



# HEADWAY

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XIII. No 2. The Journal of the League of Nations Union. February, 1931 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price Threepence

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## Matters of Moment

THE dates of League of Nations Council meetings are, unfortunately, fixed with an eye to other considerations than the convenience of the Editor of HEADWAY. Last month's meeting began on the 19th, and any detailed account of its work must, therefore, be held over till our next issue. That is unfortunate, as it was clear in advance that a Council Meeting of more than ordinary importance was in prospect. Such questions as German-Polish relations, slavery in Liberia, the date of the Disarmament Conference and the whole disarmament question in general were enough in themselves to lift the agenda well above the level of mere routine, while the fact that Mr. Henderson was presiding (Sir Austen Chamberlain was the last British Chairman in 1927) gives the Council a certain added interest to those who follow its doings in this country. The League's European Committee met three days before the Council, and an account of what it did will be found on a later page. The Committee's activities are not expected to develop their full importance till its meeting in May.

### A Garden of Peace

THE International Park in the Talma Mountains, between Poland and Czechoslovakia on both sides, a long disputed stretch of frontier between the two countries, has already been mentioned in HEADWAY. Now it appears that a similar idea is to be carried out on a much more famous frontier—that between Canada and the United States. An international committee has been formed to carry out the proposal for a 1,000 acre garden, with the frontier actually through it, to

symbolise the relationship that has kept the boundary line between Canada and the United States bare of forts, guns and ships for over 100 years. It is hoped that, with the help of glass-houses, it may be possible to produce in the garden specimens of every type of plant and flower native to the two great countries whose friendship the new enterprise will commemorate. The actual site of the garden has not yet been chosen. The plans outlined here are quoted on the authority of the journal *Canada*.

### The Revision of Treaties

AT a moment when a good deal is being heard about the revision of treaties, it is worth while drawing attention to an interesting statement made by M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, in an interview he gave last month at Vienna. Asked his opinion regarding the revision of treaties generally, M. Venizelos stated flatly that at present discussions on such a question might easily result in war. The declaration is the more striking in that Greece herself has every reason for desiring to see treaties revised. As M. Venizelos went on to recall, she herself concluded a peace treaty (the Treaty of Lausanne) which was highly unfavourable to her, but she realises, nevertheless, that the peace treaty question at present must not be touched. M. Venizelos, it may be added, has, in fact, just signed a treaty with Turkey definitely confirming the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne. The Greek Prime Minister is very far from having said the last word on this all-important question, but he has, at least, given expression to a point of view which demands consideration.

### Dr. Tagore and the League

THE Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is no stranger to Geneva, for he made some stay in the League City on his last visit to Europe. Now he has been making some interesting observations in London about the kind of representatives the nations should send to the League. "You have tried," he said, "to bring about peace through the agency of the League of Nations, but there the nations are represented not by their dreamers and idealists, but by their politicians. I cannot think that this is right in any work which is meant to establish peace. It is like organising a band of robbers into a police department." This may perhaps be regarded as poetic licence. For if Dr. Tagore may be recognised to be half right he must be acknowledged to be at least half wrong too. The League needs, and always will need, the support of dreamers and idealists. The stimulus they furnish is invaluable. But nations, after all, are business concerns, and the organisation that brings them together in co-operation must be a business concern too. And only the men who are responsible for running their nation as a separate unit can co-operate effectively in helping to run it, for certain purposes, as a cog in a larger machine at Geneva. It is the politicians, not the dreamers, who are needed in the Council and Assembly.

### The Vital Factor

IT is always satisfactory to find other people saying what we are constantly saying ourselves, particularly if they succeed in saying it better. It is in that spirit that a few lines may be given to a quotation from an admirable statement contributed by Mr. E. T. Scott, Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, to a recent issue of the *Methodist Times*. "Given time," says Mr. Scott, "the League of Nations will one day become in fact what it was always meant that it should be—the impartial arbiter, the just judge, the true interpreter of a world conscience. It is not that yet. It cannot be very different from the Governments it represents. And those Governments—those of them which are not despotic—only represent their peoples. So it comes back to the peoples in the end, to their education in the ways of peace. That is a process of education which must take many, many years. Have we those years to spare? No one can tell. But everyone can contribute something to the answer. The forces making for war are at work unceasingly and without conscious direction by any human being. We can only set against them the conscious will of common men and women who are determined to banish war by dealing as they arise with all its multifarious causes. It is a stupendous task." It is indeed. But nothing is more important than to lay emphasis, as it is laid here, on "the conscious will of common men and women." It is that alone which in the end may turn the scale.

### League Help for China

THE invitation, now ratified by the Council, for Sir Arthur Salter to go to China to assist in the reconstruction of that country is an event of much more than ordinary importance. Nowhere in the world, not even in Russia, is any reconstruction in progress on the scale of that in China, and so little has yet been done that it is practically a case of building from the bottom up. The Nanking Government is warmly to be

congratulated on its initiative. No one more competent to advise it could have been found than Sir Arthur, and the fact that he goes to Nanking recommended not only by his personal qualities, but by the position he still holds as Director of the Financial and Economic Section of the League Secretariat, means clearly that China is frankly seeking the co-operation of the League in the execution of the vast work that confronts her. That co-operation will be as fully and gladly given in the financial and economic sphere as it was last year in the sphere of health. Dr. Rajchman, the Health Director of the League, was actually in China at the moment when the invitation to Sir Arthur Salter was issued. These two distinguished members of the Secretariat should be fully able to convince China, if she still needs convincing, that nowhere in the world can she find assistance so disinterested and at the same time so competent as at Geneva.

### The Mother Tongue

EVEN those who have studied the League of Nations and its activities most assiduously may be forgiven if they find themselves a little mystified by a heading in the League of Nations Chronicle (Chicago) thus conceived:—

CLOSE UNION OF  
FARM INSTITUTE  
AND LEAGUE OKED

Yet nothing after all could be simpler. Given discussions for a working agreement between the League of Nations and the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, how better—indeed, how else—could the sub-editor imprison that arresting fact in eight short words? And if some English readers are still unfamiliar with the past participle of that classic verb "to O.K." that only means that some English readers are still uneducated. As to the derivation of O.K.—whether it is in fact, as sometimes claimed, an abbreviation of the classic term "Orl Korrekt"—that is another question.

### A Debt Acknowledged.

IT is a matter of common observation that some States value the League of Nations more highly than others. Bulgaria is one of these, by reason both of the part the League played in settling its dispute with Greece in 1925 and of the assistance the League has given in the settlement of Bulgarian refugees. Interesting evidence of the effect of these League activities is supplied by a Staff Correspondent of the *Matin* who was travelling not long ago in Bulgaria. The story of that country's debt to the League, he observes, goes back about five years, "and it is not at all surprising if you have forgotten it, but here [Sofia] everyone remembers it, statesmen and the younger generation alike. It was while I was trying to investigate the state of mind of this younger generation that I happened to speak of the Geneva institution, and I discovered immediately a confidence in the League and an enthusiasm for it such as one rarely meets—an encouraging fact which would, no doubt, greatly surprise those sceptics and witty cynics who hobnob year after year on the Quai Wilson at Geneva. Here there is no question of mere theory. The League of Nations has been tested and proved. Here it is visible to everyone, capable of ensuring to this country long years of peace."

### The Poet Laureate's New Post

MR. JOHN MASEFIELD has accepted an invitation to join the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters attached under the re-organisation scheme to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, of which Professor Gilbert Murray is the chairman. The new Committee is to be composed of some of the most eminent men of letters of the day. Mr. Paul Valéry and Mr. Thomas Mann, the German novelist, have both agreed to serve upon it. The Committee's discussions are not to be purely technical, but as at the meeting of the sub-Committee on Arts and Letters last July, matters of pacific philosophy will be debated. During the meetings of the Council five new members will have to be appointed to the International Committee to replace five retiring members, amongst whom are Sir J. C. Bose and Mademoiselle Bonnevie. In connection with the progress of intellectual co-operation, it may be noted that Mr. Bonnet has taken over his duties as the new Director of the International Institute at Paris, which now enters upon a new era.

### A Princely Gift

LAST year the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels received a gift of five thousand dollars from the International Co-operation Fund founded by Mr. Forstall, the American who bought Sir Eric Drummond's house in Geneva so as to keep it out of the hands of profiteers. Unfortunately, owing to the Wall Street crash it appeared probable, in fact a certainty, that Mr. Forstall would be unable for the present to find the money again. Under these circumstances, Dr. Theodore Marburg put his hand in his pocket and the five thousand dollars is certain for another year. Dr. Marburg, who is one of the leading American statesmen, has all along taken an interest in League of Nations affairs and is an ex-Vice-President of the International Federation. The money will be devoted, as in the past, principally to the educational work of the Federation, which will be one of the most important items on the agenda of the XVth Plenary Congress to be held at Buda-Pesth from May 22 to 28. The Federation's Summer School entails a considerable outlay of money, as do the journeys of the staff into countries where the League of Nations movement is in a backward condition. In particular, out of Dr. Marburg's gift a number of bursaries will be allotted, thereby allowing a certain number of Training College students to spend ten days at Geneva.

### A Hopeful Sign

IN the names of France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, Mr. Briand put a resolution to the final meeting of the Committee on European Union which, after stating that widespread anxiety has been increased by irresponsible talk in various quarters concerning the possibility of war, goes on:—

"We recognise that there are difficulties in Europe at the present time . . . The best service we can render towards the improvement of the economic position is the firm assurance of European peace. We, therefore, declare . . . that we are resolutely determined to use the machinery of the League to prevent any resort to violence."

The resolution was carried by the representatives of the 27 states present with great enthusiasm. Comment on the resolution is superfluous, but we would like to emphasise the importance of the last sentence.

### The New Bench

THE new bench of the Permanent Court of International Justice met for the first time on January 16. The first business was the appointment of a President. This honour has fallen to Mr. Adatci, who, until he was elected to the Court during the Assembly last September, acted as Japan's representative on the Council and Assembly. From 1916-1928 he was Japanese ambassador at Brussels but was then transferred to Paris. His presence at the Council meetings was invariably useful, for he was able to take a detached view of Europe's political troubles. There is no case on the Court's Cause-List at present, but according to information from a well-informed source, there is a likelihood of a session in April. It is said that Poland and Germany have reached agreement concerning the form of the question, if it is decided that the Court shall be asked for an Advisory Opinion on the refusal of the Polish authorities to admit sixty children to a German Minority School in Upper Silesia.

### Public Opinion in N.Z.

IN response to the questions on Public Opinion and the League in the October HEADWAY, we have had a letter from the Rev. Dr. James Gibb, the President of the New Zealand League of Nations Union. *Inter alia* he says that if the membership in New Zealand were in the same proportion as in this country there would be 30,000 members. Actually there are but 3,000. He attributes it almost entirely to apathy and to lack of leadership—for the people in the Antipodes are not wanting another war in the slightest degree. Neither in the political world, nor in the Church, nor in the Press, with a few notable exceptions, are there people ready to give up their time to promoting a lively interest in League affairs amongst the ordinary people. In the Press especially, though a fair amount of cabled news is necessarily printed, the League but rarely finds a mention in a leading article, and when it does "it is a wonder if the reference is not half-contemptuous." Dr. Gibb concludes his letter by praising our Union as the very backbone of the League, but for which it might have been wrecked.

### Disarmament and the Press

THE Press in the European States which suffer from the security complex is sharply divided into a pro-disarmament Left—of which the Paris *Republique* and *Populaire* are typical—and an anti-disarmament Right, which argues, to quote the Belgian *Le Soir*, that it is "obvious that if in 1914 England had been able to send 200,000 soldiers at once, the war would not even have started," and from that premise builds up a train of thought too obvious to follow further. There is no analogous division in the British Press, which universally advocates international disarmament, if only because it is a sound business proposition. The division in England lies between the papers which strive to create this will and those which, though paying it lip-service, nip it in the bud. The *Week End Review* leads the way. Close behind comes the *Sunday Times*. At the other end of the scale are the papers which, by stressing failure to go as far as one could wish, and ignoring the very different atmosphere of the 1930 discussions, create the impression that nothing has been done and therefore kill all the sentiments which are essential to disarming. Our delegation to the forthcoming Disarmament Conference would have an easier task if the Press were to help.

## The European Federation Comes to Life

By ERWIN D. CANHAM

SOMEWHAT surprisingly, the first really serious meeting of M. Briand's Committee for the Study of European Union on January 16, turned out to be a political event of first-rate importance. During the Eleventh Assembly it was gloomily predicted that the notion of Pan-Europe, at least that particular notion which had been evoked by the Quai d'Orsay, was dead and buried. But during December and January notes from the Belgian, Jugo-Slav, German and Danish Governments and memoranda from the Secretariat and the International Labour Office indicated that some Governments at least would seize the occasion to bring sharply to the fore such economic questions as had hitherto baffled the League.

Before M. Briand's committee met the most anyone expected was an economic discussion of some interest, and a few sanguine souls felt that perhaps the European Union might bring a measure of success to old problems, or at least reawaken slumbering public opinion to the perennial dangers. This economic debate did take place, and disappointed no expectations. It was, perhaps, more clear-cut and frank than any purely League economic debate had ever been. But before economic matters were allowed to hold the stage, Messrs. Grandi and Curtius escorted the exceedingly difficult but tremendously important question of Russia and Turkey into the very centre of the limelight.

First Herr Curtius, with the firm but quiet adroitness which is his diplomatic manner, asked M. Briand when they might consider inviting Russia and Turkey into that Europe of which these two black sheep are so important and unfathomable a part. Before M. Briand could give a definitive answer Signor Grandi had seized the floor. With true Fascist vigour he demanded that Russia and Turkey should be invited instantly, to avoid the obvious anachronism of uniting a half rather than a whole. Signor Grandi spoke in Italian, and this caused a sensation among League *habitués*, who knew his ample acquaintanceship with both French and English, and interpreted his use of it as another example of the politics of prestige.

Facing the combined Curtius-Grandi offensive, other members of the committee found themselves in a perplexing difficulty, one which apparently had not been foreseen, and regarding which more than one Foreign Minister intimated that he would wish to consult his Government. Parenthetically, it may be remarked, that the whole meeting was in a similar unpreparedness on almost all points. Nothing was cut-and-dried, not even the composition of the important Executive Committee, which had to be improvised by secretaries "on the corner of a table."

Two further sessions were required before the question of inviting Turkey and Russia could be fitted into the usual Geneva compromise. During these meetings, which were held behind closed doors, most of the delegates took up positions. Mr. Henderson was openly for inviting the missing States, but sought to broaden the issue by inviting all the other nations of the world as well, in the capacity of observers. The British Secretary of State emphasized that the organisation of Pan-Europe should be kept strictly within the framework of the League, perhaps as an argument to offset the welcome to two non-member States. Although Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, supported at the last moment by M. Briand, were apparently opposed to inviting the two unrepresented nations, they advanced no arguments of

substance. The case was merely argued on the formal reasons that the Assembly alone could issue invitations, and some said that the presence of Turkey and Russia would "complicate discussions." Many of these States were obviously prepared to fight to the last ditch to keep Russia and Turkey out. But prejudices, particularly in neighbouring States, runs strongly against the Soviet Government, and it is to be suspected that the efforts of certain Powers to secure from the committee a joint condemnation of Soviet dumping would have been seriously injured by the uncompromising presence of M. Litvinoff. With opinion so evenly divided on both sides of the issue, matters obviously had to be compromised, and Mr. Henderson's good offices were responsible for setting compromise in train.

The economic debate was of great interest. M. Colijn, Chairman of the Second Tariff Truce Conference and of the Assembly's Economic Committee, opened affairs by painting a masterful but unrelievedly sombre picture of the League's failures in the economic field—failures, he was quick to point out, which had been caused by the Governments' unwillingness to live up to their promises made at the Economic Conference of 1927. His statements could not be challenged. He emphasised that the eleventh hour for the recovery of economic sanity had come, and that if the opportunities for bilateral negotiations for the reduction of tariffs are not seized economic collapse might follow.

The tragedy of M. Colijn's speech—applauded, praised, admitted in every word—is that it was just another speech. Nothing at the meeting gave the slightest indication that Government policies would change as a result of the piously approved statement. But another occasion was seized of sounding the tocsin of economic alarm to the peoples of Europe. Since neither the League nor Pan-Europe can force Governments to act, they can at least ring a perpetual alarm signal, and by this means prevent economic insanity from becoming raving madness.

The agrarian States seized the occasion to put forward their claims for preferential markets and more agricultural credits perhaps more strongly than ever before. M. Marinkovitch, Foreign Minister of Jugoslavia, delivered an effectively homely and spirited elaboration of these claims, which involve an adjournment of the most-favoured-nation clause in commercial treaties to give European-grown cereals a preferred market, and request special arrangements for new loans. Opposed to these claims, at least on the cereal question, is Great Britain, representing such great overseas cereal growers as Canada and Australia.

Other interesting economic questions were on the agenda, and one of the most arresting was the Belgian Government's suggestion that the European Federation should arrange for the unrestricted transmission of electrical power across continental frontiers so that Europe may become one vast interlaced power-house.

European Union has certainly come to life as a result of the January meeting. The very presence of 22 Foreign Ministers in Geneva indicates that Governments took the meeting seriously. A valuable future agenda has been developed. Working in the economic sphere, M. Briand's federation has given an invigorating fillip to many old ideas, and secured for itself an assured future as a modest regional meeting of the League. Perhaps it will come to be called the "Little Assembly."

## The League and the 6.11 About Remediating Germany's Grievances

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THE 6.11 for Suburbia started with the thudding jerk so familiar in trains for Suburbia at all hours. As it fitfully got moving the compartment door was wrenched open and the man with the pipe dropped breathless, but contented, into the corner still left strangely vacant in a carriage that usually carried twelve people in a space meant for ten.

"Well. As to Germany and your blessed League," he grunted, in unperturbed continuation of a conversation broken off twenty-four hours minus nineteen minutes earlier.

"You mean why I said the League wasn't started to decide what Germany's just grievances are? The whole point is who is to decide which of them are just and which are not. Now Germany has got two different sets of grievances altogether. One set consists of the Treaty provisions that—to put it mildly—she dislikes. The other set is the points in which she thinks the Treaty isn't being observed. And the first lot worried her about ten times as much as the second."

"Of course they do, and so they should. The whole trouble is the Treaty. And do you mean to say that the League of Nations has nothing to do with deciding whether complaints about the Treaty provisions are just?"

"Nothing at all, if you mean complaints about what the Treaty lays down. Germany has agreed to the provisions, and that's that. If there's any dispute about what the Treaty really means that's quite another matter. In that case Germany can go to The Hague Court and get a decisive ruling. The Court exists to settle any question about the meaning of a treaty, and both Britain and France, as they've signed the Optional Clause, are bound to agree to going to Court if Germany wants them to."

"Yes, that's all very nice, but I was talking about the League, not the Court, and whether the Treaty provisions are just, not what they mean."

"The Court and the League aren't so separate as all that, though, of course, they have their different jobs. But stick to the second point if you like. What I said about that was that Germany has signed the Treaty and has to abide by it. If she doesn't like it she shouldn't have signed it. It clearly isn't the League's business. The League didn't even exist when the Treaty was signed."

"But that's pure bosh, and nothing else. What's the good of saying Germany signed the Treaty, as if she did it cheerfully of her own free will. You know perfectly well any German would die rather than sign the Versailles Treaty to-day, and yet you say she simply has to carry out what she's signed and the League won't lift a finger to remedy the monstrous injustices the Treaty contains. Do you really mean to tell me seriously that doesn't concern the League? If it doesn't you're simply heading straight for war. I always thought the League existed to prevent that."

"If for once you get to heading for war, or anywhere near that, of course the League is concerned, and the Council will take the whole matter up."

"And do what?"

"How can anyone possibly tell that? It all depends, obviously, what the complaint is and whether the Council thinks it reasonable or not."

"Well, suppose it does."

"Suppose it does, it will try and get the other parties concerned, presumably the Allied Powers, to make

some concessions. As the chief ones are members of the Council themselves it's pretty clear that if in one capacity they decide to be reasonable, in the other capacity they can't proceed to be unreasonable."

"I wonder if it's all quite so simple as that. You might just as well say that if in one capacity they don't want to give way they'll decide in the other capacity that there's no reason for giving way. Your League Council's bound to be fatally biassed when any question of revising the Treaties comes up. Is that the only way Germany can bring her troubles before the League?"

"No. She can try another method if she likes. There's a special article in the Covenant about revising treaties. The Assembly can advise the revision of any Treaty that has become inapplicable, as it's called, or the discussion of conditions in the world that seem to endanger peace."

"Advise, advise. What's the good of that? And who gets the advice, anyway? And what happens if they don't take it? What I wanted to know was whether your blessed League could really do anything about the unfairness of the Treaties, and if it can why it doesn't."

"If you mean can the League go over the heads of the nations that signed a Treaty and insist that the Treaty ought to be altered, no, it can't. This country holds Gibraltar as result of a treaty. Do you think the League ought to be able to take it away from us and give it to Spain?"

"That's another thing altogether. We've held Gibraltar for two hundred years. No one suggests going back into history like that."

"How far would you go, then? Ten years? That won't even take you back to the Treaty of Versailles. Twenty years? Thirty years? No; time hasn't really got anything to do with it at all. Why should two States ever sign a treaty at all if the League could come along at any minute and get the whole thing changed?"

"Well, but what's arbitration for if it isn't for a case like that?"

"It's for something quite different. You can't possibly get the terms of a treaty changed that way unless, of course, all the parties concerned are willing to have things settled that way—and then no difficulty arises anyhow. But what we've been discussing so far is the treaties which one party wants to have revised and the other party doesn't."

"You say you can't get a treaty changed that way. But why can't you? Why isn't arbitration just exactly the way to do it?"

"Because—well, you've got to remember what arbitration is. The thing was defined at the two Hague Conferences, when a standing panel of arbitrators was set up. 'International arbitration has for its object the settlement of differences between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of law.' That's what hits your theory, the last five words—'on the basis of law.' Treaties, of course, are law as between the nations that sign them, and any arbitrator has to follow the treaty, whether he likes it or not."

"But half the difficulties in the world arise out of treaties. Are you going to tell me that none of them can be settled by arbitration?"

"All I say is that you've got to distinguish. The question of what a treaty means can quite well be settled by arbitration, or better still, by the Permanent

Court at The Hague. But there's all the difference in the world between deciding what a treaty says and deciding what it ought to say. Judges in this country often say they don't like the law, but they've got to administer it. In the same way arbitrators may think a treaty thoroughly rotten, but their business is to settle it not tear it up and draft a better one."

"If you're right about that I don't see how you're ever going to get treaties revised without war. And yet you say it's no business of the League's to settle what Germany's just grievances are, though the grievances may easily lead to war and the League exists to prevent war."

"I agreed all along that if the trouble looked like leading to war the League would take it up at once. But don't forget what I said about Article XIX, about the League advising the revision of treaties that don't fit the facts to-day."

"That seems to me so much tripe. You admit that the League can only advise, not compel. And hasn't the Assembly got to be unanimous even so?"

"I suppose it has, technically. But that doesn't matter in reality. If the Assembly can at the best only advise two nations, or half a dozen nations to get together and reconsider some treaty that needs altering, the fact that, say, Albania and Nicaragua voted against the resolution wouldn't rob it of much of its force. Of course, if the Assembly were seriously divided the whole thing would fall to the ground."

"And even supposing it was unanimous—"

"If it was it might mean a good deal. No one supposes the Assembly would advise the revision of a treaty just for the fun of revising it. The question would be raised because there was a general sort of feeling that some particular provision in the treaty needed changing. Presumably it would be a provision that was to the advantage of one of the States concerned and hurt the other one. In that case one of them would want it changed and the other wouldn't. But the one that didn't would find itself in a good deal of a hole if in the Assembly discussion it found everyone, or nearly everyone, else against it. It would be pretty difficult for it simply to dig its toes in and defy the world."

"But if it chose to it could."

"It could, I grant you. But nations don't like getting the whole world up against them. Any State in that position would think pretty hard whether it hadn't better make some concession after all. Of course, it might refuse. It might refuse once and then, if the matter was brought up a second time, decide it was better to give way. Or, of course, it might just go on refusing. I never pretended the League had the power to get treaties altered. As a matter of fact, exactly what I've been arguing to-day is that it hasn't. All I say is that Article XIX is really the League's only weapon, but there's no reason to be too sure that the weapon won't work."

"Well, anyway, you don't really go as far as you said you did. It isn't true that the League hasn't anything to do with deciding what Germany's just grievances are."

"I agree that that mayn't have been quite the best way of putting it. If Germany, or any other country, has really just grievances, they can generally be got before the League in some way or other. But whether the League has the right to decide whether a particular grievance is, in fact, just is another matter. Anyhow, the position's what I've just explained."

"Well—hullo, here we are in. You going up by the 9.35 to-morrow?"

"I expect so."

## Farmers' Woes

THAT the farmers' grievances are well founded has at last come to be realised. Not for nothing has he perpetually complained. If things go right and he gets a good crop he can find nobody to buy it at a price which is worth his while; if, on the other hand, he gets a bad season, then again he makes no money. He is apparently between the devil and the deep blue sea.

What is to be done about it? The League and the International Labour Organisation are tackling agricultural depression from their respective standpoints.

The World Economic Conference summoned by the League in 1927 said that Agriculture, Industry and Commerce formed a trinity, which were mutually interdependent. Bad times in one affected the other two. Since 1927 things have gone from bad to worse. There have been a succession of bumper harvests and the wheat has become a glut on the market. In fact, in Canada the exceptional step was taken last summer of burning the contents of the granaries to make room for the 1930 crop. And yet in China people were dying of starvation!

A year ago there was a meeting between a delegation of the Economic Committee and 20 agricultural experts, at which the International Institute of Agriculture was also represented. At this meeting the findings of the World Economic Conference were reaffirmed. A series of studies were undertaken with a view to concerted world action. Especial importance was placed on the lack of balance between production and consumption—or, in other words, the problem of distribution.

At the last Assembly agricultural depression was to the fore, and was considered along with other economic matters in the Second Committee. In the final resolution adopted by a plenary meeting of the Assembly, the hope was expressed that the work of the experts would be continued and due consideration given to all economic questions relating to agriculture. And, of course, agriculture comes into the general inquiry into the causes of the present world depression. At the moment all the efforts of the Secretariat and of the Committees are of a research character. Until the facts are known and analysed no scheme can be prepared.

During January there was another meeting of the agricultural experts and also of the Financial Committee, who considered at some length such matters as agricultural credits and co-operative marketing.

The International Labour Organisation is more concerned with the effects of the prevailing agricultural depression on the conditions of employment and the standard of life. Last December there was a meeting of the Mixed Advisory Agricultural Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Fontaine, the chairman of the Governing Body.

With the increasing rationalisation of farming methods the Organisation is naturally interested in vocational training, but in the last Director's annual report it is significantly said that there is "still a great deal to be done in developing and, above all, extending opportunities of technical training." At the Mixed Advisory Committee the new International Institute of Educational Cinematography at Rome presented a preliminary report on the same subject, laying down an extensive programme of action and research based on the experimental work done in this direction under the Fascist régime, which the Institute has been able to follow closely.

As nearly half the world's workers are directly or indirectly engaged in farming, it is only right that the League and its kindred organs should take some definite action with a view to removing, so far as is possible, the legitimate "grouses" of the man on the soil.

## Responsibilities and Confusions

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY,  
*Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford*

THERE has been a great deal of loose thinking lately, both in France and England, about the "responsibilities" undertaken by members of the League. Serious journalists in Paris write as if the demand that France should



Professor Gilbert Murray

reduce her armaments was an unjustified Anglo-Saxon whim, if not actually Albion-ic perfidy; serious journalists in England repudiate with indignation the idea that when we signed Articles X, XI and XVI of the Covenant we meant anything more than a passing act of politeness. The maintenance of such attitudes would, it is clear, leave very little of the League standing.

We had better consider the Covenant combined with the Kellogg Pact, thus leaving aside the complications which ensue from the "permitted wars" arising out of the so-called "gap" in the League Covenant. Those who desire to have some "permitted wars" can consider them "reserved" from the following argument. It is clear that we are all bound to disarm to "the lowest point consistent with (a) national safety and (b) the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The authors of Article VIII actually felt it necessary to warn nations that they must not so far presume on their new security as to dismiss their armies altogether and be left unable to "enforce by common action" the peace of the world. It was, of course, the engagement to take this common action that made them regard the general disarmament as possible.

As for the "common action," it is the root principle of the League. The League is not a mere pacifist society; its keynote is co-operation. It is an organisation intended, as Lord Grey says, "not merely to avoid war but to prevent war." "Any war," says Article XI, "... whether immediately affecting any members of the League or not, is a matter of concern to the whole League." It is not admissible for a member of the League to say, in the manner of the old separatist state, "A war on the Ruritanian frontier does not affect me; why should I bother about it?" and to proceed to sell munitions to both sides at ever increasing prices. Quite the contrary. The League is bound to stop that war by hook or by crook. "The League shall take"—not *may take*—"any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." Its main field of action lies in preventing the war from breaking out, as indeed it has done on several occasions by means of the Council acting in its capacity of mediator or conciliator; if, in spite of all, it should break out, the League is bound to defend that nation which, relying on the promises of the Covenant, has disarmed and then been attacked. The first method to use is the boycott of Article XVI, but the general obligation always remains—to "preserve" its members against "external aggression" (Article X), and to do whatever may be "wise and effectual" to safeguard the peace (Article XI).

Disarmament and Mutual Defence are thus complementary obligations: a nation cannot disarm unless the League is prepared to defend it; the League cannot

undertake to defend a nation which insists on imposing its own will by its own armaments.

It is also clear that Disarmament *plus* Mutual Defence is the only road to Security. Before the League came into being, to quote a famous politician, the only way to be secure was to be much stronger than your prospective enemy. Equally, therefore, the only way for your prospective enemy to be secure was to be much stronger than you. Only one nation, at most, could be secure at a time. But if every nation is sure of the support of the whole League, and if, at the same time, no single nation has overwhelming superiority in armaments, then all nations have security together.

This seems so clear that one wonders how the confusion began. It began, as such things mostly do, through people in a new situation falling back into old habits of thought. France and her allies, anxious to keep their war-gains, fell back on the old pre-League method of national armaments. The British, disliking firm engagements and traditionally preferring to "wait and see," fell back on the pre-League ideal of isolation. Through sheer laziness of mind, our journalists began saying loudly that if Russia chose to attack Poland it was nothing to us, and French journalists to observe that perfidious Albion was betraying her again, and that France must remain armed to the teeth.

The very existence of the League is a confession that we cannot get Peace without paying for it, and cannot manage the existing world by the methods of the old isolationist sovereign state. It is not a question of this or that frontier, this or that interest. We simply cannot afford to have war anywhere among the civilised nations. Therefore we have leagued ourselves to stop it.

No war at present is in the faintest degree probable, but if it were once believed that an aggressor could calculate on the indifference of the League and the isolation of his victim, there are many possible *casus belli* that might tempt one of the amateur Napoleons of whom the world is still full: an invasion of India by Russia, or of Australia by Japan; an attack on France by Italy supported by the remnants of the old Central Powers; an attack by France on Germany preceded by the demolition of London from the air; and many other pretty fancies suggest themselves. Sir Henry Wilson had thirteen wars ready to break out, if the League would let them.

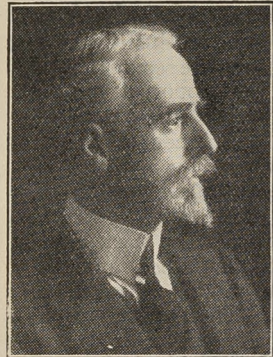
It is a serious misfortune that the Treaty of Locarno, which did so much for Europe, was not able to insist on Disarmament as a return for the specific promises of help given by Great Britain to France. Both the protocol and the Treaty of Mutual Assistance had made Disarmament a preliminary condition: the nation that had not disarmed was to have no right to common protection. The Covenant, flexible in its construction, as always pays the price of flexibility in a certain lack of precision; but no one who had any part in the original discussions is likely to deny that it was intended to embody, and does embody, the principle of general Disarmament on the basis of Pooled Security.

No new treaties are wanted. Those that are in existence, the Covenant, Locarno and the Kellogg Pact, are quite sufficient to meet the case, but it ought to be made clear beyond risk of misunderstanding that we mean to carry out "loyally and effectually" those which we have signed. Are we prepared to implement the ordered world as is discussed at some length in this month's leading article?

## Peace Research A Projected European Institute

By WICKHAM STEED.

THE cry for "Treaty revision" embarrasses not a few members of the League and signatories of the Kellogg Pact. Many who raise it wish to upset "the public law of Europe" as established by the Peace Treaties. The partisans of the Treaties resent this intention and invoke Article 19 of the Covenant as a safeguard and safety-valve. Their opponents claim that the safety-valve would be blocked by political pressure.



Wickham Steed

Theoretically, in virtue of the Kellogg Pact, the world is already warless. In practice, neither the United States nor other signatories of the Pact seem ready to uphold it by positive guarantees, lest they incur a moral obligation to maintain the territorial *status quo*. Some pledge is needed that no adjustment of the Peace Treaties shall be made by means of war, and that any necessary adjustment shall be made in accordance with facts impartially ascertained.

At Geneva, last September, Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University—to whose credit stands the idea which was ultimately embodied in the Kellogg Pact—outlined an interesting scheme. As Research Director of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has helped to sweeten more than one bitter controversy on problems of the Pacific Ocean, he drew up a plan for a European Institute of Peace Research. Point was given to his suggestion by the presentation to the League Secretariate of no fewer than 30 volumes recording the results of preliminary research into the questions with which the Kyoto Conference of the Pacific Institute dealt successfully in November, 1929. Sir Eric Drummond, on receiving the volumes, wisely observed that an extension of these methods to Europe is highly desirable.

In other quarters, notably from the Foreign Ministers of half a dozen European States, Professor Shotwell also received encouragement. One influential statesman suggested that the German "Peace Academy," founded in memory of the late Dr. Stresemann, might serve as a nucleus for a European Peace Research Institute. There is reason to hope that, during this winter, Professor Shotwell will have worked out his scheme in fuller detail. He adumbrated it at Geneva roughly as follows:—

The members of the League, as such, and as signatories of the Kellogg Pact, undertake to devote to the study of peace at least one-thousandth part of their annual military and naval expenditure.

To this end they will set up an International Institute of Research which shall apply the spirit and the technique of scientific enquiry to the economic and social problems incidental, or inimical, to a civilisation of peace.

In Europe, the form of this Institute will be that of a federal body based on national and regional organisations.

Its aims will be scientifically to study the social, economic and cultural problems that are common

to various nations, and more particularly the problems arising from invention and discovery; to extend international co-operation in this sphere without interference in purely national matters or in national politics; to co-ordinate the results of research in various fields, and, in the light of the facts thus found in concert, to investigate the underlying causes of international difficulties.

The Institute will be non-political. It will make no recommendations on policy or action. It will have no executive power. Its functions will be solely those of research, and publication of the facts as ascertained.

The Institute shall consist of (a) self-governing National Councils of each nation belonging to it; (b) a federal Council for Europe, drawn from the various European National Councils; (c) an annual European Conference of the Institute; (d) a permanent Central Secretariat supplied by the League of Nations.

The funds of the Institute shall be allocated in the proportion of one-third and two-thirds to the International Federal Council and to the National Councils respectively.

A rough calculation showed that one-thousandth part of the annual naval and military expenditure of members of the League would provide a revenue larger than the entire budget of the League of Nations! One-tenth of that sum would suffice, at first, to cover the cost of a European Institute; but, should outlay on armaments diminish, and the work of the Institute be extended, more money would be needed.

Would not such an Institute clash with or duplicate the work of the League? I think not. The League cannot undertake spontaneous inquiry into any of the contested territorial questions in Europe. It cannot apply, on its own initiative, the methods of scientific fact-finding in concert of which the value has been proved in the Pacific. Thus it cannot neutralise the interested propaganda which poisons the international atmosphere and obscures the truth. The path of peace runs toward agreed solutions in the light of incontestable facts. The task of the proposed Institute would be gradually to prepare the ground for such solutions, without invading the province of politics by recommending any one of them.

Nevertheless, the political importance of a Peace Research Institute would be obvious. Public opinion in many countries would decline to take sides until the Institute had ascertained and made known the facts. Fear, lest political pressure block the safety-valve of Article 19 of the Covenant, would be assuaged. Countries like the United States might be less reluctant to declare that they will withhold the benefits of their neutrality from any violator of the Kellogg Pact, because they would not feel that, in doing so, they were incurring a moral obligation indefinitely to uphold the territorial *status quo*. The principle that the renunciation of war involves the renunciation of neutrality might be more readily accepted; and, by its acceptance, the sense of international security and, therefore, the prospect of disarmament be enhanced.

Professor Shotwell's new idea may be found to contain the germ of something even greater than the Kellogg Pact itself, because it may lead through the renunciation of war towards the creation of positive and co-operative peace.

## Prejudiced Youth How the Opening Mind Becomes Warped

By GEORGE H. GREEN, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

ANY survey of the literature published by the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union will serve to show how keenly alive the Welsh are to the problem of educating children to understand the character and work of the League. Indeed, a special council, known as the Educational Advisory Committee, has been set up, consisting of members of the University and Training Colleges, inspectors, directors of education, headmasters and others in direct touch with the schools and aware of their needs, whose special function it is to investigate what is being done in League education and to consider means for its development. Since it is equally important for those who teach that they should know well, not merely the subject of instruction, but those who are to be instructed, it seems only natural enough that the Educational Advisory Committee should have sponsored an investigation into "racial prejudices" of children attending the public elementary and secondary schools of Wales, and entrusted this investigation to two of its members, Mr. Sydney Herbert and myself, both of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

### Are the Pictures to Blame

The immediate occasion of the inquiry was the feeling expressed by a member that the cinematograph was doing a great deal to create and foster racial hatred and misunderstanding. To this suggestion it was at once replied that we had no certainty that racial prejudice existed in school children; that, if it existed, we must know all the agencies creating and fostering it before we could estimate the part played by the cinematograph, if any. Further, it was pointed out, "racial prejudice" was a term used with a great deal of vagueness: until something definite were known about it, definite plans for combating it or eliminating it could hardly be devised.

The problem immediately confronting the investigators was that of devising a technique. Eventually, after some preliminary experiments, it was decided to draw up two papers, referred to for convenience as "Questionnaire No. 1" and "Questionnaire No. 2." This term has been used only for purposes of reference, since neither paper is a questionnaire in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather a group of *tests of prejudice*. Children were given a number of opportunities of acting in a prejudiced way—of saying that they preferred some people to others, solely on account of their race or nation; and of ascribing virtues and vices to whole races and national groups, solely on the ground of membership of these groups. The children have been free to refuse if they wished; and in a small number of instances, children have taken some opportunities and rejected others.

### The Reasons for Bias

The preference or the ascription has, of itself, counted for very little. For the investigators the important fact was the readiness of practically the whole of the children to act in a prejudiced fashion. That the act really was a prejudiced one was tested in a very simple way: by asking the child "Why?" or "What makes you think so?" It was found that children were prepared, practically without exception, not merely to make prejudiced choices between peoples or to ascribe virtues and vices to whole groups, but to justify these prejudiced acts by a statement of some kind. Afterwards, questioning of individual children was resorted

to in order that the sources of the statements might be learned. All but a few could be directly traced to something heard in school, read in a newspaper, read in a book, heard from parents, learned through direct contacts with foreigners, heard in church or Sunday School or seen in the cinema.

The material furnished by four or five thousand children, in many types of school in various parts of Wales was:

- (1) A number of prejudiced choices or ascriptions, averaging ten or more per child.
- (2) Over 30,000 statements to "justify" these.
- (3) The alleged sources of these statements.

The outstanding discovery is that there is practically no difference to be discovered between the child of seven years of age and the senior pupil of the secondary school. Racial prejudice, as tested by the investigation, already exists at seven and persists throughout the years of school life; all that happens being apparently that it is more ingeniously excused. The pupil, that is to say, becomes sophisticated rather than enlightened through reading and experience.

### Rooted Ideas

Some of the "justifications" ascribed to the school and to books enabled the investigators to make comparisons between what was remembered by the child and what he had read or heard. It appeared that what had been remembered was what could be associated with what was already believed. For example, there seemed to be a widespread feeling that the Spaniards were cruel. Consequently the struggles of the matadors with bulls were proof of cruelty and never of bravery. Instances might be multiplied. Reading through the statements of the children, the investigators received the impression that teachers gave lessons in history, geography and other subjects in the belief that they were speaking to open-minded children, whereas the facts were otherwise. What was contrary to existing prejudice was forgotten or unnoticed; what was compatible with the prejudice was remembered.

Teachers who have heard of the investigation have sometimes asked the question, "What are we to do to destroy these prejudices?" The only answer that can be given is that prejudice is not to be conceived as something that can be wrenched out, like an aching tooth. Contradiction only confirms it. Even if we tell a child of the amazing gentleness and kindness of some of the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, he will, if he is already convinced of the cruelty of Spaniards, merely judge these men to be exceptions. The only thing that can be done, it would seem, is to build up a body of friendly prejudice which can, on occasion, oppose unfriendly prejudice. The arrest of ungenerous action because of the body of friendly sentiment appears to provide the conditions in which fair judgment may come into being.

### Seed-Beds for Propaganda

A leader writer, commenting on the lecture recently delivered at the Conference of Educational Associations, said: "During the War, every English child was brought up to believe that every German was *ipso facto* a scoundrel, a murderer, a 'Hun.' That looked like sowing dragons' teeth with a vengeance. But how many of those war-time children believe that to-day? Not one in a thousand."\* Whether the writer's

\* "Manchester Evening Chronicle"—January 1, 1931.

optimism be justified or no, the fact remains that if the remaining nine hundred and ninety-nine children are unfavourably prejudiced against Germans, war propaganda could again make them believe in a very little space of time that Germans were as bad as ever they have been thought to be. This will always be the case, unless strong bodies of friendly sentiment are built up to oppose the suggestions of anti-alien propagandists.

Certain of the answers given suggest ways in which friendly sentiments can be built up in young children. Pupils speak, at an early age, of their friendly feelings towards the people who bring them onions, who grow bananas and who make toys for them: French, Negroes and Germans. Clearly, there is here a wide field in which the psychologist and the geographer may co-operate with each other: one in which, too, the manufacturer and the distributor also may give very welcome help. Friendly people are, for young children, those who provide delightful things to satisfy the appetites and make pleasant the hours of play: unfriendly people are those who seek to hurt and to frighten. People who give are sharply distinguished from those who would take away. The people towards whom young children

feel affection are those whose prototypes are the "kind" parents.

#### To Produce the Right Slant

The unity of the modern world is such that the child who likes bananas, for example, will, if he possesses the necessary information, find himself regarding with friendliness whole races and nations. The same thing is true of the chocolates he eats with pleasure and of the toys with which he plays. That is to say, if detailed information about the origins of things and of the lives of the peoples who co-operate in making them were available for teachers, or in pleasing booklets, well written and illustrated, for the children themselves, much might be done in the direction of interesting children in the peoples of the world. The conception they would form in this way of their debt to all men, of the unity of mankind, and of world-citizenship, would surely prepare them to benefit by the schemes of education drawn up by the League and the League of Nations when the time came. At present, this information is not available in any conveniently accessible form: the Aberystwyth investigation appears to suggest that the next step in League education should be to make it so.

## Geneva Farewells

THE loss that the League of Nations will sustain through the departures of Sir Arthur Salter and Dame Rachel Crowdy cannot be easily assessed. Both of them have been in the League's service from the beginning, though Sir Arthur Salter withdrew for a time on his appointment as Secretary-General of the Reparations Commission.



Sir Arthur Salter

Sir Arthur was, of course, head of the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat, and his name will be permanently associated with the achievements of the League in that sphere in its first decade, most notably the reconstruction schemes in Austria and Hungary and the Refugee Settlement schemes in Greece and Bulgaria. But to those who know the whole service Sir Arthur has rendered to the League these were no more than incidents in a remarkable career. Before he came to Geneva at all, Mr. Salter, as he then was, had held as responsible a position as any civil servant in the world, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Inter-Allied Maritime Council, a body which, by the end of the War, was controlling the whole of the pooled merchant shipping fleets of all Allied countries.

With such a record behind him, the distinction Sir Arthur has achieved in a still wider international field since he joined the League of Nations Secretariat has surprised no one. He is at present in India in response to a request from the Government of that country for his advice on various economic questions. To what field he will transfer his energies after that is not known—by himself or by anyone else. Those who have followed his career are convinced that there is no administrative task in the world he would not discharge with success, and though his desire is understood to be for a period of tranquillity for literary work, it is hardly credible that he will be left to such diversions.

Of Dame Rachel Crowdy it may be said similarly that she brought to Geneva a record as notable in its way as that of any woman who could have been invited to join in building up the League's administration. She had for four years been Principal Commandant of the W.A.A.C.'s in France and Belgium. At Geneva Dame Rachel has, from the first, been head of the Social Services Section of the Secretariat, which combined, a little oddly, Opium and the Protection of Women and Children. In that capacity she was closely concerned with the adoption of the women's and children's Convention of 1921 and the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925. It is some testimony to the volume of work she has handled that on her departure it has been thought necessary to divide the section and deal with its twin activities separately.

Quite apart, however, from her administrative duties, Dame Rachel has filled a special rôle at Geneva. As the highest woman member of the League staff it has fallen to her more than anyone to sustain the interest women's organisations the world over have displayed in the League, and more particularly in its social activities with which Dame Rachel herself was officially concerned. Her personality will, by universal consent, be recognised as having been an asset of the highest value to the League, and many visitors of importance who went to Geneva doubting came away conquered by the charm of the reception they met with if they fell in Dame Rachel Crowdy's way, and convinced in a large measure



Dame Rachel Crowdy

by the infection of her own faith in the League and its future.

Dame Rachel Crowdy, like Sir Arthur Salter, is understood not to have decided yet into what field to direct her activities. That, therefore, remains a matter of singularly interesting speculation.

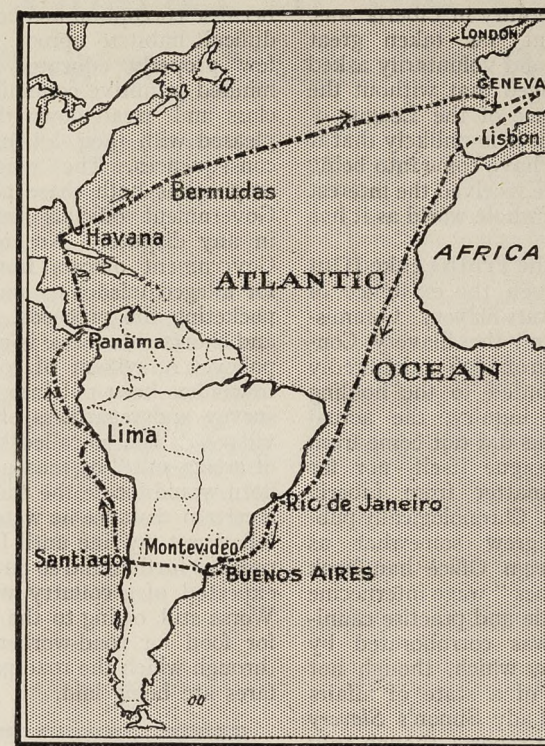
## Sir Eric Rounds the Horn

IT is a considerable event for Sir Eric Drummond to have set eyes on Patagonia, if, indeed, the vessel that bore him to the shores of South America did skirt that Argentine Province. For Patagonia is the country they habitually quote at Geneva when some non-existent State is needed to figure as the imaginary author of unprovoked aggression or some other crime which it would never be tactful to ascribe to any real member of the League.

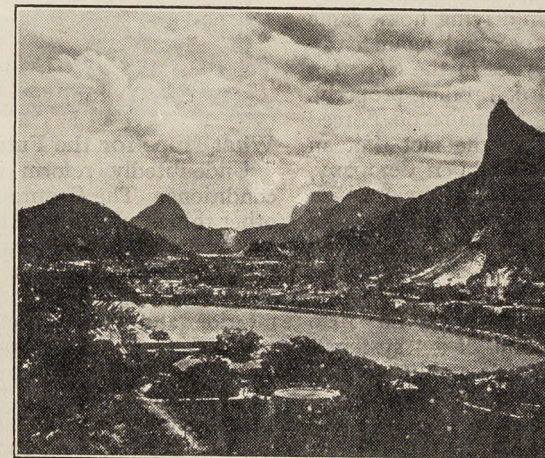
But the Secretary-General's voyage has other points of importance than that. As everyone knows, Latin America's relations with Geneva are a little delicate. The great majority of the Latin American States are members of the League, but they are mostly the smaller States. The three largest, Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Mexico, are either not members at all or (in the case of the Argentine) non-attending members. South America is, after all, a long way from Geneva and not many of the League's activities touch it directly. What is more important, there are all too few of those salutary personal contacts which do so much to make the League a living force in Europe.

Sir Eric's visit to Latin America is singularly opportune. For the Secretary-General to have gone off crusading in the Southern Pacific in the spirit of an evangelist seeking converts would have been the worst kind of mistake. He has, in fact, simply accepted an invitation from the Government of Uruguay, most loyal of all South American members of the League, to attend that country's celebrations of its centenary. While there he has naturally been invited to visit other South American countries and has as naturally accepted the invitations, so far as the time at his disposal permitted.

Accordingly, starting at Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, to which his liner from Lisbon took him direct, the Secretary-General travelled by Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, to Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, and thence by train to Valparaiso, the capital of Chile. Everywhere his reception was extremely cordial, every kind of festivity being arranged in his honour. Chief interest centred in the visits to Brazil and the Argentine Republic, for Brazil, of course, withdrew from membership of the League in 1926, and the



opportunity of dispelling this illusion and of explaining in the Press the harmless significance of the mention in the Covenant of the Monroe Doctrine—which is the source of many Latin-American misgivings about the League. Though the visit was purely unofficial, the warmth of Sir Eric's reception, both in Government and private circles, as well as in the Press, augurs well for the future of the League in Argentina.



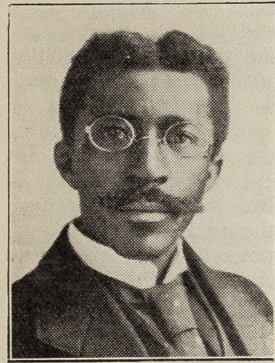
Rio de Janeiro

Reports from Brazil are less cheering. Though Sir Eric himself said that the President was exceedingly cordial, the apathy of the newspaper world was remarkable. Scarcely a paper commented on the visit; those which did were unfavourable towards Brazil's return to the League and expressed doubts as to the value of such a short stay as Sir Eric's. Here, however, adherence to the League is a case of reversing a fairly recent decision, and in any case present political conditions preclude the possibility of rejoining for some time.

This article goes to press before the tour is over, but already it can be said to have been a success, for much good feeling has undoubtedly been promoted by the personal contacts which it has brought about. The latest news comes from Panama, where a banquet in his honour is being given in order that he may meet the President of the Republic and the officers of the Canal Zone. From there he goes on to Cuba, and so back to Geneva to report on the first important world tour in which, as Secretary-General, he has taken part.

## The Future of Liberia

THOUGH the commission of inquiry in Liberia was, as the Liberian Government has taken great pains to publish, "spontaneously and voluntarily asked for" by it, it must be acknowledged that without the existence of the League of Nations it is unlikely that it would have come into being or have received the interest of the whole world as it has done.



Mr. President King

### How the Truth Leaked Out

Though the existence of the Anti-Slavery Commission and the Slavery Convention of 1926 undoubtedly contributed to the holding of an inquiry, the actual stimulus did not come from the League itself—nor for that matter from Liberia either. Chronologically publicity grew somewhat as follows. In 1920, a British Foreign Office handbook announced that the up-country tribes "wage internecine wars, carry on an active slave trade and practise cannibalism with impunity." This was corroborated by Reeves' book *The Black Republic*, which, though not published till 1923, was written of a state of affairs some twenty-five years earlier. Lady Simon's *Slavery* followed last year with more recent reports, though only at second-hand. But by far the most valuable of the books published, and the one to whose author must be put down the ultimate demand for a systematic inquiry, was *The Native Problem in Africa*, by Raymond Buell, published in 1928. Buell—a Harvard professor—travelled for fifteen months in Africa in 1925 and 1926. He showed up the corruption of the government and pointed out that slavery, pawing and forced labour were rife. The two bulky volumes of his work are not light reading, and as such gained very little publicity, but he succeeded in driving home some truths in America when, once in 1928 and again early in 1929, he obtained considerable space in the *Christian Science Monitor*. His efforts set the ball rolling properly. The I.L.O. Report and Draft Questionnaire on Forced Labour of June, 1929, commented on the fact that an American Company, the Firestone Rubber Company, was recruiting through the Liberian Labour Bureau which was feared to force labourers to work. Newspapers in other countries took up the question, and on August 10 the *New York Times* reported that the State Department had sent Liberia a strong note. Finally, the Liberian Government complained at the time of the 1929 Assembly that it had been the victim of a "systematically organised campaign to persuade public opinion that slavery and forced labour are still rife," and apparently in all innocence and good faith asked for the Commission which has just produced its report.

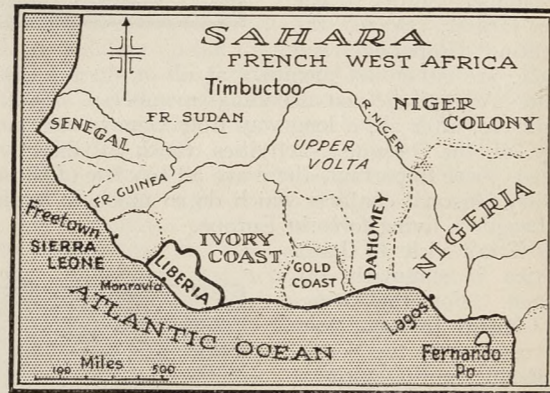
### The Commission's Report

The verdict is only too well known: although "classic slavery" does not exist, almost every other known form is practised. Forced labour is used and misused everywhere—the Firestone Rubber Company only is exonerated—and the misery of the up-country tribes is indescribable. The daily Press has quoted so many instances from the report that it seems idle to repeat them here.

### Obstacles to be Overcome

There is no point in going into gruesome details now; the interest of the question lies in what is to be done. The difficulties are enormous for two reasons, the first

because corruption has been universal for years and is a difficult habit to uproot; the second because there are few properly educated Liberians, and the narrow-minded primitive community who constitute the ruling class and tread down the up-country tribes are well pleased with their lot and too shortsighted to see its consequences. The evidence given in the report emphasises both these points. To illustrate the first, Government officials take bribes from both sides in any dispute. Nor is there anything to prevent Government officers from imposing fines of any size for alleged misdoing, and, since they keep no account, pocketing the proceeds. The second point, ignorance and shortsightedness, is at its most obvious in the road policy. A system of roads connecting the principal towns has been put into operation without preliminary survey and regardless of the intervening country and villages. The so-called surveyor describes his method of laying out "by means of a horn. The man with the horn would locate the track into the bush. After going a certain distance he would blow the horn and I would follow out my line until I get to him, and then he will proceed further and so on." Very little foresight can be expected of a country which practises such methods. Worse still, owing to the demands for forced labour and for food for road-workers, natives desert the villages through which the road passes, so that useless thoroughfares are being laid.



### What Hope for the Future?

Undoubtedly reform is a hard task under these conditions. The Commission has recommended, among other things, abolition of the policy of the "closed door," by which the semi-educated official class keeps the up-country tribes in ignorance and subjection; extension of education; complete reorganisation of the interior and substitution of European or American commissioners for the present corrupt officials. Obviously it is impossible for Liberia, whose president has resigned and whose affairs are in turmoil, to set about such herculean labours alone. The American note, warning her that nothing short of a comprehensive reform will enable the United States to maintain its present "friendly feelings" is of no constructive help. That is what Liberia needs; she has, it appears, no national strength enough to pull the Government and the country together, and the League as such cannot interfere uninvited in her domestic affairs. Undoubtedly her best move would be to appeal for guidance from Geneva: an adviser or group of advisers chosen by the League could do more than help from any one country to set matters right. Such an appeal would be without precedent: the League revision of the financial administration of Albania proves that there would be nothing ignominious in such procedure.

## The Charter of the League

### I.—How the Machinery Works

NEED anyone—except lawyers—bother about the League of Nations Covenant? Does it matter? Is it essential to an intelligent understanding of the League? Is it not more important to know what the League has done than to spend time over formal documents?

Well, it may be. It may be more important to know how Christianity has worked and works out in practice than to concentrate on commentaries on the Four Gospels. But there is surely a good deal to be said for doing both. After all, the League is a society which is governed by certain rules—the rules laid down in the 26 Articles of the Covenant. It is a society that was created for certain purposes, and those purposes are set out in the Covenant. It is a society that works in a certain way—and the Covenant shows how. It is a society which 54 States have joined for the purpose of co-operating in certain fields and up to a certain point, and the Covenant makes it clear just how far the co-operation goes.

### The Treaty Foundation

In view of the light thrown by a recent HEADWAY questionnaire on the prevailing lack of familiarity with the text of the Covenant, that document—which, it must never be forgotten, is a solemn and formal international treaty—will be examined briefly in a short series of articles.

The text of the first seven articles which will be dealt with here is lengthy and in parts technical. It need not be quoted *in extenso*, as certain of the later articles must be. There follows here therefore the full text of Articles 1, 2 and 3, but only the more important parts of 4, 5, 6 and 7. The full text of the Covenant can be obtained for rd. from the League of Nations Union.

### ARTICLE 1 (Membership)—

1. The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant, and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.
2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.
3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations, and all its obligations under this Covenant, shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

### ARTICLE 2 (Executive Machinery)—

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

### ARTICLE 3 (Assembly)—

1. The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.
2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.
3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.
4. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

### ARTICLE 4 (Council)—

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.
2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council, with like approval, may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.
6. At meetings of the Council each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

### ARTICLE 5 (Voting and Procedure)—

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

### ARTICLE 6 (Secretariat)—

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.
3. The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.
5. The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.

### ARTICLE 7 (Seat; Qualifications for Officials; Immunities)—

1. The seat of the League is established at Geneva.
2. The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.
3. All positions under, or in connection with, the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

### Creating the Machinery

These Articles form, in one sense, the least important part of the Covenant, in that they are not mainly concerned with actual international relations, but with the structure and working arrangements of the League itself. But even about that there are some points which the ordinary student of League affairs might find it worth while to note.

The general effect of the Articles is to provide for the creation of an Assembly, a Council and a Secretariat, and indicate how they should be appointed and what work they should do. They also indicate how States can join or leave the League. On this last point it is to be observed that India, which would not have been qualified for League membership under clause 2 of Article 1 because it cannot at present be described as "a fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony," came in as an original member under clause 1, together with one or two Latin-American republics which were so much under the influence of the United States as to leave it doubtful whether they were "fully self-governing." All the States that have joined since the League's formation have fulfilled the necessary qualifications.

### States That Went Out

As to withdrawal, three States have at different times given the appointed notice—Spain, Brazil and Costa Rica—and the two latter have acted on it and ceased to be members of the League, but Spain withdrew her notice before it had expired, and her representatives reappeared at the Assembly of 1928. Costa Rica's resignation was understood to be due to difficulties about her League subscription, and it is believed that she contemplates returning.

The Assembly need not, it will be noted (Article 3), meet as often as once a year, so far as the Covenant is concerned, but the rules it has drawn up for itself require it to do so. There is equality of voting, not because every State is equal in power or importance—that is obviously nonsense—but because every State is equally a State, and the difficulty of deciding how many votes a large State should have as compared with a small one would be insuperable. As a matter of fact, since decisions on all questions of importance have to be unanimous (Article 5) the question of the numbers of votes does not arise. And they have to be unanimous because, in the present stage of the world's development, no State would join a League where it ran the risk of being compelled by a minority vote to do something it objected to doing.

#### The Assembly's Rights

With regard to Article 4, the power to increase the membership of the Council has been twice invoked—in 1922, when the non-permanent members were increased from four to six, and in 1926, when Germany was made a permanent member and the non-permanent members were increased from six to nine. By Article 3 the Assembly, and by Article 4 the Council, are entitled to deal at their meetings with "any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." It was necessary to appeal to that article as early as the First Assembly, when Lord Balfour (Mr. Balfour as he then was) suggested that the Assembly was going beyond its sphere in discussing mandates, which fall solely within the purview of the Council. Lord Cecil, however, immediately quoted Article 3, and no further question was raised. Similarly, at the Eleventh Assembly, last September, a hint that minority questions did not concern the Assembly was rejected just as swiftly and decisively.

The only case in which the unanimity rule does not hold is that mentioned in Article 5—when what is being voted on is a mere question of procedure. But it is not always clear what procedure is. Whether, for example, a request to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an Advisory Opinion is a matter of procedure has never been decided.

#### Appointing Officials

Two points covered by Article 6 are of some importance. It is sometimes supposed that the members of the League Secretariat are appointed by their Governments. They are not, and it is important that they never should be. They are chosen, simply as individuals, by the Secretary-General, and appointed by him subject to the approval of the Council, which has never, so far, been withheld. The Secretary-General, of course, frequently discusses possible candidates for a League appointment with some representative of the country to which the candidate belongs—he cannot have personal knowledge of individuals from 54 countries—but that is a very different matter from accepting, or recognising, the principle of nomination by Governments.

Finally, the expenses of the League, which amount for 1931 to £1,265,500 (this includes the cost of the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice), are contributed by the States Members of the League in varying proportions, on the principle that those best able to pay should pay most. No strict mathematical scale of States' ability to pay can be framed, but the scale actually drawn up by a committee appointed by the Second Assembly has been accepted by all the States concerned. Under it Great Britain pays 110 units (amounting this year to just under £136,000) and States like Albania as little as 1 unit.

## The I.L.O. and the Child

AT the end of May the International Labour Conference will discuss for the first time the question of the employment of children in non-industrial concerns. Point has been added to this item on the agenda by the appearance in the December issue of the *International Labour Review* of an article from the pen of Dame Adelaide Anderson, the late chief woman Inspector of Factories in Great Britain, and one of the members of the Shanghai Labour Commission.

The impressions which she has recorded are those of a visit to Egypt less than twelve months ago. She had heard from a casual traveller that child labour was prevalent in Egypt, and so went to see for herself. They do not make cheerful reading. In the home industries the services of children are used to an alarming extent. One of the oldest industries of Egypt is tent-making, and there she found that the bulk of the tedious fatiguing stitching of the designs on to the interior of the tents was carried out by children. "These children," she says, "were sitting on earthen floors or wooden boards and in any sort of attitude or angle, some near daylight, others in dim corners. Even where the hours do not exceed eight or nine a day they are too long for children to be kept sitting still, at work in constrained positions and ill-lighted places."

To the little handiwork shops that exist everywhere, Dame Adelaide paid unannounced visits, and in too many of them found children of five-and-a-half years of age and upwards working like rapid machines with all expression of childhood gone from their faces. The same is true of rug-making, where she saw little children working at feverish speed, some suffering from infectious eye diseases. In one village "the men were having a good meal while the pallid boy winder was working," but she had no means of discovering whether this was customary or accidental.

So much for what is said of the home industries. Now let us turn to Industry with a capital I. Cotton accounts for fully half of Egypt's activity. Though there are rules and regulations prohibiting the employment of children, one of the factory managers cheerfully admitted that it could be "arranged," and consequently fully half of the workers are under fifteen and many under nine, except in the few factories that have abolished child labour. At the time of the cotton crop work in the factories becomes intense, and the difficulty of obtaining labour is overcome by means of contractors who are no respecters of the laws. In order to keep the children at their tasks there are overseers who constantly hit the children with whips and canes. The hitting is not definitely cruel, but it is wanton and continued. Their earnings are two, three or four piastres a day, *i.e.*, up to 1s. Men get up to ten, overseers twelve, whilst the most highly skilled worker earns as much as twenty piastres daily.

Conditions are not uniformly bad. The tobacco trade can even be said to be good and the conditions comparable to those in Western countries: in oil-refining, another international industry, the same is true; but in practically all others there are black spots.

Egypt is not a member of the I.L.O., though relations are cordial and King Fuad has visited the Office. Moreover, help is being given from Geneva in the drafting of the new Labour Code. The whole secret of the trouble is to be found in the lack of adequate factory inspection to enforce the laws that have been made. Another factor is the lack of elementary schools, by means of which children would be found other tasks than that of working in a factory. Nevertheless, the publication of this article may awaken public opinion and bring about some change.



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Here are a few extracts from letters sent in by readers who have adopted the new method of learning Foreign languages:—

"As to my progress (in Spanish), how could I fail to be satisfied with it? Your methods were a revelation to me." (S. H. 614.)

"I am in every way satisfied with the progress I have made (in French), and consider your methods revolutionise the study of foreign languages." (M. 475.)

"I consider your (French) system far ahead of any other. Am looking forward to the continuance of my studies with great zest." (P. 384.)

"I am very satisfied with the progress I have made in German. Your method is really wonderful; it has given me a thorough grounding in the language—and that almost imperceptibly. I can now read German books on my own subject (Sociology) with a facility I think is remarkable." (G. S. 566.)

"About four years ago I took your course in Italian before going to Italy to study for Naval Interpreter's examination. The very good grounding I obtained from taking your course was invaluable, and was largely responsible for my success in my final exam." (I. G. 131.)

"Although I knew no Italian when I started these lessons, I have just read a novel with ease and enjoyment—it was 'Vae Victis,' by Vivanti." (I. B. 329.)

"I am extremely satisfied with the (Spanish) Course, and do not believe I could have advanced so far by any other means. I am now reading Stevenson's 'Treasure Island' in Spanish quite easily." (S. S. 593.)

"Thank you for the splendid instruction. Although I did not know a word of French a few hours' study has removed all the difficulties which one dreads when taking up a new language." (W. 375.)

"I have passed the London Matriculation Exam. I found the paper (in Spanish) very easy. The secret is the Pelman training. Whereas, before, languages were a perfect nuisance, now I think they are a pleasure, and language-learning (Pelman method) is one of my best hobbies." (S. B. 373.)

"I should like to express my appreciation of the Pelman system (of learning German). It has been a real pleasure to learn, instead of a grind, and I am astonished at the progress I have been able to make in a comparatively short time." (G. L. 165.)

"I have just returned from a short holiday in Germany, where I found that Part I. of the German Course was of considerable use to me. Owing to my friend's house being full, I had to stay at a small hotel, where no English was spoken, and I found that this presented very few difficulties." (G. C. 511.)

"The fact that I have carried out my resolution of starting and completing the second part of the Italian Course in the Christmas vacation without being bored is sufficient proof of the interest and attraction which the Course had for me. I cannot thank the Pelman Institute enough for its courtesy and the help it has given me in my Italian." (I. S. 295.)

In fact, everyone who has followed the new Pelman method is delighted with its ease, simplicity, interesting nature, and masterly character. It enables you to read foreign newspapers, reviews and books and consequently to keep in close touch with Continental opinion on the subject of the League of Nations and International Peace.

This new method of learning languages is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues." There are four editions of this book, one for each language. The first explains the Pelman method of learning French; the second the method of learning German; the third the method of learning Spanish; the fourth the method of learning Italian.

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## Books Worth Reading

**The World Our Neighbour.** By Vernon Bartlett. (Elkin Mathews. 6s. net.)

Mr. Vernon Bartlett's new book is foreign affairs for everyday people—giving permanent form to some of those talks which have so far only been available by applying a Thursday evening ear to the loud-speaker or by reading *The Listener*.

"I have stolen the ideas of others with such frequency that I cannot even make acknowledgment by name, but I have soothed my conscience with the reflection that, as the man in the street has an even greater influence over his own destiny, the individual who can link him up with the lonely thinker becomes increasingly valuable—or should I say tolerable." The answer, where this book is concerned, is certainly "valuable." It makes such easy reading that it should do more than provide a starting point for the man who *wants* to cultivate an international mind; it will appeal to the man who has never given the matter a thought.

He will find himself bowling along under entertaining and expert guidance, lapping up information which he would have passed over in the Daily Press in favour of the sporting news. Heavy diet such as the question of tariffs is digestible to him when its apéritif is the saga of a pair of skis which failed to reach the winter sports. Minorities, the race problem, Russia, China, the future of India, security, disarmament, are some of the other problems Mr. Bartlett tackles—each with a lively send-off to a new train of thought, followed by plenty of stimulus to keep it up.

It must be assumed that readers of HEADWAY do not need anything so introductory to the study of foreign affairs as this book which, as the quotation from its preface shows, is definitely not intended for experts—nevertheless, they would do well to buy it, partly for the purpose of converting others to their tastes, for which they will find it a very effective gospel—partly also because however much of its information they have already gleaned elsewhere. It is enlivening to look, for instance, at security from the angle of Mr. Bartlett's gun licence instead of from the more hackneyed and depressing one of the question of trained reserves.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

**NEWEST EUROPE.** By Martin MacLaughlin. (Messrs Longmans, Green & Co. 6s.)

Mr. MacLaughlin is the history tutor at Stowe School and gives a readable account of modern Europe politically and socially.

## Readers' Views

### THE BRITISH LEGION AND THE UNION

SIR,—May I compliment you very warmly on the last issue of HEADWAY? In particular, may I congratulate you on the summary of what the League has done? This is particularly useful for speakers.

Incidentally, as past Chairman of the British Legion, I was specially pleased to see the nice little reference to the action of the Legion and of Fidac in presenting medals to schools best promoting knowledge of the League of Nations.

Yours very truly,  
GEORGE CROSFIELD.

20, Kensington Court, W.8.  
January 20, 1931.

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## Readers' Views—Continued

### GENERAL MAURICE'S VIEWS

SIR,—In the interesting article in the current issue giving, under the title "Reducing Armies," an account of the work of the Preparatory Commission, there is one statement which appears to me misleading. Referring to the reduction in the term of military service in France the writer goes on, "though she has simultaneously built up a long-term professional army of 100,000."

The facts are these. For the present financial year the number of long-term soldiers budgeted for in France is 106,000. Of these 30,000 are allocated to the Colonial Army, and 76,000 to the Metropolitan Army. The 76,000 of the Metropolitan Army are distributed among more than 800 units. Their functions in time of peace are to act as instructors and perform routine and administrative duties, thus allowing the whole time of the young conscripts to be given to military training. In war they would form a cadre round which the young soldiers could be formed. This is clearly very different from an army of 100,000 men.

The point is of importance as the method of reduction of service is that recommended by the Preparatory Commission as one of the means of reducing armies. It is also the method which I for years past have advocated on your platforms as being the only practical method of reducing the man power of conscript service armies.—Yours, etc.,

F. MAURICE.

44, Kensington Park Gardens, W.11.

January 18, 1931.

### DISARMAMENT: A GERMAN VIEW

SIR,—The leading article of HEADWAY's December issue says that the compromises reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at Geneva are "a very great deal better than nothing." Public opinion in Germany is very far from sharing this optimism. As a matter of fact, in regard of the two main problems of disarmament on land: 1. "Reduction of trained reserves"; 2. "Direct reduction of war material," no compromise has been reached, but the French proposals which were in direct opposition to the German point of view have been accepted *in toto* without the slightest concession being made to Germany.

At 1, France is authorised to maintain her huge annual contingent of some 270,000 recruits—appelés, engagés and natives—from which results an army war strength of more than four millions. On the other hand, Germany's army is limited to 4,000 officers and 96,000 N.C.O.'s and men, whose number cannot be increased in case of war since no arms whatever are available for ex-service men or raw recruits, and no time would be given by the invading enemy for training recruits and providing arms.

At 2, France is authorised to keep her huge stock of war material—some 2,200 airplanes, 2,500 tanks, 1,100 heavy guns—whereas Germany is not allowed a single airplane, not a single tank, not a single heavy gun.

The disproportion of army strength and war material is enormous and constitutes an absolutely intolerable situation, so much the more as Germany's other neighbours in the West and East—Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland—are also heavily armed. On the other hand, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria are in the same defenceless situation as Germany.

Thus four European States numbering 82 million inhabitants are utterly lacking "national security," and, according to the words of the French War Minister Painlevé, are "a great temptation for all their neighbours." This inequality of rights is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the League of Nations. It is mere illusion to believe that Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, will for ever acquiesce in such thralldom. It will be the duty of the Disarmament Conference to reform the work of the Preparatory Commission. If the Conference fails to accomplish this task, the harm done to the cause of Real Peace will be irretrievable, Real Peace which, according to Article 11 of the Covenant, is to be based not upon the force of arms, but upon the good understanding between nations.—I am, Sir, Yours, etc.,

MAX GRAF MONTGELAS,

München, Germany, General of Infantry (retired).  
December 22, 1930.

[Reference is made to this article in the Editorial on an earlier page.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LEAGUE

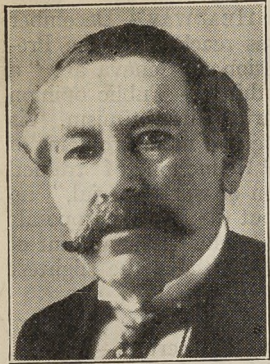
SIR,—I have read with great interest your summary of answers in December HEADWAY.

With a view to getting our young people interested, I have given prizes in the Secondary Girls' and Boys' Schools for the best essays on the Work of the League, etc. These were well taken up and some good essays written—the idea was well backed by head teachers.

I thought that if you made this suggestion others might do the same in their districts and so do an immense amount of good as stimulating interest and understanding amongst the young people.—Yours, etc.,

FRED. L. DANIELS

Stringers Court,  
Rodborough, Stroud, Glos.



M. Briand



Mr. Henderson

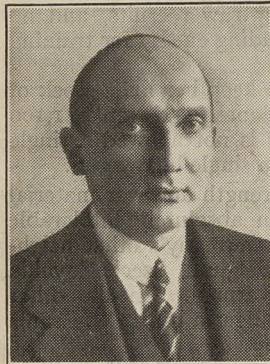


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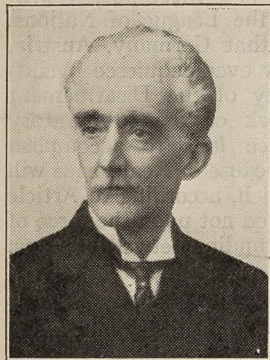


Herr Curtius

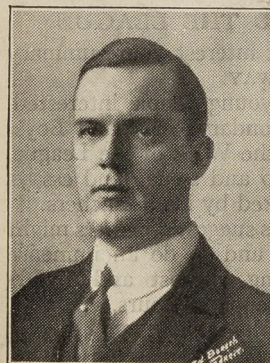
## Who's Who in the U.S.E. Committee



M. Zaleski



M. Hymans



M. Procope

IN the recent meeting of the Committee for European Union, M. BRIAND, the Chairman, presided over a most distinguished collection of statesmen. There were present four Prime Ministers, namely, those from Bulgaria, Latvia, Norway and Roumania, the three last holding the portfolio for Foreign Affairs as well. Mr. VASCONCELLOS, the representative of Portugal and a familiar figure on the 5th Commission of the Assembly, is an ex-Prime Minister.

All the major States of Europe sent their Foreign Ministers who, of course, acted at the 62nd Session of the Council, whose meetings overlapped with those of the Committee. Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON appeared for Great Britain; Dr. CURTIUS for Germany, who like his predecessor, Dr. Stresemann, is a member of the National People's Party; and lastly Signor GRANDI, of Italy, once Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs when Signor Mussolini was himself Minister.

Familiar figures from the smaller States were Dr. BENES, the ex-chairman of the late Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the regular first delegate of Czechoslovakia to the Assembly. By politics he is a Socialist, though not an extremist. M. ZALESKI, of Poland, figured prominently in the Council sessions over Minority questions. He, too, has represented his country for several years at all important League meetings. He was a delegate to the Peace Conference, and has lasted in first rank politics throughout a difficult régime. M. HYMANS, Belgian Minister in London during the war, a maker of the Covenant, President of the First Assembly, a constant visitor to Geneva, has held office since 1927. M. MOTTA, another maker of the Covenant, was President of the 1924 Assembly and has attended each as Switzerland's first delegate. In League circles his juridical ability has been of great help. Finally, JONKHEER BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND, though a comparative newcomer to Geneva, has made his mark as a man who is no respecter of persons and one who calls a spade a spade. At the last Assembly in his opening remarks he insisted firmly on the Briand scheme being within the framework of the League.

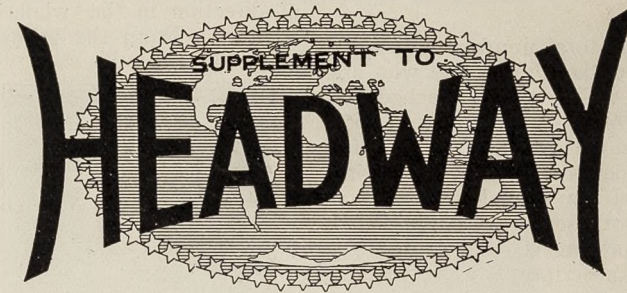
Europe's youngest Foreign Minister is M. PROCOPE, of Finland. It fell to his lot to open the 10th Assembly as Acting-President of the Council. Everywhere a great European and international future is predicted for him. Dr. JOHANN SCHOBTER of Austria, has been called the "finest policeman outside London" for he has been connected with the Viennese Police since 1898, where he has perfected Austria's C.I.D. He has only been Foreign Minister for the last few months, though he acted as such in 1921 and 1922, at the time of the Austrian Financial crisis.

A newcomer to Geneva is the Spanish DUKE OF ALBA who, being a descendant of the Stuarts, also holds the British title of Duke of Berwick. He became Foreign Minister in the Berenguer government after the fall of the Dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. A well-known intellectual, he is also Minister of Education. Count KAROLYI, the new Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, comes of one of the best known and richest families of the old Hungarian nobility.

Mr. MUNCH, of Denmark, is another educationalist and a member of the sub-committee of experts on the Instruction of Youth and is a leading Radical. Mr. MICHALACOPOULOS, of Greece, is the founder of the International Institute of Commerce and chairman of the Liberal Union Party in Greece.

Other Foreign Ministers present were Mr. MACGILLIGAN, of the Irish Free State, Mr. MARINKOVITCH of Jugoslavia, Mr. ZAUNIUS of Lithuania and M. BECK, President of the Luxemburg Government.

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



FEBRUARY, 1931

## Our First Object

PREPARATION for the World Disarmament Conference is, as was said in this place a month ago, the main work of the League of Nations Union during the critical year 1931. The first stage of this preparation is engaging the attention of the Executive Committee and of the Secretariat in London. By next month arrangements for a series of meetings throughout the country should be in full swing.

Meanwhile, the Union's Branches and their members will do well to reflect for a moment upon the educational methods which they have hitherto adopted for the purpose of carrying out the first object of the Union. According to our Royal Charter, that object is "to secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations." The question is sometimes raised whether our meetings are, in fact, such as to secure the acceptance of the League of Nations by the British people not only with their whole hearts but with their whole minds.

Two types of meeting exist. There is the type addressed by the Great Man. The famous speaker, supported as he is apt to be by a large audience, is well able to create and revive enthusiasm. He can convince non-members of the necessity of joining the Union and so supporting the League. But even if, by perfect organisation, everyone stirred by his words is enrolled as a member of the Union, that is only a beginning. If the League is to become an effective reality (and if, in particular, the World Disarmament Conference is to result in a real reduction of armaments and so to secure Germany's continued co-operation in the building of world peace) public opinion must be more than stirred. It must be thoroughly aroused, informed and convinced; and then it must be organised.

The second type of meeting may be far more informative than the first. The great meeting of the first type may convert; the small meeting of the second type has to edify, or, as we should rather say nowadays, to educate. The great meeting may sketch some broad principles. It needs to be followed by a well-thought-out series of more educative meetings. Abstract principles must be related to concrete realities; details must be filled in; and the whole League story—the science of constructive peace, or the theory and practice of World Government—must be intimately related to the facts of everyday life. Only so can members of the Union prepare themselves to bring about that nationwide change of mind which it is our first object to effect: "the acceptance of the League of Nations by the British people."

Many Branches have already introduced into their yearly programmes a certain variety of lectures by

speakers possessing special knowledge. Some two years ago a number of alternative programmes were suggested, in the pamphlet called *The Union at Work* as models for Branch work. The movements of public opinion and the developments of international life which have since taken place now make it desirable that Branches should consider a more strenuous plan than any contained in that pamphlet. Here then is an outline syllabus of eight or nine monthly lectures which might begin in the early autumn of this year.

In view of the limited number of competent lecturers early application should be made for these lectures on

### WORLD GOVERNMENT.

#### Two Lectures on World History

1. The Coming of the World Community, 1820-1920. The first world constitution, 1920. The League's Aims and Organisation.
2. The Beginnings of World Government, 1920-1930. The League's first ten years.

#### Three Lectures on World Problems

3. The Maintenance of World Order. Disarmament, Security and Arbitration. Collective responsibility for preserving peace, arresting war, and guaranteeing the security of every State. The peaceful settlement of international disputes.
4. World Law. International law and its codification. International legislation (Article XIX and treaty revision).
5. World Economics. Obstacles to international trade, and their effect upon wages and employment. The World Economic Conference. The International Labour Organisation.

#### Four Lectures on World Opinion

6. In the British Empire. British Public Opinion and World Co-operation.
7. In the United States. America's attitude to the world. Freedom of the Seas. Neutrality.
8. In the Rest of the World. What is thought of the League in Europe (outside Russia), in the Far East, in South America and in Mohammedan countries.
9. Communism and the Modern World.

This syllabus is designed for an educated audience whose members may afterwards tell the main facts to other gatherings of simpler folk in language which, though it may be less exact, will be more readily understood. Such a series of simple talks is outlined on the next page.

## A LONDON LETTER

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

## A STOCK-TAKING

At the end of the year the total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union, and who are not known to have died or resigned, had reached the total of 889,500. During the year, therefore, 74,673 new members were registered at Headquarters, and for various reasons 8,094 were deleted. It is a gratifying symptom of the efficiency of our branch organisation at a time when money is both scarce and tight, that 319,684 renewal subscriptions were collected, and altogether 394,357 membership subscriptions were received during the year—upwards of 16,000 more than in 1929. As the Union lives by the efficiency of its branch organisation, this is a matter of congratulation.

The counties where the biggest percentage of payments were got in are Huntingdon, Suffolk, Sussex, Westmoreland, Herefordshire and Hertfordshire. To the workers in all these counties we tender our thanks and our felicitations.

## OUR MAIN TASK

Those who had the privilege of listening to Lord Cecil at the General Council in December when he made his statement on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, must have felt impressed by the need during the next few months of further awakening public opinion in Great Britain to the urgency of a new attitude of mind. On March 24 and 25 the Union is holding a Security Conference, which will be the first step along the road. Lord Cecil's views have not received such a favourable reception from the Press as might have been hoped. This only serves to show that much effort will have to be expended if the First World Disarmament Conference is to be a success.

Our readers can further be reminded that the Union's Conference on Wages and Employment will take place on February 17 and 18. Requests for tickets are coming in well and it would be wise to make an early application. In addition to the speakers mentioned last month, Dr. O. W. M. Sprague, of the Bank of England, is to speak on "Gold and Price Level," and Sir Harry McGowan, Lord Melchett's successor as Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, is speaking at the second session on "Wages in relation to Social Services."

## A CORRECTION

The next meeting of the General Council in June will be held at Blackpool. Cheltenham is in 1932.

## THE LEAGUE AND EVERY-DAY LIFE

## Some Plain Talks for Simple Folk

1. How the nations of the world came to have common interests; and how they tried to get on without a League to look after those common interests. How the League was born. What its authors hoped it would do. Its early childhood.
2. The difficulties the League has to face to-day. Peace is better than war. Increased feeling of security through disarmament and arbitration.
3. Can the nations agree on a common International Law? Advantages and difficulties of securing a uniform text.
4. Our economic difficulties; how far are they international? Attempts to get over them: (i) the International Labour Organisation; (ii) the World Economic Conference.
5. What the world thinks of the League: (i) British Empire; (ii) U.S.A. and other non-members; (iii) Europe; (iv) Asia.

## LEARN OR PERISH

THROUGH its Education Committee, the League of Nations Union is bringing about a complete change of direction in the whole educational system of this country. From the primary school right through to



Dr. C. W. Kimmins

the University or Adult Education Class the young folk of to-day are being taught to understand the importance of this country, not as an isolated unit, but as a member of an interdependent world community of nations. It is directly due to the work of the committee that scarcely a child now leaves school without some knowledge of the League.

In all its activities the committee is largely guided by the suggestions of a League Sub-Committee of Experts. In line with those Recommendations, it arranges courses of instruction for lecturers and teachers, makes available an adequate supply of speakers, literature, maps and other apparatus in the schools, has organised almost a thousand Junior Branches, assists the work of a British Universities League of Nations Society in the Universities and Colleges, and, for all who are not too old to learn, arranges Summer Schools and even correspondence courses. Wireless and the film both find their place in this programme, and the Films Sub-Committee produced the first real teaching films ever made. One of them has already been shown to a million boys and girls in this country at a cost of less than a farthing per child.

The personnel of the committee is distinguished, including University professors, administrators and teachers. Its chairman, Dr. C. W. Kimmins, formerly chief inspector of the L.C.C. Education Department, is one of the best known figures in the educational world to-day.

## STUDENTS IN CONGRESS

OVER six hundred students celebrated the start of the New Year in Glasgow from January 2 to 6. The occasion was a congress organised by the British Universities League of Nations Society, in order to discuss the international responsibilities of the student, both in the University and after he or she had gone down and entered the greater world.

The students came from branches of the B.U.L.N.S. in many of the Training Colleges and from every University in Great Britain. Twenty-five nationalities were present. Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Chinese, Indians, Africans and Americans sat down together.

The University and the City did full honour to their visitors. Through the generosity of the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council, half the members of the Congress received private hospitality. Receptions were given by the University and by the Lord Provost and Corporation of Glasgow. On three nights out of the four the Scottish students gravely entertained their guests by an eightsome reel!

For its meetings Professor H. J. Paton presided. Amongst others, lectures were given by Professor Gilbert Murray, Professor Rappard, of Geneva, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Norman Angell, and Dean Inge.

To the amazement of the organisers, these much be-lectured students attended all the lectures and the special discussions were opened by Mr. I. Mongy, the Pandit H. M. Kunzru and Mr. Kuangson Young.

## Notes and News

## Betty Nuthall at East Finchley

The tenth anniversary of the formation of the East Finchley Branch was signalled by the unveiling, on Peace Sunday (December 21), of a Peace Panel in the grounds of the Congregational Church. The World and Stars flag was used for the unveiling ceremony, which was performed by Miss Betty Nuthall, who afterwards made a short, but very effective, speech at the meeting. Sir Philip Gibbs, the noted war correspondent, who acted as her chairman, made a striking contrast: the one spoke with an intimate knowledge of war and all its horrors; the other was filled with the hope of health and vigour of youth. The British Legion formed a guard of honour, their new banner standing side by side with that of the Union's Branch. As a result of an appeal over £36 was realised.

## Homes from Home

Through the Student Organisations in different countries, exceptional opportunities for a stay abroad are available through the system of exchange visits. Applications are constantly being received from abroad but it is hard to find English homes prepared to receive students and reciprocity is an essential. Here are a few recent applications:—

A young Frenchman of seventeen would like to exchange with a student living in London. His mother would receive an English boy or girl in her home in Paris.

A Spanish student of Engineering, the son of an Austrian author, would like to come to England. His aunt would take an English girl in her Boarding School at Gratz for a year.

The daughter of a Hotel proprietor in Silesia wants to come to England and in exchange would be prepared to take two people in her Hotel at any time.

These are but a few of the offers received. Anyone willing to help can obtain full information from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

## Union for the Whole of Australia

News has just been received that the various State League of Nations Societies in Australia have federated into an Australian League of Nations Union. The office bearers of the new Union are:—

President: Professor Sir Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G., LL.D.

Vice-President: Professor Stephen Roberts, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.), D.Litt.

Hon. Secretary: Raymond G. Watt, Esq., 32, Castlereagh Street, Sydney.

Hon. Treasurer: Morley B. Hall, Esq.

It is hardly necessary to add that the English League of Nations Union extends its hearty greeting and good wishes to the newly-formed Society.

## The Film in School

Miss Ridges, the hard-working Secretary of the Post Office Savings Bank Branch, in five exhibitions has shown the Union film to 1,500 children. Later essays were written on their impressions for which prizes were given. The Post Office Branch is also paying for the film to go to Belfast to be shown round the cinemas there and in the neighbouring towns.

## Using Our Youth

The Frizinghall Branch at Bradford invited the winners of the travelling scholarships in the League Essay Competition, organised by *The Yorkshire Observer*, to address its members. These boys and girls as their prizes had received a free trip to Geneva with the League of Nations Union Junior School. The excellence of their addresses impressed their audience extremely—surely an experiment well worth repeating.

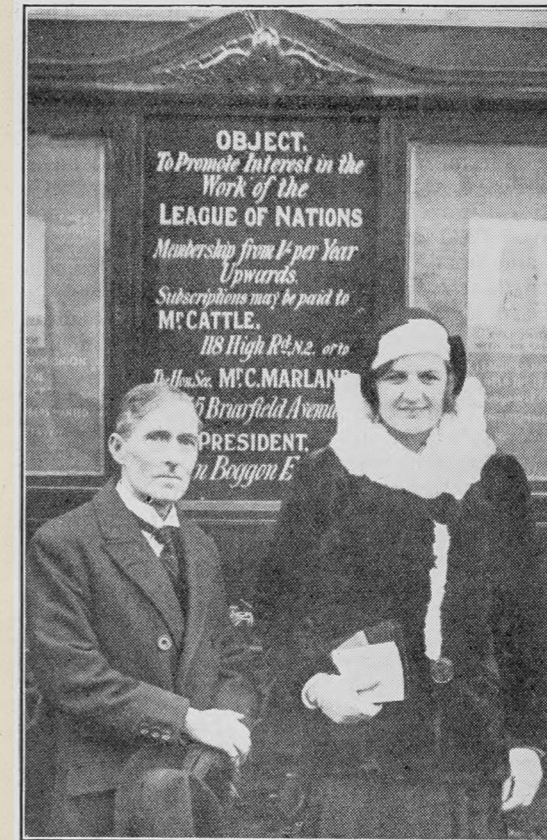
## Youthful Delegates

The Committee of the Felixstowe Branch took the initiative of sending two young men to Geneva as their delegates. On their return they have given Felixstowe people a first-hand idea of the work of the League. In its various aspects they have shown how Youth—that most important factor—looks upon the work of international co-operation. The keenness which their visit has engendered illustrates the whole-hearted interest which

Modern Youth takes in matters affecting universal peace and prosperity and the ever-increasing part which Youth plays in efforts to secure it. A member of the Branch has been so pleased with the outcome of this experiment that he has offered to bear the expense of another delegate next year, the choice of whom will be in the hands of the Committee. The Union's Travel Programme for 1931 is in active preparation.

## A Midnight Ramble

Just before midnight over twenty members of the Chelsea Youth Group assembled at Piccadilly Circus for a visit to the parts of London which are rarely nocturnally visited. Led by a connoisseur, "The Latter Day Adventurers" stepped off from the shores of Eros Isle, the land of lights and theatrical delights, bound for the unknown East. Through the City, past the Royal Mint, to Wapping, where all trooped down to the water's edge. Ever watchful, the River Police appeared in a special launch and gave the Group the *once-over* with a powerful searchlight. Meeting with a generous and matutinal bargee, they were given the benefit of his knowledge of London's river history. At Bethnal Green, a record was left of their passing on an L.N.U. notice board. At 5 a.m. Ludgate Circus was regained—and so to breakfast and to bed.



SIR PHILIP GIBBS AND MISS BETTY NUTHALL

### Brigade H.Q. Come to Union H.Q.

Unable to obtain a wall-map of Europe showing territorial changes since 1914 through official channels, the commander of an Infantry Brigade at Aldershot obtained his request by return of post from the book-room of 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

### Costumes for Pageants

The Village Drama Society, 15, Peckham Road, Camberwell, London, S.E.25, has intimated that it is in a position to supply costumes for the Pageant "The Family of Nations," and also for the play "The Quaker." Prices for hiring naturally vary according to the place to which the parcels have to be sent.

### The Federation's Spring Meetings

The Executive and Committees of the International Federation will be meeting in Brussels from February 13 to 16. The questions to be discussed will include Disarmament, Education, Minorities, European Union, and I.L.O. and Economic questions. Lord Cecil hopes to be able to attend the meetings, and among the other delegates will be Lord Dickinson, Lady Gladstone, Mr. H. H. Elvin, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, and Captain A. E. W. Thomas.

### London Notes

On February 4 Mr. S. H. Bailey on "Current International Events" at the Mary Ward Settlement, at 7.30 p.m. On February 9 a Mass Meeting in connection with the Women's International League Disarmament Campaign at Queen's Hall, at 8 p.m. A Conference for Teachers addressed by Professor Alfred Zimmern at the London School of Economics, 2.30 p.m., on February 28.

### Broadcasting

There will be six talks on "British Mandates," starting at 7.25 p.m., on Friday February 20. These will be preceded by six addresses by Dr. C. Delisle Burns on "Contact Between Peoples To-Day," ending on February 13. In connection with the work of the I.L.O. mention can be made of the six talks on "The Health of the Worker," starting on Wednesday, February 18, 7.25—7.45.

### Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote for 1930—

Barton-on-Humber, Bebington and Bromborough, Bishop Auckland, Broompark C.C. (Sheffield), Bishopston, Bedminster Parish Church, Broadstone, Bromley, Beccles, Brislington, Bovey Tracey, Burnham-on-Sea, Bowness-on-Solway, Bristol Central Church, Bognor, Billericay, Bishop's Stortford, Bishop's Waltham, Beverley, Bideford, Bourton-on-the-Water, Byfleet, Bexhill, Bulwell, Coventry District, Cheltenham, Clevedon, Congresbury, Chapel Brampton, Crewe, Chandler's Ford, Chippenham, Clare, Carlton, Cradley Heath, Corby, Cocker-mouth, Camborne, Crosshills, Crawley, Dunmow, Dover, Ditchling, Driffield, Desborough, Dewsbury, Endcliffe, Fellowship (Sheffield), Eye, Eastbourne, Forest Row, Farnham, Falmouth, Farringdon, Filey, Formby, Grange-over-Sands, Goxhill, Guernsey, Gerrards Cross, Great Ayton, Gomersal, Great Bentley, Grimsby, Harwich, Hereford, Henleaze, Heswall, Horsham, Hassocks, Haddenham, High Wycombe, Hull, Hadleigh, Heddingham, Hoylake and West Kirby, Hayton, Ilkley, Jersey, Jesmond, Lakenheath, Leeds (Blenheim Baptist Church), Langford, Liverpool City, Mistley, Marlborough, Muff Field, Neston, Nether Chapel, Northchapel, Newbury, Northam, Northampton, Newmarket, Nailsworth, Newton Abbot, Ongar, Portishead, Penn Fields (Wolverhampton), Oakworth, Oxford, Ottery St. Mary, Porlock, Romford, Rothfield, Runcorn, Runton, Radcliffe, Radstock, Radlett, Southend, Staveley, Selsey, St. Ives (Hunts), Shelford, Soham, Steyning, Southwick, Salcombe, Stonehouse, Shawbury, Snape, Silverdale, Sheerness, Saltburn, Swanscombe, Sherborne, Salisbury, Syston, Sidmouth, Spendlove, Shirehampton, Theydon Bois, Tean, Troon, Thaxted, Tynemouth, Totnes, Truro, Ulceby, Upminster, Waterloo, Wistanwick, Worle, Wootton (Northants), Winchester, Widnes, Winford, Worthing, West Hartlepool, Wychwood, Wakefield, Woodford (Northants), Winsford, Walkern, Wollaston.

### Scientific Campaigning

We have received a very interesting letter from Miss Stanley, who carried out a fortnight's Membership Campaign in Borrowdale, and thereby raised the membership from 8 to 70. Miss Stanley had worked out her method of approach beforehand, complete in every detail. She came to the conclusion that the best time of the year is the winter; that Registered Membership should be asked where people are fairly intelligent; and the cheapness of membership should only be emphasised where the people are poor, ignorant or uninterested. The method of approach has three sub-sections—firstly, an apology for the visit; secondly, a promise of brevity, leading up to the definite request. Canvassers, she thinks, should endeavour to show the real League spirit, however aggravating people may be. Miss Stanley says that she was very cheered by the horror of war expressed on all sides and the almost pathetic eagerness to support the League of Nations Union "if it will do any good."

### Welsh Notes

Once again, to commemorate the birthday of the League of Nations, the Civic Authorities at Cardiff arranged for the illumination of the Welsh National War Memorial in Cathays Park on the evening of Saturday, January 10.

On January 1 Dr. George H. Green, M.A., of the University College, Aberystwyth, addressed the Conference of Education Associations at University College, London, on the subject of "The Racial Prejudices of Children of School Age."

The campaign amongst the Public Libraries of Wales and Monmouthshire is beginning to produce results. A number have paid Pound Subscriptions.

The Welsh Council's Annual Conference this year will be held at Cardiff during Whit-Week.

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

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

On Jan. 22, 1931, there were 2,986 Branches, 950 Junior Branches, 3,339 Corporate Members and 691 Corporate Associates.

### MEMBERSHIP

#### Rates of ANNUAL Subscription.

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

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

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

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

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

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