

# HEADWAY

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'Ere! you'd better come and listen to this, you might have to go to one some time unless you're careful



By permission of

OLD BILL'S ARMISTICE DAY THOUGHT

"Passing Show."

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

NATURALLY the withdrawal of Germany from Geneva has given public opinion in all countries a great shock, but after the first wave of emotion has passed, we find that the crisis, though serious, is not tragic. We discover that the way is still open for negotiation and we remain convinced that the Disarmament Conference must proceed. We also realise from the way in which the less reputable Press throughout the world has talked of the imminence of war, that the enemies of peace are many, and that Aristide Briand was right in saying: "Many pens are made of the same steel from which cannon are forged."

### Nailed to the Mast

AFTER the Queen's Hall, the Geneva Disarmament Meeting: after the Geneva Meeting the deputation to Mr. Arthur Henderson to present the resolution. The deputation was acting, its leader (Lord Cecil) said, on behalf of organisations whose membership ran into millions, and Mr. Henderson, in his reply, gave the message to public opinion "that it should nail its flag to the mast of the League." "Make the will to peace strong," he said, "and more steadfast than the will to war. The struggle for Disarmament must go on and the Covenant must not be treated as a scrap of paper. It cost 10,000,000 dead and 20,000,000 wounded to bring the League of Nations into being. We will not break faith with the dead who fell that there should be no more war."

### Coincidence or Cynicism?

UNDER a week before the Disarmament Conference was due to commence there was launched at Brough, in Yorkshire, the Blackburn Perth Flying Boat. It is the first aeroplane in the world to carry a gun capable of firing shells. Of these it can discharge 100 1½-pounders a minute, in addition to the bullets from its three machine guns and its ton of bombs. As the *Manchester Guardian* said in Editorial comment: "To remember that this gun is installed on what is virtually a 17-ton flying gun platform with a speed of 132 miles an hour and a range of from 1,000 to 1,500 miles gives an ample hint of the new terrors which are in store for the wars of to-morrow."

### The President and the Federation

FOLLOWING the precedent set by his predecessors, as President of the Assembly. Mr. Te Water on Monday, October 2, received a deputation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. It was introduced by Mr. Limburg, an ex-President of the Federation and one of the Dutch delegates to the Assembly. Mr. Limburg was taking the place of Lord Cecil who at that time was presiding at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Toronto. The deputation presented the resolutions passed by the

June Congress. In the course of his reply the President of the Assembly said: "The grave problems of the present day cannot be solved by statesmen alone. They must be assisted by a public opinion directed by such personalities as form the International Federation." The resolutions were printed in the Journal of the Assembly, and thus brought to the notice of every delegation. The autumn meetings of the Federation's Executive have just taken place at Geneva.

### An Answer to Hitlerism

MR. ORMSBY-GORE's speech to the Sixth Committee was probably the outstanding feature of an Assembly notable for its unanimity against the new political conception of Nazi-ism. By a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, the British delegate showed the fallacy of the German conception of the State based upon racial homogeneity and the consequent international relations resulting therefrom, namely, that a State has a right and a duty to concern itself with the citizens of another State who belong to the compost of the State in question. Mr. Ormsby-Gore further fully answered Dr. Goebbels' challenge about the obsolete character of Parliamentary Government. "We believe," he said, "that the liberties of England are based upon Parliamentary Government, and neither in the name of democracy nor anything else are we going to abandon our free Parliamentary system." A sentiment we echo to the full.

### The League Budget

THE room in which the Fourth Committee of the Assembly meets might well have written across the architrave of the door: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." To listen to the criticisms made by some of the delegates makes one wonder if Treasuries have any other object in life except to prevent the expenditure of money on any object, no matter how worthy. The onlooker who is comparatively well informed about the League is also aghast at the crass ignorance which is displayed of the whole conception of Geneva, a fact which is probably due to the annual change of personnel of the majority of the members of the Commission. With the air of a detective who has discovered a clue overlooked by all his colleagues, some delegate trots out a criticism that was probably first made at the First Assembly in 1920; and the proper explanation as to the reason why this item is inserted in the Budget has again and again to be laboriously given. Perhaps even more dangerous than the ignorant delegates are the delegates, of whom there are quite a few, who like to show off their debating skill. In true parliamentary fashion they argue for or against a point not caring so much for the principle involved as for its being suited to their particular brand of dialectic.

### Films in Schools

THE bald newspaper announcement that the Convention to facilitate the international circulation of films of an educational character has been concluded at a diplomatic conference held at Geneva brings to fulfilment a four-year effort. The first important activity undertaken by the Educational Cinematograph Institute at Rome was to draft a Convention by which educational films should be allowed exemption from Customs duties in order to give them a wider circulation. The difficulty of defining the exact meaning of *educational film* has been overcome by enumerating a few specific categories of films on which countries agree to abolish import duties, though naturally they still reserve to themselves the right to exclude a film bearing Rome's new International Certificate for political or other reasons. The conclusion of this Convention should give a considerable fillip to the educational film industry as a whole, and render more simple the circulation of those non-commercial films which are so interesting to see, but, owing to the heavy duties which have previously been levied, so hard to get shown.

### Liberia Again

TOWARDS the end of the Assembly Session the League Committee on Liberia, over which Lord Cecil presides, met for the third time this year in Geneva. Hitherto the meetings have been held in private, but on this occasion (very properly, in our opinion) the sessions were public. The outstanding feature of the meetings was the fact that British and American policies were, for the first time, completely identical. The Liberian effort to play off one against the other having failed, she adopted such an attitude of *intransigence* that the Chairman was moved to point out that "the Liberian amendments cut right across the plan both as regards financial and administrative aspects and also as to its main principles, which the Liberian Government has already accepted." The Council later in the month issued a virtual ultimatum giving Liberia until January to make up its mind whether it would accept assistance on the terms proposed or not.

### The Chaco

ONCE again our hopes are dashed. When Bolivia and Paraguay, for the first time in absolute unanimity, asked the Council not to send out a special Commission of Enquiry from Europe but to ask the A.B.C.P. Powers (Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Peru) to seek a formula which might establish between them a just and durable peace, it was thought that at last things would go smoothly. But in the middle of the Assembly a message was received in Geneva to the effect that the A.B.C.P. group could not accept the invitation to mediate. So we are back again where we were when we first started! The original League Commission is being re-collected and will shortly set sail. There must still be hope, for along with Argentine, Brazil, Mexico, Chile and Uruguay, the

Paraguayan Minister was a signatory of the new Latin-American Peace Pact which sets forth the determination of those countries to settle all differences which may arise by peaceful methods and sets up a Conciliation Committee to that end.

### The New Council

THERE being great joy over a State that returns to the fold, the Argentine was one of the countries elected by the Assembly to one of the three non-permanent seats on the Council for the next three years. The other new Council members who replace the Irish Free State, Guatemala and Norway, are Australia and Denmark. The Assembly, having approved the report of Lord Cecil's Committee on the reorganisation of Council elections, Portugal was elected as a fourth non-permanent member, receiving a majority of Assembly votes over Turkey. At its first meeting the new Council divided up the various routine questions amongst its members as follows: Great Britain, Danzig; France, Intellectual Co-operation; Italy, the Saar and Legal Questions; Germany, Economic Questions; Poland, Opium; Spain, Minorities; Czechoslovakia, Mandates; Australia, Financial Questions; Mexico, Refugees and League Finances; China, Transit; Panama, Child Welfare and other Social Questions; Denmark, Health; the Argentine, Disarmament; Portugal, the Traffic in Women.

### The Traffic in Women

DURING the course of an Assembly which paid especial attention to the subject, a Diplomatic Conference established a new protocol regarding the suppression of the Traffic in Women of full age, the purpose of which is set out in the first article of the draft as follows:

"Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl of full age for immoral purposes in another country, shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

The Social Section of the Secretariat is well pleased that, at long last, this new step in the suppression of the Traffic in Women has been completed. In view of the rumours that the German Government intends to re-establish the licensed house system, we have been asked to state that so far as can be ascertained the rumour is entirely without foundation.

\* \* \* \*

DR. INAZO NITOBE, the kindest and most Christian Under-Secretary-General that the League has ever had, died suddenly in British Columbia on October 16. Beloved of all who came into contact with him, his loss will be mourned in many countries. He died in exile from Japan, whence he had fled owing to the views he held on his country's action with regard to Manchuria and his desire for good relationships with China.



## BE STRONG AND OF A GOOD COURAGE!

THE news that Germany had given notice of resignation from the League of Nations and from the Disarmament Conference was hailed by the Beaverbrook press with a perfect whoop of joy! "This is the end of the League of Nations," it declared in its headlines. "It is thought that the day of doom for the League in its present form is imminent," it commented, and further opined that the League was now "a very mangy bird."

If, however, we refuse to be stampeded and consider the situation calmly, the conclusion that emerges is just the opposite. If the general attachment to the League and the collective system were weak, a bombshell like this would have revealed its weakness. It has really revealed its strength. The other nations, though taken by surprise and unable to consult one another, have remained unshaken and maintained a united front.

The situation can be summed up by saying that Germany is suffering from an "inferiority complex" amounting at the moment almost to a "persecution mania." Like an individual suffering from the same complaint, she imagines non-existent motives; she sees slights in every word and every action. She is, in short, a most uncomfortable neighbour.

In this special case it is possible to compare a nation to an individual. True, a few strong-minded people hold views other than Hitlerist in Germany to-day, but they are not voiced. The repressive power of the Storm Troopers is too great. Opposition to the Nazis is, therefore, negligible. The rest of the nation as a result of ten months of a controlled Press, a controlled wireless service and controlled cinema, news-films now think and act in accordance with the behests of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda office.

Yet, apart altogether from the inferiority complex, it must be recognised that Germany has some very real grievances. The League of Nations Union has been pointing out for the last six or seven years that the ex-allied and associated powers are under a moral obligation to Germany. We have promised again and again—in the preamble to the Disarmament Section of the Peace Treaty, in Article 8 of the Covenant, in the Preamble to the Treaties of Locarno and elsewhere—that German disarmament was to be the prelude to general disarmament.

Fifteen years seems to Germany a long time to wait for the redemption of a solemn promise. And within the last year the real disarmament of the heavily armed

*(Continued on page 213)*

## AN ARMISTICE MESSAGE

By THE HEADMASTER OF HARROW

WHEN the last gun sounded in anger on that November day of fifteen years ago, and silence fell on the battlefields of an exhausted world, one thought sprang to consciousness in minds without number, couched in the simple words: "Never again! Never again should the world agonise and the best die, and all the ways of life be poisoned in that blind struggle called war which brings ruin upon all alike." Almost it seemed to them that the awful sacrifice had been worth while, if the world of the future could be built securely upon the foundations of peace.

Out of that world-wide longing the League of Nations was born, and the habit of conference between nation and nation. Fifteen years have gone by, and brought moments of high confidence, moments of despondency. The nations have been unable to cast out fear, and though the League of Nations has been able to do many things which in the world before the War could not have been done, fear has still bred suspicion and selfishness, and many voices are raised in scorn of the work of the League and to deride the hopes of universal peace. But I would have you remember that the League exists, that it can be strengthened, that it is the instrument given into our hands with which to work. I would have you not forget what in its place its enemies offer you who are growing to be men and women—rivalries and hatreds, intrigues and armaments, leading to inevitable war.

Armaments—there lies the immediate task. If the

nations cannot find a way to disarm, then ships and aircraft, guns and tanks, gas and high explosives must be ever increasingly acquired, increasingly improved, in the hope that we may feel safe, though the day will certainly come when civilised man will destroy himself by the machine which his own hands have perfected. But if the nations can find the way, it will be because they have created confidence, and cast out fear. They will set free great sums of money which can be spared from the taxes, and flow into the channels of productive trade. They will unlock their borders, and allow commerce once again freely to pass their frontiers. Disarmament more than anything else will help to bring in the day when unemployment will have ceased to hang like a black shadow over a world which should be a scene of happy abundance.

Therefore, as you stand in silence for a space on this fifteenth anniversary of the Armistice, let your thoughts dwell first on those who gave their lives that this country might be free and that a better world might come to exist. Then offer a prayer, if you will, that wisdom may be vouchsafed to the nations to frame in justice and singleness of heart a treaty of disarmament that shall endure. And, last, seek strength to vow yourself to the service of the ideal that the peace of the world shall be a worthy peace, wherein justice and goodwill shall hold sway between man and man, between class and class, and between nation and nation. CYRIL NORWOOD.

nations has come to be to her the outward and visible sign of the equality of status that she was promised under the MacDonald agreement of December, 1932. "Why," she asks with great pertinence, "should we be denied any longer the right to have certain types of weapon which your experts have proved to be of only defensive value and which you seem unwilling to discard? Why do you perpetuate the old war spirit of which the war-guilt clause in the Treaty of Versailles is the embodiment? And, if you insist on our keeping the Treaty of Versailles, why do you refuse to keep the one clause in it that is favourable?"

This moral indignation we of all nations should best be in a position to understand and to help explain to the world. Did we not enter the war for a "scrap of paper"? Has not Mr. Baldwin within the last few days solemnly asseverated that what we have signed we shall adhere to? And though there are certain nationalist elements of the Beaverbrook type which would tear up any and every treaty in which we as a nation do not take all and give nothing, HEADWAY believes that the overwhelming majority of the British people are honourable.

Germany's grievance further proves, if more proof were needed, that there can be no security for any nation at the expense of another nation's insecurity. The nations of the world must co-operate or perish.

Either the nations of the world retain their tanks, their big guns, their military aircraft, their battleships and their submarines and let Germany go out of the League, who, taking the law into her own hands, will then re-arm . . . That way madness lies.

Or, despite the difficulties (with or without German co-operation), the nations can set about the immediate conclusion of a Treaty for the abolition of those weapons denied to Germany, using the Disarmament Commission to see that such reductions are actually carried out in all countries. By patiently following such a course we shall bring Germany back into the comity of nations.

By thus combining justice with firmness the rest of the world may hope to bring about disarmament. It is important to remember that, until a Disarmament Convention is made, Germany is still bound by the terms of Versailles, and further that she does not escape any of her present responsibilities by leaving the League.

What choice shall be made depends on that public opinion which is known to exist. Were not 20,000 resolutions from organisations all over the world sent to the Geneva Disarmament Demonstration on October 15? That public opinion has to impress itself on statesmen, officials and publicists with pre-League mentalities who are still trying to play the old diplomatic game, forgetful of the new rules and the League Covenant. International anarchy has not yet wholly given way to the co-operative system, though it seems at the moment to have shot its bolt and failed. Germany's action has destroyed neither the Conference nor the League. The next step is to proceed calmly with the drafting of a treaty fair to everyone, remembering that no door is fast shut and that a League policy should be one of firmness combined with reasonable conciliation.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION TO-DAY

By J. BRUCE BULLOCK

WHEN the *World Economic Survey*, 1931-1932, appeared last year, it rapidly became a best-seller among official publications. Many people were looking for a clear, non-technical interpretation of the facts of the depression, based on authoritative sources, and written from the point of view not of any single nation but of the world as a whole. The document prepared by Mr. J. B. Condliffe of the Secretariat provided them with exactly what they wanted. During the spring and summer, attention was concentrated on the Economic Conference, but when the delegates went home at the end of July with so little accomplished, a natural query was: "What has been happening to the world during these weary months of waiting since Lausanne?"

Here, just at the right moment, comes the answer in this year's edition of the *World Economic Survey*.

In a few years' time it will seem incredible that, prior to the development of the League's Economic Intelligence Service, the public had to rely for knowledge of world movements of trade and production and employment almost entirely on the meagre information compiled unsystematically by a few agencies and published in financial periodicals, or the occasional computations of specialists contributed to the journals of learned societies. The possibilities represented by the "clearing" and co-ordination of statistical services at Geneva has given a stimulus to the measurement of economic phenomena, the full effects of which will not be realised for many years, but which may justly be compared with the addition of aerial observation to the scouting resources of an army.

Everyone will hope that there is a symbolical significance in the fact that the Survey begins with "The Contracting Spiral of World Trade"—that most telling diagrammatic presentation of growing impoverishment and threatening stagnation—and ends with a section headed: "Symptoms of Recovery," but the greater part of this volume was, in fact, written before the U.S.A. went off gold in April. It is an examination of the situation during last year and the first part of this year, based on statistical data for the period ending with the first quarter of 1933. A brief account of the London Conference and a review of the more favourable signs which appeared at the end of the summer were added as it went to press. The final paragraph may be quoted:

"At the end of July, 1933, there was more confidence and greater economic activity in the world as a whole than at any time since the financial panic began in the spring of 1931. The revival in economic activity, however, varied greatly from country to country. The development of the experimental plans for recovery in the United States was being watched with the closest attention. . . . The hope persisted that, whatever the outcome of particular experiments, the forces of recovery evident not only in the United States, but elsewhere, would develop further strength. . . . Rising prices, increased production and purchasing power, and reviving confidence . . . might, it was hoped, make possible in the near future a more positive and constructive approach to outstanding international problems."

### Bottom of the Depression

At the bottom of the depression lies the disparity between costs and prices. This disparity may be lessened by a reduction of costs—i.e., by wage cuts, conversions.

forced sales, defaults, liquidations and bankruptcies—of which method the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in June, that it would involve “intolerable suffering,” and held out little hope of success. On the other hand, it may be lessened by the raising of prices—by reviving demand through the exhaustion of stocks, by organised restriction of supplies, or by monetary expansion. The return of confidence, which is the indispensable prelude to trade revival, depends on people's belief that the gap between costs and prices has been closed, irrespective of the method or combination of methods which achieve that end.

The pages of this Survey are really an exciting record of detection of signs of reviving confidence (with Mr. Condliffe as sleuth). By the middle of 1932, the panic period appeared to be over, but in July and August industrial production reached its lowest point and “the exchange of three-fourths of the former quantity of goods, at about half the prices ruling three years before, yielded a total of world trade little more than a third of the 1929 monthly average”—which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that “in the sixteen months after September 1, 1931, general tariff increases had been imposed by twenty-three countries”! Nevertheless, helped by the agreements at Lausanne, the late summer and autumn saw a limited revival.

The most substantial gains were registered in the leading security markets, but wholesale commodity prices advanced in some centres and “a definite increase in the value and volume of industrial production began in most countries at about this time, and the total value of world trade rose from July to October also.” But it was soon clear that the optimistic estimate which people had made of the closing of the gap between costs

and prices was mistaken. There was a new downward drift, and in the early months of 1933 “competitive deterioration of the economic situation was well under way, as every country sought to protect itself at the expense of its neighbours.” The comment of the Survey is one which readers of HEADWAY will surely endorse.

“The tragedy of the depression, repeated again in the autumn of 1932, has been that accommodation to international necessities has been too grudging and has come too late to avert further deterioration in the weaker countries, thus entailing a new and more difficult effort at restoring equilibrium at still lower levels.”

What about the autumn of 1933? The signs of economic resurgence are more confident and promising than a year ago, but the estimate of the closing of the gap may again be falsified if concerted action be not taken in time. *The incipient boom may be turned back into slump by political obduracy.*

Chapter headings such as “The Confusion of Prices,” “The Disorganisation of Production,” “Wages and Social Policy,” “The Profits of Enterprise,” “The Strain on Public Finances,” help to convey the fact (of which no one acquainted with the previous volume will require to be assured) that the Survey gives a comprehensive account of world conditions built up on a thorough study of the available evidence on each aspect of economic activity. Those who demand the facts themselves rather than an elucidatory selection of them, may be referred to the other volume just published by the League's Economic Intelligence Service, *World Production and Prices, 1925-32.*

\* World Economic Survey, 1932-1933. League of Nations. 6s. World Production and Prices, 1925-1932. League of Nations. 4s. Obtainable from the Union's Book-shop.

## MACEDONIAN INTERLUDE

By STEPHEN HEALD

GEOGRAPHICALLY a vague area, historically Macedonia is a relic of the past, the cockpit of the Balkans. There are three aspects of the Macedonian “question”:(1) The claim of a scattered minority body to reunion as an autonomous or independent political unit; (2) Bulgarian policy in regard to Macedonia and relations with Yugoslavia and Greece; (3) The internal feuds of Macedonian factions and their international repercussions.

In support of their claim to national unity, Macedonians point to their common language and the evidence of history. They recall the Empire of Alexander, Macedonia as part of the Roman Empire, its colonization by Slavs in the fifth and sixth centuries, annexation by the Bulgarian Empire in the ninth, and the struggle for domination between Byzantines, Bulgars and Serbs ending in the defeat of the Serbian Emperor in 1389 by Turkish armies at Kosovo, which finally checked the southward expansion of the Serbs. Henceforth Macedonia was subjected to five centuries of continuous rule. By the end of this period, however, Macedonian ethnology had become somewhat mixed and separate Macedonian identity submerged.

In the nineteenth century national consciousness awoke in the Balkans. Greece, Rumania, Serbia and Bulgaria secured their independence and by the beginning of the present century Macedonia, Thrace and Albania alone remained under Turkish rule—Russian

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE MACEDONIAN QUESTION



schemes to include Macedonia in a greater Bulgaria had been frustrated by the Powers in 1878. But the cracks in the Ottoman Empire were widening and Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria were working to extend their culture and influence in Macedonia.

Macedonian autonomists, encouraged by Bulgaria, were also active and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (I.M.R.O.) was established in 1893 in the wild Balkan mountains, with its own police (sic), tribunals and administration. Its slogan was “Macedonia for the Macedonians.” A revolt was

suppressed; the Powers brought pressure to bear on the Sultan; reforms were promised, but were abortive or not carried out. Then in 1912 came the first Balkan War. At last Turkey was driven out and Macedonia was partitioned between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A squabble over the latter's share of the spoil led to a second war. Bulgaria was defeated, but retained possession of Eastern Macedonia (and access to the Aegean) until after the Great War, when the peace treaties transferred it, together with part of Thrace, to Greece, while Yugoslavia obtained other parts of Macedonia, notably the upper Strumitsa valley.

### Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia

To meet the situation created by her territorial losses, Bulgaria changed the emphasis in her policy. Arguing the similarity of the Macedonian dialect to Bulgarian and the inclusion of Macedonia in the mediaeval Bulgarian Empire, she claimed the Macedonians in Yugoslavia and Greece as Bulgarian minorities. Simultaneously Macedonian terrorists on both sides of the frontier received encouragement both as a source of embarrassment to her neighbours and as a method of keeping the question of treaty revision alive. The treatment of the minority in Yugoslavia was continuously attacked, not without some justification.

In Bulgarian Macedonia there exists an *imperium in imperio* as curious as its repercussions are dangerous. Having supported the activities of the Macedonian revolutionaries first against the Turks, and then against the Greeks and the Yugoslavs, the Government became powerless to control them. Bomb-throwing and assassination became a common occurrence and up to 1929 the opening of the Bulgaro-Yugoslav frontier was regarded as the exception rather than the rule. Protest succeeded protest from Yugoslavia and Greece, and in 1925 war with Greece was stopped only by the intervention of the League. In more recent years, however, the Bulgarian Government has been more successful in

confining the activities of Macedonian terrorists to mutual assassinations.

Concentrated in the inaccessible Balkan mountains of the west and south-west the Macedonian “*rois des montagnes*” of Bulgaria have retained their individuality, *Emigrés* and *komitadjis* expelled from Greece and Yugoslavia have found a ready welcome there. Descendants of the I.M.R.O., they revived, after the War, under the leadership of Alexandrov, their terrorist activities against Greece and Yugoslavia. When, however, foreign relations became too strained, Stambulisky, then Prime Minister, tried to reach an agreement with Yugoslavia regarding the Macedonian minority. Alexandrov denounced the negotiations as a betrayal of Macedonian unity and in 1923 Stambulisky was assassinated. Strained relations continued and one section of the revolutionaries advocated an appeal for Communist assistance. A schism ensued, Alexandrov was murdered and an internecine feud, marked by mutual assassination, has continued to this day between the Mihailoffists (who control the funds and official organisation) and the Protogueroffists.

### The Present Position

Macedonians variously favour independence, autonomy within Bulgaria Yugoslavia, or a Balkan Federation. The possibility of independence or autonomy was indeed discussed at the Peace Conference, but was abandoned as impracticable on economic as well as political grounds. To-day there has ceased to be an active Macedonian question in Greece and with the improvement of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations, the abandonment of propaganda artificially fostered for various ends by countries more remote perhaps than Bulgaria, the strict limitation of the incredible vendetta between the rival Macedonian factions it is to be hoped that the Macedonian “question” will be allowed to merge itself with the general problem of minorities in Europe.

## MR. FISK AND MR. BALDWIN

IN the early afternoon of September 27, a Battersea estate agent shouted for help against certain men who were believed to be thieves, were certainly armed, and had invaded his office. The cry was taken up in the streets and came to the ears of Mr. Fisk who was pursuing his avocation as a bricklayer at the top of a ladder some distance away. Mr. Fisk knew his duty, as one of the King's lieges, to assist in the preservation of the King's peace. Mr. Fisk did not stop to discuss it or to consider the risks which he ran in executing it. What he did was to leave the ladder forthwith and to set off in pursuit of two men who could be seen making their flight from the estate agent's office. In so doing he conformed with the habits of countless generations of his ancestors, who had gone upon like errands in obedience to the same law. Like them he discharged his legal duty at the risk of his life, and he fell severely wounded with a bullet in his leg.

For this account of the incident we are indebted to the *Times* of October 6. And we cannot improve upon the moral which the *Times* draws from the tale. “There is one country, at all events, that can rely implicitly on the ordinary citizen to come to the rescue in the ancient, simple and valiant manner of Mr. Fisk.” “He has given a demonstration of the working of that august organism, the British Constitution.”

Now it is an old, if not an always popular British practice, to disseminate good ideas by telling foreigners what it is good for them to know. When, therefore, the

world war ended and the Peace Conference met in Paris, the British and American delegations, with their long English history behind them, saw to it that this ancient principle of the English Constitution was embodied in the first Constitution of the World. Thus the Covenant of the League of Nations includes the principle of general responsibility to prevent disorder. It is the duty of States Members of the League to prevent aggression and to act at once—without stopping to discuss or considering the risks—against a fellow Member which resorts to war in disregard of certain pledges not to do so.

Unfortunately, when four provinces of China were lately stolen from her by thieves who “were certainly armed and had invaded” her territory, the Governments of the other States Member did not do their duty and “come to the rescue in the ancient, simple and valiant manner of Mr. Fisk.” Of course, there were excuses. The thieves were not at first recognised as such. The Governments were responsible for other people's skins besides their own and could not afford to take risks like Mr. Fisk the bricklayer. And so the world began to doubt whether, after all, the Kaiser was not right when he said that a treaty obligation was but “a scrap of paper.” That doubt has been fostered by such irresponsible writers as Lord Beaverbrook—for example, in the *Daily Express* for October 9. It has wrought havoc in international affairs, both political and economic; so that statesmen and business men

join in assuring us that the root evil of the present situation is lack of confidence. Unless confidence is restored, there can be no political appeasement and no *disarmament*: what Great Power would dream of reducing its own means of defence unless it can rely on the others coming to the rescue if it is attacked? And, unless confidence is restored, there can be no financial and economic recovery: What country, great or small, will not aim at economic self-sufficiency—at closing its markets against foreign products, and so putting a stop to international trade—except it can rely on collective action to prevent the war which would suddenly deprive it of essential supplies from abroad?

Mr. Baldwin saw the danger due to lack of confidence in the promises of governments. In a brave speech at Birmingham on October 6 he said that Great Britain would stand by her treaty obligations. That was a long step in the right direction. But it does not go the whole way. A doubt remains whether Great Britain might not, at a critical moment, insist upon her right under the Covenant to place her own interpretation upon her treaty obligations. It is true that Great Britain, unlike Japan, has ratified the Optional Clause and the General Act; but it is by no means certain that, even so, the community of States that make up the World Commonwealth has the right to decide when it has become the duty of this country to join in organised collective action to prevent aggression or to stop war.

The time has come for those European Powers which

## The Banff Conference

THE Fifth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations was held at Banff, Alberta, opening on August 14 and adjourning on August 26. The first two Conferences took place at Honolulu; the third and fourth at Kyoto (Japan) and Shanghai respectively.

At Banff there were 137 Delegates, representing America, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch East Indies, and Hawaii. Observers also attended from the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

Sir Herbert Samuel was Leader of the British Delegation, which included, among other M.P.s or ex-M.P.s, Sir John Power. The Canadian Delegation, led by Mr. Edgar J. Tarr, a Winnipeg lawyer, was numerically the strongest. The American Delegates included Messrs. Newton D. Baker, F. L. Polk, and Drs. Millikan, Leith, Moulton and Shotwell. The late Dr. Nitobe led the Japanese, and Dr. Hu Shih the Chinese Delegations respectively.

The Conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations achieve most of their work at Round Tables, which, as far as possible, analyse all the problems included in the Syllabus, but do not adopt any findings or resolutions.

At Banff the main discussions took place at four Round Tables, whereat "International Economic Conflict in the Pacific Area: its Control and Adjustment" was discussed, and also problems of education. The Chairmen of the Round Tables were not chosen for reasons of personal prestige or because they were authorities on the subject-matter, but for their skill in stimulating and guiding discussions. They were changed half-way through the discussions.

There was some criticism of the failure of the Organising Committee to circulate a detailed programme before the actual assembling of the Conference. The

remain loyal Members of the League to satisfy one another that they really do intend to use the strength of all for the defence of each. They will then be able to fulfil their promises to "disarm" and to see that Germany does not re-arm; and yet they will have nothing to fear from Germany or any other quarter. As regards America, they know (first from Mr. Stimson, in August of last year, and more recently from Mr. Roosevelt's ambassador, Mr. Norman Davis) that, in their mutual defence, they will have the benevolent neutrality, if not the active help, of the United States. They also know that the only way to banish war from the world, and perhaps to prevent an early outbreak in Europe, is to accept and act upon the obligation to safeguard the peace of nations. *We cannot have peace without responsibility.*

It is the urgent task of the League of Nations Union in this country, and of the similar societies in forty other lands, to convince the peoples of this truth; for political leaders cannot go far beyond the public conscience of their time. Let us then remember, at this fifteenth anniversary of November, 1918, that it cost ten million dead and twenty million wounded to create the peace machinery of the League of Nations. We who survive must complete the work of those who fell, cut off in the flower of their youth. If we are to finish their task, if we are to give the world peace—peace by disarmament—we cannot allow the Covenant to become a scrap of paper. J. C. M. G.

By H. G. W. WOODHEAD, C.B.E.,

Editor of the *China Year Book*

Syllabus contained four closely-spaced pages of type-writing, covering an enormous amount of ground, and during the first week of the Conference the Delegates were supplied with upwards of fifty data papers, compiled by various Delegations, many of them quite bulky documents. It was, I think, impossible for any Delegate to read them all while the Conference was in session, but doubtless they will be studied with greater care at a later date.

The word "conflict" was given an elastic interpretation, and the discussion extended to immigration and emigration, tariffs, the cost of living and labour conditions in the Pacific countries, access to raw materials and outlets for exports, the Canadian grain situation, the Lancashire and Japanese cotton industries, railways, shipping (including subsidies) and the pressure of population.

### The Actual Conference

At the first Round Table to which I was assigned, the discussions opened with a statement from a representative of each of the participating Delegations regarding the types of economic conflict which came within the purview of his particular country. Then followed details of specific conflicts and the factors underlying them.

Particular attention was paid to the distribution of populations and of raw materials. There seemed to be general agreement that under existing conditions the population pressure of Japan and of China could not be relieved by emigration. Japanese spokesmen voiced the opinion that the population of their country would become more or less stationary at about ninety millions during the next two or three decades in consequence of the adoption of birth control and other factors. The solution of Japan's problems, therefore, must be sought mainly in free access to raw materials, intensive indus-

trialisation, and unrestricted outlets for manufactured exports. Redistribution of the Chinese population, however, was regarded as the most pressing necessity, and emphasis was placed upon the check imposed upon this solution by Japan's virtual annexation of Manchuria.

There were lengthy discussions on the cost of living in Asiatic countries, especially Japan. The Japanese argued that the actual wages paid, converted into a foreign currency, could not be regarded as a fair test. It was recognised that currency depreciation was a serious factor. A proposal that "Tariffs should be considered with regard to Labour rather than with regard to Capital," that the criterion in tariff-making should be the conditions of labour under which the articles were produced, and that in proportion as an industry bettered the conditions of its workers it should have the markets of the world opened to it, did not find much support. High tariffs, however, were generally recognised as a menace to peace in the Pacific.

### Short-circuiting Manchukuo Dispute

Though the Sino-Japanese dispute was constantly in the background it did not cause any protracted or acrimonious debates, mainly because by bringing back the discussion to economic problems the Chairmen of the Round Tables contrived to short-circuit heated political arguments. A Peace proposal for the Pacific, put forward by two of the Japanese Delegates, and involving a Security Pact to which America, China, France, Japan, and Soviet Russia should be parties, was vigorously opposed by the Chinese. The latter maintained that it was not a practicable solution while Japan occupied Manchuria, and at one Round Table ironically inquired whether the exclusion of the State of Manchukuo implied that its existence as an "independent State" was expected to be ephemeral!

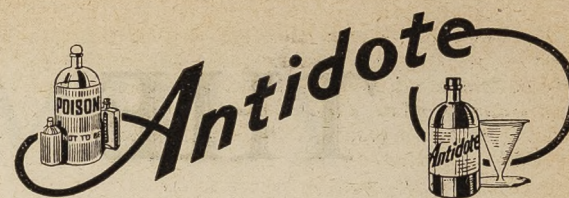
America's National Recovery Administration came up for discussion both at the Round Tables and at special evening gatherings, at which President Roosevelt's programme was expounded by Drs. Moulton and Lorwin (of the Brookings Institute) and scathingly criticised by Professor Gregory, of London University. He maintained that it could only succeed—if at all—by the devaluation of the American dollar, which would inevitably compel Great Britain to follow suit with the pound sterling.

To assess the value of the work of a Conference of this kind is not an easy task, owing to the absence of concrete results in the form of specific resolutions or recommendations. Its work must be regarded as mainly educational. Provided that the Delegations of the various countries are really representative, the influence of such frank analytical discussions must be considerable.

## OUR POSTER PRIZE

THE closing date for entries in Sir Norman Angell's Peace Poster Prize Competition is December 31. It is anticipated that there will be a very large number of entries. The Union will accordingly be enabled to put such arguments for peace upon the hoardings as will make even the most regular reader of the Yellow Press wonder if every gibe at the "moribund League" or the "dead carcass of the Disarmament Conference" is as correct as the newspaper proprietors would have him believe.

Sir Norman Angell's proposals can be found on the centre-pages of the September HEADWAY. Reprints of the article, giving also the "Angles of Argument" that designs should illustrate, can be obtained from the Headquarters of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.



### POISON:

"What will happen to the League when all the nations, including Great Britain, decline to contribute to its support any longer?"—*The Daily Express.*

### ANTIDOTE:

Exactly the same thing as will happen to the inquirer if and when everybody refuses to advertise in it or to buy it.

### POISON:

"If the world can now be persuaded to co-operate in a practical plan for regulated Disarmament, it will be solely because Great Britain as an armed nation speaks with almost unique authority to-day."—*A Correspondent to the Newark Press.*

### ANTIDOTE:

If Britain's position, as fifth in the armaments competition, be "unique," what description will fit the position of the four leaders?

### POISON:

"In the fourteen years of the League's life, it has had lavished upon it more opportunities for international action than existed during the whole of the preceding two thousand years."—*D. E. Arnold, the new poisoner, in the "Evening Standard."*

### ANTIDOTE:

If the League had failed to cope with the demands of fourteen years during a life of two thousand years, this rebuke would certainly be justified, instead of being an admission of the enormity of the tasks which have confronted the young League.

### POISON:

"Armaments do not cause wars, nor are they even contributory to the evolution of wars," etc., etc.—*Ad nauseam from innumerable advocates of armaments.*

### ANTIDOTE:

"It has become a maxim that Napoleon lost the Battle of Waterloo because he had no heavy artillery and that wars cannot be won without such weapons. In other words, Germany is waiting until she is ready."—This antidote was kindly supplied by Viscount Castlerosse in the "*Sunday Express.*"

### POISON:

"Let us ignore the teachings of the League of Nations Union . . ."—*Vice-Admiral J. E. T. Harper in the "Morning Post."*

### ANTIDOTE:

His Majesty, whose commission the Admiral holds, has given contrary advice.

### POISON:

"The League of Nations is a mangy bird. . . Great Britain should leave the League . . . it is a futile failure . . . the Disarmament Conference has been doomed from the first and Germany has now kicked the carcass. . ."—*Some of several expressions of Lord Beaverbrook's opinion of the League at various times.*

### ANTIDOTE:

A perfect antidote is kindly furnished by the "*Sunday Express*" posters which heralded Germany's resignation from the League as "The Gravest Peril since 1914." C. C. T.

# THE FOURTEENTH ASSEMBLY

By W. N. EW

THERE was indeed cause for a certain amount of depression at the Fourteenth Assembly. The consciousness of failure in the Far East was in everybody's mind. The strong resolution of the Special Assembly had resulted only in the appointment of a Committee which has scarcely met and can hardly be said to exist. The South American record is almost equally disheartening. The Disarmament Conference was hardly a spectacle to arouse enthusiasm or to rekindle confidence. And—perhaps strongest of all the depressing influences—there was the knowledge that the four Powers who hold permanent seats on the Council are showing a tendency to make the League and League methods secondary to the old technique of the Concert of Europe in its modern garb of a Four-Power Pact.

The additional handicap of a European situation as dangerous as any since the League was born affords grounds for depression, but is at the same time a call for courage.

One felt that it was the moment—just *because* everything looked pretty grim—for the League, for the Assembly, to assert itself courageously.

## The Lugubrious President

Mr. Mowinkel, presiding over the opening session, was merely lugubrious. He felt that everything was very dreadful. He deplored the "even worse impression resulting from the situation in Europe." He spoke of the "disillusionment" from the World Economic Conference, and the "discouraging" history of the Disarmament Conference.

His peroration to the effect that in spite of it all the League is "a marvellous instrument" and that "every responsible person must feel bound to do everything possible to keep it strong and effective" rang unconvincingly.

He failed entirely to rouse the Assembly to a sense of responsibility and the need for effort.

Indeed, he did worse. He virtually capitulated to the Four Power Junta. He placed "great hopes in the Four Power Pact." He lamented that the Disarmament Conference had not been confronted by some definite programme previously evolved by the Big Powers.

That from a Small Power, from the President of the Assembly, was a bad beginning. One felt that it called for a challenging reply: that there was need for a bold assertion of the authority of the League itself, for a declaration of determination to profit by hard experience and to recapture the lost prestige.

None came. The general debate had to be adjourned for a whole day for lack of speakers. Everyone was flinching from the task.

Sir John Simon stepped in at last. But it was not the speech that was needed. If M. Mowinkel had been lugubrious, Sir John was complacent. He glossed over last year's failures. He blandly argued that it was completely right and proper for the Big Powers to usurp

the functions of the Council—on which they hold four out of fourteen seats.

And then he proceeded to defend the League on the ground that it did "immense service" in its "untiring efforts for a better ordering of the world and for the alleviation of human misery and suffering"—supplementing this by a catalogue of subsidiary activities.

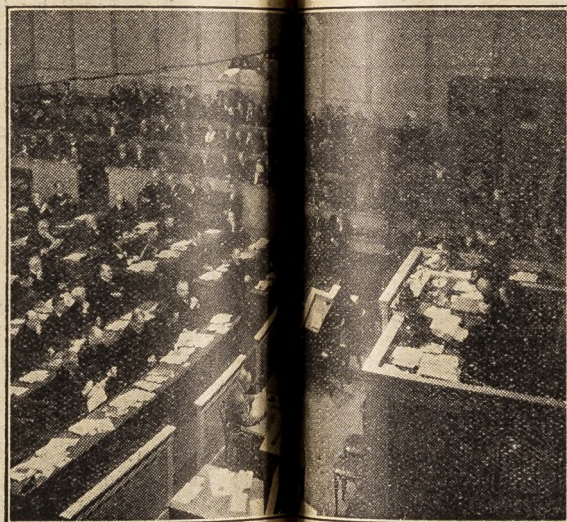
Rebuke came from within the Empire. It was Dr. Manion, of Canada, who pointed out that, valuable and important as the secondary work of the League might be, its primary task, the task for which it was created, was the preservation of peace and the settlement of international disputes. He appealed for "strong and courageous leadership." It was the nearest thing to the needed speech. But it got no response.

The debate fizzled out. Dr. Dollfuss had his anticipated ovation when he walked to the tribune; the German delegation alone sitting in grim silence, very conscious of the real significance of the loud applause. He appealed—as Austrian delegates have a habit of appealing—for "moral and practical support." There was more loud applause at the close of the speech (in which Baron von Neurath unthinkingly joined, to his own intense confusion and everybody else's huge amusement), and that was the end of the Austrian question.

Dr. Wellington Koo asked how long the "illegally accomplished fact" of the Japanese occupation would continue, how long it would be "politically impossible for the rest of the League to vindicate the sanctity of treaties." Nobody answered. Nobody seemingly wanted to talk or think about so disturbing a matter as "ominous clouds rising on the international horizon of the Far East."

The vigour and boldness of last year seemed to have vanished. The leaders who did then try to "vindicate the sanctity of treaties" seemed to have faded away. The Little Entente Ministers were away at Sinaia, intent on their own affairs. Scandinavia seems content to accept Four Power hegemony. It was a demoralised Assembly, waiting for, but failing to find, the "strong and courageous leadership" for which Dr. Manion appealed.

The Big Powers have clearly no intention of giving a lead to the Assembly. They prefer to fix things between themselves. M. Paul Boncour, like Sir John Simon, devoted himself mainly to a vehement defence of the Four Power Pact. And the Small Powers are dis-



The Well-Known Diplomatic Correspondent

couraged. Neither Assembly nor Council will recover morale until some, at least, of them recover from this "bad attack of discouragement."

The two outstanding themes in the Commission work were—the German Jews and the eternal question of the League's own finances.

Indignation against Nazi ill-treatment of Jews was really the one positive reaction of the Assembly to the present situation of the world. But, except in the case of Upper Silesia, Germany is not under the Minorities Treaties. Jew-baiting, therefore, like quite a lot of other things in quite a lot of countries, is a domestic question, in which the League has neither jurisdiction nor power of interference.

So indirect ways had to be found of commenting on something on which, whether for humanitarian or for political reasons, a number of delegates were determined to comment. A long war of manoeuvre began between Germany's critics, trying to get something done or said, and the Germans trying to prevent decision if they could not prevent speech.

Holland and Sweden opened in full assembly with a resolution referring to the "great number of German nationals who had taken refuge in several countries." They constituted an "economic, financial and social problem which can be solved only by international collaboration." Therefore the Council should "consider as soon as possible methods for bringing about a practical arrangement for this purpose."

The Germans side-stepped; announced if the resolution were sent to the Second Commission (implying that it was neither a political, nor a humanitarian, but purely a technical question) they would merely abstain from voting. So this was done.

Meanwhile, Haiti had gone further; had tabled a resolution urging an international convention assuring all racial, religious or linguistic minorities everywhere full equality of rights.

The battle with the Germans shifted to the Minorities Commission. Dr. Keller made a tactical error. He suggested that Germany as an ethnically homogenous State had a right to concern herself with the well-being of German minorities in other States—as indeed, without anybody thinking it odd, she has been doing since Stresemann first came to Geneva.

But Mr. Ormsby-Gore rose to the occasion. He rejected "absolutely" the conception of the "racial

homogeneity of political units and States." Doctrine of nationality, the orthodoxy of the Peace Treaty days, has become unspeakable heresy.

He declared that equality of status and freedom was the fundamental basis of the British Empire; that nobody by reason of race or creed was debarred from holding any office or from occupying any post; and that "Parliamentary institutions are the cement of the Empire" in which no Government could issue laws or decrees except by vote of a free Parliament.

Dr. Keller is a poor debater. He merely replied that Mr. Ormsby-Gore did not understand the Jewish question in Germany.

Then the battle shifted into the Second Commission and its sub-Committee. The Germans sat silent while the others, not without some difficulty, worked out an agreed text based on the Dutch draft.

It was a very anodyne non-committal motion that emerged from the sub-Committee.

It recommended the nomination by the Council of a High Commissioner to negotiate a direct international collaboration in dealing with the refugees. It suggested that all expenses should be "defrayed by funds contributed from private or other sources." It unified the League's contribution to a loan of 25,000 Swiss francs.

## An Obstructive Tendency

Nevertheless, the Germans objected. They announced that they would block the resolution in the plenary session unless it was made clear that the High Commissioner would not report to the Council. They got their way. The High Commissioner is to report, through a "Governing Body" not to the League but to "States likely to be able to assist." On this understanding the German delegation let the emasculated resolution pass, merely abstaining from voting.

The suggestion of a binding Convention was dropped. The Assembly was merely asked to express the "hope" that States not bound by the Minorities Clauses of the Peace Treaties would observe in their treatment of minorities "at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties."

One or two rather more cheerful things have to be chronicled: the return of the Argentine Republic; the creation of a new Council seat so that now every "State member" has a fair chance of being in due course elected to the Council; the final approval of the Convention which, when signed and ratified, should make possible the virtual ending of the White Slave Traffic.

To pretend that all is well with the League is treachery to the League; to cry that all is lost and only a Great Power Junta can guard the peace is equally treachery. The League can come through this depression, even come through with new strength. But it can only do so if there is a big new stimulus, a big injection of courage and resolution.

And that in the last resort can only come from public opinion in the "States Members of the League."

## TELLING THE STATESMEN!

## TWO GREAT MEETINGS

## LONDON

## THE MEETING OF CHRISTIAN WITNESS

*An Affirmation of Christian Faith.*

We are convinced:—

- (1) That God at this time is calling the nations of the world to learn to live as one family;
- (2) That the machinery of international co-operation provided by the League of Nations, while not yet perfect, affords the best available means of applying the principles of the Gospel of Christ to stop war, to provide justice, and to organise peace;
- (3) That the application of these principles constitutes the only practical politics at the present time;
- (4) That Christian people should pray, and resolve that by these means, faith shall be kept, confidence restored, and there shall be no more war.

## POINTS FROM SPEECHES

"It is as certain as anything can be that armaments instead of protecting nations from fear, only spread and intensify the fear that they wish to banish."—**The Archbishop of Canterbury.**

"We are entitled just because we are well-wishers to Germany to ask its leaders to speak peace not only to Europe but to their own people."—**The Archbishop of Canterbury.**

"A breakdown of the Conference would mean such a recrudescence of suspicion, jealousy and fear as would make it quite impossible for nations to work together to bring the world out of its present confusion and distress."—**The Archbishop of Canterbury.**

"It is the business of the Church to help the country search its conscience."—**Dean of Chichester.**

"If there is anything wrong with the League of Nations, it is with the nations rather than with the League. The defects have been moral defects in statesmen and peoples much more than technical defects in the organisation of the League. . . . I want to lay stress on this positive side of the League's work, because I am sure that it is only positive ideals of international co-operation which have got sufficient motive power to carry over from this generation to those which are to follow us. . . . The issue before the nations to-day is not one of politics, still less one of machinery, but a moral issue. The 'principles of the Gospel of Christ' have to be 'applied.' . . . No external application will suffice, but a sincere convinced heartfelt acceptance of those principles as the only ones which can lead us out of chaos into order and resolve our present discords into peace."—**Canon Thompson Elliott.**

"If, instead of calling a Conference for Disarmament we had called it one for the Better National Defence, there would be less confusion in the public mind as to what the real purposes of the Conference were, or ought to be. . . . The only form of alliance which could save us from a repetition of 1914 was the League form of alliance; a pooling of power for the restraint of the common enemy, the nation which refused to arbitrate. . . . If man were not what he is, and if man never lost his temper and called it patriotism, there would be no need for a League of Nations."—**Sir Norman Angell.**

"The peace of the world is the matter of the prayer of the Church. One of the forces for peace is a praying world. If we take to prayer, it may be we shall pull the nations to look at matters not from mere expediency but from the point of view of the eternal truths."—**Rev. Luke Wiseman.**

## GENEVA

## ASSEMBLEE POPULAIRE POUR LE DÉSARMAMENT

*Resolution at Geneva*

This meeting expresses its earnest desire for the successful issue of the World Disarmament Conference and the conclusion of a Convention assuring equality of status and security for all nations, and the co-operation of States to educate their public opinion in the spirit and methods of peace and embodying at least the following points:—

Abolition within a specified period of "aggressive weapons" including the air weapon;

Substantial reduction of armaments and limitation of expenditure.

A permanent organisation to exercise a strict supervision of existing armaments including their manufacture and sale, to prevent rearmament by any State, and to prepare for further disarmament.

## POINTS FROM SPEECHES

"After many months of hard work which at one time promised to produce satisfactory results, the Disarmament Conference is being threatened by failure because the confidence of Europe has been seriously shaken. Whoever refuses to contribute to the re-establishment of that Confidence must bear a heavy responsibility in the eyes of the whole world. I hope that even now the massed voices of the people will make it impossible that the Conference should fail."—**Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of England.**

"There is no more urgent task than that of bringing the Disarmament Conference to a satisfactory conclusion, the success of which will give to all nations that security which is indispensable to the world."—**M. Edouard Daladier, President du Conseil.**

"The Soviet Government is more than ever convinced of the necessity of at least the utmost possible disarmament. While pursuing an absolutely independent policy the Soviet Government supports all proposals aimed at effective disarmament which includes the abolition of the most aggressive forms of air, sea, and land armaments, the reduction of armies, and strict effective control."—**M. Molotov, President of Council of Peoples' Commissars.**

"If the Disarmament Conference fails, war will be definitely nearer than it is at present. There are certain sections in each nation who are deeply opposed to Disarmament, some because they are financially interested in armaments. It is a mistake to suppose that soldiers or sailors desire war, but they think in terms of battle and are therefore averse to any policy which will diminish the instruments with which battles are fought. Those nations which demand equality of status in arms have not hitherto asked for equality of strength. I am quite sure that the great mass of the people of the world passionately desire peace. The question is, are the Governments ready to comply with this demand or are they going to create danger and despair in the world? Disarmament may not by itself be sufficient to prevent War, but it is certain that a failure of the Disarmament Conference will gravely, and perhaps irretrievably imperil Peace."—**Lord Cecil.**

"While the action of Germany may alter the situation and make the task more difficult, a solution of the disarmament problem is in my opinion of such vital importance that every effort should still be made to achieve it."—**Mr. Norman H. Davis, Ambassador of the United States, to Lord Cecil.**

"The Secretary of State, on behalf of the President, wishes me to express his belief that this imposing demonstration must not allow the Conference to fail."—**America, to Lord Cecil.**

## THE LEAGUE AND BRIBERY

By R. M. LEONARD

A BELGIAN quarry owner offered a secret commission to an English County Council official on all orders placed for Belgian stone to be used in making English roads. If there had been an international convention, that quarry owner could have been brought to book; as it is, he can repeat his corrupt offers with impunity. The same remark applies to business relations in other countries. And nothing is more fatal to international trade, on which all the world relies, than the suspicion and want of confidence which bribery engenders.

In the year 1931, the Federation of the League of Nations Unions unanimously passed the following resolution requesting:—

" . . . H.M. Government to urge the League of Nations to take without delay such action as may lead to the conclusion of a Convention on Bribery, whereby this evil practice may be made specifically criminal in all the signatory States, and legal redress, civil and criminal, shall be assured by the contracting countries which accede to the suggested Convention."

On February 12, 1932, the Council of the League adopted a report submitted by the League's Economic Committee, the pertinent resolutions of which were:—

- (a) "Recommends both Governments and business and industrial circles to take all possible steps to put an end to the bribery and unfair commercial practices described in the Economic Committee's report."
- (b) "Invites the Secretary-General to transmit this report to the Governments of the Members of the League of Nations, requesting them to transmit to him the desired information."

Nothing further has been heard on this subject since that date!

## Public Opinion

One of the objects of the League of Nations Union is to educate public opinion, and in this direction plenty of scope is afforded it. Unless the various Governments are convinced that public opinion requires them to act, it is unlikely that any international convention will materialise. In England, and generally throughout the British Empire, there are abundant enactments against unfair commercial practices, of which bribery is the most detestable. But there is nothing to prevent a foreigner who is not domiciled in this country, nor directly represented, from attempting to bribe anyone in England!

## OFFICIAL LEAGUE AND I.L.O. PUBLICATIONS

## The I.L.O. in Brief. 6d.

A short, bright pamphlet written in response to a suggestion from an overseas delegate at the 1932 Assembly that a popular pamphlet should be prepared to enable the man-in-the-street to understand what the I.L.O. is and what it has done.

## Blue-Grey Report on Workmen's Compensation for Occupational Diseases. 6s.

This particular convention is due for revision next year. The Office has accordingly prepared a report giving the definition, the scope and the types of disease (e.g., silicosis) which come within the possible limits of revision.

## International Labour Review. October. 2s. 6d.

The main article in this number is one from the pen of Mr. Weaver, our contributor elsewhere in this number. He gives his impressions of a visit to the Middle East and to India. Another article deals with Recent Social Tendencies in the U.S.A. and sums up the N.R.A.

It is essential to limit the Convention to bribery, which all decent persons condemn, because "unfair practices" may be a matter of individual opinion. What one country thinks unfair, another does not. Americans, Germans and Englishmen, for example, by no means see eye to eye. Many Americans confuse the issue by describing relations between manufacturers and distributors, or between traders and the public, of which Englishmen approve, as "unfair."

The Economic Committee in its report remarked that:—

"The co-operation of the business community would be essential to the successful suppression of bribery and corruption, particularly in view of the ease of evading the law. No campaign against unfair commercial practices would be fully effective without the development in commercial and industrial circles of an attitude of strong condemnation implying a general understanding that every business man is in duty bound not to have recourse to such practices. . . ."

"There is reason to believe that the general expenses of traders and manufacturers are heavily increased by their frequently having to curry favour with employees or persons connected with their competitors with a view to supplanting the latter. This bribery and corruption is highly damaging to commerce, not only directly, but also through the suspicions aroused. These, it is to be feared, give rise to more bribery, which would not be resorted to if it were generally believed that the principles and practices of honest trade were only rarely departed from, and then only at the risk of discovery which would be followed by general reprobation and condign punishment."

There are several organisations formed to combat bribery, of which the oldest—and the model on which, largely, others have been based—is the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League, Incorporated,\* which was established in 1906, and had as its first President Sir Edward Fry; but the activities of such bodies are necessarily circumscribed and cannot, of course, exert the worldwide influence of the League of Nations Union.

Even should all attempts to obtain an international convention fail, the effort will not have been wasted. The subject will, at worst, have been ventilated, and that is all to the good. The best law in the world is of no value unless the people observe it, and bribery is one of the crimes that the people must be taught not to regard lightly.

\* The Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League at 22, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1, is always glad to furnish any information.

Records of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Series B. Minutes of the General Commission, Vol. 2 (December 14, 1932, to June 29, 1933). 455 pages. 1933. IX. 10s. 20s.

Seventh Quarterly Report of the Financial Position of Austria. 23 pages. 1933. II.A.22. 9d. Report presented to the recent meeting of the Financial Committee, as well as documents on Bulgaria and the taxation of foreign and national enterprises.

Traffic in Women and Children. 1933. IV.4. 6d. The text of the draft protocol to which reference is made in Matters of Moment.

Report of the Preparatory Committee of the Unification of Buoyage Rules. 53 pages. 1933. VIII.2. Appendix. 2s.

NOTE.—All official League and I.L.O. publications can be obtained through the Union's Book shop.

## BOOK NOTICES

**Patriotism, Ltd.** (Union of Democratic Control. 6d.)

The sensation caused last year by "The Secret International" from the same source will be paralleled, if not indeed surpassed, by this concise and telling little volume of further exposures of the Armaments ramp.

The majority of the facts pilloried are unanswerable—so much so that one is inclined to regret the mistaken zeal which has moved the compiler to detract from those regarding Germany's re-armament by unnecessary and disproportionate quotations from one of the journals owned and controlled by M. de Wendel of the "Comité des Forges." In the eyes of any discerning reader, corroboration from this section of the French Press (from which ten out of twelve quotations are culled) must be disqualified by the concluding exposure of the treacherous liaisons which were maintained between French and German armaments manufacturers during the Great War. As is so rightly pointed out in the Introductory Chapter, "War and Rumours of War are as good business for armament makers as they are for the newspapers which serve up war scares as they are created, and in between sing the praises of armed force as the only security!"

Prominent amid the enormous scope covered in these 64 pages may be instanced the Skoda Scandal and the notorious Selétzki Trial, the section aptly entitled "Perfecting Death" (in which the recent developments in regard to wireless-controlled planes are outlined), "The Science of Murder" (with its lucid exposures of Poison Gas development at Porton and elsewhere), detailed facts with regard to the export of arms to Manchuria and the forty-four national customers of British armament-makers, and also the current development of British military aircraft.

In the latter regard, it is especially interesting to note that "Provision in the British Air Estimates for experimental services in 1933 amounts to £1,385,000"—in other words, practically the same amount as the entire contribution of Britain to the League of Nations *ab initio*!

Those who still crave evidence of the real value of the League will find it in an illuminating trio of graphs depicting the movements in the value of shares in the Hotchkiss, Schneider-Creusot and Skoda armaments factories since last March, and the explanations of those movements.

In each case a low ebb was caused by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Disarmament Scheme in March; the Franco-German frontier incidents at the end of April enabled the shares of all three firms to leap upwards to the tune of some 200 francs in each case; although the troubles in the Far East and in South America enabled them to retain their lofty level, the approach of the World Economic Conference and the hope of international understanding thereat forced the shares down in a decisive slump of over 100 francs per share; and the failure of that Conference sent them all soaring up again



THE UNION BOOKSHOP

to 60 francs per share higher than even the summit achieved in April!

No advocate of Disarmament can afford to be without this book, which is obtainable from the Union's Book Shop, and it is impossible to believe that anybody, after reading it, could fail to be converted to, or consolidated in, adherence to the League of Nations. C. C. T.

**The Bulwarks of Peace.** By Heber L. Hart, K.C., LL.D. (Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

Readers with long memories may recollect that, as far back as 1918, Dr. Heber Hart published an illuminating survey of the essential conditions for an effective League of Peace, and that his ideas were to a large extent reflected in the Covenant. With fourteen years of practical experience to go upon, the author now sets out to study the question as to how Great Britain, without any dereliction of duty, can best provide against the occurrence of another world war? His object is to provide electors of the United Kingdom with sound and clear ideas about the League. Linking Security with Disarmament, he proposes that the Great Powers should contribute an agreed quota to a collective force. His denunciation of the Locarno Pact and his proposed amendments to the League's constitution will not be everybody's meat, but the book is definitely constructive in aim.

**Testament of Youth.** An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925. By Vera Brittain. (Gollancz. 8s. 6d.)

This book is charged with meaning and interest for all who care about world peace. It is a record written with remarkable candour. It is

improbable that Miss Brittain enjoyed being so self-revelatory. But she found that no objective study of the war years could convey what they involved for her generation so well as the story of their meaning in the life of one person, told as fully and honestly as she could do it. She says:—

"The mature proprieties of 'emotion remembered in tranquility' have not been my object, which, at least in part, is to challenge that too easy, too comfortable relapse into forgetfulness which is responsible for history's most grievous repetitions."

The sincerity with which that object has been pursued gives the book a compelling intensity which must surely find a response even in those too young to have their own memories of the war stirred by this poignant story.

**The Statute of Westminster, 1931.** By K. C. Wheare. (Humphrey Milford, for the Oxford University Press. 6s.)

A thoroughly well-presented and full survey of the history of events leading up to the Statute and of the underlying practical questions, in handy form, this little volume is of particular interest in its relation to the Canada Conference on Inter-Imperial Relations.

**The Dying Peace.** By Vigilantes. (Published by the *New Statesman and Nation*. 6d.)

This is a most challenging and provocative pamphlet worthy of Dean Swift at his bitterest and best. It should be read by every one who has at heart the critical situation of the League of Nations, whether or not they are disposed to agree with the conclusions put forward by the authors. The first part is devoted to a pitiless indictment of the conduct of British policy throughout the Sino-Japanese dispute.

For the rest the pamphlet is a courageous attempt to put forward a constructive peace policy for Britain as the Labour Party would seek to realise it. It is perhaps a pity that the constructive proposals put forward "based on the fundamental conviction that loyalty to the League comes first" should be offered to the reader with the aid of the venomous vocabulary of party controversy. Thus the "pinchbeck Prussian who has learned nothing and forgotten the World War" turns out to be Mr. Amery, and poor Sir Nairne Sandeman, Bt. (Middleton and Prestwich, U.), turns out to be a "pocket King-Kong, tired of civilisation and longing to return to his life in the jungle." But the convictions which produce this vehemence are evidently so sincere that they deserve the study of friends and critics alike.

**World Prosperity, as sought through the Economic Work of the League of Nations.** By Wallace McClure. (Macmillan. 20s.)

Mr. McClure was formerly Acting Economic Adviser of the Department of State to the U.S.A. and has sought successfully to provide an exposition of the extent to which the international organisation at Geneva has already helped to bring about an understanding of the dependency of national prosperity on international conditions. After a telling Foreword by Sir Arthur Salter, the author proceeds to divide his digest into two parts, the first being devoted to "The Background, Instrumentalities and Progress of the Economic Work of the League," followed by "The Development of World Economy" through that medium. The second part is further sub-divided into sections dealing with "The Production and Distribution of Wealth," "International Trade," "Finance" and "The Economics of War and Peace." A generous index makes it plain that every possible aspect of the League's work has been covered and is easily accessible in this valuable book of up-to-date education and reference.

**The Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1932.** By M. G. Cowan, O.B.E., M.A. (Hodge. 12s. 6d.)

A concise and well-indexed manual of the Acts relating to the protection and training of children and young persons in Scotland, with Foreword by the Hon. Lord Sands.

#### THE ASSYRIAN TRAGEDY

In our last issue we printed an article and editorial comment upon the tragedy of the Assyrian minority in Iraq. An authoritative historical account of the matter entitled "The Crisis in Iraq," by Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., has been reprinted in pamphlet form by kind permission of the Editor of "The Nineteenth Century and After." This may be obtained from the Head Office, price 4d. per copy.

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## READERS' VIEWS

## COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS

SIR,—I honestly consider that the collectors are the backbone of the whole Union. Brains, heart, knowledge, enthusiasm are of little value without the supporting column, but that column must, in its turn, be strengthened by knowledge, tact, and endless patience.

In our Branch we use a double card index which I am glad to see that the Winton Branch (Bournemouth) finds as successful as we do and a system of the check and counter-check so effective that we rarely miss a subscription.

Keswick Branch buys the *News Sheet* and gives a monthly copy to each household where there is a member (no matter what they pay). By this means, even 1s. subscribers are made to feel that they really do belong to a live organisation.

I am afraid that letters as mentioned by Mr. Hooper would frequently be popped in the fire, and certainly many opportunities for personal contact would be lost. For instance, I had been told of two cases where the subscriber was "not going to pay any more"—the collectors heard this from neighbours—and asked me if I would pay this year's call. In both instances, the little talk we had about the Persian Oil Dispute settled the matter and the shillings were willingly paid, and I know those two members will impart their newly-gained knowledge to lots of other people.

To our collectors "I take off my hat."

E. R. DARNLEY-NAYLOR,

Keswick.

Hon. Sec.

## A SUGGESTION

SIR,—Anxious and depressed secretaries and workers in branches of the League of Nations Union often wonder how they are to get in touch with the masses. Most people frequent cinemas or theatres and often see war films or plays, after which they leave the cinema in a serious frame of mind prepared to accept a pamphlet on peace such as "Questions and Answers," which can be obtained from the Union Book Shop for 9d. per 100 copies. I have stood outside cinemas giving out such pamphlets in all weathers, and my experience is that whatever the weather or the time of night departing crowds will pause, take a leaflet, sometimes even read it at the time, and put it in their pockets to take home. Great are the uses of advertisement! We have many members of branches and Youth Groups who are eager to do something to help and who would really enjoy doing something unusual.

M. RIDGES,

Hon. Treasurer Savings Bank Branch.

## DISCUSS THE LEAGUE

SIR,—When on holiday I took part in a rather animated discussion, during the course of which I revealed my loyalty to the League of Nations. One of the party later told me that she had allowed her subscription to the League of Nations Union to lapse and asked me if I would take it.

Recently I called upon a newly-appointed officer who had a friend staying with her. I was informed that after I left she expressed a desire to join the Union although previously she had not shown any interest in that direction.

A fellow delegate to the Edinburgh Council had a similar experience when on holiday recently.

We are unconscious missionaries. An enthusiastic talker goes to make an enthusiastic listener. I am only sorry I do not know what touched the listeners. I am inclined to think, however, that it was stressing the importance of everyone pulling his political weight. When people become alive to their own political importance they realise the necessity of becoming members of the League of Nations Union.—Yours faithfully,

A DELEGATE TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

## A COLOSSAL TASK

SIR,—“What is the meaning of the failure of the World Conference?” asks the *RECOVERY* magazine for August 11.

I think the explanation is that mankind cannot grasp all at once such an immensity of problems. What single human brain (or even group of brains) is capable of the task of gathering together all the threads of the different national conceptions so as to weave in a few weeks a working plan that shall satisfy the demands and requirements of all?

As I see it, the only way is to go steadily on from precedent to precedent, from conference to conference, always with the object of world betterment in view, and ultimately the desired goal will be obtained. “Keep your faith in the League,” as Lord Cecil said to us in Hull recently!

Hull.

E. G. RYMER.

## A NEW “HEADWAY”

SIR,—I have always regarded *HEADWAY* primarily as the title of the monthly journal of the League of Nations Union. During my holidays on the Essex Coast this summer, however, I was surprised to find at a road junction a signpost indicating “Headway,” and at once determined to discover for myself what sort of a place it was.

I found that it was really an opening in the sea-wall, alongside it being the lodge and gates of the War Department's premises at Shoeburyness. Inside the railing was a squad working an anti-aircraft gun.

This evidence goes to prove that *Headway* is not only on the map, but is also closely associated with the problem of armaments!

London, N.W.

J. C. F. ARCHIBALD.

## A CHRISTMAS SUGGESTION

SIR,—It has struck me that members who already take *HEADWAY* might help to lighten the darkness of non-members with regard to international matters and inculcate enthusiasm for the League by making their Christmas presents to their unconverted friends take the form of a year's subscription to *HEADWAY*. Of course, such a present would in no sense constitute membership, but I am of opinion that recipients of this suggested Christmas present would, after the expiry of their subscription, feel impelled to continue to receive the paper by themselves joining the Union in order to do so. In any case, it would adjust the impressions of people who to-day derive their understanding from the sensational Press and would thus impart that leaven of public opinion which is so terribly needed.

Northampton.

C. H. EDWARDS.

## UNION POLICY

A MOST interesting discussion took place in the Executive Committee at the end of September apropos the situation in Austria and German Foreign policy. It was felt that it was the duty of the Union to show the relation of this problem to the cause which the Union has been trying to preach for many years, namely, a real League as indicated by the Covenant. It is also our business to see that under the League system the united nations offer to Germany all that they claim for themselves, while making it clear that they will not permit any conspiracy against the peace or any defiance of her obligations as a member of the League.

On the question of supervision the Union continues to be in favour of an automatic, periodic and effective system of supervision applicable to all countries alike and for a reduction of armaments which will begin on the ratification of the Convention and proceed by regular stages.

The new situation created by Germany's withdrawal from Geneva in no whit vitiates the soundness of the previous disarmament policy enunciated by the Executive Committee. The Union's attitude towards the German withdrawal is summed up in the following resolution:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union—

Welcomes the recent statement by Mr. Baldwin affirming the determination of H.M. Government to carry out its existing treaty obligations.

Urges H.M. Government to use its utmost endeavours to secure an immediate first measure of disarmament on the part of the Powers from whom it is due in fulfilment of the pledges made to Germany 14 years ago.

Recognises the renewed alarm of other nations at the resuscitation of the militant spirit in Germany; and

Expresses its earnest desire for the continuance of the World Disarmament Conference and its conclusion of a Convention assuring equality of status and security for all nations, as well as the co-operation of States to educate their public opinion in the spirit and methods of peace, and embodying at least the following points:—

Abolition within a specified period of “aggressive weapons,” including the air weapon;

Substantial reduction of armaments and limitation of expenditure;

A permanent organisation to exercise a strict supervision of existing armaments, including their manufacture and sale, to prevent rearmament by any State and to prepare for further disarmament.

## The League Budget

A special sub-committee has been set up to make constructive proposals with regard to the attacks that are constantly being made in connection with the League budget—particularly by Great Britain. A hope was also expressed that the sub-Committee would inquire into and make recommendations concerning the non-payment of their contributions by certain States members.

NOTE.—A meeting of the General Council of the Union will take place at St. George's Hall, Tottenham Court Road, London, on December 14th and 15th. The monthly Branch letter to Secretaries contains further information as to the agenda paper.

The Importance of Knowing  
How to Learn  
Languages

## The Direct Method the Only Method.

THE only satisfactory method of learning a foreign language is the direct method. In other words, you must learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. That is the Pelman method and it is the only way.

It all depends upon the method. People fail to learn foreign languages because they have adopted the wrong method. Given the right method any normal man or woman can learn French, German, Italian or Spanish with surprising ease, without boredom and drudgery and in a comparatively short time.

## No Vocabularies to be Learnt Parrot-Fashion.

It naturally follows from this that the old-fashioned method of memorising—parrot-fashion—long lists of foreign words is entirely abolished when you learn a language by the “direct” way. You get to know each word by using it and by using it in different ways and relationships. No long months trying to memorise vocabularies and dreary rules! You are guided naturally and instinctively, as a child is taught to grasp quickly words and their meanings, their fitness, their use—and their pronunciation.

## Grammatical Difficulties and Drudgeries Eliminated.

Another consequence of this new method is that it practically eliminates the difficulties and drudgeries of learning complicated grammatical rules and exceptions. According to the old method you learned the grammar first—and many people never got any further, if as far. But the new method takes you straight to the language itself, and you learn the grammar as you go along and almost without any conscious effort.

As one student writes: “I consider your system unique, especially with regard to the grammar, which is absorbed subconsciously and without apparent effort.”

## A Four-Fold Method.

A few further points should be mentioned. The new method teaches you not only to read a foreign language, but to write it, to speak it, and to understand it thoroughly and efficiently. The eye is employed as well as the ear, and the hand as well as the voice. No mechanical device can possibly give you that thorough mastery of a foreign language which is obtained when so many senses are employed as they are in the Pelman Language Courses.

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## NOTES AND NEWS

The **Whitstable and Tankerton** Branch modelled a carnival car on that described by the Northants Federal Council, and won a Second Prize in a recent procession. This form of publicity is particularly valuable at seaside resorts where so many visitors are thereby interested.

The **Comrie** Branch attracted two enormous audiences to presentations of "Slavery," the centenary pageant-play of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. This branch has earned by its successful efforts the honour to be the first Scottish Branch to produce "Slavery."

Another First Prize at a hospital fête has been carried off by the **St. Anne's-on-Sea** Branch. War, in this instance was depicted by a representation of His Satanic Majesty.

Guild Street Boys' School, Junior Branch, **Burton-on-Trent**, has started a fund in order to send twenty-five members to the Fording-bridge Camp next year. This is an example which might well be followed by other Junior Branches.

Further proposals for extending the usefulness of the already excellent Branch at **Burnley** were discussed at the monthly Council Meeting at the Town Hall, and it was decided to hold, in addition to other activities, a series of open-air meetings.

Judge Woodcock, K.C., who presided over a recent meeting of the **Ikley** Branch, gave his audience the advantage of his judicial angle of view by referring to the unfair way in which the League and the Union are so often judged, not by results or by reasonable standards but by the high and often impossible claims so often put forward by irresponsible enthusiasts. As he said, the League might often with justice plead to be "saved from some of its friends."

The Autumn School organised by the **East of Scotland** District Council will be held at Waverley Hydro, Melrose, from Friday evening, the 17th, till Monday morning, November 20. The Earl and Countess of Home have consented to act as host and hostess, and the speakers, in addition to Dr. Mekie (formerly lecturer at Edinburgh University) and Mr. Ian M. Bain, M.A. (Rector of Dundee High School) will comprise Miss Florence Horsburgh, M.P. (British Delegate to the 14th Assembly), Vice-Admiral Allen, Mr. Arnold Forster (Observer at the Disarmament Conference) and Sir George Paish.

The newly-formed Youth Group of **Stockport** Branch, the members of which have named themselves "The Peace Adventurers," attracted nearly 100 young people to their first Social. They run their own publicity and among other excellent items at their gathering they produced an original dramatic sketch, "The Peaceful Secretaries," which gained eulogies in the Press for its topical sallies and allusions. As a result they roped in 26 new members.

A canvassing team sent out by the Youth Group of **Hampstead** Branch is hunting in couples weekly throughout the winter months. The hon. secretary, Miss J. Ansell, of 71, Springfield Road, N.W.8 (Telephone, Maida Vale 3952) invites members of other Youth Groups or Branches who may desire to gain experience in the delicate art of canvassing to apply to her, in which event she will gladly arrange for them to go out with experienced canvassers.

The B.B.C. have arranged for Armistice Night a review of the past fifteen years which will deal mainly with the changes in the international situation.

Mr. Andrew Buchanan, the Editor of the "Cinemazine" and the "Gaumont Mirror," gave it as his opinion that, with a few exceptions, the depiction of war and crime glorified both rather than otherwise. Of national propaganda he said that "Hoxton people who have never even been to Southend are perfectly acquainted with the skyline of New York—there is nothing malicious about it, but you cannot escape the fact that that is so," and added, "Tokio can see what Tooting is doing, and the exchange of pictures showing aspects of life in various countries creates international understanding. Films can benefit us by showing other people to us, and us to other people."

Germany's loss is Britain's gain—Dr. Ernst Jackh, the Founder and Director of the Hochschule für Politik in Berlin, has been appointed as the Director of the New Commonwealth.

## Overseas Notes

**NEW ZEALAND.**—The **Otago** Branch of the New Zealand League of Nations Union recently passed the following resolution, which was forwarded to the Acting Prime Minister for New Zealand, the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London and the British League of Nations Union:—

"In view of the mischief wrought to the cause of World Peace by the private manufacture of arms, the Government of New

Zealand is urged to do everything possible to obtain a mutual agreement that all nations will undertake to carry out the necessary steps to prohibit the private manufacture of primary war equipment; and that the respective governments will assume control of the export of all war material.

"We beg that the New Zealand Government will instruct its delegate to the Disarmament Conference to support this policy."

A schoolmaster (aged 45) in South Africa wishes to exchange letters with an Englishman. Will any member who would be willing to correspond with him please communicate with the Overseas Secretary at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

## The Swedish League of Nations Union

THE office of the League of Nations Union for Sweden is situated in the centre of Stockholm.

The secretary is also secretary of a woman's Club which occupies two floors in the same building, where I met English, Americans, Finns and Germans, besides Scandinavians, and though I did not happen upon any Southern Europeans, they are often there and the Club lounge is, at times, a tiny feminine Geneva.

The monthly bulletin of the Swedish L.N.U. is distributed to all members and also sent to other European L.N.U. offices. Another publication of the Swedish L.N.U. is a brochure of which 10,000 copies have been distributed in schools by a special committee which drew it up for the purpose.

Monthly lectures are organised in Stockholm for members, and lecturers are provided for educational and other gatherings in various parts of Sweden. Here are some titles of available lectures: "The Teaching of History in the Service of Peace Propaganda"; "The New State of Things after the World War"; "The League of Nations and Public Opinion"; "Minority Questions in Europe"; "The United States of Europe"; "The Economic Importance of International Co-operation"; "The Disarmament Question from the Point of View of Economy"; "International Co-operation in Social Work," etc., etc.

## Australian League of Nations Union

"The Council of the New South Wales Branch Australian League of Nations Union, being deeply concerned regarding the public campaign for heavier defence votes, expresses its belief:—

- (1) That the security of Australia will not be increased by stampeding public opinion and by inflaming it in a way which is certain to re-act unfavourably in other countries and thus to multiply risks rather than to reduce them;
- (2) That the prime objective of the Government should be to develop security within the systems of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Pact of Paris;
- (3) That the Government should therefore devise a more definite international policy for mutual reductions in both military and economic armaments and should definitely instruct its delegates to Geneva to press more urgently for the development of this programme;
- (4) That the Australian delegates to the forthcoming League of Nations Assembly should be instructed to support, or to initiate, if necessary, proposals for prohibiting the private manufacture and trade in armaments;
- (5) That the manufacture of armaments in Australia for private profit should be prohibited;

And that this statement and resolution be communicated to the Commonwealth Government, to the New South Wales Government, to all Federal members of Parliament, and to the Press.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
DIARIES FOR 1934

In assorted covers of attractive shades, with or without pencils, will be available from November 5 at the Union's Book Shop.

Price 1s. 6d. each, post free.

Special attention is directed to a discount of 20 per cent. allowed in regard to six or more copies if ordered at the same time.

A limited quantity of a cheaper edition with red or blue cloth cover without pencil is also available, price 9d. each.

## Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's vote payments for 1933: Banbury, Bennington, Boars Hill, Brill, Burford, Calverley, Carlisle, Charlbury, Colne, Dunstable, Frenchay, Heversham, Holt, Long Handborough, Lowdham, Maldon, Minehead, Montague Burton (Leeds), Oakworth, Oxford, Oxford Federation, Prestwich, Wheatley.

## WELSH NOTES

MONTGOMERYSHIRE COUNTY COMMITTEE scored a distinct success with their rally and pageant at Newtown. The longest procession seen in the neighbourhood for many years was headed by the New Newtown Silver Band, and included contingents from schools and churches throughout the county. At least 1,200 people gathered in the pavilion to see the pageant, "The Search for Peace," specially written for the occasion by Mrs. Hugh Lewis. The atmosphere of a Gorsedd held to proclaim a World Eisteddfod was perfectly reproduced, with the aid of well-chosen orchestral and choral music. At the evening demonstration, Mr. Leslie R. Aldous (from headquarters) took as his subject "A Call to Youth," while Dr. J. Alun Thomas (Professor of International Law at Bangor) followed with an interesting survey of "The League To-day." That all the arrangements were carried through without a hitch was due largely to the organisation of Miss Pugh-Jones, secretary for North Wales.

The Mid-Rhondda Branch is again organising, in conjunction with the University Extra-Mural Department, a University Tutorial Course in International Relations in the Mid-Rhondda. The lecturer is Mr. A. Oldfield Davies, M.A.

The Examination in connection with the Welsh Council's 1934 Geneva Scholarships Scheme, for Secondary Schools with Junior branches, is to be held in January, and so, also, is the Welsh Council's National Essay Competition, open to all Central and Elementary Schools. This year the Council has also organised a Badge Competition, open to all the Secondary Schools in the Principality.

A Petition to Parliament on the question of the Private Manufacture of Armaments and Munitions is being organised by the women of Glasgow. Twenty-seven outstanding women's organisations, including the women of the League of Nations Union, are co-operating in the organisation. The Petition, though organised by women, is open for signature to all men and women over eighteen years who are resident in the West of Scotland. Though Petition sheets have only recently been circulated, thousands of signatures have already been secured. The movement has roused unexpected interest and the response is already exceeding the hopes of the organisers.

## SOME BRANCH RESOLUTIONS

THAT the Executive of the Union be urged to continue its pressure on H.M. Government—

- (a) To accept a definition of aggression similar to that adopted by the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference;
- (b) To sign similar treaties with as many States as possible;
- (c) To put forward a Convention on Security, parallel to the Disarmament Convention; which, when adopted by a sufficiently large number of the more important States (including U.S.A.) would pledge each State to take action against the State declared aggressors by the League (in accordance with such definition) in the following order:
  - (1) Arms embargo;
  - (2) Financial boycott;
  - (3) General economic boycott.

"This meeting of the Executive registers its condemnation of the Hitler Terror expressing itself in racial persecution in Germany and its sympathy with the many thousands of victims thereof. Also calls attention to the fact that such conduct on the part of the German Government is directly opposed to the whole spirit and meaning of the League of Nations and that it is the duty of the League to take such steps as are considered best to bring about a cessation of the Terror."—*Burslem Branch.*

"That this meeting desires to express its abhorrence of the treatment of the Assyrians in Iraq and calls upon the Government to take steps to end this cruelty to our former allies."—*Bourn and District Branch.*

NOTE:—Nearly 250 branches sent in resolutions on Disarmament which were presented to the Queen's Hall meeting and to the Geneva Disarmament Demonstration.

## Legacies for the Union

Many supporters of the Union who find it impossible in these strenuous days to do more for the cause than is covered by their annual subscriptions may, however, consider the possibility of "remembering" the Union and the work that it does when making their wills or adding codicils to wills already made.

A simple form of bequest which may be incorporated either in a will or a codicil is given below:

"I give and bequeath to the Treasurer for the time being of the League of Nations Union (incorporated under Royal Charter), whose offices are situated at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, the sum of £ : : duty free."

## Membership

## RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

Foundation Members	... £1 or more.
Registered Members	... 5s. or 3s. 6d. 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 or one of the subsidiary journals of the Union monthly by post.

All members are entitled to the free use of the Union's lending library.

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

Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year.

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: Preenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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

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

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