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HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

READERS of HEADWAY will find this issue devoted largely to the question of disarmament. That should surprise no one. The success of the Preparatory Commission in framing a Draft Convention Disarmament means this, at any rate, that a World Disarmament Conference is now not the next step but one, which it has been for far too long, but the next step of all. Whether the Conference opens in November or December of this year or in January or February of next, is not a great matter. On general grounds, of course, the sooner the better, but the essential thing is that the Conference be convened at the moment when the political outlook is most propitious. The League Council will be asked to decide the date at its meeting this month, but whatever is settled now must be considered as open to possible reconsideration later in the light of events. Meanwhile, two points in regard to the Conference need to be stressed. One is that it must be regarded as the first of a series of such meetings which will try at intervals of five or six years to effect successive reductions in the world's armaments. The other is that imperfect as the framework constructed by the Preparatory Commission may be in some respects it does undoubtedly constitute a foundation on which the nations can, if they will, base a perfectly practical and effective disarmament scheme. If they will. But will they? What contribution is this country prepared to make—for we had better begin such questions at home. It is suggested elsewhere that a further reduction in the size of capital ships is one objective that might well be entertained. That would involve no one-sided sacrifice by Great Britain. It would simply mean that Great Britain was taking the lead in

pressing for a step that would put her at no real disadvantage and would save tax-payers of many countries money they would be very glad to keep in their pockets.

Geneva's Ambassadors

LAST month saw a sudden scattering of high League of Nations officials to the ends of the earth. Sir Eric Drummond set out on an extended tour in Latin-America; Sir Arthur Salter turned his steps eastwards, in response to an invitation for advice on economic policy from the Government of India; and Dr. Rajchman, Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat, started for a destination further east in pursuance of the arrangement whereby the League has agreed to assist the Chinese Government in the creation of a national health organisation. The value of these visits to distant countries can hardly be exaggerated. European countries are able to keep in close and constant touch with Geneva. The more distant countries in other continents are not. From Japan or Chile or India to Switzerland is a formidable journey, and if those countries cannot go to Geneva, in the sense of sending a steady succession of delegates there, it is all to the good that Geneva should from time to time go to them, in the persons of some of its chief officials. The visit of Sir Eric Drummond to South America is invested with a special interest at a time when the future policy of countries like Brazil and the Argentine Republic is so doubtful, but it is as true of Sir Arthur Salter and Dr. Rajchman as it is of the Secretary-General himself that the League could find no wiser or more competent emissaries to represent it.

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All that Sort of Stuff

LORD LLOYD, who as High Commissioner in Egypt had differences with Sir Austen Chamberlain when Sir Austen was Foreign Secretary and differed so much from Mr. Henderson that he resigned altogether, apparently has differences with the League of Nations Union too. At any rate, he is reported as saying in a speech at Shrewsbury that:—

"We had to get away from the League of Nations Union nonsense and that kind of thing. He believed there were great ideals behind the League of Nations, but the kind of stuff he read preached by the League of Nations Union was neither British nor in favour of freedom, nor any of the things about which he vastly cared."

A little more light on this would be welcome. When and where does the League of Nations Union preach? Is it the resolutions it sometimes adopts that Lord Lloyd denounces? Or is it the Union's real offence that it tries to get the "great ideals behind the League" translated into action? It is so easy and so convenient to do homage to the great ideals behind something or other or so long as they are kept well behind. Lord Lloyd finds the stuff preached by the Union was not British. It must, no doubt, have been some Geneva doctrine or other. The Union does sometimes preach that. A correspondent, by the way, has sought enlightenment from Lord Lloyd but got no reply to his letter.

League Jargon

MR. J. A. SPENDER has raised an interesting point in regard to League of Nations phraseology. The constant use of such technical terms as "Covenant," "Pact" and "Sanctions," he believes, tends to stamp the League in the popular mind as something fanciful and unpractical. To talk glibly about the Covenant obscures the vital fact that the Covenant is an international treaty—actually a part, indeed, of the most important treaties that have been signed for a century—and in every respect as rigidly binding as the other parts of the treaty which, for example, required Germany to surrender her fleet, or gave France Alsace-Lorraine, or made Poland into an independent State. "Sanctions," again, mean little or nothing to the average man. It might be better to talk about penalties or measures of enforcement. But, in any case, the point to bring out is that in this matter of penalties, or measures to be taken against a State going to war in breach of the Covenant, this country is bound in certain eventualities to take certain very definite steps which may involve her in some sacrifice, and even some risk. So Mr. Spender, and up to a point he is unquestionably right. There is quite seriously some danger of stressing the idealistic side of the League so far as to obscure the dominating fact that the League presents primarily a definite and deliberate resolve, expressed in a formal international treaty, to establish such co-operation between Governments as to remove the danger of war altogether. Nothing can be more important than to emphasise that at all times.

Germans and Poles

IT is a good thing that the question of the treatment of the German minority in Polish Upper Silesia is to be brought before the League of Nations, for relations in that area have reached a pitch of bitterness which

makes the intervention of some entirely neutral agency very desirable. For what is needed is not only conciliation but verification of facts—perhaps, all things considered, that principally. The Germans have collected and forwarded to Geneva a series of cases of intimidation of German-speaking inhabitants of Upper Silesia at the recent elections in that region. The Poles admit a certain amount of disturbance, such as is incidental to all elections, and have taken disciplinary action against a small number of officials. At the same time they flatly deny stories of electoral sharp practice that have appeared in one or two English newspapers, and quote from a local German organ in Upper Silesia an article showing that the Germans actually cast between 90 and 100 per cent. of their possible votes and lost ground only because the Polish vote had increased. All this needs investigation, as well as the good offices of a conciliator, and it is to be hoped that the League will give to the representatives of the German Government (which has taken up the cause of the Germans in Upper Silesia) the attention they deserve. There are few questions in Europe more disturbing than the relations between Poland and Germany.

Federating Europe

THE Briand scheme for a European Federation comes up at Geneva again on the 16th of this month, when a meeting of delegates of all European States will be held "to consider what steps shall now be taken to make the 'closer union' scheme a reality." No steps of importance have been taken in connection with the scheme since September, when it was decided that the League of Nations Secretariat, which is acting as secretariat of the European Committee, should draw up something in the shape of a programme of work. That casts a rather embarrassing responsibility on the Secretariat, which exists to carry out policies, not to initiate them, but it is understood that the Secretariat has, as a beginning, drawn up a list of League activities—economic, political, transit and so on—which seem to concern Europe in a special degree and which the European States might profitably study further among themselves, with the idea that Europe might push a little further ahead on its own account in these fields without waiting till the rest of the world was ready to keep step with it. But the general prospect is that progress in the direction of a European federation will be slow.

The League and Religions

THE question of the attitude of the churches to the League of Nations is raised in another column by a Jewish correspondent, who observes with some regret a tendency on the part of Christian preachers and writers to refer to the League as if it were a specifically Christian organisation. So far as that tendency does exist, it is undoubtedly open to criticism. The League is composed of nations mainly Christian, nations mainly Mohammedan, one nation mainly Hindu, nations partially Buddhist, and among the Christian nations the great majority are Roman Catholic, while some are Orthodox and some Protestant. There is manifestly, therefore, no place at Geneva for any narrow sectarianism. On the other hand, it would seem entirely proper that a Christian addressing Christians, a Moslem addressing Moslems or a Jew addressing Jews, should

take occasion to point out how largely the League is realising in the international field the ideals for which followers of that particular religious faith stand. But it is well that that truth should, as the correspondent in question suggests, be so phrased as to avoid all possibility of misunderstanding, and in most cases it no doubt is.

U.S.A. and Court

THERE appears to be no prospect now that the United States will join the World Court before the end of this year at the earliest. That is not because any fresh doubts about the general advisability of America's entry into the Court have arisen. But once more internal politics in the United States have taken the first place and international interests have had to be content with the second. The present session of Congress will end at the beginning of March, and there will be no further session till next December, unless a special one is summoned, as it can be if the President chooses. There will, it seems, be no time to get the World Court dealt with before March, and the President and his advisers are extremely anxious to avoid a special session if they can. Consequently, the World Court proposals stands over. No special comment need be made on that here, except that the mechanical and constitutional difficulties which crop up from time to time in connection with America's participation in international movements find one more discouraging illustration in the postponement of the debate on the Court.

A New Use for the Saar

A FRENCH public man has put forward the rather naïve proposal that the Saar Valley, instead of being returned to Germany in 1935, as the Treaty of Versailles enacts (provided that the population votes for that, as it unquestionably will), the whole territory should be made the seat of the League of Nations. The arguments in favour of that solution are the geographical position of the territory, wedged in between France and Germany, and the various difficulties to which the location of the League on the soil of a sovereign State gives rise. There is, no doubt, something attractive in the idea of the League possessing its own international territory and governing it, much as the District of Columbia was carved out of a couple of American States in order to make a place for the self-governing Federal capital, Washington, but the French proposal to give away to the League what is essentially German territory a little robs the suggestion of its grace. There is clearly no prospect whatever of its being adopted.

That Optional Clause

THERE comes yet one more request for an explanation of what the Optional Clause is. The Optional Clause is part of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is called "Optional" because, while States joining the Court must sign all the other Statutes, they have the option between signing this one and not signing it, as they choose. States which do sign it bind themselves never to refuse to submit to the Court any dispute in which they may be engaged if the other party desires it, and if it is the kind of dispute with which the Court is competent to deal. States not signing this Clause can always refuse to go before the Court, thereby considerably reducing

the Court's value. Up to the present, over 30 States have signed and ratified the Optional Clause, including Great Britain, France and Germany. An article on the subject of the Optional Clause generally appeared in the last issue of HEADWAY.

The End of a Chapter

THE presentation of the Order of the Phoenix to Mr. Charles Eddy and Sir John Hope Simpson, the two League of Nations members of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, by the Greek Prime Minister draws attention to the completion of one of the most valuable and successful pieces of humanitarian work the League has ever undertaken. The enterprise was wound up at the end of last month, all its objects having been satisfactorily achieved. Altogether about 800,000 persons have been permanently settled through the direct agency of the Settlement Commission, while the Greek Government has dealt separately with another 500,000 or so. It is understood that Mr. Eddy, the American Chairman of the Commission, is publishing shortly a book describing the whole undertaking in detail.

That Hours Convention

THE Washington Hours Convention is making very little better progress towards ratification under the present Government than it did under its predecessor. There is, it is true, this difference, that the late Government never went so far as to consent to ratify the Convention in its present form, whereas the present Cabinet has always protested that it intends to do so. But protestations make no ratifications. Of the two it is better to say "I go not" and go not than to say "I go" and go not. But conceivably the Government may yet manage to go now the Christmas recess is over. Its proposed Bill is open to some criticisms, but at any rate it is a Bill that will bring the Washington Convention into force in this country. It is important, therefore, that the Government should cease saying it will ratify and proceed to ratify in fact.

Current Films

IN accordance with a suggestion for which there is much to be said, HEADWAY will from time to time notice briefly any film of interest on exhibition in this country which touches more or less directly on the question of peace and war. A review of one such film, "Hell's Angels," appears in another column. Since the notice was written it has appeared that parts of the film have given offence in Germany. If that is so, and if there is good reason for the complaint, it is obviously undesirable that those parts should stand. It must be remarked, however, that the critic who wrote the notice in question makes no reference to any feature of that kind. It would appear, therefore, to be not conspicuous enough to strike the ordinary observer.

Honouring Lord Cecil

THE fund for a tribute to Lord Cecil (primarily in the form of his portrait by a leading artist) has now reached the figure of £1,141. Any who still intend to contribute are asked to do so as soon as possible, as it is not intended to keep the fund open indefinitely. Cheques or postal orders should be sent to the Honorary Secretary of the fund, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

OBJECTIONS TO THE LEAGUE

1. THE HUMAN-NATURE-WON'T-CHANGE ARGUMENT

By NORMAN ANGELL, M.P.

This is the first of a short series of articles dealing with objections to the League by its opponents or critics.

WE all know the argument—delivered usually with a certain man-of-the-world air of superiority, as though addressing rustic simplicity which has been betrayed by sentimentality. It runs thus:—

All your talk and fine schemes will never get over human nature. Men are born fighters, quarrelsome, irrational, pugnacious. You can never depend on paper treaties being kept. There have always been broken treaties, and always been wars. Man is fundamentally a fighting beast.

Precisely. That is why we must have a League of Nations. Ultimately, it is the only reason. This argument, which is usually delivered as the crowning argument against the League, is the most fundamental argument for it.

For, suppose men were not as described above, and human nature had reached perfection, so that we all naturally and easily, as individuals or nations, always kept our temper, always gave full consideration to the



Mr. Norman Angell

point of view of others, never presented unfair claims, were always fit to be our own judges in our own cause—why in that case, of course, we should not need a League, an international Constitution. But neither should we need national Constitutions, nor Legislatures, Law Courts, Ten Commandments, police, nor any other form of discipline. Nine-tenths of those things are merely means of dealing with the shortcomings of human nature. The need for law arises from the fact that we are simply incapable of being each his own judge in his own cause, whenever disputes arise; incapable of deciding off-hand conflicting views of right and obligations as and when each occasion arises. We have to be guided by considered law, by impartial decision—and betimes restrained by the community's power.

Abolishing Police

If it were suggested that the individuals which make the nation, being decent folk, could perfectly well dispense with all their institutions of guidance, discipline and restraint, could live without parliaments, courts, laws, traffic rules and traffic cops, your average practical man would, very rightly, greet the suggestion with hoots of derision. He would instantly declare that all human experience shows these institutions to be necessary. If you were to answer him that in defending these institutions of law and regulation and restraint he was taking a sentimental and romantic view of human nature; that man was naturally selfish and quarrelsome; that there always had been crime, that human nature could not be changed by Acts of Parliament—why then he would tell you with truth that your mind was wilting into utter confusion; that you had got his case turned upside down; that the institutions existed just because men had so many anti-social instincts; that it was the belief in the possibility of living without law and regulation which ignored the weaknesses of men.

Will Anarchy Work?

We see this quite clearly when we suggest anarchy—life without government—as a workable method within the nation. We realise that it is asking too much of human nature. But when we come to the relations of States, we not only seem to expect anarchy to work, but, with amazing confusion, accuse those who want to introduce institutions corresponding with those we have found necessary within the State, of expecting too much of human nature!

Wars may take place. Our international constitution may break down. Of course it may. National constitutions sometimes break down and we get civil war. Do we argue from that: "What is the good of constitutions, of any attempt to organise national society? Let us do without any organisation." We do not think of drawing such a conclusion. We ask what was defective in the constitution, amend it, and start afresh.

Acquired Antipathies

The talk of "unchanging human nature" is the least realistic, the least scientific of generalisations. "Human nature" may not change, but its manifestations, its habits, which, as has been so truly said, may well become not second, but first nature, change profoundly and enormously. The deepest antipathies and hates which we speak of as "instinctive and congenital" are usually carefully cultivated ones, and have nothing to do with our nature in the biological sense. The man of high caste, whose religion has taught him that the flesh of animals is loathsome and unclean, will immediately, on being told that the cake he has eaten contained swine's fat, be violently sick. Nature has not made the lining of his stomach different from that of the man who has just eaten ham and eggs with relish.

Outworn Hates

The man of the Southern States in America will tell you dogmatically that his antipathy to the black is founded on irresistible congenital instinct, the while his white child clings with affectionate caresses to the old negro mammy, knowing just nothing at all of "nature's loathing," because it has not yet been told of it. But it can be taught that loathing. National hostilities, like those which separate Frenchmen and German, can be bitter beyond belief. Yet biologically, as a matter of race, the Norman of northern France is much nearer to the Boche than he is to the Mediterranean Frenchman from Lyons or Marseilles. The man-made frontier is far more dividing than the nature-made race. The divisions—those of religious belief and ritual—which used to create the most ferocious of all wars, wars which nearly destroyed European society, are divisions we have altogether given up fighting about. Religious hate as the Mediævalist knew it was "natural" enough. But we, of our generation, have not got it.

Changing Enmities

And the "undying hates" of international politics change as rapidly and as easily as women's fashions. Only a few years ago we really did hate "the German," as something alien, barbarian, congenitally different from ourselves—though every homely word we speak is a German word. Yet I hesitate to use this illustration of our hatred of the German because most Englishmen

to-day will deny that they ever hated Germans. They have completely forgotten that learned historians quoted Tacitus to prove that Germans had always been a race set apart by their cruelty, treachery, lechery and general unfitness for civilisation. To-day, as applied to Germans, we know the thing for the falsehood that it is. "The Germans our natural enemies? Rubbish! If it were the French now. . . ."

There is, of course, a sense in which hate, irrationalism,

panic, is natural, instinctive. It is the point with which this article started. But human society has become too complex and vulnerable a thing to be governed merely by instinct. We have to discipline instinct by codes, conventions, laws, produced in our more or less lucid intervals; to make instinct subject to social intelligence; to correct the first thought by the second. Only at that price can we avoid reversion to "chaos and dark night."

THE LEAGUE AND THE 9.35

THE CASE OF THE STATE THAT GOES TO WAR

AS a matter of fact, it was not the 9.35 at all, but the 6.11. But it all arose out of the 9.35, and an interrupted talk that had to be continued in the home-going 6.11 at night.

Somehow or other it took a rather different turn. The man in the corner had got his corner once more, and he decided the evening paper could wait till after dinner. He seemed to have had odd moments during the day for reflection, as his opening gambit, marked by a gesture with his pipe stem, indicated.

"It's all very well," he said, without further introduction, "to draw parallels between the organisation of civil life and the organisation of international life. You talk as if the two things were the same. In actual fact, there's no resemblance between them. You'll find that makes a bit of difference to your argument."

"I wonder. Let's see where we are." "I can tell you exactly where we are. You were arguing that because ordinary society in a civilised State rests on consent, and citizens as a whole agree to live peacefully together, with the police only stepping in now and then when someone kicks over the traces, it ought to be quite easy to organise relations between States in the same way."

"I don't seem to remember calling it easy." "Well, say practicable if you like. What I say is that the two things are totally different. I accept the first half of your argument all right. Civil society does rest on the tacit consent of individual citizens to live together peaceably. But the real point about that—the point you seem to forget altogether—is that this sort of relationship has proved itself long ago. In most States—I mean, inside most States—it has existed for centuries. Whereas in the world of States there is—"

"The League of Nations."

"Yes. I saw that coming. Well, you can have it. There's the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Pact as well, if you want that. And how long have they been there? How old is the League? When did the Kellogg Pact come into force? What can you argue from a bare eleven years' working of the League Covenant?"

"All that I ever tried to argue. I never said the existence of the League proved the world was safe from war. As a matter of fact, I said very nearly the opposite. What I did try to show was that just as even in our peacefully ordered civil life you have to make some provision for dealing with the man who breaks the general compact and defies the law, so in the world of States, however universal the pledge not to go to war may be, you must make up your mind what you are going to do when some State does, in spite of everything, go to war. Are you simply going to let that State rip or are you going to combine to restrain it even if that means, in the last resort, using force against it?"

"Right. Suppose you did try to show that. My case is that you didn't succeed in showing it. Because there isn't any 'just as' about the business at all. I don't admit that you can call the international world organised. That's where your analogy breaks down. When the League has been working, and working reasonably well, for 100 years you can begin talking."

"By that time I may quite possibly have stopped talking. Besides, it isn't any question of that at all. Keep the whole thing theoretical if you like. At any rate, there do exist agreements on paper binding States not to go to war with one another. What I want to know is what further agreements you need to make—on paper—to meet the case of States that in spite of all their pledges do go to war. Are you to use force against them or not? And if not, what's going to happen? Just a good old-fashioned war, as if the existence of a League of Nations made no difference to anyone?"

"Yes, you see you're talking all the time about stopping war once it breaks out. What about preventing it from breaking out at all for a change? Don't forget that Europe is littered with the seeds of war. Your golden peace age, with its Leagues and its Pacts and the rest of it, comes right on the heels of the greatest war in history, and a war that was never cleaned up by a long way when the peace was made. You don't suppose that a peace imposed by force is going to last, do you?"

"Most peaces at the end of a long war are imposed by the victors. How else do you think peace could be made?"

"It could be made after proper discussion round a table. What chance had the Germans of making their voices heard? What good did it do to anyone to keep them sitting at Versailles while the Allies were drafting peace terms to be offered as ultimatums—well, ultimatums then, if you prefer pedantry—at the point of a bayonet? You fix a sum for reparations, you dock Germany of this territory and that territory. You make her surrender almost all her navy and nine-tenths of her guns, and she signs on the dotted line because you're standing over her with a pistol. What will Germany do about it? Why, bide her time, of course, till she sees a chance of standing over you with a pistol."

"So you think the Allies ought to have had more discussions with the Germans?"

"Of course they ought. And concluded a peace of consent instead of a peace of force."

"Yes, that sounds so well. But can any sane man—even you, if you think it out—believe that possible? What it comes down to in the end is that you want the sort of peace Germany would have agreed to accept. Having been beaten in war she would have been given the whip-hand at the peace-table. The place for that sort of bargaining is between equals—two parties

STORIES IN STAMPS

standing roughly in the same position. People in that relation to one another can be content to try to conclude an agreement, and if they fail just separate and go on as they were. You obviously couldn't do that at Versailles. 'As you were' in that case would simply mean re-starting the war. You wouldn't seriously propose that?"

"Of course I wouldn't propose that. What I should propose would be the sensible middle course. You could discuss things reasonably with the Germans, and, if necessary, when they refused to agree to something you insisted on, they would have in the last resort to give way. There wouldn't be any question of their imposing a veto. The Allies, of course, would have had their way in the end. But, at any rate, the other side would have had a chance to make its voice heard."

"And how different do you think the peace you might have got that way would be from the peace you did get? The Germans did put their views on paper and the Treaty was altered in some respects in consequence. But, in the main, of course, it was what the Allies determined it should be, and you couldn't expect anything else. No, if you don't like dictated peaces you'd better not have wars at all."

"Well, all I can say is, I hope you like the results of your dictated peace. Take the Nazi movement, as the latest result, and the most obvious. Did you listen to Prince Bismarck—you know, the Iron Chancellor's grandson—on the wireless the other night? People had been asking him whether the Nazi movement, once Germany's just grievances arising out of the Treaty of Versailles had been put right, could be counted on to throw its influence into the scale on the side of international co-operation, and his answer was 'Quite undoubtedly, yes!'"

"There are two things to be said about that. The first is that Prince Bismarck, who is on the German Embassy staff here in London, must find it a little difficult to keep in close touch with every latest political change in Germany. The other is that the Nazi movement came to a head immediately after two of Germany's most real grievances, the occupation of the Rhineland and the imposition of hard reparation conditions, had, in fact, been remedied. It looks as if the more the Nazis got the more they wanted. At any rate, that's at least as tenable a theory as the doctrine that once you give them what they ask for they'll turn suddenly into lambs. Besides, in any case, who's to decide what Germany's 'just grievances' are? Does it mean anything Germany chooses to claim?"

"That kind of question comes well from you. What's your precious League of Nations for? I thought you started it to deal with just exactly this kind of thing."

"It isn't, in fact, my League, and I didn't start it, and it wasn't started for just exactly this kind of thing. Apart from that, all you say is on the nail."

"Why wasn't it, and what is it for, then?"

"Those are two different questions, not two parts of the same. I can tell you easily enough some time what the League was started for, if you're ready to listen, which I doubt. As to why it wasn't started to decide what Germany's just grievances are, the reason for that—"

"It isn't very much use trying to tell me that just as we're getting out, is it? Think it over a little more and reel it out to-morrow."

"All right, to-morrow night then. I'm not catching the 9.35 in the morning. By that time you may have seen the answer for yourself."

"Perhaps, and then again perhaps not. Good-night."

"Night."

WARREN POSTBRIDGE.

A NOTE in a recent number of HEADWAY concerning philately as a means of promoting international understanding prompts me to offer a few remarks and suggestions in the hope that they will be useful to League enthusiasts who work among the young.

The decision of an enterprising firm of cigarette manufacturers to distribute gifts of foreign postage stamps in lieu of the traditional "cigarette picture" is an event of great importance, and while the firm in question must be acquitted of any motive beyond that of inducing small boys to bring pressure to bear upon elder brothers (and sisters) to smoke that particular brand of cigarette and no other, its action has already had results which hold even greater possibilities. Stamp collecting has long been a popular hobby but its recent successful encroachment upon the preserves of its chief rival in the poorer districts—cigarette card collecting—has rendered it, without doubt, the most popular of all boys' hobbies. This position it seems likely to maintain for some time, certainly during the close season for tops and marbles.

The cigarette card was not to be despised as an educational factor, and the postage stamp is no less effective. Its information, however, is not so obvious, and it is a closed book to the uninitiated. With this in mind I have recently formed a stamp club for some boys among whom I work, and I commend the idea to others who have similar opportunities.

A stamp comes as a messenger from a distant land, telling us of its history, its soldiers, statesmen and heroes, its political changes, the occupation and acquisition of territory, its scenery, its industries and arts. It may be studied objectively for its own sake, or it may be used to illustrate a lesson or a talk. It provides something visible upon which to focus attention, always a desirable asset when speaking to children. For example, four stamps of Czechoslovakia summarise the story of that nation's freedom, an Austrian stamp overprinted "Cesko Slovenska 1919," a portrait of Masaryk, the symbolic figure of a prisoner breaking her chains, and the sun rising over Hradshin Castle, symbolising the dawn of freedom. A New Zealand stamp overprinted "Samoa" opens the way for a talk on the subject of Mandates; some war-time issues, such as the French "Orphelins de la guerre" series, will be a salutary reminder of the seamy side of war, and the fluctuating values of the stamps of post-war Germany provide a striking illustration of the financial chaos which followed the Great War. There are Swiss stamps overprinted "League of Nations," there are commemorative issues of the I.L.O. In fact there are few subjects concerning the politics of the modern world which cannot be illustrated by stamps, and when a boy begins to take an interest in stamps he sits up and asks for information about international affairs. We must not let him go unaided.

I offer these thoughts for what they are worth. Philatelic Societies might be a useful sideline for School Branches to develop, and L.N.U. workers might well offer their services as speakers at meetings of already existing societies. A knowledge of the intricacies of philately, watermarks, perforations, etc., is useful but is by no means essential. Readers to whom this idea appeals will find much of value in Warren's "Pageant of Civilisation: World Romance and Adventure as told by Postage Stamps." (Benn, 1928.)

In conclusion, it should not be forgotten that the chief characteristics of stamps are that they face the world foursquare and that they stick to their job until they get there. There is a moral for all ages in that.

D. RUSSELL LEGGATT

REDUCING ARMIES
WHAT HAS BEEN DECIDED AT GENEVA

A NEW stage in the journey towards disarmament was completed on December 9th, when the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference adopted a draft convention on the methods of limiting armies, navies and air forces.

To judge the meaning and importance of that stage it is necessary to consider for a moment how disarmament can be carried out so as to be fair to everyone concerned. Something like sixty nations are involved in the process, and all of them want to be satisfied that the rules they accept apply to everyone more or less equally. If their own army, for example, is to be limited to, say, 150,000 men, they want to know that another country with an army of 150,000 men has not made itself in reality much stronger by arming itself with more guns and better guns, more tanks and better tanks, more aeroplanes and better aeroplanes, and so on. In other words, a convention must be framed that will contain no leaks or loopholes that will enable a country actually to maintain a stronger army or navy or air force than it seems to be maintaining.

Measuring Navies

It is the same, of course, with navies. All the difficulty at the London Naval Conference, or a good deal of it, arose out of differences of opinion about how to measure navies. Is it enough to limit the total tonnage of all the ships in a particular navy added together, and leave the tonnage to be distributed as desired on battleships, cruisers, submarines, destroyers and other types, without any limitation on the quantity of any particular type or class? Great Britain has always said "No" to that. She favours limiting the total tonnage of a fleet, but she favours limiting also the amount of that tonnage to be allocated to battleships, the amount to be allocated to destroyers, and so on. And the London Conference, and, with some reservations, the Preparatory Commission, has gone on that principle.

How Forces will be Limited

That indicates what the work of the Preparatory Commission has been. The Commission has not been limiting armies and navies. It has been fixing the methods by which they can be limited. The actual limitation will be done by the World Disarmament Conference to be held in about a year's time. A single example will make that clear. The Preparatory Commission has decided that armies shall be limited by the total number of men, and by the amount of money spent on military material. In addition, the money spent on army, navy and air force as a whole is to be limited. That is now settled. Accordingly, when the Disarmament Conference comes Great Britain will agree to limit her army to, say, 100,000 men; her annual expenditure on military material to so many million pounds and her total naval, military and air expenditure to, say, £100,000,000. Other countries will act in the same way, and so you will get a vast schedule containing the figures to which the forces of all countries in the world—all, at any rate, that sign the Disarmament Treaty—will be limited. No Power will have the right to exceed those figures while the Treaty is in force.

Limitation or Reduction?

Those Treaty figures when they come will not necessarily be lower than the figures of existing armies and navies. They will not, that is to say, necessarily mean reduction, though it is to be hoped that in many cases they may. But, at least, they will mean limitation. We shall know the maximum figures of every army and

navy. There will be no danger of one country steadily increasing its armed forces, thus alarming its neighbours and very likely creating a new competition in armaments. The Disarmament Treaty, moreover, is intended to be only the first of many. In 1931 or 1932 definite figures for all armies will be fixed. In 1937 or thereabouts another Conference will, it is hoped, be held to get those figures reduced all round, and so at regular intervals in the future. We are, therefore, at the beginning of a series of disarmament conferences. The Preparatory Commission has opened the way for the first of these, and whatever disappointment may be felt with some of the decisions the Commission has taken or failed to take, **the fact remains that serious disarmament plans have been carried to a stage never reached before in the history of the world.**

The Actual Scheme

We now turn to the scheme the Preparatory Commission has drafted. Those who desire details and technicalities must go to the text of the Draft Convention itself. (That document alone contains 60 articles, with a number of tables, and it is accompanied by an official commentary of 305 paragraphs. So complex an affair is the limitation of the world's armaments.) Here the one endeavour will be to present the main facts as simply as possible.

The first article of the Convention may be given as it stands, for it is the foundation of everything:

1. The High Contracting Parties agree to limit, and so far as possible to reduce, their respective armaments as provided in the present Convention.

That is the first pledge the countries attending the Disarmament Conference will be called on to take, a pledge to limit and, if possible, to reduce, their armed forces.

Men and Material

From this point the problem divides up. You can limit armies, navies and air forces separately. That is one obvious division. Or you can limit (a) men and (b) the things men fight with, guns, ships, aeroplanes and the like—in short, material. The Preparatory Commission did it both ways, and so you get divisions and cross-divisions. The first division is between men and material. As to men, the figure is to represent—

1. The total military effectives,
2. The total naval effectives,
3. The total air effectives,

maintained by each country. In the case of the navy, men are much less important in relation to material (ships and their guns and torpedoes) than in the army. So sailors are simply to be limited by one total figure, officers and men being lumped together for this purpose.

Conscript and Professional

Soldiers need more detailed and scientific limitation. To begin with, there is the fundamental difference between a conscript army and a long-service professional army. Some countries have one, some the other, and some a mixture of the two. To compare the real strength of a conscript with that of a professional army with any accuracy would be singularly difficult, but the main purpose of the Disarmament Treaty, after all, is not so much to compare this country's strength with that country's, but to compare a given country's strength this year with its strength next year and the year after, and so on, so as to ensure that it does not exceed the figures it promised to observe.

Periods of Service

That fact gets rid of certain complications. Now as to methods of limitation. Figures will be given for—

1. Total armies,
2. Long-term professional forces.

That is one way of limiting numbers. Another way in conscription countries (and the conscription system prevails throughout almost the whole of Europe) is to limit the period of conscript service. The effect of that is clear. Most countries, notably France and her immediate associates, insist that the whole of their male population (with certain specific exceptions) must undergo a period of military training on reaching 21 or some other age. If that period is one year it follows that there will be under arms at a given moment the total of men reaching the specified age with a particular twelve months—the “class” of that year, as it is called. If the period is two years there will be two “classes” under arms simultaneously, the size of the army thus being doubled. A reduction of the service-period, therefore, means an actual reduction of the men with the colours at any moment. France, it may be mentioned, has reduced her period of service successively from three years to two, and from two years to one. The size of her standing army has diminished in proportion, though she has simultaneously built up a long-term professional army of 100,000.

Limiting the Term

The total of the military forces for each country is, there ore, to be limited, and also the period of military service in that country. But the Treaty is to contain also a military-service-period figure which no State anywhere shall exceed. There is rather an ingenious idea behind that provision. It may happen that while most countries are content with such service-periods, as, say, one year or eighteen months, some one country, or perhaps one or two, will ask for something like three years. If, in such a case, it is proposed that the maximum period for everyone be two years, it will be difficult for the one State, or two States, to stand out against a limitation which all the rest of the world desires to see imposed. That limitation, therefore, has also been added.

What About Material?

So much for the men. But, of course, material in a modern army is of vast importance. If the men are to be limited the material must be too. But how? The simple way would seem to be by mere numbers, numbers of guns, numbers of tanks, numbers of machine-guns, numbers of rifles. That method was chosen when disarmament was imposed on Germany in 1919. It has not been chosen by the Preparatory Commission, though many members of the Commission thought it should have been. The reasons were (1) that the method has not worked particularly well in the case of Germany; no one, for example, can tell how many rifles and machine-guns she has to-day; there can be no check in the case of these smaller weapons; (2) that you cannot really enumerate engines like tanks, because they are developing so rapidly that no one would care to give a definition of a tank; (3) that any new weapon suddenly invented would be left unlimited altogether.

A Check on Cost

These reasons may be thought good or bad. At any rate, the direct limitation of material was rejected by a very narrow vote. Instead the method of budgetary limitation, limiting what a country spends on its military material, was adopted. The advantage of this is that it covers everything, and that a country which undertakes in 1931 not to spend more than, say, £5,000,000 a year on war material is not likely to be able to buy more for its money in 1934 or 1936 than in 1931. By limiting the money you limit what is bought with the

money. The object, it should be pointed out here, is not to compare one's country's expenditure with another's—there are far too many differing factors for that—but to compare the same country's expenditure in successive years. (Each country will make its return in a form prescribed by the League.)

The Naval Question

The naval question was pretty much settled by the London Naval Conference of last spring. The three principal naval Powers then reached complete agreement as to how to measure navies. There was to be limitation of total tonnage of all classes of ships (apart from one or two classes of little or no fighting value), and also limitation of each separate class—a maximum being fixed for capital ships, for cruisers (in two sub-classes), for destroyers and for submarines, with some strictly regulated power to transfer tonnage from one class to another (e.g., to build fewer submarines and more destroyers). The Preparatory Commission endorsed this principle, with the provision that small navies, perhaps, for example, those of less than 100,000 tons all told, should have rather larger powers of transference. This is reasonable, because even if a small navy put the greater part of its tonnage into cruisers they would not be numerous enough to be a public danger. The right of transfer, however—and this is important—is only in respect of surface-ships. No Power will be entitled to put extra tonnage into submarines. There will be a budgetary limitation on annual expenditure on naval material (mainly, of course, ships) as on military.

The Air Weapon

Thirdly come air armaments. These are extraordinarily difficult to limit, because any civil aeroplane is a potential bomber of great capacity and range of flight. These civil machines clearly cannot be limited at all. To do that would be to penalise legitimate enterprise. Full publicity for statistics of civil aviation is provided for, and the very sensible suggestion is made that so far as possible civil aviation undertakings in different countries should combine or, at any rate, reach working agreements.

Apart from that, aeroplanes “in commission and in immediate reserve” are to be limited by number and by total horse-power, and airships by number, total horse-power and total volume. Governments will bind themselves not to encourage civil aviation authorities to train their pilots or design their machines so that they may serve military ends. In regard to air, there is one serious gap, for no provision has been included for the budgetary limitation of air material, similar to that for military and naval material. Lord Cecil pressed strongly for this, as being the most effective form of limitation possible in the case of the air, but his proposal was lost by the very unsatisfactory vote of 6 to 5, with no fewer than 13 abstentions. It should be possible to bring forward this proposal again, and perhaps to carry it, when the Disarmament Conference meets.

In addition to the budgetary limitation on military material and naval material there will also be a limitation of each State's total expenditure for naval, military and air purposes.

Permanent Supervision

And now comes a vital question—what guarantee is there that States that have signed the Disarmament Treaty will carry out its provisions? The main guarantee, no doubt, as with all treaties, will be the signatory States' own good faith. But in this case something more was felt to be wanted. Confidence will be considerably increased if there is known to be in existence an expert and impartial body receiving, sifting and tabulating all the information States will send to Geneva in accordance with the Treaty, drawing its conclusions from it and dealing with any complaint a State may make that

some other State is breaking its pledges and increasing its armaments. Accordingly, a Permanent Disarmament Commission is to be created at Geneva “with the duty of following the execution of the present Convention.”

The Convention Summarised

Such, briefly, are the main provisions of the new Disarmament Convention. For the sake of clarity they may be recapitulated here in summary form.

Land.—Armies to be limited by (a) total numbers; (b) numbers of long-service troops; (c) budget expenses on material.

Sea.—Navies to be limited by (a) total numbers of men; (b) tonnage of ships, according to categories; (c) budget expenses on material.

Air.—Aeroplanes and airships to be limited by numbers, total horse-power and (in case of airships) total volume.

LORD CECIL'S VIEWS AN ESTIMATE OF THE GENEVA DECISIONS

A comprehensive and illuminating address on the work of the Preparatory Commission was given by Lord Cecil at the League of Nations Union Council Meeting held in London last month. Lord Cecil explained the decisions of the Commission very much on the lines followed in the preceding article. The following passages from his speech serve to make particularly clear certain points on which some doubt has prevailed or round which controversy has centred.

I WAS personally immensely encouraged by the great change of atmosphere which I noticed in the Commission from what it had been when I last attended it. I last attended that Commission in the Spring of 1927, and then I came back to it in the autumn of 1930. In the Spring of 1927 it was difficult to believe that the greater part of those present were treating the question seriously at all. . . . Everybody came to *this* meeting treating the thing with profound seriousness; quite definitely every question had been considered, before they came there, by their Governments; and they came there with the desire, the very obvious desire, of bringing the deliberations of the Commission to as successful a conclusion as possible.”

Limiting Conscripts

“With regard to the army, we provided that there should be a total limit of the numbers in the army at any given time. We provided further that the number of officers in that total should also be limited; and finally we provided that the number of what may be called professional soldiers should also be limited. In our army they are all professional soldiers, but in a conscribed army there are the conscribed soldiers who only serve for a year or two or something of that kind, and there are always in addition a certain number of professional soldiers. And therefore we decided to limit the total number, the number of officers and the number of professional soldiers. You will observe that by doing that we also inferentially limited the number of conscribed soldiers, because, since the army consists entirely of officers, professional soldiers and conscribed soldiers, if you limit the other two classes and the total number you also limit the number of conscribed soldiers. So we limited every class of soldier in the conscribed army.”

The Trained Reserves Problem

“What are trained reserves? Trained reserves are those men who have been through the army, have ceased their service with the colours, but are available to be called up, and therefore have what I believe are called “refresher courses” of a more or less lengthy period, generally only for a few weeks each year. Now it is quite evident that the number of trained reserves

All Arms.—(a) General budgetary limitation on all naval, military and air expenses combined; (b) limitations of period of service in conscript countries.

Supervision.—A Permanent Disarmament Commission to be created to watch over the execution of the treaty.

This, it may be repeated, is simply an abstract of the chief provisions in the Draft Convention, or Treaty, with so much explanation as seems requisite. Many other points could be touched on, such as the pledge to abstain from chemical warfare subject to reciprocity and from bacteriological warfare in all circumstances whatever. Serious students of the disarmament problem will, no doubt, desire to go direct to the text of the Draft Convention itself.

One final word should be added. Some of the articles of the Convention were adopted unanimously, but some by only very narrow margins. These may well be reopened at the Disarmament Conference itself.

entirely depends upon the number of men that serve with the colours. They become trained reserves by reason of the fact that they have served with the colours. Once they have served with the colours they become trained reserves. You cannot limit them from that time forward except, as it has been said, by massacre. They are there; they have served with the colours; they are trained reserves; and, therefore, if you wish to limit trained reserves you must limit the number of men with the colours.

And that is the only way in which you can limit trained reserves. As far as that is concerned we have done that. We do propose that there should be a limit on all the men with the colours, not only the professional soldiers and the officers, but the conscribed soldiers also; and therefore once you have applied that limit to the soldiers with the colours you have necessarily and automatically limited the number of trained reserves.”

Can We End Conscription?

“But, of course, I am quite well aware that that is not really what is in the minds of the critics. What they really mean is that we should limit or destroy conscription. Yes, but so do I; so does the British Government, and they are, I think, the only Government that does—though I suppose the American Government does too. We tried that very hard at the very outset of the Commission four years ago. We pressed strongly for the abolition of conscription. I happened to be the representative of the British Government at the time, and I pressed strongly for it. I got no support, practically none—I think the Chinese voted with me. I do not remember, but I daresay one or two others did too. Practically it was hopeless, and I remember the hopelessness of it being brought home to me by talking to a Swiss representative. If there is any country which we may safely say is not a militaristic country, it is Switzerland. No Swiss citizen is so mad as to desire for his country an aggressive military policy. But this Swiss representative told me quite frankly that it would be quite impossible in Switzerland for them to accept anything except a conscriptionist system, and a conscriptionist system which fell equally upon all classes of the popu-

lation. They regarded that, rightly or wrongly—we think wrongly—as a fundamental principle of democracy, and nothing would induce them to abandon it.”

Clinging to Conscription

“When I heard that my last hope of abolishing conscription at this stage disappeared. I am afraid we must assume that you cannot get the nations of the world to abandon conscription as they are at present constituted. That is one of the factors of the problem which you have got to assume. And it is very interesting to observe that, in any case, in some of those countries which were forced by the treaties of peace to abandon conscription—I am not referring to Germany at this moment—one of their grievances is that they are not allowed to have conscription and that therefore they are put in an inferior and subordinate position.

“If you agree (and I do not believe anyone who has attended the Preparatory Commission would doubt the truth of it) that it is impossible to abolish conscription, it is quite plain that the only other policy is to limit it as far as possible. That I maintain we have done. It is quite true we have done it in the way most acceptable to the conscriptionist countries; we have not directly attacked the principle of conscription. But we have done it just as effectively as we could have done it in any other way. And I do ask some of my critics, some of the critics of the Preparatory Commission, to remember that it is not the function of an international Commission merely to be offensive to one or other or several of its members. Its real object is not to make one school triumph over another, but to try and produce an agreement on essentials in which all will agree.”

The Crop of Reservations

“The very great body of reservations were not so much express reservations to any particular provision as a number of speeches that were made on the last day of the Commission, pointing out the old proposition which you in this country have got to face, and face very seriously; that there are an immense number of continental countries who can only agree to reduction of their armaments in proportion as they are given security against attack. That is a fact. You may like it or you may dislike it, but unless you are going to disregard the traditional character of the British intellect, you are not simply going to ignore it because it does not happen to be attractive to your mentality. It may well be the turning point between success and failure of the Conference when it comes to pass.

“And I do beg you leaders of the peace movement of this country, or some of them, I do beg you to consider this question very carefully and not merely to put it aside on the ground that there should be no more commitments, or that you cannot fight people into peace, or any of the other slogans, but just accept it as one of the factors in the situation. If you are going to get a complete system of disarmament, or even a worth-while system of disarmament, you will have to cope with and face this proposition; that there are many continental nations who will not accept any sort of reduction of their armaments unless they are given some alternative security.”

The Demand for Security

“That is a fact which was repeated very emphatically by a number of the countries that come from Central Europe—only very slightly by the French, but we know what is in their minds. It is at the bottom of the Italian demand for parity; it is at the bottom—partly at the bottom—of the German demand for equality. You have got to face it; and if you lived in a continental country and had the experience

of continental invasion, which, thank Heaven, none of us have, then I am satisfied that the great majority of people in this country would be as much in favour of security, as it is called, as any continental nation. Nor am I at all satisfied that, as the years go on, particularly if this infernal air army is made more and more effective, I am by no means satisfied that there will not be a great demand in this country also for security as the price of any reduction of armaments. However that may be, I beg you to take that matter into your very serious consideration. It is, to my mind, at the bottom of a great deal of the hopes of success of this movement, and it is far too serious to be dismissed lightly.”

The Public Must Decide

“I believe we have succeeded in laying a sufficient foundation for the remainder of the structure of disarmament. All depends on what happens at the Conference. If the Conference is prepared to write adequate figures into our draft, disarmament will be achieved. Whether it is prepared to do that or not depends not on Governments but on the public opinion of the world. No Government will take the responsibility of accepting lower armaments than its professional advisers recommend, unless public opinion in that country has declared emphatically in favour of their so doing. That is the broad actual fact of the situation. The great responsibility rests, not upon the people who sit on this platform any more than the people who sit in the body of the hall. A great responsibility rests upon them during the next few months for taking this matter really seriously, devoting not just a fragment of their attention—half an hour a week—to it, but a real effort towards convincing your fellow countrymen of the urgency of this question and the immense opportunity that is now open before you, and the great responsibility that rests upon this country—as it is still, and I hope always will be, the leader of all movements for the benefit of mankind.”

“ARAB AND JEW”

SIR,—In an article headed “Arab and Jew” that appeared in your last issue you state: “In August, 1929, grave disturbances took place in Palestine in which many Arabs and more Jews were killed.” I am not disputing the accuracy of these words, but I do suggest that they convey an inaccurate idea of what took place to the mind of the average reader.

Further, this tendency to give an inaccurate impression with regard to the outbreak in Palestine is often noticeable on L.N.U. platforms. I myself heard a well-known League speaker refer to these tragic events as “the serious rioting that took place between the Jews and the Arabs, in which many were killed on both sides.”

I should like to point out that in the report of the Mandates Commission it is stated: “The outbreak in Jerusalem on August 23 was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on Jews for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews has been established.”

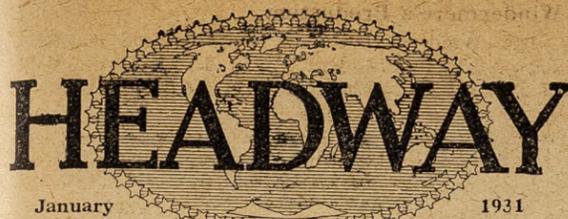
To call such a position “serious rioting” between the two races is as though one spoke of the “serious riot” between the wolf and the lamb in Aesop’s Fable.

Yours, etc.,

(Mrs.) E. ZANGWILL.

66, Rotherwick Road, N.W.11.
December 8, 1930.

[The language used in HEADWAY was, as Mrs. Zangwill agrees, strictly accurate, and was carefully chosen with a view to avoiding, rather than encouraging, charges and counter-charges.—Ed., HEADWAY.]



THIS YEAR'S TASK

THERE is a generally accepted convention that at the beginning of each year we should survey the tasks lying immediately ahead. There may be some wisdom in that. But calendar divisions mean nothing in themselves. December flows into January, and 1930 into '31 without any break or interval in human activity. We date our labours, we do not interrupt them. It follows, therefore, that the tasks of 1931, so far as the League of Nations is concerned, will be, in part at least, the tasks that remained unfinished in 1930.

The one subject on which the whole attention of the League itself and of individual League States will inevitably be concentrated throughout 1931 is disarmament. We have heard much of disarmament in recent months. The Preparatory Commission has completed its work, and an account of what it has done will be found on another page of this issue. Details given there need not be repeated here. It is enough to observe that the foundation of the World Disarmament Conference has been laid. It is admittedly only a paper foundation. It consists of the framing of tables into which figures must now be dropped. But it would be folly to treat this work of preparation as unimportant. So far from that, it is absolutely vital. However much the results of the Preparatory Commission's labours may fall short of what optimists had hoped for, it has to be realised that as 1930 closed a stage in the disarmament process closed also and a new stage was opened. And it was no more possible to get to the new stage without going through the old one than it was possible to get to 1931 without going through 1930.

But now we are in 1931. The Disarmament Conference itself may be held at the end of this year or the beginning of next. At any rate, nothing now stands in its way, except the interval needed to enable Governments to decide to what extent they are willing to limit or reduce their armed forces. Their final decision on that will be taken at the Conference itself, and there may be months of discussion on it then. But it is essential that before that there should be months of consideration of it now. And months of something else as well. At this point, far more than at any other so far reached, the opinion of the public must assert itself. Remember that up to the present what has been discussed at Geneva is not the actual reducing of armaments, but the method of reducing them. The method has now been definitely settled, and what remains to be decided on is the figure to which every army, every navy and every air force is to be limited. Governments have not yet made up their minds on that. It is the business of the public to help them to make it up.

In the main, of course, it is Frenchmen who must influence the French Government, Italians the Italian, and Englishmen the British. But that is not altogether true. In this matter of disarmament there must inevitably be a certain amount of bargaining of a perfectly legitimate kind. One country will be prepared to reduce its forces to a certain figure if another country will reduce its to some other precise figure. In that sense our own country's decisions may affect what some other country decides. But, apart from direct relationships

of that kind between the forces of different countries, there is in this matter such a thing as force of example. Strategically, reductions Great Britain may make in her navy have no direct bearing on reductions in France's army. But we are clearly in a better position to bring influence to bear on France in the matter of military reduction if we have shown ourselves ready to limit our own navy further. France, indeed, might well reject our attempts at persuasion if she were able to silence us by pointing out that we were asking what are called “sacrifices” of her and proposing to make none for ourselves.

For that reason it is extremely desirable that the question of certain forms of naval reduction should be considered afresh. The most obvious scope for further steps in that direction is a drastic reduction of the size of the capital ship. There is nothing, as Lord Cecil pointed out, in the framework now drawn up at Geneva to prevent the adoption of such a proposal as was, in fact, made before the Preparatory Commission, that the maximum size of any vessel of war should be 10,000 tons instead of the present 35,000. There is no peculiar sanctity about the figure 10,000—15,000, 18,000 or some other figure might be substituted. The point is that there is clearly room now for a renewal of the endeavours half-heartedly made at the London Naval Conference of last year to get the monster battleship scrapped for ever. The question of submarines also should be raised again. Successive British Governments have made it clear that this country stands for the abolition of that sinister weapon. Other Governments have so far refused to fall into line. Great Britain, standing side by side in this matter with the United States, ought at any rate to make its position publicly clear once more. It may receive support in unexpected quarters, and, in any case, a proof of its good faith in the matter of disarmament will be given. There is nothing revolutionary in such suggestions as these. It was generally understood when the London Naval Treaty was signed that its terms might be modified (in the direction of further limitation) when the World Disarmament Conference was held, and the British Foreign Minister, speaking at the League Assembly in September last, said explicitly that Great Britain hoped to go further than it had so far gone in the matter of naval reduction. If we do go further, we may reasonably expect some response from the military nations of the Continent.

There may be little wisdom in raising exaggerated alarms about what Germany may demand and what Germany may do if her demands are not conceded. Precisely how far the disarmament passages of the Treaty of Versailles impose a legal and binding obligation on the Allied Powers is an open question. It can hardly be contended that they call for a general reduction of armaments absolutely down to the German level. But if the present disparity between the armaments of the conquering and the conquered nations is to remain, then a refusal on the part of the Germans to consent to that disparity is inevitable, and it will be hard indeed to maintain that it is illegitimate. In a world crowded with disturbing problems, there are few more disturbing than this. Fortunately, it is a problem that need not come to a head. If the task of 1931 is faced with courage, if a general resolve is fostered throughout the world that disarmament shall at last be made a reality, and nations no longer fortify themselves with a panoply of engines of destruction for use in the wars they have solemnly sworn to renounce, then a step may be definitely taken such as has never yet been taken in the history of the world. For never yet have fifty nations pledged themselves freely and voluntarily to keep their armaments by land, sea and air within definite limits set down in black and white.

A NEW WORLD CONFERENCE? M. TITULESCO'S IMPORTANT SUGGESTION

A SPEECH of very considerable importance was delivered by M. Nicholas Titulesco, Rumanian Minister in London, former Foreign Minister of his country and President of the Eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations, at a lunch arranged by the League of Nations Union London Regional Federation in connection with the League of Nations Union Council Meeting last month, the most notable feature of the speech being a proposal that the League should convene a new World Financial Conference, like that held at Brussels in 1920, to concert measures for restoring some degree of prosperity to Europe.



M. Titulesco

"At Geneva," said the Rumanian Minister, "in my capacity as delegate for my country during eleven years at the Assemblies of the League, as member of the Council and as President of the Assembly, I reached the conviction that there is no difficulty arising from the relations between human beings that can resist union and general co-operation. And I have never seen general co-operation working in a more proper way than at the League of Nations.

The League, therefore, said M. Titulesco, was the right body to solve the economic crisis. There were not, in point of fact, as was sometimes imagined, nine or ten economic problems. There was only one, and it was world-wide. As a consequence, there must be either a solution on a world scale or no solution at all.

A Call to the League

"I am of the opinion," pursued the speaker, "that the League of Nations should undertake the study of the general economic crisis, in a world-wide sense; that the League should fix by groups of States the category of needs common to each of them; that the League should determine the assistance to be given by the international community as a whole to such and such group of States. What are the conditions at present? Industrial States are suffering from unemployment because they have no markets. Agricultural States are held up in their development because they have no implements. What prevents the former working for the latter? The lack of credit. What explains the lack of credit? The lack of confidence. And, where confidence possibly exists, we have competition, rivalry. Certain States wish to do the work alone, for themselves. So, the world has producers, consumers and money—and yet the world is plunged in a tremendous crisis.

"I believe," continued M. Titulesco, "that the League of Nations will be called upon, in the near future, to convoke a kind of general financial conference, on the lines of the conference of 1920. If some international co-operation is not achieved, a catastrophe may befall the world, for exasperated humanity is losing patience."

The Minister then raised the question of the immediate need to a higher level. "The actual problem," he declared, "in whatever form it may present itself, is above all one of conscience: How should each one of us consider the duties of life to be in our relations with our fellow-men?"

"If you listen to what is said to-day, the claims and the counter-claims arising from individual nationalism, there would be pretext for despair.

"But if you turn your eyes towards Geneva, the flame of hope rises shining in you, for you see that in spite of differences of view, in spite of difficulties, Humanity has realised in ten years what it was unable to realise in the thousands of years before.

"Day by day the experiences we have made us lay a stone on the great building of a new international life, where the sovereignties of States cease to be an uncontrolled exercise of power, in order to become a function, that is, a power acting within certain limits for some general and useful purposes. Then frontiers will cease to be the curse they are to-day, because they divide men; they will be spiritualized by agreements which will assure to Man, wherever he may be, the sacred rights he should possess from the simple fact of his manhood.

Every Man's Duty

"It is for each one of us to realise the deep significance of the events which are taking place around us and to transform them by reason and understanding into matters for our individual conscience.

"Once this problem becomes a personal problem for the conscience of each one of us, its solution is facilitated, for each one of us can direct his own mind in such a way that a proper perception of things is acquired.

"It is for this reason, I say, that to create a lasting peace it is not sufficient to amend legal institutions; we must try to amend our own nature, by rejecting anything which, in our mind or in our heart, separates man from man. This is the price which each of us must pay so that Peace may reign, in its true home, the human heart."

RELIGIONS AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—As a worker for, and a strong supporter of, the League of Nations Union, I should very much like to have from readers the various ideas of Christianity towards Peace, more particularly in view of this time of the year which is set aside for "Peace and Goodwill."

As a Jew, from observations extending over some years, I think the churches would be doing a considerable amount of good towards that end by introducing the fact that *all religions* must take their part in the great Ideal of the League of Nations, which is a religion in itself, and not continually emphasise that this can only be obtained through one source, as the earnest workers of other faiths must sometimes wonder at the attitude towards a movement which should embrace all the Peoples of the Earth. I think that if there could only be introduced into religions, politics, and our everyday lives, both socially and in business, a little less hypocrisy, and more sincerity, we should be a little nearer obtaining the object all supporters of the League have in view.

I should be very grateful if you could see your way to publishing this letter in the hope that it may bring forward some view which may help to bring about a Christmas atmosphere on the remaining 364 days of the year.—Yours, etc.,

LOUIS H. S. GOLDSCHMIDT.

15, Heath Street, Hampstead,
London, N.W.3.

THE TYRANNOUS TARIFF GENEVA FAILS TO GET REDUCTIONS

By E. D. CANHAM

Geneva, December 18.

THE Second Geneva Conference for Concerted Economic Action recorded the failure of the European nations to agree upon the "tariff truce" which was to have provided a barrier behind which negotiations to reduce tariffs could have taken place. Even on the threshold of winter, with economic distress becoming more acute in every country, the governments whose delegates sat at Geneva in November were not able to decide on concert or on action. But if the tariff truce was not confirmed, it must be remembered that such conferences, disappointing though they may be, are almost the last preventive against a cut-throat tariff war.

France Blocks the Way

The Conference had not been expected to do much. The British Government, strongest supporter of the Tariff Truce Convention which was negotiated in March, had already announced in the Assembly a plan for multilateral negotiations; to lower tariffs on machinery and textile products, which was, in a sense, a confession that the full tariff truce was impossible. When the Conference met in November only ten ratifications to the Convention were in hand—two of these had come at the eleventh hour—so obviously the Convention could not come into force. Rather than bury the Convention outright, the Conference decided to postpone the last moment for ratification until January 25, 1931. Had ratification been forthcoming from the French Government, some sort of further tariff negotiations might have been outlined. But the French Senate blocked the ratification which M. Flandin, French Minister of Commerce, had promised in September. Moreover, French representatives at Geneva expressed their unqualified opposition to any further tariff negotiations on a collective basis, such as had been proposed by the British Government regarding textiles and machinery. The French wished all tariff negotiations to be subordinated in future, and asked that only non-tariff questions be included in the "ulterior negotiations" which the Conference sought to prepare.

In Terror of Lowered Prices

The French attitude was duplicated in many other governments. Though all were not so outspoken, many agreed for their own countries with the French statement that general action for tariff reduction might create a panic so strong as to force the French Government to yield to the demands of manufacturers for protection against the rising tide of foreign competition swollen by the systematic lowering of prices in many countries. Many other delegates asked what Great Britain was prepared to give in compensation for lowered tariffs on the Continent.

Confronted with the impossibility of arranging negotiations on a multilateral basis, even when limited to groups of commodities, the Conference was finally driven to recommending bilateral negotiations alone. These negotiations, as the German delegate said, might have taken place at any time in recent years, and did not need the blessing of an international conference to set them in train. Nevertheless, several countries promised to begin such negotiations, and talks were actually in progress at Geneva between Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Germany and Rumania. The unhappy fate of the Hungarian-Czech negotiations,

which collapsed in Prague, was recorded on December 16. However, a detailed programme of bilateral, and even multilateral, tariff negotiations is scheduled for Vienna in January, quite apart from League auspices, and concerned chiefly with the agrarian demands of eastern Europe.

Markets for Wheat

The cereal-growing States of southern and eastern Europe will thus be in the forefront of most of the forthcoming negotiations. Of this new economic situation the November Conference and the Eleventh Assembly had ample warning. These States made two demands at the November meeting. First, they wished preference for their grain in the markets of the industrial States, and second they requested agricultural credits to modernise and organise their farming industry. The agreement which these States had been able to reach in a succession of conferences all through the summer and autumn of 1930 swept like a wind from the east through the stale chambers in Geneva, where old phrases and economic truisms clung like cobwebs. Here, all the delegates felt, was economic reality at least, even though it was organised in a special interest and made special demands.

The Conference was unable to agree to the demand for preference, for despite reassurances of the delegates from eastern Europe it was apparent that the inclusion of preferential treatment in economic pacts would destroy all meaning in the most-favoured-nation clause. And it was agreed that this clause must remain the keystone for all economic intercourse between nations. Germany alone, because she was negotiating privately with Rumania, was able to promise consideration for the preferential treatment scheme. Though France and Italy definitely refused to consider preference there is reason to believe that France at least, through the medium of M. Flandin, had been able previously to reassure cereal-growing nations of French sympathy and support.

Help for the Easterns

Almost the only tangible recommendation of the Conference was to the Financial Committee of the League, which was positively instructed to consider extending agricultural credits to the agrarian countries. Thus, although the Conference could not satisfy eastern Europe on the preferential score, it exerted the utmost pressure in its power to secure favourable consideration for the financial needs of these States.

The failure of the November Conference cannot be ascribed to the methods contemplated by the Tariff Truce Convention nor to the negotiators who sought to liquidate a difficult business, but is attributable to the continued wave of economic nationalism against which logic is unavailing. The Tariff Truce Convention, like its parent, the Economic Conference of 1927, was essentially the product of a period of relative prosperity. The eloquent denunciations of tariffs heard at Geneva in 1927 make sorry reading now. Economic distress has produced such organisations as that created by the grain-producing States in eastern Europe. It remains to be seen whether their vitality, harnessed to the experience the League has gained through its failures, may not offer a new and better basis for future economic co-operation and genuine progress.

AS IT WASN'T STUDIES IN DEPARTMENT FOR PEACE-MAKERS

By E. S. DARMADY

THE Peace Plenipotentiaries, victors and vanquished, took their places at the conference table—Minister-President, Commander-in-Chief and Financial Adviser on one side; on the other, Arch-Chancellor, Generalissimo and Economic Expert.

"First," opened the Minister-President, "let me admit unreservedly that though we have had the good fortune to be victorious, the guilt of making war is entirely ours."

"No, no, I can't allow that," interrupted the Arch-Chancellor. "Although you undoubtedly began the war, the only reason we didn't strike before you was that we thought you were merely bluffing."

"We had made up our minds," added the Generalissimo, "to attack you six months later, when our new artillery was ready. It was very wise, and quite excusable of you to anticipate us by attacking when you did. Let me congratulate you and especially your Commander-in-Chief on your victory."

"And you," returned the Commander-in-Chief, "on your remarkable defence."

"Thank you," replied the Generalissimo. "We rather pride ourselves on our defensive campaigns, don't we, Arch-Chancellor?"

"Quite," agreed that dignitary. "In fact, we often boast in our country we have never waged a war of aggression in all our history."

"And that it is only by successfully defending our own Dominions," continued the Generalissimo, "that we are now in possession of a large fraction of the earth's surface."

The Plenipotentiaries looked across the table at each other. Personages so august do not wink.

"But now as to terms," resumed the Minister-President. "First of all, we require an indemnity."

"Only right and fair," agreed the Arch-Chancellor. "No more than we should have done in your place."

"What did you fix the figure at?" asked the Minister-President, turning to his Financial Adviser.

That person named a sum. The Expert on the opposite side gasped. "We couldn't possibly pay it. I am not haggling. It's absolutely beyond our capacity."

"Not if you pay us in your own currency?"

"In our own currency! Surely you are unaware that our monetary unit stands at one-millionth of its pre-war value?"

"Not at all. That is why we suggest the arrangement. The largeness of the sum nominally enables you to feel you have made honourable amends, while the payment in depreciated currency renders it to our advantage to see you are restored to prosperity as soon as possible."

"I understand."

"And agree?"

"Certainly. And your next condition?"

"A readjustment of our frontiers," replied the Minister-President. "This map will show you our demands." The six envoys bent over it. "This line bulging outwards shows what we intend to take from you."

"You are quite right," remarked the Arch-Chancellor. "The inhabitants of the district are mostly your own nationals. They are amongst the most industrious and law-abiding of our subjects—our late subjects, I should say. We are sorry to lose them. You may take the new boundary as agreed."

"Stop! stop!" cried the Generalissimo. "Before we agree, has my colleague, my late *vis-à-vis* commanding-

in-chief seen this map? Does he not observe that his new frontier is almost incapable of defence; worse, that any offence he made into our territory would be taken in the flank at once by our army, based on the great fortresses immediately to the left rear?"

"On the contrary," replied the Commander-in-Chief. "I purposely asked that the boundary should be delimited in that way to put temptation out of our way. It is hopeless to attack you in future."

"Forgive my denseness and lack of generosity in failing to appreciate your motives. Of course, I waive all objections."

"Wait a minute," exclaimed the Economic Expert. "I don't quite understand why the frontier makes this curious S-shaped curve."

"If the map were a geological one you would see at once," answered his opponent expert. "That is a coal-field. Our first impulse was to grab the lot, but, on second thoughts, we decided to share and share alike. I hope you won't think we are too grasping?"

"By no means. Unless my historical memory is wrong, we originally pinched it from you 150 years ago."

"Quite right, but I won't rub it in."

"And now," said the Minister-President, rising, "how about some lunch together—unless you have anything to add?"

"Only one thing," replied the Arch-Chancellor. "Please don't hesitate to name it."

"You have in your prisons a certain Mr. —," and he named a well-known publicist. "We pray you to release him."

The face of the Minister-President darkened. "I don't think you understand. This man was guilty during the war of publishing the vilest scandals about you."

"Merely war propaganda."

"The name is no excuse. You would scarcely believe the scurrilous libels this man invented and propagated about your people. At first our Government did not interfere, since it thought no decent-minded person would pay any attention to such absurdities, but when it found that the less-informed were being misled it brought him to trial and sentenced him to a long term of imprisonment."

"All the same, the war is over. Possibly if you let him know we had asked for his release he might change his opinion of us."

"He has never much difficulty in changing his opinions, but he is incapable of generosity of feeling. Still, since you ask—he is free. Anything more?"

"The prevention of future wars. If only our two peoples understood each other better. Language is the means of communication. Can we not simplify our respective tongues so that they can be more easily spoken by foreigners? For example, there are two things we find difficult in your language—genders and the position of the verb in dependent sentences."

"Good. Genders are henceforward abolished, and the verb occupies the same place in dependent sentences as in your tongue. In return, may we ask something?"

"It is granted in advance."

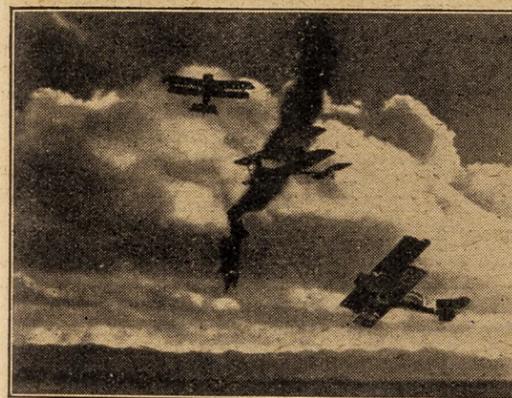
"That you spell your words as they are pronounced."

"I always do myself, and in future all my fellow-countrymen shall do the same."

"Then the future peace of the world is secured."

THE AIR WAR REFOUGHT?

HELL'S ANGELS, which half London has been going to see, is described in the programme as "a veritable reproduction of the World War in the air, refought high above the clouds, all over the State of California." It is curious that throughout the performance of this magnificent spectacle one does not for one moment forget that, whatever the agonies experienced by the pilots in the waging of their aerial warfare may be, there is always the friendly land of California just below. *Hell's Angels* is not drawing full houses night after night at the London Pavilion because of the thrill which it certainly provides, neither is its success due to the charms of its scantily-clad heroine, nor to the sky-fleet of eighty-seven fighting planes, nor to the £150,000 spent on its production: the merit of this film rests entirely on the audacity, the originality, and the artistry of its photography. *Hell's Angels* is a photographic *tour de force*.



It would be impossible to appreciate the grandeur of a Zeppelin piercing through the clouds if one were actually in the middle of an air-raid over London; a squadron of Fokker planes silhouetted against great white tumulous clouds would not be quite so staggeringly beautiful if one were really terrified by their deadly purpose; the swoop of an aeroplane from a height of some 18,000 feet upon another plane some 10,000 feet below would not take one's breath away in wonder at its grace, if the life of the pilot in the pursued plane were in peril. But in *Hell's Angels* all these magnificent dramas are enacted for us—and our aesthetic sense is delighted by them. We suffer no pangs of the heart, for we remember that all the time the land of California lies below.

Mr. Howard Hughes set himself to make a film that would glorify and perpetuate the exploits of the Allied and German airmen during the World War. He took immense trouble to collect a sufficient number of the right type of war machines. *Hell's Angels*, in fact, took more than two years to make. He has certainly produced the most realistic picture of aerial warfare that has yet been shown, but the story of the film is so silly, so utterly unlike anything which has ever happened in life, or is likely to happen, that *Hell's Angels* is not so important a production as it might have been. Girls living at home in North Oxford do not speak with American accents; Oxford undergraduates do not fight duels with German colonels, neither do they enlist for a kiss from a blonde. But in spite of the poverty of the story, *Hell's Angels* is well worth seeing, for if it is not really a convincing anti-war film, it is beyond question a great photographic achievement.

CELIA SIMPSON.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

BY a curious accident a League Council meeting at which Polish questions, many of them Polish-German questions, largely predominate will be presided over by the German delegate. Dr. Curtius, like Dr. Stresemann, habitually addresses the Council in German, but he has sufficient familiarity with French and English to be fully equal to the duties that will fall to him.



Dr. Curtius

From the general point of view the most important piece of business to be discharged is the decision the Council has to take regarding the date of the World Disarmament Conference. The Preparatory Commission expressed the hope that as early a date as possible should be fixed, and Dr. Curtius will no doubt press strongly for the opening of the Conference some time in the present year. On the face of it there is no reason why that should not be agreed to, but some governments seem anxious to study the Preparatory Commission's report at length and then consider in detail what detailed figures they shall propose to the Disarmament Conference, so that February, 1932, seems as likely a date as any.

Poland's prominence at the coming Council meeting is due primarily to petitions lodged by various complainants in respect to the Polish treatment of her minorities in Upper Silesia and in the Ukraine. The two are, of course, entirely separate. The minority in Upper Silesia is German, and the allegation here is that at the recent elections German voters were either struck off the lists illegally or intimidated if they did get to the polling booth. The German Government has lodged a series of petitions regarding this and the question is likely to be very fully discussed.

The Ukraine has no external government to champion its cause. Here the charge is that the Polish authorities took some local disturbances as the excuse for very vigorous intervention in the course of which great brutality was exhibited by Polish soldiery. There are at the present stage allegations which still have to be proved.

The third Polish question before the Council is the eternal controversy with Lithuania. The last Council meeting in September had before it a report from the Transit Organisation proposing steps for the resumption of some sort of through communication across the still closed frontier between the two countries. No decision was taken by the Council then, as it was thought wise to leave the two governments a little time to consider the matter. A definite decision this time is hoped for.

Opium will figure largely too, for the very voluminous report of the Commission on Opium-Smoking in the Far East will be presented, and also the decision of the Opium Advisory Committee on the Conference of next May on the limitation of the production of narcotic drugs to the level of the world's legitimate needs. The new Nansen Refugee Office will be formally constituted and the results of the recent not very successful Economic Conference will be presented.

This 62nd meeting of the Council begins on January 19th and will last the full week, and possibly more. Sir Eric Drummond will for once be absent, as he is travelling in South America.

BOOKS WORTH READING

DEATH FROM THE AIR

La Protection des Populations Civiles Contre Les Bombardements. (International Red Cross Committee. 10 francs.)

When were aeroplanes first used in war? Apparently in the Turco-Italian War of 1911, when the Italians used them for bombing villages in Tripoli. So Sir George Macdonogh states in the juridical opinion he contributes to this volume, in which eight legal experts of different countries discuss (at the instance of the International Red Cross Committee) the possibility of adopting rules or agreements for the protection of civilian populations from bombardment from the air. In reaching the conclusion that no adequate restrictions can be imposed on the use of a weapon so potent as the modern aeroplane Sir George lifts the whole question on to the level on which it ought to be placed by declaring that the energies that might be expended on devising regulations for aerial war might with advantage be devoted to the task of making the outlawry of war itself a reality. "War is inhuman in its essence," he observes, "and very little can be done to humanise it." The only way to get rid of war's horrors is to get rid of war itself.

M. Hammarskjöld, Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in the course of his considered opinion, states similarly, "The true solution of the problem posed can only be found in the gradual disappearance of war." Dr. von Simons, till lately the holder of the highest judicial office in Germany, reaches the same conclusion. A valuable contribution to the study of a vitally important question.

LOTS ABOUT EVERYTHING

I. Americans. By Salvador de Madariaga. (Milford. 6s.)

Prof. de Madariaga has a way with him, a way all his own. You pick him up and he leads you on, fools you on, superimposes a bit of unexpected wisdom on a bit of expected jest and leaves you at the end of each of his essays with a pleasant feeling that you must really be as bright as he is because you appreciate his brightness so amply, and as wise as he is because you see his point so clearly. Well, that is very gratifying for Prof. Madariaga and very gratifying for you, too. This particular volume of his will be specially gratifying to the United States, for it is to them—or it, or her—that it is primarily addressed. Hence its title, First Epistle to the Americans, which seems to suggest that other epistles are in prospect. May it be so. Meanwhile, of the varied fare provided at this first repast, sample to begin with—but it does not really matter what you sample first, you will run through the lot before you put the epistles by, and it matters nothing in what order you take them. You will get to doubt, incidentally, whether Señor Madariaga likes Fascists.

THE VANISHED CONCERT

The Concert of Europe. By R. B. Mowat. (Macmillan. 15s.)

Professor Mowat ended one of his earlier books with a suggestive observation. "Looking into the future," he said, "I can see no practical hope for the world except in the co-operation of the old diplomacy and the League of Nations." In this new volume the League of Nations is mentioned no more than once or twice, and then only casually. But the survey carries the history of Europe to the very eve of the League's birth. It ends in 1914, it is true, and the League of Nations only came to birth in 1920. But then the old diplomacy ended too in 1914. That year saw the end of the Concert, and it is significant that the date Prof. Mowat takes as starting-point—1871—is the date to

which the editors of the German State Documents on the origin of the war trace back the first beginnings of that tragedy. To the more serious student of the League this study of the diplomatic machinery that preceded the League may be confidently commended.

LEAGUE HYMNS

If readers of HEADWAY were asked to select twenty hymns most suitable for use at League of Nations services and meetings, no doubt a wide and interesting selection would result. The Oxford University Press has just published an admirable booklet with one particular selection of twenty (price 4d.) with words and music. The collection begins with the Old Hundredth, which is familiar enough, and ends with the much less familiar Old 124th, beginning, as paraphrased here:

"Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways.
Old now is earth, and none may count her days."
Among other hymns chosen are John Addington Symonds' "These things shall be," the opening four cantos of "In Memoriam," four verses of James Russell Lowell's "The Present Crisis," and Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." One very welcome inclusion is Sir Cecil Spring Rice's "I vow to thee, my country." Rather notable absentees, on the other hand, are Blake's "Jerusalem" and Ebenezer Elliott's "When wilt Thou save the people?"

GLIMPSES OF NANSEN

Nansen, a Book of Homage. Edited by J. Howard Whitehouse. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s.6d.)
Fridtjof Nansen, von Fritz Wartenweiler. (Rosapfel-Verlag, Leipzig. 6 marks.)

The time for the real life of Nansen is not yet. Meanwhile we must make the most of what we have. The former of these two volumes consists of a collection of articles on Nansen, including the obituary notice from the *Manchester Guardian*. It is necessarily fragmentary and disjointed, and altogether does not carry us very far. The German life is much fuller, and to those who can read that language will be valuable and interesting. Full justice is done to Nansen's work for the League of Nations, from the day when he took up the task of repatriating the war-prisoners, after which "task was to follow task till he became the 'humanitarian-in-chief' of the League of Nations."

PRIVATE PROPERTY IN WARTIME

Le Séquestré de la Propriété Privée en Temps de Guerre. (Marcel Giard, Paris. Price 20 frs.)

This is a technical discussion on the question of the sequestration of private property in wartime, a procedure from which many unoffending civilians of all countries in the late war suffered. As Professor Gilbert Murray, in one of the communications included in this volume, remarks, the practice was carried between 1914 and 1918 to a quite intolerable pitch. The existence of the League of Nations and agreements to abolish private war altogether have put a new complexion on the whole question, and it is, therefore, of manifest value that it should be re-discussed in a new atmosphere and a new spirit.

The Spirit of Geneva. By Ethel L. Jones. (Williams & Norgate. 1s. 6d.)

An account of the Eleventh Assembly in the form of a lively running comment. Extremely readable for those who like the facts spiced with interpolations and exclamations, but not to be used as basis for serious study. The writer, for example, has clearly understood little of the bearing of the discussion on the amendments to the Covenant.

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* * * * *

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Trafalgar Square, London, S.W.1.

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(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

Address.....

Exact Date of Birth.....

HEADWAY—Jan.

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READERS' VIEWS TELLING THE STORY

SIR,—May I be permitted to most emphatically emphasise your note under the above heading in "Matters of Moment" in this month's issue of HEADWAY, also the excellent and much-needed letter of "Foundation Subscriber." As a member from the first of the League of Nations Union, I have attended several large meetings of the League. Always, however, have I come away with a sense of disappointment and lost opportunity. Not that the speaking has been defective in ability; on the contrary, it has been well reasoned and interestingly put. But the meetings have fallen far short of their possible effect owing to the failure to begin at the beginning. What I have felt is that all such meetings—I refer, of course, to public meetings—should begin by at least a brief statement as to what has been already done through the activities of the League. The results have surely already been amazing. Thousands of lives have been saved; millions of money been unspent; far-reaching animosities have been dispersed, while, beyond everything, the fact has been proved that war has been, and therefore can be, again and again and indefinitely prevented, when the cold light of reason and expediency has been turned upon the causes that have endangered peace.

Let this be done. There is then a basis of solid achievement upon which the superstructure of criticism or philosophic consideration may be built. The mere recital of such achievements is likely to rouse enthusiasm and warmth of feeling. But to leave out these facts is to leave the League in the air and to send the audience away in doubt as to whether much good is being done. It cannot, I venture to submit, be too clearly remembered by those who address such meetings, that there will always be some present amongst their audience who know little or nothing about the League, others—and these perhaps the majority—whose ideas are but vague and hazy, while even the best informed will welcome clear statements of the great—indeed, the surprising—results which have been already brought about during the League's short but very fruitful life. Hence the value—and, indeed, the necessity—in a mixed audience of telling the story from the beginning.

Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) J. F. GATLIFF.

Breinton Vicarage,
Hereford.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS SERVICES

SIR,—Some of your readers may be glad to know of the beautiful League of Nations Service Celebrations which are issued by that great enthusiast, Dr. Hayward, of Chingford. This "celebration" was first brought to my notice at the recent League Conference of Teachers held at Cambridge. I was so impressed by it that I persuaded our local committee to have it rendered here by local ladies and gentlemen on the evening of Armistice Day. It provides a welcome and inspiring change from the usual form which these services take. The "celebration" consists briefly of a well-thought-out and well-linked-together series of poems to be recited, hymns, duets and discourses. It includes such famous hymns as "Turn Back O Man," and "These Things Shall Be." The whole effect is most uplifting, and I believe the "celebration" was much appreciated here by all who heard it. Perhaps the two discourses are a little bit on the lengthy side, but these can easily be curtailed.—Yours, etc.,

CECIL H. S. WILLSON, M.A.

Weybridge.

BROKEN PLEDGES?

SIR,—In the December HEADWAY just to hand, Herr von Dewall, commenting on Armistice Day, says: "Armistice Day is for the German people a day of bitter recollection, 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." Can this serious charge of pledge-breaking be substantiated, or is it but the interpretation natural to the nation paying the penalty of defeat, under the other nations natural resentment against those who started the War and their method of carrying it on against pledges and humanity. The fact that Germany broke her pledge upon "the scrap of paper" deprives her on the one hand of the right to protest when we break our word; but on the other hand, if we break our word after protesting against her broken word, her right to protest is restored. The charge is a serious one and many would like to know the English version of the matter.—Yours, etc.,

Tudor Cottage,
Duppas Hill Terrace,
Croydon.

CHARLES MAJOR,

December 6, 1930.

[The Germans signed the Armistice on the definite understanding that the subsequent peace would be based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the principles laid down in his subsequent addresses. It has always been the contention of the Germans that the Treaty of Versailles diverged in various important particulars from these points and principles. In particular, the decision to include the cost of soldiers' disability pensions under the head of reparations is regarded by many authorities in this country as well as in Germany as being irreconcilable with the pledges given at the time of the Armistice.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE BANKS AND THE GOLD RESERVE

SIR,—In the November HEADWAY, Mr. Hartley Withers writes thus: "Each country has a central bank, which is bound by law to show a certain proportion of gold to the notes and credits that it issues and grants." This I would have imagined was a slip, but that Mr. McKenna, broadcasting last night, made the same statement. In all the text-books and other literature pertaining to the subject that I have read I have always seen that the ratio of credits issued to the gold in stock was a purely arbitrary figure in this country. I should, therefore, now like to know what this legal ratio is and under what law it comes.—Yours, etc.

Highbene,
Newbury, Berks.

F. B. SINCLAIR.

[Mr. Hartley Withers agrees that Mr. Sinclair is right and explains that in attempting to compress his subject into the small space available he could not go fully into the question of credits.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE TOLL OF THE WAR

SIR,—On the subject of a generation missing, Col. F. E. Fremantle writes in *The Times* of November 29: "In fact, less than one-twelfth of the male half of that generation is missing."

But surely, this estimate is of quantity only, and takes no notice of quality.

As the result of a lengthy acquaintance with schools, I should give as a rough guess that about one-half of those who would have been leaders were wrenched out of existence in 1914-1918.—Yours, etc.,

R. K. CARDEW.

Stafford Lodge,
Dean Park Road, Bournemouth.

A PROGRAMME FOR THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Since the year 1917 I have been interested in the formation of the League of Nations, but I have felt disappointed that three very essential points seem to have been left out. They are as follows:—

(1) That all nations represented in the League should have agreed at a much earlier date to establish a common or universal language in all schools throughout and within the boundaries of the League's activities; this in addition to the national language. It will doubtless be easily recognised that the younger generation would in ten years from the inauguration of this be able to read and discourse in a common language, and by this means the newspapers, wireless, and conversations could largely help in providing for the intellectual advancement of all nations in understanding, and in thinking and working for the common goal of world peace.

(2) A common coinage should be adopted on the decimal system, whether it be francs, marks, dollars, or any other approved coinage, which might be arranged by the League. This would facilitate a more simple and effective system of trading throughout the world.

(3) Gold should be inflated in value, and a common arrangement made by the nations of the League so to keep the trading balances and exchanges of Europe in a more sound and stabilised condition. The increased value of gold should make the transfer of exports and imports between each country more effective, by the increased capacity of each nation to balance their trading accounts by the transfer or shipment of gold.

Bury St. Edmunds. Yours, etc.,

J. A. HICKS.

THE WORLD'S PEACE DAY

SIR,—With reference to your leaderette in the last issue of HEADWAY, dealing with the adoption of a World's Peace Day, may I call the attention of your readers to a leading article in the *Observer* of June 10, 1928, in which it was suggested that the World's Peace Day should be a Summer Festival, and also connected with the world's greatest event. In a letter which appeared in the *Observer* of June 17, 1928, I suggested June 28, when the Covenant of the League of Nations was signed by 32 nations, in 1919, as the most appropriate date.

This Covenant, which begins with the words, "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security," signed by nearly four-fifths of the nations of the world, has paved the way towards the realisation of the world's peace pact.

Yours, etc.,

J. SHACHTER,

(Rabbi, Jewish Communities,
Northern Ireland).

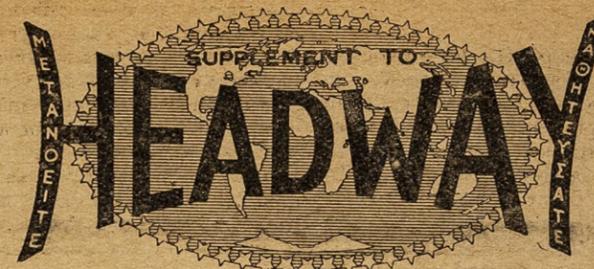
FOREIGNERS IN CHINA

Mr. W. E. Leveson writes criticising an article in the last HEADWAY entitled "The Riddle of China's Future," which he describes as "a jejune bagatelle," and taking exception particularly to the statement that 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." The fact, said Mr. Leveson, is that the Chinese were, in the first instance, so contemptuous of foreign traders that they declined to have any trafficking with them at all.

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

1. The existence of the League provides machinery such as never existed before for the peaceful settlement of all disputes between States.
2. The League Covenant lays down a regular procedure by which all such disputes may be dealt with.
3. The League has created the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for settling finally all disputes of a legal nature (*i.e.*, disputes between States regarding their respective rights).
4. Several wars have actually been stopped by the League's intervention, notably those between Poland and Lithuania in 1920, between Yugoslavia and Albania in 1921, and between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Many other disputes, which had not carried the countries concerned to the point of war, have been finally disposed of by League action.
5. The finances of several countries, notably Austria and Hungary, have been put in order by the League, which arranged loans to carry such countries over temporary difficulties on condition that the countries based their financial policy on sound principles formulated by the League.
6. An extensive scheme for the settlement of Greek refugees, and a similar though smaller scheme for Bulgarian refugees, was drawn up by the League and carried out under its auspices in collaboration with the Governments of the countries concerned.
7. Financial and economic policies for the countries of the world were laid down at the League's Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920 and its Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927. Obstacles to the free flow of trade, particularly in Europe, have been removed as a result of successive League Conferences on such matters as river and rail transit, passports, customs formalities, etc.
8. The League has framed a detailed scheme for the limitation of armaments, and it is expected that an International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments by land, sea and air will be convened by it this year or early in 1932.
9. The League has organised inter-governmental co-operation for the protection of public health throughout the world. It undertook an anti-typhus campaign in Eastern Europe in 1920. It has organised the study of malaria and sleeping sickness on an international scale. It arranges exchanges of medical officers of health of all countries so that each may learn from the experience of countries other than his own. It has opened a bureau at Singapore for distributing information regarding epidemics in the East. It has responded to requests from such countries as Persia, Greece, Turkey, and China for assistance on a larger or smaller scale in organising national public health services.
10. Through its Opium Advisory Committee and its Opium Central Board the League has promoted international agreements for the suppression of the drug traffic, and supervises the execution of such agreements by the Governments concerned.
11. On similar lines it has organised measures for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and for the promotion of child welfare generally.
12. Special pieces of work undertaken by the League in the humanitarian sphere include the repatriation of 430,000 prisoners of war through the help of Dr. Nansen in the years 1920-1922, and the repatriation or settlement of Russian and Armenian refugees in many countries in Europe.
13. The League has special responsibility for two areas in Europe—the Saar Valley, which is administered by a Commission arranged by the League, and Danzig, where a League High Commissioner resides to adjust differences between the Free City of Danzig, which is placed under the protection of the League, and Poland.
14. The League has been made responsible for the execution of treaties providing for the just treatment of minorities in many countries in Europe.
15. The League supervises the government in many areas in Asia, Africa and the Pacific under the mandate system.
16. The International Labour Organisation, which is linked with the League, though working independently of it, devotes itself to raising the standard of life for industrial workers everywhere.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JANUARY, 1931

A CRITICAL YEAR

THE year 1931, the year that lies between the last meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission and the first World Disarmament Conference, will be more critical than any which the League has yet had to face. The crisis is almost upon us. It is only less than that which would arise from an outbreak of war between two Great Powers. And the greater crisis may soon follow if the other be not safely passed.

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission finished its work on December 9th. It produced a Draft Convention into which the first Disarmament Conference, meeting early in 1932, will write figures limiting the armies, navies and air forces of the world for the next five years. These figures may represent an all-round reduction of armaments down to the level which Germany and other Powers were forced to accept in 1919. Or they may represent no appreciable change from the present time when the world is spending more than £600,000,000 a year on armaments, this country's share being £200 a minute, or £110,000,000 a year, despite the appalling economic distress! Between those two extremes there are all sorts of possibilities. If the limiting figures written by the Disarmament Conference represent a substantial reduction, even though they do not reach the lower level imposed by the Peace Treaties, the crisis will be passed, the danger of a new race in armaments will be avoided, and the League will be freed from the reproach that, despite its useful work in the economic and humanitarian field, it has failed in the first and greatest task for which it was created.

What, then, are the conditions of this measure of success? It is a hard saying, especially for Anglo-Saxons, that every sovereign State will continue to spend all it can afford—and more—on ensuring its security by means of its own armaments, until it learns to rely for its protection not on itself but on the world. If responsibility for the security of the several sovereign States is transferred from the parts to the whole world, then, indeed the reduction of national armaments will proceed apace. "The first business of any Government," said Sir Henry Maine, "is to preserve order within the community which it pretends to govern." The first World Government, which we know as the League of Nations, will never bring about a reduction of national armaments until it is relied upon to maintain world order.

If, therefore, we in Britain and in the British Commonwealth—not to mention the United States—wish to see a reduction in the armies, navies and air forces of the world, we must shoulder our share of the responsibility for maintaining world order. Are we prepared to pay this price of success at the World Disarmament

Conference? Are we prepared to declare that, in return for a substantial all-round reduction of armaments, we will not shirk our share of responsibility to prevent the use of war as an instrument of national policy?

It is probable that at this moment the leaders of every political party believe that British public opinion is unprepared for such a declaration. If that is still true a year hence, the Disarmament Conference can hardly succeed. Indeed, the success of the Conference depends upon such a change of British public opinion during 1931 that, within a year from now, all our political leaders will know for certain that Britain expects the Conference to make good and is willing to pay the price.

The Prime Minister, in a recent message to the Union, spoke of the members of the League of Nations Union who "in accordance with its Royal Charter, prepare dull or doubting opinion for each progressive step." On the same occasion, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales urged the people of this country to do all in their power "to assist the League of Nations Union in the greatest Crusade of all—the Crusade for World Peace."

World peace, "the greatest of British interests"—we repeat, depends upon the success of the Conference of 1932; and that success mainly turns upon British public opinion being adequately prepared in 1931 by members of the League of Nations Union. It is a work that cannot be done by committees and secretaries and machinery alone. Every individual member has his part to play. We are engaged in a great race. On the one hand there are all the forces of world loyalty and true patriotism tending to make the League of Nations an effective reality; on the other, there are the forces of narrow and short-sighted nationalism tending towards some catastrophe greater than the world has ever seen. Let us then make up our minds that in the New Year we will work for the League and against the catastrophe: we will be loyal to humanity.

And, if you would prove your world-loyalty, follow the Prince's lead and "assist the League of Nations Union in the greatest Crusade of all"—by becoming a member if you are not one already, by increasing your subscription to a Sovereign as a foundation member, or to a Crown (or at all events to 3s. 6d.), as a registered member, and above all by personal service. Let us highly resolve to do our share of the Union's work in trying to persuade our friends, even in casual conversation, that world peace depends upon each country, and chiefly upon our own, being prepared to act up to its obligations and take its full share of the world's responsibility for maintaining world order.

A LONDON LETTER

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

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

About 250 branches were represented at the meeting of the General Council which took place on December 11 and 12. It was one of the best-tempered Councils that has ever taken place; even the budget went through without any untoward incident, and that is saying a good deal. For only too often friends will fall out over finance!

For the coming year the Union's budget is fixed at £36,500. Income for 1931 is fairly well assured, and if things pan out as is expected next June the Executive will ask the Council when it meets at Cheltenham for supplementary estimates for two purposes. The Library is no longer in receipt of a grant from the Carnegie Trustees, and only £197 is set aside for the purchase of new books. It is obviously quite impossible to keep up our reputation as having the best library on League affairs outside Geneva on such a pittance. Then, too, to quote Lord Queenborough: "Frankly, the accommodation at our head office is quite unworthy of a Society such as ours. Bare stone stairs, uncovered floors and shabby makeshift office equipment are not calculated to impress visitors at all favourably."

MEMBERSHIP

After the speech of welcome from Major J. W. Hills, M.P., who took the chair in the absence of the President and Chairman of the Executive, it was reported on the minutes that the Foundation Member Scheme was making good progress. Up till October the figures were, roughly, a shade less than for the same period in 1929. During the five weeks from October 31 till December 6 there had been a welcome increase of almost double that of 1929.

About other membership. 5s. membership seems to be on the increase. During November as many new 5s. members were enrolled as 3s. 6d. ones. Though the scheme for raising the subscription for HEADWAY to 5s. was not adopted a year ago, it is not out of place to make a plea to those 3s. 6d. members who can afford, to raise their subscriptions voluntarily to 5s. a year. Not everybody knows that ten times more is available for national work out of a 5s. subscription than out of one of 3s. 6d.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The Council has agreed that the Executive Committee shall again be elected by postal ballot in 1931, and urge the 70 per cent. of the branches who have not voted to do so and justify this method of election still further.

The Edinburgh branch tabled a resolution on the composition of the Executive and the Kent Federal Council proposed certain amendments. Roughly, the idea was that in order to get more representation of branch workers on the Committee, the new Regions Committee should be able to nominate certain members with a corresponding reduction in the number elected by the postal ballot system. This was not adopted, and the Executive was asked to bring up a report on the matter in June.

Another resolution from Edinburgh suggesting a Whitley Council for the staff fell through because the staff are contented with their own Staff Committee, and feel that they have more freedom of action thus. Wembley's anxiety for a new sub-committee on Films and Lantern Slides was allayed when it was pointed out that such a committee does in fact exist. It was also agreed that a special session shall be set apart at all meetings of the General Council to allow branch secretaries and workers to discuss their domestic concerns.

UNDERGRADUATE SPEAKERS

For some years now quite a number of branches have made use of the services of undergraduate speakers, and rarely have been dissatisfied with the result of the experiment. The members of the British Universities League of Nations Society are keen students of international affairs and are always ready to impart their knowledge. The supply of speakers has exceeded the demand. The Council, therefore, has issued instructions that it is to be made known that these trained speakers are available not only in the areas where they live and in their University cities, but also for more extensive tours during the vacations.

Passed to our readers for information and necessary action, please!

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Friday, December 12, was the day set aside for the discussion of the resolutions on World Affairs. The first of these was on Disarmament. Some indication of the importance of this subject may be gauged from the fact that the Reading branch and the Liverpool and Merseyside District Council sent in a joint resolution. To this amendments were proposed by the Executive Committee, by the Northamptonshire Federal Council and by the Cambridge University Branch.

Before the amendments and resolutions were put, Lord Cecil, fresh from the fray at the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva, made a speech, which is fully reported elsewhere in this issue, and which will be issued as a pamphlet in January. As a result of what Lord Cecil had to say, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union, having heard Lord Cecil's statement on the work of the last meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, expresses its full and unabated confidence in Lord Cecil and his work for world disarmament;

"Is confident that the draft convention prepared by the Commission furnishes a sound foundation for the work of the first world Disarmament Conference;

"Meanwhile it calls attention to the grave and ever-increasing menace to the peace of the world which results from the continued failure of the Allied Powers to fulfill their undertakings with regard to disarmament given to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles;

"And undertakes to do all in its power to awaken British public opinion to the urgent need of concentrated national effort to ensure that the first Disarmament Conference shall result in immediate and substantial reduction of armies, navies and air forces of the world."

A short statement by Lord Cecil and the full text of his speech will both be published early in January.

A further resolution from the Liverpool and Merseyside District Council on the control of the liquor traffic in "B" Mandated Areas was adopted with only slight discussion and no amendment.

The Wolverhampton Resolution put forward earlier in the year on the subject of a League of Nations Bank is bearing fruit in a modified form. The Executive Committee has prepared a statement which seems to take into account all the points made by Mr. Leslie Chown, the chairman of Wolverhampton, when he spoke to his original motion.

A luncheon for the delegates was arranged by the London Regional Federation at the Holborn Restaurant. The chair was taken by Mr. Nicholas Titulesco, the Roumanian Minister in London and the President of the League Assembly last September. Mr. Titulesco made an important speech on a new scheme which he is advocating.

NOTES AND NEWS

The February Conference

Further details are now available concerning the Conference on "Wages and Employment," which is being organised by the League of Nations Union to take place at the London School of Economics on February 17 and 18 next. The Conference will last two days and there will be four sessions. "Gold and the Price Level" is the title of that which opens the proceedings. The programme will be completed by "Wages in Relation to the Social Services," at which Mr. C. T. Cramp of the N.U.R. will be one of the speakers; "The Relation Between Wages and Employment," with an address from Sir Percival Perry, M.B.E., Chairman of the Ford Motor Company; and, lastly, "International Aspects of the Wage Problem," at which Captain V. A. Cazalet, M.A., M.P., and Mr. Walter Citrine, the Secretary of the T.U.C., will speak.

Posters for Churches

A series of four coloured posters (crown size) has just been published for display outside churches. The texts of the posters, which have been taken from the Resolutions and Report of the recent Lambeth Conference, are as follows:—

1. "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ."
2. "It is on public opinion that Statesmen must depend."
3. "The League of Nations has become indispensable."
4. "Be foremost in support of the League of Nations."

These may be bought in the series of four, which will be sent, carefully packed, for 1s. post free. Single copies may be had for 4d. post free.

Prayer for the League

The Christian Organisations Committee has drawn up a leaflet in calendar form for 1931, suggesting subjects for prayer and intercession, in the hope that people may pray about them at that time of the year at which they are being discussed. A list of pamphlets and books is attached to guide those who wish to bring to their prayers more detailed knowledge. These leaflets, which should be a great assistance to those who are trying to stimulate in the Churches interest in the League and its work, may be had from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, at 6s. a 100. Specimen copies will be sent for 1½d. post free.

Geneva Visitors

Interesting statistics of foreign visitors to Geneva during the month of August are as follows: French 8,054, Swiss 5,992, Americans 4,612, Germans 2,560, Italians 1,481, British 1,344. There were also a large number of visitors from American countries other than the United States. With regard to the Asiatic countries, Japan sent 96, India 83 and China 38. One visitor recorded himself as "Heimatlos"—without a nationality.

Ireland

The formation of an Irish Secondary Schools League of Nations Association is announced. Dr. Edith Badham is the President and the Hon. Secretary is Mrs. A. H. Malherbe who spent some time in Geneva this year to study the League on the spot, with special reference to the instruction of school children in the aims and organisation of the League.

Swift Work

Miss Stanley, of Keswick, took a decision. During a fortnight she carried out a single-handed house-to-house campaign. The result has been 62 new members. The moral is self-evident.

Medals for Children

The British Legion has awarded three handsome bronze medals to the Schools in this country who have done most to make known and to support the principles and activities of the League of Nations. The medals came from the Fédération Interalliée des Anciens Combattants (F.I.D.A.C.). The winning Schools were Mill Hill School, Hutton Grammar School, and the Barmouth Intermediate School. Well done!

A Scottish School

It is not too late to chronicle the fact that the East of Scotland District Council held an Autumn School at Melrose in November. It was a great success. The speakers included Lady Simon, the Earl of Home, Professor Delisle Burns, Sir George Paish and Mr. P. H. B. Lyon, Rector of Edinburgh Academy. So pleased are the organisers with the result of their efforts that it is hoped to hold two next year, one at St. Andrews or Pitlochry next Easter and another at Melrose, probably next November.

Model Assembly at Whitley Bay

The Whitley Bay and Monkseaton Branch (Northumberland) held a most successful Model Assembly on Monday, November 3, when 156 delegates gave a demonstration of a Session of the 1930 Assembly. A motion expressing the hope that the World Disarmament Conference would be called as quickly as possible was passed by 41 to 11 votes, after a very interesting discussion, in which speakers representing Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Norway, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Sweden and Japan took part. The French, German and Italian delegates spoke in their own language, and these speeches were later translated into English.

The hall in which the Assembly (the first to be held in the Northern Region) took place was packed to the door. Its success is mainly due to the strenuous efforts and hard work of the Branch Secretary, Miss A. B. Robson.

Yet Another

The Wilmslow (Manchester) Branch has organised what in the opinion of one who frequently goes to Model Assemblies "was far and away the best I have ever attended." A resolution on Disarmament was moved and seconded by Austrian and German nationals, so that the first speech of the evening was in German. As usual, the proceedings were modelled on the Verbatim Record of the last Assembly. All the delegates took themselves very seriously. Despite the fact that all other countries voted in favour of the resolution, France cast her vote on the opposite side, so it fell to the ground.

Armistice Week Shops

Amongst other places that took shops for Armistice Week were Torquay and Sale, Manchester. In the case of the latter, the large window was decorated with posters and the names of the Member States. The interior was divided into two halves, one to be used as an Office for enrolling new members, and the other as a Magic Lantern Theatre. Here six half-hour addresses on various aspects of the work of the League were given every night. Though perhaps the increase of membership has not been very great, the effort has been worth while, for nobody now has any excuse to deny the existence of a Branch of the League of Nations Union in the neighbourhood. Publicity pays.

A Request

A young Czechoslovakian student, aged 19, who knows English, is anxious to correspond with a young Englishman (preferably a student) of the same age. Would any reader who would like to exchange letters with this student please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

Welsh Notes

At the recent meeting of the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh League of Nations Union, the special guests were the Countess Dohna of the German League of Nations Society, Professor Gallavresi of the University of Milan, Chairman of the Federation Education Committee, and Professor S. de Madariaga, late head of the Disarmament Section at Geneva. (The Countess Dohna also spoke at 15, Grosvenor Crescent on "Germany and the League of Nations." The chair was taken by Lord Dickinson.) Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A., presided over a large gathering of members representing all spheres of education in the Principality. The Rev. Gwilym Davies presented a survey on "The League in the Schools of the World." Mr. David Davies, the President and Chairman of the Welsh Council, opened a most interesting discussion on his book *The Problem of the Twentieth Century*.

During November and December Sir William Edge, M.P., Admiral Allen, Admiral Drury Lowe, the Countess Dohna and the Rev. Gwilym Davis each addressed a series of meetings.

In Wales and Monmouthshire, the special subject of study amongst the Branches this winter is that of "International Sanctions." Attention is also being concentrated on the libraries to ensure a larger supply of books and literature dealing with the League of Nations and with international relations generally.

The examination in connection with the Welsh Council's Geneva Scholarships, 1931 scheme, covering county and secondary schools in the Principality which have Junior Branches of the Union, closed on December 18. The Welsh Council is again organising an Essay Competition amongst the central and elementary schools.

A Loss

We regret to announce the sudden death of Mrs. Anne Corner. A great public worker, she was popular wherever she went, whether to a Women's Institute, a political meeting or to Geneva. Her untimely death will be felt not only in Surrey, where she lived, but by all her numerous friends at Headquarters and elsewhere.

Council's Vote

The following Branches completed their Council's Vote for 1930:—

Alton, Aylesbury, Aldbourne, Abingdon, Bury St. Edmunds, Bedford, Bristol (St. Marks), Blackheath and Chilworth, Barnsley, Burnham, Bishop's Stortford, Batley, Barnard Castle, Bridport, Byfield, Bruton, Bassett, Bradninch, Basingstoke, Blackham, Calstock, Clifton, Cobham, The Colnes, Chester, Chichester, Chatteris, Camberley, Chipstead, Danbury, Elstree and Boreham Wood, East Grinstead, Epping, Exeter, Ely, Felstead, Fakenham, Frome, Fleet, Fordingbridge, Harwich, Haywards Heath, Halstead, Heathfield, Headingley, Heaton, Hertford, Hurstpierpoint, Hungerford, Ingatestone, Jersey, Kirtlington, Kettering, King's Lynn, Keswick, Langford, Leeds (Salem Congregational Church), Linley and Papplewick, Leintwardine, Lane End, Liskeard, Leeds United Methodist Church, Lacock, Melbourn Congregational Church, Melksham, Malmesbury, Manning's Heath, Northallerton, Newport (Isle of Wight), Oxhey, Painswick, Portishead, Pulborough, Peppard, Ramsgate, Redcar, Sittingbourne, Stonehouse, Silverton, St. Annes-on-Sea, Scunthorpe, Scalby, Skipton (completed in September), St. Austell, Thundersley, Truro, Teignmouth, Verwood, Witham, West Wight, Witherham, Worle, Withersea, Wadhurst.

An Unsolicited Testimonial

The Union is proud to be able to publish the following letter from Miss Edith Gregg, who went on one of the Assembly Parties organised by the L.N.U.: "I feel I must write to let you know how admirable I thought all your arrangements for it. May I say how courteous and considerate all the officials connected with the L.N.U. were to all and sundry; how perfect the arrangements for meetings all were, and how extremely kind and informative everyone was. It was, to me, a memorable and most delightful time."

Windermere's Production

The Windermere Branch has reprinted an address delivered by its President, Mr. Frederic J. Hayes, M.B.E. The title of the address is "Ten Years" and in simple language gives a survey of the way in which the League came into being and a recapitulation of some of the most prominent deeds of Geneva both for the preservation of peace and for the promotion of international co-operation. Quite a big section, we are glad to observe, is devoted to the work of the International Labour Organisation. A pamphlet such as this in the hands of anyone desirous of obtaining new members and especially Foundation Members, would be a great asset. Full particulars can be obtained from Mr. J. Raymond Little, M.B.E., The Common, Windermere, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Branch.

Advertising Peace

The Palmers Green Branch, whence many new suggestions have emanated, have had printed a number of striking texts and quotations. These are drawn from the Bible, from the speeches of prominent men or from the works of well-known poets and other authors. These little bills, framed if desired, are supplied to local churches, lecture halls and elsewhere. Apply to Headquarters.

A New Membership Card

Lewisham has produced a new membership folder card. Space is found in it for notes on the work of the Branch, the objects of the Union and a large number of facts concerning the League itself. Specimens can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, the Reverend John Boon, 26, Elsinore Road, S.E.23.

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	150,931
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	822,903
Dec. 19, 1930	...	...	...	879,950

On Dec. 19, 1930, there were 2,982 Branches, 940 Junior Branches, 3,333 Corporate Members and 692 Corporate Associates.

MEMBERSHIP

Rates of ANNUAL Subscription.

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

Foundation Members receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

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

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

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

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

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