



# HEADWAY

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**I**N view of the prospect that the question of military disarmament and, in particular, of the limitation of material of war and of military budgets will be raised at the next meeting of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission, very considerable importance attaches to a memorandum on the cost of armies, navies and air forces issued as supplement to *The Economist* of October 19. The writer, Mr. Per Jacobsen, is an able Swedish Financial authority and was till recently a member of the Financial and Economic Section of the League's Secretariat. The impression the figures create is unhappy. For example, "Europe as a whole spends annually on armaments £524,000,000, or from £40,000,000 to £45,000,000 more than in 1913, in spite of the reduction in certain armies under the terms of the peace treaties." The present world expenditure on armaments appears to amount to about £890,000,000 a year. Comparisons between different years can be misleading owing to the change in the value of money, but taking into account the fall in the value of gold Mr. Jacobsen concludes that "the current armaments expenditure in Germany is about one-third of what it was before the war, while in the other Great States it tends to reach and, in some cases, even to exceed the pre-war rate. "In Great Britain," observes the writer, "55 per cent. of the budget goes to pay for past wars (dead service and pensions) and 15 per cent. to the preparation against future wars. In other words, 70 per cent. of the expenditure (or 14s. in the £) is attributable

to war." Oddly enough, the proportion in France is almost exactly the same, 70 francs out of every 100 in the national budget being eaten up by payment for past, and preparation for future, wars.

### A Grip on the Drug Traffic

**N**O more important move has been made in the campaign against the traffic in narcotic drugs than the adoption of the resolution moved in the last Assembly, on the initiative of Professor Baker, with the aim of limiting the world production of such drugs to the level of the world's need for strictly medical and scientific purposes. The idea is simple. Thanks to a rough, but sufficiently reliable, estimate prepared by the League's Health Committee, it is known approximately how much of such drugs as morphia and cocaine the world really requires. The first step, therefore, is to get the countries where such drugs are manufactured (only eight all told) to agree that between them they will not produce more than this total. The second step is for the nations concerned to agree how much each of them shall contribute towards the total. The third step is for the factories in each of the eight countries to arrange how much each of them will contribute towards the country's quota. The fourth step will be to see to it somehow that no new factories are started in countries where there are none at present. This plan sounds so simple that it may be asked why it has not been tried before. The answer is that it was useless to attempt it until

all the manufacturing countries were prepared to come into line, and at least one of them, France, was not. At the recent Assembly the French delegate made the welcome announcement that France intended strictly to limit her output of drugs. The Japanese delegate said much the same thing. That changed the whole situation, as Professor Baker, who was representing Great Britain on the Fifth Commission, at once realised. Hence his proposal for a Conference of the drug-manufacturing countries, to which will be joined an equal number of consuming or "victim" countries, to get a limitation plan adopted.

### The Troubles of Coal

ONE of the most immediately urgent questions before the Tenth Assembly was the international organisation of the coal trade. Mr. William Graham spoke with gravity on this subject in his Assembly speech, and on the initiative of the British delegation it was decided to ask the International Labour Organisation, within whose sphere of action this matter most properly falls, to inscribe the question of hours, wages and conditions of labour in coal-mines on the agenda of next year's Labour Conference, with a view to the adoption of a convention or conventions in regard to it. Matters have, in fact, moved rapidly in regard to coal since the Assembly rose. A meeting of experts appointed by the Economic Committee opened on September 30 and prepared a report for the League Council regarding the difficulties at present everywhere encountered in the coal industry of different countries, and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, meeting immediately afterwards, decided to put the coal question on the agenda of the next Labour Conference as requested, and to convene a preparatory conference on a date earlier in 1930 to frame proposals to lay before the full Labour Conference later.

### The League's Expenses

THERE is generally a good deal of interest in the total of the League's annual budget which is voted every year at the Assembly. The discussions on that subject last September were more tranquil than usual, for, though there was a general demand for economy wherever possible, the demand was not pressed to the point of cutting down useful work. The budget for 1930, in fact, shows a not inconsiderable increase over that for 1929. There was voted at the Ninth Assembly in respect of 1929 the sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs, or, roughly, £1,080,000. There was voted at the Tenth Assembly in respect of 1930, 28,210,248 Swiss francs, or, approximately, £1,128,410, the increase amounting to round about £48,500. This sum is provided in differing proportions by the 54 States members of the League, and it covers the expenses of the League itself, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Great Britain must bear responsibility for no small part of the increase, since the new conferences her delegates proposed, such as that on the Tariff Truce and on the Limitation of Narcotic Drugs as well as inquiries into the coal problem or the working of the Secretariat, all have to be paid

for. The upshot of it all is that the League of Nations will cost Great Britain in the year 1930 £120,000. That, at least, is what her share amounts to on the basis of the figures just quoted; actually it will be less, because the League always manages to save something on its estimated expenditure, and the surplus is divided up and repaid to the Member States.

### Money Well Spent

CRITICISM of the expenditure of the League of Nations is often met quite justly by the argument that so long as the expenditure is productive it is very short-sighted economy to curtail it. Of nothing can that be said with greater truth than of money spent on bringing before the younger generation a knowledge of what the League has done and aims at doing. It is, therefore, extremely satisfactory that in the League budget for next year there is included a vote of 33,000 Swiss francs (roughly £1,300) for the translation into different languages of the League's handbook for teachers on the history and aims of the League. There is, of course, no reason why a particular country should not make its own translation, for there is no copyright in this work. But there might be some danger of a nationalist turn being given to a statement drafted essentially from the international point of view, and it is therefore well that the translations of the work from the languages in which it was first drafted into others should be strictly official.

### Another League

A GREAT many diligent and devoted people have spent much time endeavouring to devise a general language for international use. Help in that task has lately come from a rather unexpected quarter. A gentleman named M. Alberto Pinto, who is understood to be a notorious international criminal, has recently found himself in the hands of the French police, and has been prevailed on to describe to them a secret language, which he and his associates in different countries have evolved. The whole thing has been strictly formal and in order. A secret council of what are described as crooks was held at Lerida in Spain in 1926. There were four British members, three Spanish, two each from Portugal, Greece and the United States and one each from Germany, Italy, France and Chile. (It is thought that half-a-dozen from the Irish Free State must have missed the train.) The new language may shortly be given to the world, not, indeed, by its inventors, whose main preoccupation it is to avoid publicity, but by the Director of the French Police Laboratory at Lyons, who is amusing himself by trying to decipher the code. The gentlemen by whom and for whose benefit the new language has been produced are described in the Press as a "league of crooks." Nothing could be more appropriate than that the "League of Crooks" should place its talents at the disposal of the League of Nations. It is, unfortunately, doubtful whether it could be described as one of those international associations or bureaux over which, under Article 24 of the Covenant, the League of Nations may assume direction.

### A League Flag?

THERE is no such thing at present as a League of Nations flag, and there have been occasions when the lack of it was seriously felt. Dr. Nansen, for example, badly required such an emblem for the ships he chartered in connection with his repatriation of prisoners of war undertaking in the early days of the League's existence. It is also a little unfortunate that at all kinds of international celebrations flags of all individual countries are in evidence, but, again, there is no emblem to symbolise the great international idea which has taken so firm a grip on the world. Accordingly, through the generosity of a Dutch donor, a competition has been organised under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, three prizes being offered of approximate value in English money of £83, £41 10s. and £21. The last date for the receipt of designs at the office of the Federation, 41, Rue Juste Lipse, Brussels (where full particulars can be obtained), is January 1, 1930. It, of course, remains to be seen whether the League itself will adopt the selected design officially. The idea of a League flag does not meet with unanimous approval at Geneva.

### The League's Wireless

THE League of Nations is at last to have a wireless station of its own. The matter has been under discussion long enough and some of the delays are due to the doubts of the British Government, which in past years expressed some scepticism as to whether the advantages were worth the expense. At the recent Assembly, however, definite decisions were taken and the Secretary-General was empowered to go forward with the necessary arrangements. The station will not be at Geneva itself, because better transmission is obtained a few miles away on a site less shut in by mountains. The actual station will be at Prangins close to Nyon, where a medium-wave installation has just been set up by the Radio-Suisse Company, a body controlled by the Swiss Government. This station will reach European countries but not the rest of the world. That is not sufficient for the League, which will, therefore, set up its own short-wave station close by. The Radio-Suisse Company will work the station at normal times, but the League will have a trained staff which can take over completely at any given moment when the station is needed for urgent communications at a time of crisis.

### The Palestine Outbreak

THE Commission of Inquiry which the British Government has despatched to Palestine to inquire into the causes of the recent tragic disturbances in that country will be well into its work by the time these lines appear, but it seems very doubtful whether the inquiry can be completed in time for a report to be laid before the Permanent Mandates Commission at its meeting in November. The matter is obviously one which the Mandates Commission will desire to discuss at length, as it did the outbreak in the neighbouring mandate area of Syria some three years ago. It has been asked what the Mandates Commission has done or proposes

to do in face of such a situation as this. So far as direct action is concerned, there is nothing it can do. It has no power to intervene actively or interfere with the actual administration of a mandate territory. Fortunately, the theory underlying the mandates system has fully justified itself in practice. There is no question at all that the knowledge that any abuse in, or even any serious complaint regarding, a mandate territory will be thrashed out before an international committee at Geneva is a thoroughly effective method of keeping the Government of a mandate area in the right path. The British delegates at the Assembly handled the situation in the right spirit by expressing deep regret at what had happened and attempting no defence of the Palestine administration, but the Mandates Commission will expect to have assurances that some steps are being taken to prevent any recurrence of such events as darkened the name of Palestine last August.

### Minorities' Claims

CURIOSLY little was heard of the minority question at the last Assembly. Everyone had expected that it would be one of the chief subjects of discussion, in view of the prominence it assumed at various meetings of the Council earlier in the year. A number of the early speeches in the full Assembly, notably those of Dr. Stresemann and Count Apponyi (Hungary), did, indeed, include an extended reference to the minority problem, but since no one desired to put down a definite resolution on the subject, it did not arise in the Commissions, where the real discussions take place. Dr. Stresemann had evidently considered whether a resolution ought to be moved, for he said definitely in his speech that he had no motion to put down this year, but that the matter would be raised later. Unhappily, when it is raised, it will have to be by someone other than the late German Foreign Minister. Had he lived, Dr. Stresemann would have been a more effective champion of the minorities than anyone else who can be mentioned.

### My Lord Mayor and the League

IT is good evidence of the hold the League is getting on public opinion when a League tableau is included in the Lord Mayor's Show. When that historic cortège makes its progress through the streets of London, on November 9, a League car will be found somewhere embodied in it. The idea underlying the tableau is the League's tenth birthday, indicated by a large birthday cake, with a young gentleman, presumably ten years old, inside it and the traditional candles around. The car is to be drawn by six white horses, and beside it will walk ten personages carrying banners recalling some event of moment in the history of the League. Behind will follow persons clad in national costume and grouped according to the years in which their country became a member of the League. The costumes are said to have been specially designed for the occasion, and those interested in such matters will have, perhaps, the first opportunity in their lives of discovering what the national costume of Great Britain is. Whatever it may prove to be, the first emotion it is likely to provoke is a desire to see it changed.

## THE ASSEMBLY'S HARVEST PROPOSALS AND DECISIONS IN BRIEF

THE earlier phases of the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations were fully reviewed in the last issue of HEADWAY, but what may be described as the concrete results of the Assembly did not come to hand till some time after that issue had gone to press. So numerous were the subjects dealt with and the decisions taken that it is impossible now to discuss them as fully as their intrinsic importance warrants. The following summary, however, covers all the most important questions discussed.

### OPTIONAL CLAUSE

During the Assembly the **Optional Clause was signed by thirteen States**—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Peru, Siam and Nicaragua. Since Brazil signed some years ago on condition that her signature should only become operative when two Permanent Members of the Council had signed and ratified, she will also be bound by the Optional Clause as soon as either Britain, France or Italy ratifies (Germany having already done so).

### ARMAMENTS AND WAR

(a) **The Convention on Financial Assistance**, fully described in the last issue of HEADWAY, was referred to the Financial Committee and the Committee on Security and Arbitration to be put into final shape, with a view to its adoption either by the next Assembly or by a special conference to be held earlier.

(b) **Lord Cecil's resolution, designed to enable the question of military disarmament to be discussed further** at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission, was replaced by a compromise resolution, which Lord Cecil interpreted as still enabling him to raise military disarmament at the Preparatory Commission. (See interview with Lord Cecil on a later page of this issue.) This resolution was carried unanimously.

(c) **It was decided to construct a League Wireless Station at Prangins**, near Geneva, the station to be operated in normal time by the Swiss Corporation, Radio Suisse, but to be taken over completely by the League in time of crisis.

### THE LEAGUE AND THE COURT

(a) **Changes in the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice** were agreed to, providing that the Court should be considered as always in session; that there should be fifteen judges instead of eleven judges and four deputy judges, and that the salary of the judges should be fixed at 45,000 Dutch florins (£3,750).

(b) The formula drawn up by a Committee of Jurists earlier in the year to provide for **the entry of the United States into membership of the Court** was unanimously approved.

(c) **Sir Cecil Hurst (British) and M. Henri Fromageot (French) were elected judges of the Court** to fill the vacancies created by the deaths of Lord Finlay and M. André Weiss.

### TARIFFS AND TRADE

(a) It was decided to ask Governments whether they would be willing to send representatives to a Diplomatic Conference, to be held early next year, to try and carry through **an agreement that no State would increase its tariffs for the period of two years**, negotiations to be entered into during that period with a view to a general reduction of tariffs later.

(b) It was decided to ask the International Labour Organisation to include **the question of hours, wages and conditions of work in coal mines** on the agenda

of the International Labour Conference of 1930, with a view to agreeing on an international Convention thereon.

(c) **A resolution urging that the proposed International Bank for Reparations Settlement should be in some way associated with the League** was withdrawn in the face of the opposition of the Great Powers.

### COVENANT QUESTIONS

(a) **The British proposal that the Covenant should be amended so as to bring it into harmony with the terms of the Kellogg Pact** was approved in principle, and it was agreed that a Committee of Jurists should meet early next year to decide on the actual wording of the amendments, with a view to their adoption at the next Assembly.

(b) **A Chinese resolution asking for the appointment of a committee to study the application of Article XIX of the Covenant** (concerning the revision of Treaties) was replaced by another, more general resolution laying it down that it is the right of any State Member of the League (not necessarily an interested party) to call attention to treaties when it considers that those particular treaties need revision, and to move a resolution on the subject in the Assembly, and that the resolution, if accepted, should be discussed under the ordinary procedure.

### HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS

(a) The Assembly adopted an important British resolution **asking the League to convene a conference of countries where narcotic drugs are manufactured**, and an equal number of non-manufacturing countries, with a view to limiting the world output of such drugs to the total of the world's legitimate needs for medical and scientific purposes, arranging what proportion of this total each country shall produce, and taking steps to prevent new centres of manufacture being created.

(b) **The League's refugee work, under Dr. Nansen**, was transferred for an experimental year from the International Labour Office to the League Secretariat, on the understanding that the work should be wound up completely within a maximum period of ten years. The Erivan settlement scheme was definitely dropped, Great Britain reversing its previous decision to join the committee which controls the refugee work.

(c) **Requests from Bolivia and China for the League's help in organising health work** in those countries were cordially granted.

(d) **The recent disturbances in the Mandate area of Palestine** were discussed, and the British decision to maintain order and to have the full facts of the situation investigated was approved.

(e) **A British proposal to reappoint the temporary Committee on Slavery**, in order to inquire into the working of the Slavery Convention of 1926, was rejected, but the Secretary-General was instructed to collect all available information on the subject.

(f) **It was decided to appoint a Committee to inquire into the working of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris.**

### THE LEAGUE'S OWN AFFAIRS

(a) **The budget for 1930**, totalling 28,210,248 Swiss francs, or approximately £1,128,410 (covering the expenses of the Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court, as well as the League itself), was approved.

(b) **A committee of thirteen members was appointed to examine the working of the League's Secretariat**, the International Labour Office and the

registry of the Permanent Court, and propose any necessary changes.

(c) **The foundation-stone of the League's new buildings was laid**, and it was decided to purchase the property at present occupied by the Secretary-General, adjoining the site of the new premises.

(d) **It was decided that the next Assembly should begin on September 10** instead of September 1, and a small committee was appointed to consider improvements in the holding of the Assembly.

### NEW COUNCIL MEMBERS

Poland, Rumania and Chile retired by rotation from the Council, and their places were filled by Poland

(re-elected by special permission of the Assembly), Yugoslavia and Peru. The Council now consists of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan (permanent members), Canada, Finland, Cuba, Spain, Persia, Venezuela, Poland, Yugoslavia, Peru (non-permanent members).

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This summary takes practically no account of many important discussions which did not result in any definite resolution or decision. A full account of these will be found in the booklet "Geneva: 1929," just published by the League of Nations Union, price 9d.

## KABUL: 1929 FIGHTING PLANES' PEACE MISSION

By ALEC WILSON

WRITERS like H. G. Wells (e.g. in "The Time Machine") or George Bernard Shaw (e.g. in "Methusalem") make very readable books by the simple trick of choosing some undeveloped feature of existing life and forecasting the results of its continuous growth. Sometimes the prophets get very near the mark, as Mr. Wells did about the "tanks." It would be hard for them not to score a success sometimes, for the variety of the prophecies is almost limitless. That is very much the position in which we find ourselves to-day about the rapid and continuous growth of air power, whether military or civilian. The possibilities cannot be calculated. The prophets are legion. All that is dead certain is that science applied in the air is going to make many and great changes to man's life on this little planet. Will they be for better or worse? It is easy enough to see where they are for worse. Even the last war showed examples of that. What the next war will show, if there is one, we cannot imagine if we would. But where are they for better?

Here at any rate is one example. A very few years ago, 600 people isolated in Kabul, and caught between two, perhaps three, opposing factions of semi-savage tribesmen, would have meant a costly and probably futile relief expedition, a "war" that might have left a generation of hatred behind it as legacy. One may still see, sometimes, prints of Lady Butler's once-famous picture, "The Remnants of an Army"—Dr. Brydon riding exhausted into Jelalabad, sole survivor of 4,500 British troops massacred in trying to get away from Kabul in 1842. In the bitter depths of last winter, the R.A.F., totally unarmed, without so much as a revolver, rescued Sir Francis Humphreys, his staff, British, German, French and other foreign residents, and all their women and children: seventy journeys over wild mountain masses, where to land was impossible and any failure spelt swift disaster. 57,000 miles flown (over 28,000 on the actual work of evacuation). Total casualties, one aeroplane lost—no lives. No wonder the suggestion has been made that this year's relief of Kabul should be emblazoned on the colours of the R.A.F., like a battle-honour.

### The Indian Air Mail

But the fighting men, even unarmed, must not have it all their own way in preventing warfare. Take the following passage from the last annual report of Imperial Airways, Ltd.:

"[The Indian Mail service] is the longest organised air route in the world, its length being almost 5,000 miles. . . The service operates over ten different countries, speaking seven or eight different languages, and utilising nine different currencies."

How long will it be before the demand becomes urgent—not through sentiment, but through the need for business convenience and efficiency—for some form of internationalised currency? It looks as if the "Young Plan" super-bank will end in having plenty to do long after Reparations have been forgotten. How long will it be before some at least of the "ten different countries," running their own air services, find themselves driven to joint action in order to avoid confusion, overlapping and endless waste? One seems to see, in the very near future, the rise of a great International Corporation, similar to, but far bigger than the Wagon-Lits Co., wherein all the national units co-operate in the proper maintenance of a complete service. World-wide in its membership and scope, most, if not all, of its members being also members of the League of Nations (and Governments would be largely represented both in men and money in such a corporation), a World Aviation Control must surely come into being: and, when it does, it must surely lessen the likelihood of any one part of it being used to wage war upon the rest.

### "Taubes" and Doves

One does not easily think of "Taube" and peace in the same context; yet, after all, "Taube" means dove, and the League is itself working out the beginnings of a scheme to place aeroplanes at its own service, with the requisite

"Measures to ensure that aircraft engaged in transport of importance to the working of the League of Nations may be free in time of emergency to fly in such a way and over such territory as may be necessary for the carrying out of their missions."

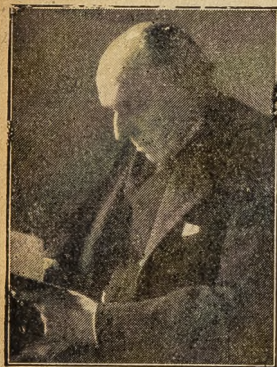
A Schneider Trophy winner may yet be chartered by some Government to "rush" documents essential to peace to some focus of threatened war. For the issue of peace and war does not lie in the instruments but in the use to which those instruments are put. Even a demobilised "Taube" may be employed as a dove.

A notable book on the League will be published this month by the Mayfair Press. It has been prepared by the League of Nations Union, is entitled "Ten Years' Life of the League of Nations," and tells the story of the League from its inception. Forewords to the different chapters are contributed by Lord Balfour, M. Briand, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Sir Eric Drummond, General Smuts, and others, and there is an introduction by Lord Cecil. The price is 5s., or 5s. 3d. post free, from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## REDUCING ARMIES

### LORD CECIL ON A GENEVA CONTROVERSY

THE resolution on military disarmament moved by Lord Cecil on behalf of the British delegation in the Third Commission of the last Assembly created a large amount of interest, a certain amount of controversy, and a quite appreciable amount of misunderstanding. It was, in particular, affirmed quite dogmatically in sections of the Press in this and other countries that Lord Cecil aimed primarily at raising again the vexed question of "trained reserves."



Viscount Cecil

Since the whole subject will quite certainly be raised again at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, it is extremely important that no misunderstandings as to what Lord Cecil intended at Geneva, and still desires now, should persist. For that reason HEADWAY has discussed the question with Lord Cecil himself, with a view to getting the situation definitely stated.

"Is it really the case," Lord Cecil was asked, "that what you mainly desired at Geneva was to discuss the question of trained reserves?"

"Not in the very least," was the reply. "Personally, I think it is a pity the controversy centring round this particular term ever arose. As I said in a public speech I was making only last night, once you have a conscription system, there is no way of getting rid of the trained reserves which such a system automatically produces, except by massacring them."

#### Restricting Personnel

"What, then, did the passage in your resolution about military service mean?"

"It was, in point of fact," said Lord Cecil, "taken verbatim from the resolution drafted at the Madrid meeting of the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies by a very competent committee, which included M. de Jouvenel, of France, Baron Rheinbaben, of Germany, a Polish, Dutch and Belgian member, as well as myself. When the resolution spoke of the principle of 'the limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training or both,' that was an almost self-evident proposition. Any limitation of the personnel of armies must manifestly be based on one or other of these methods or both of them. No one, at any rate, has so far suggested anything else."

#### Weapons and Man

"Then your point was —?"

"My main point was to insist that in any scheme of disarmament worth the name there must be a limitation of the weapons with which warfare is conducted. There are two reasons for that. In the first place, the French have always claimed, with much justice, that the same principles should be applied to reduction of land, sea and air forces. I agree with them, and it seems to me vital that if in the matter of navies you limit not merely the men who fight, but the ships and the guns they fight with, so, in the same way, in land armies you should limit the howitzers, the tanks, the field batteries, and so on.

"It is no use discussing armies in the terms of 1918,

let alone 1913. Mechanisation has made, and is making enormous strides. The machine is becoming more and more, and the individual soldier less and less. I make no claim to speak with expert knowledge on such matters, but I have discussed them constantly with those who do, and I find the opinion growing that the equipment of a modern army is becoming so extraordinarily elaborate and so extraordinarily costly that it is quite conceivable that the conscription system will disappear of itself, for the simple reason that the effective force of the future must be a comparatively small army of highly trained—and, therefore, long-service—men, with every modern development of mechanisation at their disposal.

#### Counting Guns

"That, however," Lord Cecil continued, "is not a matter we are immediately concerned with. All I do say is that if you are going to limit the numbers of men in a certain army—and disarmament is meaningless without that—then it would be fantastic not to limit also the weapons which convert those men into effective soldiers. As to the method of limitation, there are two alternatives, though, personally, I hope that both may be adopted in combination. The principle actually put into the Geneva resolution was 'the limitation of material, either directly by enumeration, or indirectly by budget limitation, or by both methods.' Enumeration is, of course, a perfectly feasible proceeding. You may not be able to get a precisely accurate account of a country's stock of rifles and other small arms, but there is no difficulty about limiting batteries of field guns, heavy artillery, tanks and so forth. The League of Nations, in its Armaments Year Book, already publishes full statistics on these points, and there is no reason at all to suppose they are unreliable."

#### Limit the Money

"You think enumeration alone is not enough?"

"Not in view of the constant advance in mechanical development. Moreover, it is always better to check your calculations by double entry, so to speak, if you can. There is, therefore, in my view, everything to be said for the proposal which the French originally supported strongly, that there should be a limitation of the amount each country is to spend on equipment of this kind. There has been, incidentally, a good deal of confusion about this suggestion. Some Governments have opposed it because they seemed to think it involved comparing the military expenditure of one country with the military expenditure of another. No one ever seriously suggested that. Conditions in different countries—cost of living, cost of material, rates of pay, etc.—differ far too widely to make any comparison of that sort anything but misleading. No one ought to entertain the idea for a moment. The point, of course, is to fix a reasonable amount for the military budget of a particular country—needless to say, it must be, as in every item of a disarmament agreement, a figure the country itself is prepared freely to accept—and see that that amount is not exceeded in subsequent years."

"Then, how far was there a fundamental difference between us and the French?"

"I am convinced that in reality there is no fundamental difference at all. Indeed, I have reason to know that my speech on the question in the Assembly, when I said exactly what I had always had in mind throughout, was entirely satisfactory to the French delegates present. Most of the commotion, such as it was, emanated from those who assumed I was going to say something which I did not say, and found it difficult to believe that the

resolution meant exactly what it said. Once convinced of that, they were quite satisfied."

#### The Next Step

"And you believe some improvement can be effected in the agreement provisionally reached in the Preparatory Commission already on these particular questions?"

"I most earnestly hope so. The Commission will, I imagine, be meeting after the Five Power Naval Conference has been held, and I trust, therefore, in the knowledge that the Naval Powers have been able to reach agreement on an effective limitation, combined with an actual and definite reduction, of their naval

forces. In that case they will be entitled to come to the Preparatory Commission and claim that the military Powers should accept a system of limitation at least as effective, and I cannot believe that any limitation would be genuinely effective which did not take account of the four principles mentioned in my Geneva resolution.

"A good deal will, no doubt, depend on what the general international atmosphere is when the Preparatory Commission meets, but I feel that the very friendly discussion of the resolution at Geneva has done much good, and I have no doubt that the principles involved will be dealt with in no unduly controversial spirit when they come before the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission."

## STRESEMANN AT GENEVA

### MEMORIES OF A NOTABLE THREE YEARS

THERE can be few spots on the world's surface outside Berlin where the news of the death of Dr. Gustav Stresemann was received with more profound and genuine regret than at Geneva. The League's acquaintance with the German Foreign Secretary was comparatively short. It is difficult to realise that he never appeared in any one of its Assemblies or Councils till just three years before his death. But during that three years he never missed a meeting except once or twice when illness kept him away. And often when illness might well have kept him away he was in his place as usual.

#### Outside the Door

Of that brief association there remain both general impressions and remembrances of two or three outstanding occasions when the German Foreign Minister played a rôle of more than ordinary prominence. His first sojourn at Geneva was spent, as everyone well remembers, outside the door of the Palais des Nations instead of inside it. Dr. Stresemann came with a German delegation expecting the election of his country to membership of the League at the Special Assembly of March, 1926. Owing to Brazil's adverse vote cast against the conferring on Germany of that seat on the Council without which she would naturally not accept a seat in the Assembly, those expectations came with a crash to the ground. For the Foreign Minister the moment was peculiarly critical. In the face of fierce opposition in his own country he had carried his country to the door of the League, only to see her left on the doorstep. The dignity, breadth of mind, and even charity he displayed on that occasion will not readily be forgotten by any who were in Geneva at the time.

#### The First Appearance

Six months later Dr. Stresemann was in Geneva again, this time with the certainty that he would take his place in the Assembly Hall as head of an Assembly delegation. That occasion too is unforgettable. The vote had been taken on an earlier day. The report of the Committee to examine the German delegates' credentials had been approved, and the President announced from the tribune: "The conclusions of the report being adopted, I invite the German delegates to take their seats." The delegation took its seats and received the Presidential welcome, which concluded with the words: "Dr. Stresemann, first delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly." Then there mounted the Assembly platform for the first time that thick-set figure with the cropped bullet head and the invariably pallid face which became for three years so

familiar a feature at meetings of the Assembly and of the Council. The German Foreign Minister spoke as almost always in German, and his speech, again as almost always, combined admirably an undisguised resolve to defend the interest of Germany with a determined endeavour to establish relations of cordiality with old friends and old enemies alike.

#### Divine Architecture

One passage in that speech illustrates well an attitude which Dr. Stresemann maintained uniformly to the end. "I hold," he said, "that no country which belongs to the League of Nations thereby surrenders any of its national individuality. The Divine Architect of the world has not created mankind as a homogeneous whole. He has made the nations of different races. He has given them their mother tongue as the sanctuary of their soul. He has given them countries with different characteristics as their homes. But it cannot be the purpose of the Divine world-order that men should direct their supreme national energies against one another, thus ever thrusting back the general progress of civilisation. He will serve humanity best who, firmly rooted in the faith of his own people, develops his moral and intellectual gifts to the utmost, thus over-stepping his own national boundaries, and serving the whole world, as has been done by those great men of all nations whose names are writ large in the history of mankind."

That was Dr. Stresemann's first appearance in the Assembly. From that time on he became one of the ablest and most valuable members of that body, and still more of the Council, in whose deliberations he naturally took a larger part. Three speeches he made in one or other of those bodies remain specially in the memory. Two were in the Council, and one, his last utterance at Geneva, in the Assembly. All of them dealt more or less with a question that he had specially at heart, the League's protection of minorities.

#### Heated Words

The first will long remain famous. It was the occasion when Dr. Stresemann lost his temper. The Council in December, 1928, was meeting at Lugano instead of Geneva, because the German Foreign Minister's doctor forbade him Geneva at that moment. The incident is sufficiently recent to be remembered well. Zaleski, of Poland, to everyone's astonishment thundered suddenly out of a blue sky. A wearisome succession of reports on complaints, most of them trifling, about German minorities in Poland were being read by the Japanese member of the Council, M. Adatci. Zaleski then in his slow, even tones proceeded to deliver a violent attack on what he called the subversive activities of the German

organisation, the Deutscher Volksbund, in Upper Silesia. The picture of Stresemann's reactions has often been painted. He listened, he stiffened, he bristled, he swung round to make indignant exclamations to his secretaries behind him. He swung back to the table again and banged his fist on it, addressing his exclamations now, not to his subordinates, but to the world at large. When Zaleski had finished he broke out. It was the most explosive utterance ever heard at the Council table of the League. Yet—and it is a remarkable tribute to Stresemann's intellectual powers—if read to-day in the cold print of the official report it holds its place as a singularly able diplomatic utterance, charged with consecutive, and to a large extent convincing, argument.

#### The Two Stresemanns

Dr. Stresemann ended by giving defiant notice that he would raise the whole question of minorities at the Council meeting in the coming March, and the next memory is of his speech on that occasion. It was a



Dr. Stresemann's Last Speech at Geneva, September 9th, 1929.

statesmanlike pronouncement from first to last. The German delegate reviewed the whole question comprehensively, and made various proposals for change and reform in a speech to which neither the British nor the French nor even the Polish member of the Council could take serious exception. The outburst at Lugano may or may not have been deliberate. Almost certainly it was not. The Foreign Minister did, in fact, lose his temper. But if he had not lost it he would in any case have had to pretend to lose it, for no German could go back to his own people and admit that he had listened to the Polish accusation without some semblance at any rate of violent protest. But the real Stresemann was the Stresemann not of December, 1928, but of March, 1929, Stresemann the insistent, but Stresemann the essentially reasonable.

#### The Heroism of Peace

And then there is the speech at the Tenth Assembly, a speech made by a man who, as many spectators noted at the time, bore the mark of death upon him. It was a speech in which Stresemann did what he had never done before at Geneva. He spoke as usual in German and read, as always in the Assembly, from a carefully prepared manuscript. But not all the time. Towards the end, after he had given his considered views on the

Hague Conference, on the Saar, on minorities, he cast his manuscript aside and broke into an unwonted improvisation. It was to take up, not in disagreement but in agreement, a remark M. Briand had let fall about the appeal the glamour of war still made to the youth of to-day. Yes, said Stresemann, but let no man think that the day of personal heroism in war survives. The mechanisation of war has closed the door to all that. "But," he said, "I foresee that the wide field of conquest over nature will give sufficient outlet for heroism, and even furnish men with opportunities of laying down their lives for great ideals. This is a vast field, indeed, and one where, perhaps, in the future the eternal riddle of man's relation to the universe will be pondered and brought a stage nearer to its solution to the great good of mankind."

#### A Builder of Bridges

"Meanwhile," he concluded, "it is our prosaic duty to bring the peoples nearer together and bridge over their differences. Let us not imagine that they are

already as near to one another as we could wish. Let us face the fact that there exist conflicting, violently conflicting, interests, and we shall find our resources taxed to the utmost to make progress in our work of reconciling those interests and attaining the goal we have set ourselves to reach."

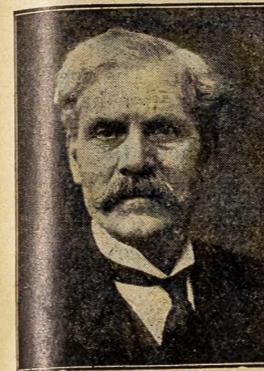
When he spoke of opportunities of laying down life for great ideals, Dr. Stresemann, ill though he knew himself to be, was probably not thinking of the sacrifice he was so soon to make himself. But in retrospect his last words in the Assembly are charged with a tragic significance. "It is our prosaic duty to bring the peoples nearer together and bridge over their differences." A prosaic duty? Yes, perhaps, but the man who spends himself in the discharge of that duty may be making his sacrifice to the highest ideal of all.

A Memorial Service for Dr. Stresemann, arranged by the League of Nations Union, was held at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on October 8. Canon Carnegie, Canon Duncan-Jones and the Reverend Porter Goff conducted the service, and a crowded congregation included Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George, the Counsellor of the German Embassy (the Ambassador himself was in Germany), and most of the Ambassadors and Ministers of Foreign Powers in London.

## MACDONALD AND HOOVER

### THE VALUE OF MAKING AN ATMOSPHERE

OCTOBER, 1929, will long be remembered as the MacDonald-Hoover month. The visit of the British Prime Minister to the United States involved certain risks. It meant creating a new precedent, and it was,



therefore, of the first importance that the experiment should be successful, which it might very well not have been if expectations had been raised too high and definite results looked for. Fortunately, Mr. MacDonald very wisely postponed his visit till a naval agreement between the two countries had been virtually arrived at. The visit, therefore, could be devoted simply to the task of "making an atmosphere," than which there can be nothing more important. Nothing would be gained by summarising here the crowded programme which Mr. MacDonald carried through in the course of his ten days' visit. It is better to concentrate on three or four outstanding features.

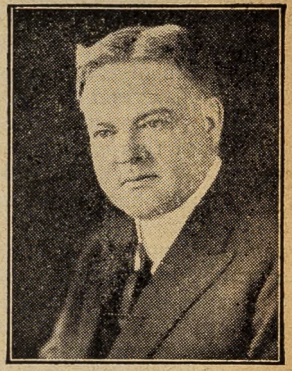
The first is the Prime Minister's speech when he was received in the City Hall of New York on his arrival in America on October 4. Its keynote is found in a passage which made a deep impression. "I come here on this mission to meet your President, not to advance material interest, but in order that we two great nations, powerful in the past and still more powerful in the future, who can look behind with pride and before with hope, shall shake hands and shall pledge ourselves not to any alliance—that belongs to the old bad order of things—but to common aspirations; that our two flags, wherever the work of God is to be done in this world, will be side by side in the doing of that work; that we shall be pledged to each other, competitive in nothing except to see which is to be the first of us to open the way to successful issues."

#### In the Rapidan Camp

Then came the conversations between Premier and President at the White House at Washington and at Mr. Hoover's fishing camp on the Rapidan. Of what was said there nothing is known, apart from the statement issued by the two statesmen on October 9. Its opening sentence—"we approach the old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere"—struck a decisive note. The statement made repeated reference to the Paris Peace Pact and the new situation created by the universal renunciation of war, and one passage seemed to indicate that the question of the freedom of the seas had been touched on and was to be discussed fully through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Another might be interpreted as pointing to a kind of division of the task of preserving peace, the United States acting in the New World and the League of Nations in the Old. For that interpretation, however, there is no official warrant. Before this statement was issued Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover had agreed that the invitations to a Five Power Naval Conference should be sent out forthwith. They have since been accepted by the three other Powers concerned—Japan, France and Italy.

In New York, on his way northward, Mr. MacDonald gave a notable address at a dinner of the Foreign Policy Association. Perhaps the passage that most caught the imagination was that in which the

Prime Minister touched, as he had at the Assembly at Geneva, on the necessity of taking risks for peace. "Public opinion in Europe to-day," he said, "tells its leaders that it knows there are risks in peace, that it knows that the assumption made between one nation and another that they are to conduct their affairs in sincerity and in justice does lay the believing nation open to a certain amount of risk. I will take it. Were I to refuse to take that risk, were I to turn my eyes across the Atlantic to your building, as I have not done and have declined to do, were I to build ship after ship in response to your building, what risk would I be taking? The risk that I should be taking would be that the American people would at some point or other in the evolution of that programme of unlimited building call a halt—the risk would be the risk of war. If, on the other hand, I take the risk of believing in your word, I take the risk of believing in your continuing friendship."



#### The Cause that Unites

When he left the soil of the United States for the soil of Canada, the Prime Minister delivered a farewell message to the American people, the last passage of which summed up his whole purpose and hope. "To you all I have tried to make plain how earnestly the citizens of the British Commonwealth share your prayers that war shall cease, and your response has been a great inspiration. As I step across the border and leave you for the moment, I do so rich with proofs that, while the Atlantic divides us, the cause of peace unites us."

While the visit has not led—because it was not meant to lead—to results that can be tabulated in the shape of any formal agreements, its intangible consequences have been immense. It is not too much to say that, temporarily at any rate, and it may be hoped permanently, the whole atmosphere of Anglo-American relations has been changed. No aspect of the whole visit has been more encouraging than, on the one hand, the determination of Mr. MacDonald to appear in America as a national spokesman and to avoid any word that would lead him to be regarded as a Party leader and, on the other, the loyal backing given to the Prime Minister by newspapers in this country of a political colour other than his own.

What Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover said to one another about the League of Nations is not known. It is impossible to suppose that they avoided the topic. It would be equally impossible to expect them to say anything regarding it publicly. A passage in the joint statement is obviously designed to make it clear that no question of America's definite association with the League arose. No one expected that it would arise, but it cannot be doubted that the general effect of the conversations will be to make the relationship between a United States doing its own work in the world in its own way and a League of Nations doing its work in its way even smoother and more harmonious than it is to-day.

## "PUBLIC OPINION" DOES IT MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE?

ONE of the arguments in favour of the work done by any League of Nations Society in any country is that until public opinion is educated up to a certain point it is impossible to expect Governments to move.

How far is that true? Does public opinion really count? How far do Governments care about what the public thinks? So far as public opinion regarding the League of Nations and foreign policy generally is concerned, several answers to these questions have been given in public lately, and it is instructive to see what the actual representatives of Governments themselves have to say on the subject.

We might begin with Lord Cecil. It is true that he is not at present, strictly speaking, a representative of any Government, though he was chosen as a member of the Government delegation at the Assembly. In that capacity he made only one speech from the Assembly platform and it began as follows: "It is natural, I think, for anyone speaking at this stage in the deliberations of the Tenth Assembly to indulge in a retrospect of what has been accomplished. It is perhaps particularly natural for myself, because I happen to be the President of the League of Nations Union in my country, and it cannot but be very gratifying to that body to read the titles of the six next items in our agenda and to see to what a great degree the policy for which that Union stands is to be advanced by the labours of this Assembly." That constitutes a very definite claim that the work done by one particular League of Nations Society, namely, the League of Nations Union in Great Britain, had a good deal of direct effect on the decisions reached by the League Assembly.

### The Foreign Secretary's Verdict

But Lord Cecil, it may be said, as a League of Nations enthusiast and a President of the League of Nations Union himself, may be a not completely unbiassed authority. Let us turn, therefore, to another witness whose title to speak for the Government of the day cannot be questioned. The Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, Mr. Arthur Henderson, speaking at Brighton at the beginning of October, used emphatic and impressive words on the necessity for carrying through the world disarmament campaign to final success. He outlined the possibilities of the coming Five-Power Conference; he indicated the enormous saving that might be effected if expenditure on armaments was reduced; he dwelt on the atmosphere that would be created if the production of instruments of war were diminished; and, having outlined the Government's programme, having pledged himself to do his utmost to carry it through, he touched the heart of his subject by adding: "How far we shall succeed must depend in the last resort on the support the public opinion of the nation gives us."

These are the words of a representative of a Government supported in its policy on disarmament by a large majority of Members of the House of Commons—if election speeches and pledges are any criterion—but a representative who knows well that even a Parliamentary majority will not suffice unless there stands behind that majority an educated and convinced public opinion in the country.

Take another and different example. At the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations in September a sub-committee was discussing the possibility of getting treaties revised by the method laid down in Article XIX of the Covenant. One of the Government delegates on that sub-committee, opposing certain rather far-reaching proposals as premature, urged that the right

course was to educate public opinion on the subject, as he and many of his friends hoped to do through the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, so as to make possible, after an interval of a year or two years, the adoption of resolutions that could not be carried then and there.

### Two French Opinions

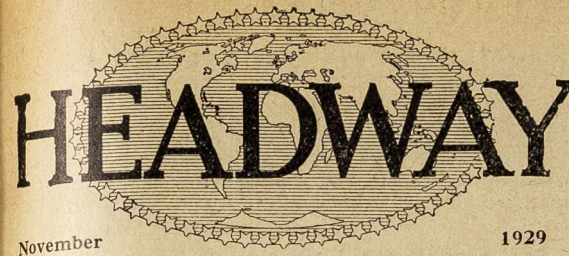
Turn to a quite different field again. The question of abolishing licensed houses of prostitution has been discussed twice lately at Geneva. France is the most important of the countries where the system still survives. In the Women and Children Committee the French representative, M. Regnault, made a studied declaration on the subject, explaining that the decision in this matter in France rested in the hands not of the central Government, but of each municipality. "In these circumstances," runs the record of M. Regnault's remarks in the Minutes of the Committee, "the way to secure the triumph of abolitionist views is to work on public opinion. The municipalities could not fail to follow public opinion in such a matter as this." That clearly is the considered view in France, for a different French representative, M. Pernot, dealing with the same subject in the Fifth Commission of the Assembly, said that "proof of the accuracy of the British delegate's statement that international public opinion reacted on national opinion was the progress made in France on certain points. Several large towns had abolished their licensed houses." M. Pernot added that "Government action, however, could not be effective without a general movement of opinion, with which the most important French societies had associated themselves."

### Work Ahead Still

These are notable declarations, which should be marked well by any, if such there be, who are disposed to think the need for educating public opinion is at an end now that some of the first aims of the League of Nations have been achieved. They have, it is true, been achieved, but only because public opinion made that possible. Now there are more aims, and there will always be more aims still. They, in turn, will only be attained if the public in different countries desires to see them attained, and it will only do that if it is shown why they need to be attained and convinced that they ought to be. It is well to have the testimony of men who are actually carrying the League's work through at Geneva that they cannot act there unless public opinion in the different countries has shown in advance that it is ready to approve their actions.

The moral is almost too obvious to be pointed. It is—learn, organise, qualify yourself to teach others. The individual cannot do that effectively in isolation. He must stand in with some society that exists to co-ordinate the individual efforts and direct them. In Great Britain that society is, of course, the League of Nations Union.

Messrs. George Philip & Son have prepared in conjunction with the League of Nations Union a remarkable world-map indicating not only the territorial changes resulting from the war, but the countries bound by minorities treaties, the countries held under League mandate, areas and populations, through communications by sea and land, and a number of other important and invaluable facts. The cost is 45s. A map of Europe of the same character is published separately and costs 3s. on paper, 6s. on cloth folded, and 8s. 6d. on cloth varnished for wall use.



## A VISIT'S RESULTS

IF it be asked, as it well may be, what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has achieved in the United States, the answer is: "Nothing that can be seen or touched or weighed or measured." Yet the more responsible American newspapers are suggesting that the British Prime Minister has achieved more than any other single Englishman who has ever landed on American shores. That is a far-reaching claim, and it needs examination.

In an article on another page of this issue the main features of Mr. MacDonald's stay in the United States have been briefly summarised. His speeches, some of which are quoted there, serve to illustrate the method of his approach to the American people, rather than the results of that approach. No one can doubt that the Prime Minister grasped the situation that confronted him, and handled it with singular wisdom. There is no need to claim more for him personally than he has claimed for himself. He presented himself to the people of America, not as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, not as the leader of a particular political party, but as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and therefore as the spokesman of the whole of the British people. It may quite well be that another Prime Minister of another party, if it had fallen to him to visit the United States in like circumstances, would have done as well as Mr. MacDonald, though it must be added in justice that he could hardly have done better.

So far as the results of the visit can be indicated in a sentence, it may be said that Mr. MacDonald has enabled the two English-speaking peoples to understand one another in a new way. That, it may be pointed out, he could never have done without the loyal support that public men and public organs, of whatever political colour, in this country have given him. For an understanding between the peoples could never have been established if the American people who heard had not been made to realise by Mr. MacDonald's own countrymen that he was, in fact, speaking for his countrymen and not merely for himself.

Let us go on one step further. Assuming a new understanding to have been established, and a new situation to have been created in consequence, what does that new situation involve? More, probably, than has been realised yet. It means, no doubt, to begin with, the removal of all obstacles to an agreement between Great Britain and the United States on the limitation of navies. The fact that that agreement has not been completely reached yet is by no means a matter for regret, for the success of the coming Five Power Naval Conference will be increased rather than otherwise if the two Anglo-Saxon Powers do not bring to it their own agreement absolutely cut-and-dried. The new situation means, further, that so far as the idea of the possibility of war between Great Britain and the United States survived anywhere, it has disappeared completely, except, perhaps, in the minds of a handful of people on each side of the Atlantic whose mentality calls for study by experts.

But the results of the Prime Minister's public talks and private conversations must mean more than this. Great

Britain and the United States have resolved, not merely that they will maintain peace with one another, but that so far as in them lies they will co-operate in maintaining peace throughout the world. The execution of that resolve raises delicate questions. To maintain peace must not mean to impose peace. Fortunately, the one danger both Prime Minister and President are determined to avoid is the utterance of any word that could lend support to the short-sighted advocacy of an Anglo-Saxon alliance or a world peace imposed by the Anglo-Saxon navies. The Anglo-Saxon peoples cannot separate themselves from the rest of humanity like that. That Great Britain must work in close co-operation with the nations of Europe is a self-evident proposition. That the United States must do the same is a proposition less self-evident, but not less true. The first concern of the political leaders in Washington and London must be to dispel the suspicion which the demonstration of their close understanding may provoke elsewhere. That can be done. Already, it may be hoped, it is being done. If confidence in the public spirit and disinterestedness of the two countries can be established, then the opportunity will be created to tackle seriously the one vital problem still calling for solution. That is how world peace can be maintained in the face of a single nation, or even a group of nations, resolved to violate it. That problem is partly material and partly psychological, and, on the whole, the psychological aspect is the more important. The problem is material, because in the present stage of the evolution of the world it has to be recognised that a nation which endeavours to gain its ends by force may have to be restrained by force. If that is so, the task of thinking out in advance the ways and means of restraint cannot be simply ignored. The problem, on the other hand, is psychological, because no nation, not even the most powerful, will dare to break the peace if it is reasonably certain—which means not necessarily 100 per cent. certainty but, say, 60 per cent. probability—that it will find the rest of the world arrayed against it, not merely in moral disapproval, but, if necessary, in material opposition.

That is where the attitude of the United States is so vitally important. That, also, it must be said at once, is where grave mistakes may be made in speech and word regarding the United States. No one in Europe must expect America to bind herself here and now to act in co-operation with the general mass of the States in the League against some country that has taken up arms in violation of its pledges. Not even the part America has played in carrying through the Kellogg Pact, and the pride her citizens justly feel in that accomplishment, would justify any such expectation. The time may or may not come when some definite understanding on the subject will be reached. Meanwhile the task is to reach some quite indefinite understanding which will leave the world assured that in a moment of crisis the United States will be found on the right side. The world may, in fact, rest confident that it will, and with that the world for the present, at any rate, can very well be content. There are plenty of men of public spirit and public influence in the United States who grasp the situation as clearly and completely as anyone in Europe, and are as anxious as anyone here, not merely that America shall play the appointed part when need arises, but that everyone shall realise in advance that she will play that part and could play no other. How far Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has discussed precisely this with Mr. Hoover we do not know, but even if the subject were never mentioned, it remains true that the greatest result of the Prime Minister's visit is that it has unquestionably increased greatly the prospect of America's active co-operation in the preservation of world peace and, what is not less important, has increased equally the confidence in Europe that America will so co-operate.

## THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE WHAT THE BRITISH RESERVATIONS MEAN

EVERYONE at Geneva in September was talking about the Optional Clause. A good many people are talking about it still, and some have some idea what it means. The subject is technical, but it is also important. That is the reason, and quite sufficient reason, for discussing it in some detail here.

Two questions need to be answered; one of them—an old one—what does the Optional Clause mean; the second—Great Britain having signed the Clause with reservations, what do those reservations amount to?

When the Permanent Court of International Justice was founded, it was decided that no State need pledge itself to take disputes before the Court. It would only go there if it chose. If it did not choose, its opponent had no power to compel it. Obviously, no national Court is or could be constituted on such a basis. If you are charged with breaking the law and the person you have injured thereby insists on suing you at law, you have to be sued at law. It is no use saying you decline to have anything to do with the Court.

### The Origin of the Clause

Some States, however—only a very few at first—were prepared to go farther than the rest. They said, in fact, that they were ready to pledge themselves to go always before the Court, which was precisely what the mass of States at first would not do. To meet the case of these more progressive members of the family of nations, an optional clause was put into the Statutes of the Permanent Court—a clause, that is to say, the signature of which was optional, not compulsory—the effect of which was that those who signed it formed as between themselves a kind of inner ring of States which accepted the Court's jurisdiction far more fully than the others, in that they accepted it once for all in respect of all cases, whereas the others considered each case separately and could either consent or refuse to let the case go to Court.

The number of States that have signed the Optional Clause has been growing slowly. Germany, for example, signed it in 1927; Spain and Hungary in 1928. When the Tenth Assembly opened, 18 States had signed. During the Tenth Assembly all the seven members of the British Commonwealth, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia and many others signed, bringing the total up to 32. Some States signed without reservations, some with. Great Britain and all the Dominions, except Ireland, signed with. It is important, therefore, to examine the British reservations and see what they mean.

### Great Britain's "Except"

Great Britain agreed to submit all disputes to the Court, *except* :—

(1) "Disputes with regard to which the parties have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement."

(2) "Disputes with the Government of any other Member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree."

(3) "Disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom."

There is no difficulty here. Reservation (1) refers mainly to technical matters like questions of copyright or commercial treaties, in which it has been agreed to submit any difference to some specially qualified technical tribunal. The second reservation, providing that disputes between different Dominions, or Great Britain and a Dominion, shall be dealt with within the Empire, e.g., by the Judicial Committee of the Privy

Council, is in accordance with expectations, and is chiefly of interest because Ireland declined to make this reservation at all, and Canada and South Africa in signing mentioned that while they considered the Court competent to deal with such disputes, they preferred to have them settled in some other way.

The third reservation only reaffirms what is a recognised principle of international law—that an international court has no concern with matters which admittedly fall within a nation's own domestic jurisdiction. If there is any doubt as to whether a particular dispute is of a domestic character or not, the Permanent Court will decide that preliminary question, as it has already done at least once.

### Complicated

But there is another reservation or quasi-reservation, great Britain signed :—

"subject to the condition that H.M. Government reserve the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to, and is under consideration by, the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within 10 days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the Court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of 12 months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all the members of the Council, other than the parties to the dispute."

That is more complicated. What it amounts to is this. Two States, both of which have signed the Optional Clause, have a dispute. A decides to take it to the Court. B would prefer for some reason, good or bad, to have it settled by the Council. Within 10 days, therefore, of the appearance of the case in the Court lists, B refers it to the League Council and gives notice that he has done so. The Council then considers the case, and is apparently given 12 months in which to discuss it. If it has not been settled by the end of that time, A can then insist on B's going to the Court unless the Council by unanimous vote decides to prolong the period. And there seems nothing to prevent the Council, so long as it is unanimous, from prolonging it to all eternity. What the whole reservation seems to boil down to is that a disputant which prefers Council proceedings to Court proceedings can keep them going before the Council for 12 months and that if the Council is unanimous about its verdict the case can be kept out of Court altogether.

### Maritime Law

It is understood that this reservation is intended to provide specially for the case of difficulties arising under maritime law. If, for example, the League had to take action against a State that went to war in violation of the Covenant, and the British Government, together with the Governments of other League States, sent warships to blockade the guilty country; if, under such circumstances, a British warship were accused of some high-handed and illegal action and the Government of that State cited Great Britain before the Permanent Court, Great Britain might well prefer that the case should come before the Council rather than the Court, because the Council members would be likely to be unanimous in their verdict, seeing that Great Britain was acting simply as an agent of the League. The Council could, consequently, decide that, whatever the technicalities of the law might be, Great Britain was morally in the right, and they might, therefore, unanimously decide, even at the end of 12 months, to keep the case out of Court.

## FREEING THE SLAVES FINE WORK BY BRITISH IN BURMA

THERE is a certain feeling in some quarters that the whole question of slavery is unreal, because slavery does not in fact exist to-day. That, of course, depends to some extent on what is meant by slavery, for in many cases a very narrow line divides practices that can be attacked and stamped out from others which, however open to objection, cannot well be dealt with. One of the difficulties, for example, about the *mui tsai*, or child slavery, in Hong Kong is that it is hard to distinguish the legitimate adoption of a child by a family (child-adoption is very common in China) from a form of adoption which is only an excuse for what is practically slavery. In the same way old tribal marriage customs may very well make a wife virtually a slave without constituting a system of slavery that can be definitely denounced.

### The End in Burma

From time to time, however, traces of slavery real and undisguised come to light. One recent official document in regard to this is so striking that the greater part of it deserves to be laid before readers of HEADWAY as it stands. It is the report sent in by the Government of India to the League of Nations regarding the steps taken to stamp out such slavery as has been existing till recently among wild tribes in the remoter regions of Burma. A series of expeditions has been despatched by the Government of India for this purpose, and one or two able officers have lost their lives in the execution of such duty. The report laid before the Tenth Assembly in September runs as follows :—

"A memorandum dated August 7, 1928, communicated to the League of Nations, described the measures adopted for the release of slaves in Burma in the year 1927-28. It was stated therein that slaves to the number of 8,852 had been released at a cost of Rs. 5,16,568.8 in the areas known as the Hukawng Valley and the Triangle. That year saw the end of slavery in Burma; but the work still remained of seeing that the released slaves were properly established and placed in a way to enjoy the freedom conferred on them, that they were not molested by their late owners, and that economic conditions were disturbed as little as possible in the areas covered by these operations. This work was done partly by the expeditions of 1927-28 in respect of slaves released during the years 1925-26 and 1926-27. It was reported that the released slaves were gradually settling down to the new conditions and were building houses of their own and establishing new villages with headmen selected from among themselves. The owners themselves, with a few exceptions, were found to have taken kindly to the new situation.

### Release Expeditions

"In pursuance of the same policy, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India sanctioned the proposals made by the Government of Burma for the despatch of similar expeditions to the Hukawng Valley and the Triangle in the open season of 1928-29. The arrangements for the expeditions were the same as in previous years. Mr. A. W. Porter, of the Burma Frontier Service, was in charge of the expedition to the Hukawng Valley, and was accompanied by a British officer of the Burma Military Police, commanding an escort of over a hundred men, and the necessary civil and medical establishment. Transport was by means of mules, of which nearly 1,100 were engaged for both the expeditions.

"The expedition to the Hukawng Valley was occupied on this duty from December 12, 1928, to May 5, 1929. During this period the lists of released slaves were checked, complaints were inquired into, and financial

assistance was given where necessary. No cases of oppression of the ex-slaves by their former owners were reported. The civil officer found, on the other hand, that the owners were anxious to do all that they could to encourage ex-slaves to remain in their old villages. A small percentage of the released slaves had left the valley to live in areas adjoining, which were under settled administration. Several new villages were found to have been established by the released slaves and the community as a whole was gradually settling down and cultivating its own fields.

"In the Hukawng Valley itself, no further slaves were found for release, but an officer touring to the west of it found 25 slaves in a few Kachin villages and released them.

### Contented Ex-Slaves

"Conditions in the Triangle were also found to be satisfactory on the whole. The expedition to the Triangle was away on this tour from December 10-11, 1928, to April 25-29, 1929. Here, as in the Hukawng Valley, the ex-slaves were found to be happy and contented and on good terms with their former owners, and to be settling down independently; about 12 per cent. had moved out into administered territory, mainly to join parents or other relatives there. No instances of oppression of the ex-slaves by their former masters were found, and there was only one instance of an ex-owner attempting to restrict the movements of an ex-slave. Nearly one-fourth of the released slaves were found to be still living with their former owners, though as freemen, and the civil officers remark that this is due in most cases to their having no other place to go to on account of age, infirmity, or inability to shift for themselves. Financial assistance was granted to ex-slaves where necessary. Fifteen slaves were newly discovered during the tour and released. In addition, 93 slaves were released during the same period in administered territory adjoining the Triangle.

### Friendly Tribesmen

"The expeditions had a friendly reception everywhere, and roads, bridges and camps were willingly made ready by the people in advance of the arrival of the officers and men so that their passage through a very difficult country was made easy. In the Hukawng Valley the officers no longer feel that they are touring among tribes different from those in regularly administered territory. It is the same in the Triangle, but it should be remembered that the release of slaves in this area was undertaken two years later and that the country is still in a most unsettled state owing to the violent blood feuds that rend the country from end to end. The results achieved so far under such conditions are therefore satisfactory. On the part of the one-time slaves, with the acquisition of freedom has come also the ambition that their past should be wholly forgotten; indeed, a great disinclination on their part to bring out their release certificates to show them to the civil officers is already much in evidence, and it will be the aim of the Burma Government to foster this spirit so that, in course of time, the differences between them and their more fortunate free-born brethren in these areas may be entirely obliterated."

There will be general agreement that the record reflects very considerable credit on the Government of India, which, incidentally, is one of the few governments which carry out their obligations under the Slavery Convention of 1926 by sending regular annual reports to Geneva on the steps taken under that Convention.

## A DEALER IN ARMS

### ROMANCE OF A GUNMAKER MILLIONAIRE

"RUSHING through Europe in an express train to provide nations, which would perhaps be fighting each other on the following day, with the same weapons—that was Basil Zaharoff's business. His manner to all countries was charming and zealous, though he did not always charge the same price."

Such a paragraph taken at random from the biography of Sir Basil Zaharoff, "the mystery man of Europe," by Dr. Richard Lewinsohn,\* is as good an example as any other of the suggestions with which the book is charged regarding the activities of one of the world's greatest dealers in arms.

Take a few more passages of like tenor. Russia was a great arms-market because she could not manufacture at home more than a proportion of what she needed. And Zaharoff was a salesman with qualities specially adapted to Russian conditions. "He had the religion prescribed by St. Petersburg. He knew the language, and he knew just the right way to deal with Eastern officials. In order to prepare the ground with one of the Grand Dukes who was influential in the allotment of arms contracts, he was able to win the favour of a charming dancer with whom the Duke was on intimate terms."

#### Selling to Both Sides

But there were, of course, plenty of other markets, and an enterprising firm would sell its goods to both sides if possible, not perhaps during an actual war, but in order to enable each side to go into the war as well equipped as possible. For instance: "The war against the Boers was the most serious and perilous colonial undertaking into which England had entered for a considerable time. The Boers were fighting mostly with English weapons, and Maxim's pom-poms were doing them particularly good service in their war of defence against England. How could the firm of Vickers-Maxim demonstrate its patriotism better than by doubling the zeal with which it supplied guns to fight the Boers?"

One more passage must be quoted as it stands—a passage throwing light, or claiming to throw light, on some of the larger machinations of the armaments industry. "As was usual in all countries, the English armaments industry had fortified itself with influential politicians and people of rank. Among the more prominent shareholders of Armstrongs were 60 members of the aristocracy, eight Members of Parliament and five bishops, while the board of directors could show the most distinguished names in the United Kingdom. The Vickers group was likewise adorned with celebrated names. . . . When a Government policy did not result in sufficient orders that policy had to be changed. For the armaments industry after all was not run for the sake of politics, but politics were there for the sake of the armaments industry. This was the axiom on which the political part played by the great armaments firms was based."

#### Help from the Press

Some indications of the working of this policy are given. "It was not necessary to fan the flames of war directly, as clumsy hands sometimes did. It was sufficient to arouse in the population an atmosphere of fear and of the need for defence." For this purpose, it is alleged, the armaments magnates maintained newspapers to damn pacifism and keep suspicion well alive. Occasionally a threatening article, worked somehow

into a foreign newspaper, helped. Rumours about another country's secret naval or military programme were most useful, and such rumours could be skilfully disseminated even in time of peace. To get a good order from one country, moreover, and then let it be known that this country was arming itself with the latest weapons of precision, was to go half-way to getting similar orders from that country's neighbours and possible opponents.

Now, who is Sir Basil Zaharoff, and how much of the story about his arms-dealing activities can be accepted as fact? As for Sir Basil himself, he has probably succeeded in remaining more generally unknown than any man of his generation who has exerted anything like the same influence. In newspaper-offices he was famous as a man who could rarely be traced and never interviewed. Outside newspaper-offices hardly one man in ten thousand had ever heard his name.

#### The Nordenfelt Gun

He was born of almost penniless Greek parents in Asia Minor in 1849. In his youth he did any odd job that would bring him in a few piastres. At the age of 20 he was taken up by a more prosperous uncle who had a cloth business, but there was trouble between them and young Zaharoff decamped to England. From there in due time he worked back to Greece and got his foot on the first rung of the ladder that was to lift him so high, by striking acquaintance with a Swedish sea captain who acted as agent for the Anglo-Swedish firm of Nordenfelt. The next move was that Zaharoff became Nordenfelt's agent in the East, charged with selling first and foremost machine-guns. The demand for machine-guns in that turbulent quarter of the globe was good and Zaharoff served the Nordenfelt firm well. But soon a new rival appeared in the field. The Maxim gun looked like capturing the market. Something had to be done about it. There was only one thing to do and Zaharoff did it, effecting a complete amalgamation between the Nordenfelt and Maxim interests.

The company that resulted was known as the Maxim-Nordenfelt Guns and Ammunition Company. Zaharoff naturally held an important position behind the scenes. Trouble, however, arose between the chief partners, and before long they separated, only for the Maxim part of the concern to accept a tempting offer from the British house of Vickers. Result, the firm of Vickers-Maxim, with Zaharoff, of course, on the board. Before the war Vickers advanced from strength to strength and Zaharoff grew richer and richer. As a side-line he bought the newspaper *Excelsior* in Paris. His activities during the war are beyond chronicling, at any rate by an author who happened to be on the other side of the fighting line, for Zaharoff's firm was, of course, feeding the Allied Armies while Krupp was doing the same for the Germans.

#### Backing the Greeks

By this time Zaharoff was moving a little more in politics, working with Venizelos to bring Greece into the war on the side of the Allies. He spent a good deal of his private funds for that purpose, and much more a few years later in financing the Greek campaign against Turkey in Asia Minor. But his services to the Allies were such as to win him from Great Britain a G.B.E. in 1918 and a K.C.B. in 1921, while France gave him her highest distinction, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. After the war came an armaments slump. Vickers got into financial difficulties and had

\* Gollancz, 12s. 6d.



## THOUSANDS LEARNING LANGUAGES

### RECORD SUCCESS OF NEW PELMAN METHOD OF LEARNING FRENCH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND SPANISH.

THOUSANDS of men and women are now learning French, German, Italian and Spanish by the new Pelman "direct" method which avoids the use of English.

This new method is achieving a wonderful popularity. It is not only so exceedingly simple that even a child can understand it, but it is most absorbingly interesting. Readers find that once they start a Pelman Course in French, German, Spanish, or Italian they go on with it and master the language in question in quite a short time. They can listen with interest to talks and sketches sent over the Wireless from foreign stations, they can read French, German, Spanish and Italian books and newspapers and thus keep in touch with Continental thought on all subjects connected with Peace, Internationalism and the League of Nations, they can go abroad and talk to the people they meet (and understand what is said to them in reply), they can pass examinations in Foreign subjects—and they can do all these things without spending hours, weeks and months studying dull grammatical rules, or learning by heart long strings of foreign words. In fact, this new method is enabling men and women who have never been able to "get on" with foreign languages before, to learn these languages quite easily and in much less than the usual time.

Here are a few examples of the letters now being received daily by the Languages Department of the Pelman Institute:—

"I have passed in French in the London Matriculation, although French was my weakest subject. I attribute my success very largely to your instruction." (M. 1404.)

"May I thank you for your really wonderful (German) Course? It is the first time I have met anything really good and cheap." (G. H. 304.)

"I was able to pass London Matriculation (in Spanish) last June with minimum labour and no drudgery, although I was always reckoned a 'dud' at languages." (S. B. 373.)

"I am delighted with the progress I have made (in German). The Course is splendid. I have recommended it to my friends, as I think it is the simplest way of learning and the most delightful." (G. C. 268.)

"I have obtained a remunerative post in the City solely on the merits of my Italian. I was absolutely ignorant of the language before I began your Course eight months ago." (I. F. 121.)

"I took up your course in German about two years or so ago with the object of passing a University examination, and although I was unable, through ill-health, to submit my work-sheets, I went through with the Course, passed my examination in the first class, and was placed second in the examination. I did not know a word of German when I commenced the Course." (G. C. 1118.)

"At the conclusion of my studies in German under your tuition I must express my deepest appreciation of the efficiency of your method. I found it most instructive and extremely interesting. Pelmanism has been my sole source of instruction in German, and yet I am able to converse with more precision than several friends who receive daily oral instruction from natives." (G. H. 352.)

"I have learnt more about real French in the first five lessons than in all others put together." (M. 143.)

"I can read and speak Spanish with ease, though it is less than six months since I began." (S. M. 181.)

"My Italian Course . . . was so interesting. I have never learnt a language with so much pleasure. I did not know a word of Italian when I began, and now I can read and write easily." (I. A. 113.)

"I have made more progress (in French) during these last weeks than during the whole eighteen months under a master. The method of Pronunciation is perfect, and the best I have seen." (S. 450.)

"Each lesson has been a pleasure. A few months ago I knew not a word of Italian, whereas I can now carry on a conversation with Italians, and I find I think in the language—I do not have to translate." (I. S. 192.)

"The system (of learning French) is very ingenious. I have never had any need to refer to a grammar or dictionary and I have been able to read all the lessons without the slightest hesitation." (Y. 114.)

"Your (Spanish) Course is admirable, both in its thoroughness and its rapid progress. I never thought I should have obtained such a thorough elementary knowledge of Spanish in exactly two months. That fact alone proves the value of your Course." (S. H. 216.)

"I cannot tell you how astounded I am at the progress I have made. I can read a Spanish book easily and . . . can understand the language when spoken. The most wonderful feature about the method seems to be that one never forgets a word when once one has learnt it." (S. H. 489.)

"I have enjoyed the German course exceedingly. I was two-and-a-half years with the Army of Occupation in Cologne and learned nothing. It seems strange that I should have picked up through your course in six months—in England—enough German to make myself understood when my two-and-a-half years in the country itself left me practically as ignorant as when I went there." (G. F. 171.)

#### NO TRANSLATION.

This new method enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, German in German, and Italian in Italian.

It enables you to learn a language as a Spaniard, Italian, Frenchman, or German learns it. There is no translation from one language into another.

It enables you to *think* in the particular language in question.

It thus enables you to speak with increased fluency and without that hesitation which arises from the habit of mentally translating English phrases into their foreign equivalents.

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

#### NO GRAMMATICAL DIFFICULTIES.

Grammatical complexities are eliminated. You pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along. This makes the new method extremely interesting, the usual boredom of learning a foreign language being entirely eliminated.

There are no classes to attend. The whole of the instruction is given through the post.

This method is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues." There are four editions of this book. The first describes the method of learning French; the second the method of learning German; the third the method of learning Spanish; and the fourth the method of learning Italian.

You can have a free copy of any one of these by writing to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. State which edition (French, German, Spanish, or Italian) you want, and it will be sent you by return, gratis and post free. Write or call to-day.

Overseas Branches:—PARIS: 35, Rue Boissy d'Anglas. NEW YORK: 71, West 45th Street. MELBOURNE: 336, Flinders Lane. DURBAN: Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI: 10, Alipore Road.





to reconstruct. So had Vickers' great rival, Armstrongs. Finally, the two amalgamated, with Zaharoff still to the forefront in the background, so to say. Simultaneously he was dabbling in oil and in shipping and bought the Casino at Monte Carlo. To-day, at eighty, he remains as unknown to the general public as ever, but the obituary notices which the papers have waiting for use in case of need are lengthy and fascinating.

#### The Covenant Justified

That is who Sir Basil Zaharoff is. As to the accuracy of the picture painted by his biographer, not much more can be said than that Dr. Lewinsohn is Financial Editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*, and that the *Vossische Zeitung* is a highly respectable paper. Broadly speaking the record is no doubt reliable. Armaments firms have, after all, to sell arms, and like all merchants they are under strong temptation to try and create a demand.

## THE MEN ON THE SHIPS SHOULD THEY WORK AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY?

THE International Maritime Conference, which opened at Geneva under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation on October 10, has assumed a quite unexpected kind of interest.

The purpose of the Conference, which is the third to deal with maritime questions, was to discuss four subjects:—

- Regulation of hours of work on ship-board;
- Protection of seamen from sickness or injury;
- The welfare of seamen in port;
- Minimum requirements of professional capacity in the case of navigating and engineering officers in charge of watches.

This last item was included as a result of a now celebrated international case, that of the French ship "Lotus," which collided with and sank a Turkish vessel in 1926, as a result of which the First Officer of the ship was condemned by the Turkish Courts of negligence, and the Permanent Court of International Justice had to decide whether the Turkish Courts were entitled to act as they did.

The most important of the questions before the Conference was whether the 8-hour day or 48-hour week should be applied to workers on board ship. It was generally understood that the majority of the ship owners did not desire this, that the majority of the men's representatives did, and that Government delegates would be divided. The trouble which sometimes smouldered and sometimes blazed through the first week of the Conference arose from the action of the British Government in appointing, as workers' delegate, Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P., who is an official of the Transport and General Workers' Union. There were invited to assist him, as advisers, representatives of several other unions, including the Seamen's Union. The British employers claimed that the men's delegate should have been a member of the Seamen's Union—a body which has long been out of harmony with the Trade Union movement as a whole, but is on terms of cordial relationship with the shipowners.

At Geneva the British shipowners declined to sit in the Conference at all, on the ground that the men were not represented by what the shipowners considered a qualified delegate. The rest of the shipowners, moreover, decided to put down a resolution supporting the protest of their British colleagues against the composition of the British workers' delegation. When the

That is why the League of Nations Covenant declares categorically that "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections." It most manifestly is, and if anyone wants to know why or how, the life of Sir Basil Zaharoff will enlighten them.

When it comes to deliberately trying to foment actual war, then more evidence is required than is so far forthcoming. The same is true of the alleged connection between the armaments firms and the Press. But even so a book like this is as disturbing as it is instructive. Fortunately the tide has taken a different turn in the last decade. Scares cannot be so easily started. The peace movement cannot be so lightly dismissed as ineffective. The conditions for the rise of another Zaharoff to like power and wealth will not recur. All the more reason to study and reflect on the activities of this greatest of arms-dealers.

resolution came before the Conference it was defeated by 64 votes to 24, all the workers' delegates and most of the Government delegates opposing it. The vote was taken after a debate in which the British Government delegate, Mr. W. R. Smith, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and the British workers' delegate, Mr. Tillett, made effective speeches. Mr. Smith contended that the Government had taken the normal and proper course of consulting the Trade Union Conference on the composition of the workers' delegation, and Mr. Tillett mentioned that the Seamen's Union had been invited to send three advisers, but had declined to do so.

On the defeat of their resolution, the shipowners withdrew in a body, apparently expecting the Conference to collapse in consequence. The Conference, however, continued its work, four separate Commissions proceeding to thrash out the four subjects on the agenda. Semi-official negotiations took place in the meantime between the shipowners in their hotels and various Government and workers' delegates, with M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, assisting to find some basis of agreement. Mr. Smith, on behalf of the British Government, declined to consider any resolution that would seem to imply that the Government had made an improper appointment of workers' delegates, and the resolution that was finally adopted by the Conference on Thursday, the 17th (the Conference having opened on Thursday the 10th) was to the effect that the Governing Body of the Labour Office should examine the whole problem of Maritime Conferences with a view to avoiding such difficulties as have arisen this year. Many of the workers voted even against this motion, but it was carried by 54 votes to 19, and the owners thereupon resumed their seats in the Conference.

In the absence of the owners a number of important questions had, of course, been discussed, including the question of hours. The owners on their return decided to issue a minority report on this subject, registering their disagreement with the whole idea of regulating hours of labour on ship-board. In regard to the hours question, an interesting little discussion took place as to whether the object to be aimed at should be described as "an eight-hour day or a 48-hour week" or "an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week." The former text was eventually adopted.

The Conference was still sitting when this issue of HEADWAY went to press.

## BOOKS WORTH READING

### LAW AND THE WORLD

**The British Year Book of International Law, 1929.** (Oxford University Press. 18s.)

The Kellogg Pact is now in force between 56 States, and is a solid plank in their foreign policies. But it is only to-day that people are grasping what this means, that the ideals of peace have "officially" taken the place of the ideals of force, and that the world is looking away from war and towards peace and its organisation.

This exchange of a peace "complex" as it were for the old war "complex" in the mind politic is going to mean everything for International Law. Books on it, among which the British Year Book holds a pre-eminent place, will assume a new value. And it is fortunate that the 1929 Year Book contains excellent articles on a large number of really important subjects, although space only allows comment upon a few of them here.

Prof. Brierly, writing on the Kellogg Pact, takes as his text the new orientation towards peace. Hitherto people have dwelt only on Article 1, which ends private war; now they are realising that the key to the future lies in Article 2, with its obligations of peaceful settlement, for which a mass of machinery now exists, as it never did in 1914. Properly understood, Article 2 carries with it a definition both of "self-defence" and "aggression." For no State can declare its war to be defensive in defiance of patent facts, and whether a State has been willing to seek a peaceful settlement must be a fact patent to all. Further, the so-called "British Monroe Doctrine" (as a reservation to the Pact) claims, in fact, no freedom of action "in certain regions" from the obligations of the Pact. On the contrary, it only claims to treat an "attack" on these

regions as an attack on ourselves, an attack which cannot come about at all unless Article 2 has already been broken. At most, action here would be action to enforce the Pact (let alone the Covenant). And as regards Pact violation in general, "it is inconceivable," says Prof. Brierly, "that another State being party to the Pact should declare itself neutral between the injuring and the injured State."

Other articles deserving special notice are "The Mandate for Palestine," by Norman Bentwich, and "International Law and the Property of Aliens," by Alexander Fachiri. But the 1929 Year Book is full of excellent things. M. F.

### FACTS ABOUT THE COURT

**Information on the World Court.** By J. W. Wheeler Bennett and Maurice Fanshawe. (Allen & Unwin. 10s.) **The Reign of Law.** By Kathleen E. Innes. (Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.)

Mr. Wheeler Bennett and Mr. Fanshawe are past-masters of the art of compilation, and their collection of facts regarding the Permanent Court of International Justice is as invaluable to every student of such matters as everyone would assume it to be in advance. The creation of the Court, the framing of its statutes and their discussion and amendment by the League Assembly are dealt with clearly and adequately, and summaries are given of all judgments and advisory opinions down to the end of 1928. There is a further chapter on the steps taken to associate the United States with the Court. The book gains substantially in value from the inclusion of a brief but weighty introduction by Sir Cecil Hurst, who has since become a Judge of the Permanent Court himself. Nothing could be more convincing than his demonstration of the importance of disseminating accurate information about the Court calculated to create a popular support which may be

There has been no nobler life or nobler work than that of Josephine Butler. With no thought for herself but only for those helplessly suffering from the blackest wickedness of others, she led her crusade for justice and purity. Let us who follow her take care that it is carried on till final and complete success has been attained.—CECIL.



## Josephine Butler . . . Memorial

"A great international figure as well as a great patriot."

(SIR MICHAEL SADLER.)

The Experts' Report on the Traffic in Women and Children has been before the public since March, 1927, when the League of Nations published Part I. Part II was published the following year. The contents of these volumes received world-wide publicity and comment. It is, therefore, a significant fact that the Report coincided with the world-wide celebration of the Centenary of the birth of Josephine Butler, for she, more than any other, made that Report possible. She died in 1906, before the European War had brought the League of Nations into existence. She did not live to see the League, armed with international authority and prestige, enter the lists against the traffic. Yet she had some prevision of such an event for she wrote, in 1880, "When the daylight has fully come, the conscience of Europe

will be roused and then this masterpiece of Hell will be shattered for ever."

The report has justified every charge that Josephine Butler brought against the traffickers when she began her difficult and dangerous campaign. Her passionate protest raised a storm of violence and abuse. The Experts' Report, published 47 years later, roused the conscience of Europe. Nevertheless, the protest was the seed of the Report.

The Report points the way. Josephine Butler's work remains unfinished while a single tolerated or licensed house remains in which a girl or a woman can be exploited. The League needs public opinion behind it if these houses are to be swept away throughout the world. Help us to create that opinion and raise a worthy memorial to this great internationalist and tireless fighter against exploitation and injustice.

We ask every man and woman who supports the League of Nations work for suppressing Traffic in Women, to send 2s. 6d. towards our £40,000 Josephine Butler Memorial.

All donations should be sent to

The Organising Secretary,  
Josephine Butler National Memorial,  
Orchard House,

Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1.

For further information of Josephine Butler's life and work read:—

JOSEPHINE BUTLER: by Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E., LL.D., and E. M. Turner.

Cloth, 2s. 6d. (Post Free, 2s. 10d.)

Paper, 1s. 6d. (Post Free, 1s. 9d.)

JOSEPHINE BUTLER: An Appreciation: by E. M. Turner. 6d. (Post free, 7d.)

Obtainable from above address.

badly needed on the day when the Court gives a judgment unpopular in Great Britain. Hence, of course, the value of such a book as this.

The first half of Mrs. Innes' useful booklet—21 pages—is devoted to the origins and antecedents of the Permanent Court, and other 21 to the establishment and working of the Court. It is intended for "those who have not time for more detailed study" and gives a clear account of what the Court is and how it came to be. Mrs. Innes refers throughout to the old Hague Tribunal as the Hague Court, which is a little confusing, since the Permanent Court is now *the* Hague Court.

#### A BUXTON AFIELD

**Travels and Reflections.** By the Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, M.P. (Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

Mr. Buxton's record of his pre-war wanderings in Europe and elsewhere, mostly in the Balkans, makes attractive reading. Most striking of his stories is one he might never have lived to tell, of how he and his brother escaped assassination at Bucarest by a young Turk "intellectual." Interested by the man's explanation of his reasons for the attempt, "Because you have caused Turkish blood to be shed," Mr. Buxton, when recovered from his wounds, went to visit him in his prison. In a friendly way they discussed the ethics of assassination. "After a general talk I drew my revolver (carefully unloaded) and offered it to Hassan, saying, 'Shoot me now if you wish.' Hassan recoiled with a gesture of repugnance. Our sense of one another had become too vivid; we were no longer abstractions to each other—the assassin on one side, the anti-Turk on the other. If every man's imagination penetrated the murky barriers of emotion, killing in war or in crime would become impossible."

#### ABOUT MINORITIES

**The Origin and Solution of the Problem of National Minorities.** Otto Junghann. (From League of Nations Union. 1s. 6d.)

Dr. Junghann treats the problem of minorities from a broad and philosophical standpoint. For him the history of humanity is that of the formation of a series of "concentrations," in which the subordination of the interests of individual members to those of the whole (equality) is balanced against their liberty in other respects. If the power thus attained is not used in the service of justice, dissolution must result. Modern democracy has over-emphasised equality and disregarded liberty for minorities. This might be remedied by applying the ideas of the mediæval German corporate life. The writer then discusses the present minority treaties—a step, if a short one, in the right direction; sketches the work of the Nationalities congresses and the more successful attempts at satisfying minority demands made in Estonia and elsewhere; and indicates a system of cultural autonomy as the ideal solution. He ends on a note of optimism, despite grave dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Council towards the minorities under League protection. This essay is a very interesting contribution towards the philosophy of its subject, and not without suggestions of practical value.

#### THE RIGHTS OF THE NATIVE

**East Africa in Transition.** (Student Christian Movement. 1s.)

A small group of persons interested in Great Britain's attitude towards native races has prepared a singularly useful and convenient summary of the recent report of the Hilton Young Commission on closer union between the British Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, one of them being the Mandate Area of Tanganyika. The Commission itself has issued the most important pronouncement on policy regarding natives to appear since the Mandate system was inaugurated, but the

general public is, unfortunately, not in the habit of reading reports of such Commissions. In this cheap and serviceable booklet, to which Lord Lugard contributes an introduction, everything that matters in the Hilton Young report is presented in readable form. It is to be strongly commended, and should be widely read.

#### COVENANT AND PACT

ONE of the most important resolutions discussed by the Tenth Assembly was that in which the British Delegation proposed an amendment to the League Covenant, with a view to bringing it into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, the difference between the two documents consisting, of course, of the fact that while the Covenant regards war as legitimate under certain circumstances, the Pact regards it as never legitimate at all.

While the wording of the amendments to the Covenant is to be decided on by a sub-committee which will sit early next year, it will pretty certainly follow closely the actual proposals of the British delegation. It is worth while, therefore, to study exactly what these were.

Three Articles of the Covenant are affected, XII, XIII and XV. The first paragraph of Article XII reads at present: "The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war *until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.*" It is proposed that in future the words in italics be omitted.

The fourth paragraph of Article XIII at present reads as follows: "The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war *against any Member of the League that complies therewith.* In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto." It is proposed that in future the words in italics be omitted, making the agreement embodied in the paragraph a plain undertaking not to resort to war at all.

Paragraphs 6 and 7 of Article XV at present read as follows:—

(6) "If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree *that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.*"

(7) "If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice."

It is now proposed that in paragraph 6 the words in italics be omitted and the following wording substituted: "that against any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report they will take no action which is inconsistent with its terms." Paragraph 7 is left as it stands, with the exception that there is added at the end of it the important words: "Other than a resort to war."

This last paragraph is the one which constitutes the well-known "gap in the Covenant." That gap is now closed by the addition of the six words just quoted, and the Covenant is thereby brought into line with the Kellogg Pact.

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## ELECTRICITY. What is it?

For best definition see page 9 of the "Past and Future Developments of Electricity" By H. G. MASSINGHAM PUBLISHED BY HUTCHINSONS, LONDON At all Booksellers. 6d. Electricity is becoming part of our national life. All from 7 to 70 should own a copy of this little work.

#### CORRESPONDENTS WANTED

WANTED.—21 English Correspondents for German girls aged 13-15.—Luisa Boos, Schlebusch/Manfort, Manforterstr 295, Germany.

#### EDUCATIONAL

BADMINGTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Obery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 11½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad, and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

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#### ESPERANTO

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

## READERS' VIEWS OPIUM CAMPAIGN HOPES

SIR,—I trust that you will not overlook, in your enthusiasm about the work of the Assembly of the League, the immensely important action, just before the close of the session, in unanimously declaring for the principle of limitation of manufacture of narcotics, and instructing the Opium Advisory Committee to work out a practical technique for putting it into effect. This is by very far the most important single action ever taken by the League in respect of this matter—years in advance of anything that I should have believed possible. Of course, it does not mean that limitation actually will take place soon; it does mean that at last the nations represented in the Assembly have recognised the only possible way of meeting the stupendous illicit traffic in drugs. I assume that the action was taken too late for the October issue of HEADWAY, but it would be a cardinal error to overlook the great importance of the action.—Yours very truly,

JOHN PALMER GAVIT,

Author of "Opium" (Routledge, 1925).  
Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia.

October 13, 1929.

[There was no danger of HEADWAY overlooking this important decision, which was, as Mr. Gavit suggests, taken too late for mention in our October issue.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

#### AIR POWERS AND SANCTIONS

SIR,—The little political study of air power as a possible League "sanction" which you published in August under the title of "Hendon, 1929," seems to have provoked some of the more peaceful of your correspondents to wrath. None of them has yet suggested that the political framework of that sketch was inaccurate. But the controversy, while providing some extra flavour to the solid nourishment supplied in HEADWAY, does underscore the fact that there are two opposing schools of thought about "sanctions."

Some people believe that the League will never be a reality until it has "teeth"; defines its code in detail, and, like the "Mikado," makes the punishment fit the crime. Others, diametrically opposing, hold that the first attempt on the part of the League to impose any "sanction" at all will wreck it. Nobody knows which party is nearest the truth. Nobody ever will know until after the event. The Covenant, the League itself, and the great bulk of its supporters, have adopted neither one view nor the other.

Very possibly no League "sanction" will ever have to be enforced at all; yet merely (and solely) "moral condemnation" is extremely hard to visualise in successful action to stop a war. Probably, at present, it is best to have no definition at all; to hold the threat of vague, terrible, unknown penalties in the hands of the Council, like thunderbolts in the hands of Zeus. At any rate, that is my own view.

Undoubtedly, the mental background of Hendon is sheer horror; if you add skill to science, and multiply to the power of *n*, the other side of the equation multiplies war to the power of Hell. You cannot bring either skill or science to a stop; if you want to stop the horror, it can only be done by stopping war. So, until war really is stopped, why should we close our eyes to the fact of Hendon, and pretend that the threat of it might not, even as a remote possibility, help to deter some would-be war-maker?—Yours, etc.,

ALEC. WILSON.

#### HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

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## PAINT LORD CECIL

SIR,—It has been stated on more than one occasion that the portraits in the National Gallery are frequently of a very ordinary and uninspiring character, due largely to the fact that they were not specially painted for the purpose.

Largely in consequence of this, the London Regional Federation proposed at the last annual meeting of the General Council that a fund should be raised for the purpose of having a portrait painted of Viscount Cecil, subject, of course, to his consent.

All members of the L.N.U. will agree that the National Gallery should, when the time comes, have a good portrait of the man who, in this country, has done more than any other for the League of Nations, and I am convinced that the sum required for a portrait to be painted by the best artist obtainable would be subscribed, and more than subscribed, in a very short time.

The proposal, however, was turned down by the annual meeting of the L.N.U. on the ground, I understand, that the time was not opportune, an appeal for further funds for the general work of the Union having just been made. Personally, I do not think that the proposal would have interfered to any great extent with the other appeal.

That Lord Cecil may be spared to us for many years to come is, of course, the sincere wish of all our members, but accidents do happen, and I trust that we may not postpone this matter until too late, and if the General Council are not able to take this matter up I hope some other way may be found of achieving this object.—Yours, etc.,

40, Goldhurst Terrace,  
N.W.6.  
September 9, 1929.

W. T. PRITCHARD.

## EAST PRUSSIA AND POLAND

SIR,—Mr. Harold E. Hare in his letter in HEADWAY for October does me the honour to mention my name four times! I don't think I deserved it. I did not mention the word "Corridor" in my letter; I only referred to the frontier between Poland and East Prussia. I always thought (I may be wrong) that a corridor and a frontier were two different things. I suppose a corridor has a frontier but does a frontier necessarily have a corridor? I certainly don't want to pass the nutcrackers to anybody. The word "nutcrackers" implies force, which is what we want to avoid. Mr. Hare says "I am ready to admit that the present arrangement is imperfect and calls for revision." I quite agree, and that is what I intended to convey in my letter, but I am not qualified to suggest the precise lines upon which the frontier ought to be revised. It must be a peace frontier and not a war frontier, so naval and military officers need have nothing to do with it.—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

October 12, 1929.

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

SIR,—The letter of Mr. Harold Hare in your October issue is interesting, especially the paragraph setting forth historically Poland's access to the sea.

Mr. Hare has read "almost for the hundredth time" that the Vistula corridor cannot be maintained, but he has failed to meet with a suggestion as to the precise revision. He is unfortunate in his reading. In my perusal the writer has more often added the solution, which is so obvious that it might almost be for taken granted: namely, to substitute for the present corridor

a strip of territory on the extreme east of the Prussian State, with Memel or some suitable port. There might still be an arrangement for the Poles to navigate the Vistula.—Yours, etc.,

Norwich.

October 12, 1929.

W. A. HARDY.

## SECURITY AGAINST WAR

SIR,—May I point out that in the heading to the review of my pamphlet, "Real Security against War" in your September issue, the name of the publishers is wrongly given as "Williams & McCabe." The pamphlet is published by Williams & Norgate, Ltd., of 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.

In your reviewer's description of my proposals there occurs the sentence "Sanctions are to be abolished." I think this may give a wrong impression. Although I propose the abolition of Article 16 of the Covenant, I suggest the insertion of another Article in its place, the effect of which your readers will appreciate if they do me the honour of reading my pamphlet.—Yours, etc.,

F. N. KEEN.

## PASSPORTS

SIR,—It is true, as stated in your August number, that "a lot of nonsense has been written about the passport"; but it would be a pity if this fact were allowed to obscure the fundamental objection which must always hold good against a passport system in time of peace: which is that such an arrangement is contrary to the common law.

An identity card slips as easily into the pocket as a passport, and is in every other way equally convenient. It has, moreover, the immense advantage of being legally justifiable (which the passport system in time of peace is not), because it respects the right of the traveller to go to any country willing to receive him.—Yours, etc.,

DUDLEY C. BUSHBY,

Hon. Secretary,

Society of British Subjects in Spain.

## RUSSIA AND CHINA

DEAR SIR,—As yet we have seen no action of the League of Nations with regard to the Russo-Chinese imbroglio. The difficulties are admittedly great, but a policy of *non possumus* will not make HEADWAY.—Yours, etc.,

Shirley, Summersdale, Chichester.

October 13.

A READER.

## A BATMAN'S VIEWS

SIR,—In an article on "The Evacuation of the Rhineland," published in the current October number of HEADWAY, Major A. J. C. Freshwater, M.C., T.D., tells a story of a batman's remark to his officer: "You know, sir, I'm not sure now as we've really been on the right side; these Jerries are wonderful people and it's a fine place."

Even in the interest of Anglo-German goodwill, or in order to add a light touch to an article, does Major Freshwater think it right to suggest a shade of a shadow of doubt whether British soldiers fought in 1914-18 on the right side?

Do you, sir, think that the cause of truth and peace can be saved by any such darkening of the light which shone clear when Britain took up Germany's challenge?—I am, yours faithfully,

WILLIAM C. MACPHERSON.

[The anonymous batman probably enlisted voluntarily and would do the same again—and on the same side.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS

[Supplement to "Headway," November, 1929]

## TEN-YEAR-OLDS

THE Battle of Waterloo may have been won on the playing fields of Eton. World peace will not be won save with the help of every type of school in every civilised country.

Eleven years ago, on the 11th of this month, the world war ended. From all that horror and folly of international anarchy, from all those sacrifices of the glorious dead, there has come forth one good thing: the League of Nations to end war. This year, at the season of the Armistice, many schools are remembering that the League is nearly ten years old, and they are thinking of all that has been accomplished during those ten years "to promote international co-operation and achieve international peace and security." It is, indeed, a romantic and a noble story. But it is only the first chapter, and a happy ending is, as yet, by no means assured.

There is a danger, said the British Prime Minister the other day, that the new generation, "rising up without our knowledge of the pain and horror of the sacrifice made by our dead, may translate what is in our hearts, the romance of sacrifice, into what was not in our hearts, the romance of war." Education is the means by which the new generation may learn from and profit by the experience of the old. We know, but do they know that Mr. Baldwin was right in saying that "One more war in the West and the civilisation of the ages will fall with as great a crash as that of Rome?"

The generation that suffered through the war years was called on to lay the foundations of peace and, in the League, those foundations have been well and truly laid. But that generation is growing old, and with it are passing away the parents and founders of the League. On their foundations the League of the future—the preserver of world peace and the guarantor of liberty and justice all the world over—has still to be built by younger people, including in particular the League's own contemporaries: the boys and girls now ten years old. As M. Briand told the Tenth Assembly: "The day that the children are taught the love of peace, the day they are taught to respect sister peoples, to look for what men have in common rather than for their points of difference . . . peace will already be enthroned among the nations." That appeal, said Herr Stresemann in his last speech at Geneva, ought to reach every boy and girl.

Can we, during the next ten years, better serve the cause of the League and of peace than by responding with all our power to that last word of the dying statesman, of whom the British Foreign Secretary observed that he was a great German because he was a great European? Can we not carry to the boys and girls of ten years old the message that, if they would be great patriots in this modern interdependent world, they must be more than patriots? They must be loyal to humanity as well as to their own country. Moreover, they must know as well as feel; they must think rightly of

the world, no longer of a number of different and differing sovereign States, but of an international community which embraces all the other societies—the family, the school, the neighbourhood, or the nation or group of nations—to which they also belong.

Already this up-to-date knowledge of the world, and this world loyalty, form part of the education given in many of the schools of this country and abroad. The need for both is recognised in "The Teachers' Declaration" of 1927, signed by practically all the associations of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in Great Britain. That declaration will, it is expected, shortly be reinforced by a weighty report coming from the Local Education Authorities as well as from the teaching profession. Teachers who are ready and willing to act upon that report will find two booklets ("The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations," published by the League of Nations, and "Teachers and World Peace," published by the League of Nations Union) of very great assistance.

As yet, however, it is only a few of the League's contemporaries—the boys and girls of ten years old—who get all the knowledge and encouragement they need from their schools. The work of the schools must for the present, at all events, be supplemented by outside agencies. *The Children's Newspaper*, for one, whose Editor intends to persuade its hundreds of thousands of readers to join "The Children's League of Nations," to wear our *World and Stars* badge in their buttonholes, and to be reckoned as Junior Members of the League of Nations Union. Other Junior Members of the Union already exist as members of more than 700 Junior Branches. Many of these are school societies, but in some places a territorial basis is preferred. At North Hackney, for example, there is a Junior Branch of more than 1,000 members. Of yet another type is the newly-formed Junior Branch in Hampstead, where more than 300 boys and girls lately attended the inaugural meeting and where each recruit makes on enrolment this formal declaration: "I promise to do what I can to help the League of Nations in its work for Peace, Health and Happiness."

It will, no doubt, be some time before every boy and girl in every country understands something of the aims and work of the League, and learns to love, not only his own country, but the world community of which it forms part; before he realises that he cannot be a good Englishman or a good Briton without being a good world citizen; and before he regards international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs. But for that we have to work. On that peace depends. And, if we cannot see the end, we can, at least, make a beginning by persuading as many children as possible, whether ten-year-olds or more or less, to become Junior Members of the League of Nations Union, and by getting each of them to wear our *World and Stars* badge to show that they, at least, are looking for what men have in common rather than for their points of difference.

## AT ZURICH

MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
FEDERATION

THE Representative Council, the Executive Committee and the four Permanent Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies met in the University at Zurich, from September 26 to 29, 1929. Some twenty national societies were represented. The Council and the Executive Committee sat under the presidency of Count Bernstorff, of Germany, who, as President of the Federation for 1929, will be succeeded next year by Dr. Limburg, of Holland.

The outstanding event of the meetings was the communication of an offer made by an American philanthropist to give the Federation \$5,000. While no specific conditions were attached to the offer, the donor made certain suggestions for the use of the money, in particular that the educational work of the Federation might be extended, and that financial considerations need no longer stand in the way of the Federation's office being moved to Geneva. In accepting this generous offer, the Council welcomed the first of these suggestions, and referred the other—the question of moving the office to Geneva—to the next Plenary Congress, which alone is the competent body to take such a decision, and which, in 1929, will itself be meeting in Geneva. This financial encouragement (particularly if it is repeated in future years) should do much to strengthen the work and influence of the Federation.

In the sphere of education, the most important resolution passed was one welcoming the decision of the Tenth Assembly of the League to provide 23,000 Swiss francs for authorised translations of "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations," expressing the hope that all the members of the League which have not already done so will make this book or an authorised translation of it available for all their teachers, and urging the League, with the help of its experts, to convene, in 1931, a World Education Conference of teachers and administrators—on the lines of the World Economic Conference—to consider and report upon the study and teaching of the organisation of peace by the League of Nations.

On the I.L.O. and economic side, a discussion took place on the difficulty of getting I.L. Conventions ratified, and societies were asked to submit reports, in time for the spring meetings, on the means of overcoming these difficulties. The action of the League in inviting the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to consider placing the coal problem on the agenda of the 1930 I.L. Conference was warmly welcomed, as was also the British proposal for a tariff holiday; in this connection societies were invited to undertake intensive campaigns in favour of agreements intended to facilitate economic relations, more especially by the suppression of trade barriers. A decision was also taken to hold another Economic Conference in 1930, similar to the one organised by the Federation at Prague in October, 1928.

On the political side, discussion centred mainly round Articles 18 and 19 of the Covenant, while in the matter of minorities the Committee recorded its opinion that the recent improvements in procedure constituted only one step in the right direction, and that further improvements were badly needed.

A public meeting was held in St. Peter's Kirche, at which speeches were made by Lady Gladstone, Professor Georges Scelles (France), Professor Jäckh (Germany) and the President of the Swiss Society. A reception was also held for the delegates, and a banquet was given by the Municipality of Zurich.

## TEACHERS AT GENEVA

THE following impressions of a member of a party of Manchester teachers which recently took a vacation course at Geneva illustrates clearly the value of such a venture. It is hoped that as time goes on many other Education Committees in various parts of the country will realise the enormous value of such visits, not only to the teachers themselves but to the growing generation. Our correspondent writes:—

"The generosity of one of its members enabled the Manchester Education Committee this year to offer to seven of its teachers a bursary, to be used in paying part of the expenses of a vacation course in the Geneva School of International Studies, directed by Professor Alfred Zimmern.

"The teachers selected represented various branches of education in Manchester—the elementary schools, the district central schools, the municipal secondary schools, the day continuation classes and the museum classes. They attended a fortnight's course of lectures, which commenced on August 5, and returned with their interest in the League of Nations and its problems greatly stimulated. The lectures varied very much, but they all helped one to realise how great are the difficulties to be overcome before international co-operation is the recognised method of dealing with any situation that may become a menace to peace. The lectures dealing with the activities of the International Labour Organisation were also most interesting, and especially the discussions which followed them. But perhaps the greatest benefit to the visitors, as educationists, came from the daily contact with students and teachers from every part of the world. All met in Geneva to study international questions and to learn together how great a solvent is the 'will to agree.' A renewed hopefulness for the world's future grew out of the knowledge that so many of the students at the Geneva School were, or would be, engaged in some branch of education and would pass on to others the inspiration they received there.

"The Manchester teachers came away convinced of the value of visits like these, especially to those who in any way exert an influence upon the boys and girls who so soon will be units making up 'public opinion,' and they hope that other education authorities, as well as their own, will be able to arrange in the future for parties of their teachers to enjoy a similar experience."—A. M. S.

## NOTES AND NEWS

## Crewe to the Rescue

We have to acknowledge a generous gift of £30 from the Crewe Branch towards the liquidation of the Headquarters overdraft. This added evidence of support given to the Union's work by the Crewe Branch is deeply appreciated.

## Speakers in Scotland

Several distinguished speakers have recently visited the Glasgow and West of Scotland District. Vice-Admiral J. D. Allen addressed meetings in Darvel, Kilsyth, Busby, Rothesay and Lenzie Academy. Lord Meston spoke at a musical evening in aid of the Inter-Universities International Congress Fund, held by the courtesy of Sir Robert and Lady Wilson in the Pollokshields Burgh Hall, on October 5. The sum realised for the Fund was £125. The next day Lord Meston addressed the Autumn School at Dunblane, and also spoke at a large public meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, which was attended by over 4,000 people. Sir Charles Hobhouse spent a week in the district from October 6 to 11 and spoke in Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Cambuslang, Clydebank and Kilmacollm. Sir George Paish, who has also been up North, delivered an address to the Autumn

School at Dunblane. He addressed meetings in Kirkin-tilloch, Cambuslang, Clydebank, Wishaw and Glasgow. New branches have been inaugurated in Garelochhead, Darvel, Kilsyth, Busby, Cambuslang and Clydebank.

## ARMISTICE SERVICE, 1929

The League of Nations Union, in co-operation with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, is organising a special PEACE COMMEMORATION SERVICE, to be held on ARMISTICE DAY in ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, in celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the League of Nations. The Archbishop of Canterbury will preach and prayers for the League of Nations will be a special feature of the Service. The Service will commence at 10.45 a.m. A limited number of reserved seats are still available, applications for which should be made to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, as soon as possible.

## Stockport Garden Party

The Stockport Branch recently held a successful garden party in the grounds of Bramall Hall, by kind permission of Mrs. Davies. The Chair was taken by Sir Thomas Rowbotham, J.P., and the chief speakers were Mr. S. Hammersley and Mr. C. E. Clift. The several entertainments and side shows were well patronised.

## Dr. George Geddes

The Union's work in Lancashire has suffered a great loss through the recent death of Dr. George Geddes. The Heywood Branch, of which he was Secretary, is among the most active in the country, and largely owes its present position to his unflinching energy and enthusiasm. Dr. Geddes was also the Treasurer of the Manchester District Council.

## Mr. J. H. Midgley

It is with great regret that we have to report the death of Mr. J. H. Midgley, of Torquay. Mr. Midgley was a hard-working member of the Executive Committee of the Torquay Branch for many years, and will be remembered by many as a speaker on the Union's platforms.

## Wearing the Badge

It is suggested that members of the Union should make a special point of wearing their blue "World and Stars" badges at Armistice Day meetings and services. In this connection it is well worth mentioning that a Union badge at a Union meeting often secures a seat rather than "standing room only."

## At Dunblane

The Scottish National Council recently held its Adult School at the Dunblane Hydropathic. Many interesting addresses were delivered and useful discussions ensued. During the several sessions of the School some of the principal speakers were Lord Meston, Sir George Paish, Lady Kay Muir, Sir Daniel Stevenson, Mr. Vernon Bartlett and Herr Paul Scheffer (Moscow correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*). Over 120 delegates from all parts of Scotland were present.

## League Literature for India

The opportunity is afforded to members of the Union to help the League of Nations movement in India by sending to Mr. J. P. Cotelingham, 7, Miller Road, Kilpauk, Madras, S. India, any Union literature with which they may have finished. Mr. Cotelingham is working among the Indian students and has written to say that he would like as much literature as possible to further his work.

## Edinburgh Activities

The attention of members is drawn to the following lectures which are to be held in Edinburgh: November 4, P. H. B. Lyon, Esq., M.C. Subject: "The League of Nations and the Spirit of Youth," in the Royal Geographical Rooms, 5 p.m. November 25, Rev. Dr. Salis Daickez. Subject: "The Palestine Mandate and the Zionist Movement," in the Morningside Congregational Church. A United Service of Remembrance will be held in St. Giles Cathedral on Sunday, November 10, at 6.30 p.m. The sermon will be preached by the Very Rev. Charles L. Warr, Dean of the Thistle, while the Lord Provost, Lord Sands and the Very Rev. Professor W. P. Paterson will also take part. It is hoped all Edinburgh members and friends will make a point of being present.

## Goodwill Holidays

The following is an extract of an interesting letter recently received from Mr. Valentine Davis, who is the Hon. Secretary of the Cheshire District Council. Mr. Davis says:—

"Almost every association has its holiday centres, why should not the L.N.U.? And in this connection something different from the Oxford Summer School or the Geneva parties is meant; what is suggested is a family holiday centre, preferably at the seaside. Several members have had under consideration the desirability of arranging for a centre where people interested in League affairs, and who try to live in the League spirit, could come from different parts of the country and enjoy a seaside holiday together, and combine with it some exchange of views and instruction from our leaders." Those interested are invited to communicate with Mr. Davis, "Noddfa," Wistaston, Crewe.

## Notes from Wales

The Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, of St. David's College, Lampeter, the President of the Welsh National Council, was recently involved in a serious motor accident; it is earnestly hoped that his recovery will be speedy and complete. Principal Maurice Jones had arranged to address a large number of meetings, but in accordance with doctor's orders he has had to cancel all his engagements during the next two months.

Branches in North and South Wales are engaged in planning winter programmes and a special effort is being made to organise a vigorous campaign for new members during Armistice Week.

One of the most interesting activities in October was the Festival of Youth at Maesteg in Glamorganshire. Over 2,000 children assembled for this Festival and the Junior Branches, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts from the surrounding districts produced pageants, plays, dances and songs. Five plays were included in the programme, one of which had been specially written for the Festival. A noteworthy item was the community singing of two peace hymns by the whole concourse of children. On the same day Captain Frederic Evans addressed the local Association of the National Union of Teachers. The Maesteg and other branches in the area are to be heartily congratulated on their enterprise.

The Monmouth Branch opened its winter session with a successful social evening at which the chief speaker was the Vicar of Monmouth. The Blaenau Festiniog District Committee organised a large public meeting over which Dame Margaret Lloyd George presided and at which the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis and Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., delivered addresses.

The Ammanford District Committee is organising a school during the week end November 9-11, and on Armistice night is arranging for a public reception of "Journey's End," which is being broadcast by the B.B.C. The West Monmouth School branch at Pontypool is also organising a reception of this play

on the same evening. On Armistice Day, during the ceremonies at the Welsh National War Memorial at Cardiff and the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor, Welsh Wreaths will be laid on behalf of the Welsh Council.

#### The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1929:—

Amberley, Bristol, Brookland U.M. Church, Bromley, Chorley Wood, East Hendred, Haslemere, Mytholmroyd, Norwich, Pudsey.

#### Cecil Road

Since 1797 there have been barracks in Ipswich. The Government this year have decided to give up the barrack buildings and the site on which they stand. It so happens that the Secretary of the Ipswich Branch is a member of the Housing Committee and the Chairman of this Committee is also Chairman of the Branch. The Housing Committee decided to develop the site and to build 116 houses. It is both interesting and gratifying to learn that the principal roads on this estate have been named Cecil Road and Geneva Road. This is indeed a practical example of organising peace.

#### At Half Price

The subject of Tariff Barriers has been brought to the fore at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations. The Union has in stock a number of copies of "World Prosperity and Peace," which is a report of a conference held in the Guildhall on the work of the recent International Economic Conference which dealt with this vital subject. The book contains speeches, amongst others, by M. Theunis, who was the President of the International Economic Conference, the Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, Dr. Richard Schuller (Austria), Sir Arthur Balfour, Lord Melchett, Mr. Arthur Pugh, Mr. P. J. H. Hannon, M.P., Mr. Walter Runciman, etc. It also contains a picture of the tariff wall map prepared by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, M.P., and an introduction by Mr. F. C. Goodenough, Chairman of Barclays Bank. The book was originally published at 5s., but if application is made immediately it can be secured from the Union at 2s. 6d.

#### Some Astonishing Figures

Considerations of space render it impossible to include the list of "some forthcoming meetings" in this issue. At the time of going to press the Head Office has arranged speakers for about 250 meetings in Armistice Week alone, and for over 1,000 meetings to be held before the end of the year.

#### Recent Union Publications

No. 183.—Armistice Day Leaflet. (Revised.) (2s. per 100, 18s. 6d. per 1,000.)

No. 277.—World Labour Problems in 1929. 4d.

No. 278.—Geneva, 1929. 9d.

No. 195.—(Fifth Edition.) What the League Has Done. 6d.

#### A "Fixed Date" for Renewal Subscriptions

Formerly all membership subscriptions became renewable on January 1. This had a bad effect on endeavours to obtain new members during the latter part of the year, for no one wanted to pay a subscription nominally to cover them for a year, and then be asked to renew it in a month or two's time. The Rule, therefore, was amended so that all subscriptions, whenever paid, became renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription was paid.

Some branches, however, do not like the collection of renewal subscriptions to be spread over the whole of the year, but prefer to have one "fixed date" for the

purpose. To get over the objection of asking people to renew within a short time of having paid a subscription they ask members to pay a subscription for a year plus a proportionate amount to carry them on to the "fixed date." Thus a new member joining on October 1, 1929 (or an old member due to pay a renewal subscription on that date) is asked to pay a subscription for a year and a quarter, and so be covered till January 1, 1931.

#### "The New World"

Heartly congratulations are due to the Northamptonshire Federal Council on the first number of their excellent production "The New World." The cover is an attractive futurist affair in blue and grey and the news and articles are well presented. This organ is to be published quarterly, and if the future numbers equal the first in quality its success is assured.

#### A Serious Situation—You can Help

It may not be generally realised that the present financial situation of the Union is far from satisfactory. The Union's overdraft at the Bank borders on £7,000. While everything possible is being done to reduce the expenditure within the Union's assured income for 1930, it is imperative that this heavy overdraft should be paid off in order to commence the New Year with a clean sheet. It is possible that the Peace Commemoration Dinner which will be held in the Guildhall on November 14, when it is hoped some substantial donations will be received, will go a certain way towards reducing this debt. It is not, however, only upon the substantial donations of the wealthy few that a democratic institution like the Union must depend, but upon every one of its three-quarters of a million individual members. Every Branch, therefore, is urged to do everything possible to place the Union on a firm financial basis. More than three-quarters of the year has now gone. If every Branch had paid three-quarters of its Council's Vote quota the situation would not give rise to this serious anxiety. Many Branches have paid. Many more have not, and it is to these that this earnest appeal for payment of their full quotas before Christmas is made.

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
Oct. 23, 1929	...	...	...	...	794,989

On October 23rd, 1929, there were 2,873 Branches, 738 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 3,021 Corporate Members and 552 Corporate Associates.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

### TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Foundation membership, HEADWAY, and pamphlets as issued, minimum, £1. Ordinary membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, minimum, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire, 5s.). Membership, 1s.

Applications to 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 Council of L.N.U., 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.