

827
 80 JAN 1932
 THE LONDON
 & NOODN 5HL

Library

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XIV. No. 2 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union] February, 1932 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price Threepence

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	21	BRITAIN'S CHOICE (Editorial)	31
DISARMAMENT AND OURSELVES	24	NATIONAL SERVICE. By W. McG. Eagar	32
A GREAT FRENCHMAN	26	JAPAN IN MANCHURIA	33
FACTS AND FICTIONS ABOUT THE LEAGUE	27	MANCHURIA: A JAPANESE VIEW. By K. Matsumoto ...	34
MR. FORD AND GENEVA	28	DISARMAMENT MILESTONES	35
THE SCHOOLS AND THE LEAGUE. By the High Master of St. Paul's	30	BOOKS WORTH READING	36
		READERS' VIEWS	37

Matters of Moment

MOST of the talk of postponing the Disarmament Conference has died down now, and though changes occasionally happen at the last moment of all there can be little doubt that the Conference will be on the point of opening, with Mr. Arthur Henderson in the chair, as these pages reach their readers' hands. It is idle to predict the result of discussions that may last six months, but it is certain that if the Conference fails to achieve limitation and a substantial measure of reduction the consequences for the League, and the world generally, will be disastrous. Germany will claim the right to re-arm, and very probably proceed to do it. What reply France and other signatories of the Treaty of Versailles would make to that neither they nor anyone else could say to-day, but the situation created might be enough to plunge Europe finally into chaos. The policy of this country will not be announced till the Conference opens. Certain apparently inspired versions of it, notably the reported resolve that cuts already made shall be taken into account, are disquieting, not because reductions already made are not relevant—they are—but because a Conference that opens by every State's insistence that it has done its bit, and it is someone else's turn now, is doomed to failure. France, with her reduction of military service from three years to one, can make as strong a case as anyone on paper, but that is not the note that should be sounded loudest as the Conference starts.

Who Will Be There

THE names of the British delegates to the Disarmament Conference—the Prime Minister, the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, the Dominions, War and Air and the First Lord of the Admiralty—were published in the

last issue of HEADWAY. Up to the time of writing no addition has been made to that list, apart from the name of Mrs. Corbett Ashby, of whom a word more later. An important last minute change elsewhere has been the decision of President Hoover that Mr. Stimson, the United States Secretary of State, shall himself go to Geneva to take the place of General Dawes, who is leaving his post as Ambassador in London to become head of the new Reconstruction Finance Corporation in America. It is not likely, however, that Mr. Stimson will reach Geneva till the Conference has been in session some weeks. M. Laval, the French Premier and Foreign Minister, does not, apparently, intend to be a delegate himself, leaving his new Minister of War, M. Tardieu, in charge of a delegation which will include M. Paul Boncour, a very old hand at Geneva disarmament discussions and a member of the Socialist Party, though a Socialist with distinct leanings towards the Right.

Women at the Conference

THREE Great Powers have appointed women as members of their delegations at the Armaments Conference. The United States is sending Miss Mary Woolley, the head of Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts. Mrs. Corbett Ashby is going for Great Britain, and Dr. Marie Luders, a former member of the Reichstag, for Germany. Canada has appointed Miss N. M. Kidd. These are deserved recognitions of the concern women in different countries have felt for the success of the Conference, and the woman member of the British Delegation is an admirable choice. What actual contribution the women so appointed will have the opportunity of making to the success of the Conference is not entirely clear. Almost every question of importance that is

raised will involve Cabinet decisions in the different countries, and the women delegates at Geneva will, of course, have no part in that. How far Mrs. Corbett Ashby will be able to influence her fellow-delegates on the spot, Lord Hailsham, Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell and Lord Londonderry, is matter for interesting speculation. Certainly, if there is any scope for quiet persuasion fortified by common sense, it would be hard to think of anyone better qualified to exercise it than the British woman delegate.

M. Briand Retires

THE disappearance of M. Aristide Briand from the French Cabinet is an event of European—it might almost be said world-wide—importance. For close on seven years M. Briand has been Foreign Minister of France, and during the whole of that time he has regularly represented his country at the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. Nothing but illness ever kept him away. In another column some account is given of the great services this great Frenchman rendered to the League of Nations, and through the League to the peace of Europe. There are various estimates to be set on M. Briand, both as a national and an international politician, but no one with any close acquaintance with his career would deny for one moment his title to be called a great peacemaker and a great European. It may be doubted whether the European Commission, which owes its existence to his initiative, will retain much of its vigour if he ceases to preside over and inspire its deliberations, but the conception of European union, which he first expounded in 1929, represents a tendency that must work itself out in one form or another if the peace of Europe is to be preserved and its prosperity restored.

Geneva Discusses Coal

THE coal situation in almost every coal-producing country in Europe is grave, as result of the lack of demand and of the import restrictions a number of countries have imposed. Two particular aspects of this question have been under discussion at Geneva in the past month, with not very satisfactory results. A meeting of the signatories of the Coal Mines Convention of last year was called at the International Labour Office, on the initiative of the British Government, with a view to getting them all to ratify at the same time, for it would produce a valuable equalisation of conditions if the hours in all European coal mines could be limited to the agreed figure of 7½ hours (7¼ by the British method of reckoning). Belgium, however, was unwilling to ratify at present, and so the project has fallen through. The second meeting, of representatives of coalowners, workers and Governments, aimed at regularising production and distribution in Europe, with a view to bringing supply into some sort of regular relation with demand. In this case the prospect is more hopeful, and the conversations are to be resumed later. The general feeling is that they have begun well. The British coalowners, unfortunately, declined to attend.

A Debt to Nansen

GREAT men tend all too soon to be forgotten. That fate can never quite befall Fridtjof Nansen, for his achievements in one sphere are woven into the history of Arctic exploration, and in another into the history of the League of Nations. But Nansen, being dead, cannot plead for the causes he cared for with that force and persuasiveness which made his appeals so effective in his life-time. Others must do that for him now. Others have done it, and are doing it, on behalf of the refugees to whom the later years of Nansen's life were so largely devoted. Great as his

work for them was, there are still 170,000 refugees to be settled if possible where they can find remunerative employment. That will not be easy, and money to carry out the work is needed. It will be expended by the Nansen Refugee Office at Geneva, set up by the League of Nations Assembly in 1930 to finish Nansen's task. The organisation, which has Dr. Max Huber, a former President of the Court of International Justice, as its head, is dependent mainly on funds voluntarily subscribed. Donations may be sent to Dr. Huber, at the Nansen Refugee Office, Geneva.

The Two-Million Petition

THE success of the Women's International League in this country in collecting 2,000,000 signatures to a disarmament petition is a most notable achievement, even taking into account the fact that over a quarter of the number was secured by a London daily paper, "The News-Chronicle." The little ceremonies with which the petition was speeded on its way from Gower Street to Victoria Station and thence to Geneva were well worth while. Precisely what effect the petition will have when, in company with others like it from other countries, it is presented in the Disarmament Conference, is difficult to estimate. However hard-boiled delegates may be (not, of course, that they necessarily are), they can scarcely ignore completely such evidence of public concern about the limitation of armaments. In any case, the collection of signatures has had a valuable educative influence on tens of thousands of citizens who, very properly, desired to argue the disarmament question before they signed.

Japanese and the League

AT one of the first public meetings of the League Council on the Manchurian question Lord Cecil mentioned that Japan possessed one of the strongest League of Nations Societies that exists anywhere. It, in fact, possesses something more—an international section of the League of Nations Association which unites Japanese and foreigners of all nationalities living in Japan. The effect of the frequent discussions organised by the section is that League problems are argued out from every angle and not merely from the particular standpoint of a single nation. That practice is worth copying. The section is fortunate in being able to count on the constant co-operation of Dr. Inazo Nitobe, formerly Under-Secretary-General of the League, who has, incidentally, assisted in the production of a highly popular revue called "So This is Geneva." The international discussion of the Manchurian question (if one took place) must have been singularly instructive.

A League Veteran

THE idea that the League of Nations appeals specially to the young is a little modified by reflections on the career of Sir George Foster, who died at Ottawa at the age of 84 at the end of December. When he was 73 Sir George attended the First Assembly of the League of Nations in 1920 as Canadian delegate, and imparted an unusual interest to the gathering by suddenly getting married at the English Church in the Rue de Mont Blanc. Mr. Balfour, as he then was, gave away the bride, and Mr. Newton Rowell, another Canadian delegate, was best man. Sir George was from that time the leading spirit in the Canadian League of Nations Society, and when over 80 he would undertake speaking tours as far afield as the West Coast in support of the League. He was at Geneva again in 1929 as Canadian delegate, being

then 82. Canadian public life, and the Conservative Party in particular, as well as the League of Nations cause everywhere, is very greatly the poorer for the death of a veteran whose enthusiasms never waned to the end of his long and crowded life.

Scotching the Slavers

WITH all the talk about the suppression of slavery there is sometimes a little doubt as to whether slavery in the true sense actually does exist. Some reports brought home by a German explorer, Herr Hans Helfritz, from the Red Sea region seem to establish the facts clearly enough. Herr Helfritz gives categorical accounts of the slave trade across the Red Sea from Africa into Arabia, and mentions that the world fall in prices has affected the price of slaves like other articles on public sale, the figure having dropped this winter to between £2 10s. and £5 a head. The German explorer pays a welcome tribute to the activity of British gunboats, which are ceaselessly on the watch for the slave traders, and obviously do a good deal to interfere with their operations, though in spite of them the traffic still continues. One real difficulty is that when a slave boat is captured no one quite knows what to do with the slaves, who may very likely come from some unknown village in unexplored territory.

Education and Armaments

A STRICTLY accurate statement made by Sir Donald Maclean in the course of an address to a special Conference of the National Union of Teachers in the middle of last month might lend itself rather easily to misunderstanding. "This country," said Sir Donald, "spends yearly on education the enormous sum from rates and taxes of £87,000,000—a sum far in excess of any spent on any branch of our defensive forces." It is, of course, true that that is a larger sum than is spent on either the Army, the Navy or the Air Force separately, but the total expenditure on the armed forces of this country, even after the reductions made towards the close of last year, is £100,000,000. It is worth while making this point here in case Sir Donald's figures should be used for quotation elsewhere.

The Nobel Prize Winners

THE Nobel Peace Prize for 1931 has been divided between two American citizens, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, and Miss Jane Addams, of the Hull House Settlement, Chicago. Dr. Butler is President of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, but what, no doubt, weighed as much as anything else with the Nobel Prize jury was the part he played in 1927 in picking up M. Briand's little-noticed proposal for a Franco-American Peace Pact, and so fixing public attention in the United States on it that it developed into the Kellogg Pact for the Renunciation of War. Miss Addams is the President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and at a time when the British section of the League has just succeeded in collecting two million signatures for a disarmament petition the award to the League's President comes with a special appropriateness.

A Prospective League Member

THE League's ranks promise to be enlarged by the addition of at least one new member next September, for the way for the entry of Iraq is being made smooth by the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council. The Mandates Com-

mission recommends that Iraq should be asked to give the same guarantees as several European States for the fair treatment of minorities, and also to accord most-favoured nation treatment to imports from all States members of the League. There is no reason why she should do the latter unless she chooses, for on ceasing to be under mandate she is entitled to as much freedom in the matter of tariffs as Japan or Spain enjoys. But she may have no objection to acceding to the demand. Iraq will remain in close alliance with Great Britain, in accordance with the treaty signed in 1930, but she will be entirely independent and in no sense a part of the British Empire.

How to Pay War Debts

A LETTER from Dr. Maxwell Garnett in the "Manchester Guardian" of January 13 links together reparations, war debts and disarmaments in a new and suggestive way. The United States, Dr. Garnett points out, secures a little less than £50,000,000 a year in war debt payments. France on balance (subtracting her debt-repayments from her reparation-receipts) receives something over £20,000,000. It is obviously against the interest of both these countries to agree to debt cancellation if it leaves them both that much poorer. But suppose a definite disarmament agreement could be concluded that would save America the £50,000,000 she would lose if war debts were cancelled, and France a good deal more than her £20,000,000, then the situation would obviously be radically different. The logic of that reasoning is so sound that it is very much to be hoped that the suggestion will command the attention it deserves in responsible quarters.

The New Journalism

THE attacks on the League of Nations (and occasionally the League of Nations Union) by certain daily morning and evening papers flying Lord Beaverbrook's colours continue. They are almost invariably ill-informed, and often, as an article in a later page of this issue demonstrates, riddled with inaccuracies from start to finish. The papers in question are regularly supplied with the correct facts immediately their incorrect versions appear, but no withdrawal or emendation is ever printed. They find it convenient, in other words, to base the conclusions they desire on the facts as they apparently suppose them to be rather than on the facts as they are, and to suppress the correct facts when they get them. This is the new journalism—and the old is better.

Words and Deeds

THE League of Nations Economic Committee has once more unanimously adopted a most admirable statement on the present economic crisis. Once more, because all kinds of Economic Committees and Conferences at Geneva have been perpetually telling the world for years what it ought to do, and the world has perpetually been doing something different. "The general result," says the Committee, with obvious reference to tariffs and other import restrictions in particular, "of national measures to cope with the effect of the crisis is almost inevitably to prolong and seriously to aggravate the latter." There is no good ground for hoping that so sane a pronouncement as this will make much difference anywhere, but the Economic Committee, industriously pursuing its endeavours, is appointing a sub-committee to study particularly the relation of international debts to the general trade slump.

Disarmament and Ourselves

What Great Britain Stands to Gain

WHAT would disarmament—meaning, of course, as always, the simultaneous reduction and limitation of the armaments of all nations—mean to Great Britain? The first answer to that comes at once to the surface of the average man's mind. It would mean a reduction of the British Navy and a consequent increase of the risks to British security. The first half of that answer is true. It would certainly mean a reduction of the British Navy. But the British Navy would not be reduced alone. Other navies would be diminished at the same time. If our power of defence was reduced, so would the power of other countries to attack us be.

No Single-Handed Reduction

The essential feature of the kind of disarmament agreement contemplated at present is that no single nation shall limit and reduce by itself. The process is to apply to all simultaneously. In point of fact a uniform reduction of fleets would benefit Great Britain more than any other nation, for she is far better provided than any other with ocean liners capable of being converted into auxiliary cruisers by the mounting of six-inch guns. It is true that these ships could not survive a conflict with a cruiser of a quarter of their tonnage, but as commerce-raiders they would have considerable value. The Cunarder "Carmania" sank the German "Cap Trafalgar" in September, 1914. It is a further point in our favour, if we did get involved in war and had to expand our fleet, that we can build faster than any other country.

But that is not the whole story. There may be fewer ships in opposing navies ready to attack us, but that does not reduce the length of communications we have to defend. The cruisers we have now are not enough to defend our food-routes. What would happen to us if those cruisers became fewer still? That is a pertinent question, and it is no answer to it to say that the convoy system is the way of salvation. It may or may not be. No one can foresee the conditions of another naval war, if there is to be another naval war. In any such war the protection of our communications must be a matter of life and death for Great Britain, and a Disarmament Treaty that would leave us less able to protect them would cause serious concern, even if it left other countries less able to attack them. It is no use expecting that the mass of Englishmen will support the idea of disarmament if they believe that disarmament involves insecurity. Some may be ready to take risks for peace open-eyed, but the majority has not reached that point yet.

The Principle of Mutual Aid

That carries us at once to the heart of the problem. Does disarmament involve insecurity or not? Disarmament, it must be remembered in that connection, is disarmament in an organised world, a world organised in a League of Nations. (The fact that two Great Powers and a few small ones are outside the League does not affect the particular question of Britain's naval security, for Soviet Russia has no navy and is not likely to develop one on any formidable scale, and war between ourselves and the United States is by common agreement ruled out of the argument.) That implies, as everyone who has ever read the League Covenant realises, that to the idea of disarmament is attached inseparably the idea of mutual

aid. Each nation reduces its armaments on the understanding that if it is attacked it will be able to depend for assistance on the armies and navies of other members of the League.

Guarding British Food-Routes

The typical Englishman is less impressed by that argument than he might be. He can feel no certainty that anyone would, in fact, come and help him in case of need, and he is not sure what their help would be worth if they did. Let us take the second point first. Are we really so self-sufficient that we can despise the assistance other nations might give us if we wanted it, and asked for it under the terms of the Covenant? Recent history does not suggest that. Our naval dispositions were determined for years before the war by our relations with two Great Powers, Japan and France. Since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902 we ceased to trouble about Far Eastern waters, apart from a small China squadron, and in the later days of the Anglo-French Entente we withdrew our fleet from the Mediterranean altogether, leaving the defence of our interests there to the French Navy, while France depended similarly on us for the protection of her northern shores. During the war itself the British Navy was strikingly predominant, because by a reasonable division of responsibility France concentrated on military expansion, leaving the guardianship of the seas mainly to her ally. But the convoy work done by Japanese destroyers in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean was of very considerable value to this country, and so was the co-operation of the American navy in the later stages of the war. The tale of how it was decided that the American ship "Dacia" should be arrested in 1915, not by a British cruiser but a French, is historic. In the protection of British trade-routes in a possible future war the assistance of the cruisers of other countries in convoying British shipping would add substantially to our security.

Two Questions

But would other countries, in fact, help us? That question may be answered by asking two others. We have, under the Locarno agreements, undertaken quite specifically to help France or Germany in certain contingencies. Should we keep our word? We assume, of course, that we should. We have the habit of keeping our word. Can we not assume that other countries would do the same thing for our benefit? The second question is—are there any recent examples of nations so helping one another? The answer to that is that by the end of the war twenty-seven nations were fighting on the Allied side. They made common cause. They pledged themselves to stand by one another in the end and not make peace with Germany separately. That promise was kept except by Russia, where the revolution was held (by the revolutionaries) to have wiped out the pledges the Tsarist Government had given, and where, in any case, the country had been beaten to its knees and could get no effective help from its allies. Within fifteen years or less of the days when British troops were fighting side by side with French troops in Flanders, with Belgians at Antwerp, with Italians on the Isonzo, with Americans in France, with Greeks

and Serbs at Salonica, it is a little hard to maintain the doctrine that mutual assistance in arms is something that does not happen. It does happen. It has happened. And there is no reason whatever to believe it would not happen again if the nations agreed to disarm on the clear understanding that disarmament would not mean insecurity, because each nation, if attacked, would be defended, not only by its own forces, but by help from the forces of its fellow-members of the League.

These, briefly, are some reasons for Britain's special interest in naval disarmament. But the question of air armaments is now quite as important. As everyone knows, Great Britain is in a singularly vulnerable position in that respect. London is far more open to attack by hostile aeroplanes than the capital of any other Great Power, for London is nearer the coast of France than either Paris, or Berlin, or Rome, or Moscow, is to the frontier of the nearest adjacent State. That is to say hostile aeroplanes, if they happened to be French, could much more easily get to London than British aeroplanes could get to Paris. Similarly, German aeroplanes, taking off from the nearest point of German territory, could reach London far more easily than our aeroplanes could reach Berlin. The experience of the Great War is proof enough of that.

Peril From the Air

In any case, moreover, adequate defence against air attack is impossible. The best defence is, according to the experts, attack on the enemy aerodromes—and that is a singularly ineffective retaliation for air attack on London, for an aerodrome can be improvised almost anywhere (provided the country is reasonably flat) and sites can be constantly changed. There is nothing to be done with London but to leave it where it is. That being so, it is clearly to Great Britain's interest that there should be as few aeroplanes available to attack her as possible. Air disarmament, in other words, would benefit Great Britain more than most countries.

But air disarmament, it may be objected, is relatively valueless while commercial aeroplanes are capable of conversion into bombers in a matter of hours. There is, no doubt, a good deal in that contention—exactly how much it needs an expert to determine. The Allies at Paris in 1919 thought it important to forbid Germany to retain any military aircraft, and she has had none from that day to this. Air disarmament, therefore, evidently means something. There is a further point. A fairly definite distinction can be drawn between aggressive and defensive aircraft. The commercial aeroplane converted for military purposes is essentially aggressive. Its purpose is to drop bombs on enemy territory. The defence against it is the light fighting-machine, fast-flying and swift in manoeuvre, but with little or no bomb-carrying capacity. To limit military aircraft to this type would be to give the maximum of advantage to the defence, and that would benefit Great Britain almost more than any other country.

Other People's Armies

On the military side this country would almost inevitably gain by any disarmament agreement that might be concluded, for armies are maintained with a view to the possibility of having to fight opposing armies, and the smaller the opposing armies the better chance our own would have against them. That argument, no doubt, sounds fallacious. If other armies are reduced, it will be objected, so will ours be, and the existing disparity will remain. That, in the case of armies, is not, in fact, likely to be the case, for one or two countries, notably Great Britain

and the United States, have already reduced their land forces so low that no one will ask them to go any lower. If, therefore, we stay at our present figure and other nations reduce, we shall actually be left in a stronger position in relation to them than before.

Armaments and Income-Tax

When it comes to finance, the value of a cut in armaments costs needs no demonstration. Last year this country, faced with the prospect of a budget that would not come near balancing, realised as never before in living memory the need of reducing its expenditure heavily. Armaments expenditure was indeed cut, but not really heavily. While the principles ruling the Government's action at present prevail there will only be a heavy cut as result of a general reduction agreement reached at the Disarmament Conference. What that agreement will involve no one knows. It will probably not be an absolute flat rate applied with mathematical uniformity to everyone. There will be special adjustments, with good reason, for this State and that. But if anything like the average 25 per cent. cut which has been urged in various quarters should be found possible, the relief to this country's budget would be great. A 25 per cent. cut would mean a reduction from £100,000,000 to £75,000,000—not, it may be said, an enormous proportion on a £800,000,000 budget, but bringing a very great relief, none the less, at a time when the pay of the teachers and other public servants, the allowances of the unemployed, the amounts spent on various social services, have all had to be drastically reduced.

These are some of the special advantages Great Britain would gain from a reduction of armaments—not an exhaustive list, for a good deal more might be said of the value, on land as well as sea, of an arrangement which linked up disarmament with security guarantees. An attack on Great Britain itself is unlikely. An attack on some British dependency, the North-West Frontier of India, for example, is still a possibility, and the assurance of armed support there in such a case is by no means to be despised.

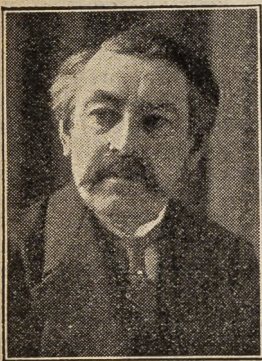
War and the Dominions

But there are too, of course, the larger general considerations. Armaments do not in themselves spell war, but competitive armaments unquestionably destroy an atmosphere of confidence and peace and make for an atmosphere of war. How can there be mutual confidence when all the nations are proclaiming their mutual suspicion by arming against possible attack by some nation that has pledged itself (by the Kellogg Pact) never to make an unprovoked attack? War is peculiarly perilous to this country with its dense population exposed helpless to gas and air attack and its dependence on sea-borne supplies. Another war, moreover, it has to be frankly faced, would put the fabric of the Empire to a severe test. There was no hesitation in 1914, but there was hesitation carried to the point of flat refusal on the part of some Dominions when their help was solicited to resist a Turkish advance at Chanak in Asia Minor in 1922. It is far from certain that all the Dominions would line up in active support of this country if another war came. That is one of many reasons why it is urgently to be desired that another war should not come, and so far as disarmament makes war less likely, disarmament is to this country's interests.

On grounds, therefore, of self-interest, just as much as of public spirit, the British Delegation at Geneva this month may justly be called on to press for the greatest measure of disarmament it can persuade other nations to accept.

A Great Frenchman Briand, Geneva and World Peace

ARISTIDE BRIAND is no longer Foreign Minister of France. It was possible to say that on January 13 for the first time (except for a negligible interval of four days) for close on seven years. For Briand became Foreign Minister in April, 1925, and he remained Foreign Minister under Premier after Premier—once or twice he was Premier himself, but without abandoning the Foreign Office—till at last a new Ministry was formed without him last month.



M. Aristide Briand

Through all those years the history of Briand's career has been the history of the League of Nations, for no man of equal prominence has played a leading part so long on the Geneva stage. He has had as colleagues on the League Council four successive British Foreign Secretaries, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Henderson, Lord Reading and Sir John Simon, and with the first two of them established singularly cordial personal relations. Lord Reading and the present Foreign Secretary he was only just beginning to know.

The mention of Briand at Geneva sends the mind ranging back over a series of historic scenes—presenting themselves not always in strictly chronological order. It was a piece of singular good fortune for the League that Briand should have happened, by the mere luck of alphabetical rotation, to find himself presiding over the Council when three of the most important disputes it has had to handle came before it. One was the Greco-Bulgarian conflict in 1925, one the frontier altercation between Bolivia and Paraguay in 1928, and the third, of course, the Manchurian affair of 1931.

It is hard to draw a convincing picture of Briand for those who never saw him. The man is so much himself that his personality lends itself to none of the normal tricks and methods of literary portraiture. But an attempt at description may do something. There Briand sits at the Assembly in the end chair of the row that his delegation fills up, a little hunched up, sometimes apparently asleep, never, or very rarely, reading documents or newspapers like so many other delegates, but giving the impression of listening, not merely out of duty, but out of courtesy, to the unending speeches, however dull.

Then the President announces "Je donne la parole"—a moment's pause—"à M. Aristide Briand, premier délégué de France." A wave of expectation goes over the hall, applause breaks out from every corner, followed, as the stooping figure impassively mounts the platform stairs, and the shaggy head, with the deep-set, expressive eyes, appears behind the Speaker's desk, by an unbroken, eager silence. Briand practically never uses a note. How far his speeches are thought out beforehand is hard to say. Never is there any sign that they are being merely improvised, never, on the other hand, a sign that they have been laboriously prepared. The Foreign Minister (for so it is impossible not to call him still) is a lawyer by profession, and on occasion he displays all the critical and analytic skill of a great advocate. Never

was that truer than on the day he made his first important speech (I think it was his first) at Geneva. It was at a Council meeting early in 1925. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as he then still was, had read a carefully-prepared and lengthy document explaining why the British Government could have nothing to do with the Geneva Protocol, adopted with general enthusiasm at the League Assembly six months before. Briand's reply, challenging the British argument point by point, was a demonstration as much of an astonishing memory as of a no less remarkable faculty of incisive criticism. Certain passages of it lodge in my mind to this day, and no doubt others who heard it remember it as clearly.

The outstanding feature of Briand's oratory is his mastery over the tones and modulations of a rich and melodious voice. Never does he falter for a word, never does he choose the wrong one. His voice is rarely raised, his gestures are rarely emphatic, except when he wants to defend France against the charge of militarism, or the League of Nations against any suggestion that it has failed in its high mission. For Briand is a League of Nations man through and through. He cares profoundly, passionately, for peace, and would achieve peace through any agency that offered. But he has never wavered in his conviction that the agency on which supreme reliance should be placed is the League of Nations.

As Foreign Minister of France he has worked ceaselessly for an understanding with Germany. He helped Sir Austen Chamberlain to carry through the Locarno agreement that brought Germany into the League. He did as much as any man to ease the strain to which Germany's failure to secure election in March, 1926, gave rise. He welcomed the German delegation the next September in one of his incomparably felicitous speeches, and on a sunny morning a few days later he motored out with Dr. Stresemann to an impromptu lunch at the local hostelry at Thoiry, to lay the foundation for progressive collaboration between Germany and France. And two years later, when at the Council meeting at Lugano sudden conflict broke out between M. Zaleski of Poland and Dr. Stresemann over the behaviour of minorities, it fell to Briand, who most fortunately happened to be the President that session, to smooth the trouble over and tranquillise agitated tempers.

For two other achievements the French statesman will always be remembered. One is, of course, the Pact of Paris, often known as the Briand-Kellogg, or simply the Kellogg, Pact. The other is the League's European Commission, charged with carrying out the plan to which the term United States of Europe is so often mistakenly applied. That project has been going none too well, and it is doubtful what will happen to it now that its author's enthusiasm will no longer be available (though it is just possible that it will be available still) to inspire its members.

Briand started his political life as a Socialist, and he has remained throughout it essentially a man of the people. Ceremony and elaboration have no attractions for him, and he is happiest leading his bachelor life in his Brittany cottage. He has never troubled to learn English or any other foreign language, and he has travelled little outside France. America he visited in 1921 for the Washington Naval Conference, where he registered one of his few failures, perhaps his only failure, as an international negotiator. He has visited this country once or twice for diplomatic conversa-

tions, but never, I think, for pleasure. The same is true of Germany and Italy. A Frenchman to the soles of his boots, he sees no real reason for ever going outside France.

A Frenchman, and a great Frenchman. A Frenchman who has striven ceaselessly for better relations between France and every other nation. A Frenchman to whom the League of Nations and the cause of

peace in Europe and the world owe inestimably much. He may or may not return to Geneva. It is to be hoped he will. But whether he does that or not, he will be remembered for generations—the verdict is considered and deliberate—as the man who did more than any other one individual for the League's prestige and authority in the years when he was representing his country there.

H. W. H.

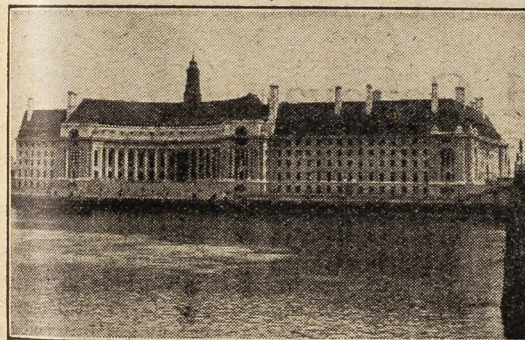
Facts and Fictions Telling the Public About the League

LORD BEAVERBROOK keeps his young men (and old men) hard at work maintaining his not very leadily fusillade against the League of Nations. The attacks may differ in many respects, but they always have one feature in common, a signal incapacity to master facts and figures and present them accurately.

The latest of the Beaverbrook scribes to risk his reputation in the good cause is A. A. B. of the "Evening Standard," who might have been spared the temptation (under which he promptly fell) to venture into seas where a little knowledge, taken crude and unassimilated from statistical tables, can be a very dangerous thing.

A Little Arithmetic

A. A. B. is in private life Mr. Arthur Anthony Baumann, who sat as M.P. for Peckham in the years



LONDON COUNTY HALL—£3,239,293.



INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE—£120,000.

1885 and 1886, and still frequently writes with force and authority on subjects he understands. The main heading of his article in the "Evening Standard" of January 12 may or may not be his own. It runs "THE LEAGUE COSTS US £1,000 A DAY," and it is not till the agitated reader gets to the small print of the article itself that he discovers the £1,000 a day to represent the combined League subscriptions of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India and the Irish Free State. They are US. But there is something suggestive about that £1,000 a day, however arrived at. It challenges comparisons. It recalls in particular the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in February, 1930, that the sum which "the people of Great Britain [of Great Britain alone, not Great Britain, Canada, Australia and the rest] have to provide for war purposes" is £1,000 A MINUTE. There are 1,440 minutes in the day.

Let us proceed. The British Empire, says A. A. B., consists of the Dominions just mentioned, but "in present conditions it is to be feared that the votes and views of the last two, India and Ireland, cannot be counted on as certainly supporting Great Britain." A. A. B. has selected a singularly unfortunate

example. Of all the six Dominions represented at Geneva the only one that is not free to vote and speak against Great Britain is India, for India, and India alone, is controlled from Whitehall and must do as Whitehall says.

Hats Off to France

The British Empire, on A. A. B.'s calculation, has only five certain votes, and he thinks that insufficient, since the Empire pays a fifth of the League's cost. (How many Parliamentary votes do millionaires get in Great Britain?) Evidently, therefore, he thinks votes in the Assembly important. Yet in his next sentence he discovers that the League is dominated by France (in spite of France having only a single vote as against the British Empire's five or six, or seven) because—Why? Because "French is the lingua franca of diplomacy" and M. Briand, "the

most assiduous of the permanent members." What M. Briand is a permanent member of is not explained, perhaps because in fact M. Briand is not a permanent member of anything, except, it may be, his Paris club.

Then we get to finance, and A. A. B. discovers, quite accurately, that there are altogether some £500,000 of arrears of subscriptions over twelve years, China accounting for £374,899 of that amount. China's financial difficulties are a matter of common knowledge, but it is a very material fact (which has probably not come under A. A. B.'s notice) that she has undertaken to pay off the arrears at the rate of 480,000 gold francs a year over a period of twenty years and that in the first nine months of 1931 she actually paid 719,000 francs (arrears and half the current subscription), or roughly £29,000. "The President of the League Assembly in 1930 was a Rumanian," says A. A. B. "What does Rumania contribute to the League?" The answer is simple. Rumania contributed in 1930 664,865 francs, and all her contributions to date are fully paid.

Now come some observations on the alleged extravagance of the League. "The new palace at Geneva is estimated to cost £2,000,000." No one familiar

with public buildings and their cost would consider that figure excessive, but, in fact, the estimate, which the last Assembly decided must not be exceeded, was 23,633,150 francs, or £945,324. "The International Labour Office is of a magnificence beside which our Whitehall offices are hovels of squalor." Had A. A. B. ever been inside the I.L.O. before he wrote nonsense like that? Presumably not, for he goes on to quote "an eye-witness" to the effect that "the junior officials sit in surroundings of teak and ormlu which might embarrass even the most pretentious Ambassador." That, it is true, is even greater nonsense still. A. A. B. had better go and see for himself. He will find a good business-like, modern building, rather severe, but convenient, not unlike the London County Hall internally. The I.L.O., by the way, cost £120,000, and the London County Hall £3,239,293.

S.G. and B.B.C.

League salaries leave A. A. B. aghast. He is probably unaware that they were passed largely on the advice of a British civil servant and based on the scales prevailing in the British civil service. The highest paid official is naturally the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, who gets £5,000. Sir John Reith, Director of the B.B.C., gets £6,000. The British Ambassador in Paris gets £15,000 and house.

But very nearly the worst thing about the League in A. A. B.'s eyes is (oddly enough) that there is so much U.S.A. about it. "America, by the way, while refusing to join the League, enjoys all its advantages [this is A. A. B.'s first admission that the League has any advantages] without contributing a cent to its cost or accepting any liability." A. A. B. should

read HEADWAY. If he did he would have discovered that the American Government had expressed a spontaneous desire to bear its full share of the cost of any League committees and conferences in which it took part. It has paid, is paying, and will pay. But that does not exhaust America's offence. "To all the important sessions of the Assembly and Council the United States coolly sends representatives as spectators." Very likely—but why "coolly"? The hall at "all the important sessions of the Assembly and Council" is crowded with spectators of all nationalities, for these sessions are held in public. A. A. B. might be there himself, and with advantage, but there would be nothing particularly "cool" about that. If he thinks that U.S. representatives sit with the Assembly or Council he has got hold of another mare's nest. The single case of an American sitting with either body was when the United States accepted an invitation to co-operate with the Council over the Manchurian affair last September.

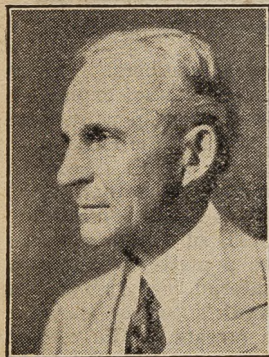
A. A. B. is worried, too, about "the nine judges" of the Permanent Court of International Justice (there are, in fact, fifteen judges), and most of all about the fact that they should include "Lawyer Kellogg, of Minnesota, U.S.A." There, at any rate, we can range ourselves with him. A man from Minnesota at the Hague Court! From Oklahoma, from Tennessee (where the Fundamentalists live), from Arizona or Colorado, yes. But Minnesota? No, and a hundred times No. We cannot all be A. A. B.'s, but there is nothing to stop us from all being anti-Minnesotans. Down with the abominable State.

If readers of Lord Beaverbrook's Press like to take their views from its columns that is their affair. But they will be well advised to get their news elsewhere.

Mr. Ford and Geneva

The I.L.O. Does Some Work for Detroit

THE daily papers have given a good deal of publicity to the results of a piece of work the International Labour Organisation has been doing for Mr. Henry Ford. And the daily papers are right, as in such matters they usually are, for the undertaking is charged with a great deal more human interest than many of the activities that fall to the lot of the I.L.O.



Mr. Henry Ford.

Mr. Ford, as all the world knows, makes automobiles (as they call them there) in Detroit, U.S.A. But he is also making them on a limited scale in Europe, and intends making them there on a very much larger scale. He proposes, indeed, or was proposing, for the economic stress may have altered his plans, making them in fourteen European cities, one (Manchester) in Great Britain, one (Cork) in Ireland, two in Germany, two in France, and one each in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Spain and Turkey. Now in Detroit Mr. Ford has set the fashion of paying very high wages—6 dollars a day (25s. in English money at par) with a temporary rise to 7 dollars from 1929 to 1931. (On the other hand, only a five-day week has been worked for the past five years.) The result is that the average family expendi-

ture of a Detroit Ford worker's family in 1929 was 1,720 dollars, or £344 a year.

Being a firm believer in the doctrine of high wages Mr. Ford was anxious to pay the workers in his new European factories on the same scale as at Detroit—not the same money wage, for that would buy twice as much in (for example) Barcelona as in Stockholm, but a wage that would enable the worker in Antwerp or Warsaw or Stamboul to live on the same scale as the worker in Detroit. And he asked the I.L.O. to show him what wages he would have to pay in each country concerned to get that result.

The I.L.O. has no money for special inquiries of this sort, but Mr. E. A. Filene's Twentieth Century Fund undertook to finance the inquiry and it was accordingly carried out in the cities of Berlin and Frankfurt, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsingfors, Paris and Marseilles, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Manchester, Cork, Warsaw, Barcelona, and Stamboul (Turkey). It was a highly interesting inquiry, and not nearly as simple as it sounds. To have taken a typical Detroit family budget and found out how much it would cost to buy just those things in each European city would have been easy. But the Barcelona worker does not want by any means the same things as the Detroit worker. He wants fewer thick clothes and less fuel. He almost certainly eats less meat. Pork and beans does not figure largely on his menu. And in the matter of housing it is a regrettable fact that the European demand for a house with a bathroom is very much less emphatic than the Detroit demand.

That sort of difficulty was cropping up all the time.

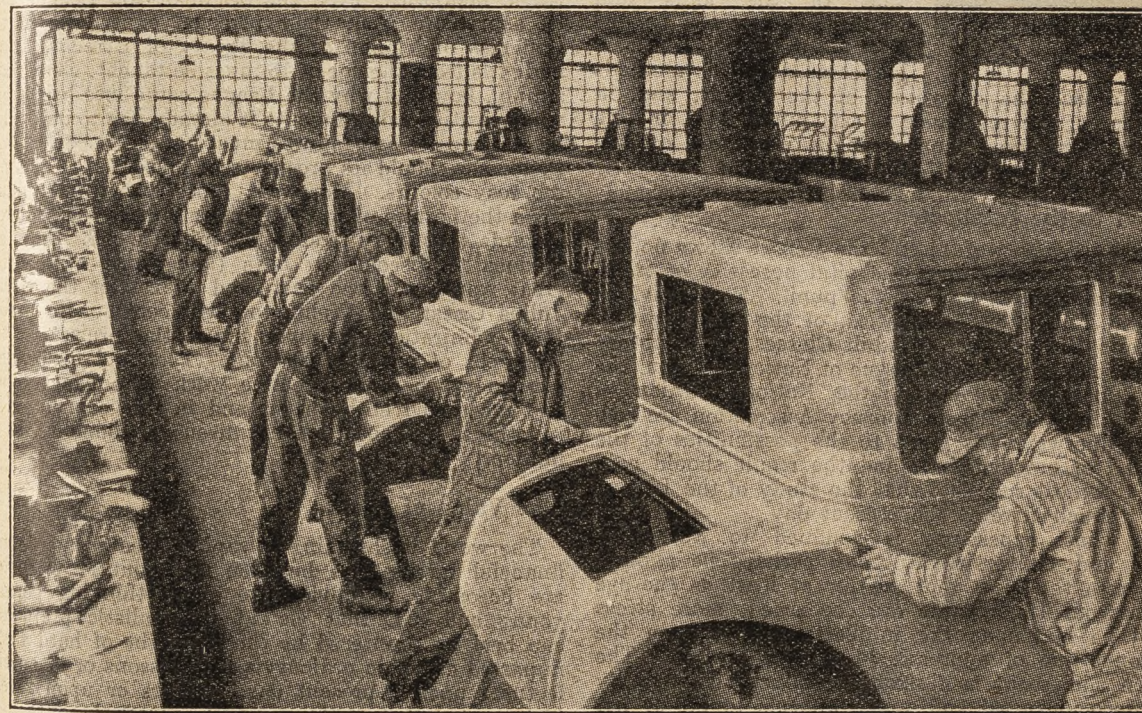
To make the inquiry as thorough as possible sets of garments, such as are regularly worn by Detroit workers' families, were secured from Detroit shops and the price of similar articles in the different European cities ascertained. But in some cases there were no similar articles. In Stockholm, for example, men's cotton gloves as worn in Detroit are practically unknown, and the girls' silk or rayon dresses from Detroit were of a quality unknown to the Swedes. In Stockholm, moreover, as in other European cities, a good deal of clothing is made at home, which increases the difficulty of comparing prices.

The casual student of sociology will find these glimpses into the lives of the workers of different countries of singular interest. The household budgets are drawn up under four headings, Food, Clothing (in four categories, men's, women's, boys' and girls'), Medical Expenses (dentist as well as doctor), and Miscellaneous, this last including, among other items, table oilcloth, barber and tobacco. Odd points arise among all these. The Stamboul report, for example, gives a definite price for a man's haircut, but can get no nearer than an estimate for a shave or a child's haircut. Both Stamboul and Barcelona must have found it a little hard to know what to make of the "sweater or lumberjack" entry, and "bloomers,

the table of every worker in Great Britain. Fruits seem to be unknown there, except lemons, and the consumption of these is negligible. Barcelona eats lemons, apples, pears and oranges, Berlin bananas and oranges only. There is no sign that the Manchester worker eats any fruit at all, but Manchester consumes four times as much butter per head as margarine, whereas Denmark, home of butter though it is, consumes nearly twice as much margarine as butter.

Such comparisons could be carried a great deal further, for the I.L.O. report is packed with a wealth of detail. But what, after all, is most important is the conclusion. Where in Europe does it cost most to live on the Detroit scale and where least? The answer is that it costs most at Stockholm and least at Barcelona. The intermediate levels are shown in the following table, the figure of 100 representing the Detroit figure.

Stockholm ...	99-104	Marseilles ...	75-81
Frankfurt ...	85-93	Manchester ...	71-74
Cork ...	85	Warsaw ...	67
Copenhagen ...	83-91	Rotterdam ...	65-68
Berlin ...	83-90	Stamboul ...	65
Helsingfors ...	83	Barcelona ...	58
Paris ...	80-87		



FINISHING BODY-WORK AT DETROIT.

step-ins or drawers," contains one term not widely familiar in the Eastern hemisphere.

In the food category no precise parallel between Detroit and some of the European towns is possible. Few European workers find on their tables the range of "sea-food," cereals or fresh fruits (apples, peaches, bananas, lemons, oranges, grapes, cantaloupes, watermelons, and grape fruit) which the Detroit families consume in considerable quantities. On the other hand, rabbit, which Barcelona eats with some zest, is unknown in Detroit. So is yoghurt, which is consumed, as might be expected, at Stamboul. Corn is essentially American, and sweet potatoes and peanut butter are not common elsewhere. A striking sidelight on life in Eastern Europe is cast by the fact that in Warsaw 153 kilograms of rye bread are eaten for every 14 kilograms of the wheaten bread found on

Life in Manchester, therefore, is about 25 per cent. cheaper than life in Detroit.

An analysis of the expenditure of 100 typical Detroit families, consisting of man, wife and two or three children, the man being paid at the lowest rate current in the Ford works in 1929 (35 dollars, or £7, per week) is appended to the I.L.O. report. It shows among other things that of the 100 families 47 possessed motor-cars, 43 were on the telephone. Probably all of them had radio sets, but as there is no licence for wireless sets in America the radio does not figure among a family's running expenses.

Though the I.L.O. investigation was carried out for one particular purpose the information amassed in the course of the inquiry will serve many useful ends. The report is published in England by P. S. King, and the price is 7s. 6d.

National Service Where Patriotism Can Find Expression

By W. McG. EAGAR

THE meeting which the Prince of Wales addressed in the Albert Hall on January 27 was unique in at least three ways. Never before has the Prince, ready as he always is to voice a national cause, presided himself over a national meeting. Never before has a national meeting had put to it the case for social service, and never before has an audience so intimately representative of the youth of the nation been gathered together.

Here were gathered boys and girls of all sections and segments of our great society: young men and women of all occupations and of every shade of opinion. Etonians and working boys, contingents of the uniformed "juvenile organisations," Scouts, Guides and Brigades, and hosts of the un-uniformed clubs for boys and girls, which, in country villages and the shabbier parts of our cities, give scope and expression to the unquenchable sportsmanship and merriment of youth—all gathered to hear an appeal addressed through them to the whole country. In other cities, towns and villages up and down the country other audiences similarly composed heard the Prince's speech broadcast, something of the spirit of the meetings thus overflowing into every home which owns a wireless set.

Young and Old

With the "youngsters," a word which has sound Chaucerian lineage though sadly overlaid by such tinny or self-conscious terms as "juvenile" or "youth," were many oldsters, people who have done their bit, and are still doing it, in the far-spreading, deep-rooted system of social organisation, which in many ways is the peculiar glory of British civilisation. Where the reckless haste of nineteenth century industrialism has left its legacy of squalid streets and gimcrack houses; where acres of unimaginative suburbs have left no room to play; where disease has left its disability, and ignorance its handicap; there ordinary decent men and women have come together and got something done, not waiting for the State to act, though often paving its way, raising the money somehow and looking for no recognition, never satisfied but never in despair so long as their efforts result in some measure of alleviation, expression or achievement. Theirs is the service of which the Prince had come to speak.

Volunteer and Regular

In the past there has been some distinction in the practical use of the term "public service," "social service," and "national service." Roughly "public service," has been used to describe service rendered to individuals through the State, and "social service" services rendered to the State through individuals. "National service," particularly in the years preceding and during the war, acquired the narrower sense of serving the State in arms. The M.P. or the Town Clerk was engaged in public service, the home visitor or the secretary of a society in social service, the soldier or sailor in national service.

Now the changing structure of society is merging both terms and reality. Voluntary societies and public authorities have been working together for years past. The State uses approved societies and other voluntary organisations for its wider ends, and in innumerable activities the point where public action ends and voluntary effort begins is hard to define. When the distinc-

tion between public service and social service has worn so thin, why should "national service" retain its warrior's complexion?

Let us be honest about war and the old conception of patriotism as something primarily martial. Patriotism is not "enough," but it is a pretty good thing to start on. War, when all is said, is a great teacher and a mother of fine opportunities. Let me quote:—

"These were men of ordinary mould,
Yet so great were they of heart
That they willingly gave their lives
For what they perceived to be
Greater than Themselves."

No, not Thucydides, but the inscription which hangs in a Bermondsey Boys' Club over the photographs of its members who were killed in France and Flanders and the East. Martyrs perhaps to blunders innumerable, but in something greater than themselves they found the noblest form of self-expression.

"Why," said General Booth to the sober Christian who remonstrated with him for setting hymns to polka tunes, "Why should the Devil have all the best tunes?" Why, we may ask, in these days of anxious peace, should War have all the best words? Why should military service be regarded as national service *par excellence*? Why don't we put a better interpretation on patriotism?

Personal Effort

The citizen of the world is *ex hypothesi* enfranchised from backyard pre-occupations, but the well-being of his own family and friends is still his first concern. We have every right to be proud of our race and national history. We "pinched" colonial possessions, exploited natives and made money by employing children and sweating the poor. All that is true. But none the less we have a tradition to be proud of and a rôle of Leadership still to play. The nineteenth century rushed us off our feet, but we soon set to work to find remedies for the unfairness of poverty and slums. We didn't go too far—for much remains to be done, but we were getting to rely so much on the power of cash to put things right. The economic crisis caught us on the wrong foot and has checked the rapid expansion of social services. Yet the standard of life must continue to rise. The "condition of the people"—to use a useful Victorian phrase—must still be improved. If expenditure of money on social services must be curtailed, personal effort can be increased. Or, let us put it, if expenditure is curtailed, personal effort *must* be increased. A general tightening of the nation's belt is not to be feared; the decent kindness of British national character has been formed in difficulties and effort rather than by ease and contentment. But a relapse of the East End into squalor and of the unemployed into destitution is immensely to be feared. More education and better education; better housing and more orderly development of our towns and countryside; constructive work for the unemployed and a continuous offensive against unemployment; a growing intolerance of all social conditions which deprive any fellow citizen of health and opportunity—these are the objectives of that social service, which is also public service, and in the fullest sense the national service which will qualify our country to play her part in the world.

Japan in Manchuria The Situation in Various Aspects

SINCE HEADWAY went to press the Japanese advance in the south-west corner of Manchuria has continued. Chinchow was occupied on January 2nd, without fighting, the Chinese troops having evacuated it after a kind of ultimatum from the Japanese General Honjo. Chinese authority, as hitherto constituted, has ceased to exist in Manchuria, though various new local governments, set up with the approval of Japan, are in being.

On January 7 it was reported that the American Government had sent a strong note to the Chinese and Japanese Governments, and to the representatives of the rest of the nine Powers who signed the Nine-Power Agreement on the Open Door in China in 1922, pointing out that

"with the recent operations about Chinchow the last remaining administrative authority of the Government of the Chinese Republic in Manchuria as it existed prior to September 18, 1931, has been destroyed."

The Note went on to state that the United States Government did not intend to recognise any treaty or agreement entered into between Japan and China which might impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, particularly in regard to what was known as the Open Door policy. The Note concluded, with special reference to the Kellogg Pact:—

"The United States Government does not intend to recognise any situation or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which treaty both Japan and China as well as the United States are parties."

It was apparently hoped by Mr. Stimson, the United States Secretary of State, that the other interested Powers would send Notes to China and Japan in the same sense. The British Foreign Office, however, announced twenty-four hours later that it did not consider it necessary to address any formal Note to Japan on the lines of the American Note, since the Japanese delegate at Geneva had stated on October 13 that Japan was a champion of the Open Door policy in Manchuria, a declaration which the Japanese Prime Minister had endorsed on December 28. The Japanese Ambassador in London had, however, been requested to obtain further confirmation of these assurances from his Government, which he promptly did.

The League Commission

The composition of the League of Nations Commission which is to visit Manchuria and study the whole question of Sino-Japanese relations, so far as they have an international aspect, was definitely announced on January 14. The five delegates are Lord Lytton (Great Britain), Count Aldobrandini Marescotti (Italy), General Claudel (France), General Frank McCoy (the United States), Dr. Schnee (Germany). The Commission embodies a considerable amount of varied experience. Lord Lytton's record is, of course, well known in this country. He was from 1922 to 1927 Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and has twice represented India and once Great Britain at the League of Nations Assembly. Count Mares-

cotti is an Italian diplomatist; General Claudel is a soldier, so also is General McCoy, but the special significance of his appointment lies in the fact that he was Director-General of American Transport in France during the war. Dr. Schnee was Governor of German East Africa (now Tanganyika) down to the outbreak of the war. It is not expected that the Commission will reach China till the latter part of February.

Women Bridge the Gulf

HEADWAY has been given the opportunity of publishing extracts from a letter from a well-known Chinese lady, graduate of an American University, which casts an encouraging light on one aspect of Sino-Japanese relations. "The trouble in Manchuria," she writes, "seems to be on the increase, but not without some encouraging side-lights. For example, during the past few weeks I have been receiving letters from prominent women leaders in Japan, who wrote to me either personally or otherwise, and all expressed a sincere and strong desire to be (i) forgiven by the Chinese people for what their militarists have been and are still doing, and (ii) kept in touch with the Chinese women for sympathetic communication of ideas and opinions. One of them is actually coming to China herself to meet the Chinese woman. All these seem to me to be very good signs. The pity is that many Chinese refuse to believe in the sincerity of these women, and also that such liberal persons still lack that great moral courage which would enable them to declare disapproval of the militarists' action. I little realised how little courage the liberal Japanese possessed until I met such persons at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference at Kyoto, and again at Shanghai this time. This all shows what a great efficiency the Japanese Government has in controlling the minds and hearts of its people. But nothing of this sort can last for ever, and I am afraid, when the dam of free conscience, so to speak, of the young Japanese is broken, as it will have to break some day, the flood will be terrible. Compared with Japan, China is quite a free country, in spite of the suppression of the Kuo Ming Tang with regard to freedom in speech and action."

Article XI and Article XV

The question as to why China has throughout taken her stand on Article XI of the Covenant and not made use of her right to discuss the Manchurian conflict under Article XV—which would have enabled the Council to take decisions without requiring the concurrence of either of the interested parties—has been raised in many quarters. Only the Chinese delegate himself can make an authoritative statement on the point. It is clear, however, that if Article XV had been invoked the question of applying Article XVI (sanctions) would immediately have arisen, for a breach of Article XV by either party would have called Article XVI into operation automatically. It would not be surprising, therefore, since the discussion of sanctions was regarded by many members of the Council as undesirable, if some endeavours were made to persuade the Chinese to confine themselves to Article XI. But no official statement on the point has been made.

War Without Powder

China's Bloodless Campaign Against Japan

By KIYOSHI MATSUMOTO

This presentation of the Japanese side of the case against China is given in the writer's own words, with one or two changes to clarify his meaning. HEADWAY takes no responsibility for the statements made or the conclusions drawn.

REMAINING still in a mystery in most European eyes, Japan and China are having troubles with each other. Japanese say that Chinese are wrong, and Chinese that Japanese are bad. Which country is in fact right, this is quite an easy problem for serious workers of the both countries' histories. Influenced on by the papers, most outsiders are always being embarrassed with "not-easily-understandable" news casted out from the so-called Oriental mysterious land.

Getting rid of this strand, the writer, a clerk of a business firm managing a wharf, intends to inform of what the actual state and condition of the anti-Japanese goods movement in Central China being managed officially there is.

An Anti-Japanese Ordinance

The leading places of this national movement are the cities of Hankow and Wuchang, both of which are located along the Longest River and facing with each other. The contents of the newly issued Han-Wu Anti-Japanese Goods Ordinance are to be divided into two, (A) the positive and (B) negative as below:—

(A) National mobilisation, or organisation of volunteer corps in addition to the regular army for the purpose of preparing for declaration of war on Japan.

(B) Inducement of economic crisis and political agitation in Japan by suspending Chino-Japanese trade, for the purpose of which the following Anti-Japan Decalogue was promulgated:—

- (a) Do not buy Japanese goods.
- (b) Do not use Japanese goods.
- (c) Do not load, discharge and transport Japanese goods.
- (d) Do not use Japanese currency.
- (e) Do not travel and send goods by Japanese ship.
- (f) Do not intercourse with Japanese.
- (g) Do not employ and be employed by Japanese.
- (h) Do not deposit in the Japanese bank.
- (i) Do not supply food to Japanese.
- (k) Do not go on business or for studying to Japan.

Organising Boycotts

In order to realise those two objects, the Han-Wu Anti-Japan Federated Association was organised by sixteen committees representing the Han-Wu Party (with six committees), the Chamber of Commerce (with four), the Chamber of Industry (with two), the Press Society (with three), and the Academy (with one), through which all the affairs are carried on, ordinances issued and movements managed. The Head Leader of this association superintends the General and Detective Boards, the former of which is composed of (a) the Secretary Bureau in charge of holding and disposing of confiscated Japanese goods, (b) the Propagating Bureau of publishing posters and making public speaking, (c) the Charging Bureau of examining and registering goods from Japan, (d) Inspect Bureau, (e) Discipline Bureau, (f) Goods Judging Bureau, and (g) Substitute Institution.

With this system mentioned above and under the three mottoes as below:—

- (a) Obey to the Anti-Japanese Ordinance with blood,
- (b) Offer your life and blood against Japan,
- (c) Kill every fellow communicating with Japanese,

the association announced the "Prohibition of Japanese Goods and Trade Rule," "Disposal of Japanese Goods Act," and "Registration of Confiscated Goods Law," and permitted the Chinese merchants to sell their registered stocks only by levying the extra tax of 15 per cent. ad valorem. All the goods from Japan for future delivery were denied the official registration, and confiscated on arrival. Any Chinese merchants relating to the detained articles were punished under the name of "Traitor to China," and pulled on with the show-card hanging on the breast.

The association posted sixty inspectors or watchmen in plain clothes at every wharf and pier, Japanese firm and strategic point, seized Japanese goods in sight, set prizes upon smuggled goods, organised the secret Iron Assassination Group, and thus, as far as Japanese goods were concerned, gave the end to the business transactions not only between Japanese and Chinese, but also between even Chinese and Chinoirs.

Dead Business Centres

What, then, those unnatural doings resulted in in the two cities are terrible business slumps. The business centres are entirely dead. Examined statistically, of 105 local financiers, 50 or nearly half are closing their shops, 14 run over, and breaking the record the short money rates are swinging between 3 cents/5 cents a U.S. dollar per day, even when no application has been made.

The short-sighted inspectors are very glad to see the surface figure of Chino-Japanese trade at Shanghai has been lessened, and, curious to point out, are not noticing that a great hole through which the disliked Japanese goods are pouring in their country has been made at the southern wall. Every vessel engaging in the Japan-South Sea Line is enjoying full space, and all the extra taxes levied on the cargoes are also being enjoyed by the staff of the Association as their private income.

Even high tariff is assumed to be the very possible cause of war, and receiving keen attention of the League. It is quite a great Sphinx for me that the official movement in the name of "patriotic action" is free from the League.

NEW L.N.U. PUBLICATIONS

313. THE DISARMED PEACE. By General Smuts. Price 2d.

314. THE WORLD AND THE WORKER. 2s. 9d. a 100.

0935. THE LEAGUE AND THE COLOURED RACES. 2s. 9d. a 100.

Foundation Members of the League of Nations Union can obtain copies of each of these publications free of charge on application.

Disarmament Milestones

The Long Road to This Month's Conference

THE Disarmament Conference which opens on the 2nd of this month is only the culmination of endeavours towards reduction and limitation of armaments which have been in progress ever since the League of Nations came into being—indeed, earlier, for they must be traced back to the Treaty of Versailles itself. It may be convenient to give in diary form a summary of the disarmament movement—and the security movement from which it is inseparable—from June, 1919, to the present day. The story might, indeed, have been carried back further still, for armaments reduction was on the agenda of The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, though nothing, in fact, was achieved in that direction.

1920. **Treaty of Versailles, Article VIII** (being Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations). Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council is to formulate plans for such reduction, which shall be subject to reconsideration at least every ten years, but in the meantime shall not be exceeded once they have been adopted by the several Governments.

1920. **Treaty of Versailles, Preamble to Chapter V.** The Allied and Associated Powers require the disarmament of Germany "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

1921. **Washington Naval Conference** adopts treaty providing for substantial reductions of the British, American and Japanese fleets, the limitation of maximum size of certain vessels and for a ten-year holiday from battleship building. France and Italy participate in these latter agreements.

1921. **In the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League of Nations** Lord Esher proposes to limit land forces numerically, each State being allowed a certain number of units, each of 30,000 men. Proposal is not adopted.

1923. **Treaty of Mutual Assistance** approved by League Assembly, but not accepted by the principal Governments concerned. The Treaty declared war to be an international crime and provided both for general assistance and for special regional mutual assistance agreements, for the benefit of States made the victims of aggression. Such assistance was to be given only to States which had reduced their armaments, and a general disarmament agreement was contemplated.

1924. **The Geneva Protocol** approved by League Assembly, but not accepted by the principal Governments. The Protocol made refusal to accept arbitration the test of aggression, pledged the signatories to settle their difficulties by arbitration if all else failed, and to defend one another actively against aggression. These arrangements not to take effect till a disarmament conference (fixed for June, 1925) had been held with successful results.

1925. **Locarno Agreements concluded.** Security increased by the undertaking of Great Britain and Italy to come to the help of France or Belgium against Germany, or of Germany against France, in the event of an aggression by either State on the other. Belgium and Germany, and France and Germany, undertook in no case to resort to war against each other and to settle all their disputes peacefully.

1925. **Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference** created.

1927. **Three-Power Naval Conference** summoned by President Coolidge at Geneva. Great Britain, the United States and Japan fail to reach agreement on the further limitation of naval armaments.

1927. **The Pact of Paris (Kellogg Pact)**, providing for the complete renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy signed.

1927. **Russian proposals for complete and universal disarmament** laid before the Preparatory Commission, but rejected.

1928. **Russian proposals for a partial and gradual reduction of armaments**, the strongest Powers reducing by 50 per cent., the medium by 33 per cent. and the small Powers by 25 per cent., rejected.

1928. **The General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes** approved by the Assembly. Procedure laid down for the settlement of every kind of dispute by conciliation, arbitration or judicial decision.

1930. **Convention on Financial Assistance** approved by the Assembly, to be operative only after a disarmament agreement had been reached. Financial assistance to be granted by the Council to any State attacked or in danger of attack.

1930. **Draft Convention for the Disarmament Conference** finally approved by the Preparatory Commission, its signatories undertaking "to limit and if possible to reduce" their armaments on the following lines:—

1. Military limitation through
 - a. limitation of peace-time effectives.
 - b. limitation of period of service in conscript countries,
 - c. limitation of budget expenditure on military material.
2. Naval limitation by
 - a. limitation of peace-time effectives and (in conscript countries) of period of service,
 - b. direct limitation of fleets both by total tonnage and by categories (i.e., by limiting capital ships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, etc., separately) and
 - c. limitation of budget expenditure on naval material.
3. Air Force limitation by
 - a. limitation of peace-time effectives and period of service,
 - b. limitation of total horse power (total volume in the case of dirigibles) and number of aircraft in service and in immediate reserve.
4. Budgetary limitation by fixing a maximum annual expenditure for all the armed forces of each country.
5. Prohibition of chemical warfare, subject to reciprocity.
6. Permanent Disarmament Commission to be created to supervise the execution of the Disarmament Treaty.

This, briefly summarised, is the tenor of the Convention drafted by the Preparatory Commission as basis of the work of the Disarmament Conference of February, 1932. Few of these provisions were carried unanimously and some by only a narrow majority. It is probable enough, therefore, that various rejected proposals will be raised again at the Conference.

Books Worth Reading

THE PALESTINE MANDATE

England in Palestine, by Norman Bentwich, Attorney-General of Palestine, 1922-31. (Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d.)

This is a courtly book, written by an official about his colleagues in much the spirit which used to inspire history dedicated to a Noble Patron. Thus Lord Plumer is *pater patriæ*, and Sir Herbert Samuel departs trailing clouds of glory. Most departmental heads, and all leading Zionist supporters are "distinguished." The reader wonders sadly why such a galaxy has made so undistinguished a job of Palestine. Yet this courtliness is part of the quality which lends importance to the work. It is partly official, viewing problems from the angle of the administrator entrusted with developing the well-being of independence of the Arabs, and with establishing the national home for the Jews. Here is a coherent account of ten years' effort to reconcile the dual aim of the mandate, a mass of information lucidly explained with first-hand authority. It contains far the best account of the machinery of government yet published. As to events in Palestine they are inherently dramatic, with their tides of progress and set-back, of conflict and ominous truce, of material gain, unbalanced, more's the pity, by political reconciliation. Here they are recounted quietly enough, with a restraint due in part, no doubt, to official discretion, in part to a nature both kind and idealistic.

For Mr. Bentwich is much more than an energetic legislator. He is a mystic, a Zionist of the rarer type which risks the execration of its own people by clinging to a vision of a national home founded on justice and peace. His official prose breaks ever and again into the impassioned cry of the Israelite, of hope and despair, of resentment, faith, dream. So that the book adds to its authority an expression of the finest side of Zionism. By the same token it makes no attempt at impartiality. Only a detailed criticism could reveal the special pleading natural to a scholar advocate, or the many omissions of information essential to a fair estimate of the story. A book which repeatedly assumes that the "policy of the mandate" is exclusively, or mainly, concerned with the national home, and also that the Arabs are incapable of development without it, gives but a partial picture. Bearing in mind, however, that this is a Zionist presentment, everyone interested in the mandate should read it, both for information, and for its feeling. For that emotion, and the counter-passion of the Arabs, constitute the problem of Palestine.

F. W.

THE DISARMER'S GUIDE BOOK

Disarmament: Preparations for the General Conference. (Allen & Unwin. 1s.)

It is difficult to imagine that anyone can study the Disarmament Conference seriously without the assistance of this admirable booklet prepared by the League of Nations Information Section. Its origin is guarantee that it confines itself to purely straightforward information, with no ends to serve beyond the orderly presentation of the facts as facts. The facts very properly begin with the signature of the Covenant itself, and include all the early efforts to make disarmament a reality, from the Escher Plan of 1921 onwards. The booklet, in short, contains all the background against which the actual work of the Disarmament Conference must be studied. It contains also the full text of the draft Disarmament Convention which is to be laid before the Conference and a full account of the action taken by the Council of the League since the draft

Convention was adopted by the Preparatory Commission. Rarely has so much valuable information been compressed so compactly into so small a space.

POLAND'S PROGRESS

Poland, 1914-1931. By Robert Machray. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

Although the space occupied by Poland and Polish affairs in the Official Journal of the League of Nations is inordinate, no book exists in English setting out the essential facts of her history since her resurrection. Mr. Machray's work is welcome in that it contains a large number of facts and dates, and is coherently arranged. The writing, however, lacks inspiration, and the efforts which the author has made to avoid partiality and the pamphlet style have carried him perhaps too far in the opposite direction. He is a strong admirer of Marshal Pilsudski, and in such controversial topics as that of East Galicia usually finds it most prudent to repeat the official Polish declarations.

THE AIR AND THE LEAGUE

Armadas of the Sky. By Paul Murphy. (Houghton. 5s.)

What is interesting about this study of armaments is that Major Murphy rather pointedly refrains from drawing from certain facts a conclusion pretty familiar by this time to readers of these pages. He devotes most of his book to a demonstration that the air is going to be decisive in any future war—so decisive that the other two arms will hardly count—and then gives his last chapter to the League of Nations. But there is no obvious connection between the two, except the conclusion that since war may be so terrible the elimination of war is the more urgent. It would be interesting to hear Major Murphy's view of the suggestion, or conclusion, referred to above, that military air force should be internationalised under the League. Major Murphy does not appear to know the League in any detail, but he makes a sound comment when he observes that "war establishments in peace there have always been. Now for the first time there is a peace establishment. Is it conceivable that this one exception is more significant than all the adverse factors?"

WORLD CONSTABLES

Letters to John Bull and Others. By Robert the Peeler. (Williams and Norgate. 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.)

Robert the Peeler prefers to be known simply as Robert the Peeler, so we must leave it at that. This is not the first book he has written on international affairs, but there is a go and a lilt about this one to which his earlier and more solid work does not aspire. This book consists of letters which are written like letters, as letters for publication too often are not. As a consequence, having read one you go on to read the rest, and find as you go that what Robert the Peeler is out for is an international police force—a force of international peelers, in fact—to protect world peace and see that the decisions of the new tribunal that is to settle the world's affairs are carried out.

To say that is to say enough to show that plenty of people are going to disagree with Robert. His idea, for example, that the nations will hand over to a board of some twenty wise men the settlement of every kind of dispute, including the revision of treaties (not merely the interpretation of treaties) suggests a leap forward into space quite beyond anything the nations look capable of at present. But the main purpose of these letters is to make people think, not necessarily to make them agree. And they do that most usefully and attractively.

Readers' Views

THE UNION AND UNITY

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—We members of the League of Nations Union would be stronger and exert more influence if we were more united among ourselves. That is partly the reason why the membership of the L.N.U. does not increase more rapidly. With the best intentions in the world some of the supporters of the L.N.U. disturb the mentality of many who might become members if they were more tactfully dealt with.

Speaking generally, we are continually preaching to the converted and not doing enough to convert the unconverted. Most of the people who go to L.N.U. meetings are already members. It is quite right that members should attend meetings, but if we are to increase our membership, members need to be reminded over and over again that it is the duty of every member to try and persuade other people to become members. That should be reiterated at every meeting; that is the best way now to recruit new members.

Then again, members, whatever their own personal views may be, should not go beyond the stated policy of the League of Nations Union. This applies particularly to the word "Disarmament." It is better in many cases not to use this word at all when trying to persuade the unconverted. We converted people know what it means, but it often frightens the unconverted. The way to teach a nervous boy to swim is not to take him out in a boat on the sea and throw him into deep water, but to get him gradually accustomed to the sea until he is not afraid and has confidence. Of course, all people cannot be treated in the same way. Tact and judgment must be used according to circumstances, but the point is this: We are always being urged to get new members, but only a comparatively small number of existing members really make much effort to do it. As Mr. Baldwin once said, "You in this League are missionaries, or you ought to be, and as missionaries you should conduct yourselves." Those words are very much to the point, but they are not realised as much as they should be.

There are many different schools of thought among the members of the L.N.U. That is inevitable, but it is not necessary for them to express their own personal thoughts in words, and, if we are to get more unity and more new members, we shall do well to adhere to the stated policy of the L.N.U. and not go beyond it or outside it. Some want to go faster and some slower, but it is the main body of public opinion which really counts in the long run.—Yours, etc.,

St. Albans.

J. D. ALLEN.

WAR QUOTATIONS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—With reference to the letter in your last issue under the above heading, it is suggested that your correspondent and others similarly interested in the literature of war might usefully avail themselves of the resources of the Imperial War Museum Library, 178, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.

It may be of interest to mention that this Library already possesses upwards of sixty thousand books dealing solely with the events of 1914-1918, apart from extensive records in the form of wartime daily and weekly newspapers and other periodicals, etc.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

H. FOSTER, Librarian.

Imperial War Museum.

HOW EVERYONE CAN LEARN A LANGUAGE

Pelman Institute's Amazing Discovery.

Can you read Spanish? No.
Do you know any German? No.
Here are two books, one printed in Spanish, the other in German. Yes.
Can you read them? Of course not.
Well, try and see.

An hour later.

Miraculous! I can read and understand every word.

The above is typical of the experiences of the thousands of men and women who are learning French, Italian, Spanish or German by the new Pelman method.

For instance, this method enables you to pick up a 48-page book, printed in a language of which you are entirely ignorant, and not containing a single English word, and to read it through without a mistake.

It sounds impossible; yet it is perfectly true, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

This new method is revolutionising the teaching of Foreign Languages in this and other countries.

It enables you to learn French in French, German in German, Italian in Italian and Spanish in Spanish, thus avoiding all translation from one language into another.

It enables you to think in the particular language you are learning.

Grammatical Drudgeries Eliminated.

It enables you to learn a Foreign Language without spending months in a preliminary struggle with a mass of dull and difficult grammatical rules and exceptions. It introduces you to the language itself straight away and you pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart, parrot fashion. You learn the words you need by using them and so that they stay in your mind without effort.

There are no classes to attend. The new method enables you to learn a Foreign Language in your spare time, in your own home, and in from one-third to one-half the usual period.

Read These Letters.

General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes:—

"The Pelman Method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."

Others write in the same strain of the courses in German, Italian and Spanish. Here are a few examples of letters received from readers who have adopted this method:—

"I have only been learning German for four months; now I can not only read it, but also speak it well."

(G. M. 146.)

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

(I. M. 124.)

"I have recently returned from Spain, where I have been doing Consular work. With only the knowledge of Spanish gained from your Course I was able within a month to tackle any sort of correspondence and conversation."

(S. C. 279.)

WRITE FOR FREE BOOK TO-DAY.

This wonderful new method of learning languages is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues." There are four editions of this book, one for each language: French, German, Spanish, Italian. Also Courses in Afrikaans and Urdu.

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

Overseas Branches: PARIS, 35 Rue Poissy d'Anglas. NEW YORK, 71 West 45th Street. MELBOURNE, 393 Flinders Lane. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI, 10 Alipore Road. CALCUTTA, 57, Park Street.

"ORDEAL BY BATTLE"

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Mr. Bridge, in the January issue of HEADWAY, states that we must always be prepared for war, because, until any particular crisis arises, we cannot say whether to fight in such a case will be "necessary" and "right" or "damnable." He criticises the neglect of history by League speakers, and adds the grotesque mis-statement that League doctrines assume that "no war has ever been worth while."

Among savages spoils normally came to the victor, and it is common knowledge that many historic victories procured great moral and material gains. Where League supporters part company with Mr. Bridge is in his excessive reliance upon history as a guide to the future. The essence of the present 100 per cent. case against war is that the powers of destruction, which modern science has provided for belligerents, have not merely removed every chance of spoils for the victor, but have ensured, if any future European conflagration is allowed to arise, material ruin alike for victors and vanquished.

Wealth, like any other power, is easily abused. It is, however, essential to any stable and progressive civilisation, and it is the duty of civilised nations to protect this nucleus of prosperity from the certain destruction involved in war. According to League doctrine, freedom of thought and habit, limited by the like right to freedom of others, can best be secured among nations, as among individuals, by suitable laws adequately administered.

On his own ground of "right" and "wrong," Mr. Bridge forgets that normally both belligerents are equally convinced of the "rightness" of their respective causes. Europe, having fought to pieces most of its prosperity, is no nearer unanimity as to who was "right" and who was "wrong" in 1914. Does Mr. Bridge think that "right" should win against "wrong"? If so, does he claim that the strongest belligerent is always "right"? No one could argue such a case as regards individuals. Can Mr. Bridge make the argument less absurd among nations?

Death, to preserve the freedom and prosperity of a nation or tribe, was often a glorious duty in the past. Death, in a process certain to result in the poverty and misery of the survivors of a future war, will be a criminal misuse of life. It is the duty of civilised persons to unite to prevent the mass-production of such crime. In the further study and domestication of natural forces there still remains unlimited scope for the giving of human life nobly in the cause of humanity. Such sacrifices will always be "worth while" and "right."—Yours truly,

RONALD HART-SYNNOT.

St. John's College, Oxford.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR.—I find Mr. C. F. Bridge's commentary on Major Walter Elliot's article interesting, but more than puzzling. I gather from it that he contends that war has an element of right and justice about it, that it has been known to pay commercially, and that history proves this.

I suppose it might be possible to pick out instances in the past where war was right and profitable, but I am quite convinced that it is neither to-day, nor will be in the future. Because slavery and the traffic in women and children was profitable and unquestioned in the past, is it so now? A sensitive international conscience is quite a new thing, but it has to be reckoned with to-day, and it is useless to quote the past in defence of the present and the future

It is depressing to believe that it is the study of history which has led Mr. Bridge to these conclusions. Pre-war methods of teaching history could lead one to believe, in the school-room, that this subject was a glorious tale of wars and warriors in which the chief heroes were Richard Cœur de Lion, the Black Prince, Sir Francis Drake, Marlborough, Nelson and Wellington, and that the most heroic incidents were the Crusades, Crécy and Poitiers, Trafalgar and Waterloo. But it is difficult to see how the real study of history, even if it be only the broad outlines of the English University Courses, could fail to convey to any student the futility of the use of force.—Yours, etc.,

H. G. WANKLYN.

Cheshunt Park, Herts.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Do you not think that Mr. C. F. Bridge's long discussion of the abstract question whether war has ever been justifiable or useful in the past or will be in the future, is quite futile now that the establishment of law and order in the settlement of international disputes is a matter of practical politics?

We have now the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice, etc., and the abstract question becomes quite irrelevant. Justice and redress can be had for the seeking, and the nation that resorts to arms can only be compared with the private citizen who takes the law into his own hands.—Yours faithfully,

33, Epping New Road, HENRY CAPPER.
Buckhurst Hill.

[Many other letters on this question have been crowded out.—ED., HEADWAY.]

THE LEAGUE AND MANCHURIA

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Mr. Harry Lamb takes exception to my statement that Japan goes outside the League to find the justice which has been denied to her inside it, yet he admits that "Justice in the sense of a satisfactory solution of her differences with China she could, of course, never have attained through the League."

Precisely. For years past injustice in China has never caused a qualm to Geneva, which has seen the League's machinery for ensuring peace used to procure immunity for wrong-doing. Only when the inevitable consequence is war does the League take cognisance of the position. How can nations be expected to forgo their right of defending their interests if the League cannot undertake the duty of doing so? If this defect cannot be remedied, if the League cannot ensure justice, it will certainly fail to ensure peace; for men, to their eternal honour, value justice above peace. Peace is the fruit of righteous conditions, and never can be really attained in their absence. Those who wish for peace must organise for justice.

My object in writing was to direct the attention of members of the Union to the fact that the partial failure of the League in this case is due to an inherent weakness which, if not remedied, will wreck the whole system. Some method must be devised, if the League is not to lose such confidence as it has gained, and through which alone it can function, whereby corrupt or inefficient Governments may be compelled to behave as well as if individual war were still the consequence of wrong-doing.—Yours faithfully,

N. M. MATHEWS.

Northam, Devon.

[The League could not take cognisance of alleged misdoings by China unless some State called attention to them at Geneva. No State ever has.—ED., HEADWAY.]

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR.—In the December issue of the HEADWAY I read, not without surprise, the bursting eloquence of Mrs. Mathews about conditions in China. Surely China is a long way from Geneva, but she is still further from England, and actually becomes the source of thrilling stories and of thrilling news. As a reader of the HEADWAY, Mrs. Mathews should be able to know these. Which are the treaties that are torn up recently at Nanking? Whose nationals are despoiled of their goods, denied justice in the courts (do they go to the Chinese courts at all up to now, except the Germans and the Russians?), and who are murdered without indemnity, redress or attempt at just retribution? Press, in its modern publicity, can do good things, but also bad things. "Some organs learn nothing and remember nothing," if I am allowed to quote the editorial.

The League can do nothing to perpetuate injustice. Japan wanted "justice" over Manchuria these thirty years. She did not get it from China, she gets it now from the Nations at the League. War without declaration. What a success indeed!—Yours faithfully,

W. M. CHAO.

26, Parker's Road, Sheffield.

READ THESE BOOKS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—May I trespass on your space to urge upon readers of HEADWAY the great value at the present time of two books recently published by prominent members of the Union. The books are "The Unseen Assassins," by Sir Norman Angell, and "The Disarmament Conference," by W. Arnold-Forster.

Together these two books furnish an incomparable armoury for those who are taking part in the present critical Disarmament campaign. Sir Norman Angell's is worthy to rank with "The Great Illusion" for brilliance of writing and clarity of thought—and to say that is the highest tribute that can be paid. It puts in unanswerable form the general case against international anarchy and uncontrolled competitive national armaments. Mr. Arnold-Forster's is perhaps the best of all his invaluable writings, and contains the most complete and convincing available exposition of the concrete Disarmament proposals contained in the Buda-Pesth Resolution adopted last year by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.—Yours, etc.,

PHILIP NOEL BAKER.

43, South Eaton Place, S.W.1.

BELLIGERENT SYMBOLS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—The Watford branch of the Union is very interested in Mr. Bertram Hill's condemnation of the designs of its Publicity Stamps. Both the introduction of a Greek word, helmet and shield and the use of the word "campaign" are objected to, as being belligerent.

It is perfectly true that these are emblems of war. But they are used to suggest that it is now as essential to fight for peace as in the past people have imagined it unavoidable to engage in war. We can never hope to abolish the instincts which make for war, but we can and must divert them for the purposes of Peace.

If Mr. Hill has any constructive suggestions it will be a pleasure to receive them.—Yours faithfully,

PHILIP HORTON,
Hon. Organising Secretary.

Rolleston, Essex Road, Watford.

Waterman's

—the world's most efficient and most beautiful pens.

During the past quarter of a century Waterman's Pens have been used in the signing of many Peace Treaties. Wherever important facts and data have to be recorded in ink, Waterman's is invariably chosen for its dependability. Every pen sold is the outcome of 48 years' experience in the making of fine writing instruments.

See the NEW £1 Pen

This latest model in Alizar Crimson and Gold, also Electric Green and Gold, is one more addition to a remarkably wide range. It is undoubtedly the finest value in coloured pens to-day.

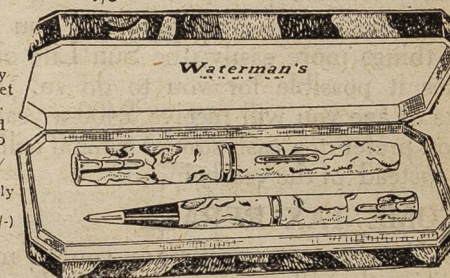
Other popular coloured models are the No. 94, the Lady Patricia and the Patrician.

See and Buy Waterman's EMPIRE MADE Pens. Sold by Stationers, Jewellers and Stores everywhere.

No. 94. Large size model. 3 colours: Agate-Brown, Shaded Blue, Pearl-Grey.
30/-
Pencil to Match, 15/-

The New £1 Pen
Alluring colours: Alizar Crimson and Gold, Electric Green and Gold, 20/-
Pencil to Match, 7/6

The Lady Patricia Set in Onyx.
Pen and Pencil to match, 40/-
(Pen only 25/-
Pencil 15/-)



The Pen Book free from
L. G. SLOAN, LTD.
THE PEN CORNER, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2.
Always use Waterman's London Made Ink.

Here's
happiness
and prosperity
for you and yours

£400 A YEAR FOR LIFE, WHEN YOU RETIRE

Think of it! A care-free life from, say, age 60. An income of £400 a year absolutely secured to you for the remainder of your days—even if you live to be a centenarian. An income irrespective of business or other investments, and not subject to market fluctuations, trade conditions, or political troubles. What a boon to you and yours! What a burden off your mind!

The plan devised by the Sun Life of Canada makes this splendid prospect possible for you. You deposit with them a yearly sum you can well afford out of your income, and the money, under the care of this Company, accumulates to your credit, and to it are added generous profits. Thus you share in the Company's prosperity.

The figures here given assume a man aged 35, but readers who fill in the enquiry form and send it to the Company receive, without obligation, figures to suit their own age and circumstances. Full details of the plan will also be sent.

£400 A YEAR FOR LIFE

Just at the age you begin to feel you ought to take things more easily, the Sun Life of Canada makes it possible for you to do so. From 60 years of age you will receive £400 a year for life. If you prefer it, a cash sum of £4,200 will be given you instead of the yearly income.

INCOME TAX REBATE

The Government encourages you to make this provision by allowing a considerable rebate on your Income Tax. This is additional profit you make on the transaction.

£4,200 FOR YOUR FAMILY IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO YOU

Should you not live to the age of 60, £4,200 plus accumulated profits will be paid to your family. If death results from an accident, the sum would be increased to £8,400, plus the profits.

ANY AGE, ANY AMOUNT

Though 35 and £400 a year for life have been quoted here, the plan applies *at any age and for any amount*. Whatever your income, if you can spare something out of it for your own and your family's future, this plan is the best and most profitable method you can adopt.

The contract is guaranteed by one of the strongest financial institutions in the World: SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA.

(Incorporated in Canada in 1865 as a Limited Company.)

Assets exceed £120,000,000

Don't let this opportunity go by. Fill in and post this Enquiry Form to-day. It may make a world of difference to you and yours.

To H. O. LEACH (General Manager),
SUN LIFE OF CANADA,
99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street,
Trafalgar Square, LONDON, S.W.1.

Please furnish further details of your Investment-Assurance Plan.

NAME

(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

ADDRESS

OCCUPATION

EXACT DATE OF BIRTH

Headway, February.

The Way to Win

IN HEADWAY for January, 1931, and on several occasions since, we have written in these columns of the Disarmament Conference and of what must be done to prepare for its success. The Conference—the "First Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments," to give it its full title—is now upon us: it will be in session by the time these words are read. Let us review the situation and reckon up the chances of failure and of success. And, to begin with, let us see what would be implied by failure and what success would mean.

If the Conference fails to bring about a substantial reduction as well as a limitation of armaments, Germany is likely to leave the League of Nations. That would shake the League to its foundations; and most, if not all, of the work of organising peace which was made possible by the sacrifices of the war and which has been accomplished by such men as Lord Cecil during the last dozen years, will have to be begun all over again without the same inspiration and without the same leadership. Our generation will have failed to complete the work of those who died or suffered in the war to end war. We shall leave the world worse than we found it.

But if the Conference succeeds, the result will be not only to limit and reduce national armaments, but also to remove the risk of a new competition in armaments and the consequent danger of another world war; to diminish international distrust and, with it, the follies of economic nationalism; to reduce the expenditure of the great military powers by more than the income they will lose from the discontinuance of political payments in respect of war debts and reparations; and so to bring the world within sight of the end of the present crisis.

But can the Conference succeed at a time when the atmosphere of international suspicion is so great and when faith in the League has been shaken by Japan's adventure in Manchuria? (That tale, of course, is not yet told; and, when the League's Commission gets to work, Japan may come to regret that she used her sword to cut the Manchurian knot instead of asking the League to unravel it.)

The principal conditions of the success of the Conference are now fairly clear. In the first place, France has stated, in a communication sent to the League in July, 1931, that, in order that the limitation of armaments may be carried into effect, "the principle of common action must supersede in the minds of the nations that of individual defence." There is here no necessary question of any new guarantee of security. But France has plainly told the other nations that, if she is further to reduce her own armaments, she must be able to rely upon them loyally and effectively to carry out all their pledges given in the Covenant.

Some years ago the British Government found it necessary to state that, owing to the risk of conflict with the United States, it was doubtful how far this country could fulfil some of these pledges. Since that time there have been great changes in the attitude of American public opinion and of the American administration towards the constructive organisation of peace and the prevention of war. There is no longer any serious risk of America giving assistance to any State which resorts to war in breach of its treaty obligations. The time has come for the British Government to make it unmistakeably clear to foreign States that we accept the principle of common action and are prepared, in strict accordance with our pledges under the Covenant, to co-operate with the rest of the League.

Let us not, however, imagine that France alone

will benefit from "pooled security," or that Britain alone will pay into the pool what other nations will take out. We are often told that the British Navy does not now possess sufficient light cruisers and destroyers to protect our trade routes, and to guarantee our essential food supplies and raw materials. But apply the principle of "pooled security"—the defence of each by the strength of all—and freedom of navigation is at once assured. In this matter, as in so much else, world interests are British interests.

The success of the forthcoming Conference depends on Germany as much as on France. Although Germany has been a Member of the League of Nations since 1926, the German people have, as yet, very little use for the League. The League does not seem to them to deal justly. Unless this Conference brings about a real reduction in the armies, navies and air forces of the "victorious" Powers, and begins to effect equality between their armaments and those of Germany, there is (as we have said) a real danger that Germany may leave the League.

But if the Conference can bring about an all-round reduction of armaments by twenty-five per cent. within five years, and if, as part of this reduction, it can remove some of the inequalities regarding particular weapons of warfare—ships of over ten thousand tons, submarines, heavy artillery, tanks, military aeroplanes, all of which are forbidden to Germany—then there is reason to believe that Germany will be content to wait for another and still another conference, six and twelve years hence, to complete the reductions necessary to scale all armaments down to the German level.

It is possible, however, that the German delegation to the Disarmament Conference may be compelled by the pressure of German public opinion to raise the question of the revision of treaties. Now the Covenant, the Pact of Paris, the Locarno Treaties, the Optional Clause and the General Act, all deal with the peaceful settlement of international disputes. But they do not provide—except in a very general way in Article 19 of the Covenant—for the particular case, the exceedingly important case, of disputes where the cause of conflict is the alleged injustice of existing legal rights. And yet it is plain that as the years go by a treaty, however just it may have been in its inception, must become, in parts, out of date, inapplicable and unjust. There must be effective machinery for dealing with this case, and, in so far as other means to this end are lacking, Article 19 of the Covenant should be made practically effective.

These, then, are the conditions for the success of the Conference. It must make a real reduction of armaments all round; it must begin to give equality to Germany; it must give security to France; and it may have to make it clear that we look to the League not only to stop war but to provide justice.

But the British Government can only go so far as it believes the British people is prepared to go with it and support it. In order to be effective, public support must not be confined to the simple issue of cutting down armaments. On the contrary, it must extend to the whole complex of problems—financial and economic as well as political—which the Conference will have to face. To create such support is the task of the League of Nations Union. No other British organisation can educate and organise public opinion on a sufficient scale. And the surest sign that its task is being well and truly done by our Union is its own rapid growth. We shall have more than a million members before the Conference rises if we play our part worthily. Upon us, as well as upon the delegates at Geneva, the success of the Conference depends.

London News

Union Membership in 1932

We are glad to be able to announce that our members seem to have followed the advice of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales not to cut out their subscriptions to charitable organisations. During 1931 more renewal membership subscriptions have been collected than ever before. The number of new members is also encouraging, showing that the usual rate of increase of 6,000 per month has been approximately maintained. During 1931 a shade over 73,000 people joined the ranks of the League of Nations Union. In 1931 the total number of subscriptions received at Headquarters was approximately 406,000. In 1930 there were only 397,000 and in 1929 but 378,000 subscriptions paid.

An International Newspaper

In the consideration of the attitude of national newspapers towards the League of Nations, sight is sometimes lost of the fact that there is an international newspaper in existence, namely, the "Christian Science Monitor." Those who read it regularly know that news of international happenings is faithfully and fully reported, and many matters which are now definite policy were first discussed years ago in the "Monitor." We hear that a series of articles on Treaty Revision are to appear on January 18, 19 and 20. This in the near future will certainly become one of the most discussed topics of the hour.

Disarmament and Unemployment Conference

As we mentioned shortly last month, there is to be a Conference at the London School of Economics on March 1, 2 and 3 at which the topic for discussion will be "Disarmament and Unemployment." There will be six sessions on the three days; the first will be devoted to a consideration of "What is the Armaments Industry." During the second day of the Conference consideration will be given to "What Disarmament Means to Trade, Investment, Industry and the Community." The last sessions will consider nationally and internationally "What can be Done to Settle the Displaced Worker." Tickets for this Conference, which are free, may be had on application to the Secretary of the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.



A Disarmament Postcard

Visit to the I. L. Conference

The Conference this year opens in Geneva on April 11, and the usual party organised by the Union will leave London on Saturday, April 16. Details may be obtained from the Union's Headquarters.

Disarmament Postcards

In response to repeated requests, the Union has produced a series of six postcards dealing with Disarmament. Three consist of quotations, one is a reproduction of a Disarmament poster, and two are cartoons. The set of six, which is obtainable from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, costs 3d. or 12 sets for 2s. 6d.

The "Evening Standard" and the League

Lord Beaverbrook continues to attack both the League and the Union in the various organs which he controls. The most vicious attack of the month was a full-page article in the "Evening Standard" on January 12. It was written by "A. A. B." and was headed "The League Costs Us £1,000 a Day." It contained not only misleading but also definitely mistaken statements. The letter, which was sent to the Editor pointing out the real facts, and also calling attention to other facts that should have been included, was published on January 16.

Though this is a rare occurrence, yet meetings on international subjects are not always totally ignored by the British Press. For instance, when the Archbishop preached at the International Disarmament Service at St. Paul's Cathedral in December, reports appeared in every London National paper without exception. Fifty of the daily or evening papers published in the provinces contained reports, and in some cases a leading article and a reference on the gossip page as well. Even as far afield as Scotland reports and paragraphs appeared in the seven principal daily papers. Is this the turn of the tide in the general Press?

An Economy

During 1932 HEADWAY will be printed on cheaper paper, beginning with the February number. Expenditure on other publications is also to be reduced as far as possible. Will Foundation Members help in this economy by suspending for one year their claim to receive along with HEADWAY a copy of "all pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union"? Each of these publications will be announced in HEADWAY, and everyone entitled to them will be able to apply for copies, which will then be sent free by post. Acceptance of these arrangements is assumed unless the contrary is stated.



A WINNING POSTER—"THE HORSEMEN"
by R. S. Dewey, Rugby School

"A striking and dramatic conception, considerable artistic ability in its execution and a happy choice of colour and composition."—(Judges' Comments.)

Notes and News

Generosity

The employees of a large firm in Birmingham generously devoted that proportion of their wages which was due between the hours of 11 a.m. and noon last Armistice Day to the funds of the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council of the Union. The greater proportion of these good friends are already members of the Union, and the voluntary sacrifice on their part was in addition to their ordinary membership subscriptions. Altogether a sum of £39 was raised. Other Union Branches in industrial concerns perhaps may care to follow Birmingham's example.

A Bromsgrove Pageant

In the Bromsgrove Parish Hall on two evenings in December the Sunday Schools of the Anglican and Free Churches combined to give a League of Nations Pageant written by Miss Trude. Both from the point of view of publicity and finance the venture was a great success. The prime movers besides the Secretary of the local Branch were the Vicar and the Wesleyan Minister, both of whom are ex-Chairmen of the Branch.

Japanese Views

From the journal of the League of Nations Association of Japan we take the following extract:—

"In spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the people in general denouncing the League's undue interference with Manchurian affairs, based on insufficient informations and knowledges, our Association painfully undertook the task of enlightening the public mind as to the nature and the position of the League and its actions taken regarding pending problems. Dr. T. Yamakawa, Vice-President of our Association, undertook a strenuous speaking tour, upholding the authority of the League and speaking for a just solution through its offices."

It appears that, among other places, Dr. Yamakawa spoke to an audience of about 100 persons, composed of high officials, Ministers and their wives at the Premier's official residence.

For Visitors to the Disarmament Conference

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation have arranged for a Guest House in Geneva during the Disarmament Conference. The address is 3, Avenue Calas, Champel, Geneva. Inclusive charges range from 9 francs Swiss a day.

Youth Groups

The Disarmament Campaign has received a decided fillip in Branches where a Youth Group exists. Two examples must suffice. Watford handed over the entire organisation of its Disarmament Campaign to its Youth Section, and, although the Group Committee are continuing their programme of Saturday rambles, they are devoting most of their energies towards publicity for the Disarmament Conference. The Ealing Youth Group, under the leadership of Wilfred Baker, is issuing its own Disarmament Bulletin, and has organised a Disarmament Conference and Exhibition for local youth organisations.

New Youth Groups have been formed in Birmingham, Reading, Barnet, Camberwell, Colchester, Coventry, Hoyle, Mill Hill, Wilmslow, Withersea and Woodford.

Plus 130%

Blewbury (Berks) has broken all local records by increasing its membership by 130 per cent. This has been achieved by obtaining 49 new members during the past year in a small village on the downs, where a large percentage of the population can hardly be expected to find even 1s. a year. Blewbury claims that this is a record for Great Britain. Is it true?

The T.U.C. Disarmament Pamphlet

Mr. William Gillies, the Secretary of the International Department of the Labour Party, must be congratulated, for we understand that the twopenny pamphlet entitled "Disarm" has been compiled by him. In a condensed manner it covers the whole field of armaments. The comparisons between past and present are most illuminating, and the quotations from the poets on almost each page give it a literary touch which is rare in disarmament literature. Save for one paragraph there is no party propaganda in this admirable two-penn'orth.

Model Labour Conference

A Model International Labour Conference was held at Caversham, Reading, some months ago. It aroused so much interest that M. Mahaim, as Chairman of the Geneva Governing Body, wrote to one of the organisers, Mr. Knox Taylor, at Leighton Park School, Reading. In the letter he asked that there should be transmitted to the youthful M. Mahaim, who was elected the President of the Conference, the expression of his (M. Mahaim's) hope that he would find in the international improvement of the conditions of life and work as absorbing and life-long an interest as it had been to himself.

Paddington Disarmament Campaign

Under the presidency of the Mayor and the chairmanship of Lady Samuel, the Paddington Branch ran an intensive Disarmament Campaign during November. Twenty meetings were held during the week, culminating in a mass demonstration, at which the principal speakers were Brigadier-General Spears and Mr. Herbert Williams. Some of these meetings were held in the open air. One of these was attended by a group of Communists, most of whom were very sceptical, but after the speeches a few signed the Disarmament Declaration. Publicity was obtained chiefly through the courtesy of Messrs. Whiteley, who allowed the Branch to have two stalls on their premises during the Campaign Week. There were the usual displays of posters and the usual distribution of leaflets by hand. This latter proved a most valuable method of getting into touch with people, and many were the doorstep debates that took place. A curious feature about the objections to Disarmament was that so many were based on a too literal reading of the Bible.

Forthcoming Broadcasts

7.5 p.m., alternate Fridays, February 5 and 19: "Problems of Currency."

7.30 p.m., Wednesdays: "Science and Civilisation."

February 3.—Professor J. B. S. Haldane.
February 10.—Sir Oliver Lodge.

7.30 p.m., Thursdays: "Has Parliamentary Government Failed?"

February 4 and 11.—Professor W. G. S. Adams.
"The Problem of World Government."

February 18 and 25.—Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B.

9.20 p.m., Thursdays: "The Way of the World," by Mr. Vernon Bartlett.

Children to the Rescue

Mr. Vernon Bartlett was billed to speak to a meeting of nearly 2,000 children at Worthing a few weeks ago. Owing to a breakdown on the railway he was nearly an hour late, but the five boys and girls whom Worthing had sent to the Geneva Summer School this year stepped into the breach. By speaking in turns they filled in the time till Mr. Bartlett arrived, and was able, so to speak, to propose the vote of thanks—not to himself, as was the original agenda, but to his substitutes.

The Children's Disarmament Poster Competition

The 200 posters selected from the 1,300 entries for Lord Cecil's Disarmament Competition were exhibited at University College during the meetings of the Conference of Educational Associations. Mr. G. Huxley, the Publicity Secretary of the Empire Marketing Board, acted as judge. In awarding the prizes he said, "I was struck by the adequate level of execution in both classes, but I think that it may fairly be said that the junior class showed considerably more robustness and originality, if not more interesting artistic execution, than the senior."

The names of the prize winners are as follows:—

Class A, under 16 years:

- 1st prize, R. S. Dewey, Rugby School.
2nd prize, L. B. Greensted, Rugby School.
3rd prize, Arthur Chapman, Hitchin Grammar School.

Class B, 16-18 years:

- 1st prize, A. Douglas, Bradford Grammar School.
Four 2nd prizes, Dorothy Hancock, Chelmsford County High School; J. Trickett, Mexborough Secondary School; John Cecil Johnson, Wigan Grammar School; Lilla Fox, Mount School, York.

Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their 1931 quotas:—

Abbotts Morton, Alton, Aldbourne, Ampthill, Batley, Biggin Hill, Breadstone, Betchworth, Bishopston, Boroughbridge, Bexhill, Bugbrooke, Blackham, Briston, Bishop Stortford, Burgess Hill, Bushey, Bishop's Castle, Broanpark (Sheffield), Berwick-on-Tweed, Billericay, Bishop's Nympton, Brislington, Bishop Auckland, Bedminster Parish Church, Bishop's Waltham, Bourton-on-Water, Church Stretton, Charlbury, Croston, Crewe, Cleckheaton and Spenborough, Crawley, Chinnor, Cheltenham, Cranleigh, Colnes, Clifton, Corby, Coventry District Council, Cuckfield, Ditchling, Dunstable, Dewsbury, Duxford and Whittlesford, Dalston, Eccleshill, Eye, Ecton, Exeter, Eastwood, East Scotland District, East Haddon, Eastbourne, Frensham, Folkestone, Ford End, Felixstowe, Great Yarmouth, Gerrard's Cross, Grafton Underwood, Grimsby, Grange-over-Sands, Guilsborough, Gainsborough, Huntingdon, Harpole, Heyford, Hertford, Heathfield, Hemingford, Henleaze, Helmdon, Holme Lane, Bedford, Halstead, Highworth, Hull, Hadleigh, Irchester, Ingatstone, Knebworth, Knaresborough, Kington, Kettering, Leighs, Littleport, Leicester, Leamington, Lewes, Lytham, Lacock, Littlehampton, Margate, Marlborough, Milford-on-Sea, Mistley, Market Harborough, Middlewich, Market Drayton, Malmesbury Park, Moreton Hampsted, Malton, Northallerton, Nutfield, New Malden, Nailsworth, Nether Chapel (Sheffield), North Somercotes, Northampton, Newcastle-under-Lyme, North and North-East Scotland, Oakworth, Ossett, Oxford Federation, Peppard, Plymouth District Council, Queenborough, Radstock, Rushden, Reading, Shipley, Swindon, Skelsmergh, Stanley, Sawtry, Soham, St. Neots, St. Ives (Hunts), Shepton Mallet, Stevenage, Shrewsbury, Scalby, Stanningley, Swanage, Staveley, Saffron Walden, Sedberg, Shirehampton, Stanwick, Titchmarsh, Tunbridge Wells, Ticehurst, Towcester, Upton-on-Severn, Wantage, Walgrave, Weldon, Windsor, Woodford, Weston Rhyn, West Hartlepool, Woking, Winchester, Woodburn and Bourne End, Wellington (Somerset), Wells, Wigton, Wellingborough, Worthing, West Scotland, Welwyn Garden City.

Tunstall Church has completed its 1932 Quota.

Welsh Notes

By the will of the late Mr. D. P. Thomas, of Llandyssul, a legacy of £200 has been bequeathed to the Welsh Council. Dr. and Mrs. John H. Shaxby, on behalf of the Cardiff District Committee, organised a

"Peace Shop" during the last fortnight of 1931. Through the kindness of the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, the Welsh National War Memorial in Cathays Park was again illuminated this year on the Anniversary of the League's Birthday.

New Pamphlets

No. 309. "Disarmament and the Money Crisis," 1s. 6d. per 100.

No. 310. "The Foreigners' Turn to Disarm," by Sir Norman Angell, 2d.

A small pamphlet by a well-known publicist to show the fallacy of the arguments that Great Britain has done enough for disarmament and there is no need for a campaign.

No. 312. Minutes of a meeting of the General Council held in London on December 10 and 11.

No. 312a. "The League, Manchuria and Disarmament." A Supplement to the Minutes of the General Council Meeting, 2d.

This pamphlet contains speeches delivered by Viscount Grey, Viscount Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray at the Central Hall, Westminster, meeting on December 11.

"Statement upon International Policy."

A reprint of the new policy on International Affairs adopted by the General Council at its December meetings.

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
Jan. 1, 1932	951,400

On Jan. 1, 1932, there were 3,040 Branches, 1,148 Junior Branches, 3,497 Corporate Members and 742 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."