

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XII No. 3. [The Journal of the League of Nations Union.] March, 1930 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.] Price Threepence

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE appointment of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes to succeed Mr. W. H. Taft as Chief Justice of the United States will have the unfortunate effect of necessitating Mr. Hughes' resignation from his position as Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Regrettable as that is, it is, in fact, not as regrettable as it seems. Mr. Hughes, it will be remembered, was elected Judge of the Court in place of Dr. John Bassett Moore, and when he accepted the position it was on the understanding that he would hold it only till the next general election of judges, which takes place in September of this year. As there could not, in any case, be a special election to fill Mr. Hughes' place until September, when the League Assembly meets, the Court will actually lose Mr. Hughes just when it always expected to lose him, except that he will not be at The Hague for the session that opens in June. It is, of course, conceivable that he might have been persuaded to continue after next September. That will now be no longer possible. As it is, the League and the Court have reason to be grateful to Mr. Hughes for the prestige he has conferred on the latter by his brief tenure of office as a Judge. There is, fortunately, no lack of distinguished American jurists from whom to select a successor.

Novelty and Habit

THE sessions of the Naval Conference in London are serving one good purpose in making the idea of international discussion for peaceful purposes a good deal more than an idea to a great many

people. The remark that "it is really very striking to see all these great statesmen gathered here for the sole purpose of fighting war" represents a feeling widely shared, if not always expressed. What evidently is not quite so generally realised is that four or five times as many statesmen meet regularly at Geneva once a year, or more frequently, for precisely the same purpose.

The Optional Clause Ratified

THE House of Commons has approved, without a division, the Government's proposal to ratify its signature of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court. By a coincidence, the South African Parliament took the same decision on the same day. Though the actual proposal in the House of Commons was carried without an adverse vote, there was a previous division on an amendment moved by Sir Austen Chamberlain asking that an additional reservation should be appended to the signature withdrawing questions of maritime law from the jurisdiction of the Court so far as British naval action was concerned. This was resisted by the Government on the broad ground that the only war in which Great Britain can now be legally engaged is one in which she takes part on behalf of the League against some violator of the peace, and in such a case no League member could accuse her of interfering with its trade with an "aggressor" because they are all pledged by the Covenant to stop trade with an aggressor anyhow. The question of a complaint by a non-member does not arise, because no non-member has signed the

Optional Clause, or is likely to, and its provisions are only operative as between the States that have signed it. The process of establishing the reign of law goes forward.

When the Clause Operates

WITH the clause thus ratified, it is quite possible that this country may find itself cited before the Court on the initiative of some other nation. The position in this regard is not entirely understood in all quarters, for a Member of Parliament asked the Foreign Secretary a week or two ago whether, now that we had signed the Optional Clause, France could not require us to accept the judgment of the Court in regard to the question known as the Dead Sea Concession. The answer to that, of course, is that France, though she has signed the Clause, has not yet ratified it, and that until she has, she cannot require us to go into Court. The Dead Sea Concession is the right granted by the Government of Palestine—a territory held by this country under League of Nations Mandate—to certain persons to exploit the salt deposits of the Dead Sea. A French company is a rival claimant to this concession, and the French Government is espousing its cause. France is apparently demanding arbitration on the subject, which Great Britain has hitherto refused. But Optional Clause or no Optional Clause, it hardly seems as if this attitude can be maintained. The British Government appears to be taking the ground that the claim is so obviously baseless that it is not worth the trouble and expense of arbitration. That is a dangerous position to be assuming, for clearly the French Government takes another view, and it has as much right to its own opinion as the British.

Family Jars

KING GEORGE V.—“I earnestly trust that the results of this Conference will lead to immediate alleviation of the heavy burden of armaments now weighing upon the peoples of the world, and also, by facilitating the future work of the League Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, hasten the time when a general disarmament conference can deal with this problem in an even more comprehensive manner. In this hope I shall follow your deliberations with the closest interest and attention.”—Speech at the opening of the London Naval Conference, January 21, 1930.

King George V's son-in-law (the Earl of Harewood).—“I am not one of those who have a great deal of hope in the League of Nations, the Naval Conference, and all that sort of thing.”—Address to British Legion meeting on February 8, 1930.

The Tariff Truce Movement

IT is a pity that names that are so convenient are often so misleading. The so-called Tariff Truce Conference is in progress as these lines are being written and cannot, therefore, be dealt with adequately in this issue of HEADWAY. Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, who is the chief British delegate, insisted in his first speech at the Conference that the aim was not and must

not be to stereotype European tariffs at their present level, but to agree that for a period of two or three years they should not be raised any higher, and that in that interval every endeavour should be made to get them lowered. Everything in such a case depends on whether a country fixes its eyes primarily on its own tariffs or primarily on other people's. It is possible to condemn the Conference because it may prevent us from raising our tariffs against other people, or to applaud it because it may prevent other countries from raising their tariffs against us. (The same principle applies to armament reduction.) A good many critics of the Conference in this country seem to have thought only of the first possibility, and not at all of the second. Both of them need to be kept well in mind. As to the prospects of the success of the Tariff Truce movement, not too much must be expected of this first Conference. It aims at first checking and then reversing a tendency almost universal in Europe to raise tariffs always higher, and if it can make the most modest of beginnings in that difficult task, it will certainly not have failed.

A Question of Initials

CONSTANT attenders at the Assembly of the League of Nations are accustomed to find the alphabetical order of countries rather different from what they would have expected, owing to the fact that the French form of the word and not the English form is the decisive test. Germany, for example, comes almost at the head of the whole list because she is *Allemagne* and not *Germany*. Abyssinia comes a good way down because she is *Ethiopie* and not *Abyssinia*. Czechoslovakia, which we should naturally look for near the top, is, in fact, almost at the bottom because it is *Tchecoslovaquie*. If the United States had been a member of the League we should consequently expect to find it under the “E's” as *Etats-Unis*, rather than under the “U's.” The London Naval Conference, however, has provided a surprise for everyone in that regard. Instead of the great republic being at the bottom of the whole list owing to the fact that the first letters of all the other States come before “U,” it is literally at the very top, figuring under the name of *America*. This is a complete innovation, and may be assumed to be a calculated compliment to Mr. Hoover's representatives. It is a little doubtful whether Canada and the States of Latin America would entirely appreciate it if the practice became habitual.

A League Success

THE Aaland Islands settlement is well known as the League's first successful effort to deal with an international dispute. It is always well in such cases to know how arrangements made at Geneva work out in practice. Just at the moment a good deal of attention is being devoted to the Aaland Islands in both the Swedish and the Finnish Press (it will be remembered that the dispute about the ownership was between Sweden and Finland). It appears that there are certain differences between the islanders and the Finnish Government and a possibility of the Council having to settle a disputed

point again. A study of the facts, however, shows that the arrangement, as a whole, is working perfectly well. All that has arisen is a genuine uncertainty as to what classes of people are entitled to acquire land in the Aaland Islands. The details of the difference are of no importance. What is important is that the public discussions are making it clear that, though reasonable doubt may exist on such small matters as this, the arrangement of 1921 has admirably stood the test of time.

The Fight against Dope

IN another column a Geneva correspondent describes the steps the League of Nations Opium Committee is taking to organise its new campaign against the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs—a task all the more difficult to execute, incidentally, in that some of the traffic is, of course, perfectly legitimate and necessary—morphia, for example, being a drug indispensable in modern medicine. A feature of the Opium Committee's meeting was a remarkable report laid before the Committee by Russell Pasha, the British head of the police in Cairo, where a vast illicit traffic has been exposed. In another report he still further enlarged on his tale. Here are one or two smuggling stories. Four barrels of tomato sauce seized at Port Said were found to contain 24 kilos (53 lbs.) of hashish. In a trunk were 10 kilos of the same. Fourteen sacks of prunes were found to contain prunes with hashish where the stones should have been. Hashish and opium, thrown overboard by smugglers near shore in watertight sacks, are fished up periodically by coastguards. One astonishing story was told of how the barber in an Egyptian village fixed up a dead dog's jaws with a strong steel spring and arranged to have customers bitten, so that they could get admission to an anti-rabies institution, where the treatment given them had the incidental effect of curing their desire for “dope.” The prevalence of the desire to be thus cured is notable. The most serious part—and the most valuable—of Russell Pasha's revelations was the disclosure of the existence of a vast network of channels for the illicit traffic, running, for example, from Strasbourg to Milan, and thence, via ports like Genoa or Trieste, on to Egypt.

Frivolity and Morals

THE League of Nations has been inquiring of the various Governments regarding the enforcement of the 1923 Convention on obscene publications. A good many interesting replies were received, several of them turning, oddly enough, on the interpretation of a particular word. The Latvian Government observes with rather complacent severity that “there are few publications of a frivolous nature appearing in Latvia.” But the Convention does not go so far as to denounce mere frivolity. The Finnish Government reports the seizure of 1,167 postcards, of which 37 were held to be artistic and the rest obscene. The distinction is a real one, but it must be singularly difficult to draw. The Colombian Government remarks a little primly, through its Minister of the Interior, that “This Department desires to state emphatically that Colombia is still a country of sound morals and decent habits.” That “still” is a

little intriguing. Does it mean that even for Colombia the days of degeneracy are near? Or that when all around is decadent, Colombia stands resolute by the old proprieties? But we are, of course, reading these documents in translations. The originals may be less ambiguous.

M. Briand's European Plan

IT is understood that the statement M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, undertook to prepare, setting out his so-called United States of Europe plan, will be issued to the other Governments of Europe in the course of the present month. Discussion of its contents may well be postponed till it is known what its contents are. It is sufficient here to point to certain obvious dangers which it will be necessary for the plan to avoid most studiously. It must run no risk of being considered a combination industrially against the United States, or a combination politically against Russia, or a combination of any kind calculated to throw the British Empire more in upon itself, as it were. Great Britain is an essential part of Europe, and any proposals which made its full co-operation with the other States of Europe more difficult would be a misfortune for all parties in any way concerned.

More Prime Ministers for Geneva

IT is announced that General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Scullin, the Prime Minister of Australia, hope to attend the League of Nations Assembly on their way to the Imperial Conference. These are very welcome decisions. It is, of course, by no means the first time that Dominion Prime Ministers have been present at the Assembly. Mr. Cosgrave came when Ireland was admitted to the League in 1923, and Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, attended the Ninth Assembly in 1928. It is worth remembering that Mr. Scullin's predecessor, Mr. S. M. Bruce, though he has never been present at Geneva as Prime Minister, had represented his country (at the Second Assembly in 1921) before he attained that office. His experience there is, no doubt, responsible for the sympathy with which, as Prime Minister, he always regarded the League. It may be hoped that the other Dominion Premiers who are coming to the Imperial Conference will find their way to Geneva too.

A League Loss

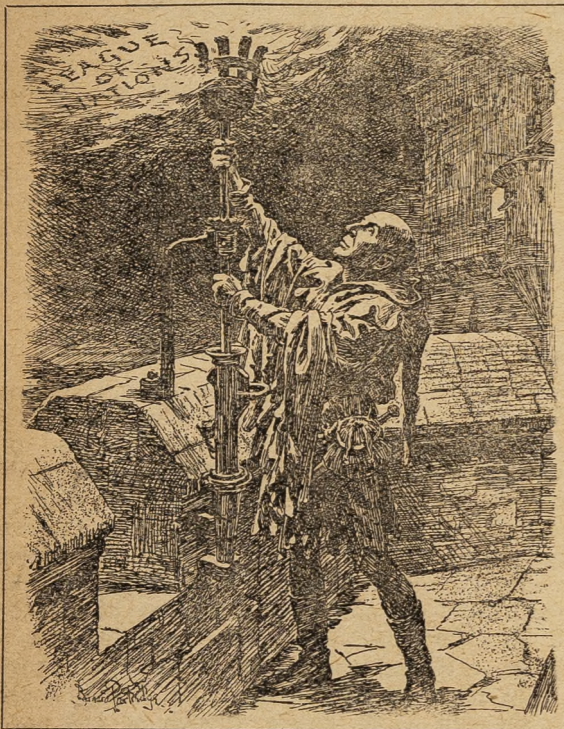
THE news of the resignation of Mr. Erik Colban from the office of Director of the Disarmament Section in the League of Nations Secretariat will be received with widespread regret and not a little concern. Mr. Colban was offered the important position of Norwegian Minister in Paris, one of the highest in his country's Diplomatic Service, and it is not altogether surprising that he should have accepted it. Nevertheless, his resignation at this juncture is singularly unfortunate and it draws attention afresh to the losses the League's Secretariat is perpetually suffering in this way. Any step that can make service at Geneva more attractive than it is would be very well worth taking.

THINKING IS NOT ENOUGH THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By EDWARD SHILLITO

IF the League of Nations is to become in glorious achievement what it is already in promise, man must learn to think internationally. Not statesmen only, but every man. When he goes to church or to market, when he reads his paper or registers his vote, he must so think. *But thinking is not enough.*

The ideal for which the League stands must enter beneath the levels of deliberate and conscious thought into the depths of man's emotional life. Before he can win peace and retain it, man must *feel internationally.*



By permission of the Proprietors of "Punch"
Lord Cecil Fires the Beacon

His new bearing towards other nations must become instinctive and second nature for him. It must take its place as an assumption upon which he acts as a matter of course. His emotional life must be occupied and held. He must have an enthusiasm for the League no less powerful than that which he feels when he marches

"With banner and bugle and fife
To the death for his Fatherland."

Advocates of the League of Nations must not be afraid of appealing to the emotional nature. They have to press upon men everywhere an ideal which not only can be commended to man's rational judgment, but, when it is positively set forth, must stir all the chords of his being. The League offers (and why not?) a prudential way of escape from a wasteful curse, which has rested upon the human race. But the League stands, also, for a positive and glorious possibility for man to attain—the end of the travail of the centuries; the condition long sought and long deferred, by which man may come to his own on this earth; the preparation for an age of mutual help among nations; the end of the travesty of war that the real war may begin.

For these things the League stands. It is not to a negative policy only that it calls mankind. Peace as it must capture the imagination is not the condition

of those who are not at war. It needs more than "nots" to define it. Peace must be pictured not as the process which leaves the house of life swept and garnished and empty, it is rather the enrichment and occupation of that house by things excellent and noble and of good report. If it is set forth in this way it will awaken a response from the innermost powerhouse, where man dreams and loves.

Those Who Survived

It must never be forgotten that the League had its origin in days when the hearts of men were strangely moved. "When all was over nothing much would be left for some of us," says a character in *All Our Yesterdays*, "if we were there to hear the last shot. All we should find would be the lamp still alight in the dead hand of a friend." There were a multitude of bewildered and laden men and women, who by the help of that light sought for a way of hope. They were stirred by the deepest emotions which can move the human heart. They had survived where others had fallen, and fallen for them.

"For ever it is understood
I am a man redeemed by blood."

In his lecture on the League General Smuts writes of that time: "There was an unspeakable longing that this horror might be the last of its kind; there was the well-grounded fear for the future that another great war might be the end of the human race; and there was the deep feeling that only the assured hope of future world-peace could justify the endless sufferings through which mankind had passed in the Great War. The Covenant was the creative birth which issued out of those bitter pains of the human race."* It is inevitable that a Covenant which had such an origin should make its appeal still to the heart of mankind.

Logic and Passion

It is only right that the logical and rational grounds of the League should be established; without such a foundation it is useless to appeal to the emotions; but the case is not finally presented nor the verdict won till the first intense and passionate emotion is recaptured, and the Covenant is set forth with its own native associations. The precise and cold words must be made to glow with the passion of those who at the first saw visions and dreamed dreams, and in the strength of them wrote and under-wrote the Covenant. We have to recapture not only what they wrote, but what they felt.

And with the memories of those emotions there must be linked the enduring appeal which can be made for Peace. War brings with it a crowd of spectres which man must long to banish from his life: hatred, fear, cruelty, contempt for the individual life, lying, insincerity, and many others. But War could never have held its place in human affairs if it had not meant other things as well, self-dedication, adventure, glory—for there can be no War without glory. The problem before the League and its advocates is not only to banish the spectres, the fear and hate and lies, but to offer still to the heart of man adventure and glory—the true adventure of which the others were dim prophecies.

It is the positive gifts of Peace which will rouse the heart of man; he must hear still the rolling of the drums and the sound of the silver trumpet, and he must still have something to which he can offer himself. "Peace—Not War," is a cold formula; man needs more than

* General Smuts. *Africa and Some World Problems.*

THE SOLITARY STONE

THE interminable delays over the new buildings of the League of Nations at Geneva have been touched on more than once in HEADWAY. To put a plain truth in plain words, the affair has grown into something little less than an international scandal.

To say that is not, of course, to impute dishonourable conduct to anyone. There has never been the smallest suggestion of that. But what must be said is that the handling of the building problem from start to finish is something of which the League has reason to be thoroughly ashamed.

Well, no. Perhaps not from start to finish. It has always to be remembered that the project for the erection of the new buildings on an admirable lakeside site had to be abandoned because the owner of one of the properties it was necessary to acquire was unwilling to part with it. But even in this case the Swiss authorities would have been ready to proceed to compulsory expropriation if the League Council had asked them.

But let it be assumed (what a great many people would not admit) that the present site in the Parc Ariana is better than any other so far considered. Even so, Heaven knows how much longer it is going to remain a site and nothing more. The foundation stone of the new buildings was laid on the first week of last September. There it still lies in solitary gloom in the first week in March. There it will be lying solitary in the first week of next September. There it may quite well be lying solitary in the first week of next January.



The New Buildings—to Date

Whatever the causes of the delay, the result is deplorable and disgraceful. Nothing so consistently and so completely impairs the self-respect of the League as the conditions under which the Assembly is held every year. They are so bad that they would long ago have been condemned as intolerable if they had not in fact been tolerated; and it is a pity they have been. Now the Salle de la Réformation, or some other little less unsatisfactory makeshift, will have to serve for another three years, and probably four. That is all the more reason why every kind of effort should be exerted, and all the money that is necessary spent, to make the best of a bad job in the years intervening. Many important conferences, as well as the Assembly, will fall due to be held in Geneva in the next three or four years, and there is a serious danger that they will not be held there at all if proper accommodation is not forthcoming.

The causes of the trouble are various. The first was the failure of the committee that judged the plans to award a first prize to any competitor. In consequence, the League is now saddled with a committee of five architects—each, no doubt, admirably competent by himself—who agree precisely as well as any panel of five experts on any subject would. In course of time, four of them, no doubt, will pass into another world. If the fifth survives his colleagues long enough to get on with the job, it is possible that the League buildings will then be at least begun.

that. At the close of the Boer War Sir Henry Newbolt wrote four lines on *Peace*:—

"No more to watch by Night's eternal shore,
With England's chivalry at dawn to ride,
No more defeat, faith, victory—O! no more
A cause on earth for which we might have died."

If there were no cause on earth for which it was possible to offer "the full measure of devotion," then Peace would leave us cold. But the League of Nations can justly and convincingly be preached as a challenge to the spirit of man in the name of a constraining cause. It does not proclaim the end of War for mankind. It offers rather an opportunity for man to begin the real war. Coventry Patmore told "the sleepy-mongers of false ease,"

"That War's the ordained way of all alive."

He meant his words to be a justification for a war against Russia, at that time the enemy; but, rightly understood, the friends of the League will accept them. War is the ordained way; but what manner of War? To that other War, which has scarcely begun as yet, for the human race is still young, the League of Nations sounds its call. It has already done much to show its positive mission; it has a long record of things done in the warfare against ignorance and disease and vice. But there still await the nations, in their new alliance, many long campaigns in which there will be adventure and glory enough.

With such a vision and such an unimaginable range of achievement before us, we need not doubt that the old emotions, once so easily captured by the call to arms, may now be captured by the challenge of the League. The hour has come for the spirit of man to leave all instruments of war as his fathers left their bows and arrows; not that he is to cease from fighting, but that for the first time he may be free to wage the real war. But this cannot be fought till the human heart is captured. *Thinking is not enough.*

TO LIVE FOR—AND DIE FOR

EVEN during the last quarter of a century, when mankind has seemed more anxious than ever before to find some way out of war through arbitration and compromise, has any Government, that of England included, subscribed to any Peace Pact, even to the Covenant of the League of Nations, without making, explicitly or implicitly, some reservation?

"I stumbled, only the other day, upon a debate which took place in the House of Commons a few months before the War, the protagonists being the well known Irish free lance, Tim Healy, and Lord Hugh Cecil. 'What is nationality?' interrupted Lord Hugh Cecil. 'I will tell the noble lord,' answered Tim Healy, 'what nationality is. Nationality is a thing which man is ready to die for.'

"Aye, and to kill for also and there is the rub. But the fact remains, that man is not wholly made up of common sense and self interest; such is his nature that he does not think life worth living if there is not something for which he is ready to lose his life. Now, I see that millions have been ready, during the great world crisis, to give their lives for their respective countries. How many millions, hundreds of thousands, thousands, hundreds—would even a hundred be ready to die for the League of Nations?"

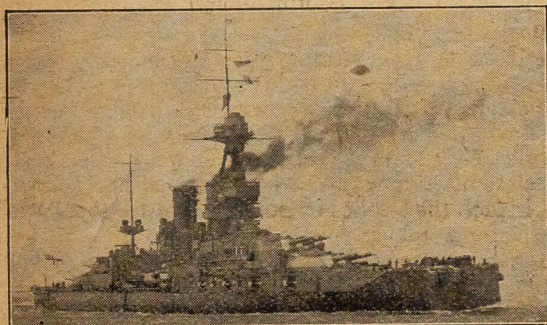
"Well, this is a serious matter. So long as we have not evolved a fanaticism of humanity, strong enough to counterbalance, or absorb, the fanaticisms of nationality, let us not visit our sins upon our statesmen."*

* From *The World Crisis of 1914-1918*, by M. Elie Halévy. (Oxford University Press. 5s.)

NAVAL ARGUMENTS THE TOUGHEST NUTS STILL UNCRACKED

THE Naval Conference, which opened on January 21, had not made much visible progress a month later. Just about that time, indeed, the Conference was temporarily at a standstill for two reasons. The French Government had fallen, not because of anything to do with the Conference, but because of a vote on the question of the taxation of married women. Consequently, M. Tardieu and M. Briand and his colleagues, instead of being Ministers, became for the moment simple private citizens with no power to negotiate on behalf of France. At the same time a General Election was just (on February 20) taking place in Japan, and the Japanese delegation could, therefore, obviously not risk a loss of votes to the Government by making any concessions in London which might be unpopular in Tokio.

The Conference therefore stood still for a week, with practically all its problems unsolved. It is quite true that the position had been to some extent clarified by the issue of statements by each of the five delegations setting forth its country's general attitude at the Conference. The British and American delegations were both in favour of scrapping a certain limited number of capital



Doomed. H.M.S. "Iron Duke" (to be scrapped)

ships (five British, three American, and one Japanese) almost immediately, and both were in favour of abolishing submarines, though they realised there was not much prospect of achieving this owing to the opposition of France and Japan. The British and American statements also embodied the agreement provisionally reached last summer establishing broadly parity, or equality, between the fleets of the two countries.

France Stands Pat

The Japanese memorandum said nothing very definite, but it was left to be understood that Japan still claimed a larger allowance of 10,000 ton cruisers than the United States thought proper. About the French statement there was nothing vague at all. It was replete with figures which caused the other delegations acute discomfort, for France stood by every ton and every gun of the naval programme embodied in her Naval Law of 1924, and had apparently come to the Conference prepared to make no concessions whatever. As for Italy, her chief representative, Signor Grandi, had, at a formal meeting of the Conference, made the sound proposal that both capital ships and submarines should be abolished completely and simultaneously, but there seemed to be small prospect of a solution so radical finding acceptance. The Italian memorandum continued to demand parity with France.

All this, of course, concerns the domain of pure technicalities. This Conference was called to discuss technical questions only, and the chief negotiators had made it clear from the outset that they would discuss no political issues if they could help it. But it was always very doubtful, and is still more doubtful to-day,

whether they can help it. Armaments, after all, are simply an instrument of national policy. It may be called aggression or it may be called defence, but it is national policy still, and any political factors that tend to make armaments less necessary obviously have a direct bearing on technical disarmament discussions. France has dwelt on such political factors with emphasis. She declares that she still feels insecure, and indicates that if she could be given some further guarantee of safety than she possesses so far she would be prepared to revise her armaments figures downwards.

To some extent the attitude of France is incomprehensible. She declares that war with Great Britain and war with the United States is unthinkable. War between France and Japan is quite as unthinkable for obvious geographical reasons. That means, to put it plainly, that there are only two Powers towards whom France can look with any anxiety at sea. One is Germany and the other Italy. As regards Germany, France has the absolute guarantee of the support of the British fleet in the case of a naval attack. That emerges incontrovertibly from the Treaty of Locarno, though the French appear to pay astonishingly little regard to the fact.

A Demand for Guarantees

As regards Italy, what France wants is a Mediterranean guarantee agreement of the same nature as Locarno—an attitude, incidentally, which seems a little inconsistent in view of the slight importance the French habitually attach to the Locarno agreement itself. So far, the idea of a so-called Mediterranean Locarno has been raised in British quarters only to be at once dismissed. It is doubtful whether that attitude can be maintained to the end. A Mediterranean Locarno might take many forms. What is generally contemplated is an agreement between all the naval Powers concerned with the Mediterranean whereby all of them would undertake to make common cause against any one of their number which went to war in violation of its pledges.

This means little more than giving precision to the obligations of the League of Nations Covenant, and the commitments involved would be proportionately less in that every State concerned has pledged itself absolutely never so to go to war. So far as Great Britain is concerned, it would involve far less than the existing Locarno Treaty. For under that Treaty we should, in certain contingencies, have to send troops into a European battle area. In the case of the Mediterranean, a great part of our Fleet is there already, and always will be, so that we could discharge any obligations under such a Pact without moving a single vessel from home waters.

Would It Be Worth While?

Obviously, such an agreement ought not to be necessary, just as the Locarno agreement itself ought not to have been necessary, and would not have been if Germany had at the time been a member of the League. But there are those who hold that it would be worth while contracting such an agreement as has been indicated here on one condition, and one condition only, namely, that in consideration of it France consented to reduce her navy to something very substantially below the figures she has mentioned in London.

It is worth recalling that, at the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations, a resolution was unanimously adopted, with the full support of the British delegation (representing then a Conservative Government), containing the declaration that the principal condition of the success of the disarmament movement "is that every State should be sure of not having to provide

unaided for its security by means of its own armaments, and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations." That, of course, ought to be enough for any State. But if France contended that, though this was not enough for her, she would be willing substantially to reduce her armaments if a certain group of League States—i.e., those concerned

with the Mediterranean—would make a special agreement on the lines indicated in the Eighth Assembly resolution, but even more definite and precise, then the bargain would be at least worth considering.

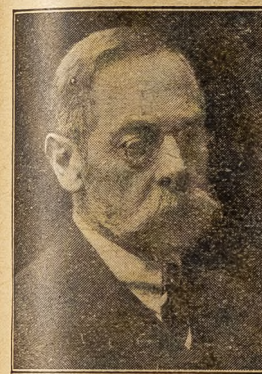
It does not look as if the London Conference negotiators will be able to rule out the discussion of such a possibility altogether.

THE MISSING JUDGE A NOTE ON THE EVOLUTION OF PEACE

By THE RT. HON. SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, K.C.

[The following communication has been addressed to HEADWAY by one of the oldest, as well as one of the most eminent, living jurists, Sir Frederick Pollock (who will be 85 this year), in reply to Mr. Norman Angell's article "The Idea Behind" in our February issue.]

MR. NORMAN ANGELL'S article in your February number leads to an edifying and acceptable practical conclusion, but does grave injustice, in my opinion, to the publicists who followed the lead of



Sir F. Pollock.

Grotius, not to speak of the medieval doctors. I do not know who described war as the collision of two rights, no name being given; the approximate date points to some early Greek philosopher, and I wonder what the original words are. So far as I am aware, no one Greek word answers to the English "right," in the sense of a claim sanctioned by legal or moral authority. However, the proper amendment, I submit, is not "two wrongs," but "two opinions of right."

The Roman Peace

Mr. Angell seems to think it was a kind of sacrosanct principle of the old public law that every independent State must, in the last resort, be judge in its own cause. There was no question of right in the matter in any proper sense of that ambiguous word; it was an unwelcome but manifest fact that no other judge was to be found unless the parties chose to agree upon one. Unwelcome, I say; Mr. Angell will find in a pretty old-fashioned book, the Institutes of Justinian, that war and slavery are alike contrary to the law of Nature, but are, in fact, inveterate by general custom. Search for the missing universal judge was a capital theme of medieval discussion and controversy. Dante looked for a restored Roman emperor, but that ideal did not suit the policy of Popes who had become entangled in temporal power. But for that entanglement, the Roman Curia might conceivably have become a real court of international justice, and its judgments perhaps not much worse obeyed than those of some respectable secular courts. As it was, the fragments of the shattered *pax Romana* could not be pieced together, least of all after the Reformation conflicts and controversies, when men despaired of peace for a time. Before those dark days I do not think there was any praise of war as a good thing in itself, except, maybe, in the mouths of irresponsible romance writers, nor any marked emphasis on national sovereignty as distinct from the personal rights of princes and the immunities which, in their highest grades, might amount to practical independence.

The Law of Nature

Moreover, kings and rulers were admitted to be under the law of Nature; in the terms now current, freedom from any judicial compulsion did not abrogate moral duties to their subjects or to one another. But, since the law of Nature provided only general principles, and there was no recognised authority to determine their application in doubtful cases, there seemed to be no firm footing for justice among nations on this ground either. Yet Grotius found enough to build upon.

Perhaps Mr. Angell thinks the work done by Grotius and his successors was of little account; perhaps he even thinks, without caring to say so, that the independence of sovereign states is the root of evil among nations and should be subdued under a super-State. These are matters not to be pursued in a short compass. But, in fact, the public law built on Grotius' foundation, and, perforce, taking the political structure of Europe as it was, reduced war in the course of the eighteenth century to a tolerable extent in space and some decent regard to humanity in the matter of conduct. In the latter nineteenth century arbitration became a system, though an imperfect one, and was used with effect in composing several grave differences. It provided means of gaining time in international quarrels, a matter of more vital importance than is generally recognised.

Drake and the Dons

I do not understand what Mr. Angell means by denying that there are really defensive wars. What was Drake doing, if not resisting invasion, when he fought the Spanish Armada? As for the talk of "gaps" in the Covenant or any other treaty, I confess that it makes me lose patience. There is no solemn instrument in the world, from the Ten Commandments downwards, in which perverse ingenuity cannot pick holes; and I can see little but perverse ingenuity in most of the sniping objections, if one may so call them. When a critical case occurs, if it ever should, the facts are like to be plain enough.

Whether we call the Covenant revolutionary is, perhaps, an affair of style more than substance. The epithet may be proper for any successful dealing with a long standing problem, even if incomplete; the invention of accurate chronometers made a revolution in seamanship, but we do not regard the seamen of earlier days as foolish people who cared nothing about finding the longitude. It was their desire for some certain way of finding the longitude that set Harrison and Le Roy to work.

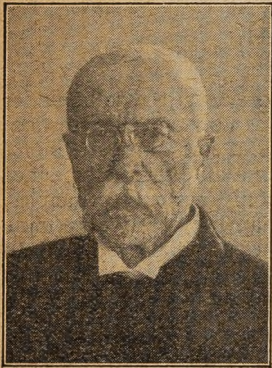
"Reason every way persuadeth peace" is a much earlier maxim than uninstructed readers would learn from Mr. Angell.

THE MAKER OF A STATE PRESIDENT MASARYK'S EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

By WICKHAM STEED

[HEADWAY last month published an article by a European veteran, Count Apponyi, who was closely associated with the Hapsburg Emperors of Austria-Hungary. Here Mr. Wickham Steed, formerly Editor of "The Times," sketches from intimate personal knowledge the striking career of another European veteran, President Masaryk, of Czechoslovakia, who has raised his new kingdom on the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire Count Apponyi served.]

ON March 7, 1850, Thomas Masaryk was born at Hodonin, a Slovak town in Moravia, near the border of Hungary. His father was a coachman on an estate belonging to the Hapsburg emperors. Until 1848 his parents had been serfs, and though their son Thomas narrowly escaped being born in serfdom, they were nevertheless obliged to ask leave of their feudal lord to send him to school.



Pres. Masaryk

On March 7, 1930, this same Thomas Masaryk will celebrate his 80th birthday as the first President of the free and independent Czechoslovak Republic, which he was chiefly instrumental in creating. The whole Czechoslovak people, whom he redeemed from servitude to the Hapsburgs, will join in

keeping his birthday as a national festival.

In this span of 80 years there is romance, and more than romance. There is history, and more than history. There is living proof of what a noble character, sustained by strong moral convictions and religious beliefs, can accomplish through sheer devotion to a lofty and unselfish ideal.

Freedom of the Soul

The chronology of Masaryk's struggles and achievements is known. But no mere chronicle can tell the story of his life. Account must be taken of the inner forces that urged him on. In Masaryk these forces came from the faith of John Hus of Bohemia, pupil of John Wyclif at Oxford, who began the European Reformation at the end of the fourteenth century, nearly a hundred years before the Reformation of Luther. Hus proclaimed the right of individual souls to commune with their Creator without sacerdotal mediation. By beginning the fight for the freedom of individual consciences, he started the great movement which led, through Humanism and the later Reformation, to the whole modern outlook in philosophy and politics.

Hus was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415, by order of the Council of Constance—a logical decision on the part of the Church, whose right to rule over the souls of men he had challenged. Not less tragical was the crushing of the Bohemian nation, mainly Hussite, by the Jesuit and Hapsburg Counter-Reformation in 1620, and the literal decimation of the Czech people. The Bohemian Brotherhood Church, which a disciple of Hus had founded, was destroyed, and its last Bishop, Comenius the Educator, like hundreds of thousands of his fellow-countrymen, was driven into exile. From Hus, Comenius and their traditions, Masaryk drew inspiration; and there was more than vindictive logic, there was, indeed, a whole programme of spiritual and political redemption, in his decision to raise the Hussite standard in the Hall of the Reformation at Geneva, on July 6, 1915, the fourth centenary of the Czech martyr's death, as the signal of his people's revolt against Hapsburg domination.

Within two years Masaryk, the humanitarian philosopher, and lover of peace, had begun to organise, in the name of Hus, a Czechoslovak army of 50,000 men among the Czech and Slovak prisoners of war in Russia. He made of it an autonomous force, kept it intact amid the Russian revolutionary chaos, and prepared to bring it across Siberia to the Far East on its way to the Western front. Before it could reach Europe the war was over, but not before Masaryk, commander-in-chief of an allied and belligerent army and President of the Provisional Czechoslovak Government, had been recognised by France, Great Britain and the United States as the head of the nation he, and his helpers, had freed from three centuries of servitude.

In December, 1914, he had escaped from Austria to Italy, resolved to die in exile unless he could return home as the bearer of freedom to his people. In December, 1918, when he again set foot on his native soil, his people acknowledged him as their leader and installed him triumphantly in the Hapsburg castle at Prague.

Democracy and the League

Then began his hardest task. No less clearly than he, almost alone among the statesmen of the world, had seen the meaning of the war from the outset, did he perceive the obligations of peace and the part of Czechoslovakia in discharging them. He knew that his country's redemption was no accident. Yet he feared that three centuries of demoralisation under Hapsburg rule might have rendered his people unequal to the demands of the hour. Profoundly convinced that self-reliant and ordered democracy is the only healthy form of political organisation for free peoples, convinced also that the worth of a democracy must depend upon the moral qualities of individual citizens, he sought to teach his fellow-countrymen, by precept and practice, that only in the spirit of their own saints and heroes could they preserve and fortify their regained freedom. Looking upon democratic liberty as the highest form of political, civil and religious life, albeit the least easy to uphold, he showed them that care for the rights of others is a corollary of individual right, socially, nationally and internationally. And conceiving the League of Nations as the application of the democratic principle to the international sphere, he and his trusted lieutenant, Dr. Benes, lent whole-hearted support, in thought and deed, to the work of the League at Geneva.

Thanks to Masaryk's guidance, the Czechoslovak people have come through the first difficult decade of freedom with a high measure of success. They have admitted their German fellow-citizens to a full share in public life and in the government of the State. In an era marked by confusion of thought, and in a Europe wavering between a facile relapse into dictatorial tyrannies and sturdy adherence to democratic systems, they have maintained freedom of conscience and opinion, and orderly national life. Masaryk has helped them to understand that, save as conscious exponents of humane principles, they cannot assure their own place in the modern world; and that, in the light of these principles, they can pursue no other policy than that of peace at home and abroad.

COAL AND THE LEAGUE ONE HOURS LEVEL FOR ALL EUROPE

HOURS and wages and conditions of labour in the coal mines of Europe are to be discussed at the International Labour Conference which opens at Geneva on May 30. That was decided by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its meeting last month, on the proposition of the British delegate, Mr. Humbert Wolfe.

All this has a history. The cut-throat competition in the coal industry—a competition from which Great Britain suffers seriously—was discussed by the League Assembly last September, and referred by it to the Council, which requested the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call a conference of coal

conditions of labour generally—the question of hours was tackled first, because it seemed to offer the best hope of agreement. Inequality in working hours, moreover, is a genuine source of international suspicion, because though it may not in fact be true that production is higher on the basis of an 8-hour day than of a 7-hour, a great many people think it is, and there would be much less recrimination and talk of unfair competition if all the minefields in Europe worked the same hours.

The Time below Ground

Therefore, it is in the European mines that a uniform day is required. But how—and here comes a question that might hardly seem necessary—how is the working day to be measured? The reason for asking that is that a 7-hour day in Great Britain and a 7-hour day in Germany, for example, mean quite different things. It depends on whether you are talking about the time the miners are underground or the time they are actually at work. The difference arises from the fact that the men have to be lowered from the pit mouth and then walk, or be carried by trams or trains, to the coal-face or wherever they may be working, and in some old and deep pits in this country that process may take as long as 45 minutes, with, of course, another 45 minutes for regaining the surface at the end of the shift. Obviously, it makes all the difference in the world whether these "winding-times," as they are called, have to be added to the statutory working day or subtracted from it.

In Great Britain one winding-time is included in the 8-hour day and one has to be added to it. Since, therefore, the average winding-time in British pits is 36 minutes, the miner is actually below the surface 8½ hours, not 8. The Conference decided to establish uniformity on this point at any rate, and by the surprisingly decisive vote of 25 to 0 agreed to recommend that the statutory day everywhere should mean the time "bank-to-bank," i.e., the whole time between descent from the surface (or bank) to return to the surface again. Both winding-times, therefore, are to be included in the working day. That does not completely solve the problem, for in some mines, particularly in Germany, it is arranged that the men who go down in the first cage in the morning shall come up in the first cage at night. In Great Britain, on the other hand, there is commonly a rush for the last cage down and the first up. The question, therefore, of making the working day uniform for the individual miner throughout Europe still remains open.

How Long a Day?

The next point at the Conference was what the length of the working day should be. On that there were wide differences of opinion within fairly narrow limits, the end of it all being the unsatisfactory result that not one of the various proposals put forward secured a majority. The first proposal for a 7-hour day (which on the bank-to-bank principle would mean an average of only 6 hours at the coal face in British mines) was beaten by 18 to 9. The British Government representative then proposed 7½ hours, this motion being lost by the narrow majority of 13 to 11, with 3 abstentions. An 8-hour proposal was beaten by precisely the same figures, and then a Dutch proposal came within an ace of being carried. The figures were 13 for and 13 against, with one abstention, and under the rules governing I.L.O. conferences the motion was regarded as not carried. This proposal was for a working day



A MINER OF COAL
(A 15th century brass of a Forest of Dean Miner—in his mouth a stick with a candle affixed by a lump of clay).

experts early in 1930 with a view to preparing an international treaty or convention which could be discussed by the Labour Conference in May-June.

Nine Coal-producing States

That is a mere matter of machinery. The important thing is that the conference of coal experts did duly meet at Geneva in January and hammer out the question of hours and conditions of labour for something over a fortnight. Nine nations were represented altogether—Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Holland—all of them producers of coal, for this particular inquiry was concerned with the production of coal, not with the arrangements for selling it. That belongs rather to the sphere of the League's Economic Committee. Each country had three delegates, one representing the Government, one the employers and one the workers. Mr. W. R. Smith, Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade in Great Britain, was elected chairman.

The Conference had an extraordinarily difficult job before it, and since the job will have to be done over again in June it is just as well to understand what it is. Of the three heads of reference—wages, hours and

of 7½ hours for a limited transitional period, followed by a statutory day of 7½ hours. In the end, therefore, no resolution on hours was adopted at all. The question now goes forward to the full Labour Conference in June, and with it will go the mass of information acquired in preparation for the Experts' Conference of January, and added to in the discussions of the Conference itself. It appeared that, reckoned by the day, hours in British

mines were as long as any on the Continent (except Poland) or longer, but reckoned by the week or fortnight they made a better show, owing to the practice of working a 5½-day week or 11-day fortnight in this country.

This, briefly, is what the Experts' Conference did and where it left off. It is at this point, therefore, that the Labour Conference in June will take up its task.

WAR BOOKS AND PEACE

THE APPEAL OF ADVENTURE AND COMRADESHIP

By VERNON BARTLETT

[Mr. Vernon Bartlett is himself author of a War Novel, "No Man's Land," and, in collaboration with Mr. R. C. Sherriff, is writing the novel of the play "Journey's End."]

THOSE who hope to find in this brief article a guide to war books and war plays had better turn on, since I have probably read fewer war books than nine out of ten subscribers to HEADWAY. But the fact that few publishers now produce lists which do not contain at least one or two books based on the war is too interesting to pass without comment.



Mr. Vernon Bartlett

We have, of course, had other waves of war literature. Before 1918 there were the books full of sentimental patriotism, written in many cases by men who to-day can hardly believe they ever wrote in so hysterical a vein, and immediately after the war (although to a lesser degree in this country than in France and among the Central Powers) we had the violent and bitter reaction you find in *Le Feu*, by Barbusse, and *Les Croix de Bois*, by Dorgèlès.

But one of the most interesting features of the present fashion for war literature is that it is not confined either to the heroic or to the morbid aspect of war. *All Quiet on the Western Front* is, it is true, as morbid as any book could be, but for this very reason it has many critics, of whom I venture to be one, on the ground that it pays too much attention to the horrors and too little to the humours of war.

Horrors and Humours

Whether we like it or no, there is a good deal of truth in a remark someone made to me recently: "War," he said, "was three-quarters picnic and one-quarter hell." Fortunately, picnics do not as a rule contain so large a proportion of boring moments, but it is true that the more hellish the war was, the more heavenly the moments of respite from it became. There is, I think, a danger that those of us who hope by war literature to further the cause of peace overlook the immense moral comfort that was gained from the comradeship that resulted from risks and hardships faced in common. Personally, I am convinced that *All Quiet on the Western Front*, for example, appeals more to the non-combatant than to the man who saw anything of the fighting, since he cannot but feel that it gives a one-sided picture. By causing a certain reaction, it may do almost as much harm as those other books which aim at, and succeed in, glorifying war.

The Urgent Call

The book or the play which gives too much emphasis to the horrors of war will never, I am convinced (I

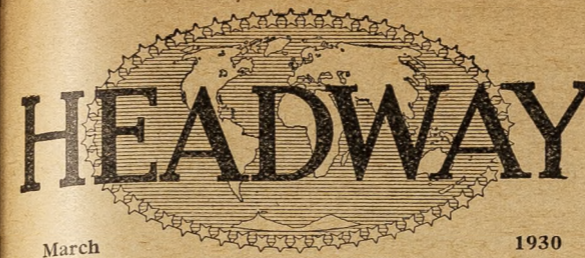
might almost say, I hope), turn members of the younger generation into pacifists. There is in youth an inspiring readiness to devote oneself to something greater than mere material interests. The more the horrors of war are emphasised, the more the young man will feel that his country's need of him is urgent, the more ready he will be to enlist the moment war is declared. *Journey's End* is a successful and valuable play not because it exaggerates the lighter or gloomier sides of war, but because it is so close to the truth—and to the whole truth—that it illustrates the futility of war far better than a play written from a propagandist standpoint (*The Rumour* or *The Conquering Hero*, for example) can ever do. That at least is, I think, the effect on people who were born in the nineteenth century; how it influences members of the younger generation it is more difficult to say. It has been staged remarkably well by school dramatic societies, but an understanding of, and sympathy for, young Raleigh is not necessarily a good thing from the point of view of peace.

I feel that we have to tackle war by admitting frankly that it gave to many young men the happiest, the keenest and the most inspiring moments of their lives. "Comradeship" is an awful word, but they were all living together as comrades, with much more definite and clear ambitions to achieve than they ever have in peace time, when all that inspires many of us is a desire to make money. Somehow our task is to get that same sort of comradeship and feeling of adventure into the struggle for peace.

Service for the State

Fascism, with all its more obvious faults, does seem to have canalised the desire for service, which produced the knight-errants of legend and the young volunteers of 1914, into a stream of desire to serve the State. Perhaps one day young men will be conscripted to serve their country, not as soldiers or sailors or airmen, but as coal miners, road menders or dustmen. This may sound dull to the young man whose school books are full of accounts of deeds of valour, but in the changed circumstances of the world to-day it seems to be the sort of way in which the generous self sacrifice of youth could become the benefit to mankind that it ought to be.

If war were merely sordid and bestial, if it existed merely as an outlet for our less creditable passions, it would not be the danger to civilisation that it is. The war books and plays that move us most are those which do not seek to hide the heroism and generosity brought out by a conception of patriotism which 1914-1918 taught us, or should have taught us, was terribly misguided. They make clear the futility of this sacrifice and the danger to the Fatherland of this conception of patriotism. By so doing they may help us to find out how we can serve humanity, and not merely rival sections of it.



March

1930

COVENANT AND PACT

THE proposal to bring the League of Nations Covenant into harmony with the Kellogg Pact by slight amendment of the former document has raised certain issues which HEADWAY readers ought to understand.

First as to the proposal itself. It was made originally at the last League Assembly by the British Government, and was unanimously approved in principle. It is, on the face of it, simple and logical enough. When the League Covenant was drafted in 1919 it was not felt possible to prohibit war altogether. What the Covenant did provide was that no nation might go to war suddenly. It was always to try certain methods of getting its disputes settled peacefully before it took up arms. That attempt at peaceful settlement might take as long as six months, and even for three months after that neither nation concerned in the dispute might fight. But at the end of that period, if the League Council had considered the dispute and failed to reach a unanimous decision about it (the votes of the disputants themselves not being counted), then the nations were free to fight.

This is the so-called "gap in the Covenant," and this gap is closed by the Kellogg Pact, for the signatories of that document give two pledges, one, that they will never resort to war as an instrument of national policy, and, two, that they will never seek a settlement of their disputes except by peaceful means. Practically the same States have signed both Pact and Covenant, and there seems some objection to their maintaining two different standards, and appearing to put the League Covenant on a lower level than the Pact. To amend the Covenant is, on the face of it, simple enough. All that is necessary is to take the Article which says that disputants agree in no case to resort to war till three months after a verdict of some sort on their case has been given, and make it read simply that they agree "in no case to resort to war," and leave it at that.

But now comes in an interesting objection with some influential names behind it. Under the Covenant as it stands the question, of course, arises of what is to be done about a State that goes to war in defiance of its pledges and attacks another State which is prepared to keep its promise. As everyone knows, the Covenant provides for that in that so-called "sanctions," or penalties, of Article XVI. That Article lays it down that loyal members of the League shall cut off all commercial relations with the offending State, and even prevent anyone else, i.e., a non-member of the League, from continuing to trade with it. The offender, in other words, is to be brought to book by being isolated and boycotted, and the question of taking military action against it as well is raised, though without any binding obligation on any State to take such action. These penalties come into effect in the case of any war involving a breach of the Covenant pledges, that is to say, in the case of nine wars out of ten. But if the Covenant is amended to bring it into harmony with the Kellogg Pact they will come into effect in the case of ten wars out of ten, because, of course, every war will in that case involve a breach of pledges by the nation that starts it.

This, contend the objectors to the proposal, increases the danger of complications with the United States, because any attempt to boycott an offending State may involve preventing everyone, the United States included, from trading with it. The danger, admittedly, exists already in nine cases out of ten, but in future it will exist in every case, and the country most likely to get into difficulties will be Great Britain, because the British Navy is sure to be called on to take a leading part in cutting off supplies from the offending State.

Now this objection rests on three assumptions: first, that the United States will determine to go on trading even with a nation which has flagrantly violated, not only the Covenant, but the Kellogg Pact, for which America was largely responsible; secondly, that the danger of complications with America will be substantially greater if the Covenant is amended than it is to-day; and, thirdly, that the British Navy is sure to be heavily implicated in any action the League may take. As to the first of these, it is pretty certain that America would not want to trade with the aggressor, though she is not disposed to give a general undertaking not to do so. As to the second, the danger, such as it is, is certainly increased, but certainly is not substantially increased. It is on the third point that further thought seems most necessary.

What, in fact, would happen if the League had to call for united economic action against an offending State? If it happened to be a State without a sea coast, the position would be simple. All the surrounding States, being members of the League, would declare their frontiers closed and refuse to allow any goods to pass to or from the territories of the State in question. The difficulties only arise when sea-borne supplies are involved. But here, too, the risks are very limited, provided League members abide by their obligations. All of them, in accordance with the Covenant, would refuse to allow any goods to be sent from their shores to those of the offending State. The only trade it could do, therefore, would be with non-members of the League, and of these the United States is the only one worth considering.

Are we to-day in danger of being involved in a clash with the United States in attempting to enforce a League blockade, and should we be in substantially greater danger if the Covenant prohibited war as absolutely as the Kellogg Pact does? Article XVI, it must be observed, lays no definite mandate, and could lay no definite mandate, on the British fleet. Only the British Government can decide what the British Navy shall do or shall not do. Article XVI recognises that itself, by providing that the League Council can only "recommend" to each State member of the League what contribution it shall make to the armed forces used to protect the Covenant of the League. That applies to the use of ships for enforcing a blockade as much as to the use of ships for bombarding the coasts of the offending State (if such a procedure were ever to be contemplated). It may be said quite frankly that no British Government would be likely to allow the fleet to be used in such a way as to bring this country into open collision with the United States. A grave situation would, no doubt, arise if that situation had to be faced. It would mean that the League blockade would in part break down. It might break down completely, for if American goods were flowing freely into the territories of the offending State, traders of other countries would bring pressure to bear on their Governments to remove any embargo on the goods they wanted to export. All these possibilities arise under the Covenant as it is. The question is, would the dangers they involve be substantially increased if the Covenant were amended so as to prohibit, as has been said, ten wars out of ten instead of, say, nine out of ten? It seems obvious that they would not.

THE WORLD IN 1930 THINGS TO REMEMBER ABOUT EUROPE

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THE new map of Europe is getting a familiar thing now. Even those of us who were brought up on the old one have almost forgotten what it looked like, so completely have the new colours and the new outlines imposed themselves on our minds.

But new outlines do not impose themselves so easily on the people who have to live inside the outlines. To people who have to live outside them when they want to be inside the experience can be more galling still, for if they are living outside their own country's outlines, they must be living inside some other country's—which can sometimes be very unpleasant.

That, however, is really part of a special problem—the minorities problem—which we are not called on to discuss here. What we are discussing is the general condition of Europe in 1930 and the facts any casual student of Europe—meaning by that simply the ordinary newspaper reader—needs to bear in mind.

A Ten-year-old Map

The first fact is that the map of Europe, as we know it, is no more than 10 years old. It dates from 1920. As compared with the old map, it contains more States, and, on the average, smaller States. One or two, it is true—France and Italy and Rumania in particular—are larger than they used to be, but Russia and Germany and Austria and Turkey and Bulgaria are smaller. And the new States, except Poland, tend to be on the small side.

The second thing to remember is that the war, which brought the new map into being, left a legacy both of hatreds and of friendships. Hatred is perhaps too strong a word to use. But it is necessary, at any rate, to keep in mind, in reading the political news in the papers of to-day, the instinctive antagonism, now considerably diminishing in volume, between Germany and France in the west and the stronger antagonisms in the east between Germany and Poland and between Hungary and her three immediate neighbours, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Alliances for Safety

Antagonism tends always to breed fear, and fear dictates the formation of protective alliances as a matter of prudence. There is one limited protective alliance in Eastern Europe, that known as the Little Entente (as opposed to the greater entente of the major Allies a decade ago) whose members are the three States just mentioned as Hungary's neighbours. The immediate and undisguised purpose of the alliance is mutual defence against Hungary in case Hungary, chafing against the restrictions she had to suffer and the loss of territory imposed on her through the Treaty of Trianon (which is for Hungary what the Treaty of Versailles was for Germany), should attempt to get back her own by war.

But the Little Entente is only part of a larger system, not, indeed, completely of definite alliances, but of quite definite understandings, of which France is the pivot. France may be on perfectly friendly terms with Germany, but the fact remains that Germany would naturally like to see the Treaty of Versailles, which penalised her heavily, altered, while France is determined at all costs to keep it unaltered. It is to the interest of a good many other States to keep it unaltered too. Broadly speaking, of course, the victorious States want to keep the map of Europe as it is, while the conquered would like to change it back to what it was. Out of that community of feeling has grown up a pretty close understanding between France and Poland and the

three Little Entente States mentioned above, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, France helping the smaller States financially and in other ways.

A Cooling Friendship

As well as a certain antagonism between former enemies, there is also at the moment a certain coolness between two former allies, France and Italy. It arises from a number of causes, which cannot be discussed here, but there it is, and it is undoubtedly a factor in European politics. Italy, in particular, feels rather hemmed in at sea with a French fleet within reach of her western shores and whatever submarines a Yugoslavia allied with France may choose to maintain within striking distance of her eastern. There is also a certain soreness over the activities of various anti-Fascist Italians who have taken refuge in France. Italy tends, incidentally, towards friendship with Hungary to counterbalance France's friendship with Hungary's enemies of the Little Entente.

As for the Balkans, they are notorious as the home of antagonisms. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are perhaps the most uneasy neighbours, for Greece is on better terms than she used to be with both those two Powers. But the Balkans are a great deal less explosive than they were. As has often been observed, the best of all testimonies to the efficacy of the League of Nations is the fact that there has been no war between any Balkan States since the League came into being.

Poles and Liths

The one other conspicuous antagonism in Europe is between the two neighbour States of Poland and Lithuania, their mutual hostility dating back to the war of 1920, in the course of which the Polish General Zeligowski seized the town of Vilna, at that moment held by the Lithuanians, in spite of a truce which had just been concluded over a large part of the front.

Aside from these more or less active friendships and more or less latent antagonisms or rivalries, stand Russia—which constitutes a problem in itself, half European and half Asiatic—and States like the three Scandinavian countries (Norway, Sweden and Denmark), Holland and Switzerland and Spain, which remained neutral in the war and keep themselves studiously aloof from both antagonisms and special friendships to-day. Finland falls into rather the same category.

The League as Unifier

But is the picture of Europe to-day made up of nothing but blacks and whites—blacks for hostilities and whites for alliances and friendships? It is not. The salient characteristic of Europe in some ways is its unification and stabilisation through the League of Nations. But for people who read the papers and want to understand what they see there, some knowledge of the general tendencies of the different countries is essential as a background. It is well to realise, for example, that a little trouble between Poland and Germany is always likely to be more serious than a little trouble between Poland and France, for the first pair are predisposed to dislike one another and the second pair predisposed to be friends. Similarly, a spark in the Balkans is liable to fall on tinder, whereas in Scandinavia it will fall on nothing but damp twigs.

There are numbers of other features that need to be noticed in the life of Europe, notably the multiplication of customs systems and the consequent extension (by some 8,000 miles) of the lines of tariff barriers as the result of the increase in the number of States. But only fundamentals can be touched on here.

MISSIONS AND MANDATES WHERE THE LEAGUE FINDS ALLIES IN AFRICA

By THE REV. W. WILSON CASH, D.S.O.

THE League of Nations stands for a world-wide human brotherhood, for a new social order in the midst of a world transformation, for reforms in education and health, for a humanitarianism that seeks to uplift peoples and races, for the combating of social evils such as opium, drugs, etc., and for that general welfare of the human race that will make for prosperity with contentment, for honest labour without exploitation, for the trusteeship of child-races that makes their interests the primary consideration.

The question I wish to discuss in this article is whether the aims and ideals of the missionary enterprise are

movement. The missionary is in closer touch with the natives than anyone else. He knows where the shoe pinches, and through him the most valuable information is obtained in all anthropological research.

The mandates given to European Powers for Tanganyika and other countries contain a clause guaranteeing liberty of conscience. It may be news to some that this clause was inserted as a direct result of missionary representations when the mandates were being drawn up.

The missionary believes he has a message of hope, emancipation and love for the world that is something infinitely greater than the teaching of mere dogma. To him this message gives an entirely new value to human life. It carries with it social implications for the uplift of races and peoples. He seeks to preserve the best in native life and culture and he opposes therefore whatever makes for detribalisation, the secularising of life and the exploitation of native lands and labour for Western gain.

Feuds, Wars and Raids

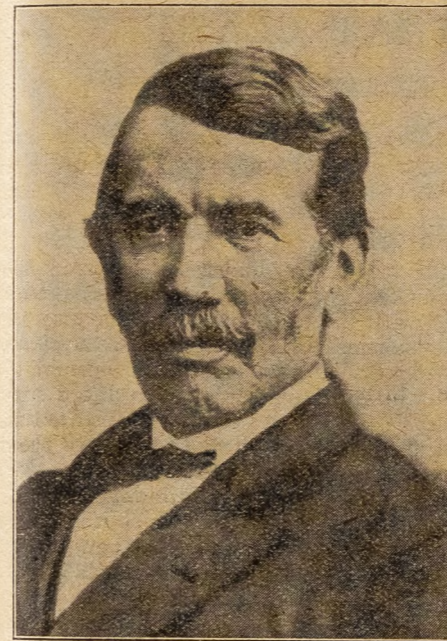
Looking back over 50 years of missionary work in Africa, the first striking impression is the extraordinary change that has come over the life of many races. Blood feuds, tribal wars and raids have over a large area of Central Africa entirely ceased. While one would not minimise the great contribution made by Governments to this happier condition, yet officials are the first to acknowledge the work of peace done by missionaries, through whose direct influence in many cases local wars have given place to ordered government. Again, one thinks of the days of Livingstone and the horrors of slavery as he saw it and the change since then. In Uganda it was due to 40 chiefs, who had come under Christian influence, that hundreds of slaves were voluntarily liberated and a movement was started for the complete abolition of slavery in that part of Africa.

The facing of such problems as slavery and tribal wars only opened up the road to deeper issues in African life, and more settled conditions made fresh demands for social service. The power of the witch doctor was an unmitigated evil, and the consequent fear of evil spelt misery to tribe and home. To combat this, something positive and practical was necessary, and the missionaries have it to their credit that they initiated in large parts of Africa medical service, by which they not only attended to the sick and suffering, but also commenced preventive work for the general improvement of a nation's health, natives themselves being trained for welfare and maternity work, and in Uganda the rise of the birth rate over the death rate has been due almost entirely to the hundreds of maternity centres and trained native midwives through which missionaries have tackled a great problem in national life.

Teachers and Doctors

In the sphere of education, statistics published a few years ago showed that among the child races of Africa 90 per cent. of the educational work was being carried on by missionaries. In fact, without this education given by missionaries, governments would have been sorely handicapped in their policy of utilising native talent and leadership wherever possible.

Education and medical service have in turn opened fresh doors for a further penetration of African life by all that is best and noblest. The people themselves have awakened, and to the prosperity in many places credit must be given to the sacrificial service of men and



David Livingstone

servicing this same end and how far missionary work is a contribution to the general moral and material improvement of native races. I wish to speak of Africa, mainly as illustrating the main contention that missionary work is, as General Smuts said recently: "The greatest and most powerful influence for good in Africa. . . . Missionary enterprise, with its universal Christian message and its vast educative and civilising effort, is and remains the greatest and most powerful influence for good in Africa. The missionary, the trader, the traveller, the railway builder, the labour recruiter and the soldier have wrought vast changes in Africa since Livingstone's day. He was the first, the greatest, and the most beneficent of the new forces for change and progress."

Understanding the Native

First of all, let us look at some of the things that stand to the credit of missionaries. In Africa the major problem in sound administration is a right understanding of the African mentality and customs. Anthropology, therefore, becomes a study not of academical interest but of vital importance for the whole future of these races. The Institute of African Languages and Culture, which is doing such valuable service both to Governments and Africans, had its inception in the missionary

women who have sought to practise and to teach a brotherhood without distinction of class or race. The home has become a new place in African life, many an evil custom has disappeared as the civilising influence of this work has been increasingly appreciated by the natives themselves.

Land and Forced Labour

There are still many grave problems. The missionary is vitally concerned with such questions as land tenure in Kenya Colony, forced labour and exploitation, and he stands for the protection of unsophisticated Africans who cannot protect themselves. His influence is wholly on the side of the policy of African administration in the interests of the Africans.

The best in our Western civilisation has behind it a background of ethics and morals which has ever made the spiritual of greater importance than the material in all development, and the future of Africa depends too upon the inculcation of those spiritual and moral forces which will save the continent from disaster in days to come. Europe and Africa are inseparably linked together, but current events may lead us directly to race conflict and bloodshed or to peace through joint co-operation. In the task of securing a lasting peace and goodwill, the work of the League of Nations is of immense importance, and in it I venture to think the missionary enterprise has a great, and in some respects a unique, contribution to give.

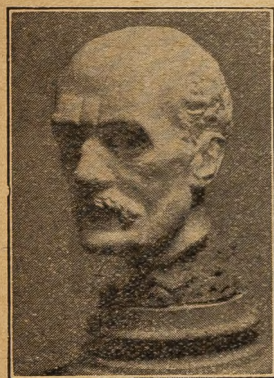
THAT GAP

TWO HALF-WORLDS THAT CLASH

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY

An article by Professor Gilbert Murray on a world-problem in which the United States is vitally concerned has aroused so much interest on the other side of the Atlantic (where it first appeared) as to justify its reproduction in HEADWAY.

THE framework of World Peace is, after these ten years, nearly complete. I will dwell here on one of the gaps that are still open and which, in spite of very real difficulties, will have to be filled before nations can live in security.



Prof. Gilbert Murray

The driving force behind the Covenant was, of course, a great ideal, but the actual contracts which governments, at the beginning, were required to sign were phrased with extreme caution. In sum they amounted to three: (1) Conference: All nations are agreed never to make war without first coming into conference. On the other hand, unless the conference was unanimous, they still retained their ultimate freedom to fight. (2) Court: An international court was set up to decide all legal disputes. But no nation need go to it unless it wished. (3) Sanctions: If any nation should make war contrary to its Covenant, the other nations would refuse to give it any supplies.

Filling the Holes

The obvious gaps in the first two undertakings have by now been, for all practical purposes, filled. The gap in (1) is filled for members of the League by the Kellogg Pact. Parties to a dispute must confer; and even if the conference fails the disputants must not resort to war. The gap in (2) is filled by the general signing of the Optional Clause. Almost all civilised nations have now signed and are bound to appear before the Court if summoned.

The great gap that still remains is in the Sanctions, and the filling of it, in some form or other, rests with the United States.

Under the pre-League system, to which, of course, the United States still belongs, any war was the private affair of the belligerents. Other nations were "neutrals" and were free to pursue their own interests irrespective of the rights or wrongs of the case.

War as a Crime

Speaking practically, under the League system war can only make its appearance as an international crime, beginning with a breach of treaty and proceeding to wholesale violence. It is regarded not as a private affair, but as "an act of war against all members of the League," who are bound (1) not to afford supplies to the criminal, (2) to take whatever steps are considered wise and effectual to safeguard or restore the peace.

The trouble comes from the clash of two systems of law. The United States cannot be expected to accept the judgment of a conference to which it is not a party; and in any case does not admit these new-fangled international duties. Consequently, it remains "neutral" between the criminal and its victim, and rather passionately insists on its sacred right, as a sovereign independent state, to pursue its legitimate trade in whatever way it chooses.

The Rights of the Neutral

Mexico and Russia, of course, take the same attitude. In their cases no great harm results. But the United States is so enormously powerful that the mere announcement that she intended to stand on her full rights as a neutral under the old system would be tantamount to guaranteeing to any war-plotting government a complete service of supplies. It might do even more. The old system of law, or, rather, of etiquette, about the rights of neutrals and belligerents is so complex and so unsuited to modern conditions that any serious attempt by the League to exercise a blockade of the aggressor would probably involve a danger of war with the United States, which would thus be in the position of acting as an ally of the criminal government in breaking its treaty and destroying the peace of the world.

I doubt if this is the wish of the people of the United States. It is merely the consequence of the fact that the civilised world is now living under two different systems. If it was disastrous for America to be "half slave and half free," it will be even more disastrous if in case of war half the world regards itself as having a duty to safeguard the peace and the other half insists on its right as a neutral to pursue its own interests.

This is a very grave difficulty. It may be met in many different ways, but it is for the people of the United States to find out what way will best suit them.

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"It would have taken me as many years to learn by any ordinary method as much (French) as I have learnt in months by yours." (P. 145.)

"In three months I have already learnt more Italian than I should have learnt in many years of study in the usual way." (I. M. 124.)

"I have recently returned from Spain, where I have been doing Consular work. With only the knowledge of Spanish gained from your Course I was able within a month to tackle any sort of correspondence and conversation." (S. C. 279.)

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"I have already enjoyed the Spanish Course extremely. I would never have thought that a language could have been taught so easily and efficiently. I can now listen to talks from Spanish wireless stations with pleasure." (S. T. 319.)

"I have nothing but praise for your system. I cannot conceive of a simpler or more effective method of learning languages, and I shall recommend it on every possible occasion. There is only one method of learning languages for me—the Pelman." (S. 330.)

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THE DOPE MENACE CUTTING OFF THE HEADS OF THE HYDRA

By FELIX MORLEY

THE League's experiences in its efforts to suppress the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs have been somewhat like those of Hercules when he went out to slay the Hydra. It will be recalled that, whenever the legendary hero cut a head off that formidable beast, two more immediately sprang into the place of the one eliminated. So it has seemed heretofore with the work of the Opium Advisory Committee. For every case of wholesale drug smuggling which has been run down, two more of an unrevealed nature have been seen lurking in the background. And just as Hercules at last disposed of the Hydra by burning the brute, so has this League Committee finally decided to adopt drastic tactics which in the long run promise a far greater measure of success than any yet achieved.

The thirteenth session of the Advisory Committee on Opium, which sat at Geneva from January 20 to February 14, was the longest that hard-working body has yet held. But from its extended deliberations was produced, with unanimous agreement, a far-reaching plan for checking the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs—morphia, heroin, cocaine, and others—through direct limitation of manufacture.

A British Initiative

This new plan, which results from a definite request for such action made by the Tenth Assembly at the instance of the British delegation, has three fundamental points. It would *Limit Production* of narcotic drugs by securing annually from each country estimates of the quantity of drugs it needed for strictly legitimate purposes. It would *Allocate this Production* by agreements either between the Governments of manufacturing countries, or between the manufacturers themselves with the approval of their Governments. It would *Control Distribution* by establishing a Central Office which would be authorised to approve or disapprove of exports of narcotics from the supplying countries, according to whether the shipment falls within the ascertained requirements of the consuming country.

Such, in barest outline, is the plan prepared by the Opium Advisory Committee as a long step towards more efficient suppression of the steadily increasing illicit traffic in habit-forming drugs. This end, it can be seen, is likely to be achieved in several ways.

What the World Needs

In the first place, the national estimates will in time show pretty accurately what the world's need in narcotics for purely medical and scientific purposes is, thus making it easier to discover how far world production is in excess of that need. In the second place, the unequally rigorous scrutiny now given by the different governments in granting export licences is now fortified by the further supervision of an international Central Office. In the third place, every encouragement is given to the drug manufacturers to band themselves together in a supervised international trust, where an ethical standard somewhat similar to those prevalent in the mediæval guilds could be expected to develop. The existence of such a standard among drug manufacturers, plus the difficulties which would face those remaining outside the *cartel*, would undoubtedly help to eliminate much of the illicit traffic at its source.

Addicts in Egypt

The alarming extent of that traffic at the present time was amply illustrated during the recent sessions of the Opium Advisory Committee. It was easy to note the profound impression made upon the hardened and somewhat cynical members of the committee when Russell Pasha, an Englishman in charge of the Egyptian Government's newly-established Narcotics Bureau, revealed the extent of the growing ravages of "dope" in that country. Before the war, said Russell, there were some hashish addicts in Egypt, but slaves of the more virulent narcotics were unknown. Before the introduction of these European poisons, largely from Switzerland and France, "there was no more healthy, hard-working and cheerful class of person in the world than the Egyptian agricultural labourer. To-day every village in Egypt has its heroin victims, and they are the youth of the country."

As the evidence before the committee showed, it is not merely Egypt, but many parts of the world which have the same tale of increasing and demoralising drug addiction to bring forward. Stimulated by such irrefutable evidence as that given by Russell Pasha, by Mr. A. H. Sirks, Chief of Police of Rotterdam and the Committee's new assessor, and by other printed and spoken proofs, it was for the first time decided to make a "Black List" of individuals and firms known to be among the chief offenders in the illicit trade. A number of such, in Switzerland, France and Japan, are named in the Committee's draft report to the Council. It will be interesting to see whether the anxiety of certain Governments to shield powerful transgressors will result in omission of these names before the report is printed.

Bad for the Smugglers

The Opium Committee suggests, with due appreciation of the urgency of the problem, that if its scheme of Limitation be accepted in principle by the League Council at its May session, an international conference to embody the plan in a Treaty should be convened next October.

A long session, and sometimes a very dull and technical session—the one just completed by the Opium Advisory Committee. But few would deny that it showed more determination to kill the Hydra of the illicit drug traffic than have any of its predecessors. It proved that the extraordinary efficient international organisation of "dope" traders is subject to constant check from the steadily developing co-operation of international police forces, a salutary trend to which the League lends support in many ways. It showed that any half-heartedness on the part of certain national representatives on the Opium Committee is more than countered by the vigilance of others. Several *mauvais quarts d'heure* for laggard members resulted from the rapier-like cross-examinations of Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the burning sincerity of Senator Cavazzoni (Italy), and the firm persistence of J. K. Caldwell, the "unofficial" but active American member of the Committee. For those coining fortunes out of the degradation and misery of drug addicts this thirteenth session of the Committee carried unlucky portents.

ANTI-GOD

IT is not surprising that deep feeling should have been aroused in this country by the reports that have for some weeks been appearing in the Press regarding the persecution of religion in Russia. The situation is obscure, and the impulse to say or do something quickly must be weighed in the light of various considerations. In all such cases what matters is not to relieve our own emotions, legitimately stirred though they may be, but to take such action as may seem best calculated to improve a situation we deplore. If it should appear that the wisest course is silence, then silence, however unwelcome, should be observed.

That is a general conclusion applying to many situations, not simply that which appears to exist in Russia. The word "appears" must be underlined. For the first essential, above all others, is to be sure of the facts. That is difficult at the present moment, for the British Government itself confesses it is not sure of them. A report which has been called for from the British Ambassador at Moscow has not been received, or at all events, has not been published at the date when this article is being written. There is no doubt that religion is being persecuted in Russia—the Christian religion in particular. It has been persecuted ever since the Soviet system was established, but whether there has been any sudden change in the policy of the Government in the last six months is not so far clear. The Churches themselves are open. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., who returned to England from Japan through Russia in January, mentioned that he worshipped peacefully with a congregation of over 1,000 in the Cathedral of the Redeemer in Moscow. The hostility of the Soviet Government to organised religion is due largely to the fact that organised religion has been in the past the main support of the Czarist system which the Bolsheviks overthrew and against which they have declared undying war, and to the suspicion that many priests are still anti-Soviet at heart.

Nothing of this could palliate or condone for a moment attacks on men and women for no other cause than their confession of the Christian faith, or, indeed, for that matter, of the Islamic faith. The question is what can be done to help, and whether there is any danger that steps taken under a natural and eager desire to help may, in fact, have the opposite effect. The pronouncements of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and of the Pope have been framed with wisdom and restraint, but with a force that must give them a universal appeal. They have, nevertheless, aroused bitter resentment in Moscow, and it is impossible to say whether their effect will be to make the lot of Russian Christians easier or harder.

So far as the League of Nations is concerned, it clearly has no formal status in the matter. Russia is not a member of the League and, even if it were, the League would have no more authority to interfere in the interests of minorities there than it has in the interests of minorities in, say, Italy or France. As to the suggestion that the matter could be raised at Geneva under Article XI of the Covenant, as something which constitutes a threat to peace "or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends," that is really straining Article XI too far. Peace with Russia is not endangered by anything in the internal condition of Russia, and the League Council could, therefore, not discuss the question under Article XI.

The suggestion that a solemn resolution of protest by the whole League Assembly would have a salutary effect stands on another footing, but delegates would need to have very convincing evidence that such action would produce the desired result before they committed themselves to a step whose consequences might be precisely the opposite.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

A DICTATOR AT HOME

Pilsudski. By Rom Landau. (Jarrolds. 18s.)

A rather flamboyant life of the Polish dictator, casting interesting light on his career as a rebel against the Russian authorities in his early days. The account of the seizure of Vilna under Pilsudski's orders in 1920 omits all mention of the proceedings before the League of Nations Council and of the part played by the League in arranging the armistice which General Zeligowski violated by his attack on Vilna. The League, indeed, does not appear in the index of the volume at all, in spite of the rôle perpetually thrust on it in the adjustment of disputes between Poland and her neighbours.

The author's first sentence is "This is a romantic book." It may be added that it is obviously a book by a romantic writer, who imports a great deal too much imagination into his work. It would be interesting to know to what vigilant authority he is indebted for his knowledge of the fact that, when Pilsudski was sitting one evening alone in his room at the Belvedere, reflecting to the extent of three pages and a bit, "a fly buzzed twice round the table, buzzed in the Marshal's ear, settled on his hand, which lay inert before him. He felt nothing." Probably the fly laid the information itself.

AN ANSWER TO SMUTS

White and Black in Africa. By J. H. Oldham. (Longmans. 2s.)

Mr. Oldham makes a searching criticism of the substance of General Smuts' lectures (reviewed in last month's HEADWAY). His little book is well documented, and, in conjunction with the lectures themselves, makes stimulating reading. While challenging many statements of fact, the writer does not deny that General Smuts "when he gets away from what seems to be the trammels of his South African experience, and surveys with fresh eyes the problems of international relations and of modern democracy, propounds ideas which are full of stimulus and suggestion in their bearing on the problems created by the contact between the white and the black races in Africa." The contention to which he takes particular exception is that the African, "as free from the stirrings of divine discontent characteristic of Europeans, as taking readily to a routine settled by white employers, and as easily contented when given some bones to chew and plenty of matter to wrangle over," will not greatly change. Mr. Oldham has produced a well-argued case.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

The Naval Blockade, 1914-1918. By Louis Guichard. (Philip Allen. 15s. net.)

A singularly well-informed study of the forms of pressure exercised by the Allied fleets during the War. Lieutenant Guichard is not out to prove anything, but simply to study facts. What does emerge from his survey is the conclusion that, under the stress of circumstances the Allies carried the exercise of the blockade weapon far beyond the limits known until then to international law, and, secondly, that what is commonly termed economic action can rapidly be made extremely effective. In the War, practically only two fleets were engaged in exerting pressure so far as Europe was concerned (though, of course, the entry of the United States into the War in 1917 made an enormous difference). It is clear, therefore, that anything like united action under the auspices of the League against an aggressor would in an a blockade of almost irresistible pressure on the latter.

A NOVEL BY MR. BARTLETT

No Man's Land. By Vernon Bartlett. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

A war novel by Mr. Bartlett can hardly fail to be worth reading. The author's admirers will probably not rank this among his best work, but it is distinctly good work none the less. Most of the book consists of a series of reflections and reminiscences by a wounded officer lying in a shell-crater in No Man's Land. As Mr. Bartlett's readers know, he always has skill to draw tears from the depths as well as laughter from the surface.

Tariff Walls. By Sir Clive Morrison Bell. (Murray. 7s. 6d.)

All the world knows of Sir Clive Morrison Bell's tariff map by this time, but all the world does not know how the idea of the map started and the vicissitudes and adventures that befell its author in working the idea out. The aim was the laudable one of simply presenting the facts in an arresting form, and the author of the idea has had the agreeable experience of being applauded by Protectionists and Free Traders alike—by the former because he enables them to point to the height of other countries' tariff walls as an argument for raising our own walls higher, and by Free Traders because the map provides an ocular demonstration of the necessity of making the high walls lower. A book quite as instructive as its title would suggest, and far more entertaining.

Clemenceau. By Jean Martet. (Longmans. 25s.)

M. Clemenceau's views on the League of Nations, for which he had no exaggerated respect, were always entertaining, but this particular biographer gives us next to none of them. "The Tiger's" only real reference to the League was when M. Martet told him of the explosion of a poison gas magazine in Hamburg and received the rather sardonic reply: "Yes, that means that henceforward we can sleep in peace. It appears that the League of Nations is going to take up the incident, so everything will be all right." A curiously discursive volume this. Perhaps the most interesting feature of it is the demonstration of Clemenceau's resolve that there should be no annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. Poincaré held different views.

Pioneers of Progress. By C. S. S. Higham. (Longmans. 2s. 6d.)

A series of short and simple sketches of men and women who have made great movements, e.g., William Wilberforce, Florence Nightingale, David Livingstone. This is clearly the right way to introduce the movement themselves to the young. The closing chapter on the story of the League of Nations is hardly up to standard and contains some unnecessary inaccuracies. General Smuts was at Cambridge, not at Oxford. Speeches at the League Assembly are not translated into German. President Wilson "was not re-elected President" for the good reason that he did not stand for re-election, and never thought of doing so.

Poems. By C. E. Maurice. (Methuen. 5s.)

There have been few more indomitable workers for peace than the late Mr. C. E. Maurice, and of those few, very few indeed laboured for any cause through so long a life. The collection of poems now published reflects all the spirit that the writer's friends knew so well. There is a strange affinity with two or three articles

in this issue of HEADWAY in the poem whose first stanza runs:—

"Your king and country need you,
With chisel, plough and pen,
To do the truest service
Like wise and stalwart men."

The Open Door and the Mandate System. By Benjamin Gerig. (Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

A useful study of the working of the mandate system on its economic side by an American professor, whose conclusions are generally favourable. Professor Gerig realises that the ultimate strength of the Mandates Commission lies in publicity. Speaking of tariffs in particular, he remarks, "Customs regulations are carefully observed. Any direct or indirect violation very quickly comes to the attention of the Commission, which, if the facts warrant, will interpellate the mandatory, thus exposing the whole situation to public opinion, than which there is no more potent weapon."

Greece To-day. By E. R. Mears. (Milford. 23s.)

The extent to which the refugee element in Greece will tend to dominate the domestic politics of that country in the future is fully taken into account by Professor Mears. He paints a pessimistic picture of an economic structure which suffers too much from governmental jugglery. This is not a great book. It is rather a painstaking compendium of facts turned into a book under the sunny skies of California, which, he suggests, from their similarity with those of Greece, gave him inspiration.

Educational Survey. No. 2 (January, 1930). (League of Nations. 2s.)

The second number of this admirable half-yearly official publication contains a series of reports from different countries, including Great Britain and Wales, on instruction on the League of Nations, and a number of articles on such questions as International Camps for Older Boys, German Public Schools Boys' Visit to England, How French School Children are Taught about the League, and so forth. Obtainable through the League's official agents in London, Messrs. Constable.

Novial Lexike. By Otto Jespersen.

A dictionary of still another international language called Novial, and declared by Mr. Bernard Shaw to be "really good." It seems to be easy enough to read and not substantially more revolting in appearance than its competitors.

The United States of the World. By Oscar Newfang. (Putnams.)

A comparison between the League of Nations and the United States of America, a little vitiated by the fact that the author appears to have no conception of what the League of Nations is or aims at.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Canada West. By Frederick Niven. (Dent. 5s.)
From Savagery to Commerce. By T. S. Foster. (Cape. 12s. 6d.)

The Craftsmanship of Books. By J. Howard Whitehorse. (Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.)

Germany's Domestic and Foreign Policies. By Otto Hoetzsch. (Milford. 7s.)

Education at the Cross-roads. By Lord Eustace Percy. (Evans.)

Courage for Martha. By Barbara Blackburn. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

Christopher Columbus. By Wassermann. (Secker. 10s. 6d.)

The Open Conspiracy. (New Edition.) H. G. Wells. (Hogarth Press. 5s.)



A BOOK FOR USE IN STUDY CIRCLES AND SCHOOLS

A Short and Simple Introduction to
the Work of the Permanent Court
of International Justice by

KATHLEEN E. INNES, B.A.

THE REIGN OF LAW

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Yorkshire Post :—"Lucidly and agreeably written . . . This is an admirable little book which should be of value both to the general reader and to teachers in the upper forms of schools."

Scots Observer :—"If there is at present no book on this subject being used in schools, then here is one for the purpose."

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HOW THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WORKS,
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE
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LONDON, W.C.1.

READERS' VIEWS

THE VOICE OF WALES

SIR,—I should be grateful if, as in past years, you could kindly allow me to call attention in HEADWAY, with its world-wide circulation, to the annual broadcast of the Message of the Children of Wales. The message, year by year, is submitted in thousands of schools in the Principality and in 1929 responses reached us from as many as 48 different countries, including, for the first time, replies from the Valley of the Nile, Iraq, Mexico and almost all the republics of Latin America.

The message, which is translated into French, German, Spanish, Esperanto and other languages, will be broadcast for the ninth year in succession on Goodwill Day, May 18. The 1930 text, in English, is as follows:—

"We Boys and Girls of Wales, from our mountains and valleys, our villages and towns, greet with a cheer the Boys and Girls of every country under the sun."

"Will you, millions of you, join us to-day in thinking with gratitude of those men and women of every race who are working so hard to build a finer, better world? And will you, each of you, join us in thought, word and deed from now onwards in the building of this finer and better world?"

"The League of Nations leads the way. Let us help it with all our power to go forward with its great task of peace on earth and goodwill among men."

I am, yours, etc.,
GWILYM DAVIES.
Welsh League of Nations Union, Cardiff.
February 18, 1930.

ONE CIGARETTE LESS

SIR,—You say that some of the worries of the Union would be alleviated if more 3s. 6d. members would pay 5s. or 10s. per annum instead. Can I present another point of view? Many of the 3s. 6d. members of both sexes are no doubt smokers, and indulge in the 10 for 6d. varieties. By smoking only one cigarette less per week, they could add 2s. 6d. to their subscriptions. What a small sacrifice for so great a cause!

Verb. sap.—Yours, etc.,
MAURICE KLIMAN.
85, Camp Street, Broughton, Manchester.
February 3, 1930.

DISSATISFACTION

SIR,—May I venture to ask you to print a gentle protest against the Editorial Note to Sir Alexander Gordon's letter in your February issue, which seems to foreclose the discussion in HEADWAY of the Union's internal affairs? (Incidentally, the note is inaccurate in two points: (1) It implies that the writer of the letter is chiefly, if not solely, responsible for the criticism of the Union which has appeared in the public Press, thus ignoring such criticism as is contained in Captain Pelham Burn's weighty and constructive letters; (2) It speaks of the policy of the Union as the thing of which its critics have expressed disapproval, whereas their contention has been, not that such and such a policy was wrong, but that it is a mistake for the Union, as such, to have a policy at all—or at least to make the inculcation of a policy its chief business.)

If the organ of the Union is not the place for discussion of its internal affairs, where is the loyal member who wishes to see it more efficient than it is to ventilate his views as to possible improvements in its methods? If he writes to the public Press, viz., to those newspapers which show a special interest in all that concerns the welfare of the League, he receives a professional rebuke, which suggests that profane hands are being laid on the

Ark of the Covenant: if, as officially advised, he tries to bring his point of view before the General Council, he may either find himself politely overridden by the dominant Executive, or fail to get a hearing at all, in the pressure of business initiated by that body.

Is it blasphemous to suggest that, if the columns of HEADWAY were open to free discussion of matters which many devoted workers for the Union have much at heart, that informing, but austere publication might discover a greater number of interested readers?—I am, yours, etc.,
ARTHUR F. HORT.

Hurstbourne Tarrant, Andover.

[HEADWAY, unfortunately, has only a very limited space for correspondence, and it cannot devote all that to one subject.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

"A POINT OF VIEW"

SIR,—I am surprised that anyone should take exception to those who are ready and willing to speak in the interests of peace from the platforms at the League of Nations Union, no matter what their nationality is or what they did in the war.

The war is ended now, and it is for us to forget and forgive, and for the sake of those who will follow after us to establish peace.

I have not seen the 700 graves in the South of Ireland, but have seen many unburied victims of war; and if it is wrong for an officer of a German submarine to speak in the interests of peace, then, because I fought for what I thought was right, the same as he did, I must give up my work for the League of Nations Union and the peace on earth that we all look forward to establishing.

And carry your correspondent's argument to a final conclusion and say that because Saul persecuted the early Church, St. Paul ought not to have preached Christ.

On land and sea, man at war with man, rending and murdering in cold blood and in madness, saw the wrong of it all, and vowed to work for the ending of all wars. They saw their visions. Perhaps the commander referred to saw his. Let him speak in the interests of peace.—Yours, etc.,
P. CLARKE.

16, Symons Street, Nr. Broughton, Manchester.
January 26, 1930.

THE TARIFF RACE

SIR,—I see by to-day's *Times* that a tariff truce is to be discussed at an international conference to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations at Geneva in February, and protests appear to have been made by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to the Board of Trade against the adoption of any such proposal.

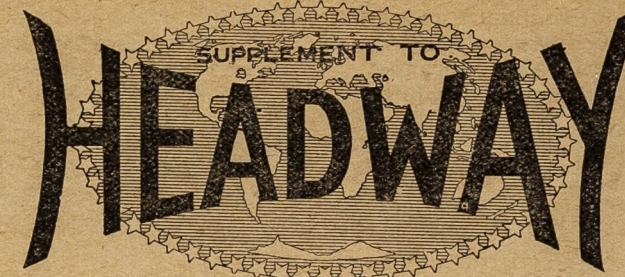
In my opinion, Britain is only awaking to the dangers of free trade, vide Mr. Baldwin's speech this week, and it is in consequence of this that certain members of the League of Nations wish this tariff truce to be drawn up, so that our hands will be tied. I think that our argument to this at Geneva will be a very serious blow to the League of Nations Union, and should have our firm opposition.—Yours, etc.,
J. WILLIAMSON JONES.

Tyndal Lodge, Forest Road,
Bournemouth West.

February 8, 1930.

[So far from the Tariff Truce Conference being due to a wish on the part of certain members of the League to have a truce declared "so that our hands will be tied" it was the British Government itself which suggested the truce, with a view to preventing other countries' tariffs against us from being raised any higher.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MARCH, 1930

ON GOING TO GENEVA

SWITZERLAND has three official languages. The Swiss nation is composed of the most widely varying elements. In the Ticino Italian speech and culture predominate, elsewhere it is German and, in the West, French. Yet, whether they speak German or French or Italian, and whether they are Protestants or Roman Catholics, the Swiss people work together harmoniously. The twenty-four *cantons* have federated themselves together for certain purposes, but, outside those, the local sovereignty of each is unimpaired.

The federation of the Swiss *cantons* was not accomplished without difficulty. There were many heart-burnings before it was finally finished. But the idea of co-operation was finally triumphant. The Republic of Geneva has long been noted for its hospitality to strangers and political outcasts from their own countries. Little by little it acquired a reputation as a cosmopolitan centre. It was at Geneva that the Red Cross was founded and that the first international arbitration—the Alabama case—took place.

Now, more than ever before, is Geneva the meeting place of the nations of the world. Is it not the home of the League of Nations? There are situated both the League's Secretariat and the International Labour Office, two essential portions of the League's machinery. This machinery, we have learnt, will function almost perfectly if the driving power is there. But it is not always there. Public opinion is still unprepared to make the machine work. As with the *cantons* of Switzerland who have limited their national sovereignty in the common interest, the nations of the world who have joined the League—and even those who are not yet members of the League—have found it necessary in some respects to limit their own hitherto unlimited powers in the interests of the whole community. Co-operation is the lifeblood of the human family.

The League of Nations Societies which now exist in so many different countries exist in order to overcome the obstacle of the unpreparedness of public opinion. In our own country the League of Nations Union with its Royal Charter is playing a great part with success. But our efforts do not always meet with sympathy. We

sometimes feel that we are alone in a sea of apathy and that all our efforts are like trying to bale it dry with a sieve.

When such a mood comes over us we long to find somebody else with whom we can discuss our troubles. The best cure of all is a trip to Geneva. There we find ourselves in company of other workers for the organisation of peace. At the annual Geneva Institute of International Relations, for instance, we and an equal number of Americans meet together to discuss the progress of the science of peace. In our informal discussions we gain fresh heart and enthusiasm for our cause. This year a new turn will be given to the discussions of the Institute: we shall be considering the analogy between the various sections of the Secretariat—the World Civil Service—and the departments of national government as we know them, for example, in Whitehall.

The Institute, however, is not the only party which the downhearted can join. The Union is organising other trips to Geneva. There is to be a party to the International Labour Conference in June; another in August, which is purely and simply a summer school; there are to be others to the Assembly; and at Whitsun there is yet another being organised to spend a few days to see The Hague. In this, the Dutch League of Nations Society is giving us a great deal of assistance. To one at least of these, Union workers should make an endeavour to go. It will not be time wasted.

Nor is the lighter side neglected. It is realised that a large number of those who accompany us are giving up their annual holiday to the visit. It is incumbent upon the organisers, therefore, to combine business with pleasure! The setting of Geneva is ideal as a tourist centre. Close behind is Mont Salève, which can be ascended on foot or by rail. Mont Blanc and the Mer de Glace are within easy reach. There are excursions to be taken upon the Lake. Closer at hand there is the interesting city of Geneva to be explored. Both sides of the visit combine to send us back to our homes filled with greater zeal and determination that this generation shall not fail to put an end to war as an instrument of national policy.

POINTS FROM ANNUAL REPORTS

THE pages of the Supplement are few and the reports are many; it is impossible, therefore, to give adequate space to the many interesting accounts of Branch work which come to hand at this season; 1929 has been a year full of activity and expansion all over the country, and it is only possible to give the briefest reference to the activities of the various Branches.

In the course of an active year, *Ealing* has held a League Week, a feature of which was visits made in outlying districts by a League van. Considerable interest was aroused by its League shop. To increase funds *St. Albans* held a very successful dance. As usual, it has held many well attended meetings. The Branch is to be congratulated on a balance in hand of nearly £45. *Heathfield and Waldron* are to be congratulated on 97 per cent. of their members having paid their subscription. This year eight meetings were held as against five last year. In spite of unfavourable weather conditions, the Peace Pageant organised by *Withernsea* evoked considerable interest. Although its assessment to Headquarters was £6 10s., the Branch was able to pay £9. It has now a fine membership of 453 compared with 25 when it was restarted a few years ago. Ten prizes were given to schools by the *Croydon* for "concerted work which best furthers the cause of peace." There is also an essay scheme which will make it possible for all the schools in the neighbourhood to compete. Membership is just under 5,000. *Newquay* is to be congratulated on having a membership of 587 out of a total population of 7,000. A sub-branch of Girl Guides is being formed. *Hilton* claims to have more members according to population than any other place in the whole world. It has resolved that in future, after necessary expenses are paid, the whole of the subscriptions of its members are to go as a gift to the League of Nations Union. *Headingley* has six boards, placed in prominent positions, on which posters are changed twice a month. It is trying to reach political organisations, social clubs, etc., as it finds that 80 per cent. of its membership is attached to the churches. At a women's meeting at *Wealdstone*, Mrs. Garnett, who spoke, was instrumental in adding substantially to the membership of the Branch. The Youth Group, now numbering 75, has been active. *Halton* have a slight increase in their membership this year. It was a rule of the Branch that all members had to pay subscriptions. *Wakefield* was most successful with its Children's Pageant. Besides a Garden Party, *Mansfield* had its full quota of meetings. Its membership has now passed the thousand mark. *Ashbourne* had a particularly busy year. In addition to holding special meetings at several churches, women's co-operative societies and Mothers' Unions, the surrounding villages were visited. At a carnival there was a special decorated League of Nations dray. It also held a flag day to increase county funds. Its membership shows an increase of 200. Besides its full quota of meetings, *Scarborough* has held a "conversazione" and a debate. Its Peace Shop encouraged many old members to renew their subscriptions.

UNDERGRADUATE SPEAKERS DURING VACATIONS

AT the General Council meeting at the Caxton Hall on December 19 a resolution was on the agenda, sent up by the Petersfield and District Branch, requesting the Executive to make arrangements for a greatly increased number of undergraduate speakers to be

employed during vacations in small towns and their surrounding villages. At the same time emphasis was laid on the importance of endeavouring to get at the vast number of young men and women in all parts of the country who are rarely found at Union meetings.

This resolution arose directly out of our own experience. For three years in succession we have employed undergraduates in this district, and always with the most unqualified success, so much so, that we are anxious to see other branches all over the country employing the same economic and effective propaganda. But we would emphasise especially the use of these University men and women in endeavouring to reach the vast masses of young men and women from our shops, stores, offices and factories who crowd our cinemas, fill our theatres and throng our streets. There must be some five or six millions who will hold the balance of political power during the next five or ten years.

Now the very fact that these undergraduates are giving up part of their vacations to this work, without fee or reward, will appeal to the sporting instinct of our young people. Thus they have a distinct advantage over those of us who are older. But some may ask, would the men be forthcoming? Well, before last Christmas there were at least 800 members in the Oxford University Branch, and 1,000 in the Cambridge University Branch. Last year Oxford sent out some 25 undergraduates for the work. Surely if we went about it the right way, these 25 might easily be made into 50. In addition, no doubt, Cambridge, London, the Provincial Universities, the Scottish and the Welsh would take part willingly in any such scheme. Why, if we go the right way about it, there is the prospect of a whole army corps of ardent, enthusiastic, young men and women who are spoiling for the fight! Let us throw them into the front line of our propaganda. We older folk are in danger of growing weary in well doing and perhaps becoming a little stale. Let us give youth its chance and I for one am sure it will make good.

ARTHUR J. W. SUMMERHILL,
Hon. Sec. Petersfield and District Branch.

NOTES AND NEWS

In a Ladies' Seminary

The senior girls who formed the Junior Branch of St. Anne's College have been kept busy. To each has been allotted the task of collecting photographs, pictures and typical products of some State member of the League. It is said that the postman was considerably disconcerted by the bulky packages he had to deliver from those foreign embassies, travel bureaux, etc., which surpassed themselves in helping the young women. The juniors were equally keen with their collections of advertisements of foreign products. A more intimate touch to the activities of the girls was added by their correspondence with those of their own sex in France, Canada and Australia.

A Double Quota

A splendid example has been set by Sedgley, which has found itself so prosperous that it has paid double its quota for 1930. This is particularly praiseworthy in view of the fact that all its members are rs. subscribers. This is a challenge that, no doubt, many Branches will hasten to accept.

King Stanislas Leszczynski

On Sunday, February 2, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations, the Polish Associations held a meeting. Members of the Government, diplomatic corps, etc., attended.

M. Zaleski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, affirmed that problems of peace and disarmament interested every-

one to-day. Two centuries ago a great Polish statesman, King Stanislas Leszczynski, conceived the idea of a League of Nations. Leszczynski expressed the opinion, in a memoir from which passages were quoted, that peace could be maintained by the formation of a League of Nations. "The League must make its chief aim to guard against anything likely to provoke ill feeling amongst the nations. The adherents must mediate for a friendly solution of all differences, and in the case of difficulty must range themselves on the side of the injured party who is unable to defend itself."

Peace-fighters—Fire-fighters

Unexpected talent as fire-fighters was shown by certain prominent members of the Headquarters Staff when the office of the British Universities League of Nations Society caught fire recently. Firemen who arrived with three fire engines and two escapes commended the expedition with which the conflagration was got under control. The clean smell of new paint, Room E 2, is the envy of the whole office staff.

Good Evening, Everybody!

The Crouch Hill Model Assembly opened in best B.B.C. style when Captain Eckersley greeted it with "Good evening, everybody" (thunderous applause from Boy Scouts). "H'm," he continued, "a certain amount of atmospheric to-night." There then followed speeches from representatives from Abyssinia, France, Germany, India, Japan. Finally, although somewhat shamefaced, America had a spokesman, who rose at the close.

A Useful Winter's Activities

An example of the sort of things that a Branch in a town with a population of 10,000 can do through the winter months might be taken from Bo'ness. It has held a Model Assembly, a large public meeting and an United service. At the latter, £8 was received, which was sent as a donation to Headquarters.

A Gorgeous Pageant

The Australian League of Nations Union produced recently in Adelaide "The Warrior"—a story of the triumph of peace over war and of the birth of the League of Nations. It was reported to be Australia's biggest musical enterprise. On the stage there were at one time 500 artists and four bands. As an onlooker put it: "From the opening scene, when the theatre was filled with the choking, acrid smoke of the battlefield to the vivid colour of the Cairo market place, and again to the last great scene when humanity was shown triumphant, it was literally a pageant of life. . . . The music was soft and sensuous and stirring and stimulating by turns, and sound and colour were blended in a magnificent whole, and it was a royal tribute to the producer, who had welded all this from material that the average professional director would regard as hopeless." Representatives from Branches as distant as 600 miles away came specially to see the pageant.

What Wales is Doing

Successful conferences on the work of the I.L.O. were held during February at Cardiff and Swansea. There attended representatives from Union Branches, Co-operative Societies and Trade Union Branches. Ammanford District Branch performed John Galsworthy's "The Mob" before a large audience. They are likely to repeat the play in the surrounding district. As usual, there is to be a League of Nations Week throughout the Principality from May 12-18. Daffodil Days are again to be a feature of the summer activities of many Branches.

Within the Walls of the Factory

A famous firm of clothiers, Messrs. Montague Burton, Ltd., have a successful branch in their factory, with a

membership of 3,000. Every member has a special badge issued on joining. Fortnightly meetings and luncheon hour lectures always evoke spirited discussion. On the social side dances and similar functions are held frequently. A special section is devoted to the production of suitable plays on the peace theme. There must be many firms in this country who might take notice of this praiseworthy example. The corporate life of the business firm makes such activities particularly prone to success.

A demonstration will be held for the **Abolition of Slavery**, in the Central Hall, Westminster, on March 18th at 8 p.m. Among those who will speak are the **Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscount Cecil, Lady Simon and Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, M.P.** Tickets, priced 10/6, 5/- and 2/6, may be obtained from either the League of Nations Union or the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.

An Original Competition

The *New World* (the organ of the Northamptonshire Federal Council) announces an interesting competition. It offers a prize of £1 for a League alphabet, i.e., A is for Affluence, which the League brings about; B is for Brazil, which still stays without; C is . . . The winner will receive a coupon exchangeable for goods to the value of the prize with any advertiser in that particular issue. Our contemporary also announces that a Challenge Shield is to be awarded by the Chairman to the most active Branch in Northamptonshire.

From Scotland

Edinburgh and East of Scotland District Council report a successful "social" organised under the auspices of Burntisland Branch. Tayport and Aberdour have also held meetings.

A Tour in France

At the invitation of the "Associations Françaises pour la Société des Nations," Baron von Bodman, an Assistant Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, visited a number of French towns with the object of addressing meetings on the work of the League and on the question of Franco-German Reconciliation. The audiences varied in number from 100 to 2,500, the usual number being 500 to 600. The meetings were organised by the local branches of the "Association Française pour la Société des Nations," or the "Association de la Paix par le Droit," or by the "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme." The subjects dealt with by the Secretary in his addresses were of a very controversial nature and required very careful handling.

William Ernest Hempson

Both the Executive Committees of the Kent Federal Council and the Tunbridge Wells Branch will feel deeply the loss of Mr. Hempson, who died on February 6. The activities in which he took part prospered greatly and all who worked with him found him a real source of encouragement.

A Denial

We are glad to inform our readers that there is no truth in the assertion made in the pages of one of our contemporaries that "a plan is on foot to find permanent accommodation for the League of Nations Union in the Imperial War Museum." The idea father to the thought was "that it would be an excellent thing to point the moral of the lectures on the need for peace by showing the audience on the spot the grim means and the ghastly results of war." So now we know!

Keen Collectors

Away from the academic atmosphere, two undergraduates from Kelly College spent their Christmas vacation in collecting subscriptions for the Tavistock Branch. Their importunity brought 80 new members, bringing up the Branch membership to 250.

In the Royal Borough

The Westminster Branch's Musical At Home, held recently at Caxton Hall, was in every way a happy event. Among its distinguished hosts mention should be made of the Most Honourable The Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Dickinson, K.B.E., Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, M.P., and the Mayor and Mayoress of Westminster.

"The World Flag" a Song

The notice of readers is drawn to a song for peace entitled "The World Flag," words by John Russell (late Headmaster of King Alfred School, and a member of the Union's Education Committee), and music by Richard H. Walthew. The song is dedicated, by permission, to the League of Nations Union. It is obtainable either direct from the publishers, Stainer & Bell (58, Berners Street, W.1), or from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, and the price of it—words and music—is 2d. a copy (postage extra), or 5s. for 3 dozen copies (postage extra).

London's "Little Bit"

The Annual Youth Rally will be held in University College Hall, at 7.30 on March 26th. The Sherman Memorial Award will be presented to the Wallington County School for Girls at the Y.M.C.A., Tottenham Court Road, at 5.30 on March 28th. At the same Hall Christian Corporate members will meet in conference on April 2nd at 7 p.m.

League Education in Ireland

The Education Committee of the Irish League of Nations Society held a meeting in the Hibernian Hotel, Dublin, on December 12, 1929, to which all the secondary schools and training colleges in Dublin and the neighbourhood were invited to send representatives. Professor J. M. O'Sullivan, Minister for Education, kindly consented to preside. The Rev. S. Brown gave a description of the work already being done in other countries to acquaint children with the activities and ideals of the League. It was agreed to summon a further meeting in January to decide on a definite course of action and to reconstitute the Education Committee to make it more representative and more capable of doing the work of the Society in the schools.

Students of 26 Nationalities

The Students' International Assembly, which is an affiliated Branch of the B.U.L.N.S., and is open for membership to all Foreign Students in the University of London, is looking forward to two noteworthy Assemblies. Two of its Commissions, which are meeting at present to discuss the "Future of the League of Nations" and the Health Work of the League with particular reference to the Traffic in Opium and Dangerous Drugs, will present reports to two Model Assemblies. The first on March 19 (at 6 p.m.) will meet at University Union, Malet Street, when Lord Cecil will play the part of the First Delegate of Great Britain. The second will be held on May 21, when the distinguished delegate will be Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India. These speakers will be followed by Student Delegates from a great many countries. There are at the moment 26 different nationalities taking part in the Commissions of the Students' International Assembly.

A limited number of tickets, price 2s. each, will be available for the Assembly on March 19 on application to the Hon. Secretary, Students' International Assembly, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Worcestershire at Work

A most encouraging report has come in from the Worcestershire Federal Council; great activity has been evident in this district during the past year. More than 90 meetings were held in Worcester County between September 17 and December 17, and many more meetings are in hand. Colonel Crichton, the County Secretary, has spoken at several gatherings of ex-Servicemen, notably during Armistice Week, and reports that great interest was shown in the work of the Union. The year's work has included many addresses at schools, notably by Mr. Whelen and Miss Henson. An extensive essay scheme has been another feature. This scheme was sent to over 330 Head Teachers in the area. Altogether the work in the Worcester district seems to be progressing by leaps and bounds and those responsible are to be heartily congratulated.

Council's Vote Completed for 1929

Appleby, Ashington, Attenborough, Badminton, Barlaston, Banbury, Bishop's Stortford, Bletchley, Blewbury, Bridport, Brinton-on-the-Water, Brownhills, Brentwood, Burnham-on-Crouch, Camborne, Canvey Island, Cannock Street C.C. (Preston), Cheltenham, Chelmsford, Chester, Chipping Norton, Clare, Cottingham, Cockermonth, Coggeshall, Deddington, Duns (1928 and 1929), East Haddon, Elland, Ely, Essex Federal Council, Finedon, Forest Row, Free Street, Bradford, Frizinghall, Frome, Gainsborough, Gilsland, Gardon, Goring, Great Yarmouth, Grimsby, Harrietsham, Headingley, Henleaze, High Wycombe, Hornchurch, Hove, Horsham, Hungerford, Hurstpierpoint, Ipswich, Kent Federal Council, Kirkby Stephen, Knaresborough, Littlehampton, Lytham, Needham Market, Newbury, Newport (I. of Wight), Northam, Oxford, Oxford District, Oxford Federation, Paignton, Peppard, Penn Fields, Perranporth, Pitsea, Queensborough, Queen Street, Sheffield, Ramsey, Redland, Renoboth, Bradford, Reading, Romford, Robertsbridge, Rushden, Saltley, Sandy Lane, Sheffield, Nether Chapel, Shipham, Stanswick, Stotfold, Syston, Tadworth, Taunton, Tiptree, Tyne-mouth, Wantage, Walsall, Wadebridge, Waterlooville, Westerham, Wells (Somerset), West Scotland District, Whitstable, Witney, Wimborne, Witham, Wincanton, Woking, Wolverton, Wootton, Wooler, Worthing.

1930—Crowthorne.

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
Feb. 20, 1930	834,453

On February 20th, 1930, there were 2,901 Branches, 806 Junior Branches, 3,166 Corporate Members and 588 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

Foundation Members £1. Registered Members 5s. Ordinary Members 1s. minimum.

Foundation Members are entitled to 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 are entitled to receive HEADWAY monthly by post, and occasional important notices. Ordinary Members subscribing not less than 3s. 6d. a year are also entitled to receive HEADWAY by post.

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

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

Applications to Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Preenat, 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.