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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	141	THE WORKERS OF INDIA. By John Cliff	152
HOW WEST MEETS EAST. By Durga Das	144	DISARMAMENT NOTES	153
RUSSIA'S ARMIES	145	A GREAT DEMONSTRATION	154
WHERE FORCE IS NEEDED	146	A NEW DRUG TRADE TREATY	155
WIVES' NATIONALITY. By Chrystal Macmillan	147	RESCUED REFUGEES	156
A GERMAN DEFENCE. By Dr. Hermann Kirchhoff	148	THE UNION IN COUNCIL	157
CAN THE LEAGUE STAVE OFF WAR? By Warren Postbridge	149	BOOKS WORTH READING	158
AMERICA ARRIVES (Editorial)	151	BAD WAR BOOKS	159
		READERS' VIEWS	160

Matters of Moment

WHATEVER may be said about the great Disarmament Demonstration at the Albert Hall on July 11 there can be no question that it served its immediate purpose of getting disarmament talked about, both in this country and elsewhere. The occasion, as some people got a little tired of hearing before the afternoon was over, was unique, and public attention was properly impressed thereby. The value of merely getting disarmament talked about is not to be underrated, for it would be fatal if next year's Conference were to be regarded as a kind of academic experiment arranged by the more enthusiastic of League of Nations idealists. It is, in fact, the precise opposite of that. The most practical statesmen in the world have arranged for the holding of the Conference; these same statesmen will themselves take part in it; and they realise—if they do not they must be made to realise it—that their own reputations are involved in the failure or success of the Conference. There are welcome signs, so far as this country is concerned, that public attention will be more and more concentrated on the practical aspects of the disarmament question during the autumn months that precede the actual holding of the Conference itself. The B.B.C., it is understood, intends rendering in this field the valuable service it renders in so many other fields in the impartial instruction of the public mind. For, to ram an old truth home a little deeper, it is in the end not the statesmen, but the public who will make or mar the Conference.

India and Geneva

IT so happens that there appear in this issue of HEADWAY two articles on India, arranged for independently, presenting very different aspects of the Indian scene, and yet complementing one another very strikingly and suggestively. An Indian writer with a wide knowledge of his own country, an alert practical man rather than a theorist, presents what he considers the basic truth about India, not as a theory but as a hard practical fact determining the nation's whole political outlook. On that basic truth he rests the conclusion that India has a natural and deep-rooted sympathy with all that the League of Nations stands for. On another page a British trade union leader, who visited India as a member of a Royal Commission to investigate labour problems in that country, expresses his conviction that the Independent Labour Organisation should and could do more than is being done at present to improve labour conditions in India, and in that connection throws out particularly the important suggestion that a Far Eastern Conference of the I.L.O. should be convened. The first aim of men of vision in this country must be to see India a free and contented partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the second should be to see her equally freely and equally contentedly co-operating in every branch of the activity of the League. It is satisfactory to learn from Mr. Durga Das's article that such a rôle would be in full keeping with the deepest instincts of India.

Some Armament Figures

IN his speech in the disarmament debate in the House of Commons last month, the Prime Minister quoted a number of figures designed to demonstrate the length to which this country had already gone in the matter of the reduction of armaments while other countries were either standing still or actually increasing. Figures are elusive objects to most of us, and though there will be no quarrel with Mr. MacDonald's general conclusion that this country has, in fact, reduced its expenditure in the last ten years more than any other country, the discrepancy between ourselves and others is not quite as great as statistics sometimes quoted would suggest. As useful a table as has been published lately appeared in the *Economist* for July 18:—

	Average		Percentage increase since 1909-13.		
	1909-13.	1928.	1929.	1930.	Average per cent.
Great Britain	64	99.9	99.0	95.0	48
France	60	79.2	98.7	94.0	57
Germany	70	37.6	33.8	35.1	-50 (Decrease)
Italy	25	52.7	50.4	53.6	114
Russia (1)	76	100.6	118.9	118.9	56
United States of America	61.7	138.9	146.2	145.4	135
Japan (2)	19.7	48.8	48.0	48.0	143
Total, Great Powers...	376.4	557.7	595.0	590.0	57

(1) With pensions.
(2) Average 1910-1914.

This table, which is obviously based on statistics given in the League of Nations Armaments Year-Book, shows that Great Britain has slightly reduced and France slightly increased expenditure in gold since 1909-13, for the increase in the purchasing price of gold is about 50 per cent. It will be observed that by a curious coincidence the total percentage increase of the Great Powers (considerably affected, of course, by the compulsory fall in the German figure) is exactly the same as the figure for France.

War in the Air

IT is all to the good that the question of the abolition of military aviation should be under serious consideration, as it is stated to be, by the British Government. At first sight the proposal might seem almost fantastic; but, in point of fact, it can be and is being discussed with perfect seriousness. It is, indeed, implicitly part of the policy approved by the Federation of League of Nations Societies at Budapest in May, and by the League of Nations Union Council at Blackpool in June, for on both these occasions resolutions were unanimously carried advocating equalisation in the matter of armaments. This means, in detail, that arms such as naval and military aeroplanes, which are forbidden to certain countries, *i.e.*, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, should be equally forbidden to all, unless, indeed, which is inconceivable, the alternative be preferred of allowing the countries at present under prohibition to develop air armaments. If one country, preferably our own, has the courage to give a lead in this direction, it may be singularly difficult for other countries to reject the

idea, in view of the prohibitions imposed on the conquered States. No country, it may be added, would benefit more by such a step than our own, for none—certainly no great country—is more vulnerable to attack from the air.

What the Papers Thought

A LETTER in a recent issue of *The Nation and New Statesman* contains some interesting figures regarding the space devoted by various London papers to reports of and comments on the Albert Hall Disarmament Meeting. The *Times* heads the list with 83½ inches, followed by the *Daily Herald* with 76¼ inches, the *News-Chronicle* with 71½, and the *Daily Telegraph* with 47½. In all these cases the space mentioned includes both report and leading article. The *Morning Post*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Express* devoted 26½ inches, 10 inches and 5½ inches respectively to reports, none of the three considering that the occasion demanded a leading article. The writer of the letter in question—the Secretary of the Nottinghamshire Federal Council of the L.N.U.—comments on the fact that “the two newspapers which more than any others have been known for their stunts and irresponsible presentation of the news are the ones that have printed negligible reports of the meeting.” He adds that, judged by the amount of space allotted, the *Daily Express* appears to consider the views of the leaders of the three political parties and one of Britain's greatest soldiers as “no more important than the outwitting of some unemployed by Welsh gipsies, only half as important as the blackmailing of a London dancing girl, and one-eighth as important as the goings on at Reno, ‘the heartache town ruled by women,’ to use this newspaper's own phraseology.”

The League in the Schools

THE President of the Board of Education, who is certainly in no way lacking in faith in the League of Nations, has declined to adopt the suggestion made to him in the form of a Parliamentary question to issue a booklet on Disarmament for use in schools. Mr. Lees-Smith pointed out that instruction in the general work and aims of the League of Nations was already given in the schools, and he was indisposed to concentrate on one particular problem, such as Disarmament. Such hesitations are intelligible, for on both the method and degree of Disarmament wide differences of opinion exist in this country, and controversial questions must not be imported into the school curriculum. At the same time, the Disarmament issue is so dominant to-day in the international field that the case for putting certain aspects of it before the youth of the country is strong. Lessons based on the definite treaty obligations of this country, as embodied in Article VIII of the League of Nations Covenant and in other undertakings that could be cited, and confining themselves to the presentation and explanation of definite facts, might be of considerable value and ought to raise no objections in any quarter, for the Disarmament debate in the House of Commons at the end of June shows how complete is the agreement between all parties on the broad principle of Disarmament.

The Austro-German Issue

THE question of whether the proposed Austro-German Customs Union is a breach of existing Treaties came before the Permanent Court of International Justice at its sitting which opened on July 20. Judgment is expected to be given about the end of this month. It is the legality of Austria's participation in the Union, not of Germany's, that is in question, for it is not claimed that the Union violates any agreements to which Germany is a party. The Governments of France, Czechoslovakia and other countries are arguing the case against the Union, but Great Britain is maintaining a detached attitude. The Court's verdict, whatever it may be, will not necessarily be decisive, for even if it be favourable to Germany and Austria, those countries may, on reflection, feel it wiser to join in some larger, if looser, association, rather than in the close dual partnership at present under consideration. If it is unfavourable the whole project, of course, drops. In view of criticisms which have been made in this country, some of them in the columns of HEADWAY, reflecting on Germany's discretion in the manner of bringing this project before the world, we are glad to find space on another page for an article by a German writer setting out in moderate terms the position as an average German sees it.

Scandinavians at Law

IT is not often that disputes break out between States so peaceably disposed towards one another and to the world as Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Rather unexpectedly, however, a quite serious little difference has arisen between Norwegians and Danes regarding sovereignty over part of the eastern Greenland seaboard. Greenland is not a country that matters much at present to anyone, except hunters and sealers, though there is always a possibility that any unconsidered bit of territory anywhere may suddenly turn out to be rich in some form of wealth. At any rate, the Danes, who considered that their sovereignty over this area had been generally recognised, are seriously concerned at the action of certain Norwegian captains in hoisting the Norwegian flag there. Fortunately the method of settling a dispute of this sort is obvious, and the question has gone as a matter of course to the Permanent Court at The Hague. It is not a major issue involving major States, but every time peaceful procedure is followed in this way, whether the States concerned be great or small, the principle of peaceful settlement becomes a little more firmly established. Both countries will now, no doubt, tranquilly await the Court's findings.

Policing the Trade Routes

A PERTINENT question was put to the Prime Minister by Mr. Holford Knight in the course of last month as to whether, in connection with the Disarmament Conference, His Majesty's Government had given consideration to the protection of trade routes by international agreement. The answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on behalf of the Prime Minister was “No.” It is to be hoped that the fact that the Government has not yet considered this point does not mean that it

has no intention of considering it, for it is obviously of the very essence of the principles of the Covenant. If the idea of mutual help in time of need means anything, it means that in the event of Great Britain being involved in the only war in which it is conceivable that she could be involved in the future, namely, hostilities undertaken in consonance with the League, our trade routes would be protected against aggression not only by our own warships but by those of other League States with navies. The point was well worth bringing up in the House, and should if necessary be pressed.

Geneva and British Mines

AS was foreshadowed in the last issue of HEADWAY, the coal convention signed at the International Labour Conference six weeks ago has become a factor of the first importance in the controversy on hours in coal mines in Great Britain. The Government has had to introduce an emergency Bill, which was carried rapidly through all its stages, continuing for twelve months the present 7½-hour day. But for that fact the 7-hour day would have come into force automatically. The measure, as stated, runs for twelve months only, and it is earnestly hoped that before that date enough countries will have ratified the Geneva Convention to bring it into force. That will have the effect of instituting a 7¼-hour day, not only in this country, but, what is equally or more important, in the other European countries with which Great Britain competes in the export market. Great Britain itself cannot well give effect to the convention till the twelve months covered by the emergency Bill have expired, but if other countries concerned can be persuaded to take the necessary action by that time, an important move will have been made towards solving the difficulties between the Government, owners, and miners in this country.

Letters on Politics

INTELLECTUALS of different countries have been thick on the ground at Geneva in the past month, when the various sub-committees of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation have been meeting. Professor Gilbert Murray was there as Chairman; so was Mr. John Masefield, the Poet Laureate; so was Dr. Thomas Mann, the German novelist; so was M. Karel Capek, the Czechoslovak dramatist, and various others whose names are less familiar in this country. They formed the permanent committee on Arts and Letters. Professor Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian historian, was on the spot as well. Among the interesting proposals launched was one for the public exchange of letters between high intellectual personalities, the subjects being various questions occupying the international mind. While this is, in some respects, a throwback to the eighteenth century, it breaks on the world with a certain novelty to-day. No definite decision on the matter, however, had been taken when these lines were being written.

Disarmament, in any reference to the subject in HEADWAY, must be understood to mean the reduction and limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

How West Meets East The Spirit of India and the League

By DURGA DAS, Editor, Associated Press of India

(The writer is an Indian publicist who does not belong to any political party and writes from a detached point of view.)

WHEN I am asked—and quite often I am asked in Europe—what appeal the League of Nations has made to India, I wonder whether it is understood what is the philosophy behind Indian life. For the ideal of the League of Nations is, and has been through centuries, the very breath of our being. Indians are not slave to machines; you cannot judge the strength of their convictions by the rolls of membership of an institution. They are slave to ideals. And the ideal which the League of Nations has set before the world is the first real link which has been established between East and West. So that if the League succeeds in converting the West to its ideals no longer need the



Mr. Durga Das

world sing with Rudyard Kipling:

East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet.

The purpose of this article is to explain how the League promotes the ideals which have been Indian for centuries and why India must always watch with the most sympathetic interest the development of the League.

Underlying Unity

India is full of castes and creeds, customs and traditions, languages and dialects, but she has a psychological homogeneity unknown to Europe and America and the basic outlook of her life gives a uniform inspiration to all her inhabitants. Her history is a record of defensive warfare, quite often unsuccessful, but never offensive. And this has remained so, whether a mighty Hindu king ruled India or a grand Moghul. And why?

Her philosophy of life provides the reason for this unique record. Even when she had a civilisation which the world was proud to borrow, which Romans assimilated and with military pomp imparted to the West, she kept her boundary ambitions within her homogeneous self and was content with putting no limits on the migration of her ideas. The philosophy of her life can be summed up briefly, and has nothing whatever to do with her rigid social customs and traditions. It has become instinctive and is universal.

Yesterday and To-morrow

An Indian believes that this world is the creation of God, that God is within all of us and that we all have the power, if we so will, to evolve our self to become one with God; that by the manner we use this power we determine our future, and that life is a never-ending process. This conception of life makes every Indian feel that his to-day has been influenced by his yesterday, and that, knowing what his yesterday has yielded, he can build afresh for to-morrow. The greatest motive force in this process

is the expectation of to-morrow and this hope of re-birth, and the attempt to build a better to-morrow develops in him, quite naturally, the keenest desire for shunning the material side of life and developing the spiritual, with a view to improve his future birth. Thus it is that the sole aim of Indian life is the aim of self-abnegation and of self-purification.

The Unaggressive Life

These propositions do not mean that in the mundane aspect of our daily life we do not develop elements of greed or other base desires. But the standard of judgment we apply, even when we do wrong, or go wrong, is not the standard of material advancement, prosperity or relief, but the standard of self-abnegation and of renunciation.

This being fundamental to our nature the idea of conquest becomes foreign to us. And those who came down from our western frontiers—none ever came through our eastern doors—were sooner or later consumed by the same idea, and equally with us, fell prey to others who followed them. This does not mean that we have had no internal quarrels; these have existed, do exist, and will exist. These are aberrations that do occur and must occur, but they do not reflect the motive force behind our outlook of life.

Conversion of Mind

The Indian life has thus been and is fundamentally based on the ideal of peace and brotherhood which the League of Nations has set before itself, but we Indians believe that permanent success of the League will come about, not merely through mutually agreed limitations placed on material expansion or weapons of warfare, but by developing an outlook which will rule out of the mind of mankind the ideal of aggression, of warfare, and of conquest, as the motive force and sanction behind our civilisation. This is the very reason why Hinduism has no church, no defined method of worship, and no missionary plans or schemes. It has defined the philosophy of life for anyone to acquire, because Hinduism believes that philosophy of life is not taught but is a self-growth.

Every Indian is thus a great believer in the ideals of the League of Nations and hopes that the League will find peace for our distracted world and thereby succeed in forming a permanent link between East and West on the only basis on which it can last—the basis of spiritual uplift of the people of the world through preaching the universal brotherhood of mankind and futility of warfare as an instrument to please our Maker. And when this succeeds the impact of West on East, which is now superficial, will take deeper root and lead to those material improvements which can surely be made consistent with the spiritual ideals of the East.

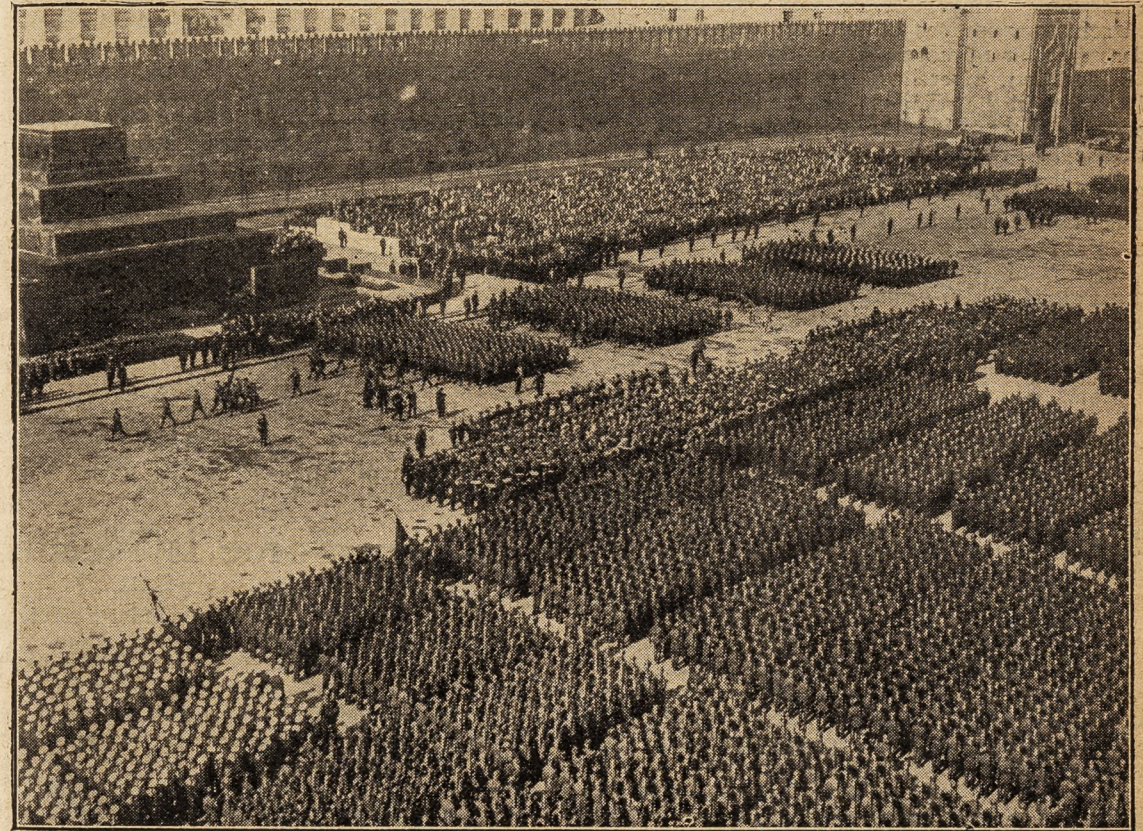
A week-end school for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs will be held at Midhurst, from Friday, Sept. 25 to Monday, Sept. 28. Well-known speakers; attractive excursions; fee £2 2s.; apply, Miss Gardner, West Heath House, Midhurst.

Russia's Armies A Problem for Next Year's Conference

RUSSIA, by common consent, provides one of the problems of the Disarmament Conference. What are her armed forces? Is she increasing them? Is she ready to diminish them as her share in the execution of a general disarmament scheme? Is it true, in particular, that Soviet Russia is piling up vast armaments which menace her neighbours, and prevent them from reducing, however willing they might be to reduce if the Russian threat were removed?

Those questions cannot be answered completely

them. When the peace establishment of the French Metropolitan Army (*i.e.*, the home army, as distinguished from overseas forces) is given as 316,392, that figure must be taken or left, for no one can get up and insist that as a matter of fact the correct number is, for example, 453,512. In the case of Russia, we are concerned at present only with the army and air force. The question of the navy does not arise, for the Soviet Government possesses only four old battleships, none of them probably fit for action, three cruisers, of which the same may



A May-Day Parade, 1931.

by anyone except the Russian Government itself. That is obvious. For no one knows what Russia really intends except the actual directors of Russian policy. And what they say they intend may or may not be identical with what they do intend.

Can Figures Be Trusted?

But some facts about Russian armaments do exist, and they can be compared with other facts which also exist about Russian armaments in previous years, such as 1913 and 1924. They are to be found in such standard works of reference as the *League of Nations Armaments Year Book*, and the *Statesman's Year Book*. The figures, of course, are Russian official figures. That is true of armaments statistics for any country. The British Government, or the French Government, or the Italian Government, publishes facts and figures about its armed forces, and no one is in a position to check

be said, and about a score of destroyers and eight submarines. No naval construction is believed to be in progress.

The Soviet Total

The army, of course, is quite another matter. The very name of the Red Army has something a little ominous about it. What size is this army? The Soviet figures put its fixed total for some years past as 562,000. That is for an area of 84 million square miles and a population of 150 millions. France's home army, it may be mentioned as a basis of comparison, numbers roughly 316,000 for an area of 212,660 square miles and a population of 41 million. To put the matter another way, France has three soldiers for every two square miles, Russia has three for every 112 square miles. In France one in every 130 of the population is a soldier; in Russia one in every 267.

The 562,000, it must be repeated, is the Soviet Government's own figure, and it may be challenged. But it is the only figure available and must be accepted for working purposes subject to whatever reservations anyone may care to make.

As to comparisons with earlier years, that is not of much value in view of the evolution through which Russia has been passing. Everything went to pieces, the army first of all, and everything had to be built up afresh. The pre-war army—1913—numbered 1,300,000. The figure for August, 1920 (at the time of the war with Poland) is given as 3,538,000, but that, of course, was for the army on a war footing. The total of 562,000 has been constant since 1924—according always to the Soviet statistics. Conscription prevails, but only about 20 per cent. of the recruits available are taken for the Regular Army. They serve for two years, with refresher courses in the following three years, and remain for 15 more years in the reserve. There is, in addition, a territorial militia used mainly on police work in the villages. There is a rough correspondence here with the reserves and the gendarmerie in France.

What About Aviation

The next conclusion from these figures is that Russia's military machine is not proportionately in excess of that of most continental States (*e.g.*, Poland, Italy, France, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Czechoslovakia). In regard to munitions, little accurate information exists, but it seems certain that in that respect Russia must be inferior to all the States just mentioned. Equipment for air and chemical warfare is another story. Aviation is considerably developed in Russia, as is to be expected in a country of great distances with inadequate train services and few automobiles, and, of course, every civilian aeroplane has military potentialities.

That, however, is not quite the whole story. Russia's military expenditure, like that of almost every other country, has been mounting steadily. It was 604 million roubles in 1925, 691 in 1926, 813 in 1927, 919 in 1928, and 1,113 in 1929. It is easier to quote these figures than interpret them, for the foreign exchange value of the rouble is constantly fluctuating, and, in any case, when a good deal of the military material required is produced by State factories, it is difficult to know on what basis the figures are calculated. They are mentioned here only as a reminder that mere numbers are far from being an adequate index in themselves to a country's military strength.

Russia's Intentions

The other question—What are Russia's desires and intentions regarding Disarmament?—can only be answered very tentatively. The belief pervading Russia that other States intended to combine to attack her appears to have been widespread and genuine, at any rate up till a year or two ago, baseless though it obviously is. It was, no doubt, deliberately encouraged by some of the Soviet leaders as a stimulus to national unity. But so far as it existed it might well dispose opinion favourably towards any proposals making for a reduction of the armaments of Russia's possible aggressors.

At Geneva the Russian delegation has always declared itself in favour of drastic limitation plans. Two definite proposals in this direction were laid by M. Litvinoff before the Preparatory Commission in 1927 and 1928. In the former year, just when the virtual abolition of war had been proposed under the Kellogg Pact, the virtual abolition of

armaments was proposed by the Russians at Geneva. Their actual plan provided for the wholesale disbandment of all armed forces and the destruction of existing forts, warships, munition factories, etc. Internal police services for the preservation of order were to be enrolled on a voluntary system.

Litvinoff's Second Plan

That proposal was treated, rightly or wrongly, as a mere debating-counter and found no support worth mentioning. Thereupon, in 1928, the Russians put forward a quite different plan, whereby States would reduce their armaments, some (the most powerful) by 50 per cent., some by 33, and some by 25. Various forms of weapon (mainly those prohibited in the case of Germany) were to be abolished altogether. This plan was not seriously considered either, as the Preparatory Commission's own plan, which had long been under discussion, held the field.

The relevant facts, therefore, briefly are that: (1) Russia, if the official figures of her army can be accepted, is not maintaining a land force larger proportionately than those of many of her neighbours; (2) she has no navy worth considering, the strength of her air force is problematical; (3) she has always professed to be ready to accept any limitation concurrently with other nations. To that may be added that Russia is to take a full part in the Disarmament Conference next year. The general conclusion would seem to be that though judgment may properly be suspended regarding Russia there is no ground at present for describing her as a factor menacing the success of next February's Conference. All her energies are devoted at present to the completion of her Five-Year Plan of industrial development. An external war would shatter the Plan irreparably.

Where Force is Needed

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on July 9, Earl Winterton, formerly Under-Secretary for India, observed: "I have always wondered how the ultra-pacifists would meet the danger ever present on the North-West Frontier of India. Certainly, when a Mullah preaches a holy war against the Raj you have to take effective action, and quotations from the admirable League of Nations speeches of Lord Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray would fail to convince the rebellious tribesmen of their error."

In order that Earl Winterton's speculations may be set at rest, HEADWAY has put the question he raises both to Lord Cecil and to Professor Murray—not that either of them could by the wildest stretch of imagination be described as ultra-pacifists.

Lord Cecil's answer is: "Everyone who advocates disarmament seriously has always realised the necessity of retaining some sort of force for policing frontiers. Certainly I have never dreamt of anything else myself, and I could imagine no part of the world in which a force of that character is more necessary or could be more properly stationed than on the North-West Frontier of India."

Professor Gilbert Murray says: "Of course, there must be a police force; and, of course, it will sometimes have to act on the instant, without waiting for negotiations or instructions, *e.g.*, in repelling a raid or pursuing a band of robbers. The point is treated in 'The Ordeal of this Generation' and many similar books. Lord Winterton should not suppose that we overlook such very elementary difficulties."

Wives' Nationality Must It Be Based on Their Husbands'?

By CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN

Miss Chrystal Macmillan is one of the best known woman barristers in this country and a member of the Consultative Committee of Women's Organisations which recently sat at Geneva to discuss the nationality of married women.

THE codification of international law initiated by the 1927 Assembly of the League of Nations has presented greater difficulties than some of its sponsors anticipated. The First Codification Conference at the Hague last year did produce a draft Convention on nationality. But this Convention is hardly more than an aggregate of articles, since a State in ratifying may exempt from that ratification any one or more of the effective articles. Moreover, the Convention, eighteen months after it has taken shape, is not yet more than a proposal for a Convention, since two States only have as yet ratified, while ten ratifications are necessary to bring the Convention into effect.

The Convention contains four articles referring especially to married women. These are directed mainly to preventing those forms of statelessness and double nationality which arise from the existence side by side in different systems of law of the old rule, by which a woman follows the nationality of her husband, and the new rule, now rapidly superseding the old, by which a married woman keeps her own independent nationality. One article proposes that when a husband changes his nationality during marriage his wife should not be compelled to lose her nationality without her consent. But all assume the existence of the old system.

Women's Hostility

At the Hague Conference itself, compared with the time devoted to the discussion of other articles, little attention was given to those which specially affect the women. But these articles are being strenuously opposed by women's organisations. And the importance of this opposition has been recognised by the League, since it has placed on the Agenda of the next Assembly a discussion of the nationality of women, and has invited eight international women's organisations to set up a committee to make a report which the Secretary-General is circulating to the States Members of the League with his own report preparatory to the discussions to take place at the Assembly.

This Consultative Committee of Women's International Organisations expresses itself in this way with respect to the Articles dealing with married women in the Hague Convention.

"These Articles . . . would, if ratified, give recognition in an international convention of the old idea of the subordinate position of women in the matter of nationality and to the old custom by which a woman's nationality was made to depend upon that of her husband. . . . The inclusion . . . of articles giving an inferior position to women is a matter of the utmost gravity because of the psychological effect of the adoption of such a Convention all over the world. . . . To recognise in practice this old idea is a refusal to treat a woman as a citizen in her own person. It is to deny her the status of an adult. Furthermore, it gives recognition to a system which has serious practical as well as spiritual consequences; a system which may

deprive her of the vote; may deprive her at home and abroad of the protection of her own government; may subject her even in her native land to the restrictions placed on aliens; may deprive her of the benefits of State insurance or other State assistance; may make it impossible for her to hold public office, to exercise her profession, to obtain paid employment, to own or inherit property, and may place her under other disabilities."

The Consultative Committee therefore ask the Assembly to reconsider the Hague Nationality Convention, and to submit to the Governments a new Convention based on the principle of equality between the sexes. Two of the organisations further declare in a reservation that the equality for which they ask should include the right of a woman to her own independent nationality, and that the nationality of a woman should not be changed by marriage only or by a change during marriage in the nationality of her husband.

The Independent Wife

The world is progressing rapidly in the direction of the recognition of the independent nationality of the married woman. At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, apart from a number of the South American Republics, the old rule that a woman followed the nationality of her husband was practically universal. But within the last thirteen years eighteen countries have radically reformed their law so that to-day nearly half the population of the world lives under a law which recognises in large measure the independent nationality of the married woman. Our own Prime Minister, on the eve of the General Election, stated that his party stood for giving to the married woman the right to her independent nationality, but his Government has done nothing to implement this policy or to support the Bill now before Parliament to give effect to it. Great Britain will, therefore, at Geneva be in the discreditable position of being one of the backward nations.

A Right of Choice

The Consultative Committee draws attention to a number of practical applications of the principle of equality between men and women in nationality. Among these which deal with the woman's own personal nationality they suggest that facilities of choice should be given to either spouse to acquire the nationality of the other. Already in a number of countries a foreign man who marries a woman national is given special facilities to acquire the nationality of his wife, such, for example, as a reduction in the number of years he is required to reside in the country before naturalisation.

In urging the reopening of the question of the Hague Convention the Consultative Committee points out that the inferior position given to women in the Convention violates that principle of justice on which alone an enduring system of law can be based.

A German Defence The Case for the Customs Union with Austria

By DR. HERMANN KIRCHHOFF

Dr. Kirchhoff is General Secretary of the German League of Nations Society

IN the course of the international discussion regarding the German and Austrian project for a Customs Union, the Governments in Berlin and Vienna have been reproached with "secret diplomacy." The only reply one can make to this is the well-known German saying: "Whatever one does it's always wrong." In the first place, in the case of such an important problem it is not so much the question of the preliminary procedure as of the facts. In the second place, the action of the two Governments has been misconstrued, presumably not unintentionally, by the opponents of the Customs Union. But both Governments, on the contrary, hastened to inform the interested Powers of their intentions as soon as they themselves had reached agreement regarding them. The announcement was made so speedily, with special regard to the earlier date of the Paris session of the Europe Committee, in order that the Committee might not be left in the dark as to Germany's intentions. So much for the previous history of the problem. The project itself has been considered from three points of view, namely, the legal, the political and the economic.

Pure Economics

The legal side of the plan for a Customs Union is at present being examined by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, and therefore need not be considered here.

As regards the political side, the Customs Union, which is intended as a purely economic measure, has nothing to do with other political questions, such as, for example, the Disarmament Conference, but must be judged on its own merits. No opinion doing justice to the situation can be arrived at except from the economic point of view. For only economic grounds and *such grounds alone* have exercised the internal pressure leading to the drawing up of the plan. The great economic distress both in Germany and in Austria can no longer well be denied, any more than the duty of their Governments to devote their attention to speedy and effective remedies. So far the tedious negotiations for the improvement of the economic situation in Europe on a broad basis have led to no positive and practically useful result. But nations cannot live on paper resolutions. The impulse for the extension of marketing facilities in Europe had to be given somehow by means of a practical step. This was the origin of the German-Austrian plan for a Customs Union which was to be regional at first but expressly intended to be enlarged by the adherence of other countries.

Where Britain Gains

Such an extension of marketing facilities can only be to England's advantage. The assertion that the German-Austrian Customs Union does not mean the beginning of a removal of Customs barriers in Europe, but, on the contrary, a strengthening of them, is not correct. As a matter of fact, the rates of duty in the Austrian *Treaty* Customs Tariff, particularly in the case of agricultural products, are at

present, in a number of groups, even lower than in Germany.

Furthermore, it is the intention of both Governments to draw up a new Customs Tariff, with the same wording in both countries, as soon as the model Customs Tariff (nomenclature) now being worked out in Geneva is ready, and thereby conform to the international standard. In view of the progress made in Geneva, it may be assumed that the work on the model Customs Tariff will be completed before very long.

The fact that Germany is not aiming at a higher level of Customs duties, particularly for its industrial products, is obvious from the liberal trend so far followed in its commercial policy. While logically following this policy Germany is in full sympathy with the desire of Great Britain for a general reduction of a number of rates of duty on industrial goods by means of simultaneous negotiations with different European countries (Germany, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, etc.).

More Trade All Round

The German and Austrian offer with regard to the adherence of other States to the Customs Union is absolutely seriously meant. But now that this offer has once been made, it must be left to the initiative of the various governments to decide for themselves whether they wish to avail themselves of it.

Even if exaggerated expectations regarding the importance of an extension of marketing facilities caused by the Customs Union for the national economy of both countries have neither been cherished in Vienna nor in Berlin, yet the result will certainly be an increase in the trade between the two countries and thus the absorption of no inconsiderable number of unemployed in the process of production. This, however, means an increase in the purchasing power, and thereby a strengthening of the economy and finances of both countries. It is surely of decisive importance for the European Continent that a consolidation and stabilization of the political and economic conditions in Central Europe should come about which can only have a beneficial and welcome effect on *all countries*. It is in recognising this that both countries abide firmly by their plan. So far, indeed, it has been widely criticised, but better and more quickly realisable alternative plans have not yet been proposed. The feasibility of the French alternative plan has yet to be proved.

The Exhibition of League of Nations official publications and of books in general bearing on the League and its work arranged through the enterprise of Messrs. Bumpus, the well-known Oxford Street booksellers, was opened on July 14 with speeches by Lord Cecil of Chelwood and Sir Norman Angell, M.P. The Exhibition will remain open until August 15 and short addresses on aspects of the League's work will be given on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 3.30, admission free.

War and the League Is it Rational to Put Trust in Geneva?

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

"LOOK here now," said the man in the restaurant-car, "you say you believe in the League of Nations. Do you really believe the League can save the world from war? Or, for that matter, Europe?"

"We'll stick to Europe if you don't mind. After all, the League's not twelve years old so far. If it can keep Europe at peace that's enough to go on with at this stage."

"If it can. Yes. I agree that if it can it's much more than justified itself. But dropping all propaganda, do you honestly and seriously believe it can?"

"There isn't any question of dropping propaganda. I'm not making propaganda. I'm just as anxious to answer the question whether the League can stop war as you are—and not much more sure than you are what the answer ought to be."

"So far as that goes, I am pretty sure. The answer I'm bound to give is No. I wish it weren't. I want to believe in the League as much as you do. I do believe in it up to a point. But when it comes to stopping a first-class war, then—well, I'm a sceptic all the time."

Wars You Never See

"Well, let's get down to the bones of the question. That means leaving out a lot of aspects of it that ought to be discussed. The League's real work, for example, in connection with war, consists in preventing relations between States from ever drifting into a position in which war becomes thinkable at all. A lot of that will always go unrecognised and unappreciated, because it's only when a dispute gets serious that anyone takes any notice of it at all."

"All right. I admit that. But you don't claim that that covers the whole ground?"

"No, I don't. I agree your first question has to be faced—though I take it you won't insist too much on the word 'prevent.' That sounds as if the League had always to force fighters apart. My idea is a much more peaceful kind of intervention—much more peaceful, but possibly quite as effective."

"I'm quite content with that. 'Obviate' war, if you like."

Giving Europe Peace

"I don't know that 'obviate' is exactly the word either, but, at any rate, it shows what we mean. In fact, 'prevent' will do all right so long as we give it a broad enough interpretation. And, of course, I don't claim that the League could prevent a war, in any sense of the word, with anything like 100 per cent. certainty. All I say is that if you give the League a fair chance, which means if the States that have signed the Covenant really act in the spirit of the Covenant, then in a very few years' time the League's authority will be sufficient to put war in Europe virtually out of the question. By Europe, by the way, I mean, for the moment, League Europe, that is to say, Europe without Russia. I don't, myself, believe Russia has any aggressive ideas, but a lot of people do, so we had better leave her out of this argument. We can hammer Russia out another day."

"Does that mean that you don't want to discuss whether the League could have stopped the Great War, because Russia was concerned in that?"

"Not at all. As a matter of fact, that's just the kind of thing I should like to discuss, because it illustrates precisely the distinction you ought to draw. When you talk, or anyone talks, about what the League might have done in 1914 it's no use thinking of what it might have done, say, on August 3, when Germany was already invading Belgium. I don't suppose anyone seriously believes any League could have stopped the war then. But the trouble didn't begin with the invasion of Belgium, though that may have been when this country first came up against it. The first step was the murder of Francis Ferdinand, and the second was the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. Now it's perfectly certain that the first of those two steps would have been brought immediately before the League, and if by any chance it weren't it's even more certain that the second one would."

"Well, and suppose it had been?"

If a League Had Existed

"Let's suppose the two separately. Take the first—a crime with immediate international consequences. One of the first things the Permanent Court exists to do is to fix responsibility for a crime of this sort and assess the damages a State found guilty ought to pay. The Serajevo crime would have gone straight to the League, and the League would have sent it straight to the Court. While the Court was considering the question, public opinion, if it had got roused—and, as a matter of fact, public opinion wasn't fatally roused till the Austrian ultimatum came, three weeks after the Archduke's murder—would have died down and all the odds were that the verdict, whatever it might be, would be accepted by all concerned. If it had gone against Serbia, Serbia could have accepted it without any sort of loss of prestige, because it came from an impartial international body. To comply with a pistol-point ultimatum from Austria would have been an altogether different story. That's the tremendous advantage of a body like the Permanent Court."

Where Publicity Counts

"Yes, but you're forgetting what lies at the bottom of the whole thing—the fact that Germany had made up her mind to a European war, and the Serajevo affair was only the occasion of it, not the cause at all. Even if war had been staved off this time another excuse would soon have been found."

"And why shouldn't war have been staved off that time too? That's the value of a League investigation again, that it shows up every excuse so completely that the country that puts the excuse forward has to drop it on the spot. Already nations go very slow about putting up any case that won't stand a stiff examination. What you call a fact about Germany, by the way, may be a fact or not. That's much too big a question for to-day. But, anyway, it isn't relevant."

"Well, that's the first barrier you think the League might have thrown up? But suppose that

didn't hold? Suppose the Austrian ultimatum had been sent after all? What could the League have done then? The ultimatum was launched on the 23rd, and the guns were being fired by the 29th.

"Almost a week. The League Council would have met in three days, and it's inconceivable that any country would have insisted on rushing into war while the Council actually had the dispute before it. Remember that at the very worst League States are pledged to a delay that may be as long as nine months before they fight. Of course, no man living can *prove* that the League would have stopped the Great War. He can only show how probable it is that it would. And, of course, I can't *prove* that the League can stop all future wars. I can only show how likely it is that it will."

"And suppose it doesn't?"

"Suppose it doesn't succeed in preventing a State from going to war, then it is bound to try to stop it from going on with the war. That, I agree, raises very different issues. You know the position. States, by joining the League, pledge themselves to take common action of one kind or another against a State that breaks the peace in defiance of its pledges."

"I know. And do you really believe they would ever do it?"

Stopping Small Wars

"In some cases it's almost certain they would. A small State that tried to take the law into its own hands and gain its ends, no matter whether they were good ends or bad, would be pulled up at once. League members would be only too glad of an opportunity to show how well their machinery could work, as they were in the case of the Greco-Bulgarian affairs half a dozen years ago. The whole thing, whether you are imagining a big State or a small one going to war, is more a matter of psychology than it is of politics or of strategy. What I mean is that if everyone believed that the Covenant machinery would work as it ought to work, then there would never be another war at all. Because if a State knew that by going to war it would put all the world—all the League, that is to say—in the field against it, it would never run head down into suicide."

"I see two weakish points in that argument. First of all, the difference between all the world and all the League is fundamental, because it means the difference between working with the United States and Russia and working without them—or even against them. And secondly, a State never would know the rest of the League was coming in against it. It might very well bank on their doing nothing, and in that case it would risk going to war."

What about Moscow and Washington?

"It's no use going off on the America and Russia sidetrack. It would take far too long. Of course, the question's important, but personally I don't believe there's a real Russian danger or a real American. Russia and the United States might refuse to join in lining up against a State that had gone to war. Russia almost certainly would—unless she wanted to join in for her own purposes. But Russia doesn't seem to me to want war of any kind at present. She's far too much tied up with her Five-Year Plan. And about the United States, you've got to remember that every war that violates the Covenant violates the Kellogg Pact too, and that the United States has signed and ratified the Pact. So, incidentally, has Russia. It's not very easy to imagine an American President or Congress

insisting on doing anything to help a State that had broken both Pact and Covenant, and, in consequence, found itself up against the League."

"All the same, you can't be sure they wouldn't. And suppose they did, where would League action be then?"

"Suppose they did, it could only mean that they insisted on trading with the lawless State when League States as a whole were trying to boycott it. What would that involve? Goods could only be sent from the United States to some port on the law-breaker's coast. They couldn't be forwarded through other countries, because the other countries, with half a dozen scattered exceptions, would be League members and bound not to let the goods go through. And they could only be carried in American ships, for no ship of a League State could carry them, and if a ship belonging to the offending country tried to, it would be stopped and seized. I don't believe, myself, that the United States, even if it wanted to, could really make a League blockade useless, and I'm perfectly certain that, in fact, it never would want to."

"But you really suppose the threat of a League boycott, or the actual boycott itself, would stop an invasion?"

Force for Public Ends

"Not always. And I never said I did, though if the boycott were a dead certainty I think a Government would hesitate a very long time before it did let itself in for a boycott against it. No. In the last resort of all, the League might have actually to use force. I don't think anyone has ever denied that. Personally, I hate the use of force at all, even force employed in defence of justice and world-order, but I don't see how the society of States can help passing through the phase that civil society is in, where everyone agrees to live peaceably, the vast majority stick to the agreement, and anyone who doesn't is restrained by the rest. That's the League idea, at any rate."

"And you seriously claim the idea would work in practice?"

A Question of Confidence

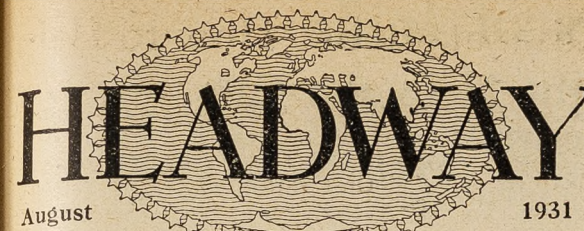
"The one certain way to make it fail to work is for everyone to go around predicting that it won't work. And the opposite's very nearly as true. The one way, that is, to make it work is for everyone to take for granted it will work and be resolved to see it does work. I believe opinion is moving that way all the time, and that's why I say that if you give the League another five years to get the idea thoroughly accepted the authority of Geneva will be sufficient to stop any State from taking the risk of going to war under such conditions. In other words, the League will really be in a position to prevent war."

"That seems to me pretty wild dogmatism."

"Not dogmatism at all. You can't dogmatise about a thing like this. Everything I say is conditional, and at the end of it all I'm only expressing a personal conviction. The condition is that public opinion in every League country shall back the League with more conviction and resolution than it does at present. The personal conviction is that if that does happen the League will really be in a position to prevent wars. But I don't pretend to be able to prove it. These things aren't susceptible of mathematical proof."

"Well, travel this journey this day five years and I'll stand you the Great Western's best dinner if your belief looks at all like coming true."

"Right. Scepticism noted and offer accepted."



America Arrives

ALL the indications are that the seven months between the middle of July, 1931, and the middle of February, 1932, will prove to be as important as any other seven months since the Armistice was signed in November, 1918. As these words are being written the negotiations arising out of the financial crisis in Germany are in full progress. Whatever their result—and the result will almost certainly be known by the time this issue of HEADWAY is in circulation—they can hardly fail to open the door to further discussions and decisions for which the meeting of the League of Nations European Committee, Council and Assembly next month will provide opportunity. And then, some four months after the Assembly ends, comes the Disarmament Conference for which the world has been waiting for ten years.

Under the shadow of the German crisis it is difficult to write cheerfully of the outlook. It is not easy, moreover, to write quite dispassionately, for it is certain as anything in the political field well can be that if France had felt able to welcome the Hoover proposals in the first instance with the same cordiality and decisiveness with which Great Britain and Italy welcomed them, enormous economic loss might have been avoided and the development of a situation full of the gravest political menace averted. France, however, did not feel capable of that, and when she finally framed proposals for the relief of Germany they were at first attended with political conditions which provoked even more emphatic disapproval in the United States than in Great Britain. Recrimination on such matters serves no useful purpose now, at any rate, in these columns, but at least it is permissible to express regret that the maintenance of the whole economic structure of Europe should have been imperilled by delays and difficulties for which Paris alone was responsible.

For that is what has been involved in these last weeks. It has been no question of relieving Germany merely for Germany's sake. There are those, of course, to whom that object would have appealed on the grounds of humanity and charity. But Governments, which are trustees for their own citizens' interests, not for the citizens of other countries, must be slower in allowing those motives to influence them than an individual whose expenditure concerned only himself would be. What weighed primarily with Mr. Hoover, it can hardly be doubted, was the knowledge that no country of the economic importance of Germany could slip into the gulf of bankruptcy or something like it without dragging all Europe half-way down too; that the failure of the present Government would open the way first to the Nazis and then to the Communists, and that events involving clashes on the frontier might well take place; and that an economic convulsion in Europe would enormously intensify the economic

difficulties against which the United States itself is struggling. International sympathy was, no doubt, one ingredient in the action taken by the United States and other countries, but legitimate self-interest counted for more still.

It is clear gain—gain to set against disastrous loss—to have had that lesson so deeply impressed on the world: The recognition of America's identity of interest with Europe has not yet been learned by all Americans, and Mr. Hoover's way has been made much harder than it would have been if his proposal had been adopted and put into application immediately instead of only after long and tortuous negotiations. Plenty of voices have been raised in the United States, particularly in the Middle West, insisting that financial relief shall be given to ruined American wheat-growers before it is given to peoples of other nationalities across the Atlantic.

But the fundamental fact is that President Hoover, after weighing all the probable effects of his action as a man who has to submit himself for re-election a year hence must weigh them, did not hesitate to plunge boldly into the maelstrom of reparation discussions. America's sympathetic co-operation is essential if the difficulties to which reparation scheme after reparation scheme has given rise are ever to be solved. That co-operation has at last been extended and it is not likely to be withdrawn unless the response in Europe to America's initiative is such as to discourage any repetition of the approach made by Washington. There has, it must frankly be admitted, been reason for anxiety on that score in the past month, but patient negotiation looks like triumphing and agreements satisfactory to Mr. Hoover and his advisers should be reached.

That marks a notable advance in international relationships since the war. The complete aloofness of the United States has long been a thing of the past. The American Government has been identifying itself with one League of Nations activity after another, and this year for the first time it declared itself anxious to pay its share of the costs of those committees on which it sits at Geneva. Most important of all, the United States has from the first been a member of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and will send a full delegation to the Conference itself.

All this, it must be repeated, is so much gain. The United States and its policies are not always referred to on this side of the Atlantic in the most cordial of tones. Between Great Britain and the Anglo-Saxon (still predominantly Anglo-Saxon) republic there exists, as has often been said, those relations which sometimes prevail in individual families, the members of which feel free to criticise one another on occasion to the point of snappiness, knowing that nothing serious will ever come of it. Both the United States and ourselves can indulge in the luxury of mutual criticism up to a point. But we at least on this side cannot and must not blind ourselves to the impossibility of solving finally the problems which press most heavily on Europe, and on ourselves as part of Europe, till America is ready to come and help solve them with us. She is beginning to do that to-day, not because the spirit of charity has just been born in her—it was born long ago—but because she is realising at last that they are not merely our problems, but her problems too. That is true of Europe's financial complications. In that field America has arrived. It is equally true of Disarmament. There she has begun to arrive too, and will come much nearer to us yet. And with her results will be possible that would be impossible without.

The Workers of India

How the I.L.O. Might Help the East

By JOHN CLIFF

Mr. Cliff, who is Assistant Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in India 1929-31

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India shows that, beginning with the International Labour Conventions adopted at Washington in 1919, the International Labour Organisation has exerted a considerable and powerful influence upon labour legislation in India. Since that time comprehensive Acts, covering workers in organised industries and mines, have reduced the hours of labour; regulated conditions; raised the minimum age of employment of children; prohibited the employment of women on night work; provided for workmen's compensation and the enforcement of safety rules; repealed the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act and provisions of a similar kind in the penal code.

Too Many Laws?

Most of the employers' associations, in their evidence to the Royal Commission on Labour in India, stated that, in their view, there had been a spate of labour legislation, and many urged that a halt should be called. There can be no doubt, however, that this legislation was sorely needed, and that the time has arrived when its scope, together with the adoption of certain other much-needed social legislation, should be extended over a far wider field.

The conditions obtaining in many of the non-regulated factories are revolting. The Director of Public Health in the Central Provinces, in a recent report upon conditions in the shellac factories, states that:—

"washing pits, reservoirs and drains are not properly cleaned at regular intervals. The same water is used for washing the lac over and over again for a week or more, and is allowed to stagnate for a period before it is drained off. Due to putrefaction of all the animal refuse from the stick lac, along with myriads of crushed insects in this water, the stinking effluvia from washing basins and drains are disgusting. But the persons employed on washing have to stand knee-deep in this water in the pits and carry on the work for hours together."

Child Slaves

The Commission, in its report upon the employment of boys in Amritsar carpet factories, makes the following observations:—

"For the most part boys start at 9 years of age, though in some cases it may be as low as 6 years. Although the method by which this boy labour is obtained varies in details in different parts of the district, its essential characteristics are the same throughout. Where the child is not the son or a near relative of the weaving-master, he is normally the child of a man who, in return for a loan of money from the weaving master, contracts out the labour of his child at so many rupees per month. The duration of the contract, which is sometimes set out in a formal document, would appear to be determined by the repayment of the loan. It is not without significance that one witness, who was the managing director of a leading carpet-manufacturing firm, declared, when shown such a document found by us on his premises, and drawn up only a few weeks previously, that that was the first time he had ever heard of the existence of written contracts of the kind, excusing his ignorance on the ground that he had 'nothing to do with the children' and dealt only with master weavers. Yet, on his own admission, in this industry two of the four persons on the normal-sized loom are generally children under 12 years, the remaining two being a boy over 14 years and the master weaver himself. It was clear to us from the evidence that these children were in the position of being obliged to work any number of hours per day required of them by their masters. They were

without the protection of the law as regards their physical fitness to labour, the number of hours they might be required to work without any interval, or, indeed, any other of the more elementary protections afforded by the Factories Act in respect of child workers, and they were subjected in some cases to corporal punishment. Yet the bulk of such children were 2 to 5 years below the statutory working age in respect of child workers employed in factories under the Act."

One of the pressing needs in India is to obtain a wide extension of the existing protective legislation so as to cover large numbers of men, women, and children employed in non-regulated factories. The difficulties of administration are obvious, but the conditions are so appalling as to justify the immediate adoption of such a course.

What the East Lacks

The International Labour Conferences have been of great value in providing a meeting place for the nationals, representatives of governments, employers and workers of countries which are members of the League of Nations.

The International Labour Organisation is based upon effective organisation of its constituent members. The poverty and illiteracy, however, of the industrial workers in the East is a tremendous bar, and an almost insuperable obstacle, to effective organisation. The important part played by trade union organisations in the West in securing the adoption of, and conformity with, international labour standards has no effective counterpart in the East, and I feel that it is incumbent upon the International Labour Office to consider what steps can properly be taken to promote the effective organisation of the workers.

An Asiatic Conference?

It is a matter for the serious consideration of the International Labour Office as to whether the circumstances of the case do not warrant the convening of an Advisory Asiatic Labour Conference. In my opinion, the time has arrived when it would serve a useful purpose to have a special conference in the East, representative of the Eastern countries. An examination and review of the operation, administration, and enforcement of labour and social legislation which has been enacted during the last decade could be included in the agenda.

The Report of the Commission reveals that the workers are often deprived of their statutory rights because no active steps are taken to see that they are informed on these matters. Consideration of this matter, and the steps necessary to make known to an illiterate labour force the rights and benefits conferred upon them by Statute, could also be dealt with at such a Conference. The Report of the Commission in this connection would, I believe, be of immense value to the International Labour Office.

There is need in India for a better-informed public opinion as to the work of the International Labour Organisation. Its publicity and propaganda organisation requires to be strengthened, and an Eastern Conference would serve the useful purpose of directing public attention to its work.

Disarmament Notes

LORD CECIL addressed a number of meetings at Heidelberg, Prague, Vienna and elsewhere on the subject of Disarmament at the end of June. The essence of his speeches was the emphasis he laid on the principle of international equality in armaments, meaning primarily that if certain specific types of weapons, such as tanks or submarines, are forbidden to countries like Germany, they should also be prohibited in the case of all other states equally. That idea has been developed in various other quarters and appears to be steadily gaining ground. Lord Cecil also urged a 25 per cent. reduction in the armaments of states other than those already cut down to a low level by the Peace Treaties. These proposals met with a mingled reception in Germany. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, for example, expressed the opinion that Lord Cecil's views represented a very satisfactory advance on ideas expressed in the Draft Disarmament Convention. On the other hand, the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, which is Nationalist in tone, considered that what Lord Cecil was endeavouring to obtain was obviously insufficient for Germany, which could be content with nothing less than absolute equality of armaments. What that is supposed to mean the paper does not indicate. It has never yet been suggested that the armaments of all States should be numerically equal.

Facts for February

The first two issues of the international periodical *Disarmament* have now appeared. As already stated in HEADWAY, the paper is published in Geneva in three different languages and aims at presenting in a purely objective way news and views on the Disarmament movement from many countries. The first issue accordingly contained numbers of extracts from Parliamentary records, public speeches and Press comments in such countries as Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland and the United States, as well as declarations drafted by international organisations like the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The committee controlling the review is itself international in character and there is no danger whatever of the interests of any particular country being specially served. What is needed more than all things in a discussion of such a question as disarmament is facts, and the new review performs an extremely useful service in providing the most relevant of all facts, i.e., what persons of importance are thinking and saying about disarmament in the different countries of the world.

Christians and the Conference

"Take the question of the reduction of armaments, now prominently before the nations: if the Conference of February, 1932, were to fail it would be partly because of the apathy of Christian people and men of goodwill in the nations in not making their voices heard. For it is a moral question; the nations gave a pledge in the Treaty of Versailles which has not been fulfilled, though it is something to thank God for that our nation has done more to fulfil it than others. And it is the function of Christianity to rouse public opinion upon these moral issues; if Christians in every country combined on a question like the limitation

of armaments, we should not only get a fellowship of Christianity which could be really effective, but we should also be drawn much closer together, for fellowship only comes through a common purpose, and the world would begin to see that Christianity is a force to be reckoned with, as it was in its early days, Governments would be strengthened to do the Christian thing simply because it was Christian, and bodies like the League of Nations would have a backing which would be irresistible." The Rev. Pat McCormick in "Christ's Message To Us To-day." Longmans. 2s. 1931.

First in the Field

The League of Nations is in process of collecting statistics regarding the armies, navies and air forces of the world in preparation for the Disarmament Conference. It is a curious fact that the two first countries to forward their complete statistics to Geneva were the two principal non-members of the League, the United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The figures forwarded from Washington were very full, and with them came a request that they should be immediately published and the expression of a wish that all other figures as they were received should be published. The Soviet return has not been thus dealt with up to the moment of writing, but no doubt in due course these and all other figures will be given full publicity. They will be of later date even than the tables contained in the latest edition of the League's Armaments Year Book. It may be added that Mr. Dalton stated a week or two ago in the House of Commons that the British figures would very shortly be forwarded to the League.

A Revised Response

Attention has been drawn in the course of various discussions on Disarmament, particularly in regard to the duty of the Christian churches in the matter, to a certain incongruity in the familiar Prayer Book phrase:

"Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God."

It is pointed out in that connection that the revised Prayer Book contains an alternative phrase:

"Because there is none other that ruleth the world, but only Thou, O God."

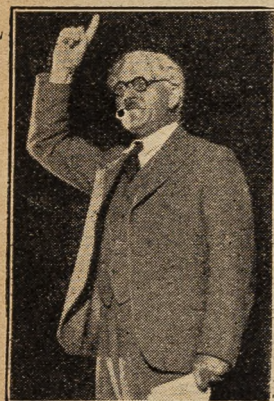
—a response which is manifestly more appropriate in a service in which the cause of Disarmament is being commended to the congregation, or, indeed, in any service at all. The Christian Organisations Committee of the League of Nations Union has decided to draw the attention of clergy generally to the alternative phrase, particularly in view of the appeal for prayer in connection with the Disarmament Conference.

After Fifteen Years

"Will this terrible convulsion when it has subsided bequeath war or peace as its heritage? In any case one would think there must be a generation of exhaustion. But will that generation bestir itself to find some guarantee against the recurrence of the curse or will it silently pile up armaments for hoarded vengeance? That is the question on which depends the future of the human race." Lord Rosebery in the Preface to Mrs. Humphry Ward's "England's Effort." May, 1916.

A Great Demonstration The Party Leaders at the Albert Hall

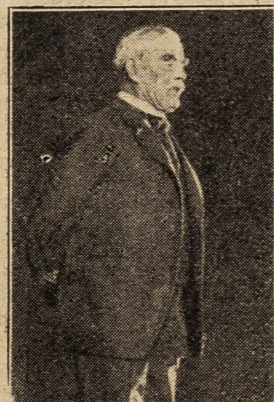
IT is using considered language to describe the Disarmament meeting at the Albert Hall on July 11, arranged by the League of Nations Union in conjunction with a number of other societies, as the greatest demonstration of the kind ever held anywhere.



Mr. Ramsay MacDonald

That was not merely because of the size of the audience which packed the hall itself, or of the overflow meetings held on the steps behind and in Kensington Gardens opposite, or of the fact, so rare as to be almost unique, that the leaders of the three political parties had met to speak on a common platform. For important as was the audience in the hall and its immediate vicinity, it represented but a fraction of those who listened to Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George. Over eighty meetings had been arranged throughout the country to listen to the speeches through loud-speakers. Everywhere private receiving-sets were switched on while the meeting lasted, in the United States as well as in the United Kingdom (for the speeches were transmitted across the Atlantic), and in the week following the meeting speaking films of the scene in the Albert Hall formed part of the regular programmes of thousands of cinemas in Great Britain, and a week later in thousands more in the United States. The procession organised by the Women's International League deeply impressed London.

The speeches of the Chairman, Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, described by Lord Cecil as "our greatest living soldier," of the three political leaders, and of Dr. Maude Royden and Lord Cecil who moved and seconded a vote of thanks respectively, were fully reported in most of the daily papers. Here it is possible only to reproduce a few salient passages representative of the views voiced by each of the speakers.



Sir William Robertson

Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson

"The great danger incurred by this delay in reducing armaments is the effect it is producing upon Germany. She was told that measures for all-round disarmament would follow, but they have not followed. She cannot be expected to tolerate that humiliating position for ever."

"War hurts everybody, benefits nobody—except the profiteers—and settles nothing."

"We shall realise our ideals of progressive dis-

armament and the abolition of war only in proportion as nations come to realise that they must show to each other's interests the same consideration as one individual expects from another."

"Great Britain has in the past taken a prominent place in the councils of the world; she took a prominent part in the war, and the time has arrived, I suggest, when she can take a prominent part again."



Mr. Baldwin

The Prime Minister

"To-day we are a united nation. None are for the party; all are for the State."

"Disarmament is essentially an International question. Alone, a nation can pioneer, but alone, a nation cannot attain."

"People seeking safety by arms are like people seeking shelter under trees during a thunder-storm; they are at the very point which is first struck when the thunder-storm breaks, instead of being secure during grievous danger."

"Security rests not on armaments, but on preventing the causes which have hitherto created war developing into actual outbreaks of war."

"Disarmament is not a delusion of a coterie. Disarmament is an ideal that this country has pledged itself again and again and, again to put before it in all its international relations."

"There is more money spent in Europe to-day on armaments than has ever been spent not only in Europe but on the American continent as well."

"We are going to go to Geneva determined, by persuasion, by arguments, by appeals to what has been written, appeals to measures already taken, appeals to history, appeals to common sense, to get the nations of the world to join in and reduce this enormous disgraceful burden of armaments which we are now bearing from one end of the world to the other."

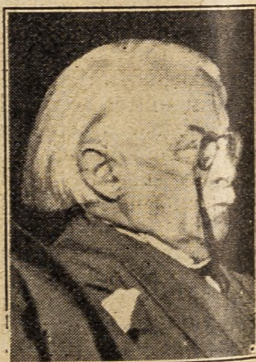
"The point of it all is this: Geneva must give results."

"Is it to be legitimate in future that nations should arm themselves with instruments and implements the sole purpose of which is to drop bombs on civil populations?"

Mr. Baldwin

"We are bound by treaty and by honour to international disarmament."

"In the last six years we alone in the world, except to a fractional extent for Japan, have reduced our military expenditure against figures of many foreign nations which have been raised in some cases inordinately."



Mr. Lloyd George

"Immediately after the war, with a gesture which ought to redound to the eternal honour of our country . . . we reduced our 3,300 aeroplanes to a little over 300, and disbanded nine-tenths of our personnel. Our example was not followed."

"British air expenditure to-day represents 2½ per cent. of our Budget. The corresponding figure in the case of France is roughly 5, and in the United States of America and Italy roughly 4."

"Our hope in Europe is in the League of Nations."

"The League of Nations suffers from the absence of two nations, one in the East and one in the West, who are necessary to it before it can accomplish the work that it ought to accomplish. I mean Russia and the United States of America."

"Every international problem in Europe since the Treaty of Versailles has been made incomparably more difficult to Europeans from the absence of America from the League of Nations."

"After all, ultimately and fundamentally the fight for peace is a spiritual fight."

Mr. Lloyd George

"They have kept Germany to her promise, but they have broken their own."

"They all renounced war, but they forgot to renounce the preparations for war."

"In the last war you had horrible carnage. The next is inconceivable, and yet the world is going on steadily, stolidly, stupidly, marching towards that

catastrophe, singing the songs of peace and preparing for war."

"You will never disarm, you will never get real disarmament until you renounce war, not merely on a scroll of paper, but in the hearts of men."

"You will not succeed until you break down the distinction in the minds of mankind between the principles that guide individuals and those which ought to guide nations in these matters."

Dr. Maude Royden

"The patriotism that would desire to add any further territories to our gigantic Empire would be the very madness of patriotism, but that patriotism which desires that our country shall lead the world in the cause of civilisation and peace is a patriotism of which no one should be ashamed."

Viscount Cecil

"There are those who tell us that the influence of this country amongst the nations of the world is less than it was. I believe that to be profoundly untrue. I believe that this country has never stood higher in the estimation of mankind than it stands to-day."

"Between now and next February, with this great meeting as a send-off, let us make it clear to the whole world—and especially to all those nations who value the friendship of Britain—what is the British policy, and more than their policy, the British determination, in this matter."

A New Drug Treaty Long Discussions Yield Results at Geneva

IN the last issue of HEADWAY, a Geneva correspondent explained how the Opium Conference at Geneva, after prolonged discussion of a draft Convention submitted by the British Government, decided to discard this in favour of a new Franco-Japanese draft. This latter has now been debated and amended, and from it has issued a new Opium Treaty which was signed by 28 States, including Great Britain, on July 13th.

The object of the Conference, it will be remembered, was to limit, not raw opium as produced in China, Turkey and other poppy-growing countries, but the derivative drugs such as morphia, heroin and also cocaine, the product of the coca leaf, which are manufactured mainly in western countries, like Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States. The general effect of the new Convention is that the countries which do manufacture may get what orders they can from anywhere, but they shall only be permitted to fulfil these definite orders, each of which has to be guaranteed as genuine by the Government of the country from which the order is received. Broadly speaking, therefore, the purposes for which a factory may produce are four: (a) for the legitimate (i.e., medical and scientific) needs of its own country; (b) for export on the basis just described; (c) for maintaining a limited reserve stock at a level to be specified in advance; and (d) for maintaining stocks held in the hands of the Government. It may, of course, be since trade has always been conducted to some extent on the basis of an estimated demand more than actual demand, that at the end of a year the

amount manufactured in a given country may have exceeded actual needs. In that case, the amount to be manufactured in the next year will be proportionately reduced.

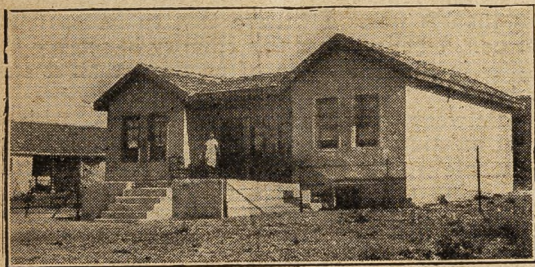
With the growth of modern science there is always the danger of the discovery of some new drug not covered by any existing opium convention. The new Treaty lays it down that, instead of it being permissible to manufacture such drugs until they are forbidden, it is to be forbidden to manufacture them until they are definitely permitted, such permission to be granted by the Government of the country where the discovery is made if it is satisfied that the drug in question has a definite medical or scientific value. But even so, it may not be exported until the League of Nations Health Committee is satisfied that it is not habit-forming. A massed attack was made by most of the delegates on one of the most sinister of existing drugs, namely, heroin, but the British representative defended it, medical opinion in this country attributing to it certain virtues. The proposal for its total abolition was, therefore, defeated, but it is only in future to be exported to the Government of a particular country, not to any private purchaser.

While opinion may differ as to the respective merits of the original British draft and the Franco-Japanese draft which has formed the basis of the new Convention, there is no question that as a result of the prolonged discussions at Geneva measures have been agreed on which must very materially reduce the quantity of drugs available for escape from legitimate into illegitimate channels.

Rescued Refugees The League's Achievement in Greece

THE Greek Refugee Settlement scheme will stand on record as one of the great achievements of the League of Nations in the humanitarian field. News of interest regarding it has been published from time to time in HEADWAY, but the story has never hitherto been told in its completeness and in consecutive form. Now that omission has been remedied by the man better qualified to tell the story than any other, Mr. Charles Eddy,* Chairman for the last four years of the Refugee Settlement Commission itself.

Statistics in such a case as this are of secondary importance. It is, in a sense, more profitable to state what has been done for some single miserable



Two Semi-Detached Houses

family of man and wife and a child or two, flying in terror from the Turks in 1923, than to set on record the fact that altogether some 1,300,000 souls came under this category and had somehow to be settled on the land or in some industry that would give them a livelihood in towns.

Seven Years' Work

The Refugee Commission, which has settled roughly half this number, was constituted by resolution of the League of Nations Council in 1923. The Bank of England, in conjunction with the Bank of Greece, provided £1,000,000 to start on, pending the issue of an international loan of £10,000,000 under the League's auspices later on. Two more instalments of the same kind were provided as needed by the banks in question. With the money produced by the larger loan in 1924 the Commission was provided with all it needed for a considerable period, though before the end another £3,000,000 was obtained from a further loan floated by the Government of Greece.

The land was provided by the Greek Government. Villages sprang up on waste ground and drained marshes all over the country. The population was increased by much more than a million, and its productive capacity enormously developed. Mr. Eddy, who has seen every aspect of the work in course of execution, gives a clear idea of what a refugee needed to set him going. "He should be furnished," Mr. Eddy writes, "with an adequate amount of land, a house in good condition, necessary equipment in the way of animals and farm utensils, seed and a subsistence allowance to allow him to maintain himself until his first crop was harvested. In addition, some provision was necessary for community needs, such as road building,

water supply, irrigation, drainage of swamp land and the construction of school buildings and dispensaries." A certain number of houses had been left vacant by departing Turks, who, by arrangement, were exchanged with Greeks coming back to Greece from Asia Minor. But new houses had, for the most part, to be built, and very decent houses they were, and put up at a remarkably low cost. The basic type of house, with one living room, a hall and kitchen, could be built for £100, and compared very favourably with the homes of the average native Greek peasant. Some of the refugees who were not quite penniless desired something better, and if they could pay the difference were given an extra living room for another £25.

Bees, Hens and Worms

But what could they do when they got their houses? The kind of aid afforded gives some indication of their vocations, consisting as it did of "the distribution of animals, ploughs, seed grain, forage, wagons and subsistence grants in kind and in money. Advances had also been made to specialised cultivators, for example, the poultry-farmer, bee-keepers, silkworm growers, and even to fishermen, as well as to artisans indispensable to village life, such as blacksmiths, the farrier, cobbler, baker, carter and the joiner. Attention had also been given to the development of vine-growing, the cultivation of tobacco, and cattle-breeding."

But everything, naturally, did not always go well. "In one place the heat had destroyed the crops. In another spring floods had done the same. Here was a village which had a plentiful supply of water, but, unfortunately, mineral water, which the cattle would not drink. Malaria was threatening another section, which sought aid in draining a marsh. Refugees wanted the Commission to build a pier to facilitate the shipment of their products by sea, and so on." These, however, were occasional rather than general experiences. The refugees, as a whole, have made good. They are living, if not in comfort, at any rate in sufficiency, and they are adding steadily to the wealth of Greece, and beginning to repay the advances made to them individually.

What of the Future?

One question, of course, must inevitably be asked—Will this last, or will the refugee villages degenerate now that the guiding hand of the Settlement Commission is withdrawn? The answer to that critical question is only beginning to be given now. Greece is left to her own resources, and many vital decisions have to be made, most of all whether encouragement should be given primarily to agriculture or primarily to industry. Mr. Eddy has some depressing things to say about the conditions of certain Greek towns where overcrowding is rife, housing conditions deplorable, and sanitary conditions unspeakable. Here, however, the League has come in in another guise, for in response to a request from the Greek Government the Health Organisation at Geneva is assisting Greece to develop a national health organisation of its own. A country that has never possessed such an institution is likely to be largely revolutionised by its creation.

* "Greece and the Greek Refugees," by Charles B. Eddy. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

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

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HUMANITARIANS' SUMMER HOLIDAY CENTRE, August 1st to September 5th. Illustrated Prospectus now ready giving full details of our Centre at Bideford, near Westward Ho! midst Devon's most beautiful scenery and close to the Cornish boundary and coast. Terms from £2 19s. to £3 6s. per week. Members L.N.U. 10 per cent. reduction.—Apply Mr. F. de V. Summers, Rectory House, Martin Lane, Cannon St., London, E.C.4.

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The Union in Council

THE summer meetings of the League of Nations Union Council were held this year at Blackpool, whose normal attractions were supplemented by the fact that the Flour Milling Association of Great Britain were also holding a conference there simultaneously. Professor Murray presided, and the attendance must be considered reasonably satisfactory in view of the distance of the place of the meeting from many parts of England.

Of the many subjects that came up for discussion two were of dominating importance, one in the field of public affairs, the other in the domain of the Union's domestic concerns. The former was Disarmament. The Council had before it the very comprehensive resolution adopted a few weeks earlier by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Budapest. Finding it impossible to improve on that declaration of views it contented itself with endorsing it and emphasising certain clauses of the resolution in particular. (The Budapest resolution itself was fully discussed in the July HEADWAY, p. 135.)

The special points underlined by the Council were the necessity that the Disarmament Conference of 1932 should culminate in a positive result, an international Convention; that the treaty should provide not merely for the limitation but for the reduction of armaments, if possible in the form of an all-round reduction of 25 per cent. on armament budgets; that the League should officially recognise the principle of equality in disarmament between the vanquished and victorious powers; that the 1932 Conference should "begin to effect" such equality; that it should be attained not by increasing the armaments at present limited, but by reducing those at present unlimited; and, finally, that such limitation and reduction should be effected on the same principles for all States.

The other achievement of the Council represented the resolution of members to set the Union's own house in order. The General Council itself under the existing constitution might contain some five thousand delegates if all branches took full advantage of the opportunity of appointing them. It has long been felt that representation on a broad regional basis was desirable, and as a result of the resolutions adopted at Blackpool this has now been achieved. A special meeting was held to make the necessary alterations in the Rules, and appointments to the League Council will now be made on the following basis:—

- Any branch with a paid-up membership of over 150 may appoint a representative; it may send two representatives if membership is over 1,000, and three if it is over 2,000.
- A District Council, which may be formed with the consent of the Executive Committee or the National Council, by the branches in a county or some other approved area, may elect to the General Council one representative if the paid-up membership of its constituent branches does not exceed 150, two if it be between 150 and 300, three between 300 and 1,000, four between 1,000 and 2,000, and five if over 2,000. A group of branches may, with the approval of the Executive, elect representatives on the same scale.

The general effect of these changes should be to make the General Council a more compact and directly representative body, with a maximum total membership of about 700.

Books Worth Reading

THE WAR-TIME MIND

Society at War. By Caroline E. Playne. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Miss Playne has endeavoured to analyse and portray the state of mind of civilian society in Great Britain during the war. Formidable task though that is, it is well worth undertaking provided certain conditions are fulfilled. It means assembling a vast mass of data with resolute and relentless impartiality, examining the mass with a mind free as far as is humanly possible from preconceptions and prejudices, and presenting the conclusions with insistent honesty. An investigator pursuing that method might produce results of enduring value. But the first question to be asked regarding any author of such a work as this is whether he or she possesses the necessary qualities for the enterprise, and it cannot be claimed with any confidence that Miss Playne does. Her conviction, expressed in her Introduction, is that "everyone is more or less mad in war-time," and her general conclusion, in the same Introduction, is that "nations of men, fearing one another, glided into a suicidal attitude. Thus they departed from the course of life and plunged into the adventure of death. They dethroned reason and espoused force, till large tracts of the habitable earth became fatal playgrounds for maddened millions, whilst the masses of the whole population watched and upheld and encouraged and loudly applauded the murderous game."

There is little of the temper of the scientific investigator there—or, it must be added, anywhere in this book. The writer has displayed great industry. She has collected a large amount of material that may well serve useful purposes in one way or another. But her vision is filled with the idea of "war fever," and her whole volume seems designed primarily, if not solely, to demonstrate the dominance of war fever in every stratum of our national life. The result is a picture which misrepresents much more than it represents Great Britain from 1914 to 1918. Even those who deplore as much as Miss Playne many of the manifestations she describes in her book must ask themselves what useful purpose is served by dishing up at this time of day to the extent of some three or four pages the imbecilities of various speakers at a suburban recruiting meeting in 1915. "War fever" did exist in this country, as in all countries. Displays of it were frequent and palpable, but they did not fill the whole stage. The core of the nation consisted of quiet, sober men and women who did their jobs and said little and bore what they had to bear. By leaving them out of her picture Miss Playne has made it very largely a travesty. Plenty of people in England lost their heads in some degree at some moment. A few of them, perhaps, at all moments. But that did not make the whole nation mad. Miss Playne sees only "the poison of neurotic, self-centred pride poisoning the whole body." "Men," she tells us, "being dominated by the elemental passions of suspicion, fear, hate, reverted to primary mental states and became incapable of giving consideration to reasoned courses." Does that unqualified generalisation portray justly the England of fifteen years ago which so many of us remember? And is this the picture we desire to see given to a generation which knew not that England, and to readers in other countries who know relatively little of England then or England now?

The White Flame. By Mrs. C. R. Buxton and Edward Fuller. (Longman. 2s.)

"A White Flame" was the description given to Miss Eglantyne Jebb, the founder of the Save the Children Fund, by a Yugoslav fellow-worker. The biography of a woman who lived for an ideal, laboured self-regardless for it and saw it realised was abundantly worth writing, and the work has been admirably done by the joint authors, one of them Miss Jebb's sister. To make the child a force that unifies humanity is a great and noble achievement. "I have no enemies under seven," said Mr. Bernard Shaw in his well-known reply, quoted in this volume, to critics who attacked him for supporting the Save the Children Movement when it was helping German and Austrian children as well as others after the war. Miss Jebb went farther. She made the ideal positive. For her anyone under seven must be a friend. And the flame she kindled still burns.

The Holy Land Under Mandate. By Fannie Fern Andrews. (Houghton, Mifflin. 2 vols. \$10.)

An industrious compilation in the wholesale American style, including extensive biographies of the chief personalities in the Palestine administration, and covering events so recent as "Premier MacDonald's" letter to Dr. Weizmann. Mrs. Andrews comes to the rather depressing conclusion that Arabs and Jews in Palestine "are farther apart to-day than at any time during the eleven years of the Mandate," and that independence in consequence cannot even be discussed with profit. The volume is well stocked with facts which can be tracked out with the help of the quite adequate index.

A Simple Plan for the Reduction of Armaments. By James Jackson. (Gibson & Sons, Glasgow. 1s.)

The interest attaching to this short survey of the Disarmament question lies in the fact that the writer was urging reduction on the basis of budgetary limitation some two years ago, that is to say, well before that principle was finally adopted at Geneva. His proposal for a 2½ per cent. cut annually over a term of years differs rather substantially from the suggestion widely supported to-day of aiming at a 25 per cent. cut at next year's Conference. The booklet is illustrated by a number of graphs.

How Europe Grew. By F. J. Adkins. (Williams & Norgate. 25s.)

Europe from pre-Greek days to the League of Nations. An interesting, readable account, necessarily condensed but a little rambling in places and not entirely reliable on various points connected with the League. The book, as a whole, is a monument of industry and compression and stimulates thought as much as it imparts information. But surely Luther's "I can no other," is too completely consecrated by tradition to be replaced by the cumbrous "I can do no otherwise."

Post-War Treaties for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. By Max Habicht. (Milford. 34s.)

A terrific volume of 1,100 pages, containing the text of 130 treaties, together with an analysis of the methods of settlement they embody, a discussion of the reservations they contain and a survey of conciliation, commission and arbitration procedure. Valuable for reference. Also useful for pressing flowers.

Bad War Books

Varied Views by "Headway" Readers

"I have been delighted to read 'Anzac's' protest on the subject of bad war books in your issue of July. I served with many units—regular infantry battalions, K. battalions, territorials—and, so far as life in any one of those units was concerned, the picture of life drawn in those books, even in a book so comparatively sane as 'Journey's End,' is profoundly untrue. Officers were not drunk in the line, or anywhere else, at 10 a.m., or at 10 p.m. for that matter. Life was not a horror with rare intervals of sordid gaiety.

"Of course, there were disagreeable days—even disagreeable weeks—but, on the whole, life in the trenches for anyone who chose to entrench themselves—and they were the great majority—was a very interesting life. I will give one instance. We were in a section of the line fairly quiet so far as fighting or shelling are concerned, but incredibly muddy—mud waist high—and reliefs took place every seven days. We were a good hard-working battalion, and made an impression on the mud by the end of our first week. We did not go back into rest billets. At what I believe to have been the unanimous wish of the whole battalion, we asked to stay in and finish the job; clearing mud, levelling trenches and wiring, and did, in fact, stay there for 28 days. All the mud was in sump holes, all the trenches were made good, the whole of the front and support system was a bird cage. This was a perfectly normal battalion of the line, which had been cut to ribbons at least twice in the previous six months. Obviously, if that life—of considerable discomfort—was the hell that our war-book writers

would have us believe, instead of being, which in fact it was, the fun of triumphing over difficulties, neither officers nor men would have tolerated it for three unnecessary weeks!

"With a good deal of experience, I am sure that the great majority of all ranks lived absolutely clean and decent lives, and that filthy talk was conspicuous by its absence."

"AN EX-INFANTRY OFFICER."

"Speaking from a woman's point of view, I honestly believe that these books should be read. Certainly 'All Quiet on the Western Front' was a complete revelation to me, and left me with a deep and lasting admiration for the men who lived through such filth and came through so wonderfully unaltered as most of the survivors. I quite see the danger of coming generations generalising from these hysterical books, but everyone ought to know the unmentionable side which none of the decent men will speak about, and no one can really guess at from the better type of book."

CICELEY G. WILCOX.

"'Anzac's' protest against bad war books in HEADWAY for July assumes that a standard of decency exists by which such books are to be tried.

"But it doesn't exist. He will admit, I think, that matter which is deemed 'filth,' when written or read by the layman, is nothing of the sort when handled by the doctor, the scientist, or the historian.

"The reason is that the latter are concerned with the truth; the former with their emotions.

"Whether a book is 'bad' in this sense or not depends upon the intention of the writer and of the reader. What is demanded of both is honesty: and in the light of that demand 'Anzac's' plea, that we should ban the impressions of survivors, where they might colour our memories of the dead, or expose us in the eyes of foreigners, appears inadmissible."

T. S. A.

"No one believes that the fallen were 'practically all drunkards or beasts,' but every truthful man knows that war is capable of dragging men down to a depth of degradation which would be a disgrace if they sought it willingly. What the authors of war books are trying to tell the world is that in war these things are bound to happen to large numbers of men and women who would otherwise have the opportunity to lead clean and self-respecting lives."

G. H. COOPER.

To tell the world all that the world needs to know about British education in 41 pages is something of an achievement, but the New Education Fellowship has proved capable of it. The handbook in question, intended primarily for visitors from abroad, but highly edifying for residents at home, is a marvel of compression, containing as it does all the elementary fact about various types of British schools from infancy to graduation, if the latter word may be coined for the occasion. But why Oxford Responsions and Cambridge Little-go? Let us either have Smalls and Little-go or Responsions and Previous. (Price 6d.)

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Members: Miss B. O. BENNETT; H. E. BOOTHROYD, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.; F. M. BURRIS, Esq.; J. F. DOBSON, Esq., M.A., Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Greek in the University of Bristol; G. A. FALK, Esq., M.A.; H. LYN HARRIS, Esq., M.A., LL.B.; Miss L. J. RENDALL; H. G. ROBINSON, Esq.; Miss M. C. TOTBILL; Miss A. M. WEBB-JOHNSON, L.R.A.M.; Miss HELEN M. WODEHOUSE, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Education in the University of Bristol, Mistress-Elect of Girton College, Cambridge.

The School is beautifully situated outside Bristol, but near enough to enable the older girls to take advantage of the educational facilities provided by a University City.

Special features of the School are individual time-tables and the development of a sense of service, civic responsibility and international consciousness, these being fostered by the study of World History, the School Junior Branch of the League of Nations Union, and School Journeys, including annual visits to Geneva.

There is a Junior School, where special attention is given to children whose parents are abroad; entire responsibility is taken for them if so desired.

SIBFORD SCHOOL

near Banbury

A pioneer School under a Committee of the Society of Friends.

Fine new class-rooms and workshops, magnificent situation in healthy unspoiled country.

Co-education 10 to 16 years.

Craft-work, Esperanto and Internationalism. Oxford University School certificate including two craft subjects. Individual responsibility and initiative.

Full particulars from D. Johnstone, B.Sc.

Readers' Views

A WORD ON GENERAL DYER

SIR,—Whilst a supporter of the League as well as of Disarmament, I cannot allow your remark on General Dyer in Disarmament Notes to pass without comment. General Dyer was known to me personally. He distinguished himself prior to Amritsar when on active service amongst savage tribesmen in North Baluchistan by taking great personal risks and refraining from using force when many others would have done so. The leaders of the Sikh Religion in Amritsar made him a Sikh and built a shrine in his honour after the Amritsar debacle, saying "You have saved Amritsar," for they well knew that armed mobs were arriving from the surrounding country in order to loot Amritsar and the Golden Temple.

Police are still necessary, they require batons, and are not recruited from the C3 population. The recent bloodshed at Cawnpore is an example of civil inefficiency; the horrors perpetrated on women and children would never have happened had the male malefactors known that force would be employed on them if they use force. Which will you have, 400 male desperadoes punished with the punishment they were warned they would receive if they did not keep the peace, or a few thousand women and children raped and murdered?

The cause of Disarmament amongst civilised governments is not going to be helped by casting aspersions on the memory of soldiers who, it must be remembered, are frequently called upon to do dirty work which they themselves loathe doing, but are forced to do owing to an unbalanced sickly sentiment.—Yours, etc.,

N. H. STUART-MENTETH (Major).

30, Bramham Gardens, S.W.5.

[HEADWAY expressed no opinion of any kind about General Dyer. A correspondent's reference to him needed explaining and the explanation consisted of the simple statement that "General Dyer was the officer responsible for the fusillade at Amritsar in 1919 when over 400 Indians were shot dead," that being obviously the point of the reference in question. Different views are notoriously held regarding the justification for General Dyer's action, but it is difficult to see why a mere mention of it should be regarded as an aspersion.—ED., HEADWAY.]

"WANDERING SABBATHS"

SIR,—I was interested to read in your May issue the article in which you referred to the "brightening" of the discussion upon Calendar Reform by my protest against the "wandering" Sabbath. You express the opinion that in this matter the greatest good of the greatest number is likely to be the determining factor. This has been the justification of most persecutions during the past two thousand years. It is precisely as a bulwark against the trampling upon the rights of minorities that the League of Nations is most valuable; and it is for that reason that we look to it for assistance at the present juncture. The question is not one for the Jews alone. It is for adherents of all religious faiths who respect the immemorial institution of a seventh-day Sabbath and do not wish to have their day of rest chased arbitrarily about the week.—Yours, etc.,

J. H. HERTZ,
Chief Rabbi.

4, St. James's Place, Aldgate, E.C.3.

REVISING THE TREATIES

SIR,—Being from a country which has been, perhaps, most hardly affected by the Peace Treaties concluded after the last war—it was to me of the greatest interest to note in Sir John Fischer Williams' article in HEADWAY, the differentiation between contractual obligations and the already completed operations in the Treaties of International character, and it was equally most interesting to read that, "There is no analogy in international law to the right recognised in municipal law to set aside a contract for misrepresentation or fraud."

This last sentence is of specially great interest and importance for us. May I be permitted to ask Sir John Fischer Williams if it is the "official" principle of international law also in the case of the Treaties concerning the national minorities of our Continent? I would be very grateful for an answer, since, as it is generally known, the Minority Treaties are very closely connected with the Peace Treaties, the former serving, in a way, as conditions of the transfer of territories inhabited by national minorities. If, consequently, the stipulations of the Minority Treaties can be violated without involving the "danger" of being set aside, which means revised, what protection remains for the minorities? On the other hand, if the Minority Treaties can not be violated, the most important conditions for the already performed territorial transfer are wiped out because the Minority Treaties have been more than several times violated.

According to the article the very important question of Treaty Revision will not be solved by lawyers but by statesmen. If that will be the case, the Revision of the Treaties is bound to come as the completion of the reconstruction work of the economics of our Continent—which has been begun with the Hoover Plan—and which will express itself in the clear-headed reconsideration of the several thousand miles longer tariff barriers between the countries of after-war Central Europe.—Yours, etc.,

IVAN HORDOSY.

102, Westbourne Terrace, W.2.

PROS AND CONS

SIR,—The article by General Sir F. Maurice in your June issue is worthy, in its fairness and truth, of the grandson of the great Frederick Denison Maurice. It would be a good thing if it could be reprinted as a leaflet and circulated by all branches of the L.N.U. It is a pleasing contrast to certain recent speeches on disarmament, some of which have not been too polite or tactful in their open or veiled references to France. The letter printed in your July issue is so biased and unfair that I hope you will find space for this appreciation of Sir F. Maurice's article.—Yours, etc.,

MEYRICK J. H. CRAMB.

Grange View, Whiteshill, Stroud.

ASSEMBLY SEATS

SIR,—Might I suggest for the benefit of readers of HEADWAY that members of the public should have little difficulty in securing seats at the Assembly Meetings any time after the expiration of the first week.

I am just back after attending the third week and found absolutely no difficulty in getting a seat for any of the meetings; in fact, at one full Assembly meeting not one-tenth of the public seats were occupied—further, hotel accommodation is quite easy to secure in mid-September.—Yours, etc.,

R. H. BRITTAIN.

League of Nations Union News

SUPPLEMENT
TO HEADWAY

August, 1931

Exodus, or The Way Out

THE Book of Exodus tells how the Chosen People were held in bondage by the Government of Egypt; how Egypt suffered from plague after plague until the bonds were released; and how, a little later, Egypt's effort to re-impose the bonds was overwhelmed by the Red Sea. Today, a few creditor Governments hold many peoples in economic bondage. The plagues of agrarian distress, industrial unemployment, slump of prices, political insecurity, have followed one after another; and at last, after seeing how these plagues are affecting even the valley of the great river, the Mississippi, Mr. Hoover has proposed, and the creditor Governments have agreed, to release the bonds—for a time. If, a little later, they attempt to re-impose the bonds, they also may risk being overwhelmed by a Red flood!

The story of these economic and financial plagues, and of the distress which they have caused, was very briefly told in HEADWAY for last March. We noticed the high lights of the problem, and we examined the principal causes of the world's present distress. The remedy, as we saw it then, was for the world to begin by agreeing upon the causes of its distress and then to remove these causes by reducing or cancelling reparations and war debts, by stabilising and lowering tariffs, and by determining that next year's Disarmament Conference shall result in a real reduction of armies, navies and air forces.

The first step was agreement upon the causes. That agreement could only be reached by an international conference; and indeed the economic advisory committee of the League of Nations Union suggested so long ago as last October the calling of a conference of the chief commercial countries for this purpose. That conference is about to meet as these words are written, and will have met before they appear in print.

The Governments of the chief commercial countries cannot, however, accomplish all that is needed to bring back prosperity. An indispensable part of their programme must be to increase the sense of political security by ensuring, so far as they can, the success of next year's Disarmament Conference. Unless that Conference succeeds, an attempt to revive the payment of war debts and reparations is almost inevitable. Worse still, unless the Disarmament Conference succeed, the whole fabric of the League of Nations will be shaken; and Germany—despairing of the all-round reduction and limitation of armaments which the Allied Powers pledged themselves to bring about when Germany first disarmed—may revive a competition

in armaments. Neither prosperity nor peace lie along that road.

But if the Disarmament Conference is to succeed, the nations must show their Governments in time that they will support all reductions, however drastic, to which the Conference may agree. That is the view of the British Foreign Secretary. It is the function of the League of Nations Union, under its Charter, to see that this happens in Great Britain, while the Union's sister societies abroad are bringing about and demonstrating a similar change of mind in their respective countries.

We have made a beginning. At Blackpool last month, the Union's governing body, the General Council, put its own house in order by narrowing its membership and by widening its constitution. Representative members of the Council will, for the most part, be chosen by all the branches in a county or other convenient area, and by branches with a paid-up membership of more than one hundred and fifty. The Council, thus reconstituted, should be far more effective in directing the policy of the Union and more influential in voicing the opinion of its nine hundred thousand members.

In the second place, we have organised on behalf of sixty organisations, the National Demonstration of July 11. Never before have the leaders of the three political parties, all of them Prime Ministers—a Scotsman, an Englishman and a Welshman—spoken together, and agreed together, on the same platform concerning a political question of the first magnitude. Never before has the whole nation had the opportunity of joining in the same meeting, hearing the same speeches, and passing the same resolution at the same moment. Nearly eleven thousand people were assembled in the Albert Hall; but that was only one of some eighty mass meetings held all over the country, from the north-east of Scotland to the south-west of England, and from Wales to East Anglia.

That is a beginning, and a good beginning. But much more remains to be done. When the Conference comes, we are, in the words of Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, "to assure the Government of the day—never mind what Government—that it has behind it the whole-hearted support of the men and women of this country." How is this result to be accomplished? Suggestions have been sent to branch secretaries. But the secretaries can do little apart from the members. Will YOU who read this tell the secretary of your branch what help you are able to give?

A copy of the suggestions to branch secretaries is printed on page iv.

The International Field

Combining National Efforts for Disarmament

FOLLOWING upon the success of the British National Disarmament Demonstration on July 11 and news of great Disarmament meetings in French provincial centres—Clermont-Ferrand, for instance—it is good news to hear that a great congress of all unofficial organisations, national and international, is to be held in Paris on November 25 to promote the success of the World Disarmament Conference. The Rotary International have undertaken the task of organisation, and acceptances have already been received from several countries. An organising committee was set up at a preliminary meeting, at which Lord Cecil, who presided, and Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., represented the Union, was held at the offices of the paper "l'Europe Nouvelle," in Paris on July 25.

The Federation and Disarmament

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies has not let the grass grow under its feet in carrying out the decisions of its congress in Budapest. Dr. Limburg, President of the Federation, has called upon the affiliated societies in over thirty countries to carry out an energetic campaign to further the Federation's policy. In order to help speakers, the Federation's newly-formed Disarmament Committee at Brussels has decided to issue a series of short "speakers' notes" in different languages. The Federation has also taken an active part in bringing into being the new international review "Disarmament," published at Geneva.

Progress of the Disarmament Declaration

The Women's International League report that up to the middle of July the total number of British signatures to the Disarmament Declaration which had been collected by them amounted to 1,072,651. Many of these signatures have been collected by the Union's Branches. In particular, the North and N.E. of Scotland District Council report that 2,200 signatures were obtained in a cinema where the film "Peace on the Western Front" was being shown. Great progress in collecting signatures is reported from the United States.

Friendship at Constance

The "Action Internationale Democratique pour La Paix" is holding its Annual Congress at Constance from August 4 to 9. The subjects to be discussed are Disarmament, the Economic Crisis, and European Union. The cost to visitors will be from 7s. to 10s. a day, and it is hoped that a large number from this country will attend. Particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, A.I.D.P., c/o Women's International League, 55, Gower Street, W.C.1.

Austria

The Austrian Disarmament Committee, with 22 affiliated societies, arranged a big public meeting in Vienna, in which Dr. Karl Renner, President of the Parliament of Austria, and Professor Karl Drexler, M.P., both spoke. As it is unusual in Austria for leaders of opposing political parties to speak on one platform, the meeting was in itself a striking expression of goodwill. A resolution urging the Austrian Government to do all in its power to contribute to the success of the Disarmament Conference was passed, and will be presented to the Government and to the leaders of the political parties.

France

L'Association de la Paix par le Droit has for three years organised an International Holiday Course for young girls at Thonon. This year, in addition to the course at Thonon, a new centre will be opened at Saint-Claude.

Both these courses take place in schools in beautiful surroundings, with sports grounds. At Thonon there will be 100 beds, and at Saint-Claude 60 beds. The schools are open from August 16 to August 31, the charge for the course being 150 francs for seven days and 300 francs for 15 days. There is a slight supplement for rooms.

Further information regarding Saint-Claude can be obtained from Mlle. L. Roux, Ecole Primaire Supérieure, Saint-Claude, or Miss Todd, The Sheiling, Recreation Road, Stowmarket, Suffolk.

With regard to Thonon, applications should be made to Mme. J. Prudhommeaux, 8, Rue Jacques-Boyceau, Versailles, or Miss Todd, The Sheiling, Recreation Road, Stowmarket, Suffolk.

It is hoped to arrange similar schools at Cologne and Berlin at the beginning of September.

Holland

In the Dutch Indies, as in Holland, the 18th May was celebrated as Peace Day. The "Algemeen Indisch Dagblad" of May 18 contains the text of a talk to the children of the Dutch East Indies which was broadcast from Bandoeng (Java). This talk, which was arranged by the Federation for Peace in the Dutch Indies, was given in Dutch and Malay.

South Africa

The Durban League of Nations Union recently organised an Essay Competition on the film "The World War and After." A large number of entries were received, including papers from private European, Government European, Indian, native and coloured schools. It was reported by the adjudicator that there was no discoverable difference in the standard achieved as between these groups. Papers from all of them were among the residue from which the final selection was made. The competition was divided into Classes A (children of 14 and over) and B (children under 14). Three prizes were awarded in each class.

TRAVEL NOTES

THE GENEVA INSTITUTE

The Institute's annual course of lectures and discussions will take place from August 16 to 21.

The following parties leave London:—

- August 15. General Party. Fee 11½ guineas.
- August 14. Youth Group. (Third-class travel.) Fee £8 10s.
- August 15. Educational Group whose programme includes: August 16-21, attendance at Geneva Institute; August 21-25, Lecture Conference on Training for World Citizenship. Chairman, Sir T. Percy Nunn, M.A., B.Sc. Fee £12 12s.

VISITS TO THE ASSEMBLY

Speakers and others interested in the work of the Union may be glad to hear of the conducted parties which are to leave London for Geneva on September 5 and September 12. Arrangements will be made for groups to attend Sessions of the Assembly and lectures will be given by Mr. Frederick Whelen, Mr. Wilson Harris, Mr. Alec Wilson and others. The fee of 10½ guineas (single rooms 11 guineas) covers second class fare via Newhaven-Dieppe, and good pension accommodation for the week in Geneva. Fuller particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Notes and News

Broadcasting the Albert Hall Meeting

Headquarters has received letters from branches in all parts of the country showing that advantage was widely taken of the broadcasting of the speeches at the Albert Hall on July 11. Listening-in meetings are known to have been held at 86 different centres. The crowded meeting at the Bedford Town Hall is typical. The Mayor presided. Representatives of many religious, educational and political organisations attended at the invitation of the local Branch, and at the end a resolution was unanimously carried in the same terms as that at the Albert Hall itself.

United Peace Service at Edinburgh

On Sunday, June 21, a United Peace Service was held at S. Leith Church. In a preliminary procession, among other local bodies, the Leith Provident Co-operative, the Boys' Brigade, the Senior Boy Scouts, Leith Academy, and last, but by no means least, the Fishwives' Choirs in their gay gala dresses took part. The congregation of 1,100 persons was so stirred by the address of the Very Rev. Dr. Harry Miller that 600 new signatures were obtained to the Disarmament Declaration.

Daffodil Day at Llandudno

The Llandudno Branch celebrated July 18, as Daffodil Day. Three thousand copies of extracts from Lord Cecil's recent speech on Disarmament to the International Rotary Convention at Vienna, were distributed in such a way that one copy at least reached every household in Llandudno. At the same time, daffodils were being sold in the streets by many willing workers, and the proceeds are to be used for the work of the Union.

A Single-handed Achievement

We take off our hats to Mrs. Shakeshaft, assistant treasurer of the Wakefield Branch. A correspondent writes:—

"Since Mrs. Shakeshaft took over the entire work of collecting all our subscriptions, she has collected in eight years something like seven thousand subscriptions and increased our membership from 229 to almost 1,400, over and above losses caused by death, removals and temporary resignations, owing to bad trade and unemployment. Her record for last year was 230 new members and 1,296 subscriptions collected."

L.N.U. Car at Colchester Carnival

Among the tableaux at the recent Colchester Carnival was a car entered by the League of Nations Union. In front on a background of evergreens were the words: "League of Nations Union" and "Pax." On the bonnet were dolls in the costumes of many nations all looking towards a small League Flag. The top was crowned with the flags of all nation members of the League Council, and above all again a League Flag and the dove of peace. Within was a very realistic representation of a battlefield over which laughed the devil and death, and at the rear a model war-dressing station.

Sovereigns Wanted

There are still golden sovereigns stowed away in odd corners in England. One has been sent to Lord Cecil in response to his appeal for Disarmament Campaign Funds. No better use could be found for old sovereigns, and Lord Cecil would welcome with gratitude a great many more.

Garden Fete at Kilmarnock

The Ayrshire Branches of the League of Nations Union are to be congratulated upon the splendid Garden Fête and Disarmament Demonstration organised by them on June 20, at Coodham, near Kilmarnock. The beautiful grounds were very kindly lent by Sir Henry Houldsworth, and the principal speakers were the Secretary of State for Scotland and Colonel Moore, M.P. Over 2,000 people attended and from the collections made, after paying all expenses, over £200 was realised for L.N.U. purposes. Out of this £20 is probably being spent upon financing a mass town meeting in Kilmarnock next October.

Plays and Pageants

We would remind Branches who are considering dramatic performances as a means of propaganda that we have at Headquarters a list of recommended plays and pageants which will be sent on request.

We have recently heard of the attractive appeal of the following:—

- "How the cake was shared," by Mr. F. W. Parrott. A short play emphasising the need for Disarmament. Can be acted by children or adults.
- "Pageant of Peace," by Miss Margaret Cropper. Very telling and beautiful, but needs adult acting.
- "These things shall be," a Peace play, by Rev. Leonard I. Hines, of 40, Clifton Road, Halifax.

Only the first of these has yet been printed, but the MSS of the other two could possibly be obtained. Enquiries regarding the first two may be made to Miss Gibson, hon. secretary, South Westmorland District Council, L.N.U., Sand Aire House Kendal; and regarding the last, to Mr. Hines.

A Personal Explanation

Miss Ruth Fry writes to thank and apologise to all individuals and Branches who gave her their votes for a seat on the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., and to explain that, to her great regret, she has since been ordered a long rest and, therefore, cannot serve.

Correspondents Wanted

Girl correspondents are required for three German girls, aged 19 to 22. Also a German lady (age 40) desires correspondence in English with an English lady. Particulars from Overseas Secretary, L.N.U.

Magazines on Loan

Members of the L.N.U. are reminded that they are entitled to borrow magazines as well as books from the Union's library. About 75 different periodicals are filed, including the quarterly American *Foreign Affairs* and the *Round Table*, the monthly *Contemporary Review* and *Nineteenth Century*, the weekly *Spectator*, *Economist*, *New Statesman and Nation*, and foreign papers, such as the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Europäische Gespräche*, and *Nuova Antologia*, which are difficult to obtain elsewhere. As a general rule, current numbers may not be borrowed, but the previous issue can be sent off directly the new one is received in the library.

CHILDREN OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMPETITION

Messrs. Raphael Tuck are publishing for the League of Nations Union some very attractive postcards of children in the countries belonging to the League. Every Junior Member will wish to collect these. Six cards have been published, and may be ordered through any shop or bookstall which sells picture postcards, price 1½d. each, or 9d. the set. All Junior Members of the League of Nations Union, including members of the Children's League of Nations, who have collected these six postcards may take part in a Competition for which the following prizes are offered:—

A.—For Boys and Girls 12 years of age or over on November 11th, 1931.

1st prize.—A Free Trip to Geneva and back from London (or its equivalent for those resident overseas) in 1932.

2nd prize.—Free Place at one of the League of Nations Union Summer Schools in this country (or its equivalent for those resident overseas) in 1932.

3rd prize.—Books to the value of £1.
Seven prizes of Books to the value of 5s.; 10 Certificates.

B.—For Boys and Girls under 12 years of age on November 11th, 1931.

1st prize.—A bicycle.

2nd prize.—A camera.

3rd prize.—Books to the value of 10s.

Seven prizes of books to the value of 3s. 6d.; 10 Certificates.

SUBJECT

A.—For Boys and Girls 12 years of age or over on November 11th, 1931.

Imagine you are going to tell one of the children in these postcards (Children of the League of Nations Series) about the League of Nations; what are the most important points you would describe? State clearly in the top right-hand corner of the paper to which child you propose to describe the League.

B.—For Boys and Girls under 12 years of age on November 11th, 1931.

Pretend you are one of the children shown in these postcards (of some other nationality than your own); then write a letter to the Secretary of the League of Nations Union about the people of the country in which you pretend to live. Write the name of the country in the top right-hand corner of the paper.

CONDITIONS

1.—All competitors must have collected the first six postcards of the Children of the League of Nations Series.

2.—In the top left-hand corner of your answer state full name, age (in years and months), home and school address.

3.—If you are a member of a Junior Branch state which.

4.—If you are a member of the Children's League of Nations state date on which you last paid your subscription.

5.—Write your answer clearly and distinctly; it must not be more than 250 words in length.

6.—Send with your answer a certificate signed by your parent or guardian or by your schoolmaster or schoolmistress. This certificate should be in the following words:—

I certify that has to my knowledge collected the first six postcards of the Children of the League of Nations Series, that the enclosed answer is his or her own work, and that the particulars of the competitor given thereon are accurate.

Signed
Date

State whether parent or guardian, schoolmaster or schoolmistress

7.—All answers must be addressed to:—

The Secretary,
League of Nations Union,
15, Grosvenor Crescent,
London, S.W.1.

and must reach him not later than first post on Thursday, November 12th, 1931.

8.—On the top left-hand corner of the envelope write the word "Competition."

9.—The result will be published in "THE CHILDREN'S NEWSPAPER," "HEADWAY," and "LEAGUE NEWS."

10.—The Secretary's decision will be final.

Council Vote 1931

The following Branches and Corporate members have completed their Council Vote for this year:—

Appleby, Ashford, Bradfield, Bratton, Bream, Bridport, Brigstock, Budleigh Salterton, Bulwell, Burnham-on-Crouch, Clacton, Coldingham, Coleford, Fritwell, Great Marlow, Goxhill, Hucknall Langford, Leeds Salem C.C., Mailton, Maraxion, Newhaven, Newquay, Petersfield, Pudsey, Ramsey Trinity Presbyterian Church, Reigate, Rudgwick, Scunthorpe, Sedg Fen, Seaford, Seaton, Southbourne, South Molton, Southwater, St. Mark's, Bristol, St. Mawes, Stapleton Road, Bristol, Stebbing, Stratton, Westbury, West Moors, Withyham, Woodbridge and Worplesdon.

Disarmament: How to Help

THE following suggestions have been issued to all Branches of the League of Nations Union from the Head Office.

They are reproduced here since many readers of HEADWAY will doubtless wish to offer their personal help to the officers of the Union's Branches or District organising officers in putting one or other of these suggestions into effect.

1. *A House to House Canvass.*—For the purpose of enrolling new members for the Union and obtaining signatures for the International Disarmament Declaration.

2. *A Town Meeting.*—The Conference of Branch Workers held during the meeting of the General Council at Blackpool urged that a meeting to promote the success of the World Disarmament Conference should be held in every considerable town before the end of next November.

3. *Open-Air Meetings.*—The same Conference was strongly in favour of organising open-air meetings in market places, on village greens and by the seaside, in addition to garden meetings. This office will do its utmost to provide good speakers for this purpose.

4. *The Appointment of Press Secretaries or Correspondents.*—To arrange for articles to appear in the local Press, to correct misstatements and initiate discussion in the correspondence columns.

5. *More Active Support from Local Political Parties.*—That an effort be made to secure such support from local political parties on the strength of the speeches made by all the political leaders in the Albert Hall.

6. *National Demonstration.*—That booksellers be asked to stock the pamphlet on the National Demonstration, and that as many people as possible be encouraged to buy it. (Its retail price is 3d. per copy.)

Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:			
Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	822,903
Jan. 1, 1931	...	...	889,500
July 16, 1931	...	...	921,384

On July 16, 1931, there were 3,047 Branches, 1,072 Junior Branches, 3,426 Corporate Members and 718 Corporate Associates.

Membership

Rates of ANNUAL Subscription.

Foundation Members ... £1 or more.
Registered Members ... 3s. 6d. or 5s.* or more.
Ordinary Members ... 1s. or more.

Foundation Members 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 receive HEADWAY monthly by post. All members are entitled to the free use of the Union's lending library.

*NOTE.—Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year. A 5s. subscription contributes 1s. 3d. a year directly for national work, as against only 1½d. from a 3s. 6d. subscription.