

HEADWAY

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Matters of Moment

LINKS between Geneva and Nanking are very fortunately multiplying, to the advantage, it can hardly be doubted, both of the League of Nations and of the Chinese Republic. Dr. Rajchman, the Director of the League's Health Section, has, as readers of HEADWAY know, paid two visits to China to advise on the development of a national health service. M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, and M. Avenol, Deputy Secretary-General of the League, have both visited Nanking comparatively recently and discussed the various problems in which the League and the International Labour Office seemed competent to help China. More recently still, Sir Arthur Salter has been there to advise on finance, and M. Haas, head of the League's Transit Section, to take counsel with the Chinese authorities on the development of their transport system. Now a development of very considerable importance has taken place in the receipt by the International Labour Office of a request from the Chinese Minister of Industries that the Labour Organisation should despatch an expert commission to assist China in organising an inspectorate of factories. The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation accepted the invitation last month, leaving open for the moment the date of the Commission's despatch and also its actual composition. It is understood, however, that Dame Adelaide Anderson will be the chief commissioner. If so, no better choice could be made, for Dame Adelaide's experience of factory administration both in Great Britain and in certain parts of China, notably Shanghai, is unique.

Where Honour is Due

IT is equally to the credit of the man concerned and of the leaders of the three political parties in this country that all of the latter should have united in paying tribute with a single voice to the work Lord Irwin has done in India. It may be admitted that the time for passing a final judgment on that work is not yet. The foundations of a new India, it may be hoped and believed, have been laid, but it is not till the structure to be raised on those foundations has taken shape that the labours of the architects can be appraised at their true value. Indians who came as delegates to the Round Table Conference in London last November declared with emphasis that but for Lord Irwin India would have run with blood before them. For the Viceroy, by his patience, by his courage, by inspiring through his personality a confidence in British good faith and British sympathy with India's legitimate aspirations, first of all made the London Conference possible and then enabled Mr. Gandhi to persuade the Indian Nationalists to pick up the negotiations where the London Conference left them. What part Lord Irwin will play on this side in the resumed negotiations remains to be seen. What his further rôle in British politics will be is at present still more uncertain. When the Conservative Party in due course comes into power, high office will obviously be at Lord Irwin's disposal. Those who remember him at the League Assembly and Council, in 1923, will realise how singularly well equipped the retiring Viceroy is to do service to his country and the League at Geneva.

More Money for Arms

JUST before the adjournment of Parliament for Easter, the Secretary of State for War was asked to give the percentage increase or decrease in the Estimates of military expenditure in various countries in 1930 as compared with 1924. The following table was accordingly issued:

| | |
|--|------|
| Great Britain | -10 |
| France | +64 |
| (Or if provision for Air Service is included in 1930, as it was in the military budget for 1924) ... | +110 |
| Italy | +36 |
| Japan | -1.6 |
| Russia | +184 |
| U.S.A. | +28 |

These figures apply to land armaments only, and they at any rate show one thing very clearly, that in the matter of military reduction Great Britain has no reason to fear comparison with any other country. There are no doubt one or two other very broad inferences to be drawn. But such a table must be handled with very considerable caution. All countries, for example, do not at present make up their accounts in the same way. France may include in her military budget some services which Italy puts under other headings, and vice versa. Money, moreover, has to some extent changed its value since 1924, and it has changed it in different directions in different countries. It takes fewer pounds or dollars or yens than it did in 1924 to buy the same material. On the other hand, it takes more francs or lire. All that can be said, therefore—or, at any rate, the chief thing to be said—is that the figures presented make the case for budgetary limitation of armaments stronger than ever.

America's Interest

A GOOD many citizens of the United States, while gratified that their country should participate as largely as it does in various activities of the League of Nations (health, opium, slavery, women and children, etc.), are by no means satisfied that no official contribution should be made towards the cost of these activities. The United States Government has clearly come to share that point of view, for it has just decided that when American official delegates take part in the work of a League committee the United States Government will bear a share of the cost of that committee's work, paying on as high a scale as any State represented on the committee. That will apply in the same way to next year's Disarmament Conference, the cost of which will be very considerable. Altogether, the decision of the Government at Washington will mean a distinct relief to the League's exchequer, but the action decided on will be appreciated still more as a visible evidence of the interest the United States feels in certain aspects, at any rate, of the League's work. It must be added that when the many benefactions of individual American citizens, and of institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation, are taken into account the United States has contributed as much financial support to the League as any State member of it.

Geneva on its Mettle

THE bidding by various European cities for the honour (and material profit) of entertaining the Disarmament Conference next year goes on apace. Barcelona, Biarritz, Aix-les-Bains, Cannes and Lausanne are all making offers, and now there is talk of actually holding the conference in London. But Geneva has no idea of being left in the lurch. M. Guillaume Fatio, who has been put in charge of local arrangements, has written to the Secretary-General giving a first list of the steps Geneva is ready to take. It will provide full accommodation—halls, committee-rooms, etc.—for the conference itself, with free heat, free light and free staff. It will guarantee 3,000 places in hotels here and now, and increase this later. It will provide separate villas and servants to run them for delegations which like that better. It will fix prices both for rooms and meals. It will open several new first-class restaurants for delegates where they can eat till midnight (after which all respectable delegates ought to be in bed). The journalists will have the Kursaal turned over to them as a club. Taxi fares will be lowered. The new station now under construction will be opened in time for the conference. Special diversions will be provided by the different theatres. Excursions throughout the surrounding region will be arranged. Altogether Geneva is to go all out rather than see the greatest League conference so far held transferred to another city. On that the League Council will have to decide finally at its meeting this month.

Dame Rachel's Successor

DIRECTORS of Sections in the League of Nations Secretariat have now so much responsibility on their shoulders that any new appointment becomes a matter of definite international importance. The fact, therefore, that M. E. E. Ekstrand took up his new post as Director of the Social Section of the Secretariat in the middle of last month should not go unrecorded. M. Ekstrand, of course, succeeds Dame Rachel Crowdy in that office. There will be a good deal of intelligible regret that as the result of this change the Secretariat no longer includes any woman among its Directors or Heads of Sections, though it would appear that Princess Radziwill will be largely responsible for the women and children department of the Social Section under M. Ekstrand. In any case, it is known that the hope of securing a woman for this post was only abandoned after several attempts to find suitable candidates. M. Ekstrand has been a member of the Swedish Diplomatic Service from 1907 onwards, and has figured on the international stage as head of a Russian relief expedition organised by the Swedish Red Cross ten years ago, as a member of the Mixed Commission for Exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in 1923, and as League of Nations Commissioner for the Protection of the Albanian minority in Greece. More recently, and this has obvious relevance in view of his new appointment, M. Ekstrand was President of the Commission of Inquiry on the control of smoking-opium which visited the Far East in 1929 and 1930.

From Sceptic to Convert

IT has become almost a commonplace by this time that persons who go to Geneva to scoff remain to praise. That, perhaps, is not quite the way to put it. Not many intelligent persons, at any rate, go deliberately to scoff, but many do go as quite definite sceptics regarding the League. One of these, by his own confession, was Viscount Inouye, a member of the Japanese House of Peers, and a former Minister of Railways, and a Japanese delegate at the last Assembly. Viscount Inouye has recently delivered in Tokio a very interesting speech in which he states frankly that he had been, to say the least, rather indifferent to the League, but "having witnessed myself the proceedings of the Assembly I now realise the true significance of the League of Nations, and since my return home I have lost no opportunity to explain the situation whenever I have had a chance to speak about it." It is instructive to note that what impressed this shrewd Japanese observer particularly was the genuine effort exerted by delegates to reach solutions for international problems on the basis of well-prepared data. The League, he observes, while it was originally created as an emergency measure for preventing war, is now functioning as a peace-time organisation in the field of international co-operation. That, says Viscount Inouye, is the true basis for world peace.

New Blood for Geneva

THE appointment of Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., to succeed Mr. E. L. Poulton as British Workers' delegate on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation is, for various reasons, a matter of more than ordinary interest. Mr. Hayday, who has this year succeeded also to the post of chairman of the Trade Unions Congress, has for many years been an active member of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union, and it was as a member of a League of Nations Union party that he originally paid his first visit to Geneva. Of his five sons (he also has eight daughters), three have, so far, been to Geneva under the same auspices, and a fourth is going there this year. The following extract from "Who's Who" indicates strikingly the steps by which Mr. Hayday has worked his way to the important positions he now holds. "Educated St. Luke's National School, Tidal Basin, London, E.; started work on market gardens at nine years of age; later, kitchen boy at Central Buffet, Albert Docks; worked in chemical and carrying trades, and public works; in Merchant Service as trimmer and stoker; West Ham Town Council from 1896-1909; M.P. for West Nottingham since 1918." Mr. Hayday, it is obvious, will take to Geneva wide experience, as well as considerable earnestness and ability.

The Unratified Convention

THE scandal of the non-ratification of the Washington Hours Convention by this country—for it is nothing less continues. The League of Nations Union has pressed Government after Government to take action consonant with the vote

the British representative at the Washington Labour Conference in 1920 was instructed to give. So far that pressure has been in vain. Rather more than a month ago one more deputation from the Union waited on the Minister of Labour to make the old appeal. Miss Bondfield, according to the official *communiqué*, assured the deputation that the convention really would be ratified, but it does not appear that she went so far as to name a date for the event. It is relevant, in that connection, to name another date—June 3rd, 1929, when the present Government came into office on a programme in which ratification of the Hours Convention was definitely included. After just under two years ratification seems as far off as when the Ministers of to-day were attacking their predecessors for failing to do what they themselves are apparently no nearer doing than ever. It is hardly a creditable record.

"Study Masaryk"

LATE in the day though it be, it is worth while to recall even now an address given at the last Conference of the British Universities League of Nations Society by Mr. Nowell Smith, formerly Headmaster of Sherborne, and hitherto (by an oversight) unreported in HEADWAY. Speaking with the authority his long experience as the headmaster of a great public school gives him, Mr. Nowell Smith discussed the international responsibility of the teachers, and suggested three singularly interesting methods by which teachers could cultivate their own "world sense," and import it to others. The first was to join the League of Nations Union, the second to learn Esperanto, and the third to study "the career, character and the political wisdom of one of the best and wisest men who ever lived, himself by profession a teacher, President Masaryk." With that was coupled more particularly the exhortation to read Dr. Masaryk's notable work, largely, of course, autobiographical, "The Making of a State." A good many comments might be made on these suggestions from different points of view. Taken as a trio, they, at any rate, have the virtue of originality, and they may fitly be commended to the consideration of readers of HEADWAY—as all suggestions coming from this particular source should be.

The Tariff Truce Failure

IT will be seen from a later page of this issue that some misapprehension has been caused by a comment among these notes in the last HEADWAY on the failure of the League of Nations Conference on Concerted Economic Action, commonly known as the tariff truce. As is pointed out in an editorial note attached to the letter in question, a casual expression of regret, that a League Conference has failed, is obviously not to be read as a considered pronouncement on the part of the League of Nations Union Executive Committee on a subject that has become matter of controversy in this country. As one or two readers appear to have so read it, it may be as well to make that quite clear.

The Indian Prospect Changes Since the Round Table Conference

By J. T. GWYNN

The new Viceroy of India, Lord Willingdon, has arrived in Bombay. The old Viceroy, Lord Irwin, is on his way home. Decisions vital to the future of India are likely to be taken as the result of a further Round Table Conference to be held in London, when Mr. Gandhi will be the chief representative of British India. Events have moved rapidly since the last Round Table Conference ended, and it has not been easy to follow them closely. The article below explains in plain language the situation as it exists to-day, and will serve as an introduction to future developments which cannot fail to be of moment to the British Empire, the League of Nations and the world.

THE main result of the London Round Table Conference was to reveal three facts:

1. That the rulers of the Indian States were anxious to join with British India* in forming an All-India Federation, with a central executive responsible to a central legislature.
2. That all the three British political parties welcomed the idea of such a federation, and were even willing to transfer to it Britain's responsibility for the Government of India, provided that a detailed scheme could be worked out which should appear capable of safeguarding the defence of India, internal order, financial stability, and the rights of minority communities.
3. That the British Indian representatives at the Conference accepted the idea of an All-India Federation, and admitted the need for special safeguards, at least during a transitional period, till the new Indian Federation had had time to gain experience and win men's confidence at home and abroad.

The Conference did not work out the details of the proposed Federal Constitution, nor was agreement reached as to the exact arrangements needed to safeguard those points which admittedly required safeguarding. Notably the Muslim claims to special protection and privileges had to be left outstanding.

A Wise Delay

But, except perhaps in regard to the Muslim claims, the failure to reach agreement even in regard to the most important details was anything but disastrous. Indeed, the Round Table Conference would have made a fatal mistake if it had arrogated to itself the right to prescribe in detail India's future constitution. For, though the British Parliament and the Indian Princes were well represented at the Conference, the representation of British India was in one very important respect unsatisfactory, in that Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress had refused to take part in it.

Now the Indian Congress has come to be an organised party—almost the only organised party in India—loosely controlled and loosely disciplined through a machine run by professional politicians, and having ramifications in every town in British India. It is the party of those who put Nationalist aspirations before all other considerations, economic or sectional. Hence we find the schoolboys, the university students, and the women are usually enthusiastic Congressites, while the property-owners and the minority communities hold a little aloof. But it also draws support from those Indian capitalists who are competing against British capital in India, and hope that a Nationalist Indian Govern-

* British India is the whole of India except the States governed by ruling princes.

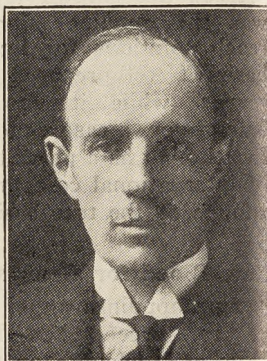
ment might readily be persuaded to adopt a commercial and financial policy favourable to their interests.

Mr. Gandhi is, of course, far from being the typical Congress politician. His chief interest is in morals. A prospect of material prosperity repels instead of attracting him. His ideal is a life of ascetic simplicity, equality, and freedom for all. And the ordinary Congress leaders are not Gandhi-ites. Their political and economic ideas differ little from those of European Nationalists. But some thirty months ago they found themselves compelled to call back Mr. Gandhi out of his retirement to resume the leadership of Congress, because he alone had sufficient influence with the young men to restrain the drift towards violence resulting from the emotions which the ordinary Nationalist politician is able to rouse but not to control.

A General Amnesty

Thus when the Round Table Conference adjourned in January the first task of the British Government was to induce Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to drop non-co-operation and civil disobedience, and to take part in further negotiations to devise a Federal Constitution which should be acceptable to Congress Nationalists, as well as to the Princes, the property-owners, the Muslims, and the rest. The first step taken was to intimate that if the Congress leaders would agree to drop their illegal activities the Indian Government would respond with an amnesty and a policy of conciliation. To enable the Congress leaders to consider the situation Lord Irwin then released Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders, who had been interned or imprisoned on account of civil disobedience.

But the chances of securing Congress co-operation did not appear too good. Young India was in a militant mood and, apart from that, the general trend of the conversations at the Round Table was scarcely agreeable to the Congress mind. Any federal constitution in which the Princes could be induced to take a share must necessarily have a distinctly conservative bias, while the arrangements suggested for safeguarding financial stability, the peace of India, and the rights of minorities seemed to involve a continuance of British control unacceptable to the uncompromising Nationalist. Further, Pundit Motilal



Lord Irwin

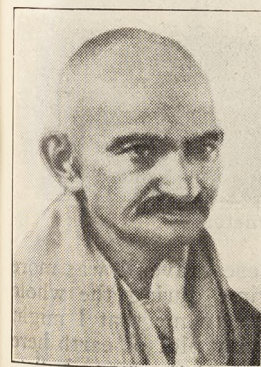
Nehru's illness and death removed the ablest of the Congress politicians and the man most capable of securing support for a workable compromise. His son, Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of Congress, had shown a sympathy with Russian Communist doctrines which seemed incompatible with the Princes' idea of an All-India Federation. As for Mr. Gandhi himself, it was always plain that a conservative constitution, such as was outlined at the Conference, could have no attractions for him.

Two Men Talk

But Mr. Gandhi is not the man to wreck the work of trusted friends just because their ideals are very different from his own. Accordingly, after Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had come back from London and explained to him the aims of the Conference, he was induced to seek an opportunity of discussing the whole position with the Viceroy, man to man, to see whether he could advise Congress to make a truce and accept the work of the Conference as a basis on which to continue negotiations. Lord Irwin gave himself wholeheartedly to the task of securing Mr. Gandhi's confidence in British good faith, and the upshot was an honourable truce with an undertaking from Mr. Gandhi to advise Congress to take part in carrying on the negotiations begun at the Round Table Conference.

Gandhi and Congress

The terms of this agreement were generally accepted as satisfactory by peace-loving men, but they were, naturally, disagreeable to Indian, as well as to British extremists, especially as they could not, and did not, apply to the measures taken to check or punish terrorist conspiracies, and it was plain that no one but Mr. Gandhi could prevent young India from rejecting them at the All-India Congress, to be held at Karachi in March.



Mr. Gandhi

Mr. Gandhi's task as a conciliator was made none the easier, because it happened that the date fixed for the execution of three terrorists convicted of political assassination fell in the critical fortnight before the Congress. Nationalist India everywhere demanded a reprieve to create a calm atmosphere at the Congress. But Lord Irwin proved inflexible, holding that he had no right to let political considerations influence his judgment in the discharge of a semi-judicial function. Yet in spite of the influence of these executions, Mr. Gandhi's calm will and quiet speech easily subdued the young hotheads at Karachi, and secured for the elders of Congress a free hand to negotiate at a new Round Table Conference.

A Single Mouthpiece

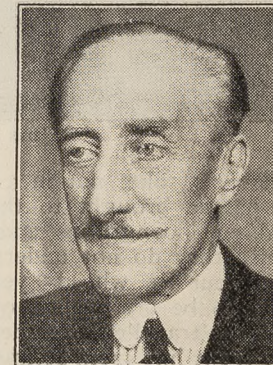
The latest reports show that Mr. Gandhi intends to be the sole representative of Congress, an arrangement a little open to criticism on one ground, seeing how different are Mr. Gandhi's views from those of the average Congress leader, and

how desirable it is to bring the Congressmen into direct touch with the opponents whom they have so long eyed at a distance with suspicion and dislike.

But in any case, the further negotiations for an All-India Federal Constitution are not likely to prove easy. No progress has been made towards a settlement of the Muslim claims. Indeed, various circumstances have combined to inflame Muslim feelings, and Mr. Gandhi's last effort at soothing them at the time of the Muslim Conference at Delhi in April seems to have been unhappy. Then Congress and Mr. Gandhi may use the project of federation to champion the claims of the subjects of the Indian Princes for the establishment of representative government in the States, and the Princes may take alarm on finding that the first fruit of the federal scheme is this unwelcome external interference in the jealously guarded internal affairs of the States. Again Congress will probably press for something approaching to adult suffrage, whereas British experts argue that because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the Indian masses no genuine and honest form of representative government could, as yet, be built on such a basis. Finally, there is likely to be a sharp difference of opinion between the representatives of the British Parliament and of Congress on the question of safeguards.

The Question of Finance

The question of the army will be difficult enough, but the most stubborn struggle will be over the question of financial safeguards. Here Mr. Gandhi will be speaking not only for himself, but for all Indian Nationalists, and more especially for the Indian capitalists, if he objects to investing the Viceroy with any overriding powers in regard to finance. For India will, naturally, fear that those powers may be exercised in accordance with the views of London financiers rather than in the interests of India. Yet the outside world feels that an inexperienced legislature may easily be tempted into a ruinous financial policy, and India's credit might be disastrously affected if responsibility for India's finances were suddenly transferred to an untried popular authority without the provision of any safeguarding device.



Lord Willingdon

Tasks Impending

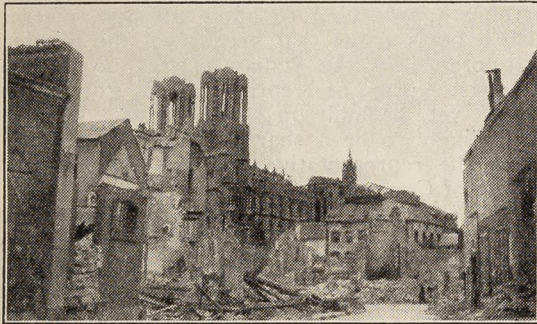
On that the new Round Table Conference in London will pronounce. Since the last Conference adjourned there have been the Irwin-Gandhi conversations, which have resulted in the restoration of internal peace in India as between Hindus and the British authorities; there has been the Indian Congress at Karachi, which has given Mr. Gandhi full power to negotiate on its behalf; there have been one or two disastrous clashes between Hindus and Muslims; and there has been the Muslim Conference at Delhi, to demonstrate how far the gulf between the two communities is from being bridged. It is at this point—unless some new and unforeseen developments intervene—that the negotiators at the new London Conference will take up their task.

The Fields of Death Renascent Flanders Seen Through German Eyes

By Dr. EMIL STEIGER

"Now Time's old injuries are blotted out,
And midst the ruins Life springs up anew."
(Schiller: "William Tell.")

THANK God things are different now! Was civilised, cultured, Europe quite deserted by God? . . . These thoughts came into my mind as, in company with a French architect who has been rebuilding some of the ruined villages, I travelled through the former war area. I wanted to see, in peace, the district north of Loretto Hill, where in 1914 I had to suffer so much—but, for



Reims in 1919

Heaven's sake, not in a charabanc with a crowd of people brought to the battlefield by curiosity, making incongruous and sententious remarks because they do not understand. And so my friend Monsieur S., who 15 years ago had the patriotic duty to be my enemy, offered me his private car, and we travelled together with our families along the front line from Reims to Dixmude.

I saw Reims in 1926. Then it presented a depressing spectacle, although it was already largely rebuilt. Now it is almost entirely reconstructed: only outside on the Laon Road did I see ruins. The Cathedral has its roof again, and Mass is again sung in it. The rubble which lay about the streets in 1926 is cleared away. Splendid shops stand in rows, and I am told there are even too many. Unfortunately, the transepts and choir of the Church of St. Remi are still in ruins, and so are several village churches, e.g., Cormicy and Chaudardes. The architect explained to me that churches are usually rebuilt last of all, because they are more difficult to restore than other buildings.

Where the road to Cormicy branches from the main Laon road there is a large French cemetery. It was sad to see the great number of white crosses for the first time in the moonlight. Somewhat further north, by La Ville aux Bois, we saw the first English cemetery. Later we came across dozens. They are much more expensively laid out than the German or French. In an English cemetery every soldier has an upright gravestone, on which are chiselled the name, date, and regiment. For the unknown the inscription runs, "A Soldier of the Great War, Known Unto God." The graves are all decked with flowers. Near the entrance is a niche in the wall, in which a leather-bound book is chained. It contains a list of the dead, so that the visitor can find the graves easily. By contrast the French and German burial grounds are very

simple. The French have white wooden crosses, and the Germans black, and there are more flowers on the French graves.

We came next to Soissons, the angle of our front, where, especially in 1918, the fighting was heavy. The town is still largely in ruins. Especially the Cathedral towers have suffered, much more than at Reims. They have almost disappeared, and must be entirely replaced, which is difficult with such a work of art. The reconstruction of this town is late, because it is not in the industrial part, and the first care has been to restore the economic life of the country. We hastened over the Somme territory to Arras. There the beautiful square, with its gabled houses, is well preserved. Only two or three houses are destroyed. But the Town Hall suffered severely, and is now being restored.

We now reached a battlefield which fascinated me exceedingly, because I was there myself during the critical time. As we sped north from Arras we were suddenly aware of an ocean of black crosses on our right. We had reached the German cemetery of La Maison Blanche, where the Germans who fell on Loretto Hill are buried. Thirty-nine thousand Germans, including some who were my friends, lay there, a sacrifice to war. About 19,500 black crosses bristle from the grey ground; each cross serves for two of the fallen. On both sides is writing in



A British Cemetery

white. As I stood among these graves I was more affected than at any other time during the whole journey, for the thought came to me that I might very well have been filling a tiny plot of earth here with my mortal remains, if one of the many bullets and shrapnel-splinters had flown a little more to left or to right; and when I thought of my wife and son, standing beside me, I was overcome with a powerful sentiment at once of melancholy and of thankfulness.

Near Neuville St. Vaast we turned the car off the road on to the former battlefield and made a modest picnic. All around us was desolate and sad, and the thought of the tragedies that had been played out here was ever with me. We spoke little as we ate our bread. We had to be very careful where we trod, for I nearly stepped on a live shell. This field had not yet been cleared, and my guide told me that people, especially peasants, are sometimes blown to pieces when they begin to cultivate the fields again.

As we went further towards Loretto Hill we passed cemetery after cemetery. In the distance we saw the new Loretto Chapel, and beside it a high tower, the "Lighthouse," which reminds all for miles around of the great sacrifices which were made in these parts. Lighthouse and chapel stand in the midst of nearly 35,000 French graves. In the Lighthouse is an ossuary, over the door of which is written, "To the Unknown Heroes." Outside is engraved an inscription composed by the Bishop of Arras, who, as I read in the chapel, often gives sermons here, where so much blood has flowed, to win men for the cause of Peace. The inscription runs, "Peoples, be united; men, be human." These words gave me pleasure, but shortly afterwards I read on the memorial to a Moroccan division in Vimy, "Without Fear, Without Pity," which reminded me with a pang of the devilish ways of war.

We looked out from Loretto Hill over the North French industrial area, which was also a part of the war zone. In Haisnes, opposite the newly-built church, there stands again the simple Café Belle Vue, almost exactly as it was in 1914, when I was there on guard, and a shell crashed through the ceiling of our guardroom. At Auchy the mines, which then stood still, are again at work. A miner showed us the little field-path over to Cuinchy and Givenchy. It led over a field of sugar-beet. There was beet there in 1914, when we had to dig our trenches. We often gnawed with hunger at the frozen beet-roots, for we had, as yet, no communica-

tion trenches, and could only fetch supplies at night. During the day it was too dangerous. As the supply-carriers were on their way with the food from Auchy, shells often fell, and there were many casualties. When the air got too thick, the carriers would throw themselves down with their pots, loaves, and water-bottles in the chalky earth, slimy with rain. We sat in the dark in groups, eating the cold beef and drinking the cold rice water, and when we ate the bread we often only noticed how dirty it was when we felt the grains of sand grating between our teeth. Every day we lost men. The survivors were only too glad to take the iron ration of their fallen comrade as a supplement, provided that he had not, against orders, already eaten it. I thought how for weeks I had lain in the slush of this beet-field, hungry and frozen, listening to the cries of my friends, and, philosophising, it all came back to me as, with my wife and child, I stood in broad daylight where at that time none dare crawl by night. And I felt the contrast most of all when my former enemy drove me comfortably in his car to the ruins of the objective which in 1914 our regiment had stormed in vain.

When I view, as a whole, my experiences during and since the war, including the impressions gleaned on this journey, I cannot help feeling that, while some of the damage has been happily made good, it is difficult and, perhaps, impossible to heal the economic and moral wounds the war inflicted.

A Critical Council Large Problems to Come Up at Geneva

THE sixty-third meeting of the League of Nations Council, which opens at Geneva on May 18th, under the chairmanship of the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, may well prove to be the most important ever held. That is saying a good deal, but the facts justify the statement. Three questions of first-rate importance will come directly or indirectly before it. One is the Austro-German Customs Union, another the Franco-Italian naval negotiations, the third Germano-Polish relations, arising out of the settlement reached at the January Council meeting of the troubles arising between Poland and the German minority in Upper Silesia.

Of these, the third may, or may not, assume importance. That depends on the reports the Council may receive as to the steps taken by Poland to carry out certain reforms to which her representative pledged herself last time. The first and second are discussed in detail on other pages of this issue. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to say much about them here. The Franco-Italian question (if it still remains unsettled) will not be technically before the Council, but various questions concerning the Disarmament Conference, notably its place and its president, will, and in the informal discussions, at any rate, the one problem that is threatening the success of the conference more than any other is bound to take a prominent place.

As for the Austro-German Customs Union, Dr. Curtius has put it on the agenda of the European Committee, which meets three days before the Council, and Mr. Henderson has inscribed it on the Council agenda. Whether it will be discussed by both bodies remains uncertain, but the European

Committee's decisions are likely to be reported on to the Council, so that a second discussion would be quite in order. But the question will almost certainly be broadened out into a new magnitude, for various plans are being evolved for turning the edge of the Austro-German affair by laying the groundwork of a general European understanding on tariffs, forming a framework into which a special Austro-German understanding could quite well fit.

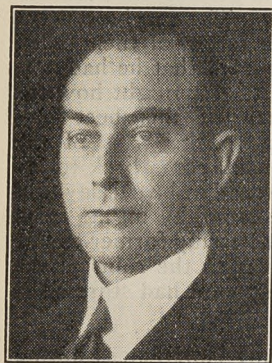
Whether this will be possible is by no means clear. Any proposals definitely laid before the European Committee may well prove to have been thrown together too hurriedly to be of practical value as they stand. That will not matter if the Germans and Austrians are ready to hold their hands while a larger scheme is being thrashed out with the care its importance demands. Nothing better, indeed, than that could happen.

The economics of Europe will be to the fore in other ways, for the European Committee will also have before it a definite plan for the establishment of an Agricultural Credit Bank, which shall lend money to farmers—principally small farmers—in Europe on the security of mortgages on their farms. The scheme has been carefully worked out—the well-known Dutch financier, M. der Meulen, has put a great deal of work into it—and its adoption would do much to create among the agricultural countries of Europe a feeling that the League is not deaf to their appeals.

During the Council meeting ratifications of the General Act (providing machinery for the peaceful settlement of all disputes) will be deposited by Great Britain and Italy and probably by France.

The Austro-German Deal Questions to be Settled at Geneva

THE news of the projected Austro-German Customs Union broke upon the world just as the last issue of HEADWAY was going to press, and only the briefest reference to it was possible then.



Dr. Curtius
German Foreign Minister

Now, unfortunately, it must be treated at greater length, for the effects of the affair on Europe have been considerable and the question is likely to form the central feature of the League Council meeting at Geneva this month.

Three questions arise regarding the agreement announced on March 23. Is it legal? Is it wise? And even if it is the right thing, was it done in the wrong way? All those questions must be asked,

but it is not necessary to give them a decisive answer here. That will be done in the official discussion at Geneva.

The Legal Aspect

First of all, is a customs union between Germany and Austria legal? There are two possible objections to it: one, that it infringes the provisions of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, which forbid Austria to abandon her independence without the consent of the League of Nations Council; two, that it infringes the much more specific pledge given by Austria in 1922 to "abstain from any negotiations or from any economic or financial engagement calculated directly or indirectly to compromise this independence"—it being added, however, that this does not limit Austria's freedom to conclude any ordinary tariff agreements she pleases.

On whether there is a conflict between these provisions and the new Customs Union, lawyers might argue till the end of time. The question will probably enough be sent to the Permanent Court of International Justice to decide.

What the Customs Union Is

It may be well at this point to ask precisely what the proposed Customs Union is, because the verdict to be passed must largely turn on that. Germany and Austria are, of course, adjacent States, with a common frontier between them. Along that frontier there will be no more custom houses. German goods will go free of duty into Austria and Austrian goods free of duty into Germany. Round the other frontiers of the two countries there will be a uniform tariff. That is to say, foreign goods will pay the same duty whether they go into Germany or into Austria. At present German tariffs are higher generally than Austrian and they are, to some extent, levied on different goods. It is going to be no easy matter to fix a common tariff satisfactory to the various interests in both countries, and then arrange how the proceeds of it shall be divided—but the Germans and Austrians think they can do it.

As to whether it was wise to conclude this particular arrangement at all, Germans and Austrians naturally take a different view from some other

people. This question indeed is best answered in conjunction with the third—is it the right thing done in the wrong way? The Germans say the union is a step in the direction of the removal of tariff barriers.

That depends, for the outside world, on whether the new Austro-German barrier consists of tariffs levelled up to the German standard or levelled down to the Austrian. They have also met one line of criticism in advance by inviting other countries to come into the union.

The unwisdom of the move from one point of view is obvious enough. Everyone knows—the Germans better than anyone—that the French are strongly, not to say violently opposed to the so-called Anschluss, or union between Germany and Austria, and anything that looks remotely like that rouses all their suspicions in a moment. The French may be completely unreasonable and wrong, but there it is. Is there anything to be gained by raising French hostility to fever-heat at the moment when what Germany wants most—or professes to want most—is a successful issue to the coming Disarmament Conference?

A Bad Turn to Europe

The Germans claim, with a considerable show of reason, that the arrangement they have negotiated is part and parcel of the programme laid down by the Committee on European Union. But, if so, why was the arrangement concluded with such studious secrecy outside the European Committee and without the knowledge of its members? And why did Dr. Curtius absent himself from the sub-committee of the European Committee which Mr. Henderson and M. Briand were attending at Paris on March 24, and actually choose the previous day to burst the bombshell on the world without taking any steps to link his action on to the European plan at all?

These are questions that have been freely asked by public men in Europe who are at least as friendly to Germany as to France. There may be good answers to them. If so, those answers will, no doubt, be given at Geneva. They are certainly not asked here with any idea of pre-judging the situation, but simply with a view to making it clear what the situation is. Germany must have realised that her move would be interpreted rightly or wrongly as a reply to the new rapprochement between France and Italy resulting from the Naval Agreement the two countries were supposed to have concluded. In actual fact it was immediately after the announcement of the Austro-German pact that France suddenly made difficulties about the Naval Agreement and threw the whole thing in the melting-pot again. There is nothing—or very little—to be said in France's defence over that, but if Germany's action was in any way indirectly the cause of it, Germany has done Europe a singularly bad turn. H. W. H.



Dr. Johann Schober
Austrian Foreign Minister

Armies and Safety Is League of Nations Protection Enough?

EVERYONE was agreed, said Lord Cecil at a recent League Assembly, that arbitration, security, and disarmament should go hand in hand, but we had got a good deal of arbitration and a good deal of security, and it was quite time disarmament was given its turn. No one is likely to challenge that statement as regards arbitration, but a great many people would challenge it as regards security. The French, in particular, are never tired of declaring that if they really had got security they would make no sort of difficulty about disarmament.

Plans for Common Action

In view of that difference of opinion the security question clearly calls for some further discussion, and in order to provide opportunity for such discussion the League of Nations Union arranged one of its now familiar conferences at the end of March, when the problem was surveyed from every angle in a series of sittings in the Guildhall of the City of London. The dependence of disarmament on security—in other words, the demand of every nation that someone shall guarantee it security if it is to abandon the armaments which at present it considers its one protection—may hardly seem to need emphasising, but it was well to make the discussion complete, and General Sir George Macdonogh, after examining the various attempts, successful and unsuccessful, since the war to establish a general sense of security, concluded that the best way to make disarmament certain would be for all States to pledge themselves unequivocally to band together in active resistance to any aggressor. But that obligation must be taken seriously. Public opinion in every country must endorse it, and plans must be prepared for taking the necessary action without delay in case of need.

The French Point of View

The conference revealed very little difference of opinion about that. General Spears, who had been asked to state the French point of view, with which he is intimately familiar, brought the problem to a head by declaring that what France really wanted to know was whether Great Britain meant business over Covenant obligations, and Article XVI in particular, or not. Till she was satisfied of that she felt compelled to provide for her own defence, partly by making alliances with individual countries, such as Poland and the Little Entente, and partly by maintaining her own armed forces at a higher figure than she would think necessary if she had more watertight guarantees of outside assistance to depend on.

If General Spears is to be believed, there has been a steady movement in France towards the League standpoint. Her army, he declared with conviction, would not only refuse to take part in any campaign of aggression, but would not even support one of France's allies till that ally had exhausted every means of peaceful settlement before resorting to war. Briand's policy, the speaker affirmed, must be the policy of any French Foreign Minister of the future, and one feature of it was that France would be only too glad to shift her special responsibilities for the defence of, say, Poland, to the League. It was not merely for the sake of her own protection that she wanted to see the League guarantees so

dependable and so far-reaching that no country could reasonably want anything beyond them.

Britain and Article XVI

This was interesting, if rather provocative, doctrine, and it prepared the way usefully for the discussion of various forms of security which the League already has it in its power to bestow. There is, of course, first and foremost, the collective action, financial, economic and possibly military, contemplated under Article XVI of the Covenant. In that connection Mr. Noel Baker put in the useful reminder that Article XVI, so far from being imposed on a guileless Britain by designing foreigners, was actually written in the British Foreign Office by the members of an official committee, who included Sir Eyre Crowe, Sir Cecil Hurst, and Sir Julian Corbett. It is commonly assumed in controversy, moreover, that under Article XVI Great Britain will always do all the giving and none of the getting. It was, therefore, just as well that Colonel Wyatt should have dwelt a little on the possible Russian menace to the Indian frontier and the sobering effect it might have in Moscow if it were understood there that an act of aggression against India would stir not only Great Britain, but the whole of the League, to resistance.

The U.S.A. and a Boycott

But it is not very much use talking about security in the abstract. The real question is what action States would take if any action had to be taken at all in execution of a guarantee. The economic side of that was handled by Mr. C. E. Fayle in one of the best papers contributed. By careful and convincing argument he showed that joint economic action against an aggressor, if loyally carried out, could hardly fail to be tremendously effective, and meeting the common objection that the non-cooperation of the United States would vitiate the whole operation, he asked pertinently whether any intending aggressor could ever feel certain that though other nations might cut off intercourse the United States would still cheerfully send in supplies. No State, Mr. Fayle was convinced, would ever dare to make such an assumption.

Two Views on Sanctions

There may, of course, be an extreme case in which economic and financial sanctions would be insufficient, and combined military action would be needed. It was left to Capt. Liddell Hart, the well-known writer on military questions, to discuss the means by which military pressure might best be exerted. His answer, in a word, was machine-guns. The State attacked, he assumed, would be concerned with defending its frontiers. For that, in Capt. Liddell Hart's view, there was no weapon comparable to machine-guns, and the best service other members of the League could do would be to rush as many machine-gun detachments as possible to the support of the victim. Of course, the attack on him might be by air. In that case the one course open to the League would be to mobilise attacks immediately on the aggressor's transport and munition supply systems.

All this is making Article XVI extremely practical. That appeals to one school, who say that if members of the League can really show that they mean busi-

ness over Article XVI—that is, would put it fully into operation in case of need, even to the point of military action—then the consequences to an aggressor would be so overwhelming that no State would ever be capable of the folly of aggression. The point was brought out forcibly in the discussion at the Guildhall Conference by a speaker who declared that not one person in ten realised what the obligations under Article XVI involved, and urged that it was the business of the League of Nations Union to drive the knowledge home.

Another school lays emphasis rather—as, indeed, everyone must do in differing degree—on the importance of getting an aggressor checked by measures falling short of the use of armed force. To these Sir Henry Strakosch's paper on the Convention on Financial Assistance, showing how tremendous a weapon this puts into the hands of the League Council, was especially welcome. To be able to range the League practically and decisively on the side of the injured party in a quarrel without

being forced to take armed action against the aggressor is an enormous advantage, and the explanation of the Convention on Financial Assistance by a financial authority of Sir Henry Strakosch's weight was convincing.

The Importance of Guarantees

Such a conference, of course, gives opportunity for the expression of a wide variety of views. That is what it was called for. Nothing that was said, naturally, binds anyone except the person who said it. For that reason it is difficult to sum up the conclusions reached. But this, at least, may be said, that the conference was agreed that you cannot hope to achieve disarmament unless adequate mutual guarantees of security are forthcoming. Whether the guarantees embodied in the Covenant are adequate is a debatable question. The general view would appear to be that they are if all members of the League make it clear that they intend to carry them out.

Wandering Sabbaths A Protest Against Calendar Change

THE discussion of possible changes in the calendar by which all our lives are ordered has been brightened by a lively protest by the Chief Rabbi Dr. J. H. Hertz against any reform or rearrangement that will involve what he calls "a wandering sabbath."

As the whole question will come up in a very definite form before the League of Nations Transit Conference in October it is as well to recall what the actual position is. Two quite separate proposals are involved. One has reference to the fixing of Easter, so that the observance of that festival will always fall on the same Sunday in each year; the other is the rearrangement of the 365 (or 366) days of the year in such a way that a year will form an exact number of weeks, and a particular date in any month—for example, May 15th—consequently fall always on the same day of the week. That means obviously treating as outside any week the odd day in ordinary years, and the odd two days in leap years, left over when the rest of the days, namely 364, are divided into precisely 52 weeks.

What the Jews Dislike

That is what the Chief Rabbi objects to. His main interest, naturally, is in the Jewish Sabbath, and the Jewish Sabbath comes once every seven days. If it comes on May 9th, 1931, it will come again on May 16th, and again on May 23rd, and so on. And if it comes on December 26th it will come again on January 2nd. And here is where calendar reform throws everything wrong—from Dr. Hertz's point of view. For if the reformers have their way the odd day at the end of 1931 (which happens to be a Thursday) will be disregarded, and January 1st, 1932, will be a Thursday, just as January 1st, 1931, was. That means that the Jewish Sabbath will come on January 3rd, instead of January 2nd, and eight days instead of seven will separate it from the previous Sabbath. What is more all the Sabbaths in 1932 will be a day out. They will, in the Chief Rabbi's words, have "wandered" along the week. But in 1933 they will be three days out—for 1932 is a leap year and there will be two extra days to dispose of somehow.

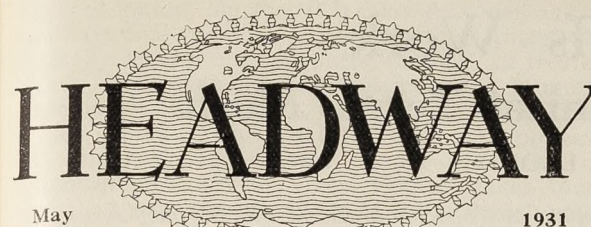
This Jewish objection must be kept in its right perspective. In this matter the greatest good of the greatest number is likely to be the determining factor, and it remains to be seen how far the Jewish objection finds support in other quarters. No opinion for or against it is expressed here. It is mentioned, and explained, merely as an indication of the kind of discussion that may be looked for when the question comes before the Transit Conference.

Britain's Easter Law

The fixing of Easter is a less contentious business, though that does not at all mean that the proposal will be definitely adopted this year. There is a strong volume of opinion in many countries in favour of keeping Easter Day (which at present may fall anywhere between March 22nd and April 25th) every year on the Sunday after the second Saturday in April—which in most years, though not in all, is the same thing as the second Sunday in April. In Great Britain an Act fixing that date is actually on the statute book, but with the proviso that it is only to be brought into effect by an Order in Council, which must be approved by Parliament. It may be observed, incidentally, that if the Act had been in force this year holiday-makers would have enjoyed brilliant sunshine instead of pouring rain (but next year precisely the opposite may happen). If Easter Sunday is fixed it follows, of course, of necessity that Whit Sunday will be fixed too.

In view of the importance of Easter in the ecclesiastical calendar of the Roman Catholic Church it has always been agreed that almost everything depends on the attitude the Holy See may definitely adopt in the matter. A representative of the Pope sat on the special committee which considered the whole question in the first instance at Geneva, and gave it to be understood that so far as Easter at any rate was concerned no ecclesiastical dogma was involved and no objection would be raised if the demand for the change was shown to be widespread.

It looks as if the Easter question, and possibly the whole calendar question, would now be moved forward one stage.



Heavy Weather

THE League of Nations' Council Meeting, which opens at Geneva in the middle of this month, promises to be as important as any ever held. The world, indeed, is looking to Geneva with urgent expectancy to clear an international atmosphere that has suddenly grown alarmingly murky. The conditions that exist are the more disappointing in that the last Council meeting in January did succeed in sweeping away various clouds that were then obscuring the sky and its members dispersed with the glass standing at Set Fair once more. The world was satisfied that the League could do what was expected of it, and confidence was proportionately increased.

Now the Franco-Italian difficulty and the German-Austrian customs affair are darkening the horizon. Neither of them ought to have caused the trouble it is causing, but as the trouble has been caused it will be for Geneva to put it right. The conversations between British, French and Italian naval experts are still continuing, and it is possible that some settlement will be reached between them before the Council meets. If so, of course, so much the better, but even so, personal contacts between the Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned are needed to put matters on the proper basis and restore a mutual confidence which has been gravely shaken by France's sudden challenge to an agreement which everyone believed had been accepted by her as completely as it had by Italy and Britain. It must always be remembered, moreover, that the naval conversations were a supplement to the London Naval Conference, or rather the completion of its unfinished work, and that the Naval Conference itself was not an isolated event but part and parcel of the League's disarmament work. Any result achieved, therefore, as result of the three-cornered talks between Great Britain, Italy and France, ought to be reported at Geneva and given fresh stability in the eyes of the world by being put on record there.

That, of course, is where the real gravity of the new Franco-Italian disagreement lies. All eyes are turned on next year's Disarmament Conference. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude if the delegates to that unique assembly had at the end of months to disperse with nothing done. And nothing, quite certainly, will be done unless various initial difficulties, most notably those regarding naval disarmament, are cleared out of the way in advance. It was because Mr. Henderson was so conscious of that that he took the unusual, and apparently wholly successful, course of intervening personally to secure a settlement between the French and Italians. The immediate effect of that settlement was not merely to clear up the naval dispute, but to transform the whole atmosphere as between the two countries. Now the whole of that advantage has been thrown away. The situation is in some ways worse than it was before. It is against the background of the Disarmament

Conference, similarly, that the trouble over the German-Austrian agreement must be viewed. The whole affair is discussed in detail in another column, and all that need be said about its detailed merits here is that British opinion is obviously with the Foreign Secretary when he declines to take the tragic view of the business prevalent in France, and still more with him when he insists that the right way to deal with difficulties of this sort is to discuss them at Geneva. British opinion, indeed, has never condemned a possible union between Germany and Austria as French opinion has, and strong support would be found for the thesis that to veto such a union indefinitely would be to do plain violence to the acknowledged right of free peoples to dispose of their destinies as they will.

But many things that are legal are not expedient and many things that would be expedient at the right moment may be highly inexpedient if the action involved is taken prematurely and without regard to circumstances that cannot be left unconsidered. That is the real ground for complaint against the Germans. They are not so ignorant of the state of opinion in Europe as to fail to foresee the effect their announcement of an agreement concluded in secret, and put forward as a contribution to the European Union scheme, but without a word of consultation or even information, to the chief movers in that scheme, would inevitably have on France, on Poland, on Czechoslovakia and various other European States. It may be perfectly true that the States in question have no reason, and no business, to get as excited as they have done. That thesis will certainly not be contested here. But the conclusion of a German-Austrian customs agreement at this particular moment and in this particular way cannot be held to be a matter of more importance either to Germany or to Austria than the success of the Disarmament Conference, and in creating an atmosphere in Europe that cannot fail to jeopardise the success of the conference both countries are assuming a heavy responsibility.

These criticisms, such as they are, concern solely the method of Germany's and Austria's action, not the purpose of it. The purpose, the reduction or limitation of tariffs barriers by international agreement, is an accepted aim of the League. It is what the European Union movement in particular is trying to achieve within one continent. The hope is now that Germany, which professes to be contributing to the success of the European Committee, will be content that her announcement shall be freely discussed by that committee and an endeavour made to fit the local agreement, or projected agreement, into a larger framework. However that may turn out, one reflection at the present juncture is apposite. The situation is disquieting, but it would be tenfold more disquieting if there were no League Council table for the discussion of such affairs to centre round. In his notable volume of reminiscences, Lord Grey remarks somewhere that as he looks back through his old papers "it is depressing to read of the distrust and suspicion with which Governments and peoples regarded each other in these years. The impression given is of an atmosphere so miserable and unwholesome that nothing healthy could live in it." There is plenty of reason for depression at times to-day, but taking the broad view the international situation is vastly easier than it was in the years Lord Grey had in mind. It is the League that has made the difference, and if the coming Council meeting is awaited with anxiety it may justifiably be awaited, too, with confident hope.

How Tariffs Work And What the Technical Terms Mean

By E. M. H. LLOYD

A large part of the work of the various economic organisations at Geneva is concerned with the tariff systems of States members of the League—with trying to get tariffs reduced, to get them stabilised over a term of years, to simplify their administration, to straighten out their complexities, with deciding what "most-favoured nation treatment" means. Much of these discussions, vastly important though they are, is unintelligible to the ordinary layman for lack of the knowledge of how normal tariffs work in normal practice. The following article embodies some plain and simple explanations. With the question of whether tariffs are inherently good or inherently bad things, or sometimes good and sometimes bad, it has no concern.

DISCUSSION of tariffs as an international problem, like the discussion of armaments, requires an understanding of certain technical terms, such as most-favoured-nation treatment.* This article is intended as a brief, and, so far as possible, non-technical, introduction to the subject.

What a Tariff Is

A tariff is a list or schedule. For our present purpose it means a list of Customs duties levied by Governments on imports. The word is also used, less correctly, to mean the duty payable on a particular item in the list, as when we speak of a "tariff on oranges." Governments impose duties on imports either for revenue purpose or for the protection of home industries, or both. If revenue is the main object the Customs duty levied at the port may be supplemented by a corresponding Excise duty levied on the home product. The two together are a form of indirect taxation—as opposed to direct taxation on incomes and profits—and are not incompatible with free trade principles. Nor is a Customs duty levied on an article not produced at home, for example, a tea duty. The essence of a protective duty is that it is imposed on goods imported from abroad, but not on the same kind of goods produced at home.

Two Kinds of Duty

Customs duties may be either *specific* or *ad valorem*. A specific duty is a sum of money payable on a specified quantity or weight of goods. For example, there is a duty of 7s. per cwt. on raisins imported into Great Britain from foreign countries. The value of different consignments of raisins may vary according to their quality, but the duty remains the same. *Ad valorem* means that the duty is expressed as a percentage of the value of the goods, e.g., the 33½ per cent. duty on foreign motor-cars imported into Great Britain. A duty of from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. is a moderate duty, more suitable for revenue than for protection. Protective duties may range from 12½ per cent. to 50 per cent., or more. Sometimes they may exceed 100 per cent. of the value of the goods, in which case they may virtually exclude imports altogether and become *prohibitive* duties. (Both France and Germany impose duties of well over 100 per cent. on wheat.)

So far we have covered familiar ground. The trouble begins when we find countries with two or three different tariff scales. We have, for example, to grasp the distinction between an *autonomous*

tariff and a *conventional* tariff. An autonomous tariff means a tariff drawn up to stand on its own feet as the expression of national economic policy, without regard to the possibility of bargaining or tariff negotiations with other countries. Thus Great Britain's present tariff system would be called autonomous, since it is not based on or used for bargaining. A conventional tariff, *i.e.*, one based on conventions or treaties, includes differential duties, on a higher and a lower scale, the lower scale being granted to a particular country or countries in exchange for equivalent concessions elsewhere. Imperial Preference duties in Great Britain, though differential, may still be regarded as autonomous, since they are given spontaneously and not as the result of bargaining or treaty obligations. Some people want to make them conventional—want, that is, to make them the subject of bargaining and specific conventions with the Dominions.

Double and Single Tariffs

Tariff systems are further divided according to whether they are *single column* or *double tariff* systems. As a rule autonomous tariffs are single column, though as we have seen, Great Britain, as result of Imperial Preference, has an autonomous double tariff system. Some important countries with autonomous single tariffs, like the United States and Germany, provide for increases (or *penalties*) and reductions in the duty in special cases determined by treaty or otherwise.

When there is a recognised *minimum* scale of duties applicable under commercial conventions, in addition to a general or *maximum* tariff—as, for example, in Italy, Spain, Poland, Belgium, Yugoslavia and Norway—the system is said to be a double tariff system. Other countries, like France, Canada and Australia, have yet a third or *intermediate* tariff, which is used for special bargaining. The minimum in the case of Canada and Australia is, of course, the Preferential tariff on British goods.

"Most-Favoured-Nation"

Into this network of different systems we now have to insert the important unifying conception of *most-favoured-nation treatment*. Most commercial treaties include a clause providing that if any favour or privilege be thereafter conceded by either party to the goods of any third nation, then the same treatment shall be extended to similar goods of the other contracting party. A country is thus said to enjoy most-favoured-nation treatment in another country, when it automatically gets the benefit of any reduction of duties conceded, spontaneously or by convention, to any other nation. (The expression does not mean that it becomes the most-

* The best short explanation of these technicalities is to be found in a document prepared for the International Economic Conference of 1927, entitled "Commercial Treaties: Tariff Systems and Contractual Methods," by M. Serruys, of the French Ministry of Commerce.

favoured nation, but that it is treated as well as the most-favoured nation—or nations, for there are generally several most-favoured nations, all treated alike.) For example, Great Britain enjoys most-favoured-nation treatment, let us say, in Italy. Then if Italy grants a reduction in her duty on wool textiles imported from France, under the terms of a commercial treaty by which France makes some equivalent reduction in favour of Italy, British wool textile manufacturers automatically benefit from the same reduction.

It is usual—and this has an important bearing on the Austro-German customs agreement controversy—to admit exceptions to the most-favoured-nation clause in the event of a Customs Union being formed by one of the parties with another country.*

* If, that is to say, countries A and B agree to make a Customs Union, and let one another's goods in free, other countries which may happen to have a most-favoured-nation treaty with A or B cannot on that ground claim free entry for their goods too.

The Drug Menace New Efforts This Month to Curb It

THE most important Opium Conference convened since 1925 will open at Geneva towards the end of the month, its purpose being to limit the manufacture of narcotic drugs throughout the world to the amount the world legitimately needs. The importance of that is obvious. So long as more of these drugs are being manufactured than the world requires for legitimate purposes it is certain that a part of the output is being used illegitimately. If output can be limited then there is good reason to hope that the legitimate trade will be supplied and the illegitimate trade starved.

A British Draft

But can output be so limited? It only can be if the governments of the world combine to limit it. And to do that they will need not merely goodwill, but a very carefully thought-out plan. It is to be hoped they have the first. They certainly have the second, for a draft convention, prepared and submitted by the British Government, was worked through, clause by clause, by the Opium Advisory Committee in January, and will form the basis of the discussions at the coming conference. If it is adopted in anything like its present form it will mean that the governments are gripping the drug trade by the neck and are determined to keep their hands on its throat.

The phrase drug trade, or drug traffic, must be noted, for this is not the same thing as the opium traffic. Opium is the raw material, the juice of the opium poppy in a solidified form. It may be smoked or eaten or made into narcotic drugs—the most familiar of these drugs being morphia or morphine, heroin and cocaine. Cocaine is not a product of the poppy at all, but of the coca plant, which grows in South America and elsewhere. The traffic as a whole may, and should, be tackled at several points simultaneously, by attempts to limit poppy-cultivation, to limit or stop opium-smoking, and to limit the manufacture of narcotic drugs.

The Value of Narcotics

There can, of course, be no question of stopping the manufacture of the drugs. It can hardly be necessary to emphasise that. Properly used, morphia is a godsend to mankind. But every effort possible

and also in respect of purely frontier traffic. The system of Imperial Preference in the British Empire is also recognised as an exception, which gives no ground for foreign countries to claim under the most-favoured-nation clause similar treatment to that accorded by Great Britain to the Dominions and vice versa.

To this brief glossary of terms one general observation may be added. It is evident that there is a great diversity of systems and of policies, and that this adds considerably to the difficulties of negotiations between Governments. Quite apart from any question of tariff reduction, it is in the general interest of all countries to secure greater uniformity and stability in their tariff systems. Protectionists and free traders should therefore welcome equally attempts by the League of Nations to promote simplification and standardisation in the technique of tariffs.

must be exerted to draw a decisive line between legitimate and illegitimate use. If—to go back to the fundamental formula—the world's output of drugs is to be limited to the total the world legitimately needs, the first step clearly is to decide on how much the world does legitimately need, and the second is to decide what percentage of that amount each country that manufactures drugs shall be allowed to supply.

The first step is relatively easy. The Health Committee of the League, some years ago, calculated roughly what a reasonable estimate would be, and at present most countries send to this Central Opium Board at Geneva their own estimates of what they themselves need each year. As to limiting the output from each country, the Governments can perfectly well do that if they can agree on the percentages. In Great Britain the three or four drug-factories that exist are licensed by the Government and can only produce under certain prescribed conditions. A specified maximum output can easily be made one of those conditions, both here and everywhere else.

Reaching Agreement

But to agree on the figures may not be quite easy. Each country, naturally, wants to get as large a share of the trade as possible for its own nationals. But considerable progress has been made already, largely as result of a preliminary meeting of the manufacturing countries held in London last autumn. A table of percentages has been drawn up which Great Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland are ready to accept. Japan and Turkey have not yet come into line, but it is not expected that a settlement with the Japanese will prove difficult. Turkey is claiming a larger quota than the other countries think reasonable and an adjustment of that may be one of the chief tasks of the conference. If at any future date countries that are not now manufacturing drugs begin to do so, a general revision of quotas will be necessary.

If agreements are reached on these lines at the coming conference an important and necessary step in the control of the traffic in dangerous drugs will have been taken. Philologists will be glad to know that acetylodemetilodihydrothebaine is to receive the attention of the conference.

Italy and France

Why the Naval Agreement Broke Down

A MONTH ago considerable space was devoted in these columns to an explanation of the agreement most fortunately reached between France and Italy over naval questions, thanks to the personal intervention of the British Foreign Minister, who succeeded in bringing the two parties together at a moment when all hope of an agreement seemed to be vanishing.

It was stated then that the actual details of the agreement were of small importance, but the principal points in the settlement reached were summarised. Most unfortunately, as all the world now knows, unexpected difficulties have been raised by France since the agreement was announced, and the whole thing is once more in the melting-pot. Attempts to save the situation may have succeeded by the time these lines appear, but at the moment they are being written the outlook is distinctly sombre.

The Contested Point

As has been said, all the world knows that difficulties have arisen, but there is a good deal of mystery as to why and over what particular point they have arisen. It may be well, therefore, to try and make that clear. The actual difficulty France has raised concerned a provision in the Franco-Italian agreement, summarised as follows in last HEADWAY:—

"France and Italy will construct no 6 in. gun cruisers or destroyers before the end of 1936, except for replacement purposes."

That leaves the position perfectly clear. Each country limits itself to a certain total of tonnage (670,723 in the case of France and 441,256 in the case of Italy), and during the currency of the agreement they will only build to replace vessels scrapped as they become over-age. But what about ships that are not to be completed till 1937, *i.e.*, after the present agreement has expired? Is there any limit to their numbers? There is. That is governed by a clause in the London Naval Treaty, which both France and Italy, by the new agreement, promised to accept. Under that clause building may be begun during the agreement period, *i.e.*, before the end of 1936, of ships to replace vessels becoming over-age in 1937, 1938, and 1939—of these and no more.

What France Claimed

It is this provision that France, on second thoughts, tried to throw over, claiming that she accepted limitation only till the end of 1936, and must be free without any further discussion to lay down as many ships as she chose, provided they were not actually put into service till January, 1937. That claim seems to ignore altogether the further provision in the London Treaty for another conference of the Naval Powers in 1935, to arrange the continuance or revision of the London Treaty itself. French writers are, indeed, assuming that France demands freedom of action in order to be able to establish a far larger margin of superiority over Italy on January 1st, 1937, than the agreement would allow her to enjoy up to December 31st, 1936.

This demand has transformed the whole political atmosphere, which the announcement of the Franco-Italian agreement on March 1st had made suddenly favourable. Neither Britain or Italy can accept for

a moment the construction France is putting on the agreement she has accepted, and if the French insist on this construction the whole settlement must break down. It is obvious that there is a political side to the whole affair. It was only after French Nationalist feeling was suddenly inflamed by the announcement of the Austro-German Customs agreement that the difficulties about the naval agreement were raised at Paris. It is impossible to separate the two events. The Right Wing in French politics, strengthened by the general indignation over the Berlin-Vienna deal, was able to carry the day against a naval limitation which it never liked. M. Briand, met with the taunt that the Germans whom he always tried to conciliate had rounded on him, could not put up the fight that was expected of him on the naval question. So the Right got its way, and a vital clause in the naval agreement was repudiated under the guise of a difference of opinion about interpretation.

That, of course, is an unofficial interpretation of the situation, but there is all too much reason to believe that it is the right one. It is always possible that at the last moment better counsels will prevail—at the Geneva Council meeting if the matter has not been settled before—but to those whose eyes are fixed, as most eyes should be, on next year's Disarmament Conference these developments are profoundly depressing.

Spain and the League

IT will be interesting to observe what effect the change of regime in Spain has on the relationship of that country with the League of Nations. It will mean, first of all, presumably, the disappearance of one well-known and popular figure, Señor Quiñones de Leon, who represented his country at the first meeting of the League Council in January, 1920, and has represented her without a break since, except for the period when Spain temporarily absented herself from the League meetings after failing to secure a permanent seat on the Council in 1926.

At the moment these lines are being written, the Spanish delegate on the Council has not been nominated. His personality will be a matter of more than ordinary interest, seeing that it will be the turn of the Spanish representative to preside at the September Council meeting and in that capacity to deliver the opening address at the Assembly. All the indications are that the new Spanish Government will certainly not show less enthusiasm for the League than its predecessor, and reports have been current that it will take a definite and advanced line on the subject of disarmament. That, if true, will be all to the good. The new Cabinet lost no time in sending a representative to Geneva to assure the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of its full support.

It was strongly rumoured at the time of Spain's temporary withdrawal from Geneva that the real difficulty in the way of reconciliation was King Alfonso. If that be so, it provides another reason for supposing that the change of regime will be of no disadvantage to the League.

The Charter of the League

III.—Common Defence by a Common Pledge

AFTER unavoidable interruption for a month, the discussion of the separate articles of the League of Nations Covenant is continued here, for the benefit of students of the League who may never have examined in detail what the League is setting out to do.

Articles X and XI form in many ways the foundation-stones of the Covenant. We had, therefore, better have their exact text before us. They run as follows:

ARTICLE X.

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

ARTICLE XI.

1. "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.
2. "It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

Article X was President Wilson's great contribution to the Covenant. He drafted it originally in different language, but what matters, after all, to-day is not what the article might have been, but what the article is, not what it might have said, but what it does say. And what it does say, in effect, is that the countries in the League will not attack each other, and that if any one of them breaks that pledge and does attack another the rest will combine to defend the State attacked. The article is full of many-syllabled phrases like "territorial integrity" and "political independence," but it means in plain language just a union for common defence against attack from any quarter.

"Advise" or "Decide"

But if that sort of union is going to give confidence to its members they must be able to be certain that if they are attacked their friends really will come to their help, not merely stand by and say how sorry they are about it all. And that is where the article a little bit breaks down. For when it comes to deal with the possibility of an attack on another State taking place (in spite of all pledges to the contrary) it lays it down that the Council shall "advise"—not "decide"—on the steps to be taken to help the victim of the unjust attack. "Advise" and not "decide." The Council, in other words, may draw up a plan of defence, and the States concerned may refuse to carry it out, and leave the victim to its fate. From the victim's point of view, that is an obvious flaw.

But the common complaint against the article is not that its promises do not go far enough, but that they go too far. States are not yet willing to commit themselves to sending their armies and fleets into action in a quarrel that is not their own, and they feel they may get seriously embroiled if they

are to rush in and defend any country that ever finds itself attacked. That is why the word "advise" is used in the article and not the word "decide," for that makes it perfectly clear that the actual decision about what an individual State shall do about living up to Article X is taken by the State itself. The Council can only suggest what it would like particular States to do. The States themselves say "Yes" or "No" to that.

Promise and Loophole

Broadly speaking, the article is popular with weak States, which have reason to fear attack, and unpopular with large ones, which think they may be expected to rush in to defend some minor fellow-member of the League at a good deal of cost, and perhaps some danger, to themselves. That, it may well be argued, is not the right way to look at the possibility. The real object of armed intervention would be, not to defend a State which found itself attacked, but to defend a world-order which was in danger of being shattered by an act of unjust aggression. However that may be, Article X constitutes in effect a pledge with a loophole. The pledge is that everyone will rally to the help of a State attacked. The loophole is the right each State has to decide for itself whether it really will rally, and, if so, how. And that loophole has been made a little larger at different times by decisions that no Government is expected to pledge itself over the head of its Parliament—the proper body in most cases for dealing with questions involving the use of armed force—and that countries are not expected to take action disproportionate to their means or in some remote quarter of the globe.

The League's Best Instrument

Those limitations are in no sense fatal, for, important as Article X is, it could be dropped out of the Covenant altogether without altering the general situation much, for the reason that Article XI, making every war or threat of war a matter of concern to the League, and Article XVI, specifying the steps to be taken to defend the Covenant, between them cover much the same ground. Article XVI will be discussed in a later issue of HEADWAY. Article XI must be considered here. It has proved the most important of all the political provisions of the Covenant, and practically every dispute the League has had to handle has been raised first under it.

The wording of the article is so clear that it needs little explanation. It says two things, both of them of capital importance. In the first place, no war or threat of war concerns merely the two or more nations directly involved; it concerns the whole world, or rather the whole of the members of the League. Consequently—and this is the second point of importance—it is the right, the friendly right, of any member of the League to call attention to any such danger existing in the world and have it discussed in the Assembly or the Council.

Both halves of the article have been constantly invoked. Sometimes a State actually attacked or threatened with attack has appealed to the League itself. Poland did that in 1920 as against Lithuania. Bulgaria did it in 1925 as against Greece. Great Britain invoked her "friendly right" to call the

attention of the League Council in 1920 to the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aaland Islands, and in 1921 to the attack by Yugoslavia on Albania. In both cases completely satisfactory settlements were reached. There have been many other such cases since. What needs emphasis is that the right of a third party to bring a dispute before the Council is a "friendly" right. No one, that is to say, can regard it as unwarrantable interference, for everyone has agreed in advance that such intervention is altogether proper.

So far as the preservation of the peace of the

world is concerned, Article XI would give the Council sufficient scope for the necessary action if all the rest of the Covenant were torn up. It is quite true that Article XVI goes more into detail regarding the action to be taken in certain emergencies, but Article XI empowers the League to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world." That is wide enough for anything. With all reverence for the memory of Woodrow Wilson, Article XI, not Article X, must be considered the very core and centre of the Covenant.

The Wheat Deluge Rome Conversations Shift to London

FOR anyone in the habit of eating bread, wheat is one of the most important subjects in the world. At the present moment it is also one of the most discussed. That is not because there is too little of it being produced, but because there is too much, a good deal more, that is to say, than the consumers are prepared or able to buy. Consequently, wheat producers in different countries are competing desperately against one another to sell their crops at a price which does not pay for the growing of them. Sooner or later, they will be ruined, land will go out of cultivation, and when the pendulum has swung the other way far enough there will be a wheat shortage and prices will rise to double the present figure or higher.

That, at least, is a reasonable probability if events are left to take their course. In the belief that better arrangements than that can be made through human forethought, various conferences on the wheat situation, both in the world as a whole and in certain particular localities, are being convened. Reference was made in the April HEADWAY to a Rome Wheat Conference then in progress. What happened at Rome, where representatives of 47 countries (several of them colonies) were present, was that the whole situation was surveyed, various impracticable proposals were discussed and dismissed, and it was arranged to hold a conference of wheat-exporting countries in London on May 18—for the wheat-producing country that eats all it produces has no problem.

The Importance of Russia

Whether all the exporting countries will be represented in London is not yet known. Russia, a highly important factor in the situation, sent delegates to Rome, and will almost certainly send them to London. The United States, for special reasons, did not send to Rome, but may very well send to London. The ultimate basis of discussion must be the enormous expansion of production in overseas markets (Canada, the United States, Australia, and the Argentine), which began during the war, when all Europe was clamouring for wheat and prepared to pay high prices for it, and the re-entry of Russia into world markets. The word "re-entry" must be emphasised, for Russia is still exporting a good deal less grain than she did before the war. Her export, however, is rapidly expanding, and very much—almost everything—depends on whether her policy is to export grain in maximum quantities at almost any price. It need not be taken for granted that it is. No definite decision on that point seems

yet to have been reached. One of the objects of the conferences in progress and in prospect is to reach some agreement whereby the different exporting countries, Russia included, will regulate the quantity to be exported by each, on terms enabling growers in each country to make a reasonable living without raising prices unduly against the consumer. There is also the distinct, but related, problem of working off the enormous unsold residue of the 1929 and 1930 harvests. In America they are talking seriously of burning them.

Europe's Claims

The importance of the London Wheat Conference needs no emphasis, and it is interesting to note that at the moment it is being held the European Commission at Geneva will be considering a scheme of agricultural credits designed particularly to help the wheat-exporting countries of Europe (principally Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) through their troubles. That is an entirely proper subject for a purely European Committee to consider. On the other hand, there is obvious justice in the contention made by the overseas countries at the Rome Conference, that international machinery ought not to be used to advance purely sectional interests when that action might prove actually detrimental to the interests of other members of the international community, *i.e.*, the overseas producing countries. Nothing could be more unhelpful than to encourage the Danubian countries to export more than they are doing already.

The wheat question is, of course, highly technical in many of its aspects, but it is hardly possible to exaggerate its importance, for a vast population in different parts of the world is engaged in the production of wheat. If that population is indigent it is in no position to buy the products of the industrial countries. If, on the other hand, it can be kept prosperous, its purchasing power will be increased, and the industrial countries will find a most valuable market there. So far as the problem is discussed at Geneva, that interdependence between agricultural and industrial prosperity must, and no doubt will, be emphasised. A judicious solution of the wheat question may benefit industrial countries hardly less than it will agricultural. For that reason the proceedings, both at the London Wheat Conference, at the European Commission, and wherever else the subject may be discussed on a basis wider than national, will be followed by intelligent persons everywhere with a lively and anxious interest.

"TWO MONTHS AGO I KNEW NO FRENCH."

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Europe's Jobless

M. ALBERT THOMAS, the Director of the International Labour Office, is a man of large ideas, and he laid some of his largest before the Governing Body of the International Labour Office last month when he produced the proposals he had drafted for dealing with unemployment on a European scale. The intention was that the proposals should be sent forward to the European Committee of the League, and it was in the end decided that that should, in fact, be done, though only after a lively discussion, in which the French Government delegates on the Governing Body criticised the Director's plans with vigour.

To begin with, M. Albert Thomas desires not merely to make the fullest use of the employment exchanges which exist in different forms in a considerable number of European countries, but to co-ordinate them in such a way as to create a kind of European employment exchange, providing for mobility of labour from one country to another. The success already achieved in the endeavour to find work in different countries for Russian refugees is quoted as an argument in favour of the European exchange proposals.

More specific, and, in many ways, more interesting, are M. Thomas' proposals for the provision of employment by the execution of a scheme of public works. This, of course, must be primarily on a national scale, but M. Albert Thomas is thinking of something international as well. The most obvious international public work is a trunk road system, the demand for which is far greater in these days of motor traffic than it ever was before. M. Thomas has even visualised the roads that need construction. "There might," he says, "for example, be one main artery passing through Paris, Vienna and Athens, another through Paris, Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow, a transversal, trans-Alpine artery and another from the Balkans to the Baltic. This would, as it were, represent the nervous system of the united Europe which it is desired to create."

Next come navigable waterways. In that field the linking up of the Rhine and the Rhone, and of the North German system with that of the Danube, are definitely international. The development of electric power transmission systems on an international scale is another point in M. Thomas's programme, and another still is the substitution of automatic coupling for the existing dangerous system of screw-coupling on the railways of Europe. That, if carried out on a continental scale, would provide 600,000 workers with employment for five years.

The Director is fully conscious of the formidable character of his programme, but he believes that large views should be taken of large problems, and he persuaded the Governing Body finally to agree with him. His programme will come before the European Committee at its meeting this month. Such part of it as may be approved will, no doubt, come back in course to M. Thomas to be worked out in detail by the Office of which he is the energetic head.

Sir Eric Drummond has been made the first recipient of the newly-founded Wateler Peace Prize, to be awarded annually to the person who has rendered the greatest services to the cause of peace. The value is about £2,000 and by Sir Eric's wish this sum has been handed on to the International Federation of League of Nations Associations.

Books Worth Reading

LOST OPPORTUNITIES

Britain and World Trade. By A. Loveday. (Longmans. 10s. 6d.)

All of us need food and most of us need clothes. If we have a limited income we tend to spend it first on things like that. House rent or its equivalent should no doubt be added. But if we are fairly comfortably circumstanced a margin still remains. How shall we spend that? Wireless? Gramophones? Books? Travel? A motor-car? Better clothes? Better and more varied food?

These are the questions that Mr. Loveday puts to himself and others in two at least of the essays that make up this volume. Mr. Loveday is Director of the Financial Section of the League Secretariat (succeeding Sir Arthur Salter in that position), and his reputation in this particular sphere is steadily growing. But Mr. Loveday does not ask questions for the mere fun of asking them. Indeed, he does not actually use the interrogative form at all. He simply states, as an undisputed fact, that people everywhere spend their money first on obvious necessities, like food and clothing, and then on some form of luxury or other. And on that fact he builds an interesting and important argument.

The world as a whole is a good deal richer than it was before the war. Mr. Loveday states that dogmatically on the basis of statistics that pass through his hands as a matter of routine. And individual men are richer, for the world's production has increased faster than the world's population. Consequently, each individual's share in the things produced is greater. But when the income of a man who already has enough to live on increases he does not, as a rule, start spending more on food or clothing, certainly not on the plainer forms of food and clothing. Those are basic needs. What he finds is that he has more than before to spend on luxuries. A larger proportion of his income, that is to say, than before goes in some form of luxury expenditure.

Now all this argument, as developed by Mr. Loveday, is designed not to illustrate the tastes of the individual, but to show why Great Britain is losing her share of the world's trade. A man, Mr. Loveday observes, who spends money mainly on luxuries (opinions, of course, may differ as to what commodities are luxuries, but that does not affect the argument) usually has capricious and undependable tastes. One thing will take his fancy one day and another another. He may take to artificial silk socks, or even real silk, instead of woollen. He may buy a gramophone and then get tired of it, and get a wireless set. Or he may prefer a piano.

This creates serious problems for the British manufacturer. There is no problem at all about boots and shirts. As long as people have any money at all they will go on buying those, and the manufacturer can go on turning out boots and shirts pretty much along the old routine lines and be sure of his market all the time. But here Mr. Loveday comes back to his point. People are spending only a more or less fixed part of their incomes on things like food and clothes, for which they thus create a steady and stable demand, and an increasingly large part (because the incomes themselves are increasing) on articles like fancy clothes, golf clubs and cameras and cars and pianos and telephones and magazines and theatres, for which the demand fluctuates wildly. Witness the roller-skating boom of a few years ago in this country.

It follows that if British manufacturers are to be successful they must follow these changing and capricious tastes so rapidly as to be able to give the public immediately what the public has suddenly decided it wants, and not leave it till some nimble-minded competitor somewhere else has got in first. (Sometimes it is possible to create demand by persuading the public through insistent advertisements that it ought to want something. They are pretty good at that in the United States.) Mr. Loveday's complaint of the British manufacturer is that he lacks adaptability. He goes on in the good old way, supplying excellent goods very likely, but goods the public has ceased to want. It is no use saying the public ought to want what is offered, that their old tastes were much healthier than their finicky new ones. Quite possibly. But if British commerce is to hold its own it can only do it by selling the goods people want to buy. If the British manufacturer does not produce them someone else very quickly will.

No full justice is done to Mr. Loveday's argument by this necessarily abbreviated summary of it, but his whole volume, and particularly the two essays entitled "Quo Vadimus?" and "Britain and World Trade," very much repay study. They bring out incidentally the rather surprising fact that, so far as this country is concerned, what has hit us is not tariff barriers in Europe, but a serious failure to hold our own in non-European markets. The reason here, again, is very largely, in Mr. Loveday's view, failure to adapt our production rapidly enough to changes in demand. The book is an interesting supplement, and, in some respects, a useful corrective, to M. André Siegfried's "England's Crisis."

WHAT RUSSIA TEACHES

The Challenge of Russia. By Sherwood Eddy. (Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.50.)

Mr. Sherwood Eddy, so well known as a leader of youth in America, in particular as a leader of parties of them to Geneva every summer, believes Russia has a good deal to teach America, and countries outside America as well. He writes with considerable sympathy of the Soviet regime, which he describes in detail in half a dozen valuable chapters. That on morals and marriage is particularly valuable as a sober account of a gradually evolved system differing at certain points markedly from our own. Mr. Eddy dismisses contemptuously a good many current stories about moral laxity in Russia, his own view being that the average moral standard in Russia is quite as high as in America.

The challenge of Russia, as Mr. Eddy sees it, is a challenge to the United States—his book is by an American for Americans—to make its own some at least of the aims, if not the methods, of the U.S.S.R., most notably the concentration of all effort on the well-being of society as a whole. Mr. Eddy recognises some of the faults of that system. He admits it is often being administered with great harshness. He acknowledges that the free development of the individual may often be unjustly impeded. He does not hide the fact that these first years while the Five Years Plan is being worked out as foundation for all the future involve hardship and deprivation for everyone. Mr. Eddy is a critic of the Soviet Republic, but an essentially friendly one. By some readers no doubt he will be considered over-indulgent. But as a description of Russia to-day his book is at once instructive and suggestive—and few qualities confer on a book greater merits than that.

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APPLY EARLY to the Hon. Sec., Mrs Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

BOOKS

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Coal Field Hours

THESE seems to be hardly a commodity in household use to-day which has not its international aspect. Coal for example, used to be essentially a national problem. Now it is essentially an international one. All sorts of difficulties are arising at home in regard to both wages and hours, the basic difficulty being that more coal is being produced in the world, and particularly in Europe, than the world, and particularly Europe, wants. But it is becoming increasingly clear that a national solution is impossible without an international solution. There must be some regulation of output. There must, if possible, be some common agreement about hours of work. There must, if possible (which is doubtful), be a common agreement about wages.

The coal question has been discussed internationally at Geneva now for some years, and one important factor, an agreement on hours, is to come up again at the International Labour Conference, which opens at Geneva on the 28th of this month. This is the second time the International Labour Conference will have had the problem before them, for last year, it will be remembered, after long discussions, a proposal to institute a common 7½-hour day in the coal mines failed by a few votes to secure the necessary majority. It was, however, decided to put the subject on the agenda again in 1931, and the International Labour Office, after seeking the views of all the Governments concerned, has prepared the draft of a new Convention, which delegates will have before them when they meet at the end of May. The hours suggested are again 7½ by the Continental method of reckoning, which is equivalent to what would be called a 7¼-hour day in this country. If international agreement on that could be reached it would, no doubt, simplify the way of the British Government when faced with the workers' demand for a 7-hour day in Britain.

The main difficulty anticipated is in relating conditions in coal mines with conditions in lignite mines (lignite is a brown soft coal, somewhere halfway between peat and ordinary coal) in Germany and elsewhere. Lignite is mostly mined without underground work, and a compromise may be reached by leaving all surface workers under the Washington Hours Convention and dealing with underground workers separately. Another subject of contention will be the amount of overtime to be allowed in the year when the daily hours are fixed. On these points it would be unsafe to make any prediction, but it is entirely safe to predict that the discussions at Geneva will be of the highest importance to all coal-producing countries, and to Great Britain in particular. Mr. Shinwell, the Minister of Mines, has been preparing the ground by personal discussions with his German and Polish colleagues, and he professes himself fairly optimistic regarding the prospects.

Organising Peace. By Maxwell Garnett. (League of Nation Union. 3d.)

This singularly useful and attractive booklet has been enlarged and brought completely up to date. The sixth edition is now available. Welcome testimony to the value of the booklet is, incidentally, forthcoming from an instructor at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, who writes: "I find 'Organising Peace' excellent for arousing the interest of naval cadets in the League of Nations."

Readers' Views

WHAT DISARMAMENT MEANS

SIR,—I am sure that there must be many who, like myself, will wish to congratulate you on your publication in the last issue of a very clear definition of the word "disarmament." That explanation will, I am convinced, dispel many doubts, and result in added support being brought to our cause.

Perhaps it would greatly surprise readers of HEADWAY to know of the very many people whom I have met as convinced opponents of the Peace Movement chiefly through their inability to understand the meaning of that word when used in connection with armament negotiations. One and all seemed to imagine that it was symbolical of a movement whose avowed object it was to secure the immediate disbanding of fighting forces and destruction of warlike implements in every country bound by the Kellogg Pact, irrespective of existing circumstances and the safeguards needed for effective bargaining.

Such misapprehension should now be removed for all time, and those people will, I hope, recognise in disarmament a practical policy which can claim the enthusiastic support of every sane-minded person, whether he be devoted patriot or ardent internationalist.—Yours, etc.,

GEOFFREY POWELL-DAVIS.

Burnham House, New Barnet, Herts.

April 10, 1931.

"SANCTIONS"

SIR,—One of the best answers to the demand for sanctions has been given recently by the well-known international journalist, Mr. H. Wilson Harris, of whom you may have heard. Writing in the *News-Chronicle* of April 13th, about the reign of the gunmen in Chicago, Mr. Wilson Harris states that the first reason for the reign of violence in the United States is "the arming of the police," which makes the bandit take care to get his own shot in first. He asks how is the fatal circle to be broken.

If we once surrender to the fallacy that force can cast out force in international life, we are in danger of the same vicious circle. That is the root of the objection to sanctions. If we disbelieve in war "as an instrument of national policy," it is unreasonable to enshrine it as an instrument of international policy.

This may not be the view of cautious middle age; HEADWAY may not print it for fear of offending France; but the next generation, untrammelled by the prejudices of the past, can sweep away the myth of security before it is too late.—Yours,

RONALD GUNDRY,

Chairman, Youth Committee, L.R.F.

75, Beechmount Avenue, W.7.

WHO IS PROTECTED?

SIR,—I understand that the League of Nations only undertakes to protect its members from aggression by any of their fellow-members, not from outsiders. There seems to be a bad gap there. Surely it must be disarmament for all, or for none.

A MEMBER.

[This is a misapprehension. Members of the League undertake to defend each other against attack from any source. That is made clear by Articles X and XI of the Covenant, the text of which will be found on page 95 of this issue. The coming Disarmament Conference will be attended by the United States and Soviet Russia, as well as by States members of the League.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE TARIFF TRUCE FAILURE

SIR,—I desire to protest against the attitude which you adopt in your April number towards the fortunate demise of the so-called Tariff Truce.

I take the liberty to point out to you that this absurd Truce, had it been accepted, would have permitted foreign countries to maintain their present high tariff barriers against the goods of this country, and would have effectively barred Great Britain from the use of tariffs should she be so minded, even though she was compelled to submit to tariffs erected against her by other countries. Had the proposal contained any semblance of reciprocity, any approach to fairness, any suggestion that should Britain impose tariffs they should be no higher than those of other countries, any idea that foreign countries should remove their tariffs against British goods so long as Britain refrained from imposing tariffs, then some measure of support might have been found for it in this country by people who have this country's interests at heart. But the proposal did no such thing. It offered no hope of any reduction, or of the lightening of the burdens that are placed upon British industry in foreign countries. It was not desired in this country and it was not acceptable to the other countries, and I feel very strongly that an expression of disappointment by the League of Nations Union is entirely misplaced.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. WELLS,

News Editor, Empire Industries Association.

[What HEADWAY was commenting on was the international, not the national, aspect of this question, and what it was regretting was the failure of a League conference aiming at the limitation of tariffs by international agreement. As to the particular methods by which that end should be achieved, there may well be considerable difference of opinion. The paragraph Mr. Wells objects to was an editorial comment. It did not purport to represent the views of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, which has in fact deliberately refrained from expressing any opinion at all on the point.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE ONLY WAY?

SIR,—There is a remark in the London Letter in your April Supplement which prompts me to enter dissent—"the one way in which we can make Disarmament succeed is to show the tremendous growth of our Society." "One way," certainly; but "the one way"—emphatically, no. I can quite conceive of methods of forwarding the disarmament cause, in co-operation with the Churches and other bodies, which would not immediately and directly lead to any large addition to our membership. But, if we go all out for disarmament with the membership and resources we have, and refrain from saying too much about statistics and finance for six months, the accession of membership will no doubt follow.

I submit that the million mark should not be a declared goal during these critical months, though we may reach it incidentally. We could do our work with the existing membership if all were keen and alive; perhaps with a quarter of our membership, on the same condition; possibly with a much smaller number, if there is any truth in the once familiar story of Gideon and his three hundred. But one thing seems clear, that we must use our membership to support disarmament, and not the disarmament crisis to increase our membership. I am, yours faithfully,

G. F. BARBOUR.

Fincastle, Pitlochry, Perthshire.

April 16th, 1931.

League of Nations Union News

SUPPLEMENT
TO HEADWAY

May, 1931

The Democratic Ideal

IN his famous speech at Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln declared that government should be of the people, by the people, and for the people. Since then much ink has been spilled on this topic, and it may be worth while to consider it yet again from the point of view of the Union and its objects.

That the League of Nations depends for its ultimate success on an informed public opinion has been said so often that to many people it has almost become a parrot cry without any meaning. But the fact that it is so frequently reiterated does not detract from its essential truth, even though to its utterers and their hearers it too frequently approximates to an empty form of words. Still, as Seneca said: "That is never said too often which is never learnt sufficiently."

The Union's task can be conceived as falling into two portions, each mutually dependent upon each other. On the one hand, through branch and district organisation, the vast masses of the people have to be stirred into some sort of fervour and enthusiasm for the ideals enshrined in the words "The League of Nations." Their interest once gained they must be instructed in the actual work in progress at Geneva so that upon that knowledge a critical faculty can be founded. This critical faculty will be a most useful weapon. Should—and it is conceivable—either a British Government or the League itself go off the rails and tend to develop policies away from the spirit of the Covenant, an informed public opinion is a very difficult obstacle to overcome. For the flagrant violation of the public will shows itself through the ballot-box.

But in the normal course of events, an electoral referendum is a somewhat remote possibility. And this brings us to the second task of the Union. Briefly, it can be stated as the keeping of international affairs and of the policies to be adopted thereon before the minds of those whom we have elected to govern us. For this the fullest possible use has to be made of the State's constitutional machinery. In this task a London headquarters operating on the spot and in touch with the latest developments is an essential.

It is obviously desirable to know the attitude of individual Members of Parliament towards the larger issues of the League as enshrined in the Union's Statement of Policy. At the time of the last General Election no fewer than 379 of the elected Members of the new Parliament—Labour, Conservative, and Liberal—declared themselves to be in favour of the Union's policy, as set forth in the Statement. Of the other sitting Members it is safe to say that all are conversant (to a greater or lesser extent) with the work of Geneva. No Member could sit through debate after debate and listen to question

after question without obtaining a pretty fair working knowledge of international developments. Add to this the fact that there is a Parliamentary League of Nations Committee run by the Members themselves. Though working under difficulties, owing to the pressure of work in the House of Commons, several meetings are arranged every year, to which distinguished foreigners and British members of important League Committees, like Lord Lugard, out of their personal expert knowledge, are asked to give addresses on some particular and topical issue.

Questions can be asked of Ministers during question time, and information about Governmental policy obtained.

Such work as this may be said to come under the head of "Information." But there are other means by which the attention of Parliament can be drawn to the wishes of the electorate. For instance, Constituency Committees often can bring pressure to bear on the individual Member. On particular subjects deputations can be sent to Ministers to draw their attention to the Union's views on the matter. A very short while back the attention of the Minister of Labour, Miss Margaret Bondfield, was drawn by this method to the anxiety which the Union and its members continue to feel at the non-ratification of the Washington Hours Convention. It is believed that the Union's action has had an effect in the inner circles of the Cabinet. Deputations, too, have waited at other times upon the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to give expression to views on subjects which fall within those Ministers' particular spheres.

In such ways it is possible for headquarters to serve the members and the branches of the Union, and to give expression to their wishes through recognised national and constitutional channels.

As a last thought to add to our consideration of Government of the people, by the people, for the people, a word may advantageously be said of the second channel of access that each of us has to the ear of the League through the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Through the Federation it is possible to bring to the notice of either the Assembly or of the International Labour Conference those subjects upon which the League of Nations Societies of the world feel strongly. To attempt to recount even a tithe of the work of the Federation would take more space than is available; but after the meetings of the Annual Congress at Budapest at Whitsuntide it may prove possible to devote another article to a consideration of the part which the International Federation has played, and can play, in shaping the destinies of the League of Nations.

A London Letter

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

Blackpool

The meeting of the General Council of the Union in Blackpool at the end of June bids fair to be of more than usual interest. On the purely domestic side—following the resolution of last December—a debate is due on the actual constitution of the Council. This matter having been considered by the Regions Committee, the findings of that body will be presented to the Blackpool meeting for its consideration. As to the Union's policy, as is only natural, the greatest prominence will be given to Disarmament. On every side it is admitted that for all those interested in the League of Nations and the preservation of permanent world peace, the limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement is the issue which transcends all others.

The Press

Last month in this column we ventured to say that Headquarters provides certain Press services for the use of local papers. The response to this statement has been surprising. It is for this reason that we have dared to mention the subject yet again in the hope that some other branch member or committee member will take it to heart and go to see his or her local editor and suggest that fairly regular League news in his columns would be an acceptable feature to his readers. Two other potent factors in the making of public opinion are the wireless and the films. As to the former, the B.B.C. has set an excellent example to the Radio companies elsewhere. Full prominence is always given to talks and news on international affairs. We have noticed recently, too, that the tendencies of many films is to have the moral that war is a horrible thing, the natural corollary of which is that peace is good. Moreover, the Union is under a debt of gratitude to many theatre managers for the facilities which they afford to branches to push home that moral.

The Churches and Disarmament

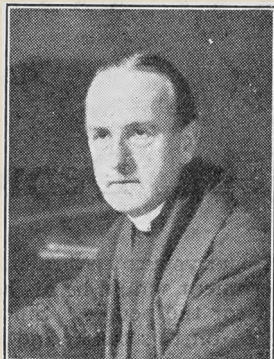
It is right that the delegates to the World Disarmament Conference should enter upon their task supported not only by the hopes of their fellow-citizens but also by their prayers. The Archbishop of York and other religious leaders will issue a call to prayer early in June. On June 15 a meeting will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, at 8.0 p.m. Over this the Archbishop will preside, and he will be supported by representatives both of the Free Churches and of the Roman Catholic Church. Lord Cecil will be amongst the speakers. The meeting will mark the first stage of a continuous movement lasting right up to the meeting of the Disarmament Conference itself next February.

And the Parish Magazine

As another step in the rallying of religious opinion to the cause of Disarmament, the current number of the Church Magazine Inset has been prepared with the object of stating the problem before the Conference and the part that the church can play in contributing to its success. The Inset, it will be remembered, is published twice a year in a form suitable for binding up with parish and other local publications; or it can be distributed as a leaflet in single copies. The circulation of the Inset goes up steadily since everything is done by Headquarters to make the taking of it as simple as possible.

The League and the Church

IF there is one group of people who more than any other should be foremost in support of the work of the League of Nations it is that which comprises those who are members of the Christian Churches. This is what one would expect, and, to some extent, the expectation is realised. All the Churches in the country have professed their belief in the value of the League's work and urged their followers to support it by joining the League of Nations Union. But while a large proportion of the Union's members are drawn from the Churches, and some 2,480 churches and church societies are corporate



The Dean of Chichester

members of the Union, much remains to be done before it can be claimed that the rank and file of Christian people are doing as much as they might do for the cause of world peace.

In its work in the Churches the Union is advised by a Christian Organisations Committee, upon which sit representative members of all the Churches—Church of England, Roman Catholic, the Free Churches, and Salvation Army. Month by month, under the leadership of its chairman, the Dean of Chichester (the Very Reverend A. S. Duncan-Jones), this committee surveys the Union's work in the Churches, and considers how the work that is already being done may be strengthened and new work initiated. It seeks to supply our corporate members and local branches with literature suitable for work in the Churches, as, for example, the magazine inset, *Church and World*, which is published twice a year, to be bound up with church magazines. It provides preachers with sermon notes and Sunday School teachers with special lessons. It was instrumental, in co-operation with two other bodies, in having published last year by the S.P.C.K. a special Service for Armistice Day, of which 69,000 copies were sold.

In these, and many other, ways the special needs of the Churches are being considered by those who can speak with authority for their respective denominations.

The Disarmament Petition

We are happy to say that the number of signatures obtained up to the present for the Women's Declaration now stands at nearly 400,000.

The Federation Meetings

The XVth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be meeting in Budapest from May 24th to May 29th, under the chairmanship of Dr. Limburg (Holland), the President of the Federation. The League of Nations Union will, as usual, be sending a delegation. The Union will be represented too at the General Assembly of the Federal Committee for European Co-operation, which will meet on May 20th and 21st, also at Budapest.

Notes and News

Annual Reports

So many Branches have been holding annual meetings and sending their Annual Reports to Headquarters that it is absolutely impossible to do justice in these columns to them. Amongst others, Annual Reports from the following Branches have been received at Headquarters:—

Parkstone; Lewisham; Derby; Bromley; Blackheath; Torquay; Kirkby Stephen; Reading; Berkshire Federal Council; Bishop Auckland; Leamington; Runcorn; Watford; South Nutfield, Sussex; Wembley; Byfleet; Dartmouth; Buxton; Sedgley; Crediton; Twickenham; Bishop's Stortford; Exmouth; Marlborough; Keswick; Bebbington; Leeds and Wakefield District Council; Herne Bay; Scarborough; Pitsea, Essex; Hull; Headington, Oxford; Ealing and District; Orsman Christian Mission, Hoxton; Jesmond, Newcastle; Felstead; Clapham and Battersea; Tyne District Council; Rous Lench, Worcs.; North of Scotland District Council; Highgate; Halifax; Bilston; Fleet; Scunthorpe; Cowes; Walkern, Herts; Evesham; Blundellsands; Petersfield; Langford, Beds; Coleshill, Warwicks; Bedford; Camberley; Beckenham; Aylesbury; Kingsbridge; Reigate and Redhill; Swanwick, Hants; Central Church Wesleyan, Bristol; Gerrard's Cross; Worcester; Middlesbrough; Leicestershire and Rutland Federal Council; Barking; Bingley; Wigan; St. Peter's, Thanet; Sittingbourne; Greenford; North Finchley; Bushey; Berkhamsted; Paddington; Cheltenham; Totteridge; Halton, Leeds; Goring District and Streetly; Haslemere; Harrogate; Stockport; Worcestershire Federal Council; Guildford; Boroughbridge, Yorks; Wishaw; Kettering; Soham, Cambs; Bexhill; Penn., Bucks; New Southgate and Friern Barnet.

Terpsichorean Telephonists

Chelsea is on the Flaxman Telephone Exchange. The staff of this, a few weeks ago, gave a dance at the Chelsea Town Hall in aid of the funds of the local Branch of the Union. The entire proceeds, of approximately £15, were given to the Union—truly a generous gesture! During the evening Captain Green, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, made a speech, in which he expressed his gratification to the members of the Exchange, and offered his congratulations on the fact that their splendid efforts had met with such success.

World Essay Contest

The American School Citizenship League, in co-operation with the League of Nations Union, annually runs a World Essay Competition open to all pupils in Public and Secondary Schools in the British Isles. There is a second section, which is open to all students of Teachers' Training Colleges and University Training Departments. Unfortunately, in the 1930 contest only one award was made to Great Britain, namely, the third prize in the Secondary School Section; the winner being Miss Muriel J. W. Jones, of Portsmouth High School. The particulars of the 1931 contest are now available, and the Union will be happy to send these on application. The subject for the Secondary School Section is "The Influence of Intellectual Co-operation in the promotion of World Friendship."

Actor's New "Lead"

Mr. Cedric Hardwicke took the chair at a Drawing Room Meeting in the neighbourhood of Chelsea at which a League address was to be given. The room was crowded to overflowing and a substantial number of new members enrolled. Included among them was Mr. Hardwicke himself. This is not the first member of *The Profession* to join the Union, but we naturally feel gratified that one so well known as Mr. Hardwicke should set such an excellent example.

A New Federal Council

A Federal Council has been formed for the County of Warwick. Lieut.-General Sir John Keir took the chair at the inaugural meeting, and he was supported by a very eminent platform, which included the Lord Bishop of Coventry, the Archbishop of Birmingham, the Headmaster of Rugby, the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Mrs. George Cadbury, and many others. The Lord Lieutenant of the Shire has taken a deep personal interest in the progress of the Council, and the Union is under a great debt of gratitude to him.

Inter-School Debate

The motion "That fear is the chief obstacle to International Peace" was carried by 199 to 172 votes (about 100 abstaining) at an inter-school debate held in Nottingham last month. Speakers from the Junior Branches at the Girls' High School, three Secondary and two Central Schools took part. The standard of speaking was exceptionally high (one of the boy-speakers did not use a note), and the speeches themselves showed a wide range of reading and much thought.

The World Wireless Message

As mentioned under "Welsh Notes" the 10th World Wireless Message from the children of Wales will be broadcast on Goodwill Day, namely, May 18th. The Message takes the form of a tribute to the memory of Dr. Nansen, who is described in the Message as "a hero to the children of every nation." It continues: "We believe, as Dr. Nansen believed, that peace is the practice of everyday friendliness between the peoples of the whole world." Through the co-operation of the broadcasting systems of the world the Message will be given prominence in the national tongue amongst the programmes of the day in almost every civilised country.

Advertising Peace

The Torquay Branch undertook a publicity campaign a short while ago. The Editor of the local paper kindly reserved the same space for a period of some six months, and week by week appeared a new reason for getting rid of war and for joining the League of Nations Union. It is very difficult to say what the direct result has been, but, in the opinion of the Branch, the venture was worth while. Other Branches may like to do the same in their own particular areas.

To Letter Writers

Headquarters still has a waiting list of young Estonians (aged 16 to 21), who are anxious to exchange letters (in English) with English people of their own age.

Headquarters would also be glad to hear of young people who would be willing to exchange correspondence with a number of Italian boys and girls aged 12 to 17. Any offers of correspondence should be addressed to the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, stating the age of the applicant and (in the case of the Italian correspondents) the profession of his or her father, as well as the number of years (if any) of learning Italian. The Italian boys and girls all know some English.

School Albums

Amongst the activities of the Evesham Branch chronicled in its Annual Report is a development of the school competition idea. In addition to an Essay, it has been decided to hold another prize competition for school children, to be known as the Album Competition. This means that a prize will be awarded to the child who sends in an album containing the most interesting cuttings, pictures, postcards, etc., illustrative of the League's activities. As a means of keeping alive the interest in junior circles, the idea is well worth consideration.

"Headway" in Gaol

Following on addresses in Nottingham Prison by Councillor Shaw and the Branch Secretary, arrangements have been made, with the permission of the Governor, to supply copies of HEADWAY every month to the Prison for the use of the inmates. Penal Reform now being on the League's programme, other branches may like to do their bit to further this section of its work. The Nottingham example establishes a precedent.

London Activities

The current issue of the *London Bulletin* contains notices of a number of interesting activities. There is to be a Branch Officers' Week-End Conference at the beginning of May, at Jordans. Later in the month Professor Rappard and Lord Lugard will each be giving a course of lectures at the London School of Economics. The first prize was presented in the London Regional Federation Essay Competition to Miss Susan Maliniak, St. Martin's High School, Tulse Hill. The Sherman Memorial Award has been won by the Davidson L.C.C. School, South Croydon. There will be a Youth groups camp conference in June—particulars from the L.R.F., 43 Russell Square, W.C.1.

COME TO HEIDELBERG!

With the co-operation of members of the German League of Nations Society a visit to Heidelberg is being arranged early in July. On the outward journey a night will be spent in Cologne, and from there the party will travel by steamer on the Rhine.

The Oxford Week-end School, organised at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, was a phenomenal success. The next such conference will be held at Cober Hill, near Scarborough, at Whitsuntide. Then begins the series of parties to Geneva, which will continue almost without interruption till the middle of September. Particulars of all these can be obtained from the Secretary of the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their quota for 1930:—

Aston Tirrold; Ambleside; Appleby; Accrington; Bromley; Buckingham; Barnoldswick; Burley; Bamber Bridge, Burnside; Bunbury; Barrow-in-Furness; Bishop's Castle; Croston; Cartmel; Chester; Congleton; Crewe; Cottingham, Yorks; Dalton-in-Furness; Framlingham; Gravesend; Grasmere; Grantham; Grange-over-Sands; Hawkshead; Heversham; Hexham; Harrietsham; Hunstanton; Hoddeston; Kirkby Stephen; Kettleworth; Kirkby Lonsdale; Lowgill; Linby and Papplewick; Mere; Market Harborough; Malton; Poulton-le-Fylde; Rye; Swanage; Waterlooville; Whitchurch, Salop; Whittlesford and Duxford; Windermere.

And these for 1931:—

Aston Tirrold; Bristol Central Church; Chapel St. Leonard; Calne; Eakring; Fishponds; Hurst Green; Gledholt West, Huddersfield; Hoddesdon; Hatfield; Helston; Hayle; Heversham; Lyme Regis; Lancing; Painswick; Pitsford; Runton; Spratton; Sedgley; Troon; Tunstall Church.

Welsh Notes

Great preparations are being made for the Welsh Council Annual Conference, to be held at Cardiff on Friday and Saturday, June 5th and 6th next. On Friday there will be an Education Conference, a Reception and a large Public Meeting. On Saturday the Annual Meeting will be held, and the evening will be occupied with a Festival of Youth. On the Sunday evening, a United Welsh Public Meeting will be held in one of the Welsh Churches. Full particulars of the programme may be obtained from the General Secretary of the Welsh National Council, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff, as also those of the Welsh Party to Geneva next August.

It is hoped that Sunday, May 17th, will be observed as "League of Nations" Sunday throughout Wales and Monmouthshire as a result of the Welsh Council's Annual Appeal.

All Churches and congregations in Wales are invited to join in a corporate act on Armistice Sunday to mark their sense of the critical nature of the Disarmament Conference and their eagerness for its success.

Preparations are now complete for the Tenth Annual Broadcast of the Welsh Children's Wireless Message. More foreign broadcast stations than ever are uniting in the transmission of "Goodwill Day."

The Welsh Council has commenced the issue of a Quarterly Message. The April number is devoted to a survey of the last ten years in the field of Disarmament and is entitled, "Disarmament and Security—the Tenth Stage."

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 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 150,931 |
| Jan. 1, 1923 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 230,456 |
| Jan. 1, 1924 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 333,455 |
| Jan. 1, 1925 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 432,478 |
| Jan. 1, 1926 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 512,310 |
| Jan. 1, 1927 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 587,224 |
| Jan. 1, 1928 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 665,022 |
| Jan. 1, 1929 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 744,984 |
| Jan. 1, 1930 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 822,903 |
| Jan. 1, 1931 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 889,500 |
| April 23, 1931 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 909,340 |

On April 23, 1931, there were 3,026 Branches, 1,002 Junior Branches, 3,364 Corporate Members and 712 Corporate Associates.

Membership

Rates of ANNUAL Subscription.

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post. All members are entitled to the free use of the Union's lending library.

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

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

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

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

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

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