

TRADE in ARMAMENTS

Making · Guns at Home, to Export Abroad.

DIVIDENDS IN DEATH AND DESTRUCTION.



BY

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FOREWORD.

There is no surer authority on facts and figures relating to War Expenditure, Armament Licences, and Murder Machinery development than my friend Tom Myers¹.

His pamphlet is in itself an eye opener to those who really want to know what is happening in this matter.

From Blue Books, White Papers, Hansard and other publications, Mr. Myers has provided every public speaker with just the material needful to prove his case against private profit making in Armaments, and how careless the Government - this Government - are and have been in their use of their power and authority to help to arm other nations who some day may be using this Machinery of warfare to kill our own kith and kin - aye, that which has been manufactured by their own kin - nay, may be by their very selves at home here.

Just think of it! A young man working in Sheffield, Barrow, Newcastle, London, or the Clyde² may manufacture Guns, Cartridges, Poison Gas and other "Devil's Weapons," and these under the licence system Mr. Myers records in this splendid pamphlet, may be and are exported to numerous countries in the world, and the same young man may be forced by economic pressure to "Join Up," or his brother or his sister's sweetheart or his pal may be so forced to join the Army, Navy or Air Force, and be sent to quell a Tribal Power or be drafted to China or Asia or Eastern Europe and be killed by other people using the gun and shot or shell he has helped to make, so that the firm he worked for may profit out of their plant and war production.

It is Cannibalism of the worst sort. Mr. Myers has done a good work in this pamphlet, and I trust it will have a wide and ready sale.

BEN TURNER.

1 MYERS TOM MP 1872 1949 ILP POLITICIAN - HT

2 Political and industrial repression on Clydeside

<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redclyeve11.htm>

<http://www.google.com/search?q=armament&q=inurl%3Agdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk%2Fredclyde> - HT

TRADE IN ARMAMENTS

"At the present time, Britain has seven tried and tested Dreadnoughts in full commission, and three more approaching completion. The next Power had two Dreadnoughts just put into commission and there was not another Dreadnought in Commission in the whole wide world."- Dr. *Macnamara*, M.P., *December 28th, 1909.*

"The Government promised four new Mammoth Dreadnoughts, but their opponents replied 'We want eight and we won't wait.' The Government replied 'We will give you eight.'"

Mr. Lloyd George, December 30th 1909.

"Great armaments lead inevitably to war. If there are armaments on one side there must be armaments on other sides. While one nation arms other nations cannot tempt it to aggression by remaining defenceless.- The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them, made war inevitable."

Lord Grey, "Twenty-Five Years."

During the period of the war the British public were asked to believe that it was a war to end and abolish militarism for all time. 'When the Armistice was declared, the one sentiment expressed and accepted by all sections of the community was "Never again." It was expected that some mutual bond would cement the nations of the earth, and make war for ever impossible. The League of Nations foreshadowed by President Wilson in his terms of peace was ultimately incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles, and generally accepted as the instrument whereby world peace would be secured and sustained. The Covenant of the League of Nations as set forth in the Peace Treaty provides ample scope for giving effect to an international peace policy. It reads:-

"In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another. the High Contracting Parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

The 26 Articles of the Covenant interpret the basis and procedure giving effect to that declaration. After dealing with constitution, official staff and the location of the League, Article VIII. opens up the objects of the League in respect of armaments and reads thus:-

"The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international

obligations.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programmes, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes."

If the ending of war be our objective, some legislative backing for these provisions will be required. The reduction and limitation of armaments will be difficult under existing conditions, and while armaments do exist, full and frank information as to the nature and extent of fighting equipment should be available. World peace is impossible with nations under arms. An armed peace is of itself a contradiction, for any length of time impossible, and in the long run makes war a certainty.

Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, after 50 years of military experience said. "Instead of preventing war, armaments are apt to precipitate it."

MARKETS FOR MUNITIONS.

Yet the trade and manufacture of armaments proceeds, and the world is being armed for another conflict. In **1912-13** the trade returns show that arms, ammunition, military and naval stores of United Kingdom manufacture were exported to the value of **£8,150,000**.

For the years **1919-20**, the first two complete years after the War, arms, ammunition, military and naval stores of British manufacture were exported from the United Kingdom to the value of **£13,487,856**. Roughly, one-eighth of these exports went to Russia.

For the four years **1919** to **1922** inclusive, the first four years after the War, the exports of these articles of United Kingdom manufacture totalled over **£21,000,000**.

Nearly **£12,000,000** worth was sent to foreign countries, and the remainder to British possessions. And this with the Covenant of the League of Nations ratified and accepted and the clauses of the Covenant as above-quoted in operation.

During the four years named, **30** heavy guns, **800** machine guns, **84,000** shells, **28,5300** military rifles, **74,000,000** loaded rifle cartridges, and nearly **2,000,000** empty cartridge cases, **28,500** swords and bayonets, and **41,000** loaded cartridges for guns above small arms calibre were sold from this country to Russia. Some **50** heavy guns and **20,000** shells and over **16,000,000** empty cartridge cases were sold to Spain.

The exports of these goods to France included over **58,000** military rifles and **45,000,000** loaded rifle cartridges, over **15,000** swords and bayonets, a few hundred machine guns and **240** tons of high explosives.

Japan secured **578** machine guns and over **7,000,000** empty cartridge . cases from this country in the four years referred to.

The exports to Roumania included **83,000** shells for heavy guns and **46,000,000** loaded cartridges for small arms.

Nearly **9,000** military rifles and over **1,800** swords and bayonets were sold to Siam,

Brazil and Java were substantial customers of war material, and in all there are **21** foreign countries specified as being purchasers of fighting equipment from the United Kingdom during the four years, **1919** to **1922** inclusive.

Further, during the same period, huge quantities of military, naval and air equipment were handed over as free gifts to various Foreign and Colonial Governments.

H.M.S. Encounter, with guns and stores, and three mine-sweeping sloops, valued at about **£73,000** each, together with all equipment, were given to the Australian Commonwealth. Two submarines were given to the Australian Navy, and two H. Class submarines, with torpedoes and stores, were given to Canada. Some **50** surplus aeroplanes, with spare parts for **25** machines, were presented to the Greek Government, and a large quantity of aeroplanes, spare parts, motor lorries, and hangars, were given to the Dominion Governments and India, and with all charges for packing, etc., defrayed. Between November, **1918**, and March, **1920**, munitions, military equipment, army stores, etc., were presented to a section of the Russian Forces, valued at over **£17,000,000**. The original cost of these articles was approximately **£52,000,000**. There was also given in cash a sum of **£6,697,000**.

It is generally understood that these gifts to Russia were a mere fraction of the military equipment handed over to the Russian Forces about that time.

Army stores which cost, when new, the sum of **£2,000,000**, were handed over free of charge to the Polish Government.

This generosity of the British Government, involving goods to the value of millions of pounds sterling, carried no publicly declared conditions, and was for the most part, with perhaps the exception of these gifts to Poland, without Parliamentary sanction or authority.

SUBMARINES.

The concluding stages of the great war indicated that in the next conflict trenches and tanks will be a back number and the fighting weapons will be aircraft and submarines. No agreement has yet been reached between the Great Powers in respect to the limitation of these new forms of warfare.

At the Washington Conference in **1921-22**, two sets of proposals were submitted for the limitation of submarines, The second and lowest proposal was that submarine tonnage should be limited to **60,000** tons each in respect of Great Britain and the United States, **31,000** tons each for France and Japan, and **21,000** tons for Italy.

The Treaty for the limitation of Naval Armament was signed on behalf of these five Powers at Washington, on February 6th, **1922**. It contained no reference whatever to submarines. It dealt with the scrapping of more or less obsolete ships. The reason is at once simple and obvious.

Three days after the Treaty was signed, it was publicly stated on behalf of the Admiralty that Great Britain had **70,000** tons of completed submarine tonnage and 10,000 tons in course of construction. The United States had **53,000** tonnage in submarines and a further **40,000** tons building, Japan had **10,000** tons complete and **22,000** tons building, France held a submarine tonnage of over **30,000** tons with no building programme, and Italy had a completed **20,000** tonnage of submarines with **2,000** tons under construction.

The race for submarine supremacy was clearly proceeding at the time the Powers were in conference, and, apart from the provisions of a second treaty which seeks to prohibit the attack upon merchant shipping by submarines in war time, the Washington Conference broke up without any recorded decision in respect to submarines.

Subsequent attempts to find a basis or formula for the mutuai restrictions of submarines has been largely ineffective. A new terror has been created in the shape of a bomb dropped into the sea from an aeroplane, the bomb exploding under water, in volving the destruction of any vessel within range.

AIRCRAFT.

Despite the fact that the Members of the League of Nations have undertaken in the provisions of the Covenant "to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their Armaments," secrecy and suspicion is rampant. The information in respect of the relative numbers of military aircraft is very incomplete. Even less is publicly known as to the extent of their fighting power and capacity.

According to a report of the League of Nations in 1924, no information was available in respect of the Air Forces of Brazil, South Africa, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Russia and the United States. The countries which had no air force included Austria, Bulgaria, China, Germany, Hungary and, Luxemburg. But at the time of the report some **24** leading countries in the world possessed over **4,000** aircraft for bombing, fighting and reconnaissance purposes. Of that number **3,370** were in the five countries Britain, Belgium France, Japan and Spain.

Reference has been made to the fact that in **1922** France was the only great Power with no new submarine tonnage under construction. But against that in **1924** France possessed more military aircraft than any other three countries combined, a fact not without significance as to their view of the relative value of fighting machinery.

Further, the increased expenditure upon the Air Service in this country during the past two or three years suggest that this preponderance is being neutralised despite the Anglo-French Entente. And so the race in aerial armaments proceeds.

In the Memorandum submitted to the Preparatory Commission on 30th November, **1927**, by the Soviet Government, it was stated that the Military Air Forces of the leading countries were:- France, **6,114** aeroplanes; Great Britain, **3,460**; Italy, **1,700**; United States, **3,800**; Poland, **498**; Roumania, **257**. These are the weapons of the next war.

An elaborate memorandum upon Naval Aircraft was prepared on behalf, of the five Great Powers and submitted to the Washington Conference in **1921-22**. But as with submarines, nothing was done. Finally, this decision was recorded upon the report of the Conference:- "The Committee is of the opinion that it is not at present practicable to impose any effective limitations upon the numbers or characteristics of aircraft either commercial or military."

The significance of that decision and the subsequent development in military aircraft is brought out by Sir Samuel Hoare, MP., Minister for Air, when speaking on the Air Estimates in the House of Commons in February, 1925:-

"Here is the fact: that with Air Force development, as it is with developments in bombs, with developments in range, with developments in chemicals, with developments in liquid gas, if we go on as we are now, air warfare in the future may well mean the destruction of civilization as we know it to-day.

RECENT TRADE IN WAR MATERIAL.

Meanwhile, Conferences between the Statesmen of the Great Powers take place and break up without any tangible result. Lip service is given to disarmament while the trade in armaments proceeds. Before any arms or munitions are exported from this country to the value of over **£500**, a licence is required from the Board of Trade. Over **35,000** of these licences were granted during the three years **1925, 1926 and 1927**.

From the replies given in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Trade, it is set forth that on various dates between January, **1925**, and March, **1927**, licences were granted for the sale of **36** machine and Lewis guns, **100** rifles and **250,000** cartridges to Abyssinia.

To the South American Republic of Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Peru, there were sent **350** machine and Lewis guns, **805,000** rounds of ammunition, **5,580** bombs, **200** submarine mines, **1,200** cartridges and **6,000** gun charges.,

To the Scandinavian countries of Holland, Sweden and Denmark, there were exported **60** machine and Lewis guns, **26,000** cartridges, **1,500** rounds of ammunition and **100** depth charges.

Licences were granted for the supply of **400** machine and Lewis guns, **630,000** cartridges and **370** empty shells to Japan, China and Siam.

The combined sales to Spain, Portugal and Italy included **40** machine and Lewis guns and **520** gun sights, **18** armour piercing shells, **20,000** rounds of ammunition, **20,000** incendiary bombs, **8,000** electric primers, and **5,000** gun fuses.

The exports to Greece and Turkey embraced **23** machine and Lewis guns, with **4,000** cartridges, some **8,000** rounds of Howitzer shell and **4,450** charges for Howitzers, with **50** torpedoes and igniters, **100** depth charges, **200** revolvers, **6,000** rounds of ammunition of high explosive shells for antiaircraft guns, and **30,000** military rifles with **1,000** rounds of ammunition for each rifle.

Belgium secured **80** machine and Lewis Guns with **53,000** cartridges.

The Russian Border States of Esthonia, Finland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuonia and Roumania included in their purchases from the United Kingdom **72** heavy guns complete, and **10,000** rounds each of Howitzer shells, cartridges, fuses and tubes, with about **370** machine guns, and over **17,000,000** cartridges, **100** machine rifles, **2,000** military rifles, **400** aerial bombs, **530,000** rounds of rifle ammunition, **20,000** fuses for shrapnel shells, and **300,000** propulsive charges.

The Bucharest Press states that British policy with regard to Russia is now directed towards strengthening the position of the Border States.

This formidable list of arms, munitions, &c., of United Kingdom manufacture exported to 23 foreign countries in every part of the globe in the short period of 27 months is at the same time very incomplete. It only includes a part of the fighting material supplied to the countries specified in the period named, does not include anything sent to British Colonies or Possessions, and represents a comparatively small proportion of the arms and munitions exported from this country during the past three years.

The whole of these transactions referred to are covered by less than 600 licences out of the 35,000 licences which have been granted by the Board of Trade in 1925, 1926 and 1927.

WHAT THE TRADE RETURNS REVEAL.

The Board of Trade Returns for the four years 1923 to 1926 inclusive show that the exports of Produce and Manufacture of the United Kingdom, include the following :-

				To foreign Countries,	To British Countries.
Guns, Howitzers, Motors, &c.	...	...	...	176	55
Machine and Quick-Firing Guns	...	...	...	3,324	1,568
Torpedoes and Mine Appliances	...	...	...	2,118	39
Military Rifles	...	...	...	38,842	37,680
Swords, Cutlasses and Bayonets	...	...	...	44,377	27,198
Shot and Shell (Pieces)	...	...	...	74,645	77,256

Military Ammunition, Loaded Cartridges	...	...	48,780,100	81,778,100
Cordite and other Smokeless				
Propelled Powder, cwts.	...	...	4,699	284
Gun Cotton, cwts	...	...	4,214	1,062

The total value of Arms, Ammunition, Military and Naval stores, the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom exported in the four years 1923 to 1926 inclusive, amounted to £15,889,552. Of this total, £6,363,681 went to Foreign countries.

Having regard to the possibilities of aerial warfare it may be noted that for the five years **1922** to **1926** the exports of United Kingdom manufacture include:-

To Foreign Countries.	Value.
Aeroplanes Complete... .. 670	£3,034,234
Engines for Aeroplanes... .. 1781	
To British Countries.	
Aeroplanes Complete... .. 311	£1,053,648
Engines for Aeroplanes ... 304	

For the year **1927**, the year of Conferences, Conventions and Commissions of all descriptions dealing with International affairs, the President of the Board of Trade states that the exports from the United Kingdom of British manufacture included:

- 140** Aeroplanes.
- 386** Engines for Aeroplanes.
- 24** Pieces of Heavy Ordnance.
- 2,085** Machine Guns.
- 28,066** Military Rifles.
- 29,147** Pieces of Shot and Shell.
- 42,759** Filled Cartridge Cases for other than small arms.
- 43,695,264** Loaded Catridges for small arms ammunition.

The precise destination of these articles sold overseas in **1927** is not specified.

In whatever part of the world conflict may break out or any clash of arms take place it may be said that the combatants will to some extent at least have been provided with fighting equipment by British armament firms under licences granted by British Governments.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

From reports in the Press on various dates in **1927** it was announced that Spain had raised a loan of **£3,000,000** for the Argentine Government, with the undertaking that two Destroyers were purchased from Spain. It was intimated that Messrs. Thornycroft had made a contract with the Government of Chili for new ships to the value of

£2,000,000. It was reported that the contract included six Destroyers. The Press reports also indicated that the Fairey Aviation Co., a British concern, had secured an order from the Government of Chili for a Fleet of Fairey Napier fighting Aeroplanes, after severe competition with Germany and France.

What is described as a Super-Submarine, the most powerful vessel of its type in the world, with engines of 6,000 horse-power, and a capacity of 32 Torpedoes, is being put down by the French Government as a reply to British Submarine policy.

Even more significant is the adoption by the French Chamber of Deputies in four short days of a measure for the conscription in the event of war of every man, woman and child in the country. Under this law, active opposition to war is impossible. It gives the Government power to mobilise the entire community both as individuals, corporate bodies and organisations of every type.

"The Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian commented on the matter thus: 'This scheme will enable the Government to silence the whole nation. No opposition to any war will be possible except by resolution, and when war has once begun any peace movement will be equally impossible.' "

This, after a war for liberty and freedom and to make the world safe for democracy.

AMERICAN ARMAMENTS POLICY.

The American Press has intimated in definite terms the procedure across the water. "New weapons far superior to those used by the American Army during the World War have been developed by the Ordnance Branch of the United States War Department."

An old weapon with a range of 9,500 yards has been replaced by a new 75 millimetres gun which will fire a 15lb. projectile 15,000 yards.

A new 105 millimetre gun with a range of 20,000 yards is a new weapon in the American service. The New American 155 millimetre gun, says the Chicago Tribune is a distinct improvement on the model used in the last war.

The new gun has a range of 26,000 yards. The same authority gives other instances of the extended range and more effective fighting power of other weapons intended for the American Army, and also intimates that big developments have taken place in the building of three-inch anti-aircraft guns. President Coolidge in his message to Congress in the early days of December said, "We have a foreign commerce and ocean lines of trade unsurpassed by any other country. We have outlying territory in the two great oceans, and long stretches of sea coast studded with the richest cities in the world. We are charged with the International duty of defending the Panama Canal to meet these responsibilities we need a very substantial sea armament."

Very similar declarations were made by British politicians, supported by the Armament Ring and the Navy League during the Dreadnought era from **1907** to **1914**. Competition in armaments was fostered, and the War spirit stimulated as a result.

America presents the historical parallel.

The House of Representatives on March 17th, **1928**, passed the American Navy Bill, providing for the expenditure of **£54,800,000** on new construction, including fifteen **10,000**-ton Armoured Cruisers.

At the same time, the House requested President Coolidge to urge the necessity for another International Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armaments. Since then it has been reported that at the Pacific entrance to the Panama Canal, a 14-inch gun is being mounted to fire an armour piercing projectile weighing **1,500** lbs., over **13** cwts., with a range of **22½** miles. The events of **1907** to **1914** over again. Widespread professions of a desire for peace. Everybody arming for war.

ARMING THE EASTERN WORLD.

Close upon the latest consignment which made up the 400 machine guns which have been recently exported to Japan, the Board of Trade state that in November, 1927, a small province in Western Arabia of about 300,000 population, known as Hejaz, described as a stony and desolate area, was supplied with **2,000,000** Lee-Enfield cartridges and **400,000** cartridge clips from the United Kingdom.

In view of the military and naval activities in China during the past 12 months involving a supplementary estimate of over £3,000,000, and the fact that a Board of Trade licence was granted in March, **1925**, for the export of 531,000 cartridges from Great Britain to China, it may be noted that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; in reply to a question said that Arms and Munitions had been supplied to the Shanghai Volunteer Corps since **1919** as follows:

- 1,800** Rifles.
- 100** Bayonets.
- 20** Lewis Machine Guns.
- 14** Vickers' Machine Guns.
- 10** Barrels for Maxim Machine Guns.
- 60,000** Rounds .303-inch Ball.
- 15,000** Rounds .455-inch Revolver ball.
- 600** Grenades, Rifle.
- 600** Cartridges, illuminating, one-inch.

The most recent supply, consisting of 200 Short Lee-Enfield Rifles, was sent in April, 1925.

On May 31st and July 13th, HJ27, questions were put to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in respect of the importation of arms into China from German Ports, asking from what sources these arms originated, whether such arms were being manufactured in Germany, and having regard to Article 170 of the Versailles Peace Treaty, whereby Germany is prohibited from exporting arms or manufacturing arms for export; whether His Majesty's Government had brought this breach of the Treaty to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his reply, said that arms to the value of **3,813,644** Taels were imported into China in **1925** from German Ports. He stated that the real origin of these arms was uncertain, that there was nothing to show that they were manufactured in Germany, and that, therefore, there had been no occasion to refer the matter to the Council of the League of Nations. In view of this ambiguity, it needs only to be noted that the Chinese Customs were being managed by British Officials under British control. No further comment is necessary.

BRITISH ARMAMENTS.

The contracts have been issued for the building of the first six of the 17 big submarines similar to the ships of the existing O class which are to be laid down between now and **1930**.

The Odin is building in the Chatham Dockyard. The Olympus and Orpheus are in the hands of Beardmore & Co., while the contract for the Osiris, Oswald and Otus has been given to Vickers Ltd. Taken together, these six vessels are costing just over **£2,000,000**, exclusive of guns.

Only one submarine of this class, the Oberon, is yet in commission. She is the most powerful underwater craft in the world.

It is this programme that the French are out to challenge with their latest Super Submarine.

A sum approaching another **£2,000,000** is being expended upon the two airships R100 and R.101 under construction at Cardington and Howden. The work at Cardington is being carried out under contracts with the Air Ministry, and **22** separate firms are named with contracts of over **£2,000** each. The Howden Airship construction is covered by one single contract. Mr. Bridgeman states that these airships will each carry 200 troops if required to do so.

The Admiralty recently announced that ships under construction were being completed in the following yards:

H.M.S.	" Kent"	H.M. Dockyard, Chatham.
"	" Suffolk"	H.M. Dockyard, Portsmouth.
"	" London"	do.
"	" Dorsetshire " ...	do.
"	" Cornwall"	H.M. Dockyard, Devonport.
"	" Devonshire" ...	do.
"	" Berwick"	do.
	(Contract Built)	
"	" Rodney"	Cammell Laird, Birkenhead.
"	" Cumberland " ...	Vickers, Ltd., Barrow-in-Furness.
"	" Medway "	do.
"	" Resource "	do.
"	" Shropshire" ...	Beardmore & Company.

"	"Sussex"	... ..	Hawthorn, Leslie & Co., Ltd., Hebburn.
"	"Bridgewater"	...	do.
"	"Sandwich"	...	do.
"	"Norfolk"	... ..	Fairfield Co., Glasgow.
"	"York"	... ..	Palmers Co., Jarrow.
"	"Ganuet"	... ..	Yarrow & Co., at Taikoo Dockyard, Hong Kong.
"	"Seamew"	... ..	do.
"	"Peterel"	... ..	do.

The Berwick and the Cumberland have been delivered by the Contractors, and the Kent, Suffolk and Cornwall are nearly completed. The cost of these five ships is over **£10,000,000**, exclusive of guns. Several others in the above list have recently been launched. It will be noted that three of these ships are being completed at Hong Kong. The Report of the Committee on Industry and Trade in its reference to British owned shipyards at Hong Kong states, "The plates used in these yards come mainly from Germany and Belgium." British warships with German plates would be a revelation indeed.

THE cost.

Meanwhile, the Rodney has been completed at a cost of **£7,000,000**, armed with guns stated to have cost **£12,000** each, from which every single shot is said to cost over **£150**.

20,000 working class houses at **£400** each could be provided by the cost of this ship and its equipment.

And to the havoc of trench warfare with artillery, rifles, tanks and bayonets, aerial conflict with bombs, naval battles with submarines, mines and torpedoes, there is now added the terrors of chemical and poison gas. The foundry and the laboratory have joined hands in the process of human slaughter and material devastation. The representatives of practically every country in the world attested their signatures to the Arms Convention, at Geneva, in June, **1925**, which includes these provisions:-

"Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous and other gases, and of all analagous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world, and whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are parties, and to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practise of nations: declare that the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare, and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration. "

That Convention has not yet been presented to the House of Commons for ratification or otherwise, and the evidence available goes to show that ratification has not yet been deposited by any of the great Powers.

When the draft Treaty of Versailles was presented to the German delegates, embodying the demands for the disarmament of Germany, the Allied Powers said :-

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventatives of war and which it will be one of the first duties "of the League of Nations to promote."

These declarations have not been made effective. The facts of the case do not square with these pronouncements. After ten years, little has been done by the concerted action of the Allied and Associated Powers for the reduction and limitation of armaments. The Arms Convention of 1925 drafted and accepted with that objective still awaits ratification. Meanwhile, the expenditure upon the British Army, Navy and Air Force is stabilized at about £115,000,000 per year, or roughly £2 12s. 6d. per head of the population. The interest upon the War Debt is over £300,000,000 per year, or over £8 per year per head of the population. This combined burden the country is unable to carry and thrive. Trade and industry are struggling under the pressure of heavy taxation. On the other hand, what could be done with that sum expended in the avenues of reproductive trade or in the field of educational development and human betterment, a new social order would be capable of realisation.

WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

If, the frantic race in armaments which is now proceeding should repeat the history of **1907 to 1914**, and culminate in another world conflict, a terrible responsibility will rest upon the heads of the politicians and newspaper editors who put out their foot to trip up the Labour Government in 1924. At that time the possibilities of International agreement for world peace and reduction in armaments, was nearer than at any time since the Armistice.

All the available evidence suggests that another year in office would have consummated that great achievement.

The "Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" was the outcome of a resolution by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot, instructing the League Assembly to work out proposals on the lines of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament. The notes on the Protocol set forth that :-

"The purposes of the Protocol is to make a general reduction of armaments possible by providing an adequate alternative to war for the settlement of all International disputes. The scheme provides that:

(a) All aggressive war shall be prohibited. (b) All International disputes shall be submitted for settlement either to the Permanent Court of International Justice, to Arbitrators or to the League Council (whose finding must be unanimous). (c) All members of the League undertake to co-operate loyally and

effectively in bringing pressure to bear on any State which resorts to war in violation of its undertaking to submit its disputes to such pacific settlement and to comply with the verdict."

The interpretation of the Protocol as set forth by the LOJldon " ObserVer," mal'_be given:-

"The general principle of the Protocol was that every signatory State should undertake to submit to arbitration any dispute in which it might be engaged, and to accept the ensuing award, all Signatories agreeing equally to regard as an aggressor, and, there-fore, as a common enemy, a State which should attack by arms rather than submit to arbitration or comply with an award. All members of the League 'were to join in economic and, ultimately, in military action against a State thus offending."

The Protocol was unanimously approved by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in 1924. Forty-eight countries voted for it, including every representative of the British Colonies in attendance. There was neither a dissentient nor a neutral vote. The unanimity was complete. But a combination of plot and triviality brought Mr. Macdonald's Government down., The history or politic,d controversy in this country reveals little that is so mean as the methods adopted, and the issues raised for the overthrowing of the Labour Government, or anything more base than the invention which prevented its authority being restored. In that procedure Britain's leadership in world affairs was destroyed, and the agreed basis of International security swept away. The sceptre of world peace which Mr. Macdonald then held was torn from his grasp, ruthlessly broken and cast aside, and replaced by those factors which foster suspicion and discord, with all the elements that tend to precipitate another conflict.

--"Nine years after the war to end war' Em'ope is sinking into an attitude of armed expectancy, exactly similar to that of 1914. We have peace; but now, as then, it is the armed peace of uneasy preparation. It is the quietude of the powder magazine that only awaits the spark." "

CONCLUSION.

Now, the will for peace has'to be again generated and sustained; the causes which make for war have to be assailed, and if possible removed. The massing of armaments has made the task infinitely more difficult. Diplomacy, now a trade agency, gets in the way of peace sentiment. Battleships, Aircraft and Armies are now regarded as the main line of support for the investing classes of the great commercial nations in the competitive exploitation of world resources when peaceful penetration has not been considered sufficiently effective. War has become the ally of financial and economic imperialism.

Unless this conception of the rights of property with the national responsibilities it entails, and the mentality to which it responds, can be effectively diverted, and its

3 *Viscount Rothermore.-The Daily Mail.*

influence definitely restrained, another world conflict is inevitable.

It is futile to urge that the world is being armed with peace as its objective. The history of the seven years prior to the great war, when naval expenditure doubled, has demonstrated that fallacy. The mercenary aspect of armaments, and the purpose for which these have been utilised stands revealed. With it the glories of war have departed. The impression that war is something great and noble has been shattered. The acceptance that the victor in war can profit from the vanquished has been proved to be an illusion. War has lowered moral standards. Experience has established that war settles nothing. War makes problems rather than removes them. Conflict creates little that deserves to live. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the Guildhall in December, 1920, in reference to the war, said: "It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered and stumbled, perhaps through folly, and a discussion would, I think, no doubt have avoided it."

This was a sinister admission a year after the war which killed nine million men, caused thirty million casualties, burdened the nations with a debt of £50,000,000,000, and left this country at least strewn with the human wreckage of the conflict. The methods at which the world shuddered in the last war will be the commonplace in the next outbreak. There will be little time for discussion and negotiation. It will be the first blow which will decide.

"According to Mr. D. B. Bradner, Chief of the Chemical Research and Development Division United States Chemical Warfare Service, there has been produced, since the last war ended, a liquid of which approximately three drops when applied to any part of the skin, will cause a man's death. This liquid can be manufactured at the rate of several thousand tons a day, and a fleet of aeroplanes carrying this liquid could annihilate the whole population of a great city in a few hours."

What a prospect before the civil population of this country! The towns and cities will be the trenches in the next war.

Profits should be eliminated from armaments and all that may involve war. Dividends out of death and destruction should not be tolerated.

Finally, it is not enough to seek to avoid war through fear of its physical and financial consequences, serious though these aspects are. A public consciousness has to be developed which will look upon war as an outrage upon humanity, not only materially wasteful, but morally wrong, and will recognise that cooperation and not conflict must be the law of human progress if civilisation is to stand.

APPENDIX.

In the Crimean War **24,000** men fell. Roughly, **20,000** of these died from sickness and disease.

The War cost the country **£53,000,000**. Of this sum **£41,000,000** was added to the

National Debt. .

In the South African War, **22,060** were killed, **5,531** permanently disabled, and **131** men were not accounted for. During the War the burning of Boer farms formed part of the fighting strategy. The Women and Children were removed to what were termed Concentration Camps. From June, **1901**, to March **1902**, over **18,000** deaths took place in the Concentration Camps. Of that number, **12,984** were children under **12** years of age.

General Smuts at a meeting of Boer delegates at Vereeniging, 30th May, 1902, to discuss terms of proposals for ending the South African War, said:-

*"We have sacrificed thousands of lives. We have lost all our earthly goods. Our dear country has become one continuous desert. More than **20,000** of our women and children have perished in the camps of the enemy-our country is already devastated and in ruins. It has been a war .for freedom, not only for the freedom of the Boers but for the freedom of all nations in South Africa. Its results we leave in God's hands."*

The War cost this country **£222,000,000**, of which **£150,000,000** was added to the National Debt.

In the Balkan War, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and Montenegro had **810,000** men under arms. They lost in killed **258,000**, and the cost of the war to the four countries combined amounted to **£181,800,000**.

British casualties in the Great War, including overseas Dominions, but *excluding* Indian Troops:

762,749 Killed.
2,110,650 Wounded.
275,301 Missing.

The cost of the War to this country was approximately **£8,000,000,000**.

"Who then makes war? The answer is to be found in the Chancellories of Europe, among the men who have too long played with human lives as pawns in a game of chess, who have become so enmeshed in formulae and the jargon of diplomacy that they have ceased to be conscious of the pign;mt re;llities with which they trifle."

From the Times, 23rd November, 1912.

Annual Statement of Trade of the United Kingdom.

Exports of Arms, Ammunition, Naval and Military Stores of United Kingdom manufacture value :---

1919 .. £6,811,773

1920 .. £6,676,083

1921 -- £3,851,500

1922, -- £4,058,677

1923, .. £3,980,042

1924 .. £3,703,222

1925 .. £4,405,372

1926 .. £3,800,916

1927 .. £3,847,457

Total - £41,135,042

For the years 1919 to 1926 inclusive, the exports of these goods to Foreign Countries amounted to **£18 044,347**

To British Countries, including, Egypt **£ 19 242 138**

Separate Figures for 1927 not available:

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Sanned by Holger Terp. Small errors in the layout.