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# HEADWAY

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### Matters of Moment

ON March 9th, the House of Commons approved the Government's decision to adhere to the General Act. Almost simultaneously, the French Senate authorised ratification. Eight other states, all in Northern or Western Europe, are already bound by all or part of this document, so that it will henceforward be in force over a very considerable area. Every acceptance by a Great Power of an instrument of pacific settlement of disputes is a sign of an improved political atmosphere, and a further guarantee of continued improvement. If only for this reason, our accession would have been worth while. For the General Act provides means for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes between the states which accept the Act—except one important class of disputes, few in number but apt to be momentous when they arise. These disputes concern justice rather than law. They relate, not to the rights of the parties, but to what the parties think their rights ought to be. And such disputes cannot be settled by judicial decision or even by arbitration but only by a process akin to legislation.

#### Criticisms of General Act

THE objections which have been raised to the form of the General Act are not very grave. It is true that it is not a model of draftsmanship. This is mainly due to the fact it was drawn up at a time when the British Government was still opposed to signing the Optional Clause. If its authors could have foreseen the present wide

popularity of the Optional Clause, they would doubtless have worded it somewhat differently. As, however, it remains in force only for five years from the date of its entry into force, and is therefore due for revision in 1934, this is not a very serious matter. The second complaint which has been made against it is that it gives too much power to arbitrators, in the case of non-justiciable disputes, and the British public seems to entertain a mysterious but deeply-rooted suspicion of arbitrators. The Government has, however, guarded against any possible danger on this side by its reservation of the right to bring any such dispute, in the first instance, before the Council, which will have at least a year—more, if it so desires—in which to effect the settlement of any such dispute. It is therefore impossible to say that the General Act in any way weakens the authority of the Council. Finally, timid souls may be comforted by the assurance that the General Act is not an instrument for throwing the whole of the existing treaty system of Europe into the melting pot. No arbitrator can possibly decree treaty revision, since matters which have been determined by treaty can only be changed by a new treaty, and judges have not the power of making treaties, but only of interpreting them. The League Assembly can still, under Article XIX of the Covenant, recommend changes, and the General Act leaves unaffected the need for rendering Article XIX fully effective. Meanwhile, it constitutes a genuine and important addition to the machinery of world peace, and adds substance to the general undertaking contained in the Pact of Paris.



### America and the Court

THE prospect of any early association of the United States with the Permanent Court of International Justice has receded considerably as result of the adjournment of the American Senate on March 4th without any discussion on the Court having been entered on at all. Under the American Constitution, as is well known, the President or his nominee negotiates and signs a treaty, but it has to be ratified by the Senate, and not merely a simple majority but a two-thirds majority is required. Mr. Hoover long ago asked the Senate to take up the Court question, but other business has always been given precedence, and now the Senate has ended its normal session and gone into recess till December. What will happen about the Court now is a matter merely of speculation. The President can, if he chooses, call a special session of the Senate any time between now and December for the transaction of any business he may lay before it, but it is extremely doubtful whether that course will be taken. Failing that we must wait till December. But there will be a good deal of other business on hand in December, and the Court question is likely enough to go over into 1932. In that year, however, the Presidential election takes place, and all parties begin from January onwards to take position for the contest. That means that they avoid if possible declaring themselves too definitely on any controversial issue. The Court cannot be called highly controversial, but a good many Senators would be glad, all the same, to shelve it till the election (which falls in November) is out of the way. If their views prevail it will be 1933 at the earliest before the United States is in the Court.

### M. Briand's Future

GENEVA without M. Briand will be something almost inconceivable, but the elections for the Presidency of the French Republic take place next month and the veteran Foreign Minister is so far the most favoured candidate. There is nothing very much to appeal to one of M. Briand's tastes in election to that high office. He is no lover of ceremonial, and ceremonial must necessarily play a large part in the public activities of the head of a State. The Foreign Minister would no doubt prefer to remain Foreign Minister and carry further towards completion the many tasks he has on hand, most notably, perhaps, the European Federation scheme. But M. Briand is getting on in years, his work is exacting and his health very far from robust. These facts, combined with the pressure brought to bear on him by those who see in the field no candidate for the Presidency half so suitable, may prove decisive. As President M. Briand would not be devoid of all influence on foreign affairs. M. Poincaré certainly was not when he held that office. But a President of the Republic cannot go to Geneva, and it is hard to think that a Tardieu or a Herriot, with all their virtues, can adequately fill at the Council table the chair M. Briand has occupied these last seven years.

### The League's Tourists

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND has safely returned to Geneva, but three of his principal assistants are away, all in the Far East. Sir Arthur Salter is touring India, preparatory to going on to China. M. Haas, the head of the Transit and Communications Section, has arrived in China, and is in consultation with the Nanking Government on one of China's greatest needs from a commercial point of view—better communications. Dr. Rajchman and his *entourage*, amongst whom is Mr. Zilliacus, so well known to British visitors to Geneva, have passed on to Japan, and are now well on their way back. The Japanese papers paid a great deal of attention to Dr. Rajchman's visit. His principal object in Japan was to offer advice on behalf of the League with regard to the prevention of leprosy. Secondly, he desired to further co-operation between Japan and China in the matter of infectious diseases. The Land of the Rising Sun can help the League tremendously with such problems as epidemics in Shanghai, and can assist morally and materially the initial efforts of China's new Public Health Service.

### Unsuspected Allies

IT is interesting and satisfactory to realise that the increasingly cordial attitude of China towards the League is believed to be in some measure due to American influence. Historically the change in temper in certain influential quarters dates back to the Conference on Pacific Relations held at Honolulu in 1927, as an indirect result of which, incidentally, Sir Frederick Whyte was appointed adviser to the Chinese Government. The Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial body, but a strong and representative Chinese delegation attended the 1927 Conference and they are known to have been considerably impressed not so much by the terms in which the British delegates spoke of the League—that was only what was expected—but by the unstinted appreciation with which many of the Americans present referred to the work the League had done and was contemplating. That was a tribute from a quarter so disinterested as to be completely above suspicion and it sank deep into the minds of the Chinese. It remains to be seen how far the collaboration set on foot by Dr. Rajchman, Sir Arthur Salter and M. Haas will be carried, but there are sufficient possibilities in it to suggest that the time may come for acknowledging a very full indebtedness to various individual Americans for the valuable influence they indirectly exercised at Nanking.

### Where?

THERE is quite considerable competition to be the town in which the Disarmament Conference is to be held. Biarritz, Barcelona, and others have offered the League the most attractive terms. Geneva, that the *venue* shall not be wrested from her, has appointed a special Counsellor of State. Mr. Guillaume Fatio, who originally secured the old Hotel National, now the Palais des Nations,

for the League, holds this appointment. The Secretary-General has circularised all States, asking them for an estimate of the size of their delegations to the Conference, so that a final decision may be reached in May. As it is expected that there will be at least 4,000 delegates, advisers, secretaries and officials, and that the Conference will last six months, it will be a nice plum for the hotel proprietors in any town in which the Conference is held. All things being equal, it is to be hoped that the League will decide on Geneva. All the records and documents are situated there, and it would be a pity not to have them within easy access.

### The Malcontents of Geneva

IN that connection little attention need be paid to a story that has been going the round of the London Press to the effect that the city of Geneva is seriously considering whether it desires to expel the League from its bosom or not. It does not rest in any event with Geneva to say whether the League shall remain in Geneva or pitch its tents elsewhere. The League is where it is and only the decision of its own Assembly or Council can move it. But in point of fact, what has happened is very simple and by no means worth making any fuss about. If the Disarmament Conference is to be held at Geneva the city will have to exert itself to provide the necessary accommodation. That it is proposing to do, and M. Fatio, who is in charge of the general arrangements, thought some good purpose might be served by the convocation of a meeting at which any handful of grumblers who would prefer to see the League shifted would say their say and discover how small a minority they really were. That is all there is to it and visitors from Geneva, where the meeting has gone almost unnoticed, have been astonished and amused at the prominence given to it in London.

### Cherries for the I.L.O.

FIFTY young cherry trees of the species bearing the finest double blossoms in Japan, have been planted in the grounds of the International Labour Office. They are the gift of the *Asahi* newspaper, one of the leading Tokio dailies. They were shipped from Yokohama in the middle of January, and the newspaper in its remarks on the subject said that it considered it an honour to offer such a gift. The planting ceremony was performed in the presence of Mr. Yoshisaka, the Permanent Delegate of Japan to the I.L.O. In his dedicatory speech he said: "The capital of the United States has for some years had a magnificent avenue of cherry trees on the banks of the Potomac, offered as a token of Japanese friendship, but to my knowledge this is the first large shipment of our cherry trees to Europe." He went on to say that they would be a living proof of the deep and ever-growing attachment of Japan to the cause of the organisation. Some may blossom this year, but all will be in full flower within three. Though many governments and employers and workers' associations have made gifts to the Office, this is the first to be received from a newspaper out of sheer appreciation for the work which the I.L.O. is doing.

### Standard Traffic Signals

A EUROPEAN Road Traffic Conference has met. Quite apart from practical commercial utility, it has an angle of interest to the ordinary individual who tours in his own car. The scheme is nothing more nor less than a standard series of road signs and hand signals. It is very confusing to pass from one country to another, and annoying to find oneself unwittingly transgressing the law through lack of knowledge. But it happens. With a standard international code this will not occur. The same sign will signify a parking place in Bucharest, Vienna or Paris, in London or Oslo. The hand signals, it is pleasing to note from the illustrated booklet that the League has published, are modelled on those at present in use in Great Britain. Other matters which the Road Traffic Conference has considered are: Convention on the International Regime of Commercial Transport; and a Convention on the Fiscal Treatment of Foreign Motor Vehicles.

### A German-Speaking Union

THE decision of Germany and Austria to form a complete customs union was announced too late to be discussed in any detail here. The news has caused considerable perturbation in countries like France and Czechoslovakia, which object both to the secrecy and suddenness of the decision and to the decision itself, arguing that a customs union between the two countries is incompatible with the pledge Austria gave in 1922 (when the League loan for her was being arranged) to preserve her complete economic independence. It is hard to see how this latter objection can be sustained. Economic independence means obviously the right to enter freely into any economic arrangements you choose. If it does not mean that it means nothing. France, however, does not appear to take that view, and, fortunately, there is an easy way of getting an authoritative ruling on the point. The Permanent Court of International Justice exists for precisely that purpose. The only real cause for alarm would arise if the matter went to the Court, if the Court decided against Germany and Austria, and Germany and Austria went ahead with their plans none the less. But there is not the remotest probability that things will turn out that way.

### The Tariff Truce Failure

AFTER a series of negotiations repeatedly prolonged beyond the original date, the tariff truce attempt appears to have broken down altogether for the present. That is quite frankly a disappointment, even though the prospect of a successful issue was never very hopeful. Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, has battled valiantly for his idea, and this, at least, can be said, that every endeavour to get tariffs limited or reduced probably has some indirect effect in preventing tariffs from being raised higher. Though any definite agreement in the nature of a truce must be abandoned for the present, the idea still stands, and the attempt to get it translated into practice will, no doubt, be repeated at a suitable moment.

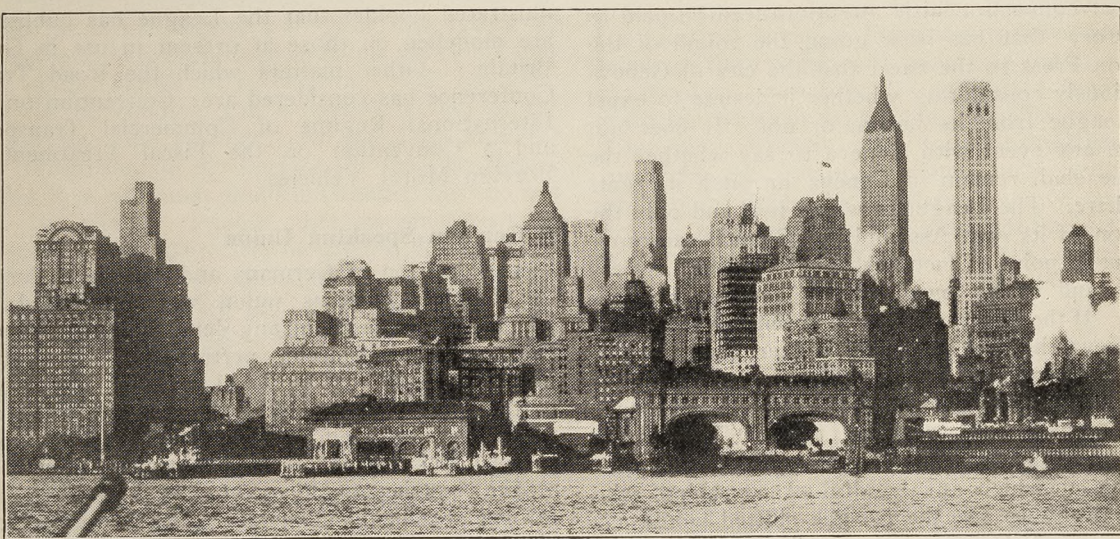


## America's Habits

### What They Do Differently over There

I AM not actually the first foreigner to visit the United States of America. Indeed, there have been quite a number of others at different times. I have even visited America myself more than once before 1931. But every time any individual goes to that unique country (all countries are unique in actual fact, but you must never admit it about any but the one you are writing about at the moment) he comes away convinced that his impressions are

matic—traffic flows up and down along the avenues and the pedestrians on the sidewalks can cross the side streets in safety. When, on the other hand, the green turns red, cars on the avenues halt and cars by the hundred, with pedestrians by the thousand, pour out of the side streets and get across the avenue unscathed. It is a bad system for the impatient, for nothing is more irritating than to get to a corner just as the light turns red, but it



New York's Skyline

of supreme importance, and must be immediately put on paper, and, if possible, got into print. The only difference between me and others in this respect is that they are often wrong in their conviction, and I am right. That is all that need be said on that.

What strikes the ordered mind about America is no doubt what ought to strike the ordered mind. On that I have no qualification to speak. But what strikes the disordered mind is the way people cross the street, and how unemployment is cured by selling apples at street corners, and the effect on the rear of the neck of a prolonged contemplation of skyscrapers. These seem simple matters, but after all they make up everyday life for most of us.

But is crossing the street, you may ask, a different thing in New York or Chicago from what it is in London? Most certainly it is. In London you watch palpitating till the traffic wears thinner for a moment and then plunge perilously. In America you cross in droves at the dictation of coloured lights. New York is the best example of that, because New York is built on a longish, narrowish island with about a dozen interminable avenues running up and down it, and something over two hundred much shorter streets running across it from side to side. The design seems made for coloured lights, though in fact it was other considerations that determined the city plan.

Anyhow, all down Third Avenue and Fifth Avenue and Sixth Avenue and the rest mile after mile glimmer red and green lights by day and night. When the lights go green—their changes are auto-

saves life in the end. In London's crooked streets the thing would hardly work, and the little Piccadilly experiment on view daily gives no kind of idea of how the lights work over a nine or ten mile stretch with cross streets every hundred yards or so. In Washington, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, practically everywhere in America, life's procession rolls similarly on at the behest of coloured lights.

Then as to those apple-sellers. It might be thought that the resources of the United States might be equal to some better expedient for the cure of unemployment than selling apples and tangerines. But, in fact, this fruit-vending is the one great panacea. Never have I seen a tenth as many apple-sellers in the same space as catch the eye not in New York only, but in any American city. There is literally hardly a corner of any frequented street where the unemployed vendor has not pitched his apple-box and stuck up his sign. The American with money in his pocket is being trained to consider it a matter of honour to bring home an apple or two (at 5 cents, 2½d. apiece) in his pocket every evening. I ate unemployed apples myself within reasonable limits till I struck one or two that had been unemployed a little too long. But for the most part they are very excellent pippins.

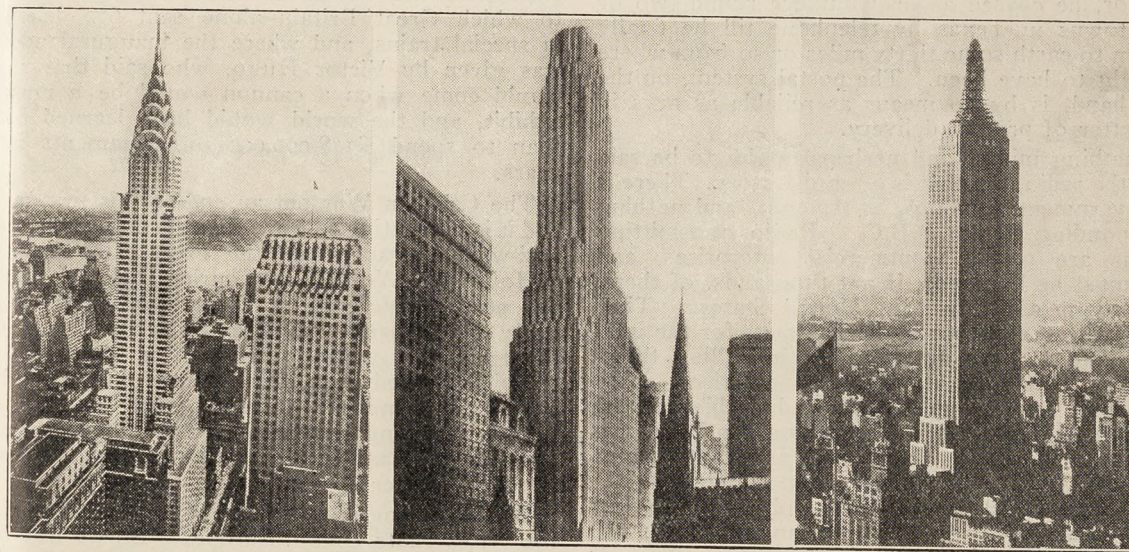
It would be unfair to imply that America is doing no more about her unemployed problem than that. The different States—it must always be remembered that there are 48 States in the American Union, and that in matters like unemployment each of them acts for itself—are carrying through various

schemes to relieve distress and manufacture work, but apple-selling was the original bright idea, and it is that alone that catches the public eye. No doubt it is all very good for the average American's vitals, but one of the cheerier weeklies pointed out very sapiently that if an apple a day keeps the doctor away unemployed doctors will soon be selling apples with the rest.

Thirdly, the skyscrapers. Skyscrapers, you may say, are nothing new. As a branch of the human family perhaps not. But there are always new scrapers joining the family, and the newest ones are usually the highest of the lot, for the tendency to build higher and higher still continues. There must, no doubt, be a limit somewhere. Sooner or later a height is reached at which the towering pinnacle of offices will topple over. There are also difficulties, I believe, about running elevators more than a certain height. But the race for Heaven is still going merrily on so far. At this writing, as the Americans say, the highest building in use in New York—or anywhere else in the world, for that matter—is that erected by and called after the Chrysler Car firm. Dropping in there one day to make an inquiry, I was lightly referred to a gentleman on the 56th floor. When I got there (by an elevator which ran non-stop to the 43rd) I still had twenty occupied floors above me, and the observation tower on top of them.

New Yorkers, of course, have to travel beneath the surface of the earth or in the air. The congestion on the surface would be much too great. So you have the subway (what we call the Tube or the Underground) and the Elevated, commonly known as the "L." The "L" runs on a track set on stilts down the middle of several of the principal avenues. It is hideous and shatteringly noisy, but it gives you an admirable view into everyone's first floor (or, as the Americans would call it, second floor) windows, and in its own clattering way it gets you there. The odd feature of both the subway and the "L" is that you don't take tickets on either of them. That saves the cost of the tickets themselves and the cost of people to issue and collect them. Instead you enter the station through a turnstile which will only revolve and let you through when you feed it with a 5 cent piece (a nickel) through a suitable slot. Once you are inside you can travel where you like. The fare is the same for any distance, and I am told that if your desires run that way you can make a 24-mile trip all on the basis of the original humble nickel. But a 2-mile trip is more than enough for most users of either an L or subway. Neither stations nor cars can hold a candle to our Underground or Tubes.

Men and women, of course, must eat. At any rate, they frequently do. In America they eat more in public than in most other quarters of the



The Chrysler Building

The Irving Trust

The Empire State

But the Chrysler has to make the most of its supremacy in the few weeks remaining to it. In May the Empire State building, with a Fifth Avenue frontage of a whole block, from 33rd Street to 34th, will be in occupation of its 25,000 tenants, and its 85 floors, with a Zeppelin mooring mast to top them, leave the Chrysler definitely overshadowed. As you gaze upward at that towering pile you would wager your next year's earnings that the first Zeppelin that moored there in anything of a wind would pull the whole thing over into the street. But the engineers say not, and they must be supposed to know. Anyhow, if the Empire State is the highest scraper so far put together we shall no doubt be looking down on it from some later rival's summit before many months have passed. America is not likely to get to 85 floors and stop short of 100.

globe, for the reason that domestic servants are singularly hard to come by, and many wage-earners find it convenient to take their evening meal, as well as their lunch, at a restaurant, and so reduce the work at home. Consequently, the number of restaurants in New York and many other cities is remarkable, and it has to be remembered that in America every drug store—and drug stores are numberless—not only provides every kind of non-alcoholic drink, but also enough in the way of sandwiches and corned beef hash and individual chicken pies (it is a moment of disillusion when you discover that what might have been a pie containing an individual chicken is merely a chicken, or chickenish, pie for an individual) to make adequate meals for some millions of city workers perched on hundreds of thousands of backless stools at tens of thousands of white-topped counters.



But, of course, the feature of public eating in America is the cafeteria. Why narrow national conservatisms have prevented the adoption of that eminently sensible system elsewhere I can never imagine. (It is as queer as America's folly in driving you out of doors to get your shoes shined.) What could be more rational? Instead of having your food served up you know not how and slapped on your table after an infinite interval by a crushing waitress you assemble it yourself very much as Mr. Ford's cars are assembled in his factories at Detroit. It is true that it means propelling a tray along a rack on the front of the counter, collecting your knife and fork and serviette and your various viands as you go, but you have the advantage of being able to select by sight and not by faith, the proprietor can price his food lower because there are no waiters to pay, and you benefit further by having no one to tip. I know there are occasional cafeterias in England, just as there are one or two ostriches at the Zoo, but London seems to have a rooted prejudice against an institution impregnably established, on its merits, in every American town.

There are still, surprising though it seem, a number of other things to talk about in America. There is, for example, the telephone system, which is marvellously efficient. You can sit in New York and get connected up with San Francisco in a matter of minutes, and a friend of mine in Philadelphia told me how, with the help of an obliging operator, he chased an acquaintance round two or three towns in Texas by telephone till he finally ran him to earth some thirty miles or so from where he ought to have been. The postal system, on the other hand, is by no means as reliable as ours in the matter of prompt delivery.

Something might, and perhaps ought, to be said about the radio, but that is a longish story. There is no Government monopoly in America, and nothing corresponding to the B.B.C. Radio transmitting stations are private commercial enterprises, and there must be hundreds, if not thousands, of them, scattered up and down the United States. They support themselves not by licence fees, for the individual listener pays nothing, but by selling themselves, an hour or so at a time, to advertisers. You will listen, for example, to an admirable concert and then learn that this programme has been provided by Bobolink stockings, the price and virtues of which are then extolled at some length.

Not much of all this, it may be objected, touches the more serious side of American life. No; no. But man must relax sometimes. And after all there is something to be said for simply seeing how other people live. They may do it better than we do. If so let us copy them. We may do it better than they do. If so we might try and teach them something. We ought, no doubt, to be inquiring anxiously whether the United States is likely to be joining the League of Nations in the near future. The answer to that is quite simple. It isn't. Or whether it is coming into the World Court. The answer to that is that it probably will as soon as the Senate sees fit to find time to cast a vote on the subject, but that may quite possibly not be till 1933. Or whether the American people have any real interest in the rest of the world. The answer to that is that they have, and increasingly so. These are all sober subjects on which sober soliloquies are called for. At a fit time and place the demand may be met. But sobriety perpetual and unrelieved is a weariness to all concerned.

H. W. H.

## The Peace Idea

By EDITH M. PYE

"THE History of Peace," by A. C. F. Beales (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., price 16s. net) is a fascinating book, and will be invaluable to the serious student of the peace movement. Though a Chinese plan for disarmament in the year 546 B.C. is mentioned, and the various plans for a warless world put forward throughout succeeding centuries are sketched, the real history of the Peace Movement on concerted lines began in America in 1815, and from that time onward the ebb and flow of the tide of enthusiasm in America and in European countries for the cause of peace and disarmament is traced with great clearness. The way in which history repeats itself is very curious and interesting, especially perhaps to those who may not have realised how inevitably the post-war enthusiasm followed on the immense amount of work and preparation for peace that preceded 1914.

In 1843 a "League of Universal Brotherhood" was founded in London, in which each of the ten thousand members recruited the first year signed a personal pledge never to join any army or navy, never to assist any preparations for war, but to work unceasingly for its abolition. In 1849 there was the great Peace Congress in Paris to which Great Britain alone sent 670 delegates in special trains, and where the inaugural address was given by Victor Hugo, who said that a day would come when a cannon would be a museum exhibit, and the world would have learned better than to spend £128,000,000 on armaments in 34 years.

The Crimean War put an end to this first period and it is interesting to learn that the only consistently anti-war utterances in the Press came from the "Household Words" of Charles Dickens. But at the peace conference in Paris in 1856, the peace party in England was able to secure a place in the treaty for a cautiously worded clause on the question of mediation, that "States between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power."

In 1867 a league was founded in Geneva to work for "Les Etats Unis d'Europe." So we may look back to the origins of many of the ideas of to-day.

Throughout the whole history one traces very clearly the two types of pacifist, whose differences are as sharp to-day as in the beginning of the peace movement. It is just this difference between those who see the ideal only and will accept nothing less, and those who see the next step, more plainly sometimes than the ultimate end, which makes co-operation so much less effective than it might be. The author makes a distinction as between pacifists and internationalists, but this distinction does not hold good, since internationalists are often great lovers of peace.

Is the peace movement to-day any nearer its goal than it was in 1913? In the epilogue the League of Nations in relation to these questions is discussed. The history of the movement during the war is also an extremely interesting chapter. In fact all those who wish to know and study the whole problem must read this book.

## Ukrainians, Germans, Poles

By GARETH JONES

*Mr. Gareth Jones was invited to communicate to "Headway," impressions made on him by a recent visit to Poland. The article indicates how certain situations struck a particular observer. Any judgments embodied, or implied, in the article are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the opinions of "Headway" on matters some of which are still sub judice.*

THE deep snow of the Ukrainian winter lay round Ivan's hut, and the old bearded peasant blessed the warmth of the vast stove on which he was lying. The hotter the better, he thought, as he watched his growling wife push the logs into the fire. Winter was not so bad when you had two things—heat and food. The crackling noise of wood and the smell of hot soup made him feel happy for the first time since the summer. Yes, he was getting better, there was no doubt about that. Suddenly a stab of pain burning through his body made him shriek. That wound again! Would it never heal? His mood tumbled headlong into despair and, forgetting the warmth which one instant before had

He agreed with all that, but to meddle in politics! What foolishness to accuse him of that. Then he had felt the slashes of the steel whips and the spouting of blood. Pictures had flashed through his mind as the blows fell. He had shrieked and begged for mercy from the Polish sergeant with the big black moustache. But the Pole had only laughed, and a few seconds later he, Ivan, had fallen unconscious. Many times in the hard months that had followed had he started up from the stove at night and seen the red-faced, black-moustached sergeant grinning at him. He had consoled himself with the thought that one day he and his fellow villagers would be flaying Poles with steel whips and no mercy would he give them. The Ukraine might belong to Poland now, but it would not be for long, if he had his way.

"Why had Providence placed him as a village schoolmaster in Polish Upper Silesia only half an hour from the German border?" Karl Sladek asked himself. Here he was, a Nationalist German, who had fought for his country, forced to spend his days in a State which was half Asiatic, where the culture level was disgracefully low, and where day in and day out one never knew what chicanery would make life a burden. Poland indeed! If only his grandfather, who had fought in the 1870 War against the French, had known that his grandson would be a citizen of a State which had, culturally speaking, no right to exist! Karl Sladek blushed with shame. And the border only half an hour away! Little did those politicians think about the feelings of border people, when they juggled with maps and treated villages like pawns. If Clemenceau had had just one drop more of cognac and had been in a better temper, thought Sladek, he might have put the frontier line a few miles to the East. What a vast change that would have meant to a number of human lives!

Karl Sladek thought of his school. The Poles were threatening to close it. Not enough pupils, they said. They had been very polite about it, too polite in fact. So far everything was in the balance, and Sladek felt the pangs of uncertainty. Well, he must hope for the best, he thought. At any rate, they had been spared some trouble. None of the "Insurgent" bands had yet visited his village and beaten the peasants. There was that to be thankful for. And Karl Sladek turned his thoughts to the preparation of what might perhaps be the last lesson in his beloved German school.

Jan Pawel was in difficulties and scratched his head, as he strode up and down his office in Bydgoszcz. He had arrived from Warsaw to take up an administrative post in the area that had formerly belonged to Germany. He remembered the enthusiasm he had felt for his work when he first arrived. He would try and reconcile German and Pole. What a failure his attempt had been! He had come to the conclusion that the Germans did not want to be reconciled. They were always growling about their rights. Little did they think of Polish rights when



been caressing him, and the hot soup which had filled him with expectation, he passed in review the happenings which had caused him to spend months moping in pain in his hut.

He saw again the priest waddling along, perspiring, and shouting that the Poles had come to burn and search. A few minutes later the Polish cavalrymen had galloped down the village street. They had caught sight of him and summoned him: "You've been meddling in politics," they had said. Ivan Kostiuk meddling in politics! He was too busy tilling the fields and tending to his cattle to waste time or words. He had, of course, a few weeks earlier shouted "True, true" when that young fellow had come from the nearest town, had gathered the peasants in the schoolroom and had said that the Poles were to blame for the price of grain. The Poles were swine, there was no doubt about it. They were keeping back the land from the Ukrainians and had given the richest soil to their soldiers. They were getting the best jobs and lording it over the Ukrainians. And what jargon they spoke! No man in his proper senses could speak a tongue like Polish.



they were masters. He had heard some terrible stories of brutality by German landlords. And after some months in the Polish Corridor (as the Germans called it) he had changed his tactics. He was embittered by the attitude the Germans adopted towards him. With some he had been friendly, but he always felt vaguely that they despised him and that they treated him as the member of an inferior race. He remembered with what scorn a German ex-officer had talked about "You Poles." He read German papers sometimes and burned when he saw day after day the outcry for Revision. Jan Pawel had the Partition complex of the Pole. One day he had read a speech by Treviranus in which the German Minister threatened Poland and talked about the injustice of the frontiers. A shudder of fear went through him. The sooner this district becomes entirely Polish the better, he thought. What a task the Poles had! He had just received a letter from a friend in the Ukraine

## The Men Who Turn the Wheels

### Sir Eric Drummond Discusses His Colleagues

**M**OST people who know anything about the League of Nations at all have, at any rate, some vague idea of the enormous importance of the part played in the general mechanism of the League by the permanent Secretariat at Geneva. But for the most part it remains a pretty vague idea.



Sir Eric Drummond

Nothing, therefore, could be more welcome than a considered review by the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, himself, of what the League of Nations Secretariat is and what it does.

Such a review was given by Sir Eric in an address to the Institute of Public Administration in London on March 19th. Space, unfortunately, makes it impossible to reproduce the address here in full, but some of the more important passages cannot be denied quotation. They may tell us nothing new, but they emphasise points well worth emphasising.

It will come as something of a surprise to the ingenuous American who once inquired whether the League kept a man at Geneva all the year round, to learn from Sir Eric that it actually keeps no fewer than 698 persons, men and women, working in the Secretariat from January to December. This, of course, takes no account of the additional staff of 500 or so which runs the International Labour Organisation.

#### Polyglot Colleagues

Again, the idea that there is a British section, a French section, a German section and so forth, of the League is sufficiently dispelled by the Secretary-General's explanation that the sections of the Secretariat are arranged under subjects—mandates, disarmament, economics, finance, health, etc.—and by the mention he made of the fact that the Legal Section, to take a single example, is staffed as re-

who had sincerely desired to have good relations with the Ukrainians. But what could he do when the Ukrainian Military Organisation with funds from Berlin were spreading revolution throughout the country and burning Polish cottages and barns? Every day the minority gave some new provocation. Life was difficult for the Poles.

Ukrainians, Germans and Poles! Racial clashes, economic clashes, religious clashes! What a vast and intricate problem confronts the League in its dealings with minorities! The League Council was pre-eminently successful in January in settling the Upper Silesian dispute. Without the League the treatment of minorities would have been still worse. If the League is as successful in protecting other minorities, then it will become a powerful guardian of the peace of the world. If it betrays the minorities, it will alienate Germany and other States and its fate will be in the balance.

gards its higher officials by a Uruguayan, a Belgian, an Englishman, a Cuban, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a German, an Indian, an Italian and a Spaniard. Precisely the same mixture of nationalities may be discovered in any one of the thirteen sections of the Secretariat, the only rule directly bearing on nationality being that an official shall not be asked to handle a question in which his own country is directly concerned. So scrupulously is that principle observed that Sir Eric Drummond himself stepped aside and gave place to the Deputy Secretary-General, who is a Frenchman, when the discussions between Great Britain and Turkey over Iraq were before the Council.

#### The Ideal Official

Details like this are of sufficient interest in themselves, but of more intrinsic importance, perhaps, are Sir Eric's observations on the requirements to be observed in the selection of candidates for Secretariat posts. There is, admittedly, a certain clash between two opposing principles, one, the appointment to any post of the best man or woman available, and, two, a reasonable distribution of posts among nationals of countries members of the League. It speaks well for Sir Eric's judgment that he has been able to reconcile that opposition in practice as well as any critic could reasonably expect.

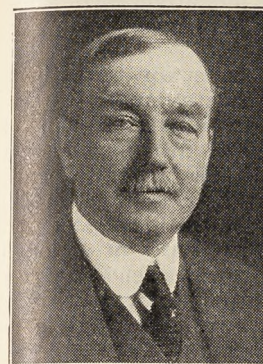
As to other qualifications for service at Geneva there may be commended to any aspiring candidates these two: the ideal League official, says Sir Eric, must believe in the League and desire to serve it, and, in the second place, he must possess the capacity of placing himself, so to speak, in the position of the other man. In other words, what is needed in a candidate are first faith and zeal and second sympathetic imagination.

Some day, perhaps, the life story of the League's Secretariat will be told. Meanwhile, there is more than a hint of romance in Sir Eric's picture of an organisation which began its life in a back drawing-room in Manchester Square, London, with a staff consisting of Sir Eric himself, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart, one stenographer and one office keeper. Total score, as stated, to-day, 698 not out.

## The Naval Settlement

### A Henderson-Briand-Grandi Triumph

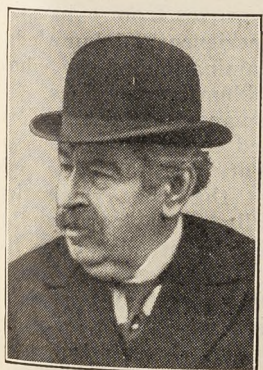
**W**HEN two British Cabinet Ministers, one of them the Foreign Secretary, start suddenly posting across Europe to Paris and Rome and then back to Paris again, it has to be assumed that they are bound on an errand of no ordinary



Mr. Henderson

character. That, in fact, is what was generally assumed when news of Mr. Henderson's and Mr. Alexander's movements got into the Press at the end of February. The general assumption, of course, was right. The British Cabinet had been following closely the course of the naval conversations between France and Italy, and either the Cabinet as a whole or Mr. Henderson personally decided that the moment had come for a swift and dramatic stroke. They may have learned that things were going so well that it was only necessary to put the finishing touches on them. They may have learned that things were going so badly that if the situation was to be saved at all it must be saved without a moment's more delay. As to that the public is not informed, nor does it greatly matter now. All that does matter is that Mr. Henderson and Mr. Alexander succeeded beyond all expectations, not merely in getting a definite accord established between the French and Italian Governments, but, what may in the long run be more valuable still, in creating an atmosphere of cordiality between Rome and Paris in place of the atmosphere of hostility and suspicion that has prevailed for the last twelve months.

What—for it may be well to remind ourselves of this—was the occasion of the Henderson-Alexander mission? The Five Power Naval Conference that sat in London a year ago resulted only in a Three-



M. Briand

Power Naval Agreement. Even that limited accord was of the highest value, for it removed Anglo-American, Anglo-Japanese and American-Japanese naval relations from the field of controversy, at any rate till 1936. Unfortunately, it left Franco-Italian naval relations in a very storm of controversy, for Italy claimed an equal fleet with France's, and France claimed a superior fleet to Italy's. Obviously these two demands were irreconcilable. If an agreement was to be reached one party or both must give way somewhere. The question was which should give way and how much, and after a year of continuous conversations between French and Italian naval experts, with a British expert assisting over most of the period, that question was no nearer a solution than before.

At the end of February the situation was becoming serious. Failure to agree was making the general relationship between France and Italy steadily worse. The World Disarmament Conference of February, 1932, was less than twelve months distant.



Signor Grandi

If that Conference was to succeed it was vital that there should be preliminary conversations between the principal Powers concerned. No conversations of that kind could be initiated with any prospect of success while the spectre of Franco-Italian naval disagreement still bestrode the path.

That was why it had, by the end of February, become essential that the Franco-Italian discussions should be somehow brought to a head. Thanks to the Henderson-Alexander intervention they were. The method that appears to have been employed was ingenious. France and Italy got nowhere so long as they were discussing their relationship to one another. "Very well," said Mr. Henderson, "in that case leave one another alone. But we in Britain are interested also in the extent of French and Italian naval building. We should like each of you to discuss your relationship with us." Both M. Briand and Signor Grandi were perfectly agreeable to that. They did discuss it, and they fixed the French relationship, and the Italian, to Britain. Things which stand in a certain relationship to a third thing stand in a certain relationship to one another. If Euclid did not say that it was an unaccountable omission on his part. The fact, at any rate, is a fact, and on it, so far as can be gathered, the Anglo-Franco-Italian agreement of March 1st was based.

The actual details of the agreement are of small importance, except to technical students of the naval question. The essential provisions are these:—

1. France and Italy may each build two capital ships of 23,333 tons before the end of 1936, but no more. (These are to counter the German so-called pocket battleships.)
2. France and Italy may complete by the end of 1936 34,000 tons of aircraft carriers, and no more.
3. France and Italy will lay down no further 8 in. gun cruisers after the completion of their 1930 programmes.
4. They will construct no 6 in. gun cruisers or destroyers before the end of 1936, except for replacement purposes.
5. They will construct no submarines after the completion of the 1930 programme, except for replacement of over-age vessels.
6. Great Britain takes exception to France's present submarine total of 82,000 tons, and reserves the right to increase her own destroyer tonnage in reply unless the French figure is revised at the 1932 Conference.



What all this means, in brief, is that French and Italian naval construction is fixed definitely to the end of 1936 at a figure satisfactory to the Governments at both Paris and Rome. This is a much lower figure than would have been reached if the present unchecked competition between the two countries had continued, and it removes all possibility of any competition at all for the next five years, at any rate. Before the end of that time the naval question will have been discussed again at least twice, once at next year's World Disarmament Conference and once at the Conference of the five naval Powers fixed under the London Naval Treaty for 1935. There is little danger that either of these Conferences will see any revision upwards. There is every ground to hope that by the time they meet successive reductions downwards may be found possible. However that may be, one fact remains incontestable to-day. That is that a step vital to the successful progress of the disarmament movement has been taken, and taken with decisive effect. Plenty of obstacles must still be cleared away before the World Disarmament Conference meets, but the greatest obstacle of all is gone.

As a postscript to this review of the Anglo-

Franco-Italian negotiations it may be convenient to add a word on the unrelated subject of the budgetary limitation of armaments. The Preparatory Commission last December decided that national expenditure on armaments should be limited, but left it to a Committee of Experts to draw up a workable plan. The Experts met at Geneva in March and evolved a plan which they were able to approve by a unanimous vote. The details of it need not be given here. What is important is that the Experts, after surveying the question from every angle, decided unanimously that budgetary limitation was:—

- (a) Highly important, and
- (b) Perfectly practicable.

It is only necessary in that connection to dissipate misunderstandings which remain strangely persistent by emphasising the fact that the aim of limiting a nation's expenditure on armaments is not to invite a comparison between the annual expenditure of nation A and nation B (conditions in different countries vary too widely to make that possible), but to prevent either nation A or nation B from steadily increasing its own expenditure year by year, and thus adding to the efficiency of its fighting forces even though the number of men in its army and navy remains the same.

## A Scientist Looks at Armaments

By COL. DAVID CARNEGIE, C.B.E.

MAJOR LEFEBURE'S new book "Scientific Disarmament," (Gollancz, 5s.) is a valuable search-light on a new aspect of Disarmament. He need make no apology for his initiative in this direction.

In my view, there is no inconsistency in his contribution to the efficient arming of the Forces during 1914-18, and his present efforts towards disarmament. Then, he was helping, as were others, to put out a blaze in Europe which Britain did not light; now he is helping to pull down the faggots that are being piled up for such another.

*Scientific Disarmament* exposes the nature and growth of a new armament race which the Governments of the world appear helpless to arrest. It shows that proposals for disarmament ignore the new chemical weapons which exist or may come into existence.

It proves that for 12 years the search for some solution of this vital armament question has resulted only in a pious promise not to use poison gases in chemical warfare. It uncovers facts to prove that the best inventive minds are strenuously engaged in devising compounds for chemical warfare for the destruction of both combatants and non-combatants alike.

"It is a farce," says the author, "to call off the armaments race in old weapons, and leave it in full blast for the newer weapons which will make them obsolete."

He shatters the arguments that the supposed inability to discriminate between commercial and war chemicals is any excuse for the unrestricted development of this armament. He also shows the inconsistency of insisting upon the prohibition of the manufacture and importation of poison gases, bombs, shells, etc., by Germany, while the nations which imposed those conditions refuse to accept them for themselves on the ground that they can-

not be fulfilled. Of course the matter cannot rest there, and Major Lefebure shows the fallacy of the contention that it should.

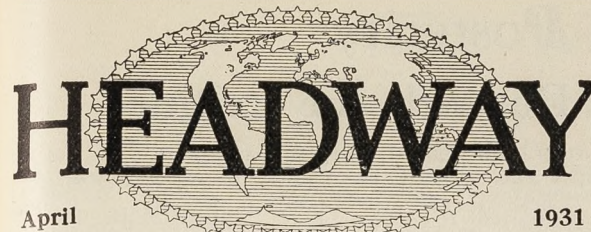
On the general question of Disarmament he shows that the time taken to convert an industry from peaceful to war products can be a substantial brake on the mobilisation of fighting forces, and could provide a period for peaceful negotiations should war be threatened. Thus, he asserts, not only would reduced armaments lessen the temptation to go to war, but the scientific assembly of armament facts relating to the conversion of peaceful industries to war products would show the possibility of delays which would give general confidence and security.

In my opinion the author proves from exhaustive evidence based on wide experience and knowledge the case for a scientific examination of the whole range of the armaments problem on new lines.

It is hoped that the Permanent Advisory Commission, which it is proposed to set up at Geneva, under the Disarmament Treaty will undertake such an examination, and if so, that the examination "should start systematically at the point and in the direction that was clearly intended after the disarmament of Germany."

Major Lefebure's book is a powerful appeal for such a technical examination as distinct from the solution of the important political problems which cannot be overlooked.

The technical examination, I personally believe, should begin immediately, so that an enlightened public opinion may be able to support our Government at the Disarmament Conference in February, 1932, in a wise scale of reduction, not only for control and supervision of armaments, but also for the absolute prohibition of all manufacture and apparatus required for chemical warfare.



## Peacemakers

NOTHING that has so far happened in the international field in 1931 compares in importance with the Anglo-Franco-Italian Naval Agreement concluded in the closing days of February and announced on March 1. This is one of those accords whose psychological value is out of all proportion to its detailed contents. Actually, it lays down the number of ships France and Italy respectively shall build in the next four or five years. Indirectly, it creates a new atmosphere in Europe and opens the door to the settlement of all sorts of difficulties that have kept two great Powers apart, and driven them further apart, for years.

That is a notable achievement, and it is worth looking at a little more closely, for there are lessons about method to be learned from it, as well as acknowledgments to be made to personalities. The essence of the problem to be solved was plain enough. In the London Naval Conference of 1930 five Powers took part. Three of them reached agreement with one another. Two of them, France and Italy, could not see their way to fit themselves into the general framework. There was no secret about the reason for that. They were putting forward two directly opposed and incompatible claims. Italy insisted that she must have a fleet of equal size with France's (the much-discussed "parity") in order to defend herself against possible French attack in the Mediterranean. France insisted that she must have a fleet equal to Italy's in the Mediterranean alone, and in addition a number of other ships to defend her northern and western coasts and her overseas colonies.

The Conference ended with a deadlock between France and Italy on this point, and the London Treaty was signed, as regards its essential chapters, by Great Britain, the United States and Japan only. But France and Italy agreed to continue negotiations, and both declared themselves confident of reaching ultimate agreement, though as both sides stuck firmly to the opposing principles on which they had taken their stand, it was not very clear what avenue to agreement lay open. However, the conversations did continue. They dragged on through the whole of 1930. And in 1931 both countries began building against one another.

Meanwhile, the British Government, and particularly the Foreign Secretary, was patiently watching. Mr. Henderson had offered his good offices to both parties from the outset, and, with the ready consent of both, a Foreign Office official, Mr. R. L. Craigie, was detached to associate himself with the French and Italian experts in their search for a solution. Just how the conversations went, and just how valuable Mr. Craigie's help was, it is quite beyond the power of the ordinary man to determine, for the conversations at that stage were of necessity secret. The open diplomacy

for which President Wilson stood requires that every agreement when reached should be made public to the world, not that every sentence spoken in the course of highly delicate and complex negotiations should be shouted through a megaphone.

There are, in fact, two possible explanations for the sudden and unexpected move made by Mr. Henderson and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Alexander, towards the end of February. One is that the three-cornered conversations had gone so well that the way was laid open for the Ministers to come in and just give the finishing touches. The other is that they were going so badly that nothing but a dramatic and almost desperate intervention could save the situation. No published facts enable us to decide which of those alternative assumptions is the correct one, nor does it greatly matter now. The situation, whatever it may have been, was saved, and the Franco-Italian accord is to-day an accomplished fact.

It is obvious that the man we have to thank most for that is Mr. Henderson. His colleagues, M. Briand and Signor Grandi, recognise that as fully and as generously as anyone. The resolve to act suddenly at a particular moment required both vision and courage, and it has been abundantly justified by the event. Mr. Henderson has round him able and experienced advisers, and it is not to be supposed that their counsel played no part in his decision. But it was Mr. Henderson, in any case, who had to take the final step. He might have had to face criticism if it had failed. He is therefore abundantly entitled to the credit for its success.

And here a factor largely new in diplomacy since the war—that is to say, since the League of Nations was founded—comes in. Mr. Henderson decided to go to Paris and see M. Briand and to Rome and see Signor Grandi. He knew them both personally. If he had been a pre-war Foreign Secretary he would almost certainly have known neither. Both of them, moreover, trusted him completely. With that knowledge—for even the most modest of men knows roughly how he stands with his friends—Mr. Henderson started with strong cards in his hand, though in playing them he was obviously taking risks. But he played and won, and the result was an agreement reflecting equal credit on France and Italy, and giving equal satisfaction to both. There were concessions on both sides, as there had to be. Italy has stopped talking about parity, on the understanding that she has not abandoned the principle. France has been satisfied with a smaller margin over Italy than she had constantly been claiming. Building programmes are both reduced and fixed, and the naval competition that was poisoning relations between the two countries is at an end. The sudden change in tone of the Rome and Paris Press is the best testimony to what has been accomplished. Not every detail, certainly, is ideal. France is still building far more submarines than can be justified on any reasonable theory of national needs. But the essential achievement, as has been said, is not what the agreement contains but the agreement itself. And there is every reason for believing that the agreement would never have been possible if three men had not learned to know one another personally at Geneva and to co-operate as sympathetic human beings instead of as instinctively antagonistic units in diplomatic machines. Mr. Henderson, M. Briand, and Signor Grandi would all acknowledge that.



## Trustees of Posterity

### What Has the Citizen to Do with the League?

WRITING in 1845 Beaconsfield declared in his novel "Sybil" that the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity. In the editorial pen of the most recent issue of the Educational Survey of the League of Nations utters the same sentiment—perhaps less ably—in the words: "We have to remember that the future will depend on the young, those who are to-day in the schools and universities, and therefore very largely on the teaching they receive. Consequently, the League will live if young people learn to believe in it."

By a curious coincidence the Educational Survey appeared—a month late, as is too often the case with League publications—just as Professor A. E. Zimmern was delivering at Oxford the inaugural lecture of the Montague Burton Chair of International Relations, of which he is the first holder. The lecture, be it observed, has since been published by the Clarendon Press, and is one of the most valuable contributions to international thought that has recently appeared.

#### Adjusting Perspectives

There is still lacking a philosophical background to internationalism. The world has not yet placed all this new work, of which the League of Nations is perhaps the most pre-eminent example, into the proper relationship to its national activities and to the lives of its private citizens. There is, it is true, developing a sense of wider loyalty which embraces the world, but that realisation has only been vouchsafed to a few thinkers in the forefront of the Peace movement. It has not to any considerable extent penetrated into the seats of learning as represented by the Universities.

The existence of three Chairs of International Relations in England and Wales is evidence of a move in the right direction. At London and Aberystwyth they have been in existence for some years, but it has been left to Professor Zimmern to link this new movement to the ordinary academic life. By no means let us belittle the work done and being done elsewhere; the circumstances of the newer universities are different. For nine hundred years, if not longer, Oxford has been a seat of learning, and its especial characteristic has been the concentration on *literae humaniores*, the giving of its sons (and daughters) a wide background which has enabled them to place events in their proper perspectives, and themselves to be worthy citizens.

#### Internationalism at Oxford

What is the field to which this new Chair has been assigned, asked Professor Zimmern. Without following all the steps in his able argument (for it is really worth quoting *in extenso* and curtailment would rob it of its full effect) he comes to the conclusion that the study of international relations is an intellectual discipline and, as such, can be ranked on the same plane as all the other "schools," and further that it can be fitted into the traditional system of Oxford learning. But he went on to ask further questions based on how the philosophic mode of approach can be related to present day necessities; and if there is not an urgency about the whole matter which will hardly be satisfied by a long distance

programme based upon the acceptance of Nationality as a spiritual element in the modern world.

These queries are answered directly. "A University," he says, "is not a cloister. Knowledge, in the modern world, cannot be divorced from civic responsibility. No student of international affairs is justified, just because he is a student and is striving after detachment, in abdicating his responsibility as a citizen." The main duty of the teacher is to teach men to observe, to see the world as it is, and to realise for themselves how new conditions have created new problems. The new institutions to solve these problems must be sheltered for a generation if they are to survive to serve the needs of mankind. There is little time left for the work to be done, but done it must be or the world will have to face the consequences of its lackadaisical policy.

#### Begin with the Schools

Thus we have presented to us a philosophic basis upon which we can build. Though not formulated in so many words before, it has been latent in many minds. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation early in its history was not slow to see and to grasp the opportunity. Through the schools of the world the future success of the League could be ensured. No child should go out into the world without some direct knowledge of the working of the League of Nations nor without having inculcated with it the necessity for international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs. For this reason the sub-committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth was set up. Its most recent meeting took place last July. Its report is published in the same number of the "Educational Survey" to which reference was made in the first paragraph. Though it contains no startling new departures, the document continues to emphasise the need of effort. It advocates further recourse to the three great channels of popularisation that exist, namely, the cinema, the wireless and the Press.

#### Japan in the Van

In most countries in the elementary schools some steps have been taken to carry the Recommendations of the Sub-committee of Experts into effect. Again quoting from the Educational Survey we find that the two "Common Chapters" published by the League as the core of any handbook to be published for the use of teachers or pupils, have been translated into Japanese and distributed. Latvia, Luxembourg and Yugoslavia report some action as having been taken. In Great Britain, as we know, the League of Nations Union has devoted a large part of its energies to educational activities, and the results have amply justified the labour expended.

But still even in this country it is not yet possible to say that all our rising citizens are imbued with the wider loyalty so that, to quote Professor Zimmern once more, "Nationality can flower unafraid in a free unembarrassed society of peoples." There is still work to be done in the training colleges, in the universities and lastly amongst those who write the text books used in the teaching of history, geography or civics, so that they too may be purged of all that militates against good feeling amongst nations.

## The Wheat Glut

### Can The European Grower Be Saved?

ON March 26th, while this issue of HEADWAY was being printed, a World Wheat Conference opened at Rome. What came of it will be recorded and discussed a month hence. What went before it and brought it about needs to be recorded now. For the importance of the Conference, whether it fails or succeeds in its endeavours, is great.

The root-cause of the trouble—for it was real trouble that called the Rome Conference into being—is that the farmers of the world have been growing more wheat than the bread-eaters of the world can consume. Perhaps it would be better to say, than would-be bread-eaters can afford to buy. At any rate, the farmers cannot get their wheat sold, and in the endeavour to dispose of it they have had to cut prices to a level that means bankruptcy for the farms.

#### Products and Prices

That has been true even of the great producers—Canada, the United States, Argentina, Australia—but in those countries there have been wheat pools, or Farm Boards, or some sort of official or unofficial institutions, to keep up prices artificially and look after the farmer's interests. Where it was possible, moreover, as it was in those countries, to produce wheat on a large scale, with the latest thing in ploughs and tractors and reapers and binders, the costs of production fell even more rapidly than the prices realised. But in the patchwork-quilt Europe of these days, each patch cut off from the others by high tariffs, with large estates broken up and transferred to peasant proprietors, and with relatively primitive agricultural methods still prevalent, the cost of production remains high.

That is why the present depression is hitting the European wheat-grower harder than the American or the Australian, and that is why the European wheat countries, notably Poland and Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary, decided a few months ago to make two moves—to co-operate with one another in wheat-producing and wheat-marketing, and to ask the wheat-consuming countries of Europe to eat European wheat in preference to overseas wheat.

#### Conference after Conference

A good deal has appeared about those two moves in HEADWAY at one time and another in the last six months. All sorts of conferences have been held to discuss the moves and get the demands pressed. Some were attended by as many as nine States, some by as few as two. There was one conference at Bucharest last July, another at Sinaia (also in Rumania) a week later, another at Warsaw in August, another at Bucharest again in October, another, for a second time, at Warsaw in November. And in the meantime the wheat question had been discussed at the League of Nations Assembly in September, when the wheat-growing British Dominions, Canada, Australia, and South Africa made it clear that they would have something to say to any proposal to give European wheat a preference over overseas wheat.

#### M. Briand Lends a Hand

And then came along M. Briand's new European Committee. The European wheat problem was obviously a most suitable question for the committee to take up, and at its meeting at Geneva last January it did take it up, appointing a sub-committee to go into the whole question, while the League's Financial Committee concerned itself simultaneously with the problem of how to help the farmer by arranging loans to tide him over till he has sold his wheat and got paid for it. That sub-committee, or, rather, two sub-committees dealing with different aspects of the question, met in Paris in February. They failed to reach any very definite conclusions, though they did decide by a majority vote that the consuming countries of Europe (almost every country, of course, both produces and consumes, but some, like Great Britain, consume much more than they produce and consequently have to import) should help the producers by taking the unsold surplus of last year's harvest off their hands.

#### All the World's Wheat

But the conferences made perfectly clear what had really been obvious enough all along—that you cannot talk about some wheat-producing countries without talking about all wheat-producing countries. A European wheat conference involves a world wheat conference, and the Europeans could take no major decision till they knew how the world conference, fixed for March 26th, would go. That is what gives the Rome Conference, mentioned in the first sentence of this article, its importance. Very few consuming nations in Europe are going simply to buy dear European wheat in preference to cheap American or Australian wheat. Some co-ordination between the two must be arranged, and one of the purposes of the Rome Conference was to arrange it.

#### New Companionships

The measure of success actually achieved must be discussed later. Meanwhile, the wheat problem in Europe has developed a highly important political aspect, quite apart from its economic aspect. Necessity makes strange bedfellows, and States like Rumania and Yugoslavia, on the one side, and Hungary, on the other, are finding it necessary to forget their traditional enmities and link themselves in a new companionship for the preservation of their economic existence. The importance of that cannot be exaggerated. It is inevitable that economic considerations should not only get mixed with political, but should ultimately overshadow them. That is happening very visibly in the case of the wheat-growing countries of Europe, and as the tendency develops considerable good may come out of apparent evil.

One final word. Russia has not so far been mentioned in this article. That is because Russia as a normal producer (as distinguished from Russia as a dumper) has, to all appearance, hardly been mentioned at the various conferences that have succeeded one another so rapidly since last July. But Russia can no more be left out of account among the wheat-producers than Canada or Australia or the United States. The sooner that is realised the better.



## Men Without Work

### Why Nations Must Face the Facts Together

WHATEVER the ultimate cause and cure of unemployment may be, one thing is certain, that the problem has its international aspects. Conditions in one country, in other words, are inevitably affected by conditions in another. That being so, it is not only legitimate but proper that both the League of Nations (through the International Labour Organisation) and the League of Nations Union should bring the subject under discussion, as the Union in fact did at an important conference held at the London School of Economics at the end of February.

#### The Labourer and His Hire

A variety of speakers discussed the question from a variety of angles, beginning with Professor Gilbert Murray, whose genius enables him to say a word in season on any subject under the sun. Speaking on "Gold and the Price Level" Professor Murray endorsed the view of Karl Marx that the labourer's proper wage is the equivalent of the fruit of his products, and that his wages should increase as his productivity does. But Prof. Murray did not commit the League of Nations Union to that doctrine or to any doctrine, except that our troubles have world wide causes and that they need international treatment. That dictum he fortified by quoting a letter which he had received from Mr. Reginald McKenna, in which the Chairman of the Midland Bank observed that "too much emphasis cannot be laid on the need for treating economic questions as international questions. All the world over we see severe industrial depression, which requires an international sense of responsibility if we are to find any real solution of our present difficulties."

#### Why Prices Fell

On the highly technical question of gold technicalities were bandied with zest by Professor C. J. Hamilton of the *Financial News* and Dr. O. M. W. Sprague of the Bank of England, while Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in language better adjusted to the comprehension of the common man, maintained that the long downward trend of prices which had preceded the actual collapse had been due to the restriction of credit, and took the view that the present price level must be raised, since the alternative of scaling down wages, capital charges, etc., would create a "purgatory" arising from the organised opposition of the Trade Union movement to wage reductions.

#### Social Service Costs

Another relevant problem, that of "Wages in Relation to Social Services," was dealt with by Mr. J. A. Hobson and Mr. H. H. Elvin, General Secretary of the National Union of Clerks. Both speakers defended the rapid growth of expenditure on social services on the ground that the money was well spent, Mr. Elvin claiming further that social services were a recognition by the State that all citizens were entitled to a full and complete life. By no means all the audience shared these views, and an animated discussion ensued, several speakers holding that social services resulted in a common benefit and that the cost should be borne wholly

by taxation. It fell to Sir William Beveridge to point out that both wages and social service costs had, for better or worse, to be paid out of the income of industry and trade. He could not doubt that unemployment insurance to-day tended in some degree to create unemployment by causing employers to maintain inefficient methods which they would otherwise abolish.

#### Mr. Ford's Way

Next came Sir Percival Perry, the Chairman of the Ford Motor Company, Ltd., who speaks with as high an authority as any man in England on wages and employment. Like Mr. Henry Ford, Sir Percival holds that adequate wages mean self-respect and efficient labour, resulting in more employment and lower production costs. Another effect of so-called high wages, he suggested, was the expansion of existing markets through increased purchasing power of the workers themselves, and the creation of new markets because the products of "good labour" always in the end turn out better and cheaper than the output of under-paid and under-fed staffs.

#### Minimum Wages

Concentrating more specifically on the international aspect of the whole problem, Professor J. H. Richardson, till lately a member of the International Labour Office staff and now Montague Burton Professor of Industrial Relations at Leeds University, explained the working of the International Convention on Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery, which, he observed, was defective in that it left it to the national Governments to decide to what industries the Convention should apply, and it made no provision for an international agreement on wages themselves. He believed such agreements were possible and desirable. Mr. Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, appeared to share that view, though his main point was to insist that it was futile to expect that any wage reduction in one country would improve the international trade situation, for it would inevitably be followed by similar wage-cuts elsewhere, resulting in renewed competition of equal intensity on a lower wage basis. The attitude of the International Trade Union movement to such a policy must be one of inflexible hostility.

#### The Value of Conferences

Of the interesting contributions of Mrs. Barbara Wootton, Professor Fred Hall, Major Walter Elliot, M.P., and Professor Robbins, no more than a bare mention can be made. They, as well as many other speakers from the floor, contributed to the success of an extremely useful conference. Such gatherings have a value which no mere report of the proceedings can properly convey. Their importance lies in the fact that their influence is pervasive, for they are attended mainly by persons who write or speak, and can thus transmit to different circles widely spread over the country the opinions expressed, and the conclusions—if any—reached. That kind of value cannot be accurately measured, but it is undeniably great.



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## Baffling the Forger

SCOTLAND YARD has been paying its first official visit to Geneva—for the detectives who regularly accompany the Foreign Minister there are not participants in the proceedings of committees. Superintendent George Nicholls, who went to the League city last month on behalf of the Criminal Investigation Department, was an active participant. That was why he was there. He was considering with colleagues of other countries how to concert international police measures against international gangs of forgers.

That project dates back to 1926, when M. Briand brought the question before the League Council. The *Banque de France* had suffered severely owing to the activities of several gentlemen in Hungary who had forged and then cashed at exchange offices large quantities of spurious 500 and 1,000 franc notes. The cashiers not being accustomed to handling French notes never detected the forgeries and cheerfully paid out on them. When eventually the notes reached Paris in the normal course of business, the whole thing came out. Of course, the notes were traced, but owing to the state of international law the criminals could not be touched. It also turned out that Czechoslovakia had suffered from their depredations.

The whole business was fully discussed before the Council, and after the Financial Committee, a Committee of Jurists, and Governments of States members of the League, had had their say at the several stages of the proceedings, a diplomatic Conference was summoned and sat at Geneva from April 9th to 20th, 1929. Thirty-five States were present and twenty-five signed the Convention with its Protocol and Final Act.

#### Getting into Line

The Convention aimed at the more effective prevention of forgery by various legislative and administrative measures. This for some countries involved altering their penal laws so as to bar the way to international criminals escaping from justice. But it has only just come into force, for only Bulgaria, Estonia, Spain and two other states have definitely sent in their ratifications, which is the minimum number of five necessary to make the Convention effective.

The Diplomatic Conference in 1929 also recommended that an enquiry should be made into other international measures that might be taken with a view to preventing the counterfeiting of other securities such as share certificates, cheques, or bills of exchange. But little action has so far been able to be taken on these matters. Last September the Council, however, decided to give effect to another Recommendation of the Conference, namely that a meeting of representatives of Central Police Offices should be called. This was now feasible since the 1929 Conference had provided that each nation should establish a central office for forgery questions, and as soon as there were fifteen that a meeting should be called. There are now some twenty of them. Hence Superintendent Nicholls' visit to Geneva. The committee he attended was so successful that similar meetings are to be held regularly in future to co-ordinate the action of the police of different countries over an increasingly wide field. The United States, it is worth adding, is co-operating fully in this.

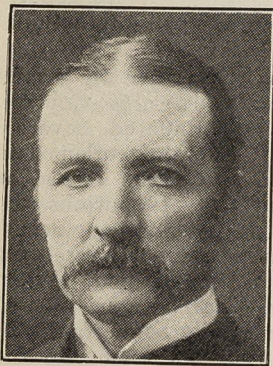


## Books Worth Reading

### FACTS AND ACTS

**The Great Analysis.** By William Archer. (Williams and Norgate. 2s.)

William Archer is remembered to-day, so far as he is remembered at all, as the translator of Ibsen and the author of that odd and very successful play "The Green Goddess." That, and his dramatic



Mr. William Archer

criticism, was the literary side of Archer. But anyone who knew him in the flesh (well I remember arguing the claims of the English counties with Archer at dinner at Eustace Miles' Restaurant more than twenty years ago and hearing him quote from "A Shropshire Lad" in support of his thesis) has long recognised in him one of the sanest and most suggestive of commentators on any problem in any sphere of life, political, educational (he was the anonymous writer of that excellent book "If Youth But Knew") or religious.

"The Great Analysis" is a reprint of an essay published anonymously—Archer had singularly little pride of authorship—in 1912, and it has occurred to someone to resurrect it after twenty years so that its ideas may be compared with their partial realisation. Professor Gilbert Murray, who was apparently as assiduously writing introductions in those days as he has been ever since, presented Archer to the public then, and he re-presents him in the edition of 1931, summing him up incidentally in a sentence which is at the same time (whether Professor Murray realised it or not) a portrait and a mirror: "He had a rare power of walking up to a social problem or a work of literature, seeing it fairly and squarely, and saying about it not what was startling but just what happened to be true."

But after all, the book's the thing, and a review must not run off into an estimate of an author, even though in this case the book needs to be commended by a reminder of who the author was. And the book itself it nothing more nor less than a study—or rather a plea that a study should be made—of how the world ought to live. There may seem to be nothing very profound in that. Perhaps there is not. Archer never claimed, or supposed, he was writing anything profound. He merely thought he was writing something obvious, so obvious perhaps that it had been a little overlooked. And though he realised as well as any man that the world could not stop its machinery while it took stock of itself, and then start it again with readjustments, he did, for purposes of his argument, assume the county of Yorkshire to have broken loose from its moorings and gone whirling into space to continue revolving as a microscopic planet with all its population and natural resources still on board.

How that illustration, with the problems it presented of a reshaped life, paves the way for a discussion of a reshaped world cannot be traced in detail here. Any who are interested in the idea (only human beings will be really interested, but

most of them should be) must go to the book itself. On the whole it is the conclusion that matters most. Archer wants more thought applied to human affairs. He wants "the great analysis" carried out by a body which he consents to describe as an International College of Systematic Sociology, but which he would really rather call a World-Witengemot, "a conclave of representative investigators and thinkers brought together not by election but by selection from all quarters of the globe."

Now the interesting thing about this is that since Archer wrote—nearly twenty years after he wrote—that method has been employed officially, with signal success and on a large enough scale to give it far-reaching importance, in the Simon Report on India. In the February HEADWAY Mr. Wickham Steed adduced strong arguments for the application of such a method to the problems of Europe in particular. These ideas demand further thought. The fact-finding commission, a commission that will do exactly what Gilbert Murray says Archer himself always did—walk up to a problem, see it fairly and squarely and say about it just what happens to be true—could be of immense assistance to the League of Nations or to any European, or Asiatic, or South American Committee the League might find it well to organise. We may be grateful to Archer for bringing us back, or leading us on, to that.

H. W. H.

### SHORTER NOTICES

**Problems of Peace.** Fifth Series. Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1930. Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.

As the editor says in his Introduction, the volumes of the Geneva Institute contain a unique symposium of views and information on the nature and growth of the League. They make a valuable running commentary on the history of the post-war efforts to secure peace. The present volume contains lectures by Professor Rappard on the beginnings of world government; Sir Andrew MacFadyean on International Banking and Finance; Dr. Kastl on Mandates; Professor Siegfried, Dr. Brierly, Mr. J. L. Garvin, Professor Zimmern, and others.

**Let's Help.** A collection of Good Causes. By Sir Charles Bright, F.R.S.E., M.Inst.C.E. (Routledge. 4s.)

Here we have a collection of fairly full information concerning those organisations which the author regards as "of outstanding importance in their propaganda and working." It is gratifying to us to see that the League of Nations Union is put first and is followed by a reprint of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' speech at the Guildhall last October.

As a reference book to the aims, objects and addresses, together with some account of their work, Sir Charles Bright has done a service to the many societies he has covered. The range is wide, for, besides such obvious ones as Toc H and the Boy Scout Movement, amongst the 46 he has taken in co-partnership, the Town Planning Association and the Royal Literary Fund.

**Disarmament.** Facts, Figures, Quotations. Compiled by G. A. Innes. L.N.U. London Regional Federation. 1d.

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HEADWAY—APRIL



## Readers' Views

## THE USE OF FORCE

SIR,—I think that Professor Murray has done a service to the League, as well as to the cause of peace, by reminding us of our pledges and our obligations.

There are too many who think of the League only as an agency for peaceful adjustments of world problems in the light of commitments of the World Peace Treaty. They are for the most part highly sensitive and pure-souled friends of peace who shrink from violence at all costs. Article XVI, especially, of the Covenant they regard as a blot because non-peaceful. Let us, they say, get on with peaceful international co-operation, but leave us free to have nothing to do with coercion.

I wish it could be so. And, in a world of the future, it will be so. But these friends of ours forget two things: first, they forget that we are all pledged by the terms of the Covenant to international co-operation in its defence; and second, that the coercive measures adumbrated in the Covenant are for the police enforcement of laws agreed on.

As Professor Murray points out, there is a lack of precision in the terms of the Covenant. I have always thought that the Frenchmen were right in seeking to get those terms given a more precise meaning, but, perhaps, that was impossible in the conditions of 1919. The League, however, has, I believe, suffered and is weakened thereby. Are we pledged, by Article XVI, to international co-operation in defence of the Covenant, or is that Article regarded as just so much eye-wash?

It is quite evident that the latter view is gaining ground in this country, and, to the extent to which it is gaining ground generally, armaments for national defence will be, at all events, defended, if not justified. It is no good saying to a Frenchman that, under Article XVI, each nation is pledged to do certain things if a nation is attacked. As a logical-minded person he wants to know if the nations of the League are willing to take part in making provision for common action. And he is right. If there was agreement in regard to common action, then it would be known to all and sundry that an aggressor would be instantly deprived of the advantages of association with other nations, and that even worse might follow. That, to my mind, is what is needed as deterrent.

But the traditional American sea policy here comes in conflict—or might cause conflict—with those defending the Covenant. That is why I have always attached primary importance to every effort made to effect a settlement with America on this matter.

It is a pity, as Professor Murray says, that Locarno did not provide for disarmament as a condition of defence. And, it is matter for congratulation that the scheme of financial assistance agreed to at Geneva provides for assistance to that nation alone which disarms in accordance with the findings of the World Conference, now happily fixed for the spring of next year. Inferentially it, of course, follows withholding of financial backing to the aggressor nation. I hope, however, that this scheme is not regarded as a substitute for the more robust provisions of the Covenant, buttressed as these are now by the Kellogg Pact, and as they may be by agreement with America on "Freedom of the seas."—Yours, etc.,

GEORGE N. BARNES.

Herne Hill.

## THE SANCTIONS PROBLEM

SIR,—One of the world's greatest needs at present is a reasonable plan for putting pressure on recalcitrant or aggressive nations without embarking on a course involving war. In this connection, it seems a pity that so little use has been made of the admirable suggestion, proposed by Sir Thomas Holland, when President of the British Association, that if a nation were refused minerals it would find that its sinews of war were cut. "I could give," he said, "a list of nations that could not go on fighting for a week." Even a nation with such huge natural resources as the United States requires manganese for steel, manganese can only be got from the British Empire, and munitions without steel are crippled. Once we strike at the making of munitions we strike at the possibility of modern war. Here is an effective pressure which would involve the minimum of interference with trade.

The great drawback of most proposals for "Economic Sanctions" has been that they involve so drastic an interference with trade that many neutrals object with what may seem disproportionate violence, but in any case a violence such as to make the sanctions inoperative without the risk of spreading war. The outstanding instance in everyone's mind is the attitude of the United States. But it is one thing to ask the United States to give up all trade whatever with a recalcitrant country and a very different thing to ask it not to supply that country with minerals. Nothing is more important than to use *only so much* pressure as may be necessary for the purpose.

If the pressure were to involve the refusal of food to the recalcitrant nation, a strong humanitarian feeling would be added, and ought to be added, to all other objections. For, whatever may be thought about the effect of starvation in shortening a given war, there can be no doubt that, under modern conditions it strikes harder and quicker at the weaker of the civilian population. When Pres. Hoover proposed to except food-ships from any blockade he was speaking out of a wide and deep experience. And he indicated, by the proposal itself, the principles which ought to guide us, the minimum interference with the life and health of human beings, the maximum interference with munitions.

It ought not, therefore, in my opinion, to be considered a defiance of the League if a nation made money by selling food supplies, *within reason*, to a recalcitrant nation, but, on the contrary, a carrying-out of the great principle underlying the League itself, the recognition that even when at variance all men are brothers. I say "within reason," for it is obvious that, if a recalcitrant nation were allowed to shift all its workers from raising food supplies on to the direct business of war, it would at once gain an advantage. But this difficulty could easily be met by the plan of rationing. On the other hand, no one should consider it an unfriendly or an unneutral act for any nation, even a nation not within the League, to refuse material for munitions to a Power itself refusing arbitration. On the contrary, this should be the recognised duty of every nation: a course of action clear, simple, not too onerous, effective and humane.—Yours, etc.,

F. MELIAN STAWELL.



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## [Readers' Views—continued]

## AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

SIR,—A reduction of armaments is the world's greatest need. The expression "disarmament" creates misunderstanding and excites opposition. Surely the pledged word of the signatories of the Versailles Treaty to reduce world armaments must be redeemed.

And yet, more than ten years after that solemn pledge was ratified, the League is, in my opinion, wasting valuable time in trying to devise a scheme which whilst reducing armaments, will give each nation security—I fear an impossible task. If we are really in earnest, why not boldly grasp the nettle and use the splendid machinery of the League for organising and establishing an International Police Force, and at the same time reducing national armaments to the requirements of National Police? The absence of such a force which can alone provide necessary security against illegal and aggressive action will, I fear, drive the newly-formed nations, and possibly others, into alliances and armament rivalry which experience must have taught us, leads to war.

What is the good of a Permanent Court of Justice and all the other beneficent machinery of the League of Nations, unless behind it is a force capable in the name of Reason and Justice of enforcing its decrees? As well expect our Courts of Justice to enforce respect for law and order without an efficient police force to carry out their decrees. The old idea of "each nation for itself and the devil take the hindmost" still commends itself to people who are blind to the needs of the world of to-day. Discoveries of science have so improved means of communication and made mankind so interdependent, that to-day such a policy is but a relic of mediævalism.

Still, it is no good shutting one's eyes to the fact that this idea still exists; therefore, until Reason and Justice are the guiding principles of international policy, they must be backed up by force—controlled and directed by the League of Nations—in the interests of mankind.—Yours faithfully,

FRANK H. CARPENTER,

Hon. Secretary, Wallingford Branch, L.N.U.

## CONTENT OR DISCONTENTED?

SIR.—May we through your columns call attention to a memorandum which we, the undersigned (with Captain Pelham Burn, who is at present abroad), have drawn up with the object of discovering, if possible, whether members of the Union at large are content with its present organisation and progress? The memorandum consists of two parts, of which the first is critical, while the second makes some tentative suggestions for reform.

Secretaries of Branches or other local organisations who would care to consider this document (e.g., by the appointment of a special committee to discuss it) are asked to write for copies to the first signatory of this letter, who will be glad to receive a brief report intimating general agreement or the reverse.—We are, yours faithfully,

ALEXANDER H. GORDON.

ARTHUR F. HORT.

Chalfont St. Giles,  
Bucks.



## Some Points about Disarmament

1. The word **DISARMAMENT** means in effect the progressive limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement.

### 2. MORAL REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

There are treaty pledges contained in Article 8 of the Covenant, in the Fifth Chapter of the Versailles Treaty and in the Protocol of the Locarno Agreements.

In 1919 the Allies promised Germany that her disarmament was but the first step to general disarmament.

Statesmen in speeches to the Assembly and to their national Parliaments have made definite promises and statements to the effect that their policies are aimed at effecting Disarmament.

### 3. MILITARY REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

Great armaments lead to war. That danger is not past. Three and a-half millions is still the peace strength of Europe's standing armies, only 500,000 less than in 1913 despite the forced disarmament of ex-enemy powers.

Scientific inventions have increased killing power. Large scale organisation can mobilise a whole population. The pace, violence and area of warfare is so widened that civilisation itself is threatened.

Gases more deadly than those of the last war have been perfected, both as to their preparation and as to their utilisation.

Bombs of 4,000 lbs. can be carried by aeroplane. The burst throws up a mass of *débris* twice as high as St. Paul's Cathedral. The crater is 64 ft. across and 19 ft. deep, with a rim 5 ft. high.

### 4. POLITICAL REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

Large armaments cause insecurity in other countries and distort their international policies in consequence.

Fear, too, shakes the delicate structure of credit on which commerce depends.

### 5. ECONOMIC REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

Armaments cost the world £890,000,000 a year. They cost Europe £524,000,000. The 1931 estimates for Great Britain are £109,635,000.

Of every pound raised in taxation about 3s. goes on present armaments and about 11s. to pay for past wars and their effects, *i.e.*, in pensions and allowances.

According to Sir Josiah Stamp real disarmament for the mass of the people would mean the difference between poverty and comfort owing to the rise made possible in the standard of living.

### 6. LOGICAL REASONS FOR DISARMAMENT.

Fifty-four nations are bound by the League Covenant.

Sixty-one nations are bound by the Kellogg Pact, by which war as an instrument of national policy is outlawed and the signatories pledged to a peaceful settlement.

Thirty-five nations are bound by the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice, by which all "justiciable" disputes must be brought before the Court for settlement on the basis of international law.

Ten nations are bound by the League's General Act, by which a settlement of any "non-justiciable" dispute can be reached by peaceful means.

The Washington Agreements, the London Naval Treaties and the recent Franco-Italian Naval Agreements have proved that it is not impossible to produce a workable plan to reduce armaments. The race in naval armaments is definitely ended as their consequence, and there is less need for national armaments.

The League has got a realisable plan in the shape of its Draft Convention completed last December. By it can be limited and reduced the personnel of the fighting services, the expenditure on them and on the material for their use. Its provisions can be made effective by the new Permanent Disarmament Commission which it proposes to set up.

**So the World Must Disarm**

# League of Nations Union News

## SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY

April, 1931

### How It Works

A SOCIETY with the wide objects of the Union possesses of necessity a somewhat complex organisation. A study of the Annual Report reveals that in addition to the Executive Committee there are also eighteen sub-committees who advise the Executive on a circle of problems concerning either the work of the League or the work to be done by the Union in co-operation with other bodies at home and abroad. The itemised Expenditure side of the accounts shows fifteen sections of the Head Office and ten regional offices outside London.

All this is rather confusing. Actually it is all part of a connected whole, a complete organism designed to carry out the will of the members and branches of the Union as expressed through the General Council and the Executive Committee.

The ultimate responsibility of the conduct of the Union's affairs rests of course upon the General Council. But, owing to the fact that it is unable to meet at very frequent intervals, the Royal Charter allows the Executive Committee to act for the Union subject to any directions given by the General Council. The Executive meets two or three times a month. This committee in its turn instructs the Secretary of the Union, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, who then carries out its decisions with the help of the other members of the Union's Secretariat, all of whom are responsible to him as he is responsible to the Executive.

The advisory sub-Committees, such as the Education Committee or the Christian Organisations Committee—which is, we would imagine, the only body in England upon which representatives of the Salvation Army and the Roman Catholic Church sit down cheek by jowl with Anglicans, Presbyterians and Free Churchmen—generally have as their secretaries the head of the corresponding section of the Secretariat.

Before action is taken on the Minutes of these Sub-Committees, they have to be approved and adopted by the Executive Committee.

Several of these advisory Sub-Committees, such as the Minorities Committee, or the Mandates Committee, are concerned with the work of the League rather than of the Union. They suggest steps which may be taken to implement it or improve upon decisions taken at Geneva. Usually their findings are sent by the Executive via the Overseas Committee to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and in that way are brought officially to the notice of the League's Assembly since the resolutions passed by the annual Congress of the International Federation are presented each September to the President of the Assembly and

then printed in the daily Journal so that every delegate is able to realise the direction in which are setting the currents of League opinion.

The purely administrative side of the Union has to be complicated. There are nearly half a million subscriptions to be handled every year. The daily post that has to be registered and sent to its proper destination amounts sometimes to 700 or 800 letters a day. It is nothing unusual for the Union's postage bill to amount to £30 a week. When each month HEADWAY is being distributed some five or six 30-cwt. Post Office vans are loaded and sent off. It has even become worth the while of the Railway Companies to call regularly twice a day to cope with the literature parcels that are sent away by passenger train. The telephone operator has to deal with seventy and more internal and external telephone calls an hour during a busy period.

All of this may sound as if we were blowing our own trumpets. We do nothing of the kind. We state the facts and we hope that our readers will draw their own conclusions as to the way in which we at Headquarters endeavour to serve them.

The work of the Union is multifarious. It has to have its links everywhere. We cannot exist without good relations with other organisations, hence the need for special officers in touch with the Women's, Christian and Religious, or Industrial organisations, be they Employers or Trade Unions. We need to be on good terms with the Press, hence a special Press officer. We exist to collect and supply League information. That the Intelligence Section, the Library and, to a minor extent, the other departments effect. Speakers have to be obtained for meetings to the tune of between five and six thousand a year. Often to arrange one meeting needs as many as a dozen letters and then the speaker fails and another has to be found at the eleventh hour by wire or 'phone. Finally there is all the educational work in schools, training colleges and universities. Is it any wonder that several people find all their time taken up in making the League an effective reality in the educational world?

No! Headquarters may be complex, but it is not hard to understand. Each cog fits into the machine and the united result is little by little to "secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right, the organ of international co-operation, the final arbiter in international differences, and the supreme instrument for removing injustices which may threaten the peace of the world."



## A London Letter

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

### The Million Mark

The rapid growth of the Union's membership up to the million mark must be an important feature of our efforts to ensure the success of the World Disarmament Conference. Increase of membership is primarily a matter for individuals. We all know that personal canvassing is a trial, few people enjoy it; most of us dislike it; but it is absolutely essential to success. It is not too much to say that the one way in which we can make Disarmament succeed is to show the tremendous growth of our Society. Let us aim at 1,000,000!

### The Disarmament Declaration

Most people know that the Women's International League is obtaining signatures for the Disarmament Declaration which it has produced. The Executive Committee of the Union wish to make it clear that they strongly approve of the Disarmament Declaration as a means of awakening public interest in the campaign, and feel that any members of the Union who are able to promote the signature of the Declaration can make it the opportunity of winning support for the League of Nations Union. One of the best ways to obtain support for the Union is to undertake a house-to-house canvass with the Declaration. The canvasser should ask adult members of the household to join the Union if not already a member, and then to sign the Declaration.

### For Foreign Students

There has been quite a little burst of activity on the part of the section that deals amongst many other things with making foreign students in London feel at home. Receptions have been given for their benefit by several hostesses, the most successful of which was one at which Dr. Kuangson Young was to have spoken, but illness prevented him, and so his place was taken at short notice by Lord Dickinson. Sixty-five students representing twenty-three nationalities were present. The Wimbledon Rotary Club, too, has set a good example by inviting seven German students to its luncheon. Other Rotary Clubs may feel disposed to do the same sort of thing.

### Foundation Members

Quite a number of new Foundation Members are being obtained through the kindness of some of our London supporters. A tea party is arranged at which there is a short address on the work of the League and an appeal for Union membership. It is quite surprising the results that are obtained. Keen people who can manage it can do a great deal towards promoting the cause of the Union by means of hospitality blended with quiet propaganda.

### "Wages and Employment"

It is proposed to publish a report of last month's most successful Conference on "Wages and Employment," but the decision to publish will rest upon the number of orders which are received within the next week or two. The cost of the report will be 2s. 6d. nett, postage extra, or thirteen copies for the price of twelve. Will members who desire copies please write to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

## Publicity

SIR CHARLES HIGHAM has claimed that the three great factors of to-day are the Press, the Cinema and the Wireless.

It is with the first that the Publicity Committee of the Union is mostly concerned. In the first place the Union endeavours to keep in touch with the national newspapers and through its Publicity Section ever to be at the service of any journalists who seek information either on the League of Nations itself or on the attitude of the League of Nations Union towards any particular problem.

In the second place, by means of regular contributions to the local Press up and down the country, the Press Section of the Union endeavours to keep before the people news of the activities of the League and of the International Labour Organisation. Constantly seeing how more and more problems have international aspects and are being dealt with through the machinery provided at Geneva, the League will become a household word and it may be that readers of local newspapers will have their interests sufficiently awakened to go to Union meetings, hear more, and become members, Foundation or Registered.

Public meetings form a second wing of the Publicity side of the union. The task of providing speakers for meetings is no sinecure. No branch—to start with—is content with a humble person. It must needs be a "national figure." Tact, patience and perseverance have contributed to making the Public Meetings Department one of the best known sections of the Union outside the circles immediately in touch with 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

All this work the Publicity Committee helps to push forward. At the same time it advises the Executive Committee of the Union upon the news value of any particular policy, upon the advisability of any particular publication and in general suggests new channels for making the League and the Union known. It is a comprehensive task but its members are equal to it. Amongst them are to be found journalists, publicity men, editors and others, all of whom are steeped in "Publicity" every day and all day.

## June in Geneva

As in former years, the League of Nations Union party will leave London for Geneva on Saturday, June 6th. It will study the work of the International Labour Conference.

The party will include members of Employers' Organisations, Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies, Members of the League of Nations Union and any other persons who are interested in International Labour Legislation and who wish to see at first hand the work of the League of Nations and the I.L.O. The return party leaves Geneva on Saturday evening, June 13th, and the fee is ten and a-half guineas.

Geneva is certainly at its best in June and there can be no doubt, in the words of a member of last year's group, that "anyone desiring a knowledge of international relations cannot spend a holiday in a more profitable manner than by availing themselves of the opportunity thus offered."

Fuller details can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## Notes and News

### Annual Reports

The Editor much regrets that consideration of space renders it absolutely impossible to do justice in these columns to the many interesting Annual Reports which continue to come in from all parts of the country. Amongst many others we have received Annual Reports from the following Branches:—

Fraserburgh, Sheringham, Southbourne, Upper Norwood, Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church, Cockermouth, Crawley, Oxted and Limpsfield, Ashbourne, Oxford, Belfast, Lingfield, Gledholt Wesleyan Church, Addlestone, Barton Hill, Worthing, Harrow, Barnes, Chard, Buckhurst Hill, Felixstowe, North Hackney, Lincoln, Beckenham, Newquay, Heathfield and Waldron and District, Maidstone.

### Peace Exhibition

At the Central School, Oswaldtwistle, there is a Junior Branch. On their own initiative the members of the Branch organised an exhibition of various articles collected by themselves with the object of helping them to realise the dress and customs of the people in the various countries that comprise the League of Nations. The school-room was divided into sections, one for each Member State, and the children, most of whom wore national costume, were in charge of their own section. They thoroughly enjoyed showing their exhibits including, in most cases, the envelopes and letters from their foreign correspondents. A teacher in Czechoslovakia sent a costume doll accompanied by a letter to the pupils describing the national costumes and the occasions on which these costumes were worn in different villages. The exhibition aroused considerable interest in the town.

### To Letter Writers

A number of Estonian young people, boys and girls, between 16 and 21, are anxious to exchange letters (in English) with English people of their own age. Headquarters has also the names and addresses of a few young Germans who wish to write to young Englishmen.

Would any member who would like to correspond with any of these please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, giving his or her age?

### A Course of Sociology

We are asked to announce that Professor Geddes of 3, Netherton Grove, London, S.W.10, is organising an Introductory Course in the Training for Social Sciences at the Scots College, Montpellier. Professor Geddes will supply all information.

### Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their quota for 1930:—

Frinton-on-Sea (completed in January), Barlaston, Blewurst, Biddulph Moor, Bristol, Stapleton Road Congregational Church, Birkenhead West, Broadstairs, Burpham, Bozeat, Clevedon, Colchester, Harlow, Maidenhead, Paignton, Rochester, St. Albans, Stockton-on-Tees, Thornbury, Witney, Whittington, Wigton.

And these for 1931:—

Clandon, Coalville, Highley, Mullion, Shawbury, Whittington.

### "Sense and Nonsense"

Such was the title of an entertainment given by the Hampstead Junior Branch which in two years has raised its membership to 1,068 drawn from the 26 Hampstead Schools. Every month the secretaries meet to discuss how best to keep up interest in and knowledge of the work of the League. For "Sense and Nonsense" the Town Hall was crowded. The programme included dances, plays, fantasies, sketches, songs, and last, but not least, an address on the League of Nations. Other towns in which there are several Junior Branches might well consider forming such a Junior Branch District Council as that in Hampstead.

### The Dunmow Flitch

The profit from the ceremonies concerned with the Dunmow Flitch last year have been divided between the local Branch of the League of Nations Union and the Saffron Waldron Liberal Association. Though the windfall for the local Branch is only 2s. 0½d., nevertheless the sentiment which inspired the donation has been much appreciated.

### International Scientific Congress

The Second International Congress on the History of Science and Technology will take place at the end of June with the Science Museum at South Kensington as its headquarters. The aim of the Congress is to provide an opportunity for intercourse and interchange of thought between all those who are interested in various departments of the history of science and technology. A full programme has been arranged of discussions and receptions at various places of interest such as the Royal Observatory and Kew. Further particulars can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary of the Congress, H. W. Dickinson, The Science Museum, London, S.W.7.

### A Birthday Party

The Chelmsford High School Junior Branch gave a party to celebrate the 11th birthday of the League of Nations and invited the members of Junior Branches in the other High Schools in the County. At tea, which included cakes made in the Cookery School by the girls themselves, there was cut, with appropriate ceremony, a large iced cake with eleven candles burning upon it. Later in the day, a play written and produced by members of the Junior Branch entitled "The Peace Crusaders," was presented. Considering the circumstances of its production, those who saw it were unanimous in its praise.

### Glasgow

The Annual Report of the West of Scotland District Council shows that there has been an increase of membership of 8,000 during the past two years bringing the total to 24,673. The printed report summarises the District Council's activities under the headings of Education, Autumn Schools, International Federation of League of Nations Societies, Scholarships, B.U.L.N.S. Congress, Churches, Meetings and Speakers, and lastly Area Activities. Miss Mina MacDonald, the Secretary, of 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow, will be pleased to give further information to anybody who is interested.



### The International Peace Bureau

The Directorate of the International Peace Bureau decided, at a meeting held in Paris on February 8th, that the 28th Universal Peace Congress should take place at Brussels from the 5th to 9th July. The agenda will include:—

- (1) *Disarmament.* (The means to be adopted for ensuring that the Disarmament Conference of 1932 shall result in a substantial reduction of Armaments.
- (2) *Federation of Europe.* (Its relation to disarmament, the organisation of an international police and the economic situation).

### Paris Section, League of Nations Union

Professor André Siegfried made a brilliant speech to the Paris Section of the League of Nations Union on February 23rd, at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Professor Siegfried took as his subject "La Psychologie du Français dans la Politique Etrangère," and his masterly handling of such a complex theme was warmly appreciated by his large Anglo-French audience. Professor Siegfried, through this lecture, has done much to increase good understanding between French and British people in Paris.

### Societies Elsewhere

The inauguration of a Women's Section of the League of Nations Association of Japan took place in January. About five hundred people were present. The aim is to secure three thousand new members during the year.

The National Convention of the League of Nations Association has been held in Chicago. The predominant note expressed was that the Association should take a more aggressive stand for American membership in the League of Nations.

A Branch of the League of Nations Union has been formed in Jamaica. The Hon. Secretary is the Rev. L. T. Comber, of Calabar High Schools, Kingston, Jamaica.

### London Arrangements

On Tuesday, April 21st, Lord Cecil will address a meeting in the Great Hall of University College, Gower Street. In order to bring home the facts of Disarmament a special little booklet has been prepared by the London Regional Federation Office which in quantities of 100 and over can be supplied at a special discount of 33½. At the same time, some special disarmament campaign posters have been prepared at the price of 2s. 6d. the set of six, or six sets, post free, 15s. 9d.

The results of the London Regional Federation's 1930 Essay Competition have now been announced. Miss Susan Maliniak of St. Martin's High School, Tulse Hill, has been awarded the first prize in the Senior Group. The subject of her essay was "The Tracing of the Progress of the League from an Ideal to a Working Force." Mr. Vernon Bartlett acted as adjudicator of the 451 essays received. The prizes and certificates were publicly presented by Lady Gladstone at the end of March.

### Welsh Notes

The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Shrewsbury on March 17th. A full programme for this year was approved including arrangements for a comprehensive campaign on International Disarmament.

Preliminary arrangements are now being made for the party from Wales which will visit Geneva during August. It will be conducted by a representative of the Welsh National Council and an appeal is made to all members of the Union in Wales and Monmouthshire who are interested in this party to communicate forthwith with the Secretary of the Council at 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

The authorities of Coleg Harlech are arranging for an International Relations Week at that College, July 11th-18th next.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council is to be held at Cardiff on June 5th and 6th next.

The May number of the Welsh Youth Magazine "Cymru'r Plant," through the kindness of the editor, Mr. Ifan ab Owen Edwards, is again being issued as a Goodwill number and will supplement the world wireless message on May 18th.

### New Union Publication

No. 294, "World Disarmament." By Maurice Fanshawe. Foreword and epilogue by Viscount Cecil. 1s. 6d. paper, 2s. 6d. cloth.

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	822,903
Jan. 1, 1931	...	...	...	889,500
Mar. 26, 1931	...	...	...	903,222

On Mar. 26, 1931, there were 3,015 Branches, 994 Junior Branches, 3,346 Corporate Members and 706 Corporate Associates.

### Membership

#### Rates of ANNUAL Subscription.

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

All members are entitled to the free use of the Union's lending library.

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

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 for membership should be made to a Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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

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