



# HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XII. No. 2. [The Journal of the League of Nations Union.]

February, 1930

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

## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT ... ..	21	BUILDING (Editorial) ... ..	31
THE NAVAL DECISIONS ... ..	24	THE IDEA BEHIND. By Norman Angell, M.P. ...	32
WHY TO READ "HEADWAY." By the Editor ...	25	ARAB AND JEW. By William Martin ... ..	33
A VETERAN'S REFLECTIONS. By Count Aponyi ...	26	PSITTACOSIS AND THE I.L.O. ... ..	34
THE LEAGUE COUNCIL ... ..	28	THE WORLD IN 1930 ... ..	36
MANDATE ISSUES ... ..	29	BOOKS WORTH READING ... ..	37
ITALY'S OFFERING. By Edward Shillito ... ..	30	READERS' VIEWS ... ..	39

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

This issue of HEADWAY contains articles by Count Aponyi, the veteran Hungarian statesman; Edward Shillito; Norman Angell, M.P.; William Martin, Foreign Editor of the "Journal de Geneve"; and the Editor.

THE details of the Reparation settlement reached at The Hague in the middle of last month are as abstruse as the details of so complicated a financial operation must naturally be. Fortunately, there is no need to trouble about the details here. What matters is that the eternal reparations question seems to have been settled at last, and settled over the whole field—covering, that is to say, the obligations not of Germany only, but of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. That is not to say that the question will never be reopened. It may quite conceivably be that the payments Germany has undertaken to make under the Young scheme will prove beyond her power, though, as things stand to-day, they appear to be well within the limits of her capacity. As for the other three Powers, they are to pay little or nothing, and trouble regarding them ought not to recur at all. The trouble, indeed, has been to arrange terms between Hungary and her suspicious neighbours, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. With a settlement in that field the hardest nut of all has been cracked, and the fact that as part and parcel of the settlement the everlasting Optants dispute has been cleaned up too will relieve the League Council of an embarrassment with which it has been saddled so long that life without it will never seem quite the same.

### The Drug Fighters

THERE is something rather admirable in the accumulation of efforts the League is making to solve that inherently insoluble problem, the suppression of the traffic in narcotic drugs. During the latter part of January the Opium Advisory Committee at Geneva was in session studying particulars of seizures of smuggled drugs, listening to the explanations of nations charged across the table with laxity in this matter, and considering further plans for tightening up the grip on the traffic. The Chinese delegate, Mr. Woo Kai-seng, made the very interesting proposal that the drug manufacture of the whole world should be centralised in a single League factory to be established at Geneva. There is nothing intrinsically impossible in such a project, so far, at any rate, as Europe and Asia are concerned, but it is hardly to be expected that the proposal will be seriously taken up. In the early part of the month the Opium Central Board, which is helping to check the illicit traffic by the statistical method—comparing each country's estimates of its legitimate needs with the amount of drugs that is being imported into or manufactured in that country—held the fourth session of its existence, and is now getting well under weigh with its work. Meanwhile, the League session studying opium smoking in the Far East has been at work in the British colony of Hong Kong, among other places. These convergent efforts will, it must be repeated, not kill the illicit traffic altogether, but they will make, and are making, life harder for the traffickers.



### When not to Fight

IT is a significant indication of the trend of modern thought that we should find no fewer than 15 Bishops, to say nothing of various other distinguished figures in the Church of England and the Free Churches, setting their names to a series of resolutions on War and Arbitration which includes an appeal to the leaders of all the Churches "to declare in unmistakable terms that they will not countenance any war or encourage their countrymen to serve in any war with regard to which the Government of their country has refused an offer to submit the dispute to pacific methods of settlement." One prelate, the Bishop of St. Edmondsbury, dissents from this particular resolution in a very friendly statement in his own diocesan magazine, not being quite sure that it is proper to decline to support a British Government, even if it should go to war in the face of a bona-fide offer of arbitration. The question is interesting and one that should be faced frankly. Public opinion, and even League of Nations Union opinion, will no doubt be to some extent divided regarding it. Yet the British signature to a document like the Kellogg Pact was given deliberately and must be honoured scrupulously. The Government pledged itself never to seek a settlement of any dispute except by pacific means. Suppose some future Government should, nevertheless, seek a settlement by war—for this is the alternative contemplated in the resolution the Bishops have signed—ought the individual citizen to support it even though he recognises the Government is breaking a solemn pledge? The Bishops say that at any rate they will never encourage an individual to fight in such circumstances. In so saying they are courageous, and a great many people will be satisfied that they are right. Others quite as honest and zealous for peace very likely will not.

### A Gifted Translator

THE comparatively few who attended the opening session of the Naval Conference in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, and the millions who listened to the proceedings on the radio, must alike have been struck by the clarity and fluency of the translation of English speeches into French and French into English. Credit should be awarded where credit is due. The interpreter, M. Matthieu, is a well-known figure on the platform of the League Assembly and the International Labour Conference at Geneva. His services had been requisitioned for this occasion and no wiser choice could have been made, for, despite his youthful appearance, M. Matthieu is a translator of quite remarkable gifts. So greatly did Sir Austen Chamberlain appreciate the skill and accuracy with which one of his lengthy speeches at the Assembly was rendered into English that he asked the interpreter—M. Matthieu—to sign his notes on the speech and give them to him, so that Sir Austen might add them to his interesting private dossier, which contains the manuscripts of various speeches by his father, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, John Bright and other leading politicians.

### Assiduous Admirals

IT is due to three or four well-known sailors, notably Admirals Allen, Drury-Lowe and Mark Kerr (in alphabetical order like the Naval Conference delegations) that the growing acceptance of the gospel they have so long preached in the matter of naval reductions should be given proper recognition. In public speeches, in articles and in letters to the Press, some of which were published while others were not, they have been advocating up and down the country for years the abolition of warships of above 10,000 tons and of guns above 8 in. calibre. It is too much to say that this doctrine as it stands has been generally accepted. It has not, though the Naval Conference may come to it yet before it finishes. But at least the doctrine of a drastic reduction in the size of the big ship has made enormous headway. The powerful advocacy of Sir Herbert Richmond has now been added to the efforts of the earlier pioneers and papers whose patriotism and solicitude for the security of the country are beyond question and who have come out definitely for total abolition of the capital ship or its reduction to well under half its present size. At the moment when a harvest is thus being reaped the efforts of the first sowers deserve a word of tribute.

### The City and the League

BEFORE it is too late some reference should be made to the striking words used by the City Chamberlain, Sir Adrian Pollock, when the Freedom of the City of London was conferred on the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Guildhall a few weeks ago. Referring to the services Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had rendered to the country, Sir Adrian observed that "the Prime Minister has lost no time in giving the whole weight of his influence in support of a campaign, the ultimate object of which must appeal to every right-thinking man—peace in our time and, if it is humanly possible, peace for all time. Much good and useful work can be and is being done by the League of Nations, but surely the only real prevention of wars is disarmament." These are sentiments whose essential soundness cannot be gainsaid, and it is peculiarly satisfactory to find a civic official like the City Chamberlain embodying them in a formal speech on a notable occasion, and obviously in full confidence that they will be welcomed and endorsed by all his hearers.

### A Prize for the League

WHILE the Nobel Peace Prize has not been awarded this year, or rather last year, for the announcement is usually made in December, the Woodrow Wilson Peace Prize of 25,000 dollars has been allotted to the League of Nations. The decision is interesting. The prize was established by President Wilson's admirers and followers to honour his memory, and the first award of all was to Lord Cecil. Later recipients have been Mr. Elihu Root and Colonel Lindbergh, not because he

flew the Atlantic, but on account of the astonishing results he and his aeroplane achieved in Mexico in promoting goodwill towards the United States. The prize goes to the person or institution that has done most to further the aims and ideals for which Woodrow Wilson stood. The suggestion in regard to this year's award is that the money shall be used to erect a memorial to Mr. Wilson in the new League buildings. How the condition hitherto observed, that the recipient of the award must go to New York and get it (as Lord Cecil did), is to be fulfilled is not quite clear. Nor why, if the League was deserving of the prize, it did not get it earlier than this. But, at any rate, the Prize Committee has made an interesting departure, and the League Council has accepted the offer with gratitude.

### The Palace that is not

COMMENT was made in last month's HEADWAY on the deplorably slow progress the League's new buildings at Geneva are making. So far as visible construction is concerned, indeed, they are making no progress at all. The foundation stone that was laid last September has so far found no fellow to join it. The position was serious enough for Mr. Henderson to raise it at the League Council last month in the form of a question to the Secretary-General. Sir Eric Drummond explained the necessity of constant consultation among the five architects engaged in the work, and the delays involved in putting up the tenders to international competition, and ended with the rather depressing observation that he hoped actual construction might begin in the autumn. M. Briand echoed Mr. Henderson's expressions of anxiety on the subject and observed that the construction of a certain tower had once been undertaken on the basis of international co-operation, the difficulties being accentuated by the lack of a common language. No doubt the art of building construction had made some progress since that day, but he could not help considering whether the fate that befell Babel was not in some danger of befalling the League's building enterprise. Defenders of the delay point out that every postponement of a decision in the past has led to a better decision being taken in the end, that control by committees necessarily slows things down, and that it is better to get every detail clear on paper and then go forward without a check, than to start prematurely and have to stop to work out the next stage. Well, possibly. But it is to be feared that many who looked forward to seeing the League well installed in its permanent home will go down to their graves with the vision unfulfilled.

### The New and the Old

THE article by Count Apponyi in another column will be read with general interest. Count Apponyi himself is a dominant figure at every League Assembly, and a deep impression was made last September by a touch of reminiscence in his speech from the Assembly platform, when he mentioned that he had himself witnessed and taken part in the reorganisation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and seen it in due time collapse; he had seen the rise and fall of the Second Empire

in France; he had seen the rise and fall of the Hohenzollern Empire in Germany. It is with that unique experience of what we know as the old diplomatic conditions that Count Apponyi watches the development of the new order as represented by the League of Nations. As the representative of a conquered State he sees defects in the League which are perhaps not quite as conspicuous to more complacent observers in this country. Quite possibly he sees some that are not there at all and exaggerates some that are. But his article expresses a point of view of which full account must be taken, and it is in that sense and spirit that it is laid before the readers of HEADWAY.

### A New Face at Geneva

OF the two new Foreign Ministers whose attendance at the January session of the League of Nations Council had been expected, Dr. Curtius, of Germany, was kept away at the last moment by a sudden crisis at The Hague. Signor Grandi, of Italy, however, was present throughout the Council meeting. He is a singularly interesting personality, and his attendance was made more interesting still in view of the fact that no Italian Foreign Minister has ever attended a Council meeting before. The reason for that is obvious, at any rate as regards the years since 1922. Signor Mussolini has for the whole of that time, down to a few months ago, been Foreign Minister himself, and his duties in Italy were so multifarious that he could never leave the country at all. Signor Grandi has been Under-Secretary for a considerable time, and has just been elevated to the full office of Minister. He is a man of no more than 34, and his personality made a very happy impression. He may hold extreme views, but he did not express them at Geneva, and his very friendly attitude to everyone in private conversation suggested that he may soon become a popular figure in League circles. A rather conspicuous gap will be filled if, as may be assumed, the Italian Foreign Minister now follows the example of his British, French and German colleagues and regularly attends the Council meetings in person.

### Mexico Arrives

MEXICO is one of the six or seven States that have not yet joined the League of Nations. The question does not seem even to have been very seriously considered. Mexico's problems are mainly local and internal—local in relation to the United States to the north and the Central American republics to the south, and internal because civil war has been alternately simmering and boiling over in Mexico for years. But the present Mexican Government appears to have reached the conclusion that the League is at any rate worth watching, and has consequently appointed one of its diplomats to live at Geneva and act as "observer." The diplomat in question, Señor Antonio Castro Leal, has been secretary of the Mexican Embassy in Washington, so that he no doubt speaks English sufficiently well, and secretary of the Mexican Delegation at the last Pan-American Conference at Havana, so that he presumably knows how international congresses are run.



## THE NAVAL DECISIONS "GIVE PUBLIC OPINION A CHANCE"

BY the time this issue of HEADWAY is in its readers' hands the London Naval Conference will be immersed in its labours. As to the course they will take and the results they will achieve, it is obviously premature to speak, but at least the opening has been auspicious. The speeches delivered by King George and the delegates of the different countries at the opening session in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords had a ring of genuineness about them which lift them above the level of mere formalities.

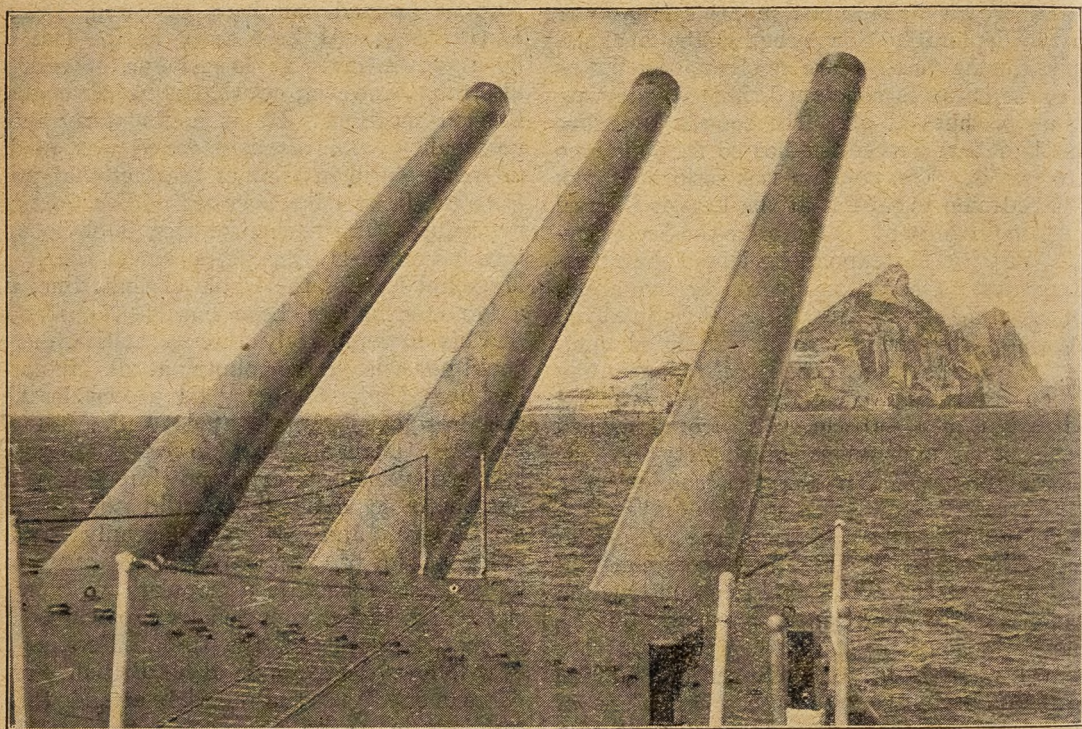
No one talked on that occasion about ship displacements or gun calibres. That will have to be discussed and is being discussed to-day, for these things are the outward indications of the kind of policy nations decide to adopt towards one another. But the right note was

an echo across the Atlantic and made it far more likely than it had been when the foreign delegates left their own capitals that effective action would be taken in this particular field.

That recognition of the expectancy of the peoples found expression in more than one speech delivered at the Conference's opening session.

"The whole world," said Mr. MacDonald, "is turning its eyes on us to-day. It begs us," he added, "to give public opinion a chance and to lift our problem out of the narrower scrutiny of the technical expert and put it on to the broader field of the creative statesman."

"Our peoples," said Mr. Stimson, the head of the American delegation, "demand of us a success. They



The Last of Their Kind? (H.M.S. "Nelson's" 16-inch Guns)

struck by the King when he spoke of the determination of all peoples to leave nothing undone to prevent a repetition of the grim and immense tragedy of the Great War.

The Prime Minister in dwelling on the importance of the League of Nations with its steadily growing authority, of the Peace Pact, "that mighty moral bulwark against war," the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court and the increasing number of signatures of the Optional Clause, very properly drew public attention to these barriers against war, none of them more than ten years old save by a month or two, and all of them recognised to-day as profoundly modifying those relationships between States which armies and navies exist to maintain or to try to alter.

The success of the Conference looks like depending partly on how far public opinion in the different countries asserts itself, and partly on how far delegates themselves realise what that public opinion demands. Even before the Conference began the views on battleship abolition or drastic reduction expressed, not by the admirals or politicians, but by the ordinary writers and readers of newspapers in this country had found

recognise the disaster that a failure of this Conference would bring to their dearest hopes and they are determined that we shall succeed."

"Before the world, which has its eyes upon us," declared the French Prime Minister, M. Tardieu, "and which will judge us, our responsibility is engaged."

"The eyes of the world," said Signor Grandi, the Foreign Minister of Italy, "are turned to-day towards London. The nations will judge us by results. They look to us to stop that dangerous competition in naval armaments only partially checked by the naval holiday secured by the Washington Conference."

It is characteristic of post-war diplomacy that statesmen should be thus conscious of what the peoples want, and it is of good omen for the success of the Conference now in progress. The statesmen will have to decide how far they can at this moment agree to go—whether they can abolish battleships or only cut down their size and numbers; whether they can abolish submarines, or again, only restrict their size; how far the cruiser programmes of the different countries can be curtailed.

## WHY TO READ "HEADWAY" A WORD TO THOSE WHO PREFER NOT TO

By THE EDITOR

HEADWAY is said to have its admirers. They may not be very vocal, but they are understood to exist. It quite certainly has its critics. There is no sort of doubt about their existence. And they do not fail at all to be vocal. That is a thoroughly good thing. Critics, particularly intelligent critics, and more particularly intelligent and sympathetic critics, are a stimulus, not a discouragement. Their suggestions are often sound and would be sounder still if they were adjusted to facts with which the ordinary critic is by the nature of things not familiar.

### One or Two Facts

Let me deal very briefly with certain criticisms frequently heard, not with a view to criticising the critics, but to show why certain things they would like different are not different. Take first the form of HEADWAY, and then its contents. As to form—why is the paper so thin and skimpy? Because its circulation is almost wholly postal, and the size and the quality of the paper have been carefully chosen so as to keep the journal of 24 pages just within the weight that is carried for a halfpenny. To use heavier paper, or enlarge the journal by a single page, would make the postage on each copy a penny instead of a halfpenny. On a circulation of over 90,000 that means an extra £200 an issue, or £2,400 a year, an increase that cannot be seriously contemplated.

But why not pay for the increase by advertisements? That is a quite possible expedient, and if it were certain that £200 worth of advertisements a month would be readily forthcoming developments in this direction would have been carried out long ago. But it is very far from certain. At first, at any rate, the enlargement of HEADWAY in order to make room for advertisements would almost inevitably result in a loss. How soon the loss would be turned into a profit—if ever—is a matter for speculation. But this question is under constant examination, and if a good case for change can be made the change will be carried through.

One more question on this aspect of the HEADWAY problem. Why not avoid the penny postage difficulty by getting HEADWAY supplied through newsagents instead of by post? The answer is clear. Because it would cost fully a penny a copy—probably more—to do that, which means sustaining the loss of £200 a month which has already been ruled out as too serious to contemplate.

### Contents and Form

But to the ordinary reader the contents of HEADWAY are more important than the form, and, from an editor's point of view equally, they matter more. Here, again, a distinction needs to be made. Is HEADWAY right in its general purpose? And is it carrying out that purpose as well as might reasonably be expected of it? The first question is fundamental; the second is subsidiary.

Let it be admitted that on the first point opinions may legitimately differ. All I can do is to make it clear what the purpose of HEADWAY at present is, and what I personally am convinced it always should be. It may be expressed in a sentence, in the statement that HEADWAY exists primarily to instruct, and only secondarily to entertain. Its aim and method are those of the League of Nations Union. The Union does not form its 2,500 branches and organise its tens of thousands of meetings up and down the country to tell people that study of the League of Nations is a pleasant recrea-

tion for winter evenings. It exists, and organises, to tell people that the League of Nations is in some respects the greatest thing in the world, and that every good citizen ought to support it, not only with his heart, but with his head, not only emotionally—that is easy enough and costs nothing—but intellectually, taking the trouble to follow its activities and equip himself to defend it against critics, whether wanton or sincere.

### News About the League

And HEADWAY exists to enable the good citizen to do this. One claim it makes with some confidence, and on that it takes its stand—that it reports League activities sufficiently fully and faithfully for the man who reads HEADWAY regularly to be sure he is keeping himself as well posted as anyone except an expert need do in the work of the League. That function is worth discharging. No other paper in the world is doing it with the same thoroughness as HEADWAY, and for that reason HEADWAY is read far outside the British Isles. I could if necessary quote many examples of the attention paid to it in quarters that count, but this article is not written to make a case for HEADWAY, but simply to show what the paper is trying to do, and doing. This—from one of the secretaries of a large organisation in the United States quite unconnected with the League—will suffice: "Let me take this opportunity to tell you how highly I prize your magazine. It is not so large but I can look it through and get the best of it in an hour. Its discussions and articles are always illuminating. I regard HEADWAY as one of the very best magazines that come to my desk on international affairs." In providing for the publication of a paper doing this kind of work the League of Nations Union is rendering a more valuable service than is commonly realised.

### Picking and Choosing

And here is the answer, or part of the answer, to the criticism that HEADWAY is (a) dull, or (b) above people's heads. A great deal of the work the League of Nations is doing is dull. A great deal of it is complicated and abstruse. By ignoring all that and concentrating on, say, the white slave traffic, and the opium traffic, and slavery, and the reform of the calendar, HEADWAY might be made much more interesting than it is. But it would be giving a hopelessly one-sided and misleading picture of the League of Nations, which is neither honest as journalism nor, in the long run, effective as advocacy of the League.

Take in that connection two of the outstanding issues of the present moment—the Optional Clause and the Washington Hours Convention. The importance of those two agreements is incontestable. It is out of the question to ignore them. It is equally out of the question to discuss them in articles as entertaining as the pages of *Punch*, or even of the *Children's Newspaper*—and admirably as Mr. Mee's excellent periodical serves the cause of the League in its own special field, are adult voters really to insist on having the League explained to them in language adapted for the child of twelve? The Optional Clause—a highly complicated and technical question—is discussed in HEADWAY in articles as little complicated, and in language as little technical, as the subject permits. But discussed it must be and is.

### Pleasure or Duty

To that extent the reading of parts of HEADWAY must always be more of a duty than a pleasure. But



it is a duty any man or woman of serious purpose ought to be ready to carry out. It was stated at the last meeting of the League of Nations Union Council that more than half the members of the committee of a certain large branch declared they could not read HEADWAY and had no desire to read it. Clearly something is wrong there with the committee or with HEADWAY or both—and it certainly is not with HEADWAY only. Anyone can read HEADWAY who wants to. It is nonsense to suggest the contrary. Whether a particular person desires to or not is another matter, but support of the League qualified by the condition that everything dull or abstruse about it must be avoided like poison is a singularly half-hearted affair.

One other observation is pertinent. Things cease to be dull and become interesting as you begin to under-

stand them. The League as it exists, and as it is dealt with in HEADWAY, is no exception to the rule. You light in the January number on something about, let us say, the mandate system. The phrase at first is meaningless and puzzling, but you read the paragraph and get a smattering of the subject. When you see it again in the February number it has a bit of a familiar look about it. In March it is hailed as quite an old friend. By April you are positively looking forward to hearing more about mandates. So with other subjects. If HEADWAY is dull that is undoubtedly partly due to the Editor's incompetence, and he deserves all the criticism he gets and more. But the reader can do a great deal to dissipate dullness by systematic study. For the upshot of the whole matter is that the League of Nations is something worth working at. Abstract approval by armchair adherents is worth little.

## A VETERAN'S REFLECTIONS COUNT APPONYI ON THE LEAGUE'S POSITION TO-DAY

*(Count Apponyi may be described without fear of contradiction as the most striking figure at recent meetings of the League Assembly. One of the most prominent politicians in the old Austria-Hungary, he has, as he said last September, witnessed, and had some part in, the rise and fall of that Empire, and has since the War thrown himself with undiminished vigour into the cause of the League of Nations. He is to-day, at the age of 83, a member of the Hungarian Chamber. He speaks fluently five or six languages, and wrote this article for HEADWAY in English.)*

OF the ten years' activity on which the League of Nations looks back, six fall within the range of my personal experience. Six times I had the honour of representing my country at the Assemblies; several meetings of the Council did I attend, when matters concerning Hungary were dealt with. I feel entitled, therefore, to give an account of my impressions and my conclusions as to the evolution of an institution, to the principle and idea of which I am entirely devoted.

Any critical remarks that I may feel bound to make are not inspired by a spirit of hostility or of scepticism, but rather by the concern of a believer with the success of the idea in which he believes. Of course, I am anxious to ascertain what good the institution does, or fails to do, to my own country. Who can find fault with me for never losing sight of her interests? But this peculiar preoccupation does not interfere with the broader aspects of the question, because no country, including mine, can have any reason to complain of the League of Nations if its activity corresponds to the general aims and fundamental principles laid down in the Covenant.

Applying this standard to the work of the League of Nations, let us at the start draw a line between its political and non-political activities. No exception can be taken to the latter. A good deal of progress is achieved in the evolution of humanitarian, cultural, social co-operation. Upon the whole, this section of the work is almost entirely satisfactory.

### Political Conflicts

But I do not feel able to bestow similar unrestricted and indiscriminating approval on the proceedings adopted in connection with such political questions as come within the range of the League's aims. In two of its most important tasks, the general reduction of armament and the protection of racial minorities, it has hitherto conspicuously failed. Not a farthing's-worth of real progress has been achieved in the question of disarmament. What has been claimed as progress—the acceptance by England and the United States of the principle that trained reserves should not be reckoned as effective military forces—is retrogression

rather than progress. It is an agreement *not* to disarm. Besides this, the repeated meetings of the Disarmament Commission have achieved no other results than clearer formulas of antagonistic views and unsolved difficulties.

### Minority Troubles

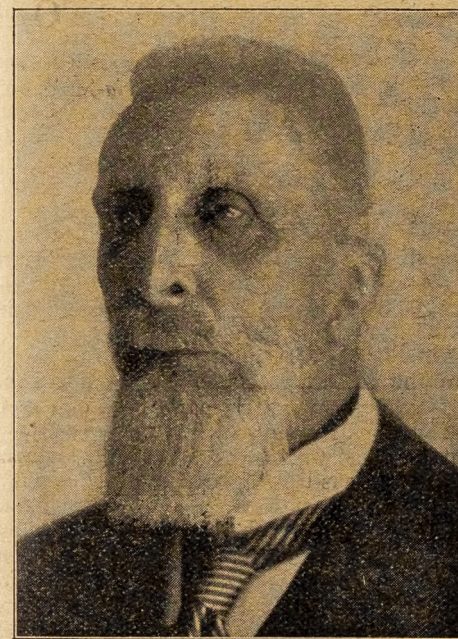
As to the minority problem, I do not know of a single complaint among the many—the case of German settlers in Poland excepted, who enjoyed the benefit of a special treaty concluded between Germany and Poland—which has been righted by the Council, though the League of Nations accepted the task of guaranteeing the minority treaties. Now it is equally absurd to pretend that not a single one of those complaints was justified, or to assert that they were all well founded.

What the failure in these two objects means to us Hungarians I need hardly explain. We are entirely disarmed by the terms of the peace treaty inflicted upon us, and surrounded by neighbours not exactly well-meaning, provided with armies numbering 500,000 men in times of peace, possessed of every modern war implement. But that same peace treaty contains a solemn promise that this humiliating situation of one-sided disarmament, this defenceless state, should be compensated for by the general reduction of armaments. That promise is still in suspense. As to the minority question, be it enough to state that out of the total number of Magyars, which is, roughly speaking, 10 millions, 3.3 millions, one-third, have been submitted to foreign domination by the enactments of the Trianon Treaty. Be it then understood that the questions in which the League of Nations hitherto has failed are precisely those of vital importance to us; no wonder that diffidence and criticism prevails in our appreciation of the League's work.

### Arbitration

Apart from these two peculiar tasks, the League of Nations has to provide in a general sort of way for the preservation of peace and good understanding among nations by building up such permanent institutions as are fit for that purpose and by settling those particular cases of impending conflicts which cannot fail to arise from time to time, and have, as a matter of fact, arisen

repeatedly during the last two years. No doubt, conspicuous progress has been achieved in the first direction. The Covenant of the League left many chasms open for war to glide in; arbitration was not declared compulsory, not even in juridical controversies, with which the Council, as a political body, is hardly competent to cope. Furthermore, the Council advises and recommends—instead of deciding. By the strenuous efforts of many years we have progressed so far that now the Great Powers have signed the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court's statutes—the smaller ones will, no doubt, follow—so that the judicial or arbitral settlement of juridical controversies seem to be secured in any case. Furthermore, we have, in the "Acte Général" adopted by the Assembly in 1928, a fundamental document whose general acceptance will make the machinery for the prevention of war as complete as seems humanly possible. The Kellogg Pact has real efficiency only on the basis of these institutions; in itself, and taking into consideration the reserves under which it has been signed by several Powers, it offers no such guarantee (see the case between Russia and China).



Count Apponyi

Of course, the machinery is still far from perfect; but it is on the way of constant improvement; and what more can be expected from human work of any kind?

### Wars Averted

As to the other branch of the League's activity, the settling of particular cases brought before its cognizance, we certainly find success achieved in many instances, but we find also proceedings which are open to criticism. The origin of many mistakes lies in the aforementioned imperfection of the Covenant, which makes it possible to avoid a judicial or arbitral settlement of juridical controversies and to bring them before the Council, whose members are naturally biased by the political interests and sympathies of their own countries and, therefore, incapacitated—whatever their personal gifts may be—to fulfil judicial functions.

We had—and, alas still have—before our eyes a conspicuous specimen of their failing in the so-called Transylvanian Optant question, where the Council's vacillating attitude imperils the authority of the international judiciary, that is to say: the stronghold of the new international order, which the League is meant to

uphold. I need not dwell on this particular matter, which has been discussed in the English House of Lords (Autumn Session, 1927) by the greatest jurists of the United Kingdom, who were unanimous in denouncing the proceedings adopted by the Council. What I wish to point out is an underground current, which, assisted by the aforementioned imperfections of the Covenant, tends towards bringing juridical controversies, not before a tribunal or an arbitral court, but before political bodies, where political considerations but too often obliterate the juridical aspects of the case.

### The War Spirit Still

That same current pushes its boldness so far as to claim for the Council a sort of control over judicial decisions, which, of course, would annihilate their authority. Fortunately the proposals for the settlement of international disputes embodied in the Acte Général accepted and commended by the Assembly of 1928, will, when generally agreed to, put an end to those unhealthy attempts. So at least, I hope. But, that currents which undermine the League's work existed, and probably still exist, is an undeniable fact.

To be quite candid I must state my general impression that the League of Nations is still far from being that impartial international institution to which all nations can appeal with equal confidence. The spirit of the war alliances still prevails, and it is very hard for the ex-enemies to get justice in a case against the ex-allies. It may be quite natural that the distinction should still exist and make itself felt. The peace treaties have done their best to preserve it by establishing and maintaining differentiations in the international legal status of the victorious and of the vanquished States, a sort of regulation which contradicts the very idea of peace.

### What the League Should Be

A period of ten years may be too short to eradicate the disastrous psychological effects of the most horrible war known to history. The phenomenon certainly can be explained, but there it is, and to get rid of it must be the chief aim of all those who sincerely believe in the League of Nations, who really wish it to become what it is proclaimed to be, not the continuity of war alliances under the cover of a misleading phraseology, but in truth an instrument of equal justice and fairness to all, of mutual good understanding between all nations, and of peace secured by the working of those moral forces.

On moral forces must the League of Nations' work rest, because every attempt to provide it with means of material coercion is doomed to fail, whenever the big States are interested. We must, therefore, concentrate our efforts on cultivating, strengthening, developing the true spirit of the institution and eradicating whatever clings to it of unavowed afterthought and hidden tendency. To reach this state of perfect health and vigour may take time, but progress towards it must be conscious and constant. The future of the League depends on this.

Sunday, January 19, was observed by the Protestant Churches of all denominations in this country and the United States as a day of prayer for the success of the Five Power Naval Conference. This is said to be the first time such simultaneous action has been taken.

The National Home-Reading Union has published at 6d. a select list of books on the War, compiled by Edward Blunden and others. Mr. Blunden suggests that to read about the War is a necessary part of our modern education.



## THE LEAGUE COUNCIL ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S FIRST ATTENDANCE

THE January session of the League of Nations Council was about the shortest on record—which means, incidentally, that those who predicted that if Council meetings were made fewer each of them would necessarily be longer have to revise their views.



M. Zaleski

But if a meeting which began on Monday morning was able to finish by noon on Thursday, that does not mean that it was of secondary importance. In point of fact, much useful work was done, and though the Council was necessarily a little overshadowed by The Hague Conference which was still sitting and the London Naval Conference which was about to begin, the attendance of Foreign Ministers at Geneva was notable. Dr. Curtius, of Germany, it is true, was detained at The Hague at the last moment by a sudden crisis, and M. Marinkovitch, of Yugoslavia, was kept away from Geneva for similar reasons, but Mr. Henderson and M. Briand were both there—the latter, as he said, not because the meeting was particularly important, but in order to maintain a principle he believed in. There, too, for the first time, was Signor Grandi, Foreign Minister of Italy, a singularly interesting figure as he reflectively smoothed his short brown beard and exchanged pleasantries with his next-door neighbour, M. Briand. M. Zaleski, the Foreign Minister of Poland, was in the chair, and M. Procope, Foreign Minister of Finland, was in his place as usual.

### Ten Years' Memories

Two formalities outside the agenda were of some interest. One was the tribute paid by the President, M. Zaleski, to the memory of Dr. Stresemann, whose death had taken place since the Council's last meeting, a tribute which gained in force from the fact that M. Zaleski and the late German Foreign Minister had often found themselves sharply at issue while championing the cause of their respective countries. The other formality was the speech made by the President on the closing day of the Council session, January 16, commemorating the fact that it was exactly ten years ago that morning that the first Council Meeting had been held in Paris in 1920. M. Zaleski had not been there himself. Only one member of the present Council had. That was Señor Quiñones de Leon, the Spanish member, who, following M. Zaleski, made mention of the notable dead, in particular M. Léon Bourgeois and Lord Curzon, who had sat by his side ten years earlier.

### Light Work

As for the Council's actual work, it consisted rather more than usual of approving decisions already reached by some special and well-qualified committee charged with some particular branch of the League's activity. For that reason, as is likely to happen increasingly in the future, intrinsically important questions were disposed of with little or no discussion. That was true of one of the most important of all, the proposal to hold a conference to consider the possibility of declaring a tariff truce. Since the British delegation proposed this last September, the Governments of countries members of the League had been consulted, with the result that every State in Europe

except Albania (and Russia, which is not a member of the League) had declared in favour of such a conference. It was, therefore, naturally decided to go forward with the project, and the conference will meet at Geneva on February 20, under the chairmanship of M. Carl Moltke, a former Danish Foreign Minister. What it will do when it does meet no one quite knows, and there is some misgiving on the subject in various quarters. Herr von Schubert (Germany), who handled the question at the League Council table, emphasised the importance of every country being represented (as Great Britain will be) by a responsible Minister, not merely by experts without authority.

### Covenant and Pact

If the tariff question went through without discussion when some discussion was expected, the proposal to amend the League Covenant so as to bring it into harmony with the Kellogg Pact provoked two unlooked-for and important little statements from the British and French Foreign Ministers. All the Council had to do was to appoint a committee to draw up a final text of the desired amendments, but Mr. Henderson took the opportunity to dispel any idea that the Covenant was being treated as an inferior instrument that had to be brought into line with a superior. For himself, he regarded the Covenant as the foundation of all post-war organisation, and it was simply being strengthened now because it was found possible to go farther in 1930 towards the complete prohibition of war than was practicable when the Covenant was drafted in 1919. M. Briand followed in the same strain, declaring, as one of the authors of the Kellogg Pact, that he would never have moved an inch in that direction if it had meant running counter in the least degree to the League. He added, a little suggestively, that he hoped the Committee would take a wide view of its task, because it was necessary for the League to be able in an emergency "to confront the horror of war with something more than words." Lord Cecil is to be the British member of the committee.

### Opium and Prisons

No political dispute was before the Council and once more the agenda was free from those Saar and Danzig problems that used to be so frequent. The question of the investigation of the traffic in women in Asia had to be adjourned because certain details of the arrangements were still under discussion, and a committee of lawyers was appointed to look into the interesting question of whether Governments could, without breach of their undertakings regarding the secrecy of telegrams, forward to Geneva facsimiles of messages suspected of being handed in by agents of the illicit drug traffic.

The subject of prison conditions, which the Howard League in Great Britain has for some time been trying to bring before the League, was raised by the representative of Cuba, who admitted that data on the subject were inadequate and that the work of the existing International Prison Commission (which includes only 27 States) was a factor to take into account. It was accordingly decided that the Secretariat should collect further information on the matter.

Two statements about the Optional Clause were made at the Council meeting—one by Mr. Henderson, to the effect that the question of ratification would be brought up in the House of Commons before the end of January, and the other by the Foreign Minister of Lithuania, who announced that his country had just signed the clause. In this case no ratification is needed.

## MANDATE ISSUES GREAT BRITAIN UNDER FIRE AT GENEVA

THE best way to make an Englishman appreciate the reality of the League of Nations mandate system is to show him his own country, or his own Empire, under criticism in connection with it.

Any Englishman who was present at last month's meeting of the League Council was shown precisely that. Criticism is perhaps not quite the word to use, for there was nothing hostile, nothing that was anything but sympathetic, in the attitude of Council members who, with the report of the last meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission before them, subjected to vigilant examination certain aspects of British or Dominion administration in mandate areas the world over.

The report was laid before the Council by the Foreign Minister of Finland. That illustrates the League's method. No country could have less direct interest in any mandate territory than Finland. Consequently her representative is entrusted with the handling of mandate questions. The first point he had to raise was that the Government of South Africa would insist on talking about its "sovereignty" over the mandate area of South West Africa, or at any rate refused to admit that it did not enjoy sovereignty over that territory. M. Procope of Finland contented himself with reaffirming previous declarations of the Council that sovereignty over mandate areas does not rest with the mandatory, but Herr von Schubert, the German member of the Council, commented with vigour on the South African nationality law, which, he said, imposed British nationality on large numbers of inhabitants of South West Africa urging that the matter should be studied further.

### The Future of Irak

Next came Tanganyika. In connection with that the League has a questioning eye turned on the scheme for closer economic and administrative union between that mandate territory and Kenya and Uganda. But the British Government has given a binding pledge that before any final action is taken the League shall have an opportunity of expressing its views, and M. Procope considered it enough to recall that Samoa, too, was passed over fairly lightly.

The proposal of the British Government to end the mandate, or semi-mandate, over Irak by proposing that country for membership of the League in 1922 raised many questions of interest. M. Grandi, the Foreign Minister of Italy, emphasised the importance of this first case of the termination of a mandate, and pointed out that under the mandate certain rights and privileges, particularly in the matter of economic equality, were secured to all members of the League. To that Mr. Henderson replied very properly that it would be wrong to make the maintenance of these privileges a condition of Irak's entry into the League as an independent State. An independent State must be master of its own tariffs. He observed, moreover, that it was for the Assembly, not the Mandates Commission or the Council, to decide whether Irak was fit for League membership or not.

### Palestine Troubles

But by far the most important question arising under the heading of mandates concerned Palestine. It did not in fact arise as much as it might have, for the situation in that country is regarded as so serious that the Permanent Mandates Commission intends to hold a special meeting to consider it as soon as the report of the Shaw Commission, sent out by the British Government to investigate the immediate causes of the recent riots, is received.

In Palestine Great Britain is faced with one difficulty not commonly realised. One article of the Mandate, Art. XIV, deals with the vexed questions of the possession and guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine, mainly Jerusalem. Jews, Moslems and Christians all claim some of these and the Mandatory Power, Great Britain, was required under Art. XIV to set up an impartial commission to settle the whole matter. But the League Council has never approved Art. XIV and has let the rest of the mandate go into force without it, for the discreditable reason that France and Italy both claim the chairmanship of the Commission, Catholic and Protestant States are at loggerheads over representation on it, while there is a further conflict of opinion as to what the exact functions of the Commission should be.

None of this is Great Britain's fault, and one result of it is that the Wailing Wall question,\* which has caused such tragic trouble in the past year, remains unsettled still, because the Wailing Wall is one of the Holy Places the proposed Commission should have dealt with. That situation was so serious that a few weeks ago the British Government went direct to the Mandates Commission with a request that a special commission should be appointed at once by the President of the Council to settle the Wailing Wall question alone. The Mandates Commission could not comply with this request as they found it incompatible in certain respects with the mandate, and it accordingly came on to the Council.

### A Wailing Wall Commission

Difficulties were still expected, for France and Italy were believed to be suspicious lest the whole question of the Holy Places Commission under Art. XIV was being opened up. Fortunately, private conversations cleared their minds of that idea and the proposal Mr. Henderson finally laid before the Council was as rigidly limited as a proposal could well be. He asked for a commission of not more than three persons, none of them British, one of them a jurist of repute, to determine once for all the rights and obligations of Jews and Moslems at the Wailing Wall, and, having discharged that single task, to dissolve without discussing any other of the Holy Places at all. The commission will be appointed by Great Britain, but the names will be submitted to the Council for approval.

M. Briand and Signor Grandi raised no objections to this proposal. His Highness Foroughi Ali Khan, the Persian member of the Council, speaking as a Moslem, said he would not vote against it, but his silence must not be taken as committing his co-religionists to approval of it. The proposal was then adopted.

Altogether the mandate questions provided material for an excellent discussion. No one can suggest that the League deals with this issue perfunctorily when the report on it is presented by the Foreign Minister of Finland, when criticisms are answered at length by the Foreign Minister of Great Britain in the presence of the Foreign Ministers of France and Italy (their German and Yugoslav colleagues would have been there too had they not been detained at The Hague) under the presidency of the Foreign Minister of Poland.

\* The Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the ancient Jewish place of lamentation, is adjacent to a Moslem mosque, which lies on the other side of a narrow thoroughfare. Clashes between Moslems worshipping at the mosque and Jews worshipping at the Wall are frequent.



## ITALY'S OFFERING A NATION'S RICHES ENRICH THE WORLD

By EDWARD SHILLITO

IN the days which followed Christmas it became possible this year for all who were in London to take a few steps out of the grey street into a land of beauty and enchantment. The exhibition of Italian painting in Burlington House carried tens of thousands on a journey through the wonders of the land in which modern painting took its origin and won its most splendid triumphs. No people has been so rich in the treasures which nations cannot possess without making all other nations rich. It is not, however, with the exhibition in terms of artistic appreciation that HEADWAY has to do, but with its meaning for the progress of international goodwill. What significance, if any, have these pictures for those who seek peace among the nations?

### Mussolini's Goodwill

It must be acknowledged that the very fact of the exhibition is a mark of goodwill. Signor Mussolini from the first showed his sympathy with the project, and saw to it that the art of his country in all its fullness should be represented in London. From Rome, Naples, Modena, Siena and all the great cities of Italy, willing guardians of the pictures conspired to make the exhibition complete. To galleries in other European countries and in America, as well as to private donors, the exhibition owes much, but here it is fitting to recall the fact that Italy has shared, not without some risk, its most precious inheritance with the English people.

The value of this act for international goodwill does not depend upon the subjects treated by the painters; those who wonder at the golden skies of the early painters or see the tempest lowering, or are led into

"the sunny weather,

When all the sons of morning sang together," will not want here any preaching upon peace, or any cartoons describing the true fellowship between Italy and Britain. The influence of such an exhibition must be indirect, and not susceptible to the customary measures whereby we mark progress or decline in the mind of a nation.

### Great Italians

The nation which has given to the world these treasures has many other claims upon the attention of the world. It has been a nation much occupied with political philosophy, as well as with religion. Not only did the Romans live there with their genius for political action, but Dante, Macchiavelli and Mazzini were Italians. Yet the exhibition does not speak of that Italy or of its thinking upon the life of nations. No one who leaves the Galleries will have seen anything which will directly

help him through the dark wood in which he finds himself in this modern world.

What it may do—and, indeed, must do—is to set within the hidden places of the mind new thoughts upon Italy and upon the things which are above the barriers of nations. What did we associate with the word "Italy" when we entered the exhibition? What was added in the unconscious part of us when we left?—added so that whenever afterwards we think of "Italy" there will be undertones of gratitude and admiration and goodwill, the very word "Italy" itself will be so transformed in meaning that when we read of the religious, or political, or industrial news from that land we shall think more truly and generously of its people. They are now the people of Giotto, Giorgione, Botticelli, Titian, Raphael and many others, whose pictures we have seen. These speak of a land of light and colour, which has handed down from age to age its mystery, and this fact has sunk deeply into the unconscious depths of thousands of minds.

### The World's Possession

It is easy to over-estimate the power of such educational work as this, indirect as it must be. Those who seek the peace of the world cannot afford to wait for the slow permeation of such international acts and revelations; and yet they can be thankful for these allies. It is well that as many as possible shall be at home in those fields of human thought and imagination in which there is neither Italian nor British. When the familiar phrases which speak of "national interests"

are used, it is a great corrective to remember that in the highest human interests all the families of the earth can share. In those fields where the great music and art and literature are found, there is already a promise of the time when on other fields also—political, economic, industrial—there will be the same community of interest.

This does not mean that Italy has no right to be proud of its painters, or Germany to claim Bach and Beethoven as its own; there can be a national pride in such things, but it is not an exclusive pride; "ours" in this connection does not mean "not yours," but, rather, "therefore yours also."

To know that in some measure this is already achieved gives encouragement to believe that it will yet be achieved in all human interests. But there is much direct work to be done, and there is not too much time in which to do it if the nations of mankind are to be delivered from the negative nationalism which means war into the generous and inclusive nationalism of which the Italian Exhibition is a symbol and a prophecy.



Ghirlandaio's Giovanna Tornabuoni

# HEADWAY

February

1930

## BUILDING

THE editorial article in last month's HEADWAY discussed the completion of ten years' life of the League of Nations. The anniversary of the first Council Meeting fell on January 16, and was duly commemorated by the President of the 58th Council, which was then in session, and by Señor Quiñones de Leon, the Spanish delegate, who was the sole survivor of the original gathering at Paris.

Now the second decade has begun, and eyes must be turned forward instead of backward. It is not merely a question of prediction, it is a question of resolve. Things do not simply happen. They are made to happen by human beings. And it is for many people, including even you and me, to determine what shall happen to the League of Nations in the ten years to come.

Some of the factors that will affect its future are already known, or becoming known. What the League suffered from more than anything else in its early days was the fact that there were parallel, and to some extent rival, institutions in existence making equal claims on public attention, and in some cases almost usurping that attention and putting the League in the background. That was true of the Conference of Ambassadors, which acted as a kind of executive committee of the victorious Powers, and was actually more prominent than the League itself at the time when the salvage of the war had still to be cleaned up. Fortunately, the Conference of Ambassadors has now passed, if not out of existence, at any rate out of ordinary human vision.

Another of these parallel bodies was the Reparations Commission. So long as the reparations question was unsettled, not only did it distract public attention from Geneva, it also advertised the fact that an urgent international problem existed which the League was not permitted to solve. Now, thanks to the laborious negotiations at The Hague, the reparations question would appear to be removed for a long period, and it may be for ever, from the field of public controversy. A third handicap to the League—in this case of a rather different order—has been the almost total failure of the disarmament movement. The reasons for that need not be discussed here. The fact that the League's prestige has suffered in consequence is incontestable. Any impression made on the disarmament problem, whether it be made actually through the agency of the League of Nations or not, must be of unquestioned advantage to the League, both because it would mean that part of the League's task was being accomplished and because a decrease of armaments means an increase of the probability of peace. Here, again, there is ground for encouragement. The outcome of the London Naval Conference is not yet known, but that the Conference

can prove a total failure is hardly possible. Whatever agreements it reaches will, no doubt, concern only five Powers—quite possibly only three. What the League of Nations needs is a far wider agreement than that, to be achieved at a general Disarmament Conference resulting in a treaty in whose provisions the limited agreements reached at London shall be merged. All that can be said about that—and even so much is worth saying—is that what is happening in London is sensibly improving the prospects of the ultimate international conference.

All this means, in one word, that the League is building. Its roots are driving deeper. Its fabric, if the metaphor may be varied, is rising higher. Not as fast perhaps as some of us would like, but still rising. What is the future of the building to be? The omens on the whole are favourable. To mention one only, which was touched on by the President of the last League Council Meeting, himself a Foreign Minister, the fact that every Foreign Minister who can possibly do so invariably goes to Geneva for Council meetings or Assemblies is in itself both a proof of the estimation in which the League is held by the men who are actually conducting their country's foreign affairs and a guarantee that decisions reached in the future will be taken by practical men in a position to give effect to them so far as their own countries are concerned.

The building of the League will go forward so long as the conviction prevails in every country that the building of the League is something that matters profoundly. It does matter profoundly. The League as an institution for the organisation of peace stands unique in history. It has abundantly justified its existence already. When its Covenant is amended, as it is about to be, so as to make the prohibition of war absolute, the efficiency of the League as a guardian of peace will be materially increased, provided always that its Member States remain loyal to their obligations as signatories of the Covenant.

With that prospect in view, with that mission to execute, the League has a right to call on the support of every citizen of goodwill in every country. That is where you and I matter. The suggestion that the League is now established and needs no defence or advocacy may be dismissed. The League ideal may be universally accepted, so far at least as this country is concerned. There is every reason to hope it is. But the League will go on exploring new territory, enlarging its task, assuming new responsibilities. The League, in a word, will go on building. All the time its purposes, new and old, must be explained to the common people, and by their support the hands of the Government which sends its representatives to Geneva must be strengthened.

That is true of any people and of any Government in any country. If a body like the League of Nations Union has been needed in the League's first ten years—and no one can deny that the Union has played an indispensable part—it will be needed at least as much in the ten years to come. Its members in this country do not perhaps fully realise with what envy and admiration the Union is looked to by League supporters in other lands as the model of what a society for the League of Nations should be. Support for the Union must, therefore, continue. It needs financial support, pounds from every member who can pay his annual pound, crowns or shillings from those who can only do that. With the encouragement of the first decade behind them, the supporters of the League of Nations may go forward with resolve and with confidence to co-operate in the building yet to come.



## THE IDEA BEHIND THE REVOLUTION THE LEAGUE HAS WROUGHT

By NORMAN ANGELL, M.P.

THE moral appeal of the League idea would, I believe, be completely irresistible were it not obscured by the way in which the case against war is so frequently presented. We have had during the last year or two a veritable spate of books which are presumed to be anti-war. They give us pictures of shattered bodies, of physical and moral filth. But one may question very seriously whether the net effect of all this will be to make war less likely.



Mr. Norman Angell, M.P.

For one thing, the horrors of war are often used as a militarist argument: "If you don't want your daughter seized for the enemy's harem, introduce conscription and build more ships." Secondly, men—to their credit be it said—will seldom refrain from a course which they believe to be demanded by their rights or their honour, because it involves suffering or horrors. Many of men's noblest activities do involve that. Moreover, the implication behind so much of this literature is that war is caused mainly by the malevolent intrigues of international diplomats, of conscienceless capitalists, and so forth.

But, even if these forces enter, as they may (though they do not so much as is commonly believed), the real question is why whole nations—tens, hundreds of millions of ordinary men and women of all classes—come to believe that such quarrels constitute a cause to which the people should consecrate their fortunes and lives. It is obvious—and military men are perfectly well aware of it—that the morale necessary for modern war can never be sufficiently sustained unless practically the whole population can be convinced that the particular war is a fight for right and justice. And it never seems very difficult so to persuade a nation. Practically always, each side believes that its cause is just. Otherwise mothers would not give their sons and the sons would not die gladly; certainly they would not do so to increase the dividends of obese bankers. Speaking broadly, men fight because they believe there is no other way of attaining what they believe to be their rights.

### Two Rights or Two Wrongs?

And that brings us to the heart of the matter. Twenty-five hundred years ago war was described as the collision of two rights. It would be more correct, perhaps, to describe it as the collision of two wrongs. The situation in which war becomes inevitable arises when both sides quite sincerely have accepted as a right something which is not a right at all. And the question whether war will go on, and whether modern civilisation will go to pieces, depends upon whether mankind as a whole will come to realise that the particular right which nations put forward as justifying war is not a right at all, but a wrong.

What is this claim that we make? It is the claim, only slightly disguised, to be our own judge in our own cause when we come into conflict with other States. The claim is, it is true, usually disguised in various ways. We assert "the inalienable right of sovereignty and independence." The claim to "sovereignty and independence," if the

words are to be taken in any full sense, is equivalent to a refusal to be bound by a contractual relationship, equivalent to the claim to be our own judge. Still more plainly is it so when, on behalf of secure defence, we ask for preponderance of power over others. It places the other at our mercy. Should we consent to be placed at his? Why do we ask him to occupy a position we should refuse to occupy? It does not help in the least to assure him that we shall only use our power for "defence." Defence of what?

### The Gap in the Pact

And that incidentally is why the gap, not in the Covenant but in the Kellogg Pact as it stands, is so dangerous a gap. I refer to the reservation, not merely that nations may justly go to war for defence, but justly be left to be their own judge of what is defence. For that, too, touches the heart of the thing. Defence is not, and cannot be, limited to resistance to invasion, or all the foreign wars that we have fought, that America has fought, would be aggressive wars; for they have not been to resist invasion. Of the Allies in the Great War, Belgium alone fought to resist invasion. Yet we believe that our wars were defensive wars, as they may well have been. But they were not defensive of territory. But if defence is not the defence of territory, of what is it defence?

Defence is, of course, the defence of national interest, national right, independence, sovereignty, ultimately the right, that is, to be our own judge of what our own rights are. That is the "right" for which men fight and which, plainly, is a wrong and which is the ultimate cause of war.

### Who Shall be Judge?

In the past, powerful nations have said to their neighbours, "It is quite true that we ask a larger navy or a larger army than you, but it need not disturb you, because it is purely for defence. That is to say, if and when we get into a dispute with you as to our rights, all that we ask is that we, one of the litigants shall be the judge of that dispute." Does the other accept? Can he accept? He does not and cannot. He knows that it is rank injustice that one of the litigants should also be the judge of the cause. He sees it plainly enough when a foreign nation makes the demand for preponderance of power. But alas! he regards it as entirely natural when made by his own nation.

The claim to be our own judge of our own interests and rights is one which, by its very terms, denies to others what we ask for ourselves. If our nation is to be judge of a dispute, the other nation cannot be. The demand violates the first rule of human intercourse in that each individual claims a right, the nature of which is such that it denies a similar right to others. This is of the essence of that international anarchy which sooner or later makes war inevitable.

### The Covenant's Challenge

The great service of the Covenant (which in one respect lifts it morally much above the Kellogg Pact) is to have challenged boldly this wrong which heretofore has masqueraded as right, and to lay down the principle that no nation has the right to be its own judge of its own cause. The Covenant has limited and qualified the right of a nation to say what shall be defensive, and by so doing has made the first great breach in the Bastille of the old error. It represents the first real



## LANGUAGE-LEARNING EXTRAORDINARY

German Learnt in 100 Hours. Spanish in Six Months.  
Other Languages in Half the Usual Time.

By New Pelman Method.

REMARKABLE results are reported from men and women who have learned French, German, Italian and Spanish in about half the usual time by means of the new Pelman method.

The chief feature of this new method is that it avoids the use of English and enables you to learn French in French, German in German, Italian in Italian, and Spanish in Spanish.

Instead of laboriously translating English phrases into their foreign equivalents, and *vice versa*, you learn the Foreign language in question in that language—and you can do this even if you do not know a single word of it to begin with.

Consequently there are no vocabularies to be laboriously memorised: you learn the words you require by actually using them and in such a way that they easily remain in your mind.

### Smoothering Away Grammatical Difficulties

Another great advantage of the new method is that it smoothes away Grammatical difficulties. Many people fail to learn Foreign languages because of these difficulties. They are bored by the rules and exceptions which they are told they must master. So they give up the attempt. But the Pelman method introduces you to the French, German, Italian, or Spanish language straight away. You learn to speak, read, write and understand the language from the start. And you "pick up" a good deal of the grammar almost imperceptibly as you go along. This fact, by itself, has made the Pelman method exceedingly popular with those who want to learn a Foreign language quickly and with the minimum of effort.

Here are a few extracts from letters sent in by readers who have adopted the new method of learning Foreign languages:—

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

"I have learned more French this last four months than I did (before) in four years. I enjoyed the Course thoroughly." (W. 149.)

"The 'no translation' system saves endless time and gives one a better grasp of the (German) language in a much shorter time than the older methods." (G. C. 256.)

"I have obtained a remunerative post in the City, solely on the merits of my Italian. I was absolutely ignorant of the language before I began your Course eight months ago." (I. F. 121.)

"I have spent some 100 hours on German, studying by your methods: the results obtained in so short a time are amazing. With the aid of a dictionary, on account of the technical vocabulary, I find I can master German scientific reports published in their own tongue. I cannot tell you what a help this will be in my work. The whole system is excellent." (G. P. 136.)

"The (French) Course is an absolute godsend to me, for the present forced to live in a very quiet country village." (F. 126.)

"In three months I have already learnt more Italian than I should have learnt in many years of study in the usual way." (I. M. 124.)

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

"My first fortnight was spent in Vienna. After only six weeks of your German Course (with no knowledge of German previously) I was able to speak well enough to go anywhere on my own, and to buy things for others." (G. P. 111.)

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

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

"The Course has given me a marvellous insight into the Spanish language. I can read most things without difficulty. As for speaking and writing really marvellous results are achieved." (S. B. 132.)

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

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

This new method of learning languages is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues." There are four editions of this book, one for each language. The

first explains the Pelman method of learning French; the second explains the Pelman method of learning German; the third explains the Pelman method of learning Spanish; the fourth explains the Pelman method of learning Italian.

You can have a free copy of any one of these by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute, 114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

State which book you want and a copy will be sent you by return, gratis and post free. Write or call to-day.

### FREE APPLICATION FORM.

To THE PELMAN INSTITUTE

114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street,  
London, W.C.1.

Please send me a free copy of "The Gift of Tongues," explaining the new Pelman method of learning

FRENCH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN, } Cross out three of these.

without using English.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Overseas Branches—PARIS: 35, Rue Boissy d'Anglas. NEW YORK: 71, West 45th Street. MELBOURNE: 395, Flinders Lane. DUBAN: Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI: 10, Alipore Road.



"The shaving brushes are the greatest source of danger." Of these last it was suggested that they should be superseded by "cotton-wool pads enclosed in gauze, a fresh one to be used for each customer. In no case," the article continues, "should soap be applied by the hand." Contrary to what has been said of razors, they "do not offer a suitable soil for germs; nevertheless they are often found badly infected from the fact that they have been in contact with infected skin." Apparently

to dip the razor in spirit, lysol or a naked flame is not sufficient; however, two seconds' immersion in boiling water is an almost infallible method of sterilisation.

But for our peace of mind local authorities make ample provision for the proper sanitation of barber shops. Nevertheless, by drawing attention to the various dangers to the health both of the worker and, as in the above cases, to those who make use of his products, valuable work is being done to eliminate unnecessary perils.

## THE WORLD IN 1930 FOR NEW STUDENTS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THE world is just completing the third decade of the twentieth century. (A considerable part of it is under the impression that it has entered the fourth decade already, but a little mathematical calculation will show that that is not the case.) In the thirty years that have almost passed, the one outstanding event in world history has been the World War. It may well be that it will remain the outstanding event in the whole of the century in which we live.

### Changes Everywhere

The world was first convulsed, then reconstructed. The effects of both convulsion and reconstruction are with us still. New nations have been brought to birth. Old nations have disappeared or changed their form. Everywhere old boundaries have been shifted. Even nations that took no part in the war itself found their destinies profoundly affected by it. There is hardly a State in the world to-day that has not new problems to face in consequence of what happened between 1914 and 1918.



The individual man and woman has been affected too in a thousand ways, for the most part without realising it. One effect, in particular, the double process of tearing down and building up has had—the fostering of a sense of world unity and world citizenship, as opposed to the narrow nationalisms which blended so much that is good with so much that is evil before the war. That consciousness on the part of the individual that he is a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of a particular country has resulted, as it should result, in a new interest everywhere in international affairs. What twenty years ago was a preserve sacred to a handful of professional diplomats in every country is now a field in which the great majority of the moves are taken openly, after public discussion and under the critical scrutiny of millions of men and women in every country, who realise at last that foreign affairs concern them intimately and are qualifying themselves as best they can to form intelligent opinions on the problems that arise.

### The Elector's Interest

Ample proof of that was furnished at the General Election of last summer. Never certainly in the history of this country have Parliamentary Candidates been confronted by so many and so intelligent questioners concerned to elicit their views on various aspects of foreign policy, mainly, but by no means exclusively, affecting the League of Nations. The average Member of the present Parliament must have formed a much more definite impression than most of his predecessors did that foreign politics is everybody's business to-day.

But to lay the necessary foundation of knowledge in this field is none too easy. The daily papers, it is true, report events, and to some extent comment on and discuss them. The weekly and monthly journals do less reporting and more discussion. But the average man feels always the necessity of starting a little farther back. The papers assume a certain foundation of general knowledge in their readers. They have not the space, when something happens in Paris or Peking or Washington or Moscow, to explain just what its relation is to the general conditions in France or China or the United States or Russia. Nor do there exist in any accessible form books which give sufficiently briefly and sufficiently clearly the kind of general background a newspaper-reader interested in foreign affairs requires.

### Finger Posts

That lack can, obviously, not be supplied in full, or in anything like fullness, in a series of articles in such a paper as HEADWAY. But something perhaps can be done. After all, though a brief article may suffer from inadequacy, a lengthy one may contain so many facts that the bewildered reader cannot pick his way between them. Even in an article filling no more than a page or so of this journal, some indication can, I believe, be given of the main problems facing particular countries and determining the course of their foreign policy not merely at a given moment, but over a period of years.

It is even, I think, worth while attempting the still more formidable task of trying first to indicate in a few broad lines the outstanding factors in world politics, expressed not in terms of individual countries, but of individual continents. This article, therefore, is the introduction to a series which will attempt thus broadly to sketch in the backgrounds of world politics, first of all on the continental scale, and then on the basis of an examination of the policies of some of the principal individual countries. The first such study, in next month's HEADWAY, will be devoted to the problems of Europe. Readers interested in the subject may find it worth while to preserve the articles, for one will often contain references to another.

## BOOKS WORTH READING NAVIES TO-DAY

Naval Disarmament, by H. Wilson Harris. (Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.)

An excellent book, and I recommend the public to read it because it gives a concise explanation of this complicated subject which can be understood by laymen.

On page 25 the author says that "the limitation of the airship-carrier was comparatively of small importance." This is about the only occasion on which I disagree with Mr. Harris, for, in my opinion, the battleship of the future is a unit formed of an aircraft-carrier, a couple of submarines, a few destroyers, and one or two cruisers, and for this reason the size of the aircraft-carrier is of even greater importance than that of the present type of battleship. On this same page allusion is made to the cruisers required for use in a battle-fleet. If, as I hope, the maximum size of a warship will be reduced to 10,000 tons, the 25 cruisers now apportioned to look after our present battle fleet will be released for their proper employment on the lines of communication, for it would be absurd to allocate any cruisers for the protection of the 10,000-ton ship.

Mr. Wilson Harris points to the difficulties which the Conference will have to face, and also to the fact that France and Italy have built no battleships since 1913, and that while Great Britain and America possess the largest quantities of this type, both these countries wish for the abolition of the submarine, which is strongly opposed by France and, in a lesser degree, by Italy and Japan. If France is won over on this or other subjects, Italy will be won over too, as the one firm stand which the latter country takes is, to be absolutely equal to her neighbour France in strength on the sea.

The author points out that the question of the freedom of the seas practically disappears since the signing of the Pact and the Covenant. It appears to me that if the U.S.A. will undertake never to supply a country which engages in war without the sanction of the International Tribunal, the problem will be solved in a practical manner. It also must be seen to that other countries do not receive more than their ordinary quantities of food and materials, to avoid any chance of the disobedient land receiving supplies in any round-the-corner way. As General Smuts says: "If private war is illegal, and the party resorting to it an outlaw, he must be deprived of all rights against neutrals, and other States should undertake to have no dealings with him through the ordinary trade or financial channels, or render him any indirect assistance. . . . If this is made a reality the doctrine of the freedom of the seas ceases to be of any practical importance," and, he adds, "If the right of supply to all outlaws was explicitly renounced, as it was in the Paris Pact, the United States could no longer claim the right of a neutral to trade with such a party."

A suggestion worthy of consideration is that a Three-Power Locarno Treaty for the Mediterranean might solve the difficulties between France and Italy, and also save Great Britain the distress that would come to her communications and trade in the event of war between these two countries.

I hope many people will read this book.

MARK KERR, Admiral.

Naval Disarmament. By Hugh Latimer. (Royal Institute of International Affairs. 3s. 6d.)

This is one of the workmanlike and admirably documented monographs the Institute of International Affairs is in the habit of issuing on questions of immediate public importance. It fully and carefully traverses the whole ground from the Washington Conference onwards, embodying in its objective record a number of useful quotations from public speeches and public documents.

Africa and some World Problems. By General J. C. Smuts. (Humphrey Milford. 7s. 6d.)

In the December issue of HEADWAY, Mr. Philip Kerr summarised clearly the substance of the Rhodes lectures General Smuts has been delivering at Oxford on the future of Africa. The lectures have now been reprinted in book form and to them have been added three other lectures delivered by General Smuts elsewhere during his recent stay in England. The first place in the volume indeed is occupied by the Edinburgh address on "Livingstone and After," in which General Smuts undertook to correct the impression which one of his Oxford lectures appeared to have conveyed, that he set a somewhat low estimate on missionary efforts in Africa. Readers of HEADWAY will be particularly glad to find that the volume contains the notable speech delivered by the General at the League of Nations Union Dinner at the Guildhall last November and also the important Oxford lecture embodying a suggestion for supplementing the Kellogg Pact by a new convention dealing with the "freedom of the seas" question in case of general action against a violator of world peace.

### YESTERDAY'S HISTORY

Survey of International Affairs, 1928. By Arnold J. Toynbee. (Oxford University Press.) 21s.

Documents on International Affairs, 1928. By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. (Oxford University Press.) 12s. 6d.

Prof. Toynbee's annual survey of the world is not merely valuable but indispensable to every serious student of international affairs. His 1928 volume, though concentrating mainly on the Islamic World, the Middle East and China, opens with a lengthy section on the Kellogg Pact negotiations and various aspects of the work of the League of Nations. The League chapters are particularly useful at the moment, since they cover the work of the Preparatory Commission in 1927 and 1928 and analyse the provisions of the abortive Anglo-French Naval Compromise.

All that Prof. Toynbee does is so well done that, apart from general commendation, the points that present themselves for special notice are those regarding which his judgments may seem to be open to question. Is there much real ground, for example, for the statement that in the League's first nine years "there was a gradual but unmistakable transference of energy from tasks of European reconstruction to tasks of world organisation"? It would, no doubt, be going too far to maintain that there was no such transfer, but it was regrettably inconspicuous.

Turkey, again, may have been deflected from membership of the League, as Prof. Toynbee observes, by her relations with Russia, but her unwillingness to join unless the promise of a Council seat was held out as inducement is worth mentioning too. And the mission of the Deputy Secretary-General of the League to China was surely due much less to the fact that "the progress towards normality and stability which China had been making during 1927 and 1928 had been appreciated at Geneva" than to the conviction that nothing but some such gesture as this could keep China in the League at all after her defeat in the Council elections of 1928. But these are simply opinions on events that in some cases are susceptible of another interpretation. To differ, with hesitation, from Prof. Toynbee on such points implies no kind of adverse criticism of a notable and scholarly work.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's collection of documents most valuably supplements Prof. Toynbee's narrative. Apart from the text of treaties like the Kellogg Pact, it includes translations of speeches by Foreign Ministers—e.g., Dr. Stresemann, Signor Mussolini, Dr. Benes—on national policy not easily accessible in any other form.



## SEA WARS AND SEA LAW

**The Riddle of the Seas.** By S. K. Ratcliffe, Prof. J. W. Garner and Philip Kerr. ("The Nation" Office. 6d.)

This reprint of three addresses delivered at last year's Liberal Summer School is abundantly worth reading, most particularly the contribution of Professor Garner, who, as an American himself, puts to his own country a series of most instructively pointed questions regarding her habitual assumption that she is the traditional neutral and Great Britain the traditional belligerent. His observations on the effect Great Britain's insistence on the maintenance of full belligerent rights might have on her own position is equally pertinent. Mr. Kerr's address leads to the conclusion, unquestionably right, that the one and only way to avoid future controversies is to outlaw war altogether, though he stops short of discussing the vital question of how such outlawry is to be made practically effective.

**Save the Child.** By Eglantyne Jebb. (Weardale Press. 2s. 6d.)

Miss Jebb died at the end of 1928, but her work as one of the two founders of the Save the Children Fund—the other was her sister, Mrs. Roden Buxton, who edits this posthumous volume—will long keep her memory green. The essay now published, on the anniversary of her death, is in part a record of what the Save the Children Fund has done, and in part an appeal for more intelligent devotion to the cause of the children of the future in all lands.

## A NAVAL POLICY

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has issued a statement of national policy, the main-features of which may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) So long as war was a lawful instrument of national policy armaments were bound to be competitive. Naval Conference Members have, however, renounced war as an instrument of national policy and promised in future not to seek a settlement of their disputes except by peaceful means.
- (2) For the British Empire the Kellogg Pact and the League Covenant together limit the lawful use of armaments to
  - (a) police action, including international action under the Covenant for preventing and stopping war;
  - (b) self-defence against aggression. This danger has been much diminished by the existence of the Pact and the Covenant, and the task of meeting it considerably lightened by the support that may be expected from other members of the League.
- (3) For these reasons a considerable and simultaneous reduction of armaments should be possible, particularly in one field. The largest naval unit now permitted by treaty is of 35,000 tons. A reduction can be secured, without any danger to national security, to 10,000 tons with guns of not more than 8 inches, this figure being governed by the necessity of maintaining vessels capable of dealing with armed merchantmen.

## WANTED— Women Writers!

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

## HAS YOUR INCOME "SLUMPED" SINCE YOU RETIRED?

When a man retires on an income of, say, £500 a year, and it drops within a few years to half that sum, things are going to be very difficult for him. But there is an alternative to drastic economies, and that is to exchange his investments for a Sun Life of Canada guaranteed income for life. Assuming his age is now 62 and his investments are worth £5,000 (bringing in, at 5%, £250 a year), he can secure an Annuity of £504 per annum for the rest of his life.

## PRIVATE INCOME DOUBLED

This means that his income will be doubled. It means that it will never again fail him. Whatever happens—market slumps, trade depression, political unrest—he will receive his £504.

Has your income from investments slumped? Is it, in any case, sufficient for to-day's high prices? Why not investigate the advantages offered by the largest Annuity Company in the World—a Company with assets exceeding £100,000,000? Annuities at any age, for any amount—rates depending upon age, and even more favourable if health be impaired.

Write, stating age and amount you could invest, to H. O. Leach (Manager), Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W.1.

## EDUCATIONAL

**BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS**, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Obery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 1½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad, and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

**CARISBROOKE SCHOOL**, Durdham Down, Bristol.—Matric. and Oxford Local Exams., inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, LL.A. Tel. 5051, Bristol.

**LANGUAGES AND WORLD PEACE**. Annual Polyglot Conference of Institute of Linguists, Kingsway Hall, W.C., Saturday, April 12th, 3 p.m. Admission Tickets or Linguists' Review (7 Languages), 1/1, or Students' Guide (hints on 6 languages) 1/-, from Institute of Linguists, 28a, Basinghall St., London, E.C.2.

## ESPERANTO

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

## HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

**BOURNEMOUTH** for the Winter.—Abbey Mount Hotel. Ideal Residential. Min. Sea, Pav. Ex. cuisine. Garage. Inclusive terms from 3 gns. Recom.

**BRITTANY**.—"Biord House," St. Jaout de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Inclusive, £2 weekly. Winter, 30/-.

## AUTHORS WANTED.

AUTHORS Wanted, known and unknown, to communicate; every description of literary matter required; no fees. Editor, 1 Edenbanks, Edenbridge, Kent.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**SPEECHES, LECTURES, ADDRESSES**, etc., written on all subjects. Ten minutes 7/6 and pro rata. All MSS. typed. BM/DSNG, London.

**LEARN TO SPEAK IN PUBLIC WITHOUT DRUDGERY**. "A Practical Course in Public Speaking" teaches you everything in eleven valuable lessons. £1 1 0 post free. Bureau of Public Speech, 59, Poplar Road, Merton Park, London.

## READERS' VIEWS

## "A POINT OF VIEW."

SIR,—As I was chiefly responsible for the act of "sickly sentimentalism" as described by Mr. Victor M. Corden, of inviting Captain Hashagen to speak on the League of Nations Union platform at Reading, you will perhaps give me some space to reply to his letter. He states that the continued success of the League of Nations depends chiefly upon:—

(1) "The support of public opinion." As regards that: What effect on public opinion did Captain Hashagen's presence on a L.N.U. platform have? I can only give you the facts: of 150 press cuttings from the principal papers of the United Kingdom and Ireland, 140 were definitely sympathetic, eight were unsympathetic and two were neutral; of letters that I have received, to one that was abusive twenty were intensely sympathetic; of foreign papers, all were sympathetic; in fourteen letters that I received from the crew of Q12 everyone sent good wishes for the success of the meeting and personal thanks to Captain Hashagen; this officer also received several letters from members of crews of ships which had been sunk during the War, thanking him or one of his comrades for the treatment that they had received.

Intense enthusiasm was shown at the meeting and overflow meeting at Reading, and the interest was also shown by the fact that 3,000 were turned away. Facts speak for themselves.

(2) "The faithful keeping by the peoples and nations concerned of the agreements and pacts entered into." The question was never raised as to the right of Germany to sink merchant ships. That is another matter altogether. In order to promote good feeling the intention was to explode the idea instilled by war propaganda that the German U-boat commanders carried out their distasteful duty in an inhumane manner; whereas the real truth was, with possibly two or three exceptions, exactly the opposite. If the British people are to hate all members of the U-boat service because they did their duty, and to sustain this hate by reminding themselves of the 700 graves of those who lost their lives in the unarmed "Lusitania," would it not be equally logical for the whole German nation to hate the whole British Navy for the blockade of unarmed Germany kept up for many months between the Armistice and the Peace Treaty, which caused the death of about 180,000 men, women and children? To sustain that hate they have only to visit their local cemeteries.

As showing one of the good results of the Reading meeting, Captain Hashagen is now addressing large audiences in Hamburg, and to help him in his speeches he has just written to me for the inscriptions on the monuments to the Unknown Warrior and Nurse Cavell.

Let us hate war and what war brings about, and not the unfortunate individuals who perforce have to carry out the loathsome duty of killing their fellow human beings, men, women and children, whether it be by rifle, mine, poison gas, torpedo or starvation.—Yours, etc.,

N. LEWIS, Commander, R.N.  
Secretary Federal Council.

12, Gun Street, Reading.  
January 4, 1930.

[HEADWAY has received a number of other letters to the same effect.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

## From Lady Wyndham Knight

SIR,—I am a member of the Union, and have also been instrumental in obtaining Foundation and other members.

But as I have been in Central and South Africa for the last four months, have just read the copies of HEADWAY awaiting me. I wish to associate myself entirely with the letter in the January number, headed "A Point of View," and signed Victor M. Corden, as it expresses my own sentiments exactly. We want peace and friendliness, but not "sickly sentimentality." What had that German submarine officer to say on the "Lusitania" crime and sinking of hospital ships? If there is more of this in the Union, I shall take the same course as your correspondent.—Yours, etc.,

ALICE H. M. KNIGHT.

## "A PLEA FOR THE IDEAL"

## From Lady Parmoor

DEAR SIR,—Probably many of your readers will welcome the letter in the January HEADWAY under the title "A Plea for the Ideal," and will do so without any implied criticism of the admirable editorship of HEADWAY.

It may be remembered that the present Dean of Chichester (Chairman of the Christian Organisations Committee) contributed an article some months ago on the Christian alternative to war. The Committee share the anxiety of your correspondent that "the ideals of the poet, the prophet and the seer" should be given their due place. They have drawn up a card in the form of a calendar, appealing for prayer for the main activities of the League, and hope to produce further contributions from time to time.

Perhaps the most significant and hopeful fact about the Assembly at Geneva is the response which appeals to the ideal call forth. No one who was present at the end of the Fifth Assembly will forget the concluding address of the President, M. Motta, and his allusion to the Divina Commedia. Comparing the League, as representing humanity, to Humanity in the person of the poet Dante struggling up the mountain of purification, M. Motta closed the Assembly with the last words of the Purgatorio,

"Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."

The L.N.U. badge surrounds the map of the world with a circle of stars. There may be a danger of forgetting, in the detailed study of our map, that we too must be "pure and disposed to mount unto the stars."—Yours sincerely,

MARIAN E. PARMOOR.

## DISSATISFACTION

SIR,—A good cause can only benefit from fair criticism. Our Union has been exposed to criticism in the public Press, and I invite you to give your readers the opportunity of rebutting the charges made against our General Council or, alternatively, of endorsing them, as some members may wish to do.

Those members who have read the correspondence in the Times know what these charges are and the remedies which have already been suggested, but for the benefit of those who do not know and who may wish to put forward other improvements in the methods and constitution of the Executive Committee, a brief statement may be useful.

1. Complaint has been made that, although the education of the whole of the British people in the purposes and activities of the League of Nations stands first in our Royal Charter, we only have a paying membership of 400,000, less than one per cent. of the



population after ten years of hard work, and that many of the remainder know little and care less about the League.

2 The charge is also made—and has been suggested as one reason for our failure—that the General Council, either by resolution or in your columns, have frequently advocated a policy of their own, in advance of any resolution adopted by the Assembly. One example of this tendency is shown by the Council's statement of international policy issued last May and used, as some think, in a regrettable manner during the general election. Another case is the attempt that was made, nearly two years ago—though by now fortunately (and wisely) abandoned—to induce public opinion to support compulsory arbitration as the best method of settling international disputes, and to force our Government to adopt it as their own policy. Mr. Bruce said that the worst enemies of the League are those who try to make it go too fast. The best friends of our Union may be those who take his warning to heart.

3. Another fair criticism is that we usually hear addresses dealing only with one side of the question "how to do away with war," but the difficulties to be overcome are seldom discussed or even mentioned. The audience of "already converted" go away with the impression that a little more pressure is all that is required to ensure disarmament and peace, and they think that they have nothing more to learn by going to another meeting. By way of contrast to this: At a recent meeting in this neighbourhood the lecturer, after emphasising the value for peace of the humanitarian work of the League, concentrated on the difficulties of disarmament, and the resolution he put to the meeting was keenly debated for nearly an hour. It was described as the best meeting they had ever had, the reason being, of course, that they had, for the first time, heard something new and found it interesting.

Can any of your readers deny that there is some justice in these criticisms? or, while avoiding personalities which are neither edifying nor helpful, will they not help by suggesting remedies which shall increase the value of the Union's work and its popularity among all classes, and thus advance the cause which we all have at heart?—Yours, etc.,

Chalfont St. Giles.

ALEX. H. GORDON.

December 28, 1929.

I reserve the right to make any other use of this letter.

[The "criticism in the public Press," to which Sir Alexander Gordon refers, has emanated largely from his own pen. The Union is prepared for external criticism in the public Press, but its own members if they disapprove of its policy have a more appropriate remedy available, namely, to appoint as delegates to Council meetings those who share their views.—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### HISTORY AND TRUTH

SIR,—The question of how text-books should deal with the Great War is of great moment.

Whilst the utmost care should be taken to avoid arousing or perpetuating racial animosities, historical truth should be observed, for, by its presentment alone can the bitter lessons of experience be taught succeeding generations.

The criminal intrigue of statesmen and the "rattling of the sabre" which brought about that outrage upon civilization—commonly called the Great War—should be laid bare in history; but, in doing so, a distinction should be drawn between the leaders and the befooled peoples of the Central Powers, who, however, cannot

be freed from the responsibility of electing and following them—otherwise loss of territory and the infliction of reparation cannot be justified.

A dear young German friend of mine, who fell in the War, wrote me an unsigned letter from Switzerland at the outbreak of War, asking why a friendly nation like England had stabbed Germany in the back, when attacked by enemies on every side!

My love goes out to him and all the German and Austrian folk sacrificed to the deification of brute force and the doctrine of the superman.

Nations have no eternal future—judgment falls here and now—and history which records their rise and fall should also set out clearly for all who follow *the reason why*.

Let us see then that schools all the world over be taught the dreadful consequences of national wrongdoing and to loathe all false ideals. Only by such means will our youth learn that "patriotism is not enough," and the brotherhood of man become an actuality.

Our own dear country has many painful memories of past mistakes. Write them down too in the pages of history. Lest we forget!—Yours, etc.,

The Holt, Rustwick,  
Tunbridge Wells.

BENJAMIN WHITE.

December 28, 1929.

#### THE CHINESE FAMINE

SIR,—Perhaps we common people are imbued with an exaggerated idea of the League's capabilities, but it does occur to me that the present terrible famine calamity in China is an opportunity for the humanitarian activities of the League to be put into operation without delay, or at the least some sympathetic gesture made to the Chinese Government.

This is surely an international question, as no single nation could possibly cope with it, but would it not be feasible for the British Government to take the initiative in bringing the matter before the League Council?—Yours truly,

E. G. RYMER.

152, Westbourne Avenue, Hull.

January 17, 1930.

[This seems to be a matter for the new International Relief Union formed through League effort.—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### COMING EVENTS

FEBRUARY 17.—**Tariff Truce Conference (Geneva).**

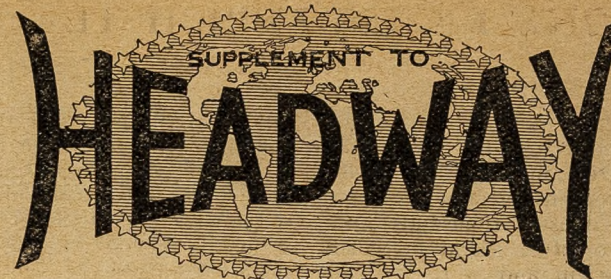
FEBRUARY 20.—**Committee on Covenant and Kellogg Pact (Geneva).**

MARCH 13.—**Conference on Codification of International Law (The Hague).**

APRIL 2.—**Traffic in Women and Children Committee (Geneva).**

In a note in the January HEADWAY comment was made on the fact that an inquiry into wages undertaken by the International Labour Office, at the request of Mr. Henry Ford, was concerning itself with Genoa rather than Turin among Italian towns, in spite of the fact that the great Fiat motor works are situated at Turin. It is now explained by the London representative of the I.L.O. that the reason for this is that Mr. Ford intends setting up his own works at Genoa.

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



FEBRUARY, 1930

## THE SOVEREIGN AND THE CROWN

THE world's first constitution, the Covenant of the League of Nations, has now been in force for ten years. With ten years of practice in organising peace, the League may now be strong enough to cope with the first task laid upon it by the Covenant: the Conference of the five great naval Powers which met in London on January 21 may well mark the beginning of a world-wide reduction and limitation of armaments. The greatest naval Powers undoubtedly mean business. But Governments have learned during the past ten years how little they can accomplish to serve their countries' real interests (by fulfilling their obligations under the Covenant or the Peace Pact) unless public opinion is prepared for apparent sacrifices of special national interests. The unpreparedness of public opinion is thus obstructing the path to peace. To remove that obstruction by making public opinion see that the nations form part of one almost world-wide society of civilised mankind, and by creating the sentiment of loyalty to that world society, is to guide our world into the way of peace.

That task is beyond the power of Governments. Kings and emperors, statesmen and diplomats, victorious generals and admirals who formerly made the great political changes are now almost powerless to secure the world against war. It cannot be done by Governments alone. But it can be done with the help of ordinary people who are convinced that it needs doing, and who combine to create a sentiment of world loyalty and a clearer understanding that the interests of any one nation can only be served by serving at the same time the interests of the whole international community.

So it is that we members of the League of Nations Union have entrusted to us by our Royal Charter a task so high that in the old days it could only have belonged to the Crown and to the Sovereign. Our privilege—which is also our opportunity of achieving something really great in our little lives—is now shared by more than 800,000 persons who have joined the Union during the past ten years. This in itself is an achievement, but it is not nearly enough. Let us begin the New Year with at least one good resolution to double our rate of increase during 1930 so as to pass the million mark before the year is over.

Let us also resolve that from now on we will make our Union self-supporting. In the early days the Union's

income depended precariously upon the generosity of a comparatively small number of very rich and generous men. Seven years ago we had to get £30,000 a year by begging from the well-to-do. We are now within £10,000 a year of paying our own way. In order to raise this further income we need first of all to increase the number of Foundation Members of the Union who subscribe not less than £1 a year. If by means of a well-organised house-to-house canvass, such as is contemplated in at least one county, we could get 100,000 Foundation Members from the country as a whole—four times as many as there are pounds in the Council's Vote—our finances would rest on so sound a basis that the Branches might retain the Headquarters' share of every smaller subscription.

Meanwhile, the General Council of the Union has instructed the Executive Committee to appeal in HEADWAY to every reader of that Journal to raise his or her subscription from 3s. 6d. to 5s., and so to increase tenfold—from 1½d. to 1s. 3d.—the part of it which belongs to the income of the Union. (Out of every 3s. 6d. subscription, 2s. 6d. is returned to the subscriber in the form of HEADWAY, 10½d. is retained by the local Branch, and only 1½d. is contributed to the central funds of the Union, while the corresponding division of a 5s. subscription is 2s. 6d. for HEADWAY, 1s. 3d. for the local branch and 1s. 3d. for the central funds.) The General Council has also asked the Executive Committee to remind Branch Secretaries and collectors to enrol whenever possible new HEADWAY members at 5s., instead of at 3s. 6d.

Readers of HEADWAY and Branch Secretaries who would make the New Year's hopes for peace come true, are urged to think out what they can do, and then do it, in this matter of the sovereign and the crown.

NOTE.—The General Council of the League of Nations Union, at its meeting in London last December, instructed the Executive Committee to appeal in HEADWAY to HEADWAY members to increase their subscriptions from 3s. 6d. to 5s., and to emphasise that subscribers of 3s. 6d. are not making an adequate contribution to the upkeep of Headquarters. The Council further requested the Executive Committee to print this appeal in a prominent position in consecutive issues. The appeal printed in the January HEADWAY is accordingly reprinted above.



## SUMMER SCHOOLS

For a holiday replete with interest, discussion and good company, why not join a Union Summer School? Reserve one of these dates:—

**1. Visit to The Hague at Easter.** A week-end in picturesque Holland, with a visit to the Permanent Court of International Justice and lectures on its work. Party leaves London Thursday morning, April 17.

**2. Whitsuntide.** A week-end on the Yorkshire Coast or a week in Geneva. (i) A week-end school from the evening of Friday, June 6, to the morning of Tuesday, June 10, in a charming guest house on the edge of the moors, six miles north of Scarborough. (ii) A week at the International Labour Conference, leaving London on June 7. This year's Conference is likely to be of particular interest. A holiday extension to the Italian lakes is also being planned.

**3. The Geneva Institute of International Relations** (July 27—August 1). The Institute meets in the League's Council Room. It provides an unparalleled opportunity for studying the work of the League and the general trend of world affairs. A party will leave on July 26. Accommodation in Geneva, social gatherings and excursions are arranged.

**4. The Union's Summer School** (September). Provisionally arranged for the first week of September in Cambridge in conjunction with a Week-End Conference for Teachers (Saturday, August 30, to Monday, September 1).

**5. Second Junior Summer School** (Geneva, August 7 to 14). A popular holiday school for parties of boys and girls from the upper forms of public and secondary schools.

**6. Assembly Tour.** A party is again being arranged to visit Geneva for the first week of the Assembly, which commences this year on Wednesday, September 10.

Particulars of all these arrangements can be had on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Edinburgh and East of Scotland Activities

The attention of members of Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branches is drawn to the meeting which will be addressed by Major Walter Elliot, M.P., in St. Andrew's Parish Church Hall, Drumsheugh Gardens, on February 21, at 7.30 p.m. The subject will be "The League and Industry." On March 11 Miss Maude Royden and Sir Henry Lunn will address a public meeting in the Central Hall, Tollcross. Miss Maude Royden is, of course, the distinguished London preacher, and Sir Henry Lunn is also a well-known speaker.

Mr. T. W. Gillinder recently visited the Edinburgh Branch and spoke on "The League's Industrial Charter and World Peace." He also addressed the employees of the North British Rubber Company, the members of the Edinburgh University Branch and public meetings at Musselburgh, Leith and Georgie. In the course of his visit Mr. Gillinder also spoke at meetings at Falkirk, Carnoustie, Galashiels and the Balerno Paper Mills. The Bo'ness Branch recently held a successful Model Assembly, 54 nations were represented, the subject under discussion being "Disarmament." The Comrie Branch meeting was largely attended, and a lantern lecture entitled "The Peoples of Other Lands" was given by Mr. James R. Leishman. A public meeting was recently held at Bridge of Earn, when the lantern lecture "The Peace Machine" was delivered by Mr. Leishman.

## WORLD ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

A Conference on this subject is to be held at the London School of Economics on February 25-27. Members who desire to attend the Conference, but have not yet applied for tickets, are urged to make application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, at once. Among the speakers will be the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., M.P., Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., Mr. Arthur Pugh and Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B. The sessions will be devoted to discussion of **Unemployment as an International Problem, The Effect on Labour Conditions of Rationalisation, Re-Settlement** (by industries), **Re-Settlement** (by countries), and **American Economic Policy and European Social Legislation.**

### Despatch of "Headway" Overseas

Would any member who is willing to send his copy of HEADWAY, after reading it, to an interested person overseas, please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

### A Conference in Germany

At the suggestion of the Foreign Office, the Ministry for the Interior and the Prussian Minister for Education, the Central Institute for Instruction and Education held a conference in Berlin in the middle of November, the main purpose of which was to discuss the question of instruction on the League in the schools.

### Notes from Wales

The Tenth Birthday of the League of Nations (January 10) was marked by special functions at a number of centres in Wales and Monmouthshire. The Cardiff District Committee arranged with the City Authorities for the planting of a flowering cherry tree in the vicinity of the Welsh National War Memorial in Cathays Park. The Lord Mayor of Cardiff, Alderman William Charles, J.P., who was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, planted the tree, and addresses were given at the ceremony by the Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress, Mr. W. H. Mayne, J.P., and Councillor Dudley T. Howe, J.P. On the evening of the same day, through the kindness of the City authorities, arrangements were made to flood-light the Welsh National War Memorial. This impressive sight attracted the attention of thousands of people.

The last meeting of the Montgomeryshire County Committee, by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. David Davies, met at Plas Dinam. About 40 delegates attended.

One of the most successful Branch annual meetings of this year was that of the Llandudno District.

The Llanelly District Committee, in co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association, have organised a special series of three lectures by Dr. Illtyd David, the subjects being: "The League, Security, Disarmament"; "The League and Economic Freedom"; and "The League and Social Justice."

The Llandinam Branch and the Dyfatty Girls' Council School, Swansea, Junior Branch, organised successful social evenings during January.

### London News

The London Regional Federation has arranged an "At Home" to trade unionists and others at 7 p.m. on February 14 at Swinton House, Gray's Inn Road. The chief speakers will be Mr. M. R. K. Burge, of the I.L.O., Mr. Beard and Mr. E. L. Poulton. Full particulars can be obtained from 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

### Prayers for the League

The Christian Organisations Committee of the Union has prepared a Prayer Card in the hope that it will help people to pray more effectively for the work of the League. Topics are set out for each month, and in some cases dates have been given, so that prayer may be offered at the time when the Assembly or Council, or some important Conference or Committee, is sitting. These cards can be had at 1½d. each, postage extra, or 6d. a dozen post free. There are also some larger cards suitable for hanging in the church porch. These will be supplied at 1½d. each, plus 1d. postage, or 1s. 6d. per dozen, post free.

### The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their Council's Vote quotas for 1929:—

Aldham, Aylesbury, Braunton, Bedford, Bath, Barnt Green, Bovey Tracey, Bishopston, Broadstone, Bideford, Bognor, Braintree, Billericay, Bishop's Stortford, Burgess Hill, Bishop Nympton, Bicester, Broompark Sheffield, Beverley, Bedminster Parish Church, Bexhill, Cranleigh, Chapel St. Leonards, 1928 and 1929, Colchester, Carlton, Chichester, Cambridge Town, Christchurch, Chester, Corsham, Cleveleys, Charlbury, Cross Hills, Dewsbury, Dover, Desborough, Dorchester, E. Scotland District Council, Ellesmere, Exmouth, Farnborough, Faversham, Gateshead, Gerrard's Cross, Goxhill, Gomersal, Gosport, Grange-over-Sands, Great Baddow, Garstang, Haywards' Heath, Hitchin, Harold Wood, Horncastle, Halifax, Hastings, Hilton, Hull, Hockley, Harehills Lane, Hereford, Hadleigh, Hexham, Hemel Hempstead, Ingatestone, Ikley, Jesmond, Jordans, King's Lynn, Kettering, Kidlington, King's Sutton, Kendal, Kirtlington, Keighley, Littlehampton, Liskeard, Louth, Launceston, Leighton Buzzard, Millford-on-Sea, Milborne Port, Margate, Meopham, Norwich, Northampton, Ottery St. Mary, Porlock, Penn and Tylers, Rockcliffe, Rotherfield, Rochester, Redland, Ross-on-Wye, Radlett, Silloth, Silverton, Sandbach, Stoke Ferry, Silverstone, Salisbury, South Petherton, Stowmarket, Stotfold, Stanwick, Stapleton Road C.C. Bristol, Shiplake, Southwell, Sittingbourne, Shipley, Silverdale Staffs., Sevenoaks, Tean, Teignmouth, Tonbridge, Tunstall, Tiverton, Totnes, Truro, Tackley, Tettenhall, North Watford and Garston, West Moor, Wistanwick, Winchelsea, Wyke, Windsor, Weybridge, Westgate-on-Sea, West Wight, Winford, Wollaston, Worthing, West Hartlepool, Watford, Worcester City (it is regretted that mention of this payment was omitted from a previous issue), Withersea, Weston-super-Mare, Winchester, Wakefield (1928 and 1929). The Whitley Bay and Sedgley Branches have already paid their quotas for 1930.

### Glasgow and the West Get Busy

Glasgow and the West of Scotland District has recently been favoured by visits from Professor Darnley Naylor and Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe. The former addressed meetings at Castle-Douglas, Wishaw, Callander, Troon, Paisley and East Kilbride, from November 10 to 15, and the latter visited Ardrishaig, Dumbarton, Stewarston and Lenzie, and also, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. F. L. M. Moir, addressed a large Drawing-Room Meeting in Glasgow, at which many members were enrolled.

Helensburgh Branch, at their Annual Meeting, gave an excellent performance of Sir J. M. Barrie's play, "The Old Lady Shows Her Medals." This Branch has secured Dr. Delisle Burns for two lectures this winter.

A new Branch was inaugurated in Bellshill on December 3, when the Earl of Home gave the inaugural address. A large membership was obtained at the meeting.

### THE SOVEREIGN AND THE CROWN

At the request of the General Council of the Union every 3s. 6d. member was asked in the January HEADWAY to raise his subscription to 5s., and so to give *ten times* as much to the Union's central fund. While there is no means of knowing precisely what effect this appeal has had, the number of members who have increased their subscriptions to 5s. or more during the period Jan. 1—18 is 49.

### Who will Correspond?

Dr. Borowski (Prettin, Kr. Torgau, Germany) is anxious to correspond with an English doctor. Would any doctor willing to undertake such an exchange of correspondence please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

### What Appeals to Youth

The St. John's Wood Branch recently held a successful meeting to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the League of Nations. The meeting took the form of a Tea Party, a feature of which was the League's birthday cake, after sampling which a small boy was heard to remark that he was very glad he had joined the branch! An address was given by Admiral Drury-Lowe.

### The Assembly at Walkden

The Walkden and District Branch held an excellent Model Assembly in the Town Hall last Armistice Day. The programme was elaborate and informative, and the success of the event exceeded the highest expectations of the organisers. Messages were read to the Assembly from Lord Cecil and the Archbishop of York.

### A Village Campaign

Over 100 members have been added to the Newton Abbot Branch as a result of a "Village Campaign" held during the autumn. Six meetings were organised in the month of October alone, in addition to a successful demonstration held on Armistice Night.

### United Action

As a result of the initiative of Mr. R. K. Cardew, two meetings have recently been held at Bournemouth at which the aim has been the unification of the social, educational and religious movements in the town. At these meetings speeches have been delivered by the Hebrew Minister, the Chairman of Adult Schools, the Commissioner of Girl Guides, the President of the local Rotary Club, and by representatives of the Society of Friends, Toc H, the Bournemouth Council of Social Service and the Junior Branch of the Union. This example of united action in the cause of peace might well be followed elsewhere.

### Play Competition

Readers are reminded that entries for the League of Nations play competition, to which reference was made in the last issue, will close on February 15. The Union will consider placing the selected play on the list of plays and pageants recommended to Branches.

### A Good Start for 1930

A membership increase of 100 per cent. in the past year is reported from the Whitley Bay and Monkseaton Branch. The Union is greatly indebted to this Branch for two generous gifts of £5 each to Headquarters. The Branch has started the year by paying its Council's Vote quota for 1930. Let us hope that some other Branches have made similar New Year resolutions. The Sedgley Branch has also paid its quota for 1930.

### Material Support

Our warmest thanks are due to the West Hartlepool Branch (assessed for Council's vote purposes at £45), which last year contributed a special donation which brought their payment up to £60; 90 per cent. of the Branch subscriptions were collected last year at no cost to the Branch. It is encouraging to find that the Union has such staunch support in this quarter.

### Best Wishes from Tyneside

On January 17 a United Demonstration of Goodwill towards the Naval Disarmament Conference was held in the Connaught Hall, Newcastle. The speakers were: Mr. G. W. Shield, Labour M.P. for Wansbeck; Mrs. Hugh Middleton, J.P., former Unionist Candidate; and Mr. Ernest Dyer, B.A., former Liberal Candidate. A resolution welcoming the Naval Conference and wishing it every success was unanimously adopted and forwarded to the heads of the several delegations.



### Work in the Churches

The Secretary of the Union's Christian Organisations Committee (Rev. E. N. Porter Goff) recently addressed two meetings which might well be attempted elsewhere. One at Norwich, when representatives from 12 churches met, under the chairmanship of the Dean of Norwich, and discussed the responsibilities of Christians in regard to the League of Nations and the ways in which the Union was helping churches to bring the League's work before their people; the other at East Ham, where a Peace Council of the churches has been formed in close co-operation with the local Branch of the Union. This Council has arranged a series of meetings for representatives of the local churches. Such meetings, attended by people of influence in their respective churches, are bound to have good results in bringing the Union's work before the churches.

### A Brilliant Function

An International Reception for Students was held on January 22nd, under the joint auspices of the Union and the Rotary Clubs of District 13, at the Great Hall, University College, Gower Street, which was kindly lent by the Provost. The guests were received by the Viscountess Cecil, the Provost of University College and Mrs. Mawer, Rotarians G. M. V. Reed and John Hall. Addresses were delivered by Viscount Cecil, Rotarian H. Norton Matthews and Professor Allen Mawer, with the Provost in the Chair. The distinguished company included a large section of the diplomatic corps in London. A feature of the concert which took place during the evening was the brilliant playing of Prince George Chavchavadze. Over 1,000 people attended.

### Dutch Peace Exhibition

Readers will be interested to know that the Dutch League of Nations Society has organised an important Peace Exhibition to open at The Hague at the beginning of February. There are many sections to the Exhibition, and among the exhibits, which come from all parts of Europe, is one sent by the British League of Nations Union.

### International Federation Information

Readers are reminded that full information concerning the activities of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies can be obtained from the Federation Bulletins, issued five times a year. The annual subscription is 5s., and orders, with remittances, should be addressed:—

- a. From Great Britain and Northern Ireland to—  
The Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.
- b. From the Irish Free State to—  
The Hon. Secretary, The League of Nations Society for Ireland, 31, Mespil Road, Dublin.
- c. From the British Dominions to—  
Professor Th. Ruysen, Secretary-General (for French edition); or to  
Captain Lothian Small, Assistant Secretary-General (for English edition), International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 41, rue Juste-Lipse, Brussels.

The Executive Committee and the Standing Committees of the Federation will hold their spring meetings in Brussels from February 22 to 24.

### Federation Stamps

As was recently announced, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies has issued Publicity stamps printed in four colours (blue, green, mauve and red), the text being in English, French, or German. The stamps may be ordered either from the Union or direct from the Secretary-General of the Federation, 41, rue Juste-Lipse, Brussels. The prices are as follows:

	Belg. fr.	French Swiss	Eng.	U.S.A.
1 sheet of 24 stamps ...	3	2	0.60	6d. 15c.
10-50 sheets ...	2.50	1.50	0.50	5d. 12c.
Above 50 sheets ...	2.25	1.25	0.45	4½d. 10c.

### An Industrial Essay

The Industrial Co-Partnership Association has arranged an "Aneurin Williams" Memorial Essay Competition, the subject of which will be "The Place of Co-Partnership in Trade Union Policy." Two prizes of £15 and £5 will be awarded to the winners. Full particulars can be obtained from 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1.

### Enterprise at Hull

A course of 12 lectures on the subject of modern international relations was recently concluded by Dr. Conrad Gill, M.A., D.Litt., at the Hull University College. These lectures, which proved extremely successful, were arranged in collaboration with the Hull Branch, and were well attended. The lectures dealt largely with the League of Nations, and will undoubtedly serve to stimulate interest in the work of the League and the Union in Hull. It is thought that other Branches in University towns might well attempt a similar experiment.

## MEMBERSHIP\*

IN order to extend as widely as possible the membership of the Union and the circulation of HEADWAY, the membership subscription was fixed at 1s. and membership *plus* subscription to HEADWAY at 3s. 6d. These subscriptions barely cover expenses.

Those who are able and willing to help the funds of the Union are begged, if possible, to become Foundation Members, subscribing not less than £1 a year; or, failing that, Registered Members, at 5s. a year. 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, the Journal of the Union, monthly by post, and occasional important notices.

As can be seen from the figures given below, the *new* enrolment in membership last year was practically the same as it has been for five years past, although the last time that there was a General Election the enrolment fell by twenty thousand. There is, therefore, some matter for congratulation. On the other hand, there is little comfort in the fact that while the annual enrolment in the last nine years has varied between 103,000 and 75,000, the growth of the Union during the last five years has stabilised itself in the neighbourhood of the lower of these two limits.

It is hoped that the membership will soon show a substantial increase in the *rate* of its annual growth.

#### 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 ...	150,931
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
Jan. 22, 1930 ...	827,498

On January 22nd, 1930, there were 2,880 Branches, 786 Junior Branches, 3,101 Corporate Members and 572 Corporate Associates.

For subscription rates see above \* 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.

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