAY that the Committee of Thirteen appointed by the last Assembly to consider the whole organisation of the League Secretariat had brought in two reports, one signed by eleven of its members, including the British, French, Spanish, Japanese, Polish, Norwegian and Dutch, and a minority report signed by the German and Italian members.

Minority Strictures

The minority signatories directed against the existing organisation of the Secretariat criticisms in which the rest of the Committee firmly refused to join. They considered that far too much power was placed in the hands of the Secretary-General and the Deputy Secretary-General, and proposed, as a means of rectifying this, that a Committee of Under-Secretaries-General should be created to advise, if not, indeed, actually to control, the Secretary-General, who would act as President of this Committee. The eleven members forming the majority had no sympathy with this proposal and rejected it.

A second difference of opinion arose on the question of security of tenure in the Secretariat. There is no doubt whatever that uncertainty as to whether they could find a life's career at Geneva has led to the resignation of many of the ablest officials, whose duty to their families has led them to accept other posts assuring them of permanent employment and income. The majority of the committee proposed to remedy this defect by laying down that in ordinary cases all officials under the rank of Secretary-General should have appointments without a time limit except for a retiring age which would be fixed at 60. The minority took the view that it was desirable that the senior members of the Secretariat should be constantly changing, so that men might be drafted in who had close and recent knowledge of the trend of opinion in their own countries. They accordingly wanted the engagement of these senior officials to be limited in ordinary cases to seven years.

Too Many British and French

These recommendations have now been reinforced and developed in a memorandum addressed by the Italian Government to the Secretary-General. Disapproval of the degree of power placed in the hand of the Secretary-General and his deputy are reaffirmed and bitter com-

plaint is made of the excess of British and French nationals on the staff of the Secretariat. A far more uniform representation of the different States Members of the League is demanded. At the same time, the proposed pension scheme designed to make life at Geneva less precarious is denounced on the ground of expense.

The German-Italian minority report and the Italian note may have more importance than appears. What is really involved is the question of how far the League Secretariat is to be made in the truest sense international, and how far it is to be merely a collection of citizens of different countries, each doing his duty at Geneva with one eye on the interests of the country to which he happens to belong. The adoption of this latter principle would be utterly fatal to the realisation of the ideals of the League. Yet this ideal seems to commend itself to both Germany and Italy. The Italian Government in 1927 issued a decree declaring that any Italian citizen who accepted or continued to hold office in any international organisation without the approval of the Fascist Government would be liable to pains and penalties of a grave order. It was not thought opportune to make any protest against this at the time, but it caused considerable disquiet.

Lord Balfour's Rule

There was some discussion at the Assembly last year on the proper attitude for Secretariat officials to adopt and general approval was given to the rule laid down in a document drawn up by Lord Balfour as long ago as 1921 to the effect that a member of the Secretariat, so long as he held office, was a servant of the League of Nations and of no one else, and that his business was to consult the League's interests first and foremost. Germany and Italy can hardly challenge that principle openly, for it stands self-approved. But in recommending that the senior officials shall be short-service men with definite national points of view, they are coming near challenging it in effect.

As to the predominance of British and French officials at Geneva, that is explained largely, though not exclusively, by the fact that English and French are the two official languages of the League and that the large staff of translators and typists must, therefore, of necessity be drawn largely from members of those two nations. To quote figures without indicating whether they apply to men and women filling responsible posts or merely to those discharging routine duties is misleading.

Finally, the association of Germany and Italy in the attack on the Secretariat, if, indeed, German delegates at the Assembly do associate themselves, as the German member of the Commission on the Secretariat did, with the Italian standpoint, has a certain significance in view of the tendency of those two countries to draw together in the larger field of European politics in a demand for a revision of peace treaties. All this is worth watching.

A CONTENTED MINORITY HOW ESTHONIA SOLVES A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

By Dr. EWALD AMMENDE

The minority question is too often disussed on a purely theoretical basis. What are minorities? What are they entitled to claim? How should the League of Nations deal with their complaints? All these are important questions. But it is more important and valuable still to know whether minorities anywhere are satisfied, and, if so, why. In the following article Dr. Ewald Ammende, a leading member of the German minority in Esthonia, gives an instructive and encouraging picture of conditions in a country which, small though it is, might well serve as a model for others more extensive in area.

ABOUT twelve years ago, on the establishment of the Republic of Esthonia, the relations of the majority people to the minority, especially to the German Balts, was characterised by an open antagonism of the latter to the majority and the State. An agrarian reform, highly injurious to the minority, had been instituted, amounting to confiscation, despoiling the Baltic community.* In spite of the strained situation, an attempt was made by the minority, principally on the initiative of the younger generation, to achieve by compromise full security for their national cultural development in regard primarily to education and the use of their own language.

After several years of negotiation it was recognised at last that an understanding was possible on a basis of "cultural self-government," a basis that most people had considered Utopian when first propounded. This suggestion on the part of the minority is so novel and far-reaching a proposition that it deserves to be explained in some detail. The proposal was that all who belonged to one national stock should be allowed to develop and manage their schools and cultural institutions without let or hindrance, to elect a "cultural parliament," and, with its help, actually to tax the members of the minority, according to their capacity, for cultural purposes. In addition, they were to have the right of deducting from their payments of State or local taxes their contribution to this cultural expenditure. Instead, that is to say, of paying the ordinary education rate they would contribute that amount for the upkeep of their own schools,

Reasoned Discussion

"Estrangement," "creation of a State within the State," "irredentism," were the slogans opposed to their arguments for years. Then there came a time when the negotiations seemed at a deadlock and utterly wrecked. The outstanding figure in the circles where these apprehensions concerning self-government were prevalent was the veteran champion of the rights of the Esthonian people under Russian rule, and, subsequently State-Elder, Ian Tennison, and he would on no account lend his support to the autonomy proposition. In this situation of apparent collapse, I was delegated, first alone, and then with two others, to enter into private negotiation with Ian Tennison.

It is curious that what preoccupied Ian Tennison was precisely the apprehension that still prevails in nearly all European countries, that the concession of autonomy would necessarily give new scope and new encouragement to the elements antagonistic to the State. He was convinced that the concession of the autonomy demands would give the German minority a new impulse and provide new channels for protest against the State on the question of agrarian reform. Now, how did we come to an understanding with Ian Tennison? We were able, in personal contact, to demonstrate how unfounded his apprehensions really were. We proposed, as a guarantee, the absolute limitation of self-

* The so-called Baltic Barons were wealthy landowners in the old north-western provinces of Russia, now the States of Esthonia and Latvia, who, naturally, protested strongly against the agrarian reform measures, which consisted of breaking up the big estates—theoretically, with compensation for the owner—and giving the land to the peasants.

government to cultural questions, in such a way that the State could at once dissolve the self-governing board, if it should overstep its legitimate sphere of action. Furthermore, a sufficient right of control was to be vested in the State functionaries, and, thirdly, only persons enjoying the full confidence of the Government were to be eligible as President. Above all, Ian Tennison recognised during the debate that obscure societies, working for their ends by subterranean means, would be far more detrimental to the State than a public board acting on an official basis.

Thus, within a few days, we had achieved a change of feeling in Ian Tennison. After that an understanding on all matters of principle was soon brought about, and in February, 1925, the motion was passed, just—as it so happened—at the time when Sir Eric Drummond was visiting the Esthonian capital. This constitutes an historic landmark in European minority-legislation.

And now, what of the results? Have they confirmed the adverse predictions in any way? Not at all. Entirely the contrary. First and foremost, the magnanimous action of the Esthonian people changed the attitude of many among the minority who opposed the Government on grounds of agrarian reform, or for other reasons, and they became strong supporters of the Government, acknowledging the authority of the State and co-operating with it as the result of its broad-minded policy in the matter of national cultural activity.

The Minority's Rights

The Esthonian autonomy law prescribes, as suggested above, that all members of a minority shall belong to a legally established union, to which the management of all schools and cultural institutions—libraries, museums, societies, etc.—is entrusted. For this purpose the members of the minority elect by general, secret, direct franchise what may be described as a "cultural parliament," to which has even been conceded, as mentioned above, the right to levy a tax upon the members of the minority. (The tax is fixed on the basis of income tax.) Furthermore, the organisation receives from the State, or the municipality, a subvention from the general cultural budget in proportion to the number of members of the minority concerned. The whole structure of the autonomy organisation is based strictly on the principle of absolute concentration on cultural questions, all political activity being rigidly excluded.

It is to the observance of this principle that the success of the Esthonian autonomy law is to be mainly attributed. The law applies not only to the Germans in Esthonia, but also to the Jews, and, to a certain extent, to the Swedes inhabiting the Esthonian islands. Are the results achieved to be attributed to conditions peculiar to that small State, as some are inclined to think? In my opinion, not at all. The same conditions that characterised the State of Esthonia before the Autonomy Bill are to be found in nearly all other States concerned with minority questions, and there is no reason to suppose that similar action in other countries would produce less satisfactory results.

THE BABEL BOTHER WORKING TOWARDS ONE SECOND LANGUAGE

By F. B. BOURDILLON.

ONE of the fascinating things about life is the indefinite number of new worlds which we can discover. Whoever it was that said that "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives," he had his fractions wrong. Which of us, on making a new friendship with someone of a different class or creed or trade or language, does not share the excitement of Columbus?

To most of us the world of Esperanto is such an unknown realm. We may agree that a universal auxiliary language is inevitable. Here is such a language already in practical use. It is highly interesting to see how it works out. It is appropriate to do so at this moment since the International Esperanto Congress met in Oxford Town Hall last month. The first point that strikes one is the large number of works that have been translated into Esperanto, and the ease with which translations are made. This facility is probably due to the fact that the translators are compatriots of the original writers, Shakespeare being translated by the English, Tolstoi by Russians, and even the Old Testament by Dr. Zamenhof, himself a Jew. At any rate thousands of books are now available in Esperanto, particularly classical and sociological works, and collections of national poems, fables and folk songs.

National Points of View

The next point which strikes one is the interest which one finds in reading national viewpoints, when put in such a form that they can be palatable even to readers from the nations next door and so as to accuse no third parties. This occurs particularly in the Esperanto weekly journal, *Heroldo*, and also in the weekly broadcast talks which are given by some 20 or 30 stations in Europe, Asia, America and even Australia. It is a convincing way of keeping the national point of view before the world, and I hope that it may not be long before the British point of view is also given currency in the same way.

In international conferences the use of a single auxiliary language is of obvious advantage. There is no loss of time in translation. Every speech receives full weight, there being no privileged position for those who speak in a "majority language." There are no difficulties about reporting, and no disagreement owing to the different meaning of the same word in different languages.

An unexpected advantage is that, in speaking Esperanto, one finds one lacks that uncomfortable feeling of inferiority one has in talking, say, French with a Frenchman, or of inability to put a foreigner at his ease when talking English.

One is struck by the great variety of people attending Esperanto conferences. One meets professional and business men who have never had time to learn to speak an ordinary foreign language fluently, and numbers who have never had the chance of doing so. Both these groups are well represented, and probably form the bulk of the attendance. Intellectuals and much-travelled people with internationalised outlook are less predominant than in other international gatherings. Experience, both at conferences and elsewhere, shows that national divergences of pronunciation are negligible.

The Small Countries Ahead

Figures show that some 10,000 persons are members of the Universal Esperanto Association, which has its headquarters in Geneva. Somewhat over 100,000 persons are in touch with one or other Esperanto organisation, while it is estimated that roughly a million

people know the language to some extent. The number has been increasing rapidly in the last few years, owing to broadcasting, to the growth of specialist bodies like the Catholic Esperanto League and the Socialist Esperanto organisations, and owing to the efforts of individual enthusiastic teachers.

The countries in which Esperanto has obtained most supporters are: Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Great Britain, Austria, Japan, Holland and Russia. During recent years it has received, however, a great impetus in the smaller European countries, whose languages visitors cannot be expected to know. In these countries Esperanto is welcomed as an alternative to the general instruction in their schools of the language of one of their powerful neighbours, from which there is felt to be a real danger of cultural domination.

The purpose for which Esperanto is most widely used at present is probably private correspondence. Every week *Heroldo* contains anything from 10 to 50 advertisements for correspondents, sometimes on any subject, more often on matters relating to particular professional, political or social interests, or hobbies. Some of these "contacts" are of short duration. Many continue for years, and lead to interchange of visits and lasting friendships. Humanity is thus the gainer by a considerable number of personal international relationships.

Esperanto Ads.

Commercially its use is mainly confined to advertisements by international fairs (Leipzig, Lyons, Paris, etc.), State railway administrations (Japan, Switzerland, Austria, etc.), and health resorts (Wiesbaden, Torquay, etc.). For personal use a really noteworthy system has, however, been evolved by the Universal Association, from its headquarters in Geneva. Every member who pays an annual subscription of 4s. to the Association has the right to call on the services of an Esperanto "Delegate" in some 1,800 different localities scattered over the world. Great use is made of this system, as the delegate will engage rooms, meet trains, recommend agents and places of business, provide introductions to suitable persons, and to the local Esperanto societies. In most capitals there is now an Esperanto office with a permanent staff and at least two or three different clubs which meet once or twice weekly. All these are at the service of any member of the Universal Association. The consequence is that when visiting any of the places on this list he finds himself not merely confined to hotel society or that of persons to whom he may bear introductions, but at once admitted within the barriers of the national circle.

I claim that in Esperanto it has been shown that such a language is practicable, and that the adoption of such a language, whether national or artificial, would be a material help towards solving the problem of world organisation for peace.

The Terramare Office, Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin, S.W.48, has published a most interesting and attractive year book entitled "Passing Through Germany." The Terramare Office is a private institution existing to promote friendship between the English-speaking and German peoples. The book in question may be obtained free of charge on application to the address mentioned, but two international reply coupons (obtainable for 4d. each at any Post Office) should be enclosed for postage.

VOTING AT GENEVA IS THE UNANIMITY RULE FATAL?

IT is all to the good when persons interested, or in process of becoming interested, in the League of Nations, ask pointedly why the League does this or has not so far done that. Answers to such questions usually exist. Things do not, as a rule, happen, or fail to happen, without some reason, though there may well be a difference of opinion as to whether the reason in a given case is good or bad.

Two such pointed questions are raised in a letter, published on a later page of this issue, by a writer who expresses the view that the League would be much more widely supported if

- the rule requiring a unanimous vote on any decision of importance were modified; and
- the League had material force at its disposal for the coercion of States refusing to obey its decrees.

There is no doubt that that view is widely held—a sufficient reason in itself for stopping to consider seriously why the unanimity rule was adopted, and why the League was not from the outset equipped with such an armed force as is suggested.

Outvoting Great Britain

The two questions must be discussed separately, for they are not in reality of the same order. As to unanimity, there was no choice in the matter; without the unanimity rule there would have been no League at all in 1919 and would still be none to-day. The matter is really hardly arguable.

Suppose the unanimous vote at Geneva were abolished and it were agreed that binding decisions could be taken by, let us say, a two-thirds majority, as the letter to which reference has been made suggests. It would then be perfectly possible for States like Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Canada, and others to be compelled to do something they completely disapproved of doing simply because a majority consisting of Albania, Nicaragua, Siam, Abyssinia, and a number of other of the lesser States of Europe and Latin America had outvoted them. It is perfectly certain that if there had ever been any thought or possibility of that the greater States would never have dreamed of joining the League at all. And Great Britain would have been the first to refuse.

Varying Voting Power

It may be said that roads could be found round this difficulty, and it is true that there are roads half-way round it. The letter on a later page suggests that votes should be "weighted," *i.e.*, that a nation should be given a number of votes corresponding to its population, or its wealth, or—more vaguely—to its general importance. The idea is not new, but it cannot, at present at any rate, be carried out, for there exists no authority qualified to decide that Great Britain, for example, should have X votes, France Y votes, Germany Z votes and so on, and it is inconceivable that anyone could draw up a schedule for fifty nations that would satisfy the ideas of each nation regarding (a) the votes it itself ought to have; and (b) the votes the other nations ought to have. It is true that something of this kind has in fact been achieved—with considerable difficulty—in the apportioning of contributions to the League's budget, but, after all, what is in question here is only a matter of a few pounds more or less each year, and an assessment that seems a little high tends in a sense to flatter a nation's importance. Voting power that may have to be used on some vital question is a very different matter.

What we Want and What we Can

With the League of Nations, as with all political institutions, the fundamental aim must be to reconcile what is theoretically desirable with what is practically possible. To discard the unanimity rule and persuade free and independent nations to bow to majority decisions may or may not be theoretically desirable, but it is certainly not at the present time practically possible. The result—and it is no bad result—is that the League proceeds by agreement instead of by constraint or compulsion. The right and the wrong of a particular case, the better or the less good course, are argued out, and it is hoped that the nations will be unanimously prepared to approve the right and accept the better. That hope has in the main been justified.

A Universal Rule

This may be a matter for regret, but it is not a handicap from which the League of Nations alone suffers. Exactly the same thing is true of any international conference. When President Harding was closing the Washington Arms Conference in 1922, he emphasised the fact that the results achieved had been achieved by the full agreement of the participating States and could have been achieved in no other way, for a minority could not be bound by the vote of a majority. Exactly the same is true of this year's London Naval Conference. Great Britain, the United States and Japan accepted a certain agreement. France and Italy did not. But the three who formed the majority could not bind the two in the minority. France and Italy simply went away without signing.

The American Precedent

In 1787 the thirteen separate American colonies which had combined temporarily for the purpose of fighting Great Britain took the momentous step of combining permanently for certain limited purposes, and of combining so completely that within that limited sphere majority decisions (in some cases a bare majority, in others two-thirds or three-quarters) would bind the minority. Some day the world as a whole, or a separate continent like Europe, may step by step reach that stage. But it is very far indeed from having reached it yet. To recognise that fact, whether it is a fact we like or not, is essential to a balanced view of the League and its work. Even Great Britain and the Dominions are so completely free that not one of them would think of consenting to be bound by a majority vote of the other five.

A League Army?

The question of whether the League should take steps to equip itself with material force stands on quite another footing. France and various Continental States have always thought it should. Great Britain and the Scandinavian States have always thought it should not. Obviously, serious practical difficulties arise, whether it is a question of a permanent League force or of a levy on the armies or navies or air forces of individual States. But the Covenant, in Article XVI, has always contemplated the use of force by the League in certain circumstances. All the arrangements were made in 1921 for the despatch of a composite League force to supervise a Vilna plebiscite, which, however, fell through. A League naval demonstration was seriously, though privately, discussed, at the time of the Greco-Bulgarian trouble in 1925. Lord Cecil, among others, has tentatively hinted at the organisation of a League air force. It is a question not of possibility but of expediency, and as such it will no doubt continue to be discussed.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

THE TYROLESE TRAGEDY

Tyrol Under the Axe of Fascism. By Dr. Eduard Reut-Nicolussi. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Approach this book, if you will, in a spirit of scepticism, or at any rate of caution. It is written by a member of a suffering minority, and men in that situation are, at the best, often apt to state only one side of a case, and at the worst to produce deliberately exaggerated stories of hardship and persecution for propaganda purposes.

Remember, therefore, that Dr. Reut-Nicolussi is a leader of the Germans in the Southern Tyrol (*i.e.*, people who before the war were German-speaking Austrians, not Germans politically), which was by the Treaty of St. Germain handed over to Italy. He may well feel so strongly about that outrage on the rights of nationality that his judgment is permanently warped, leaving him incapable of presenting a fair picture of what is actually happening in South Tyrol to-day.

It may be so. Or rather it might be so. For a careful reading of this overwhelming indictment of an alien administration creates a steadily increasing confidence in the writer. Apart from lapses into emotionalism—and are they really lapses at all where events are being recorded that irresistibly stir the emotions even of the phlegmatic reader in a London suburb?—he tells a plain if tragic story plainly, giving everywhere names, dates and a wealth of detail so complete as to convey an inevitable conviction of the authenticity of the record.

Dr. Nicolussi is—or rather was, till his name was indefensibly struck from the roll by the Italian authorities—one of the leading barristers in the Southern Tyrol, and many of the instances of tyranny and brutality he cites are drawn from his own professional experience. He was one of the elected members of the Italian Parliament for the Southern Tyrol when there was still a semblance of free elections, and remained to the end a leading spokesman for the Tyrolese in their dealings with their Fascist masters.

The main story of the Southern Tyrol can be briefly told. A purely German province, it was torn from German Austria at the Peace Conference in order that Italy might be given a mountain frontier for strategic reasons. In the early days after the war some hopes of local autonomy and the preservation of the language and the old traditions were held out. With the coming of Fascism those hopes were finally extinguished. A ruthless and systematic process of Italianisation was entered on, pursued by methods which Dr. Reut-Nicolussi describes in detail and which other writers have portrayed in substantially similar language.

What are the three rights of minorities conceded unreservedly in every minority treaty which binds European nations? Freedom of language, freedom of worship, freedom of education. In the South Tyrol, which is protected by no such treaty, two of those rights have been trampled into nothingness for years past. The German language has been stamped out and the Italian tongue, unfamiliar to 90 per cent. of the inhabitants, substituted. No German newspapers, no German in any official documents, no German in the schools, no German teaching for the children, even out of school hours, no German inscriptions even on the gravestones of the dead.

Are examples needed? "The largest Bozen commercial house, the firm of Joh. F. Amonn, 125 years in business, was closed for ten days because in a disused drawer some old tickets with the word "Bozen" on them [Bozen has been officially Italianised into Bolzano] had been routed out in a house-to-house visitation." "In Salurn the inn 'Zum weissen Adler' was closed

because instruction in German was given in the upper story, and another householder was threatened by the militia with his house being set on fire because German teaching was allowed in it." "The physician Ursin from Vienna was incarcerated for four weeks because when crossing the frontier German prayer-books for school-children had been found in his knapsack." "On November 16th, 1927, the Fascist Press printed a decree of the Bozen prefect, Umberto Ricci . . . Ricci ordered 'Inscriptions on graves must be exclusively in the Italian language after the date of September 30th, 1927.'"

Mention has been made of two of the three rights of minorities which have been trampled under foot in the South Tyrol. The other, right of worship, has not wholly disappeared, for the Tyrolese, like the Italians themselves, are Roman Catholics. But the Tyrolese priests who, for the most part, stood courageously by their oppressed flocks, were subject to various degrees of persecution and legal condemnation. They, like the rest of the population, had to bow to the ban on the German language.

So the black indictment develops. No mention whatever has been made here of the numberless cases of Fascist brutality, from castor-oil to murder, with which the Italian record in the Lower Tyrol—or the Alto Adige, as it is now officially called—is stained. There may be exaggeration in Dr. Reut-Nicolussi's narrative. A Fascist apologist would no doubt tell a very different story. But that this book consists in the main, or in any considerable part, or at all, of deliberate fabrication no one who studies it soberly can believe. It bears the stamp of truth upon it and points to the melancholy conclusion that the most flagrantly maltreated of the minorities in Europe is the minority with no treaty to protect it.

The only thing to be said in extenuation is that Dr. Reut-Nicolussi wrote in 1928 (though his book is only now published for the first time in an English translation) and there is understood to have been some improvement since then.

H. W. H.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

World Peace and American Policy. By Alec Wilson. (League of Nations Union. Is.)

A valuable and competent piece of work. After observing that the history of the relations of the United States with Europe might well begin with Columbus, or with the Pilgrim Fathers, Mr. Wilson decides in the end to begin with the election of Woodrow Wilson as President in 1912. He ends with the London Naval Conference of 1930, having traced firmly and accurately the swing of the pendulum which took America first into the war and then out of the League and then back towards Geneva again and into a new world co-operation signalled by the Kellogg Pact. The booklet is at once comprehensive and succinct, and, it may be added, extremely readable throughout. It is a little odd that the Monroe Doctrine, so much a fetish still in America, does not seem to be once mentioned.

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READERS' VIEWS

DO WE MEAN PEACE?

SIR,—The August number of HEADWAY has made depressing reading. On all sides there seems to be an assumption that a war in the not distant future is a real menace. The prevalence of talk about the next war, references to France as a possible enemy bombing London out of existence in twenty-four hours, mimic aerial warfare (stopped by the action of the League of Nations—how did it manage to reach the stage of aerial warfare if the League of Nations existed?)—all this makes for the creation of an atmosphere in which war is almost inevitable.

I have before me a copy of the Pact of Paris. The wording of Article I is: "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." And Article II includes the agreement that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts . . . shall never be sought except by pacific means." If the Pact is not merely a "scrap of paper," to be ignored at convenience by the signatory States, then it should be safe to assume that war between the nations which have accepted the Pact is an impossibility, and to mould our thinking and policy accordingly. Is the Pact being ignored because the old-style diplomacy is raising its sinister head again? Do the countries of the world still feel safer with armaments than with pledges to live at peace? Or is the Pact merely a platform utterance for idealists who live in the clouds out of reach of aerial warfare?

The Lambeth Conference of three hundred bishops diluted the Pact somewhat by substituting *denounce* for *renounce*—making a world of difference. When a nation has solemnly pledged itself to renounce war as means of settling international quarrels, it seems to me that no church can countenance any war into which that country may enter.

If the idea of the outlawry of war can be accepted by Church and State as a whole and as individuals, then there will be less talk about the next war and more real effort to reduce armaments, which are obsolete and unnecessary.—Yours, etc.,

Kenmore, Howard Avenue, J. RIVERS.
Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire.
August 19, 1930.

TO STRENGTHEN THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Secretary, said the other day that "The one fundamental question lying before us is how to strengthen the League."

Perhaps it may interest your readers if I make one or two suggestions with that object in view; for though a passionate lover of peace, the very foundations of the League have appeared to me, and to many others, so unstable that it is only quite recently I have been persuaded to become a subscribing member; the two main essential defects in the constitution of the League being the unanimous approval of its members required before taking action; and the absence of armed force as an ultimate resource to carry out its decrees. In my humble opinion, these two defects given above deter large numbers of people I have spoken to from joining the League.

Why the founders of the League should apparently have taken the British jury as their model in its system of voting, is best known to themselves; but surely a two-thirds majority, as in the United States Assembly, would have been a much more prompt and practical system to adopt. It is asking too much, I think, to expect 40 representatives of diverse nationality to vote unanimously before anything can be done!

Then, in regard to the use of material force, it is well, no doubt, to apply a blockade in the *first* place to the contumacious nation refusing to obey the decree of the League; but, in cases where this proves ineffectual, it seems to me mere practical common sense to bring the force of arms to bear, by an international armament, formed *pro rata*, organised and prepared to take action at a moment's notice, to act as a police force.

With the two fundamental reforms suggested in this letter, and a voting power distributed amongst the nations more in accordance with their *relative weight* than is at present the case, the League would then be on more practical and solid foundations, and would greatly increase the number of its adherents.—Yours, etc.,

Warley House, A. P. MCCREA.
Halifax.
August 10, 1930.

STUDYING OTHER PEOPLE

SIR,—The Welsh School of Social Service, now in its nineteenth year, tried on August 10 to 15, at Llandrindod Wells, a new experiment. It devoted the whole of its 1930 session to a study of Denmark (half the size of Scotland) against the background of Wales.

For a week, Denmark and Wales, educationally, socially and agriculturally, were contrasted and compared in the presence of competent speakers and witnesses from both countries. The rank and file of us realised, and it was a healthy thing to realise, that in agricultural co-operation, for instance, Denmark led Wales (as presumably it does England)—the lead being described by a Welsh expert as that of about half-a-century! The week from start to finish made as interesting a school as we have ever had, and I thought it would be well worth while if, in some of the larger towns and cities of Great Britain, branches of the League of Nations Union could arrange for an "Overseas Week" devoted to a comparative study of the life and work of a European country.

Nothing much was said at the 1930 Welsh School of Social Service about "international understanding"; one felt, however, instinctively that a good deal was being done for it.—Yours, etc.,

Cardiff. GWILYM DAVIES.
August 19, 1930.

MINE WORKERS' HOURS

SIR,—I have been wondering whether certain figures in the article on the proposed coal mines convention in the July HEADWAY are accurate. I think I am right in saying that the present hours of work in British coal mines are 8, together with an average of half an hour for winding; that the 8 is reduced by the new Coal Mines Act to 7½, and that this figure will become 7 in July, 1931, when the five-year Act of 1926 expires. If, therefore, the 7¼ "bank-to-bank" proposal put forward at Geneva had been adopted, the gain over the hours prevailing in British mines at the time your article was written would be ¾ hour, not ¼.

Yours, etc., R. H. S.

[Our correspondent is right. We regret the slip.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

WHO DID WRITE IT?

SIR,—Your correspondent, B. P. W. F. (page 160, August HEADWAY), seems to be under the impression that the lines quoted are by George MacDonald. I believe the author to be F. Langbridge, though I regret to say I can give no further details.—Yours, etc.,

C. H. MAYERS.

August 11, 1930.

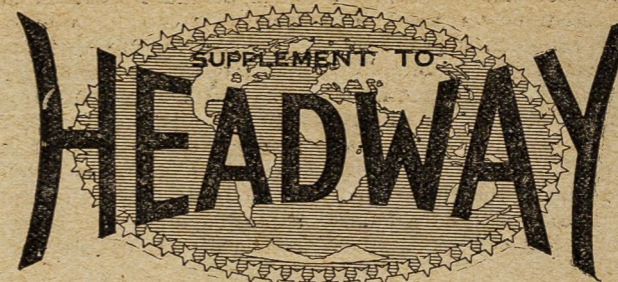
[The lines were:—

"Two men looked out from prison bars;
The one saw mud, the other stars."]

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

1. The existence of the League provides machinery such as never existed before for the peaceful settlement of all disputes between States.
2. The League Covenant lays down a regular procedure by which all such disputes may be dealt with.
3. The League has created the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for settling finally all disputes of a legal nature (*i.e.*, disputes between States regarding their respective rights).
4. Several wars have actually been stopped by the League's intervention, notably those between Poland and Lithuania in 1920, between Yugoslavia and Albania in 1921, and between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Many other disputes, which had not carried the countries concerned to the point of war, have been finally disposed of by League action.
5. The finances of several countries, notably Austria and Hungary, have been put in order by the League, which arranged loans to carry such countries over temporary difficulties on condition that the countries based their financial policy on sound principles formulated by the League.
6. An extensive scheme for the settlement of Greek refugees, and a similar though smaller scheme for Bulgarian refugees, was drawn up by the League and carried out under its auspices in collaboration with the Governments of the countries concerned.
7. Financial and economic policies for the countries of the world were laid down at the League's Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920 and its Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927. Obstacles to the free flow of trade, particularly in Europe, have been removed as a result of successive League Conferences on such matters as river and rail transit, passports, customs formalities, etc.
8. The League has been working at the disarmament problem for the past five years, and it is expected that an International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments by land, sea and air, will be convened by it in 1931.
9. The League has organised inter-governmental co-operation for the protection of public health throughout the world. It undertook an anti-typhus campaign in Eastern Europe in 1920. It has organised the study of malaria and sleeping sickness on an international scale. It arranges exchanges of medical officers of health of all countries so that each may learn from the experience of countries other than his own. It has opened a bureau at Singapore for distributing information regarding epidemics in the East. It has responded to requests from such countries as Persia, Greece, Turkey, and China for assistance on a larger or smaller scale in organising national public health services.
10. Through its Opium Advisory Committee and its Opium Central Board the League has promoted international agreements for the suppression of the drug traffic, and supervises the execution of such agreements by the Governments concerned.
11. On similar lines it has organised measures for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and for the promotion of child welfare generally.
12. Special pieces of work undertaken by the League in the humanitarian sphere include the repatriation of 430,000 prisoners of war through the help of Dr. Nansen in the years 1920-1922, and the repatriation or settlement of Russian and Armenian refugees in many countries in Europe.
13. The League has special responsibility for two areas in Europe—the Saar Valley, which is administered by a Commission arranged by the League, and Danzig, where a League High Commissioner resides to adjust differences between the Free City of Danzig, which is placed under the protection of the League, and Poland.
14. The League has been made responsible for the execution of treaties providing for the just treatment of minorities in many countries in Europe.
15. The League supervises the government of many areas in Asia, Africa and the Pacific under the mandate system.
16. The International Labour Organisation, which is linked with the League, though working independently of it, devotes itself to raising the standard of life for industrial workers everywhere.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



SEPTEMBER, 1930

ETHEREAL FRIENDSHIP

YOUNG though it is, broadcasting has developed further than the most optimistic would have ventured to predict less than ten years ago. It is not as if broadcasting stations only existed in one or two places in one or two countries. They are to be found everywhere. The map in the International Radio Union's Office in Geneva looks as if the world were spotted red from the number of dots upon it.

Standards vary greatly in different countries. In some, for example, the wireless is used as an advertising medium. In others, such as our own, all forms of commercial publicity are rigorously excluded. Then, too, the amount of time devoted to different types of programme varies enormously from nation to nation. For instance, in Belgium, roughly a quarter of all programmes is given up to serious music, whereas in England it is light music that has this amount of time. France only gives music in general a quarter of her available broadcasting hours. Talks are her next biggest subject. They take 18.6 per cent. of the time. This is the highest percentage of any country. In England talks and news are 8.2 per cent. and 6.3 per cent. respectively, making up a total of 14.5 per cent. of the whole.

Statistics, however, do not amount to much. As a late Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education used to grunt when any of his colleagues talked to him on the subject: "Who made 'em?" They are useful as indications but not much more. All broadcasting companies are still only in an experimental stage trying to find out the popular taste. Some of them, greatly daring, are setting out to educate that taste by means of talks, good music or drama. Against this effort there is a continual moan of complaint. But it is not justified. In the wireless we have one of the greatest media for education, in the widest sense of the word, that we could possibly desire. Through it, it is possible to reach millions of people who, but for its presence, would never take an active interest in anything more than the doings of their next door neighbours.

Owing to its international character—for who of us, owning a set capable of it, never picks up a foreign station?—the radio can be utilised for the dissemination of international goodwill. The recent meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims and Objects of the League of Nations is, by its report, endeavouring to turn this international aspect of the wireless to good account. It has recommended the relay broadcast of lectures given at Geneva or elsewhere when they have an international import. They

further suggest that the widest possible use be made of the facilities which wireless companies put at the disposal of the teaching profession; and that eminent men should deal with questions on the League of Nations or the *rapprochement* of peoples; and that current events in world politics be commented upon from the point of view of peace.

It is gratifying to all of us who are anxious for the promotion of international goodwill to know that the B.B.C. have long been working along these lines. As indicated by Mr. Siepmann in his article in the July HEADWAY, during the autumn there are to be two series in particular which we should like to bring to the notice of members of the Union. The first of these is entitled "The World and Ourselves," and will consist of six conversations between representatives of foreign countries and Britishers. Each conversation will really consist of a discussion on the differences in character, habits and political outlook.

Following on this series there will be another by Professor Arnold Toynbee on "World Order or Downfall." In these he proposes to discuss the international outlook to-day and the problems that we shall have to face in the near future. "These talks touch every man, woman or child alive. It is a case of 'our money or our lives,' as well as our happiness which matters more than either."

As both these courses are conceived in a League of Nations spirit, they ought to be made use of by members of the Union.

The usual "Way of the World" talks will continue to take place. Mr. Vernon Bartlett, it may be said, has done more to interest that elusive creature, "the man in the street," in international affairs than almost anyone else. And it is not only in international affairs that he has awakened interest: in a subtle way he has showed how the League is concerned with all these matters and made it possible to realise the vital part which international co-operation is playing and is destined to play in the harmonious running of this complex world. The League idea is sinking in and the Union through its branch membership will reap the benefit if an effort is made.

Not to pay heed to such a powerful medium for education as science has put at our disposal through the wireless would be folly. It would be akin to fiddling while Rome burns and that is not the way to achieve world peace, which can only come by serious constructive personal effort.

THE UNCONVERTED

AFTER several years' experience as a secretary, of a branch organisation, I have come to the conclusion that we want something more than meetings if the branch is to grow. We have now reached the state where, if the mountain won't come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. We have got to attract people to our functions and, having got them there, to arouse sufficient interest in them to become members.

When I look round the counter-attractions of our town I find that we have five cinema theatres, one of which is showing "talkies," a music hall, and a Palais de Danse, not to mention other less salubrious spots where a man may rest after his daily toil. We have got to put up something which shall attract folk away from one or other of these. It is not easy, but I think it can be done.

When my Committee meets shortly to concoct the Winter Programme, I am going to put up three ideas for their consideration. As a matter of fact I am getting a bit tired of having to do all the work on my own and I want to have others back me up. I'm tired of accepting the usual suggestion of "Leave it to the Secretary. It will be in good hands!"

During Armistice Week I want the branch to have a big drive both for ordinary members and for Foundation Members, of whom we have got to find a few of what HEADWAY has christened "The First Hundred Thousand." The centrepiece of the Drive will be a shop or a booth in the Market Square. Across the road I am going to hang a streamer painted by one of the members of the branch and put up by volunteer labour. The shop will be decorated with posters, and flags hired from Headquarters. There will be a supply of literature (on sale or return) and a heap of enrolment forms. Members of the branch will take it turn and turn about to be in charge. At the same time I shall ask for canvassers to go round the shops and get the owners to put up the Cenotaph Poster in their windows. These, I hear, can be had free from Headquarters for this purpose.

Another event will consist of two plays: John Drinkwater's "X=O," and "Progress," by St. John Ervine. If we cannot raise the local talent inside the branch I intend to ask the local Amateur Dramatic Society and the Secondary Schools to give a hand. In the interval between the plays I shall have a short speech on the League and what it stands for, combined with an appeal for new members.

At those times of festivity, Christmas or the New Year, I want to run a Branch Dinner with a cosmopolitan menu. The owner of our local café has told me that it can be done quite cheaply if I can get 75 to come—and he is already hunting through cookery books for the choicest dishes from overseas. Of course the waitresses will be in national costume and the speeches and toasts will be about the League and international affairs.

Lastly, next Spring I am going to have a Model Assembly. I shall get my information from Headquarters, who are accustomed to giving help in these matters, and I shall get our members to take their places as delegates and to make the speeches. The Language Master at the High School, as an interpreter, will have to make a speech or two in French so as to get the full flavour of Geneva into our Town Hall.

With these special activities I hope to arouse new interest and get fresh blood into the branch—but the other members must rally round and help me for it is through their personal influence that those who are wavering will be convinced. I shall have a couple of ordinary meetings to tell us something of what is going on outside our narrow little provincial town.

If we haven't got things moving in nine months' time, I'll—I'll eat my hat!

P. B. A.

SEEING LIFE

NOW that the Union has its own Travel Department our members can get into direct touch with the work of the League in many different parts of the world.

A hardy group of travellers, for instance, spent a boisterous week-end at Easter in Holland. During the time visits were made to the Permanent Court, and the party had the opportunity of fraternising with members of the Dutch League of Nations Society in the most alluring teashops of Amsterdam.

The Geneva season, as is to be expected, has been an extensive one. Indeed, it has not yet finished, for a couple of groups are spending a week each at the Assembly. Let us add that it is *still not too late* to enrol. In June, another party was enabled to see the yearly meeting of the industrial side of the League at work. They were charmed by M. Albert Thomas' mellifluous tones, had a daily lecture on what actually was going forward in different sections of the Conference from one of the staff of the I.L.O., and also visited the Palais des Nations.

And now at length we come to the subject on account of which this article is being written, namely, the August parties. There were two of these. The first was the annual meeting of the Geneva Institute of International Relations. At Easter it was fraternisation with the Dutch, at this it was fraternisation with Americans—doctors, professors, journalists, preachers, and even a couple of senators from Washington.

The lectures were delivered by an All Star cast so to speak. They included Professor Rappard, the Rector of the University of Geneva and a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Professor André Siegfried, the well known French *savant*, Professor Brierly, the international lawyer from Oxford, Señor Madariaga, now a professor at Oxford, and late Director of the Disarmament Section of the League, Professor Zimmer, the new Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, and last but not least, Professor Gilbert Murray.

Next year the Institute is to meet on August 10. There will be two sets of lectures: A series of introductory lectures on the League's work and an advanced course on the problem of international administration. For those who have to regard their six days in Geneva as part of a well-earned holiday, attendance at the latter course will be optional, and there will be alternative attractions, such as lake excursions.

Undoubtedly, though, the sensation of the year has been the Second Junior Summer School, of which there is a picture on the next page. Possibly Geneva will never get over the sight of a hundred or two English schoolboys and girls in school uniforms marching through its streets. From the moment that they arrived till the train left the station on the return journey, they took the city by storm. They went everywhere, all armed with note-books, which they filled at an amazing rate; they asked innumerable—and, it must be confessed—most penetrating questions; they beat the funicular down the neighbouring mountain by 35 minutes; they won the hearts of all who met them, and even the sun humoured them, for the one perfect day was that on which they went to Chamonix and explored the Mer de Glace. And, of course, in between whiles, they had talks from some of the most eminent men in Geneva.

The Junior School has to be seen to be believed. Even the most jaded members of the Secretariat, bored and *blasé* with years of diplomatic dealings, are roused from their patronising attitude and feel that there is hope for the peace of the world yet when there is so much interest among the members of the rising generation.



THE JUNIOR SUMMER SCHOOL—A GREAT ADVENTURE!

NOTES AND NEWS

Children's Geneva Scholarships

The *Yorkshire Observer* and the *Nottingham Journal* both used their columns to run a League of Nations Essay Competition in the areas in which they circulate. The first prizes were free trips to the Union's Geneva Junior Summer School, of which the group above is a picture. Twelve boys and girls from the North and from the Midlands have thus been given an opportunity to see the city in which the League of Nations works. Afterwards some of the prize-winners were treated to a short holiday in Switzerland.

Spondon's Effort

Eight pounds were the profits made by the Spondon, Derbyshire, Branch at its very successful garden fête in July. A record of 400 attendance was established. "Paddy Pools," by Miles Malleson, was given by the children of Spondon House School, under the direction of the headmaster, Mr. Williams. "Although this is not a recognised anti-war play, it embodies the principles of the League in very beautiful language," says the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Oliver Free.

Council's Vote

Cradley Heath branch has completed its 1929 quota. The following have completed their 1930 quota:—

Albury, Alrewas, Battle, Burgess Hill, Bucklebury, Bicester, Baldock, Bluntisham, Broadstone, Barnetby, Bridgewater, Blakesley, Coldstream, Chard, Chester, Chelmsford, Chichester, Christchurch, Dorking, Edenhall, Folkestone, Fernhurst, Fittleworth, Felixstowe, Grendon, Handcross, Hurst Green, Hindhead, Headington, Huntingdon, Hayling Island, Halton, Henfield, Harehills Lane, Kington, Leatherhead, Leamington, Lingfield, Maldon, Midhurst, Newhaven, Plumpton, Parkstone, Penn Fields, Rudgwick, Rickmansworth, Ross, Rushden, Sheffield (Queen Street), Sandown, St. Ives (Hunts), Sedburgh, Shalford, Stroud, Storrington, Seaford, Tiptree, Torquay, Taunton, Tonbridge, Wadhurst, Withyham.

North Cotswold Summer Outing

Undeterred by stormy weather members of the Evesham, Campden, Moreton-in-Marsh and Stow-on-the-Wold Branch came by every means of conveyance, from bicycles to motor-buses, to the Summer Meeting of the Blockley Branch, which was held in the grounds of Colonel and Mrs. Dugdale. Sir Philip Stott was in the chair and the speaker was Commander Lewis, R.N. He held his listeners spellbound. Commander Lewis later presented prizes to the Blockley school children who had competed in the County League of Nations Essay Scheme and country dances were given by other members of the school. The meeting proved to be the most interesting that has taken place since the foundation of the Blockley Branch four years ago.

International Federation H.Q.

During the month of September the Headquarters of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies are temporarily established at 8, Rue de la Cloche, Geneva. Visitors to Geneva can obtain tickets for the Assembly at this address as well as all information about the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

A Dinner to the Imperial Conference

The Executive Committee has decided to hold a dinner in honour of the Dominion Delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1930. The Chairman of the Union, Professor Gilbert Murray, will be present, and among the speakers it is hoped that there will be the heads of the Dominion Delegations.

Macclesfield's Loss

The Macclesfield Branch is suffering a severe loss in the departure of the Reverend J. Gibbon for Newcastle-under-Lyme. During the years he has been at Macclesfield Mr. Gibbon has added lustre to the Branch as a play writer. His first piece produced was "The Dream," which ran, in the face of very great difficulties, in the Opera House for a week. Arising out of this, the Branch ran a campaign among the churches and local organisations, as a result of which there are now upwards of 20 Corporate Members in the district. Mr. Gibbon originated the mass demonstration in Macclesfield for Armistice time, which, in the last two years, has resulted in an increase of membership of 700. The Secretary of the Branch writes: "This recital gives little indication of his help to the Branch. His infectious enthusiasm, tempered as it is by a wisdom and sage counsel not always allied to such enthusiasm, is found invaluable in Committee work, and his advice has always been at the disposal of the Branch officers."

Following the Assembly

Williams and Norgate the new League Agents have notified us that it will be possible to obtain the Journal of the Eleventh Assembly of the League, which opens at Geneva on September 10, for 7s. 6d., post free. The Journal appears every morning and contains the programme of meetings, the agenda and a summary of the discussions at previous meetings. For anyone who wishes to follow the Assembly with real understanding this expenditure is well worth while.

—What Offers?

Two enterprising young Germans, who have already made their mark in England and are highly commended by the High Master of St. Paul's School, as well as by other school authorities, are ready to undertake engagements for the Union throughout the country next October. They are Herr Curtius and Friedrich, who give a delightful lecture on certain aspects of German thought, life and art, and provide their own very charming musical accompaniment.

An I.L.O. Pageant

There were between two and three thousand people at the Sutton Coldfield (Warwickshire) Garden Fête last July. The *pièce de résistance* was an I.L.O. tableau arranged by Mrs. G. E. Lowe. Hitherto pageants have usually been written round the League of Nations. This one of the International Labour Organisation is a new departure and we recommend it to any organisers who want something different. The text is obtainable through Headquarters.

The New Quarterlies

The Northamptonshire Federal Council and the Kent Federal Council are both publishing quarterly magazines for the benefit of the members in these areas. The Northamptonshire Magazine is called the "New World" and the editorial staff must be congratulated on the excellence of their production. The same is true of the "Kent Quarterly," published at Maidstone. As a means of holding the interest of the ordinary member, local magazines of this nature are unrivalled.

Correspondence Exchange

A German schoolmaster of 45 would very much like to exchange correspondence with an English schoolmaster of about the same age. Will any reader who would be willing to undertake this exchange of letters please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Mr. Everett Reid—At Home

Mr. Everett Reid, who is well known as a speaker for the League of Nations Union, will give information classes on international affairs at 8 p.m. on Mondays, beginning on October 6. They will be held at Mr. Reid's house, 29A, King's Road, Sloane Square, London, S.W. The classes will be open to all members of the Union free of charge, but in order to arrange for the necessary accommodation Mr. Reid asks that those who hope to attend will let him have their names.

The Federation to go to Danzig

The Representative Council and the four Permanent Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be meeting in Danzig between October 10 to 13. Among the Union's delegates to these meetings will be Mr. David Davies, Lord Dickson, Sir Walter Napier and Capt. A. E. W. Thomas.

A Tribute

Mr. W. G. Chubb, the Honorary Secretary of the Leominster Branch, has passed away. At the age of 75, when many a man thinks only of rest and recreation, Mr. Chubb began a nine years' course of vigorous service for the Union which would have done credit to the youngest enthusiast. The writer, speaking from personal experience, can testify that it is due to his untiring patience, zeal and devotion that the Leominster Branch was one of the greatest missionary centres in the Midlands. Not only was the local branch a success, but news of the League of Nations was carried into all the surrounding country. We should like to pay our tribute to the passing of one who, though old in years, had the enthusiasm of a child.

Welsh Notes

The Welsh League of Nations Union's stall at the Llanelly National Eisteddfod attracted a large number of visitors.

On Thursday of the Eisteddfod Week a reception was given on behalf of the Welsh Council by Lady Howard Stepney to the overseas visitors to the Eisteddfod. More than 400 visitors attended the reception. The President of the Welsh Council, Mr. David Davies, and the Rev. Gwilym Davies, addressed the gathering and Dr. Dan Protheroe responded on behalf of the overseas visitors. Sir Vincent Evans and the Archdruid Pedrog also spoke and the reception closed with the singing of the Welsh National Anthem.

In the Arts and Crafts Section of the Eisteddfod the Welsh Council also had a small stall on which was exhibited a model beam wireless station and some of the replies to the 1930 Wireless Message of the Children of Wales. This exhibit excited considerable interest among the large number of children and adults who visited the Arts and Crafts Section.

The Pageant of War and Peace produced by Cynan at Caernarvon in July proved a great success and huge gatherings witnessed its performance on each of the four days; thus was Caernarvon Castle added to the other Welsh castles which have been captured for peace and the idea was well developed in the presidential addresses.

The Welsh Council had a stall on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Show at Caernarvon in July and considerable interest was taken in the exhibits on the stall.

A very successful Garden Fête was held at Corwen in aid of the Welsh Council's Funds.

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	...	822,903
Aug. 16, 1930	...	...	...	...	866,254

On July 31, 1930, there were 2,954 Branches, 901 Junior Branches, 3,300 Corporate Members and 668 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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