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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A GENEVA correspondent surveys briefly in another column the progress of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. A curious wave of *défaitisme* regarding the proceedings of the Commission has been visible in one or two unexpected quarters in the past month. Up to the time of writing there appear to be no real grounds for pessimism regarding the Preparatory Commission's work. Admittedly, the Commission has not achieved all that many of us would have liked it to have achieved. To expect that would mean expecting France and other countries to abandon completely positions to which they have held resolutely from the beginning. Obviously, in this case, as in all such cases, compromises have to be accepted which represent less than 100 per cent. of either of the opposing views. Short of that no agreement is possible at all. The essential question is whether the compromises that have, in fact, been reached at Geneva are or are not better than nothing. The answer we would give unhesitatingly is that they are a very great deal better than nothing. There is every reason to suppose that the Preparatory Commission will have finished its work fairly soon after these lines appear. It has already reached agreement on the methods of limiting armies, the methods of limiting navies and the methods of limiting air forces. If public opinion in the different countries is ripe for further advance by the time the Disarmament Conference meets some twelve months hence, there will be no difficulty in making the necessary amendments. When it is realised that, apart from the Washington and London Treaties, no general

agreements for limitation exist at all at present, it seems clear that the accord reached in the past month at Geneva can form a foundation on which a Treaty may be based which will, at any rate, put an end to armament competition and the suspicions arising therefrom, and will, it may be hoped, in some respects, at least, affect not only limitation, but reduction.

The Indian Discussions and the League

THE critical discussions on which the Indian Round Table Conference is engaged do not directly concern the League of Nations, for they deal with the internal situation in India and the League does not intervene in the internal differences of its constituent States. But India is a member of the League, and one of the most important members. Its League membership, indeed, has done more to raise its status in the eyes of the world than anything else. Consequently any developments tending to make India more contented, more cohesive and more self-reliant will be watched, as they are being watched, with anxious and sympathetic interest in League circles in all parts of the world. That is as it should be for another reason as well. There are, as some observers have begun to realise clearly for the first time, two separate Indias taking part in the present discussions: British India—the India of the nine provinces administered by Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, subject ultimately to the Secretary of State in Whitehall—and the Indian States, completely independent in all internal affairs and bound to Great Britain by a series of treaties of alliance

At Geneva the two Indias are one. The Indian Delegation to the League Assembly every year represents, as the Simon Commission pointed out, not British India alone but the Indian States equally. That is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the delegation always includes a ruling prince and this year was actually presided over by one of them, the Maharajah of Bikaner. To that extent the League may be said to have made a definite contribution to the process of the unification of India.

The World's Peace Day

GERMAN writer very usefully recalls in another column what too few English readers had ever known, the appeal of Dr. Stresemann that the day of the signature of the Kellogg Pact should be celebrated throughout the world as the great Peace Day of the year. There are many reasons why this suggestion should receive respectful consideration. Strongest of all, perhaps, is that it came from Dr. Stresemann, whose services to world peace are more deeply and universally recognised after his death than they were even during his lifetime. But another obvious reason exists, as Herr von Dewall points out, in the fact that, while Armistice Day has its special meaning only for the nations engaged in the Great War, and a bitter meaning for some of them, the signature of the Kellogg Pact links together almost every nation in both hemispheres, and links them in the most hopeful pledge the world has ever taken. But one practical difficulty to the adoption of the suggestion cannot be overlooked. In this and many other countries August is a month of holiday, and an organised celebration when so many of the populace are far from their homes would be difficult to carry through satisfactorily. It might well be worth considering whether the spirit of Dr. Stresemann's appeal could not be given effect quite as appropriately if the day chosen were that on which the Pact of Paris entered into force, namely, July 24.

£1 Recruits

THE campaign for the enrolment of 100,000 Foundation Members of the League of Nations Union (*i.e.*, members paying an annual subscription of not less than £1) is well launched, and the dinner addressed by the Prince of Wales at the Guildhall at the end of October gave it a notable send-off. A time of economic depression like this is not the most hopeful moment for making any kind of appeal for funds, but the appeal, after all, is not for large donations, but for an annual subscription working out at something less than 3d. a day. It is clear enough already that Foundation Members can be enrolled in considerable numbers if the case for their enrolment is put convincingly and clearly. For an example of that reference may be made to a dinner at Cambridge at the beginning of November addressed by Sir John Power, M.P., which resulted in the enrolment of 87 new Foundation Members out of a total company of 170, of whom 30 were Foundation Members already. In addition, some 45 persons who had been invited to the dinner but were unable to attend enrolled themselves, making the total of new Foundation Members secured as a result of this single appeal 132. Sir John Power is to

be congratulated, not merely on this particular total, but on demonstrating what can be achieved when the task is approached in the right way. It should be added that another indispensable element is the local arrangements, which in this case were admirable in every respect.

Empire and League

THE League of Nations figured rather more largely than is generally realised at the Imperial Conference. Indeed, it may be said with some justice that there was no subject on which more complete unanimity was achieved than the League policy of the different members of the British Commonwealth. The three subjects primarily discussed were, Disarmament, the General Act, and the amendments to the Covenant. On all of them full agreement was reached, and Lord Cecil went to Geneva in the knowledge that he would be advocating before the Preparatory Commission a policy which commended itself, not merely to Great Britain but to the Commonwealth as a whole. In regard to the General Act, all the Dominions were in favour of adherence, subject to the same reservation as was made regarding the Optional Clause—that it should not apply to disputes between different members of the Commonwealth. There are other ways of settling these nearer home. A text of the amendments to the Covenant was also approved, together with the provision that the amendments should take effect only when a Disarmament Convention had entered into force.

Football and Peace

THE following paragraph is taken from *The Times* of November 18:—

"In a football match played on Sunday in Sofia for the Balkan cup Yugoslavia beat Bulgaria (the holders) by three goals to nil. The Yugoslavs were warmly applauded by a big crowd of Bulgarians."

That means a great deal more than, for example, the cheering of a British team in Paris by a French crowd, for feelings between the two Balkan countries concerned run as high as between any pair of States in the world. It is worth noting, moreover, that the Bulgarians were not cheering a side that their own team had beaten, but a side that had just wrested from them the championship of the Balkans. When the Balkan Conference (discussed in the last issue of HEADWAY) was held a few weeks ago at Athens one of the features of the proceedings were sports in which all the Balkan States participated, and the reports made special mention of the reception accorded to the Turkish athletes in the capital of a country which eight years ago was locked in a life and death struggle with Turkey. Incidents like these go far to confirm the contention which Mr. Noel Baker, among others, has more than once developed in these columns, that sport has a large part to play in the cementing of international friendships.

Armistice Day Observance

THE question of whether the observance of Armistice Day should continue indefinitely has recently been raised in one or two quarters, most notably by the Bishop of Durham. Dr. Henson

supported his case for the gradual abandonment of the observance by arguments which must command respect, but it has been made abundantly clear that the nation as a whole desires to maintain a practice which has taken a deep root in national feeling, and which could not at present, at any rate, be dropped without causing regret amounting to distress in wide circles where the memory of war bereavement does not fade. It is interesting to note, however, that the Bishop of Durham, in an explanation of his attitude, combined with a reply to those who suggested that Armistice Day should be made an occasion for the preaching of peace, took exception to the proposal to associate a Peace Crusade with that day in particular, and added "the League of Nations Union is, in my opinion, the best instrument for advocating peace." That view is likely to be endorsed by most readers of HEADWAY, if not all, and it may be pointed out that as things are there is no period of the year at which the Union is more active or its efforts are more successful than in the period centring round Armistice Day. The appropriateness of associating the commemoration of the end of the war with a resolve that war shall be prevented in the future through the League of Nations is universally recognised, and the Union's meetings are everywhere accepted as being in complete harmony with the spirit that marks the observance of the day.

Gas and the next War

IT is just as well that attention should from time to time be drawn to the pledges States members of the League of Nations have given to abstain from the use of poison-gas in future war. Mr. Graham White rendered that service by putting a question on the subject in the House of Commons last month. In reply Mr. Henderson stated that the Geneva Protocol, of June, 1925, on that subject had been signed and ratified by 27 States, including Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia, and signed but not ratified by 19 others, including the United States and Japan. The Protocol prohibits the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, of all analogous liquids, and also of all methods of bacteriological warfare, and binds its signatories as among themselves to observe this prohibition. It will be observed that Great Britain, for example, is only bound not to use gas against any of the States which have signed and ratified the Protocol. Against those which have signed but not ratified, still more those which have not even signed, she is not bound at all. And in the event of any signatory of the Protocol breaking its pledges and using gas against us we are free to retaliate. Consequently, researches into the manufacture of poison-gas still go on in this and every other country.

Telling the Story

THE question is raised in a letter published in another column of the right way to present the claims of the League of Nations at public meetings. This is an important matter, and it is well that attention should be drawn to it. There is everything to be said, on the one hand, for avoiding exaggerated claims and painting everything *couleur de rose*, as

though the creation of the League of Nations meant the creation of a new world. It means nothing of the sort. It means the beginning of a long effort, on new and better lines, to achieve by co-operation what could never be achieved by competition. On the other hand, nothing could be more unfortunate than to underrate what the League has done or make excuses for its failures by dwelling unduly on the fact that it is still in its infancy and that results must be awaited with disciplined patience. As the writer of the letter in question points out, the record of the League in its eleven years of existence is remarkable and we are fully entitled to give ourselves and others the encouragement success inspires.

The World's Tribunal

IN another column Sir John Fischer Williams gives explanations which will be welcome to many readers, regarding the kinds of dispute that is dealt with by the Permanent Court of International Justice. Sir John gives an example—the question of neutral rights in time of war—of a class of case which Great Britain, for example, before signing the Optional Clause, could have kept out of the Court, but which now must go to judgment there if either party chooses. Since this may seem to some critics a disadvantage rather than otherwise, it is worth pointing out that Great Britain may often be glad of the right she now possesses to take any other signatory of the Optional Clause before the Court as need may arise. If, for example, France and Great Britain had both signed the Optional Clause in 1923 as they have now, all the infinite wrangling about whether the dispute between them over the conscription of British subjects in Tunis and Morocco should go to the Court or not would have been avoided. Great Britain finally persuaded France to agree to that. Under present circumstances no argument or persuasion would be needed. Great Britain would simply take the case to Court, and France, having signed the Optional Clause, would have no power to object.

The Matter of Legacies

PROMINENCE has more than once been given in HEADWAY to the suggestion that supporters of the League of Nations should remember the League of Nations Union when making their wills. The making of a will is a serious matter, for all the jests that often centre round it, and a testator's first duty is to make adequate provision for those who have just claims on him. But the practice of bequeathing money for philanthropic purposes is fortunately well established in this country and many who can genuinely not afford to diminish their capital by making large donations during their life feel able to leave a certain part of their property after death to societies furthering some cause for which they themselves have worked and in which they put their faith. There is a certain anticipatory satisfaction in thus making provision for the maintenance of a work they care for. Readers of HEADWAY are asked to consider in all seriousness whether, duly balancing all claims they feel they must recognise, they could not add a codicil to their wills making a legacy of greater or lesser amount to the League of Nations Union.

THE LEAGUE AND THE 9.35 FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

"IT'S all very well," said the man in the opposite corner as the 9.35 began to move (the arguments of season-ticket-holders when they drop their papers and really get down to it are serious matters), "it's all very well, but you've got to choose between what I call the Anglo-Saxon conception of the League and the French."

"Well, but have you?" I countered. "I'm inclined to think they can be reconciled and you've got to reconcile them. But what exactly do you call the Anglo-Saxon and the French conceptions? We may not be meaning the same things by them."

"By the Anglo-Saxon conception I mean refusing to be entangled in the quarrels of Europe, just as America refuses; backing the League in every way, but not letting ourselves get involved suddenly in a quarrel that isn't ours. By the French conception I mean trying to hold the world down by force. Once you admit the idea of basing the League on force you open the door to another world-war five or ten times more horrible than the last one."

"That's a doctrine," I responded, "well worth discussing. The more it's discussed, in my view, the better. But I don't think your way of putting it is quite fair to the French. For the sake of argument I'll back the French case, and we'll see how far we can go together. In point of fact I don't think you can condemn the French as utterly unreasonable. I am not talking about disarmament at the moment. That's another question and a very important one. But the French, as I understand them, say this: the League Covenant, and still more the Kellogg Pact, has created a new world-order. You'll agree with that, at any rate?"

"Of course, obviously."

"It's a world-order that rests on agreement and consent."

"Exactly—and not on force. That's the point I've been making all the time."

"I daresay. But wait just a minute. It's a world-order in which disputes are settled on a basis of justice—by the World Court, or arbitration or some similar method—and a world-order where no State is in danger of being attacked, because other States, by signing the Kellogg Pact, have pledged themselves not to attack it, and any State if it ever is attacked will have the full force of the League behind it. You accept that?"

"Yes. I accept that all right."

"Well, but what does your acceptance mean? That's what France always wants to know. She says she's ready, and more than ready, to fit into the new world-order and change her way of life accordingly—which means reduce her armaments substantially—if she can be certain that other States that accept the League and the League system are ready to defend it if someone threatens it. M. Briand said that in as many words at the last Assembly."

"Defend France, in other words. It comes back to that every time."

"No, not France more than anyone else. Not France more than Germany, or more than Italy, or more than ourselves. The question is, what is to be the fate of the disarmed, or partially disarmed, State, which has accepted the new order, and reduced its armaments on the strength of it, and is then attacked in spite of everything by someone else. Are other States to come to its help or not? If not, then, France, I must come to my own help and see that my armaments are ready for anything that may happen."

"Yes, but what are you arguing for now?" (Some slight irritation here.) "A general European war when any single European State gets into trouble? That's a nice result from the creation from the League."

"I'm not arguing for anything. I'm thinking aloud, if you like. There isn't any question of laying down any principles or reaching any conclusions—yet. It's a question of simply feeling the way. And I don't see how you can dismiss altogether the problem France—and other countries, too—raises. Let me put it in another way. The world has agreed for the future to live peaceably, to live, if you like it better, on the basis of justice. It has formed a society to organise international life on that basis. Then someone breaks the agreement. Some State attacks another. Assume, to make the argument clearer, that an obviously stronger State attacks an obviously weaker one. What are the rest of the members of the society, the League, to do? Read the Covenant over the combatants in a dozen different languages and leave it at that? Is that all that can be done to defend the new order?"

"Not at all. The economic sanctions in Article XVI were made for this very purpose. You could bring enormous pressure to bear on a law-breaking State in that way."

"You could, no doubt. But its effect wouldn't be immediate. And suppose in the meantime the law-breaker was pushing on with the invasion of a neighbouring country. Suppose Italy, for example, were attacking Yugoslavia—not that I think there's any likelihood of that. Would you simply watch that going cheerfully on till in the course of a month or two the economic pressure began to tell?"

"You keep supposing, supposing. Let me do a little supposing for once. Suppose you do try and intervene; suppose this is a case for the use of actual force; how are you going to do it? What force are you going to use? What force has the League got at its command?"

"I don't know. That's a question of practical details, very important, I agree, and very difficult, but what I'm talking about at the moment is the principle. We've arrived at a pretty successful working arrangement in ordinary civil life. Society doesn't rest on force, not for a moment. That's an obsolete and exploded idea, if anyone ever seriously entertained it at all. It rests on the tacit consent and agreement of the individual citizens. They decide to live peacefully with one another, and regulate their behaviour to one another according to certain definite rules, which they call laws, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred no question of force or compulsion or anything of that sort arises. But in the rare case when it does arrive, when one man assaults his neighbour, or breaks into his house, or filches his purse, something has to be done about it. And that something takes the form of forcible restraint. You can call it discipline or whatever you like. But the element of force enters into it, and in the case of assault there may have to be a very rapid mobilisation of force for the protection of the victim. That doesn't mean, as I've said, that society in any sort of way rests on force. It only means that in its present phase of development, at any rate, it can't dispense with force altogether. Police are a necessary feature of modern civilisation."

"They may be. But what we've been talking about isn't police, but armies and navies—tanks and aeroplanes and submarines."

"What we've really been talking about is whether you can totally dispense with the use of force in inter-

national life any more than you can in national life. Certain things you can do and must do about force. You must insist that it shall never be used to further the selfish claims or ambitions of a single State. If it is to be recognised as legitimate at all it can only be when it's used on behalf of the whole community to restrain some lawless State from breaking the rules the community has agreed to live by. I don't pretend that it isn't a serious matter to use it even then. But what's the alternative? I can't help thinking this was the sort of thing Lord Cecil had in mind when he spoke at the Assembly about peace being something you had to pay for if you wanted it. To construct a world-order which makes no provision for dealing efficiently with the State which first accepts the new order and then defies it seems to me disastrous."

The 9.35 was running through the inner suburbs by this time, and we picked up our papers and hats.

"So you really argue for the use of force and the threat of force—a sort of general war on a small scale—by a League that was created to end war and get rid of force?"

"No, I don't. I don't argue for anything. I told you I was only thinking aloud. I'm not trying to convince you, for the good reason that I've not convinced myself yet, one way or the other. But the best way to get some result is for two people to hammer away at it from opposite sides."

"Well, we don't seem to have got there yet."

"We haven't. But after all we've only been talking for twenty minutes. Perhaps going back to-night—"

But the 9.35 had got in.

"All tickets, please," said the collector.

ADVERTISING PEACE

THIS is an age of advertising. To say that is a mere commonplace. Everything is advertised, from corn cures and cocoa to ocean cruises and railway engines.

The idea that peace should be advertised is not new. It has been put forward often enough by the people who naturally believe in advertising most, namely, those who make their living by promoting it. A recent example of that serves as well as any other. Miss Woodyard, a Managing Director of Seward, Baker & Co., Ltd. a well-known advertising firm, has just been throwing out the idea again.

"One of the most important aims of the State," said Miss Woodyard, "is to achieve for its people the utmost assurance of peace and security. In this phase of the State's obligation advertising should be the State's strongest, most invincible weapon."

"The League of Nations is working persistently for the settlement of international differences by arbitration, and there is no doubt it is making considerable progress. There are other international organisations with the same object in view, also achieving some measure of success. Then there are the national organisations, such as our own League of Nations Union, for the propagation of knowledge among their own nationals, of the work of the League, and to get still further support for the central idea."

"All excellent so far as they go, but they go such a pitifully short way, and are so long on the journey. It is some ten years since the League of Nations was formed, and what does the man-in-the-street know of it or of its workings? Most had probably forgotten all about it until they 'listened-in' the other week—and they listened-in only because the Prince of Wales and other notabilities were speaking."

"All through the ages war has been advertised—has been sung of by minstrels and written of by poets as a glorious and glamorous thing. Until the principle of peace as a positive and enviable state is woven into the moral fibre of every man, woman and child there will always be the chance of war. Until public opinion is fired to want and fight for Peace—as robustly as it wanted war—there will be no Peace."

"Editorial and other propaganda are invaluable, but not enough. Day by day, week by week, month after month, year after year, advertising is needed to change the public's point of view."

"The Great War of 1914-1918 cost the nations of the world the vast sum of fifty-six thousand million pounds. Think of it! Fifty-six thousand million pounds! Do you not think that humanity could subscribe

one-quarter of one per cent. of that sum of money for Peace? Ten million pounds a year for fourteen years would bring about a revolution of thought and heart in most mankind."

This is very interesting, and the advice is, no doubt, salutary, but the matter is by no means so simple as the speaker would suggest. After all, what do we want to advertise? Not peace in the abstract. It is difficult to imagine that merely advertising "peace" would impress a single individual or make a shadow of difference to his personal views. Everyone believes in peace, except a handful of people whom the united efforts of all the rest of humanity would never move. What we want to advertise is not the desirability of peace, but the instrument by which peace can be preserved. We want, in a word, to advertise the League of Nations. That is something definite and concrete.

What is the best way to do it? Here, again, it is no use telling people simply to believe in the League. You want to show them why to believe in it, tell them what it has done, and suggest to them what it can do. This, no doubt, could be effected to some extent by newspaper advertising, though it may mean paying for the insertion in the advertisement columns of facts which papers ought to print in their news columns free of charge. On that basis the cost would be great, and the question to be decided is whether the results would be likely to justify it. That, no doubt, would depend, partly, on the way the advertisement was drafted. But the fundamental fact is that you cannot merely make a slogan of the League of Nations and leave it there. You do not want people to believe blindly in the League. You want them to believe intelligently. You want them not merely to know what the League is doing, but to understand what it is doing. You want them to discuss it, not merely to swallow undigested facts or utter parrot-cries about it.

How far can these desired ends be achieved by advertising? Up to a certain point, undoubtedly. Beyond a certain point, probably not. In a sense, the whole work of the League of Nations Union consists of advertising the League, not in the main, it is true, through newspapers or posters, but by the method, in some ways more effective and certainly cheaper, of public meetings and specially prepared literature. But not one connected with the League of Nations Union would be disposed to suggest that this is the last word, or that all is being done that might be done if the requisite funds were available. The question of advertising the League, in short, is of obvious importance and of considerable interest, and Miss Woodyard has performed a useful service in raising it again.

DISARMAMENT SPADE-WORK WHAT THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION HAS PRODUCED

By ERWIN D. CANHAM

GENEVA,
November 19th.

THE Preparatory Disarmament Commission, labouring since November 6th at the unapplauded spade-work of writing a draft treaty for the Disarmament Conference, has made progress in more fields than one. Tremendous difficulties lie in the Commission's path, the greatest of which is the atmosphere of malaise, confusion and discouragement which political and economic crisis in many countries has brought to Geneva. But the work, whatever its disappointments, goes on.

The Commission has actually accomplished two things. First, it has defined a method of limiting land effectives. Second, it has drafted a scheme for limiting materials for making land warfare by restricting the amount of money each Government may spend for this purpose.*

A Maximum Training Period

To limit land forces, the proposed text places professional soldiers, officers and warrant officers under definite limiting tables to be worked out at the Disarmament Conference. Trained reserves are not to be limited directly, as many had hoped, but their period of training is to be restricted by a curious dual method. First, each country is to specify the limit which it is prepared to accept for the training period of its conscript recruits, and then a general limit will be fixed beyond which none of the Powers may go. Naturally, the general limit will be the highest of the national limits, and its repetition seems redundant. But Lord Cecil, who fathered the scheme, explains that he sees in the fixation of the maximum level a valuable means of bringing "psychological" pressure to bear upon some State which may have submitted an inordinately high level for itself. Being unwilling, by force of example, to suggest to other States that they should increase their limit of service to the maximum level, perhaps such a State will reduce its own level. So runs the argument.

Improving on 1929

In limiting material for land warfare, the Commission made a tremendous advance over the best its 1929 session could do. Then it was decided that nothing could be done toward limiting land material except to give it publicity—that counsel of despair which is invariably a confession of defeat. This time, after listening to a long debate advancing the merits of the direct method by limiting through specific tabulation, of the indirect method by restricting national budgets, and of some combination of both methods, the Commission accepted the budgetary system. The United States, through its chief delegate, Mr. Hugh Gibson, announced that it could not accept this method. The reason, not publicly expressed, is the alleged constitutional barrier which confines all financial authority in the United States to the House of Representatives. However, the American Government was prepared to apply the direct method to itself while leaving the budgetary method to others. Applied to land materials, this course offered no difficulty, but the British delegation promptly introduced a resolution stating that it could not accept budgetary limitation for the British Navy if other great navies were not similarly restricted,† and the

* Since this article was written, agreement on naval limitation has been reached. The air clauses were provisionally approved at the Commission's previous session.

† A resolution applying the budgetary method to navies has since been carried, with Lord Cecil's support.

Japanese delegation evinced even more restlessness regarding the American position.

Having approved the budgetary method, and summoned the Committee of Budgetary Experts to recodify the methods and rules by which that limitation may be applied, the Commission passed to the chapter on naval armaments. Here the five London Conference Powers, joined by Canada and the Irish Free State, presented for incorporation in the draft convention a draft embodying the technical results of London. This text includes many indispensable compromises, definitions and agreements covering the whole field of naval limitation. Of greatest value is the compromise ending the long and windily-argued debate upon the merits of the global and category methods of limiting navies. The compromise utilises the method of division into categories for the great Powers, but permits transfer between categories in increasing degree as a particular navy grows smaller.

Novel Navies

To implement the London agreements the Commission transformed itself into a naval sub-committee. Here it was hoped that most of the non-naval Powers would withdraw, but only Bulgaria and Belgium did so, leaving Persia and Poland exercising their voices as naval Powers, while Czechoslovakia continued to participate freely in the debate, discovering (after Shakespeare) that it has a sea coast. Further, to prolong the naval discussions, the Soviet delegation has presented a detailed series of amendments. Agreement, however, was reached after no great delay.

Behind these events run many curious swirls in the current of European politics. For example, Italy, through the medium of General de Marinis, has made itself an enthusiastic colleague for extremist Powers like Germany and Russia. It is a refreshing paradox to hear from the lips of the dignified Italian general words which had come to be M. Litvinoff's own. This Italian position has done nothing to improve relations between France and Italy, and even Mr. Gibson's visits to Paris and Rome do not appear to have increased the probability of a Franco-Italian naval agreement or even secured the reopening of conversations.

Home by Christmas?

The Commission's work will fill many weeks more. To complete it by Christmas will require greater efficiency than has hitherto been displayed. There have been many outspoken criticisms of the chairman, Jonkheer Loudon, for refraining from guiding the proceedings with a more arbitrary and authoritative hand. At many moments the Commission has become tangled in snarls of procedure which a more experienced Parliamentary hand would have cut straight through.

Considering the obstacles which the current state of public opinion in most European countries places in the path of armaments limitation, it cannot be said that the Commission is failing. Of course, no one is satisfied with its work. Rather, there is profound dissatisfaction. But only a fundamental alteration for better in general political and economic conditions far removed from Geneva can render satisfactory advance possible. Unless that improvement comes before the General Disarmament Conference is held, no amount of hopeful and ambitious text—writing in the Preparatory Commission can do the slightest good.

A SCHOOL OF PEACE

By LOUISE WEISS.

(Editor of *L'Europe Nouvelle*.)

FOR twelve years *L'Europe Nouvelle*, of which I am the Editor, has followed the progress of the League of Nations. It has devoted long studies to the manifold and beneficent activities of that institution. The Review has grown. It is now established in premises (73 bis, Quai d'Orsay) large enough to admit of new and extended activities. From November 1st it has given hospitality to the new School of Peace.

That development means the creation in Paris of a centre devoted to the specific study of the whole sum of new ideas introduced into political, economic and social life since the Peace. There was a marked need in Paris for something of this character. There was a marked need, above all, for teaching courses accessible to all. Thus the new Peace School is a permanent organisation, a systematic and scientific centre of study. That constitutes its first and essential character. Pacifist propaganda, League of Nations propaganda, is already carried out, and very effectively, by organisations which carry these great ideas into the smallest provincial towns. The School of Peace has no idea of duplicating their activity. Its Honorary Committee comprises, on the one hand, delegates and former delegates of France to the League, and, on the other hand, all the principal University authorities. This principle of both League and University representation is repeated in the Managing Committee, and gives a definite direction to the new enterprise.

As for the instruction given at the School, we have aimed at making it practical and excluding all idea of propaganda. Our desire has been that it should be critical, and that it should expose failures just as much as successes. Our desire has been that it should be alive. We have invited the actors in and witnesses of international life to give addresses and reply to questions. Our desire has been that the right of entry into our house should be open to all, and we look for its extension beyond Paris, beyond even the frontiers of France.

In the course of the striking speech he delivered at the opening meeting of the School, President Painlevé, Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, gave expression to this idea in a phrase which answers all sceptics in advance. "The subject of our teaching," he said, "will be the diversity of conflicts and misunderstandings that may arise between two peoples, and the procedure, prudent, detailed, above all patient, which will permit of their solution on the definite basis of the exclusion of war."

On a programme charged with enthusiasm and good sense all men of goodwill and intelligence can unite. Thus it is that our speakers are men of the widest and most diverse interests, politicians like M. Loucheur, Paul Boncour, Pierre Cot, Henri de Jouvenel; foreign statesmen such as M. Osusky and M. Politis; high officials of the League of Nations like MM. Avenol, Comert, Rajchman. It is through such support that we have been able to devote our first year of activity to a study of the work of the League of Nations in the last ten years. That study will be carried out in five stages: (1) a general survey, (2) political questions, (3) economic questions, (4) social questions, and a last series of addresses devoted to the League and doctrines of international organisation (the United States, the Far East, the Third International, Christianity.)

We are beginning with the League of Nations because the League exists. We shall carry our work farther and deeper. The great success attending the foundation of the School proves that we have been understood. So we shall be able to develop little by little and without any irritating *réclame*; the juridical, economic and intellectual technique of peace.

BELGIUM'S LEAGUE WEEK

By HENRI ROLIN.

THE Belgian League of Nations Union has just organised (from November 9-16) an education week, designed to bring home to the Belgian people the aims and the essential activities of the League of Nations.

The method pursued was as follows:—

1. *Press*. Autograph declarations addressed to the Belgian L.N.U. by the chief personages in the State, including the King, Cardinal Hoey, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, were published in most or all of the daily papers.

Signed articles by prominent Belgians who have taken an important part in the work of the League at Geneva, such as M. Hymans, M. Theunis, M. de Brouckère and others, also appeared in many papers.

2. *Radio*. For ten minutes each day, speeches were given by the Radio-Belgique on the various activities of the League by different authorities on the subject.

3. *Public Meetings*. Two methods were pursued. Meetings were organised directly under the auspices of the Belgian L.N.U. in the most important centres, but since this system raised various difficulties the Union also appealed for help to various organisations which already had many local branches. For example, the Central Workers' Education Association organised meetings through many of its Branches; so also did the Peoples' Universities and Red Cross Branches. The Conferences of the Junior Bar almost all of them devoted one sitting to the League. In the two State Universities, and the Free Universities, the Labour University at Charleroi, University groups for the League organised a meeting under the patronage of the University authorities. Finally, all the Rotary Clubs devoted their lunch meeting in the week from November 9-16, to the League. About 200 meetings were arranged in all. A film on the League of Nations, issued by the League Secretariat was shown at some of the meetings. 12,000 pamphlets in French and Flemish were distributed.

4. *Education*. Circulars directing regular lessons to be given on the League, and also occasional special teaching, were addressed by the Minister of Arts and Sciences to the establishments of normal, middle and primary education. In the matter of voluntary education the ministerial circular was supported by a circular from the Teachers' Federation concerned.

5. *Various*. Some 3,000 posters were posted at Brussels and in the provinces. They were sent out in a series of five and dealt with the principal activities of the League. A postmark stamped on 100,000 letters at the Central Post Office bore the following words, "The League of Nations will be what the peoples make it."

250,000 leaflets urging membership of the Belgian L.N.U. were enclosed with official documents by the Postal Cheque Service. The principal cinemas threw on the screen a reproduction of the King's autograph letter.

The aim of this week was twofold; first of all, to make a dramatic appeal to public attention in regard to the League, to the engagements entered into by us and towards us, to the absolute necessity of an international organisation, to the dangers of new competition in armaments, etc.; secondly, to secure new members for the Belgian L.N.U. and effect the formation of many provincial Branches.

It is already clear that the Education Week has been crowned with success. Numerous applications for membership and for documents are daily reaching the Secretariat, together with many spontaneous offers of valuable help. The Education Week must be not a climax, but a starting-point. The means now available will enable us to press forward with increasing vigour the work of education in support of the League.

THE WORLD'S PEACE DAY HAS STRESEMANN'S PROPOSAL BEEN FORGOTTEN?

By WOLF VON DEWALL (Foreign Editor of the "Frankfurter Zeitung")

THE German who passes Armistice Day in England is deeply impressed. He sees that the whole English people looks on November 11, the day on which arms were laid down at the end of the World War, as a holiday in the finest sense of the word; a day for holy thinking. For the English people and for other peoples this day is no day of triumph, no day for the celebration of victories. It is a day for remembrance of the dead, of the fearful sacrifices which were made in the World War; it is a day for solemn resolution never again to make such fearful sacrifices necessary, never again to take up the arms which were laid down for ever on November 11, 1918.



Dr. Stresemann

Thus Armistice Day has become for the English people a true day of peace. No German visitor can, indeed, escape this extraordinarily deep impression.

The Memory of Defeat

But what is Armistice Day in Germany? We have no solemn celebration on this day. On the contrary, a German attempts instinctively to avoid remembering it. Why is this? In Germany, too, it might be a day of mourning, a day of memory of the dead, of the terrible sacrifices which Germany had to make, even more than any other nation. Why, then, is it not kept, as it is in England and America, as a day of the dead, as a day of solemn resolution? The explanation should be easy to all foreigners who are able to enter into German feelings. What, in reality, is Armistice Day for the German people? It is a day of a terrible defeat, the day on which the German people, after a glorious struggle, was forced to capitulate, to surrender to the dictates of the conquering powers. And it is much more than this. It is a day of terrible disillusion. The German people laid down its arms on November 11 in confidence; it had already declared honourably for democracy, and now it awaited the just peace promised it by President Wilson. Instead of this it received the Peace of Versailles, which all Germans, without difference of party, look upon simply as a travesty of peace. For this reason, Armistice Day is for the German people a day of bitter recollections, a day of national resentment against the conquerors, who not only broke their solemnly pledged word, but shamefully carried out the very reverse of it. This is the cause of the tendency among Germans to erase Armistice Day as far as possible from the calendar. Armistice Day can never be for the German people what it is for the English and Americans, it can never become a day of world peace.

Conquering and Conquered

What, then, is the situation, as seen on November 11 from the international standpoint? The day is celebrated in the victorious countries, in part in the best and most noble spirit. The conquered nations, however, stand aside on this day, silent and sullen. Thus, Armistice Day does not unite the world in the thought of peace. No, it cleaves the world, it divides it into two opposite camps. Thus, there is really no prospect of

making it into a universal day of peace, as some circles in England and elsewhere desire.

There is another more suitable day for a day of world peace: August 27, 1928, the day on which the Kellogg Pact was signed in Paris, the day on which nearly all peoples of the world solemnly declared their renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. One may recall a suggestion made by Stresemann on the eve of the first anniversary of the signature of this document. It was almost the last political action of this German architect of peace, struck down too soon by death, and honoured by all the world. Diplomatic conversations had been carried on with Mr. Henderson and M. Briand and with the Department of State in Washington, Mr. Levinson, the father of the idea of the outlawry of war, being closely concerned in these. This suggestion of August 26, 1929, was made at The Hague Conference through the American news agencies to the American public.

A World Celebration

Dr. Stresemann declared: "August 27 is the first anniversary of the solemn signature of the Pact for the renunciation of war. The signature entered into force on July 24 this year, through Hoover's proclamation. Meanwhile, not only the original signatories, but almost all other States have taken the resolution to adhere to the Pact. It thus embraces to-day almost the entire civilised world. With the signature of this Pact war as an instrument of national policy is branded as a crime, and all nations are pledged to employ only peaceful means for the settlement of their disputes. A new basis has thus been created for the development of international law."

"But the living effectiveness of the Pact and its influence on the practical development of international relations will not depend alone on its juristic contents. First and foremost it will depend on what the Governments and the people themselves make of it. If the Governments and the peoples keep alive within them the spirit which reigned in Paris on that memorable August 27, then history will come one day to see in this day a turning point in the development of nations. The rhythm of our life to-day is more hurried than it was in earlier times. The spirit of solemn festivals and the clear insight which marks them is lost even more easily than it used to be in the pressure of daily business. But August 27 should be a day of remembrance, which, as no other event in political life could do, unites all the peoples in the consciousness of their common interest in the maintenance of a just peace."

Impressing the Peoples

This speech of Stresemann's contains, indeed, no word for Armistice Day or against it. But the present writer knows from the best possible source that the diplomatic negotiations mentioned above were dominated by the idea of making another day, other than November 11, the day of world peace, in order thus to meet the German point of view. In another way, too, Stresemann's suggestion is quite extraordinarily valuable. The Kellogg Pact, like other treaties, will remain for the masses in all countries simply a scrap of paper, unless it proves possible to impress it on the consciousness of the peoples. This is obviously even more necessary in the case of the Kellogg Pact than other treaties. For only if the peoples, the masses of the peoples, are imbued with the consciousness that they, the nations, swore on

August 27, 1928, never henceforward to resort to war, will there be in the future no more war, at least among the great and truly civilised nations.

America's Trend

Stresemann's suggestion would thus help to remind the peoples of their oath. Finally, it might also have another political consequence of singular importance. The writer of these lines has in the last two years addressed more than 150 American audiences. In doing so, he has felt again and again that the teaching of the outlawry of war is the gospel which will appeal to the American people. At the moment America still sees in

the League of Nations, in political co-operation with Europe, nothing but an "entanglement." If, however, the European peoples, by their solemn act of signature of the Pact for the outlawry of war, make it clear that the teaching of the outlawry of war has become their new gospel, then the mistrust felt in America for the League of Nations and for Europe will gradually vanish away.

What has become of Stresemann's suggestion, the last testament of the German statesman of peace? It is not generally known that after this suggestion had been publicly made, Henderson and Briand expressly assented to it. It is surely time to recall Stresemann's declaration at The Hague on August 26, 1928.

NATIONS AT LAW WHAT A LEGAL DISPUTE REALLY IS

By SIR JOHN FISCHER-WILLIAMS, K.C.

I HAVE been asked to answer the question put by a correspondent of HEADWAY: "What really is a legal dispute between nations?"

This is a question which is not merely reasonable and very pertinent to recent discussion as to the Optional Clause and the so-called "General Act" of Geneva, but is also fundamental in the study of international affairs. Nor is the answer difficult to give in general terms, though the application of the answer to actual disputes may be rendered difficult by the ambiguous language used by the disputants.

A legal dispute is one in which both the disputants are making their appeal to the existing law and asserting that this law gives them certain rights. It is thus a dispute which is similar to the quarrels which give rise to litigation between private individuals. One individual says, "The law gives me the right to pass over your land"; the other replies, "The law gives you no such right." One nation says, "Existing treaties, read in the light of the general principles of international law, give me the right for my merchant-ships laden with munitions to navigate the Kiel Canal." Another nation says, "Existing treaties so read give you no such right." The nations can readily submit this question to an International Court of Law, just as the individuals can (and must, if either of them insists on a settlement which the other refuses) submit their disputed right of way to a national law court. And let it be observed that disputes of this kind may often be of very grave importance, and involve certainly the "honour" and perhaps the "vital interests" (to use the old phrases) of nations.

A Claim Outside Law

A "political" or non-legal dispute between nations, on the other hand, is one in which one (or both) of the disputants is appealing not to existing law but to some other principles (whether "higher" or "lower") of what is claimed to be justice, or imagined to be a paramount matter of national self-interest. A nation says, for example, "My boundaries as fixed by treaty are unjust. They cut off from me large numbers of persons who by sympathy and origin ought to be my nationals. I ask that these boundaries be changed." Such a claim is not an appeal to law. The lawyer or judge can, in most cases, only answer it by saying that a treaty is binding. It is an appeal for a change in the law, that is for something analogous to legislation—something which, for the present, might be called "authoritative conciliation." Ever: so, in private affairs a man may

seek to justify his travelling over another man's land by saying that the land in question is a wild and beautiful mountain and that all His Majesty's subjects ought to have a right to walk over wild and beautiful mountains. This is an answer fit for the House of Commons when debating an Access to Mountains Bill; it is not an answer to which a judge in a law-court, who has to administer the law as he finds it, can give attention.

What the Optional Clause Does

Were we to attempt a discussion, inevitably critical, of the attempts made to formulate the principle of the distinction between the spheres of international law and international "legislation" or "authoritative conciliation," we should be led too far. Particularly, we cannot now discuss the exact significance and limitations of the "Optional Clause" recently accepted by this country. But if an example be sought of a matter which before the signature of this Clause lay within the jurisdiction of this country, legally and otherwise uncontrolled save for threats of war, and which now, as between the signatories of the Clause, is subject to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, we may mention the burning question of neutral maritime rights in times of war. Was the right of blockade, as claimed and exercised by Great Britain during the Great War, a right which international law recognised?

How to Change Law

Thus the principle of the distinction between the disputes as to rights and the disputes arising from claims to alter rights is simple. It needs no special skill for its comprehension. It is not a principle of the internal or technical rules of international law, but is rather itself a fundamental rule of what it is perhaps premature to call the international organisation of the world. For the great difficulty of that organisation is not the provision of a court which will settle disputes when both parties claim only their legal rights, but the establishment—necessarily a slow and tentative business—of some organ, which will gradually become authoritative, by which existing rights may be modified even against the will of their owner. Such an organ cannot in international, any more than in national affairs, be a Court of Law. The final word must ultimately rest with something analogous to a Parliament, working in some way which we do not yet clearly conceive, not with a glorified Judicial Committee of the Privy Council or the strongest imaginable Court of Cassation.

THE DRUG STRUGGLE STEPS TOWARDS AGREEMENT IN LONDON

A DRUG Traffic Conference—a League Conference—held in London last month reached agreements, and paved the way for other agreements, which mark real progress in the international war against the opium and cocaine evil.

Before saying what the Conference did it may be well to explain what the Conference was. At the League Assembly in 1929 information as to action taken by various Governments, notably the French, to tighten up national control over drug factories made it clear that a new method of attacking the drug traffic could at last be attempted. The drugs which do the evil in European countries and America, and in many parts of Asia, too, are the prepared products of the opium-poppy and the coca-plant—morphine, heroin, cocaine and some others. All these have real medical value. Properly used they are an unspeakable boon to humanity. Improperly used they are an unqualified curse. The problem is to have only so much of the drugs manufactured as the world needs for proper purposes. That may not completely remove, but it will, at any rate, considerably reduce, the danger of drugs getting into the wrong hands and being used for improper purposes.

The World's Total Need

On paper, at any rate, the process by which this can be achieved is comparatively simple. It is known roughly (thanks to calculations by the League's Health Committee) what quantity of these drugs the world needs every year for medical and scientific purposes. That being so, it is necessary to get an international agreement restricting the combined output of all the factories in different countries (only about thirty all told) to that figure. But this clearly is only a first step. It will be necessary next to decide how much each country shall contribute to the total, and that country will then have to distribute its share among the three or four factories which exist in its own territory. This last step is a domestic affair of each nation concerned, and the League need have nothing to do with it.

Producer and Consumer

There are always two parties to an arrangement of this kind, producers and consumers. The majority of the countries of the world are consumers only. They have, that is to say, no drug factories on their own territory, and buy the supplies they need from elsewhere. It is, consequently, important to them that in any arrangement reached by the producers they should have a voice, to ensure that the arrangement reached is broadly reasonable and that they will still be able to get what they need at a fair price. A League Conference is, therefore, to be held next May at Geneva, at which all the countries will be represented, to approve an international treaty on drug limitation. But that Conference must have definite proposals before it, and the British Government offered some time since to call a preliminary Conference of drug-producing countries to work out a plan which they thought fair to themselves, to lay before the full Conference in May. It is this preliminary Conference which has just been held in London.

Altogether nine countries were represented, and it is of particular interest to note that three of them, the United States, Soviet Russia and Turkey, were non-members of the League. These nine divided themselves roughly into countries which produce, but do not

export, *i.e.*, produce for their own needs only, and those which export on a greater or lesser scale to other countries. The United States, Soviet Russia and Japan produce, but do not export—that is to say, there is no recognised legal export under licence, though it is known that in the case of two of those countries at any rate, drugs are illicitly exported and used for improper purposes. Great Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland produce and export, the exports being under Government licence and subject to various precautions in each case. Italy was at the Conference more or less as an onlooker, as she is not a producing country.

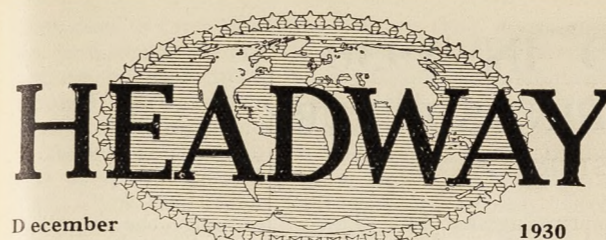
Turkey stands in a quite separate category. Till the Turkish delegates attended this London Conference there was no reliable information as to what was happening in Turkey at all. The Turkish Government has ratified none of the Opium Conventions, and while it was known that Turkey grew the opium poppy on an extensive scale and that there were two or three factories in Constantinople turning the poppy into drugs, all or most of which got into the illicit traffic, the extent of this traffic was matter merely of surmise. The statistics regarding it produced by the Turkish delegate at the London Conference are staggering, but he appears to have laid them before his colleagues without realising that they would raise any particular comment:

Outrageous Figures

To put it very briefly, Turkey cheerfully admits a recorded export (quite apart from any quantities which may have gone out of the country unrecorded) for the first six months of 1930 of 2,282 kilogrammes of morphine and 4,383 kilogrammes of heroin. These figures mean nothing in themselves to anyone except the expert, but their actual significance will be realised when it is mentioned that the *annual* consumption (*i.e.*, for a period of twelve months against the Turkish six months) of Great Britain is 590 kilogrammes of morphine and 110 kilogrammes of heroin. In the case of heroin, that is to say, Turkey exported in six months just forty times as much as Great Britain consumes in twelve. What steps are to be taken regarding this remains undecided, for it is not yet known whether Turkey is prepared to co-operate with the League and join in restricting drug production effectively.

A Cocaine Agreement

As to the other nations at the Conference, they reached a definite agreement in regard to cocaine, the countries manufacturing this drug accepting restrictions on their own production in such a way that the total to be produced, if the agreement is carried out, will only amount to what the world legitimately needs. In the matter of opium products, such as morphine and heroin, no final agreement has yet been reached, for, as so often happens in these cases, each nation with one or two exceptions claims a larger production than the other nations think it ought to have. To put it in another way, if each nation were allowed the quantity it thought it ought to produce, the total would have considerably exceeded the world's needs. This question, therefore, must be discussed further, and will be. As far as Europe is concerned it affects only four exporting countries, those mentioned already, Great Britain, Germany, France and Switzerland, but Turkey and probably Japan (which desires a certain export trade) may have to be fitted into the picture.



HEART AND HEAD

IN this issue and the one preceding it HEADWAY has summarised some hundreds of replies to a questionnaire designed to throw light on the real state of public opinion in this country in regard to the League of Nations. The result is instructive and in some respects chastening. The general verdict is that in the country sincere and resolute almost before all others in its support of the League at Geneva public opinion is still very largely ignorant and indifferent.

If that is true—writers of replies may have been unduly pessimistic—it is a grave matter. It means that in this field successive Governments are in advance of public opinion, whereas it is most urgently desirable that public opinion should be in advance of the Governments, impelling them constantly forward and leaving them always assured that whatever action they take internationally in the spirit of the League Covenant will be supported unhesitatingly by a public opinion that believes profoundly in the League. If public opinion has not reached that point yet efforts must be redoubled to get it there.

How can that best be done? A number of suggestions are made in the replies under discussion. One great need, it would appear, is for more space for League news in the public Press. That is a need that only the Press itself can supply, and the Press unfortunately has so far largely failed to realise that League of Nations news is good copy. The Press, moreover, does not much like being taught its business by other people, and it is instinctively on its guard against propaganda, even propaganda in a good cause. In the main that is sound, for what we want from the Press is simply facts, not facts with a slant. But the complaint is that in the case of the League we do not (apart from one or two papers) get even the plain facts.

More important in the long run is what men and women who believe in the League can do themselves. A good deal of sentiment and a good deal of nonsense has been written at one time and another about the personal touch, but most of life, after all, is made up of personal touches and personal contacts. Public opinion is largely moulded by them, for though the opinions of one favourite newspaper or another are far too often swallowed whole and undigested, they are generally discussed sooner or later with some acquaintance, and the argument and question and answer arising may often explode fallacies and alter hasty views. It is much easier for one man to make another believe in a cause or an institution than for a daily paper to make him either believe or disbelieve in it. For you can argue with a human being and get difficulties frankly met, while a paper merely dogmatizes and is deaf.

If that theory is sound there is some encouragement in it, for it means that the average man who wants to see public opinion better informed about the League, and is disappointed that the daily papers are not discharging that function better, has other means at his disposal. He can, at any rate, take his own steps to inform that section of public opinion which lives next door to him or travels by 'bus or train with him every morning, or argues with him in the club or the office or

workshop. But he can do that only on one condition, that he knows enough about the League himself to make him worth listening to when he does begin to talk. The question is, Does he? And a second question is, Could he if he chose?

It is not reasonable, of course, to ask too much of the average man. Life is a complex affair, and some of us find this interest predominate and some that. Those for whom the League of Nations is almost the greatest interest outside their homes are naturally few, and always will be. But there is a large number, none the less, of men and women whose belief in the League as the greatest agent in existence for the establishment of order and peace and justice in the world is strong, and who are ready, even amid a multiplicity of other interests, to do what they can to promote the League's interests and to enlist public opinion in this country in its support. To them a few reflections on method may perhaps without impertinence be addressed.

The essential truth that can never be emphasised too strongly is that enthusiasm and emotional zeal for the League of Nations is not enough. You cannot convince an honest sceptic by bubbling over at him. You want to tell him things—what the League has done, how it has stopped wars, how it has checked pestilence and settled refugees, how it has put bankrupt nations on their feet, how it is fighting evils like the opium and the white slave traffic. You want to explain to him why the League works as it does—why, for example, the apparently unworkable rule of unanimity is essential—to make him understand what the obstacles in the way of disarmament are, and what attempts are being made to surmount them. In other words, you must have information to give the sincere inquirer if he asks for it.

That is why the believer in the League who is to be of any practical value to the League must be an intelligent believer. He must, that is to say, believe enough in the League himself to take a little trouble for it. Facts about what the League is doing do not drop from Heaven—they have to be sought where they can be found. It may mean that the man who thinks it worth while to keep himself reasonably well-informed will need to read HEADWAY, if that is not too much to expect of human beings. It means, to look at the matter from another angle, that HEADWAY itself must stick—as it is endeavouring to stick—to its main purpose of stating the essential facts about the League's activity in as plain and intelligible language as can be found, but not fall into the temptation of neglecting important technical questions and concentrating on the more popular with a view to producing a paper which might be more entertaining, but would give a wholly one-sided and misleading impression of what the League of Nations is doing.

If the League commands our sympathies it has a claim on our intelligence. To sympathise is not enough. To understand is vital. Not, of course, for a moment to understand every detail or every department of the League's now complex work. The technicalities of its finance and economics are not for everyone. Many of us, no doubt, do well to observe a wise discretion in such matters, and avoid the pitfalls which await the ignorant therein. But the very fact that the League's work is so complex means that almost everyone, apart from a general understanding of why the League exists and what its main purposes are, can find some department of its activity that can be followed with interest as well as profit, and on the basis of such interest the personal touch to which so many who have replied to HEADWAY's questionnaire have made reference, can be established. It is the man or woman who believes with mind as well as heart that makes impressions where the merely ardent enthusiast wins no response.

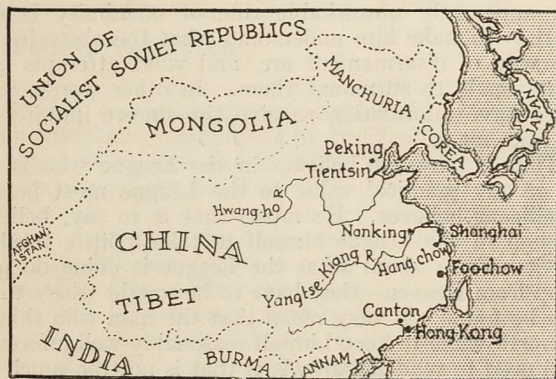
THE WORLD IN 1930

THE RIDDLE OF CHINA'S FUTURE

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

CHINA has not affected the history of the world very greatly in the past. Century after century she has kept herself to herself, and it is less than a hundred years ago that she was first forced open to foreign trade and foreign intercourse.

As a result of that process many difficulties and complications were created. Foreigners settling in China as traders refused to submit to Chinese law and Chinese administration of justice, and their countries consequently compelled China to agree that whenever a foreigner was charged with an offence he should be tried by the consul of his country in China and under his national law, not Chinese law. Of this system—extra-territoriality, as it is called—China is still endeavouring to rid herself to-day. At the same time the same countries insisted that China should never raise her tariffs on their goods above a fixed—and very low—figure. It is only within the past two years that she has achieved freedom in that respect.



The China that has achieved it is a new China, dating from the Revolution of 1911, inspired largely by the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, and resulting in the election of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as first President of a Chinese Republic. The revolution brought to China not peace, but war. The overthrown Manchu dynasty has never been restored. There has been no move to restore it, and it has vanished to all appearance for ever. But no rival government has succeeded in uniting China, except for a short time under the iron rule of Sun Yat-Sen's successor, Yuan Shi-kai. For ten years and more the country has been torn by ceaseless civil war, and it is only in the last few weeks that the fighting between rival generals has ended, at any rate for the moment.

Four Names

Four leaders in particular have been passing to and fro before the public eye for the past few years, and two of them at least are likely to be heard of continually in the future. Chiang Kai-shek is the President of China and the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the National Government, now established at Nanking on the river Yangtse instead of at Peking, the old Manchu capital. The second is Chiang Hsueh-liang, Governor of Manchuria, the vast area outside the Great Wall, who after long hesitation and refusal to mix in the struggle to the south has declared himself decisively on Chiang Kai-shek's side against the two generals

in arms against him, Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian General, and Yen Hsi-shan, regularly known in China as the Model Tsuchun, or Governor, of the province of Shansi.

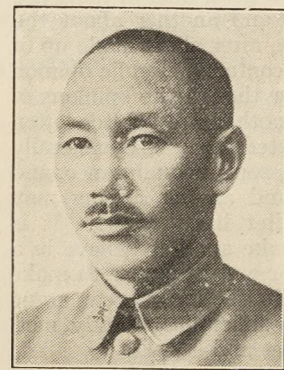
That seems to make the victory of the Nanking Government complete, though there are still rather serious Communist disorders in different parts to be dealt with. It now remains to be seen whether the Government can restore prosperity to the country. There is vast wealth in it, and if only peace can be re-established the railways will begin to work normally once more, goods can be moved to and from the coast and both import and export trade should expand rapidly.

China's place in Asia and in the world generally is likely to become increasingly important, always provided the country holds together. If it should split definitely into two or more distinct States, then, of course, a different situation would be created. But the probabilities are against that. If China had been going to break up she would have done it under the stresses of the past ten years. Instead of that she has held together remarkably. And if a nation of 400,000,000 inhabitants holds together, frees itself from the disabilities other States have been able to lay on it in the past, develops economic and perhaps military strength, then it will obviously be a nation that the rest of the world must take seriously.

Frontier Problems

As to external relations, China's frontiers actually touch those of Russia in the north and west, Korea (Japanese) in the north-east, and Burma, Siam and French Indo-China in the south-west. The only quarter where serious frontier complications is apt to arise is in the north, where disputes with the Soviet Government, mostly over railway questions, are frequent. The possibility of trouble of some gravity arising there has always to be reckoned with.

Other trouble is equally probable. Relations with Japan are better at present than they have been for some years, but there is plenty of latent jealousy between the two countries, and China is perpetually suspicious of Japanese intentions. Japan, after all, "arrived" in the modern world a good deal before China and has won recognition as a Great Power. During the war, moreover, when the attention of the West was diverted elsewhere, Japan suddenly levelled at China's head a series of demands that she could never have accepted in full without compromising her sovereignty hopelessly. In the end the more impossible



General Chiang Kai-shek

of them were dropped after long negotiation, but though the matter has long been closed now it sticks in China's memory and can always be resurrected successfully by anti-Japanese propagandists.

The relations of China with Great Britain are still difficult, for the Chinese, sensitive in their new con-

sciousness of everything that touches their sovereignty, are sore about the privileged position various Western nations, but particularly Great Britain, have established through the occupation of special areas ("concessions") in various Chinese cities, of the International Settlement at Shanghai, which is predominantly British, and of special ports like Wei Hai Wei (British) and Tung Chow Wan (French) on the Chinese coast. Great Britain, however, a few weeks ago restored Wei Hai Wei to the Chinese after negotiations that had lasted since 1921. The question of extra-territoriality, mentioned earlier, is also still causing trouble.

Nothing is more important for China and the world than the question of her future relations to the League of Nations. She is an original member of the League and was for some time represented on the Council. Dr. Wellington Koo, the first Chinese delegate to sit on that body, had been a member of the Commission which drafted the League Covenant at the Peace Conference. On retiring in due course in 1928 after serving the regular three-years' term, China stood aside for a year, but then, in 1929, sought the permission of the Assembly to stand again, even though the statutory three-years' interval had not elapsed. She

failed by a few votes to secure the necessary two-thirds majority, and the same thing happened again in 1930.

Next year, at the Twelfth Assembly, no permission will be needed, and China's election seems certain. Its results should be to confirm her allegiance to the League. That is important, for the direction taken by a nation of 400 millions—towards Geneva or towards Moscow, for instance—matters a great deal. The League, moreover, could give China just the assistance she most needs. It is giving it to her in one department—health. At this moment the beginning of the organisation of a Chinese national health service has been made, under the guidance of experts, lent at China's request by Geneva. Nothing could be wiser from China's point of view than to seek similar advice and assistance in such matters as economics and finance. But so far Nanking has not taken that step.

The future pace of China's development cannot be foreseen. And everything, as has been said, depends on whether she can hold together or not. But if things go well with her the day is likely to come—though clearly not yet—when she will be held to be entitled not to a non-permanent, but to a permanent seat on the League Council.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LEAGUE

HOW CAN A WIDER INTEREST BE AROUSED?

IN the last issue of HEADWAY the replies to the first seven of the twelve questions regarding Public Opinion and the League formulated in the October issue were summarised. It remains now to consider the remaining five, the most important of which deal with a vital matter, namely, the best method of arousing general interest in the League. It will be convenient as before to take the questions in order.

8. Does the Attitude of a Parliamentary Candidate towards the League Gain or Lose him Votes on any Substantial Scale?

The balance of opinion regarding this is decisive. A clear majority of writers answer the question with a flat negative. Their opinion, in other words, is that the League of Nations issue weighs little at elections. That may seem at first discouraging in view of the efforts being exerted to bring the League before Parliamentary candidates and secure a definite statement of their views in regard to it. A closer study of the answers, however, corrects that impression.

Where reasons are given for the negative reply, it is made clear that the reason why a candidate's attitude on the League affects his chance of election very little is that almost invariably all candidates pay the League lip-service. This particular term, indeed, is used so frequently as to suggest the importance of so questioning candidates as to discover whether their support of the League is merely superficial or based on understanding and conviction. Of the papers which do not contain merely the word "no" or its equivalent as an answer to this question, practically all take the view that support of the League does gain votes for a Parliamentary candidate. It must be observed, however, that replies to this effect are comparatively few, and therefore undue weight should not be given to them.

One or two writers suggest, no doubt with justice, that an excess of enthusiasm on the part of a candidate might render him suspect. One writer adds very justly that the question of views on the League must be pressed home when candidates are being selected. Two or three observe that no candidate would venture to

condemn the League, and possibly the exception that proves this rule is provided by two writers who both state that a certain candidate definitely lost his seat at a recent election as a result of his adverse attitude towards the League.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that the replies to this question reveal a fairly satisfactory state of affairs. But only fairly satisfactory. So long as all candidates pay lip-service to the League and voters are content to leave it at that, there is no guarantee that the elected candidate will stand up for the League in a moment of stress, particularly if it means opposing his party in regard to it.

9. How is Interest in the League best Aroused at Present?

10. How might it be Better Aroused?

These two questions may properly be taken together, and of the two the second is obviously of the greater practical importance, though it is, no doubt, well to have a general view as to what are the most useful methods employed at present. It is clear from the replies that faith in public meetings is still strong. That would appear to suggest that the League of Nations Union is right on concentrating on meetings as it always has done.

Some difference of opinion, however, is expressed as to the type of meeting and the type of speaker. Is the essential a "star orator," or a speaker who really knows his subject through and through, which the star orator (usually chosen for his eminence in some other connection) often does not? Both alternatives command considerable support, but more writers seem to want the prominent man than the well-informed man. That may be unfortunate, but facts are facts. A number of replies lay stress on the desirability of securing an *entrée* into other circles by supplying speakers, for example, to Rotary Clubs, Boy Scouts' Rallies, various Church Societies, and so forth, the advantage of this method being of course that an audience, and very often a hitherto untouched audience, is provided ready-made.

Press and Radio

There are two suggestions that occur more frequently than any others, namely, that more use should be made of the Press and of the B.B.C. It does not seem to be fully realised that it is a matter which is settled by the Press and the B.B.C. themselves, and by no one else. Nothing could be more desirable, and, quite possibly, nothing more effective, than to get better and more numerous articles on the League into the daily papers, but the daily papers only print what they want to print, and they clearly do not want to print more than they do at present about the League. If they did they would print it. If there were some way of making the papers feel that the public wanted more about the League, the public, no doubt, would get it.

But the main point in this connection is that no external agency such as the League of Nations Union can do much in the way of getting more space for the League of Nations in the news columns of the daily papers. A good deal is being done already by the Union headquarters by supplying articles on the League to some hundreds of daily and weekly papers throughout the country, but there are limits to the possibilities in this direction, for the reasons given. The same applies to the wireless. The B.B.C. has given generous help to the League in the best of all possible ways, by broadcasting actual facts about the League. Any extension of that service would be of value, but so much is given already that it would be churlish to be discontented at not getting more.

The Personal Touch

Advertisements in the daily or weekly Press are another matter, but this and various proposals for advertising such as that undertaken by the Empire Marketing Board have, of course, to be considered in the light of the financial situation. Neither individual Branches of the Union nor Headquarters itself could do much advertising of this kind, unless they were enabled to do so by some special donations.

A number of writers take the view that, in the long run, it is the individual conversation with friends that gets the League known. In this way serious objections can be seriously met, and the necessary information imparted. But obviously the League supporter who wants to pursue this method must be reasonably well-informed himself to begin with.

For the rest, it will be most convenient to set out *seriatim* some of the more interesting suggestions received.

"Wear League badges so that people may ask you what they mean."

"An intensive membership campaign might result in a better Press."

"Plays, which, though uninteresting in themselves, have an anti-war moral."

"Advertise HEADWAY."

"A simpler and more popular paper than HEADWAY."

"Door-to-door distribution of literature."

"Tell what the League has done—no platitudes."

"Discuss the League with your friends and challenge them in a friendly way either to join the Union or give good reasons why not."

"Adopt the slogan method of advertising, e.g., 'The League Helps the Helpless.'"

"Convince people that the League is essential to their own security."

"The best method at present, debates. The best method for the future, more debates."

"Adoption of a League resolution at the Annual Conferences of each political party."

"More artistic posters. Have a competition in design for students at art schools."

"A well-organised, high-class League of Nations ball."

"League of Nations Weeks in different towns."

"Organise League publicity on scientific lines."

"Drop all this pacifist rot and sloppy sentimentalism and insist that each nation stands on its own basis."

"Short and simple leaflets rather than pamphlets."

11. Is the League generally regarded as a Burden or as a Benefit to Great Britain?

Answers to this question differ widely, those which consist of the single word "benefit" or the single word "burden" being roughly equal in number. A few writers have, however, replied at rather greater length. Some of them say "benefit decidedly"; others, on the other hand, say "burden undoubtedly." One obviously thoughtful paper suggests that the League is regarded as a benefit because people recognise that in case of war it would be a good thing to have the law on our side. On the other hand, several answers indicate that the League is regarded as a burden partly on account of its cost to this country (though it is observed that this is a small matter and is not taken very seriously), and partly because it might involve Great Britain in other people's quarrels, and also tends to create difficulties in connection with Mandate responsibility in such countries as Palestine and Iraq. A number of other writers take the view that the League is regarded by the average man neither as a burden nor as a benefit, because the average man does not think about that aspect of it at all.

12. What Percentage of the People of your Acquaintance have Read the Covenant?

Answers here, so far as they include figures at all, range from 50 per cent. to '0000001 per cent., but below the latter figure there is a fairly substantial crop of "Nones." What is more, several writers confess they have never read the Covenant themselves, and one of them goes so far as to say that he has never even heard of it. One or two ask how it can be obtained.

Two writers suggest that the question is not a fair test, and that there is no particular reason why supporters of the League should read the Covenant, so long as they have a broad general understanding of what the League is and sympathise with its spirit. There is, no doubt, something in this, but it is impossible to contend that a person who has never even troubled to cast an eye over the document on which the League's existence and activity rests can be a really intelligent supporter of the League: an enthusiastic supporter, possibly, but an understanding supporter, no. For that reason the text of the Covenant itself, with three or four articles explaining it in simple language will form a feature of HEADWAY in the early months of the coming year.

Altogether the replies received to the HEADWAY questionnaire constitute valuable material which has cast important light on the attitude generally adopted towards the League in this country, and which may cause various opinions and practices on the part of those concerned with spreading knowledge of the League to be modified.

Readers who have been good enough to send answers are thanked again for the trouble they have taken.

A HINT TO SCHOOLS

DEAR SIR,—May I tell you how much I appreciated the article in the September number of HEADWAY entitled "How the League Stops War."

I have read it to a good many classes, and the boys found it most interesting.—Yours, etc.,

J. E. MELLOR,

Leys School, Cambridge. Geography Master.

THE PRINCE AND THE LEAGUE

"WHAT ALTERNATIVE CAN SCEPTICS OFFER?"

A message from the King read at the dinner described below ran as follows:—

"I have received with much pleasure the message of greetings you have addressed to me on behalf of the members and guests of the League of Nations Union. Please convey to them my grateful thanks for their loyal assurances.

"It is gratifying to me to know that my son is with you on such an auspicious occasion, when the presence of distinguished representatives from my Dominions and India is a proof that the Empire is united in its devotion to the cause of peace.

"May the efforts of the Union in co-operation with similar bodies in other countries, succeed in securing the whole-hearted support of public opinion, so vital to the ultimate success of the League itself.

"GEORGE, R.I."

THE Dinner given by the League of Nations Union to the Dominion delegates at the Imperial Conference and the British Commonwealth delegates to the League Assembly is old history now, for it took place at the end of October. But it is history, none the less, and history which HEADWAY has so far had no opportunity of chronicling.

The outstanding feature of the occasion was, of course, the presence of the Prince of Wales, who thus for the first time indicated by his presence at such a function his personal faith in the League of Nations, and indicated it further by his speech in unmistakable language. His question as to what possible alternative any who mistrust the League have to offer for establishing peace and rebuilding world prosperity might,

will realise the urgent importance of doing all in their power to assist the League of Nations Union in the greatest crusade of all—the crusade for world peace."

Important as such declarations by the Prince of Wales was, and is, the speeches that followed were, in their way, no less notable. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Bennett, whose views on the League were till then unknown in this country, went much farther than merely pledging the faith of himself and the Dominion he represented in the League of Nations. He laid needed stress on the vital necessity of pressing forward the League's disarmament endeavours, subject to the retention or creation of some police force sufficient to see that order is maintained and the rule and reign of law prevailed. But not, the Canadian



Miss Bennett, The Prince of Wales, Lord Cecil, The Lady Mayoress, Mr. Bennett, Mr. J. H. Thomas

with advantage, be put to every audience at every meeting on the League of Nations in the coming winter.

The Prince had much more than that to say about the League, and a good deal to say about the League of Nations Union. He dwelt on the difference of language, the conflicts of history, the old enmities that divide the nations of the world. "It is clear," he added, "that of the work of the voluntary societies like our own League Nations Union has proved indispensable. Without their work it would scarcely have been possible to bring about in nation after nation the necessary change in the national outlook." But the Prince did not stop there. Public opinion, he insisted, must be the very foundation of the world league if the structure is to have a prospect of permanence. "Our own society, the League of Nations Union," he went on to say, "is, I believe, the largest and strongest of all the voluntary societies. Largely through its efforts similar societies have been set on foot in all the principal nations that are members of the League, and, more important still, teaching of the League Covenant and the principles of international co-operation through the League is now being given in the state schools of practically all the nations. . . . Such work," the Prince concluded, "calls for the support of every right-thinking man and woman, and I trust that the people of this country, which has been the pioneer of so many great and beneficent movements,

Premier added, on such a scale as to transcend the necessities of the case and serve as a mere excuse for increasing armaments.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, who proposed the toast of the League, testified, on the basis of his personal experience, to the proved value of the League as a solvent of international difficulties, which at the first approach might seem insoluble. He guarded himself from declaring in as many words that the League is a guarantee against war. "It will be long," he affirmed, "before that can be claimed for it, if, indeed, that claim will ever be made. But the League is already an immense obstacle to war and an immense assistance to men of goodwill who do not wish us to resort to war." Such a declaration from the lips of the late Foreign Secretary is worth much more than facile eulogies from men who weigh their words less carefully.

The Dinner, taking place as it did in the Guildhall of the City of London, had as splendid a setting as any hall in the land could provide. Its main immediate purpose was not the raising of subscriptions, but considerable satisfaction and enthusiasm was evoked, none the less, by the announcement the Dominion Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas, was able to make in the course of the evening, that in response to the Prince's appeal for support for the League of Nations Union, a gift of £5,000 had been made by Sir Louis Baron.

ALIEN RACES IS THE LEAGUE SAFEGUARDING MINORITIES?

THERE are signs that a good deal of uneasiness exists at present in regard to the League's discharge of its functions as protector of minorities. In particular the general debate on the question at the recent League Assembly is felt to have been unsatisfactory.

It is as well, when talking about minorities, to be quite clear about what a minority is. For League purposes it is a section of the inhabitants of a State differing from the majority in race, language or religion, (a) in certain States to which new populations were added after the war, (b) in certain other States which agreed when they entered the League to guarantee fair treatment to their minorities. There are nine States in the former class and four in the second. States like France, Italy and Germany are in neither category, being bound by no obligations at all.

What the Rights Are

The general rights conferred on minorities by the minority treaties which Poland, Rumania and seven other countries were required to sign after the war, include the free use of their own language among themselves, "adequate facilities" for its use in courts of law, freedom to worship as they choose, and the establishment of schools, at the public cost, with teaching in the minority language, in places where the number of children justifies this.

The League of Nations was charged with the difficult and thankless task of seeing that these obligations are properly carried out. It is in a delicate position, for what it has to do is to receive and investigate charges against some State that is one of its own members. It has no power, moreover, to require such a State to co-operate with it at all, to answer any questions or to give any information. All that is voluntary on the State's part. However, a working agreement has been reached, and when the League receives a complaint about minority grievances, in the form of a "petition," the State against which the complaint is made does lay its reply before the League.

How Complaints are Handled

The body concerned with minorities is the Council, not the Assembly, but the Assembly may, of course, discuss the question as it may discuss anything within the sphere of action of the League. Actually it is within the competence of any member of the Council (and of no one else) to bring any violation of a Minority Treaty before the Council, and to ensure that no just grievance should be overlooked every complaint that conforms with certain regulations the Council has adopted for its guidance is laid before a committee of three members of the Council, so that any one of the three may, if he chooses, raise the matter before the whole Council.

He very rarely does choose. The Committees of Three have developed into a kind of board of conciliation which does its best to get troubles settled amicably between the minority and the Government of the State in which it lives. A large proportion of the complaints, therefore, never get beyond the Committee of Three. Whether that is a good thing or a bad thing is a matter of opinion. The secrecy in which minority discussions are conducted unless they reach the full Council is a thoroughly bad thing in the opinion of everyone except the States against which charges may be brought.

The Assembly discussion was concerned not with any special complaints of particular minorities—that would have meant a definite invasion by the Assembly of the

Council's sphere—but with the question of whether the existing procedure was satisfactory and how it could be improved. What the critics, led by Germany, wanted most was greater publicity, and they got considerable support in their demand for that. What some of them wanted was the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission, like the Permanent Mandates Commission, to investigate minorities' complaints systematically uninfluenced by political considerations. Others again wanted minorities' obligations universalised, wanted, that is to say, all States containing minorities to give them the same guarantees of fair treatment, and be answerable to the League in the same way, as the nine States that had to sign minority treaties.

The Government's Argument

These two proposals seem quite distinct. Actually they touch one another closely. That can best be shown by putting the case of countries (like Poland) which strenuously object to the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission. What they said in effect was this: "We have signed certain treaties in 1919, in which we agreed to give fair treatment to our minorities. That ends the matter so far as our duty to the League is concerned. It is quite true that at the League's request we consented to answer its questions and give it information, but we are quite free to withdraw that consent at any moment if we see fit. There is nothing in the treaties about giving information to the League. Now you want to create a Permanent Minorities Commission and set it up as a sort of inquisition over us—not over all States with minorities, but over us nine States in particular. As it is we are singled out for a kind of unfavourable notoriety by being made to give special pledges about minorities where countries like France and Italy give none. Never under any sort of circumstance will we agree to any step that will emphasise that distinction between us and other States further. That does not mean that we are radically opposed to a Minorities Commission. We are not. If it is to investigate complaints from minorities in all League States equally we accept it. But if it is to sit in judgment on us only—no."

Briand's Stone Wall

That is a perfectly clear and definite attitude, and not a completely unreasonable one. But the other countries concerned would have none of it—except Germany, whose Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, said he would be quite prepared to consider the extension of minority obligations to all European States. M. Briand, for France, went so far as to suggest that the Assembly had not the right to so much as discuss such a proposal seriously, and if it ever tried to while he was present he would at once move the previous question. There, after the fullest consideration the Assembly has ever given to minority questions, the matter rested.

Did the discussion as a whole give ground for encouragement or depression? Quite definitely, as Lord Cecil suggested in his article on the Assembly in last month's HEADWAY, and as was generally held at Geneva, for encouragement. The Assembly, it is true, took no action. But it could have taken no action. And no one, not even the Germans who started the whole discussion, moved any actual resolution. What they wanted was a comprehensive discussion, to let in fresh air, as it were, and remind the world of the existence and importance of the minority question. They got that, and there is no question that it was worth getting.

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ARAB AND JEW

THE controversy regarding British policy in Palestine has stirred feelings deeply in the past months, and it will be more useful here merely to state the facts briefly than to argue about them.

In August, 1929, grave disturbances took place in Palestine in which many Arabs and more Jews were killed. In October, 1929, the Shaw Commission was sent to Palestine by the British Government, as Mandatory, to investigate the causes of the disturbances. In June, 1930, the Permanent Mandates Commission, with the report of the Shaw Commission before it, considered the situation in Palestine and passed certain strictures on British administration there. In September, 1930, Mr. Henderson told the League Council that in consequence of views expressed by the Shaw Commission the British Government had sent a special commissioner, Sir John Hope Simpson, to Palestine to report in particular on the agricultural situation; and that on receiving his report the Government would formulate its policy and at once communicate that policy to the League.

This brings us to the present controversy. At the end of October the Government issued Sir John Hope Simpson's report, and its own statement of policy. Simply to summarise the latter document, on which criticism immediately centred, is insufficient, for different schools of commentators disagreed with one another violently as to what the Government's White Paper meant. The general purport of the document was that the Government was resolved to do its duty, equally and impartially, to the Arabs who constitute the great majority of the inhabitants of Palestine and to the Jews, to whom a National Home in Palestine was guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and by the Mandate itself; that since the pressure of the population on the land at the present moment was excessive, a check would have to be put on Jewish immigration temporarily till a system of more intensive cultivation had been developed; and that, meanwhile, there should be no transfer of land without the Palestine Government's consent.

These and other passages in the White Paper led the Zionist leaders to charge the Government with "crystallising the development of the Jewish National Home at its present stage" instead of providing for its progressive development, and thus, in other respects, inaugurating a new policy inconsistent with the Mandate itself. The Government strenuously denies any such intention, and has supported its denial by granting permits for the admission of 1,500 more Jewish immigrants and by announcing its intention of raising a loan of £2,500,000 for agricultural development in Palestine with a view to making the accommodation of a larger population practicable.

Since the Government, which must be assumed to know what it intends, insists that it does not and never did intend what it has been charged with intending, the controversy can hardly be carried much further. In any event, it may be taken as certain that the Permanent Mandates Commission, which is watching the situation closely, will condemn immediately any measure it may hold to be inconsistent with the Mandate.

At a lunch at the Holborn Restaurant on December 11 (on the occasion of the League of Nations Union Council Meeting) arranged by the London Regional Federation of the L.N.U., Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., will be in the chair, and M. Nicolas Titulesco, President of the Eleventh Assembly, will speak. All members of the Union are invited. Price 5s.

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NATIONS INARMED

The Price of National Security. By H. E. Hyde. (P. S. King. 12s. 6d.)

At considerable length, and with a wealth of argument in support of his doctrines, Mr. Hyde makes a point well worth making, namely, that a Mutual Security Pact between the nations of the world, or, at any rate, of Europe, would be at least as much of a benefit as a burden to Great Britain. That is too often forgotten. If, suggests Mr. Hyde, a Soviet attack on the North-West Frontier of India immediately involved action by European States against Russia wherever they found her vulnerable, and if it were known that that would happen, then the attack on India would never be delivered. That is only one example, but it is a typical one, for Mr. Hyde has Soviet Russia very much on his mind. When he argues for his Mutual Security Pact on the ground that it could be used to compel Russia, under threat of economic boycott, to refrain from arming, and refrain from propaganda, he is getting on much more controversial ground. All through his book Mr. Hyde evidently finds it rather easy to do on paper what quite competent statesmen, animated by genuine goodwill, have found it impossible to do in practice. He settles 500,000 British unemployed in the Dominions, for example, in little more than a sentence and fixes them comfortably (and profitably) for life in seven pages.

THE SACRED TRUST

The Mandates System. By Norman Bentwich. (Longmans. 15s.)

Mr. Bentwich's book will inevitably take a high place among the literature of the mandate system, for its author, as Attorney-General of Palestine, has been engaged for years in helping to administer a mandated area. That fact gives his chapter on Palestine a special importance, quite apart from the prominence Palestine has been assuming of late in the public eye. A Jew himself, Mr. Bentwich handles the Palestine problem with conspicuous fairness, recognising, for example, frankly that "the principle of self-determination had to be modified because of the two national selves existing in Palestine," and that the mandatory "has, for a time, to secure fair treatment and justice for the two nationalities till the two have come to understand one another better." The other A mandates, Iraq and Syria, are treated fully, the remainder more summarily.

The United States of Europe. By Edouard Herriot. (Harrap. 12s. 6d.)

The United States of Europe plan has been laid before the League by one ex-Premier of France, M. Briand, and the task of expounding it has been undertaken by another, M. Herriot. This English translation of the French work entitled "L'Europe," brings within the reach of English readers an extremely suggestive and comprehensive discussion of the whole question. M. Herriot, in fact, supplies the details which have been so singularly lacking up till now in M. Briand's proposals. They are, of course, only suggestions, for M. Herriot has the advantage of speaking without special responsibility, but this general discussion of the links which at present exist throughout Europe, e.g., economic, intellectual and psychological, and how they could and should be extended, provides exactly the sort of document essential to a fruitful consideration of the Briand proposals now before the League. The book is to be strongly recommended.

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I have £.....invested (or to invest) and shall be glad to know what annuity this sum would purchase.

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(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

Address.....

Exact Date of Birth.....

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AN Examination for several Open Scholarships (value 50 to 80 guineas) will take place in March next. Leighton Park is a Public School in which physical training on the Danish System, Scouting and organised leisure pursuits take the place of O.T.C. activities. Fees 150 to 180 guineas per annum. For particulars of Scholarships and Bursaries apply to the Headmaster, E. B. Castle, M.A., Oxon.

AUTHORS WANTED

AUTHORS invited to forward MSS for prompt publication. Advice and current Catalogues free. STOCKWELL, Publisher, 29, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4.

SITUATION VACANT

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION—Worcestershire Federal Council. Applications invited for post of Secretary. Salary £300 per annum, and travelling expenses. Evidence of previous activity in connection with L.N.U. essential. Applications, stating age and qualifications, to reach HON. SEC., 108, Ombersley Road, Worcester, by 15th December, 1930.

A FATHER OF THE LEAGUE

Chapters of Autobiography. By Arthur James, First Earl of Balfour, edited by Mrs. Edgar Dugdale. (Cassel. 10s. 6d.)

If Lord Balfour had lived to include in his autobiography his memories of the early days of the League of Nations the contribution to history would have been notable. In the last issue of HEADWAY, Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, who is writing the biography that was to have been an autobiography, and has edited these opening chapters—all that exist—of the autobiography itself, told something of the part Lord Balfour played at Geneva, and what his own opinion of the League of Nations was. In the present auto-biographical volume there is no reference to the League, and could be none, for the sufficient reason that the sixteen chapters of which the book consists carry Lord Balfour's story of his life down no later than 1885, with the exception of a final fragmentary chapter on the author's mission to America in 1917, just after the United States had entered the War. Here, at least, there occurs one passage which those concerned with the League will read with interest. "I went," said Lord Balfour, "supported by an admirable staff drawn from all the departments immediately concerned. This included Eric Drummond, the private secretary of my predecessor at the Foreign Office. I was fortunate in securing his services when I took Grey's place, and from then onwards, either in that capacity or in the infinitely more important one of Secretary-General to the League of Nations, he has done incalculable service to the cause of European peace." Lord Balfour, so far as this volume is concerned, is sufficiently sparing in his tributes to make his appreciation of the Secretary-General notable.

The Jew and His Neighbour. By James Parkes. (Student Christian Movement. 5s.)

A singularly interesting and, in all the circumstances, a singularly apposite study of the place of the Jew in history, with special reference to the question of why Jews as Jews are commonly disliked. The author, it may be added, does not share the dislike, though he recognises its prevalence. He finds the causes, briefly, to be partly religious (Jews were widely regarded as "the decide race,") partly racial and partly economic. The book is both suggestive and constructive.

The Simon Report on India (an abridgement). By R. W. Brock. (Dent. 2s. 6d.)

This is not the first résumé of a report too voluminous to find a wide circle of general readers, and some careful comparison would be necessary before it could be pronounced necessarily the best. But it is a thoroughly competent piece of work and well meets the needs of those who desire to get the gist of the Simon Report (both parts of it) in a bound volume less calculated than paper cover pamphlets to disappear under something else just when it is wanted most.

Adventure and Fantasy. By Henry A. Hering. (Wright & Brown. 7s. 6d.)

Just stories, with no more claim to be reviewed in HEADWAY than Mr. Edgar Wallace's latest would have to a notice in the *Hardwareman*. But very good stories all the same.

Lady Simon's book, "Slavery," has been reprinted in a cheap edition at 2s. 6d. Copies may be obtained from the League of Nations Union.

READERS' VIEWS GETTING READY FOR WAR

SIR,—In the November issue of HEADWAY, Mr. F. S. Buck asks for a little more. I hope Dr. Delisle Burns will give a little more, but may I contribute a little of the little more from my own personal experience?

From 1918 to 1924 I was almost continuously employed in work connected with research in types of armaments. That work has been going on ever since, and is still going on. In these days of scientific research and progress, armaments and apparatus for use in war, both offensive and defensive, are constantly changing. Consequently there is always the fear that, if and when war comes, a country which neglects to keep up to date in war apparatus and appliances may find itself equipped with out-of-date apparatus, and, therefore, at a great disadvantage.

Every offensive weapon has its defensive antidotes, thus:—

<i>Offensive.</i>	<i>Defensive.</i>
Guns ...	Armour and protection.
Mines ...	Paravanes and minesweeping.
Torpedoes ...	Protection of underwater parts of ships.
Poison Gas ...	Gas masks, warning signals and methods of detecting poison gas.
Submarines ...	Methods of detecting and locating submarines; depth charges, etc.
Aircraft ...	Anti-aircraft guns, etc.
Wireless Telegraphy ...	Apparatus for locating ships using wireless telegraphy methods of signalling which cannot be detected, located or understood.

And many other things which, if enumerated, would fill a whole copy of HEADWAY. All these things need offices, laboratories, workshops, drawing offices, draughtsmen, experimental stations, etc.

All these things and many more have developed and progressed since 1918, and, as long as human brains continue to work, will go on progressing. Now what can be done about it? As long as there is any chance at all of any future war every country is afraid to stop this sort of work. Besides, research and experimental work for industrial and scientific purposes is going on all the time, and it is quite easy to apply the latest inventions and apparatus to war uses. In the old days, before 1914, most of this work was done by sailors and soldiers who used their brains during times of peace in devising new apparatus for war. Now many civilians are constantly employed on this work, scientists, physicists, mathematicians, engineers, etc. Indeed, to-day, a laboratory is a more formidable and useful weapon of war than a battleship.

One way, as has often been suggested, is to try and limit by international agreement the money spent year by year on preparations for war, but even this cannot be very effective because any industrial country can easily and quickly change its output from peace weapons to war weapons. The only effective way is to build up that world public opinion which alone can prevent another devastating world war. As His Majesty the King said in his message to the League of Nations Union dinner at the Guildhall on October 30, "May the efforts of the Union, in co-operation with similar bodies in other countries, succeed in securing that wholehearted support of public opinion so vital to the ultimate success of the League itself."

That shows the way and, when more people realise that, all these other things, such as research in types of armaments, will fade away and be relegated to the pages of war books,—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN,
Vice-Admiral (retired).

St. Albans,
November 1, 1930.

TELLING THE STORY

DEAR SIR,—Is it not a pity that so many of our speakers adopt an apologetic attitude when invoking support for the League of Nations Union and the League? An important meeting was recently held in a large local centre to explain the objects of the League generally, and specially to further the scheme of enrolling 100,000 Foundation Members of the Union with a minimum subscription of £1 a year. The large hall was packed. Good speakers had been enlisted. But the meeting fell absolutely flat. There was not a spark of enthusiasm. It would be surprising if a dozen new members were enrolled.

The reason seemed clear to myself and many warm supporters of the Union who were present. The speakers dwelt on the infancy of the League; the audience was begged not to be impatient; not to expect too much in these early days; to remember the difficulties to be overcome; not to be disappointed that so little had been accomplished, and so on in the same vein. What wonder if a feeling of depression pervaded the assembly?

Surely a more encouraging note to strike on such occasions would be one of brave optimism, emphasising the splendid results already achieved; 54 nations already enrolled; so many wars, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (with the facts and dates briefly recounted) already averted; nations in financial straits re-established; world-wide economic questions discussed and settled; destitute refugees provided for. All this, and more, *in spite of* the infancy of the League, born only 11 years ago—truly, a sturdy infant, and a wonderful record. Surely that is a more inspiring and helpful line to adopt than apologies for shortcomings and prayers for patience!

FOUNDATION SUBSCRIBER.

November 7, 1930.

THE TRAGEDY OF TYROL

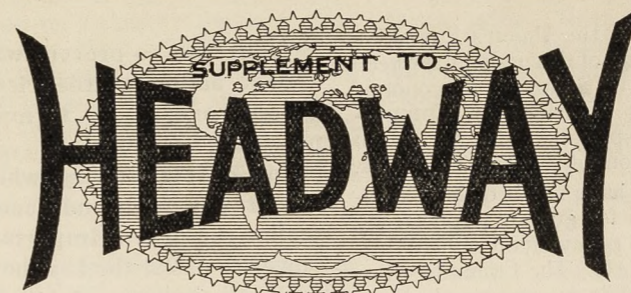
SIR,—As author of "Tyrol Under the Axe of Italian Fascism," may I reply to Miss Geraldine Delf's letter in the November HEADWAY. Your correspondent writes that after a visit to the Southern Tyrol she has found no trace of the people of my country living under oppressive conditions. Almost simultaneously I have received a letter from a Californian lady, personally unknown to me, which depicts the existing conditions of Southern Tyrol in language precisely the opposite to that used by Miss Delf. She writes, for example, "I went to Meran, where altogether I had three weeks, weeks of truest delight, yet tinged with deepest sadness because of the quiet, but terrible suffering I found your people enduring."

Are we to argue, therefore, that Miss Delf has not written the exact facts? Not at all. But she bases on these facts a wrong judgment, confusing secondary details with the broad outline of the situation on Southern Tyrol. What importance can it have if an hotel staff speaks German to the guests, while 25,000 children are completely prevented from learning, writing or reading their mother tongue? How can the German conversation of a woman pasturing her cows be a proof of liberal treatment? This woman knows no other language, and yet use of that language is forbidden in the law courts of the Tyrolese. They are even penalised if on the graves of their dead they dare to inscribe a last word of affection in their native tongue.

I have mentioned here only a few points, but my book contains countless instances of this kind. I believe that after closer study Miss Delf would agree with me that, in spite of the facts observed by her, the Southern Tyrolese are living under a lamentable oppression.—Yours, etc.,

DR. REUT-NICOLUSSI.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



DECEMBER, 1930

KNOW THYSELF

INSCRIBED in gold letters over the portico of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi was the phrase ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ("Know Thyself"). Pious legend attributes it to Solon, the first of the Seven Sages of Greece. It is a pithy saying and well worth careful thought.

To know oneself is not an easy task. Where should one begin? Certainly not with one's wealth or lack of it, or even with one's personal appearance or other material consideration. It is not so much knowledge and beliefs as intentions and purposes that determine how we behave. They are, therefore, the most important elements in our make-up. If we would know ourselves, it is our aims and purposes that we most need to discover.

It is hard for each of us to know ourselves. It is far harder for the nation to know itself. And yet it must do so, or at least its Government must know it, if any consistent policy is to be pursued. "Governments," said Sir Austen Chamberlain, "are in these days the servants of public opinion in regard to foreign policy"; or, as Lord Grey has put it, "Governments cannot go ahead of public opinion." When, therefore, the British Government wants to act on its intention to make the League the corner stone of British foreign policy—a policy not only of the present Government, but also of its predecessor, of whom the King's Speech in December, 1927, said: "My Government will continue to base its policy on loyal co-operation with the League"—it wants to know whether public opinion is ready for the next step. The answer depends in a large measure on the League of Nations Union, who, as the Prime Minister lately said, "in accordance with its Royal Charter prepare dull or doubting opinion for each progressive step."

Now this public opinion which Governments must needs know consists wholly or mainly of purposes and principles of action.

If the question "Are you ready for what is proposed?" were put to each individual citizen, the answer might be "Yes," or it might be "No," or it might be, and in most cases would be, "Uncertain." Those who are uncertain contribute little or nothing to the public opinion that matters.

It is those who, rightly or wrongly, know their own minds, who shape the course. For example, here are half-a-dozen principles on which British foreign policy might—or might not—be based (but it is not suggested for a moment that these are dogmas to be either accepted or rejected at sight):—

1. The Covenant of the League of Nations must remain the corner stone of British foreign policy.

2. The interests of the United Kingdom or of the British Empire cannot be served by action which is contrary to the interests of the world as a whole.

3. The transfer of powers from H.M. Government and from other independent sovereign States to the international authority, the League of Nations, which they have joined in constituting, has begun and must continue; so that League decisions will become practically effective over a widening (but by no means unlimited) range of public affairs—social, economic and humanitarian as well as law and order.

4. In particular, the reduction of national armaments, combined with reliable guarantees of organised collective action, must be carried to the point at which the League of Nations, *if the U.S.A. will at least acquiesce*, can ensure the prevention, or immediate arrest, of private war.

5. In a dispute between any of H.M. Governments and a foreign Power, it is better for our country to accept the verdict of an authorised international body—Court, Arbitration Tribunal or Conciliation Commission—than to resort to war.

6. Since the peaceful settlement of international disputes is normally based on existing legal rights—and since these rights may, and often do, conflict with justice,* a means must be found for such legal rights to be altered by international authority: the League must have power to amend as well as to create international law.

It is doubtless too much to ask that the nation should know its mind on all these issues. But does the League of Nations Union so far know itself? Are its members sure of themselves?

If as many Branch Secretaries and other readers of this page as choose to do so will write on a postcard (to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1) the numbers 1 to 6 of the above questions and put after each number the word "Yes" or "No" or "Uncertain," the League of Nations Union, by knowing itself better, will be better able to prepare dull or doubting public opinion for the next few steps towards making the League an effective reality.

* For instance, it is the legal right of France to build a limited number of warships displacing up to 35,000 tons apiece, but Germany has no legal right to build any warship exceeding 10,000 tons displacement.

A LONDON LETTER

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT,
LONDON, S.W.1.

EXECUTIVE TOPICS

At the November meetings of the Union's Executive Committee the principal subjects of discussion have been the question of the policy to be adopted on economic matters and the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. Early next year a special conference is to be held to discuss the question of League Sanctions.

In response to requests that have reached the Executive Committee from branches for guidance concerning the questions of international policy upon which they should concentrate in their efforts. The Committee has resolved as follows: "That, while recognising the duty of branches to study and expound all points, etc., included in the Union's Statement upon International Policy, they should be advised to concentrate during the present season firstly upon the reduction and limitation of armaments and the study of international economic problems; secondly, upon slavery and forced labour and minorities." Memoranda on these subjects can be supplied by the Head Office on request.

With the probable cessation of the Iraq Mandate in two years, the Executive has been considering the position of the non-Moslem Minorities under the new régime. A Model Minority Treaty is being drafted.

Last month we mentioned the message of sympathy that had been received from the German League of Nations Society. The Union has now sent messages of sympathy to the German Society after the terrible mining disasters and to the French after the Lyons catastrophe.

ARMISTICE

Armistice is the peak of the Union's year. The brunt of the work falls obviously upon the Public Meetings Department. This year speakers were obtained for nearly 500 meetings—the amount of labour involved in this may be gauged by the fact that before some meetings are fixed up 20 or more letters have to be written.

But practically every other department of Headquarters has felt an increase of volume of work. The Intelligence staff have been inundated by dozens and dozens of inquiries. The last edition of Speakers' Notes was exhausted before all demands had been met. The Library reports that just before Armistice Week there was a big demand for books from teachers, Sunday School leaders and speakers who were seeking to prepare their lectures. Lastly, the Press Section, as at Assembly time, has had requests for special articles and was continuously being asked over the telephone for information. The Financial and Records Section at the end of the month were having to work overtime to cope with the number of new subscriptions that had come in.

"JOURNEY'S END"

The Union owes much to the generosity of the Gainsborough Pictures, Ltd., and to the W. & F. Films, Ltd., the owners and distributors of the *Journey's End* film. In order to give practical assistance to our work they provided and supplied to all cinemas at which the film was to be shown, posters recalling the fact that Mr. Sherriff, the author of the play, had presented his manuscript to the Union, and containing extracts from the King's message to the Union. His Majesty's gracious consent was especially given for this. In consequence, there has been the most cordial co-operation between Branch organisers and cinema managers. In many places facilities have been given for enrolling new members of the Union in the cinema theatres.

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRINCE TO THE UNION

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,
November 30, 1930.

"The way to prevent war is not by sudden and violent action at the eleventh hour but by the gradual and steady formation of habits of international co-operation. . . . I trust that the people of this country, which has been the pioneer of so many great and beneficent movements, will realise the urgent importance of doing all in their power to assist the League of Nations Union in the greatest Crusade of all—the Crusade for world peace."

THE GUILDHALL DINNER

THE MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

It has for long been an axiom of British foreign policy that the first of British interests is peace. True we have sometimes sought peace through war, but generations have shown how fallacious was that facile doctrine that the preparation for war was the security for peace. Now we are pursuing a better way. The preparation for war and the securing of peace belong to two different orders of policy. The League of Nations stands for the latter, and it therefore quite naturally has enlisted the active support of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The task of building up a firm structure of world peace can only be accomplished by long and patient effort. It will not be completed until the nations have forgotten the misunderstandings that now divide them, until the simple folk of every land look across their frontiers with confidence and trust towards their neighbours on the other side. Since that task is long and difficult, since it must tax to the utmost the efforts of the enlightened peoples of the world, every man and woman of goodwill must wish success to those who labour to help it forward—those, in short, of this League of Nations Union, who, in accordance with its Royal Charter, prepare dull or doubting opinion for each progressive step. In that spirit I send my warmest greetings to your dinner to-night.—

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. October 30, 1930.

THE MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

More than 10 years' experience of the work of the League of Nations has shown that while support by the Governments of the Member States is essential to the League, a well-informed public opinion is equally required if such support is to be earnest and constant. When a moment of international stress arises, general knowledge as to the value of League machinery and possibilities cannot but prove of the utmost value.

The League of Nations Union is doing admirable work to the above end, and its activities in this domain must have the warm approval of all who work for the League and care for the promotion of international co-operation, and the achievement of international peace and security.—

ERIC DRUMMOND. Geneva, October, 1930.

NOTES AND NEWS

Leeds Armistice Efforts

The Empire Theatre at Leeds was crowded to hear Professor Zimmern speak on Armistice Sunday, when Lord Moynihan was in the chair. In four districts branches co-operated with local churches in arranging League of Nations Services on Armistice Day. Lastly, 2,000 people attended a dance of the Montague Burton Factory Branch members. There was no charge for admission and yet a profit of 9s. was made. The explanation?—cloak-room fees!

London's Efforts

The London Regional Federation is holding the second of the All-London Youth Groups' Dance in the Victoria Hall, Southampton Row, on Thursday, December 4. Tickets, price 3s. 6d., can be obtained from the office, 43, Russell Square. The detailed programme for the Autumn Session of the London Speakers' Group is obtainable from the same address. The Annual Social will be held on January 23, at the Victoria Hall, Southampton Row.

Edinburgh

Under the auspices of the Edinburgh Branch, the Music Hall was twice filled to see perform the young people of the schools and other organisations. The first half of the programme consisted of 17 glimpses of the "Nations at Home." The second half was the "Challenge of Peace," performed by the pupils of the Royal High School. The success of the pageant was in a very large measure due to the painstaking efforts of the producer, Mr. Edgar Burgoyne.

On Armistice Sunday there was a United Service of Remembrance at St. Giles' Cathedral. The Very Rev. J. Harry Miller, C.B.E., D.D., preached.

Wanted, £2,000

Two years ago a party of American students visited this country. Next year a return visit of 60 British students is to be paid to America. The Carnegie Foundation has undertaken to bear the total cost of their expenses whilst they are in the United States, but to get the chosen students to America will cost £2,000. Are there any of our readers whose imaginations are so fired with the idea of this form of international co-operation that they are ready to help?

Broadcasting

The B.B.C. announces that during its spring session (January 5-March 28) there will be talks every Thursday at 7.25 p.m. on International Affairs. One series is entitled "The Future of Civilisation," and will develop some of the ideas in Professor Arnold Toynbee's recent series. The other will be on "World Finance," by Sir Arthur Salter, the late head of the League's Economic Section. Full details can be obtained from the B.B.C., Savoy Hill, W.C.

Council's Vote

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

Addingham, Blagdon, Beeston, Bradford Rehoboth Chapel, Berwick, Blakesley, Cleethorpes, Congleton, Cranleigh, Exmouth, Farthingstone, Great Bentley, Hilton, Hurtwood, Hemel Hempstead, Hemingford, Hadleigh, Hailsham, Jordans, Lane End, Moretonhampstead, Milford-on-Sea, New Malden, Parkstone, Perranporth (completed in June), Reigate, Rayleigh, Runton, Scarborough, Stansted, Sutton Coldfield District Council, Stowmarket, Shildon, Taunton, Topsham, Wellington (Somerset), Wrabness, Walton-on-the-Naze, Wickford, Wendover, Wimborne, Wombwell, Wrotham, Windsor, Woking, Wantage, Yeaton.



THE MONTAGUE BURTON DUNDEE WINDOW
The dolls were dressed by local organisations

Foundation Members

In a week Cambridge has obtained 164 new Foundation Members. The late Mayor, throughout his year of



Sir John Power

office has consistently supported the Union. He and the Lord Lieutenant, represented the City and the County respectively, organised a dinner at the Cambridge Guildhall at which the speaker was Sir John Power, Bart., M.P. Sir John pointed out that the British Empire had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the success of the League of Nations. The League needed the stimulus of public opinion behind it, and this must come from an organised body working regardless of party politics.

Of those present at the dinner more than half promised to become Foundation members in response to Sir John's appeal. What is possible in Cambridge is not impossible elsewhere. Headquarters is always ready to help in matters of organisation. It is worth while, for upon Foundation members rests the future prosperity of the Union.

Glasgow

Lord Cecil visited Glasgow and addressed a very largely attended meeting in St. Andrew's Hall on October 27. At the same meeting Mrs. Mary Hamilton and Lord Lothian also spoke. Seldom has a meeting created so much interest throughout the whole of the West of Scotland. Representatives came from as far afield as Castle Douglas, Stranraer, Callander, Ayr and Perth. The result of the meeting has been a large increase of membership. The following day Lord Cecil addressed a crowded meeting of students at the University.

Another interesting event was the visit of the Countess Dohna to the district. Countess Dohna is chief of the Education Section of the German League of Nations Association, and she told about her educational work in Germany to large and sympathetic audiences at the Soroptimist Club, Rotary Club, Lenzie Branch, Glasgow University Branch, Glasgow Literary Club, Aberdeen Branch, and the Women's International League, Edinburgh.

The Quarterly News

We have been asked to draw the attention of our readers, and particularly of branch and district secretaries, to the illustrated League paper, "The Quarterly News," issued from the office of the Kent Federal Council, 30, High Street, Maidstone, Kent, whence samples can be obtained. Though primarily intended for Kent, its subject matter would be of general interest in any district and arrangements could be made to adapt part of the contents to the needs and interests of the different branches making use of it. Prices (postage extra): 1 dozen, 1s. 6d.; 50, 5s.; 250, £1; 500, £1 15s.; 1,000, £2 15s.

In Paris

Nearly 300 people attended a League of Nations Union (Paris Section) Debate in the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Dr. Stephen Osusky, Czechoslovak Minister to France, defended the League and was opposed by Mr. Oliver Bodington, the well-known lawyer. Many prominent members of the British and other foreign colonies in Paris were present. The Chair was taken by Colonel C. B. Stokes, who is closely connected both with the League of Nations Union and with the British Legion in Paris.

A Benefactor

At the dinner given at the Guildhall to the delegates to the Imperial Conference, the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas announced that Sir Louis Baron had given £5,000 to the funds of the League of Nations Union.



Sir Louis Baron

Sir Louis, who is the son of Sir Bernhard Baron, the founder of Carreras, and, during his lifetime, a generous benefactor to many good causes, is following in his father's footsteps. As a young man his father had to contend with many difficulties, and he learned that international co-operation and world peace were things worth working for. Sir Louis is upholding the tradition

of the family. The League of Nations Union has cause to be grateful for this generous donation at a time when, owing to the economic depression, it is becoming increasingly hard to carry on. It is a lead which it is hoped many will follow.

Wages and Employment

The Union is organising a Conference at the London School of Economics on February 17 and 18 next year to discuss some aspects of "Wages and Employment."

New Publications

No. 288, "The Prince on the League and the Empire." 1d. A reprint of the Prince of Wales' speech at the Guildhall Banquet. It also contains the texts of the messages received from H.M. the King, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary General of the League of Nations.

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
Nov. 22, 1930	...	...	...	873,861

On Nov. 20, 1930, there were 2,965 Branches, 918 Junior Branches, 3,333 Corporate Members and 682 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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