

**OIL EMBARGO THIS
MONTH**
See page 25

**THE DEMAND FOR
COLONIES**
See page 30

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Contributions to HEADWAY are invited from writers with special knowledge of world affairs. The opinions expressed in contributed articles are not necessarily endorsed by the paper.

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HIS MAJESTY THE KING



The first photograph taken after his accession of King Edward VIII.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	22	The Demand for Colonies. By H. D. Dickinson ...	30
Two Kings Stand for Peace	23	Naval Armaments and Policy. By Maurice	
King George the Fifth (Editorial)	24	Fanshawe	32
Confidence Reborn in Geneva	25	Antidote	33
A King in Greece. By Godfrey E. Turton	26	Book Notices	34
Open-Air Meetings. By C. Claxton Turner	27	Readers' Views	36
Shelving the Refugees. By H. P. S. Matthews	28	Here and There	38
The Catholic Tradition. By Prof. Gilbert Murray ...	29		

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Union's Sympathy

ON the morning after King George's death, the following telegram was sent to Her Majesty the Queen:—

"The League of Nations Union with deep respect offers its sincere sympathy in the passing of His beloved Majesty King George the Fifth. We shall ever remember and cherish with gratitude the kindly interest which our gracious King always showed in the development of the League of Nations for the prevention of war and the organisation of peace."

CECIL.
GILBERT MURRAY.
MAXWELL GARNETT.

Her Majesty replied:

"I am deeply grateful to you and the members of the League of Nations Union for your kind message of sympathy in my great loss."

MARY.

Address to His Majesty

ON January 30, the Union presented an address of loyalty to King Edward. It said:

"On the occasion of Your Majesty's Accession to the Throne, the League of Nations Union, with humble duty, offers to Your Majesty its loyal devotion. We pray for Your Majesty's health and happiness and that Your Majesty may long be spared to reign in peace over the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"We recall with pride the great interest which our beloved King George V always showed in the cause of peace, and particularly in the well-being and progress of the League of Nations.

"We remember, too, with deep satisfaction the inspiring speech which Your Majesty, as Prince of Wales, delivered in the Guildhall of the City of London on October 30, 1930. We recall with especial gratitude Your Majesty's gracious words:

"I trust that the people of this country, which has been the pioneer of so many great and beneficent movements, will realise the urgent importance of doing all in their power to assist the League of Nations Union in the greatest crusade of all, the crusade for world peace."

"We hope that in the coming years the League of Nations Union, incorporated under Charter granted by His Late Majesty King George V, may continue to deserve and enjoy Your Majesty's gracious interest in all its labours for the prevention of war, the organisation of peace, and the steady growth of a strong and enduring League of Nations."

CECIL.
GILBERT MURRAY.
MAXWELL GARNETT.

Oil Ban

AN embargo on the supply of oil to Italy may be decreed before the middle of February. At Geneva a committee of experts is considering the technical aspects of enforcements. Its function is only to say how the thing can be done.

The League Committee of Eighteen, which in composition differs little from an enlarged Council, first accepted the principle on November 6. On January 22 it reaffirmed its decision. The chairman assured Mr. Eden that he need not fear any undue delay.

The next step should be the recommendation to the Governments of a date for the enforcement of the embargo. The United States will not obstruct. An interesting footnote is that of 1,000 ocean-going oil tankers in the world Britain owns 300 and Norway 200.

Abyssinia

SINCE mid-November, with a short break at Christmas, HEADWAY has been publishing a weekly supplement: *Abyssinia—A Newspaper of the League of Nations in Action*. The current number is the tenth; in all, three-quarters of a million copies have been distributed.

Secretaries of large branches and small, in great towns and in the countryside, have found *Abyssinia* a welcome help in arousing and fixing public interest and in enlisting new members. Often Union publications are criticised as appealing only to those already in the Union and as reaching only them; *Abyssinia* is reaching those outside the Union and is inducing them to come in. One small branch, exceptional only in the energy and intelligence of its secretary, has increased its weekly order from 75 to 450 copies and has added 50 per cent. to its membership.

More important than its Union uses, *Abyssinia* puts the essential facts of the League case before a public which wants to know and is prepared to think.

Here is a bold adventure that is succeeding. Valuable work is being done. But money is needed. Every contribution is welcome. Two or three hundred pounds will allow *Abyssinia* to continue until the end its plain story of the League's dealing with a crisis which must decide its fate.

TWO KINGS STAND FOR PEACE

KING GEORGE V, in his unwavering love of peace, set the world an example which will not soon be forgotten. During sixteen years, he gave repeated encouragement to those who are working to build a strong and enduring peace system. It was he who said:

The only war worth waging is against those evils which have throughout history brought upon the nations the horror of war.

Here are other Royal Messages which are gratefully remembered.

On October 13, 1919:

Nothing is more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations.

Millions of British men and women stand ready to help if only they be shown the way.

I commend the cause to all the citizens of my Empire.

In 1923, on his visit to Italy, at Montecchio Cemetery:

One black aftermath of this war of wars has been the warping of men's minds to devise and the poisoning of men's souls to receive, destruction, moral and material, as part of the reasonable machinery of life. In this lies peril to both life and reason.

But the open admission of the peril may be our best safeguard against it, and I dare to hope, as the world steadies anew in its orbit and realises what gulfs of horror it has overpassed, it will resolve that by God's help, as far as lies in the power of men entrusted with power, war shall not henceforth be accepted as a burden recurrent and inevitable upon mankind.

On May 9, 1935, in Westminster Hall, acknowledging the Jubilee Addresses of the Lords and Commons:

The United Kingdom and the Dominions, India, the numerous Colonies and Dependencies, embrace such wide varieties of speech, culture, and form of government as have never before in the world's history been brought into a Commonwealth of Peace.

In these days, when fear and preparation for war are again astir in the world, let us be thankful that quiet government and peace prevail over so large a part of the earth's surface, and that under our flag of freedom so many millions eat their daily bread, in far distant lands and climates, with none to make them afraid.

On May 8, 1935, to the Diplomatic Corps at St. James's Palace:

I pray God that the unity of purpose which has brought you here together to-day may be a symbol of an enduring peace in the world at large.

KING EDWARD VIII shares to the full his father's desire to save the world from war.

From 1914 to 1918 he was, with few and short interruptions, on active service on the Western Front. Six years ago, at Armistice time, he said:

There is no wise man living to-day who, having learned what war means, does not pray that war may never come again in his life.

On many other occasions King Edward has stressed in different ways the same lesson.

On March 27, 1935, addressing the British Merchant Navy:

We can never forget the part played in the building of this great British Commonwealth by those mariners who sailed overseas amid countless perils and discovered new lands. Can we not regard the component parts of the British Commonwealth to-day as engaged in a similar adventure—a similar voyage of discovery, as partners in seeking to find a new world era of justice, co-operation and peace? The voyage may be full of hazards, the sky may often be overcast, but if we go forth in the same spirit as the mariners of old went forth we shall triumph over every obstacle and come at last to the haven where we want to be.

On November 26, 1935, at the dinner of the Royal Institute of International Affairs:

It is a commonplace to say that a post-war world is one. That is both true and untrue, for if it is one in the speed of its communications, it is far from it in its comprehension of those communications. Knowledge flies ever faster, but wisdom lags behind, and so judgment is apt to be hasty, dangerous. Never was clear thinking in international affairs more essential, never was it more necessary for each successive Government to have behind it an enlightened and informed public opinion.

On January 23, 1936, in his first Message to Parliament:

My beloved father devoted his life to the service of his people and to the upholding of Constitutional Government. He was ever actuated by his profound sense of duty. I am resolved to follow in the way he has set before me.

On January 21, 1936, in his Declaration on his Accession:

The irreparable loss which the British Commonwealth of Nations has sustained by the death of His Majesty, my beloved father, has devolved upon me the duty of Sovereignty. . . .

When my father stood here twenty-six years ago he declared that one of the objects of his life would be to uphold constitutional government. In this I am determined to follow in my father's footsteps and to work as he did throughout his life for the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects.



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KING GEORGE V

KING GEORGE V leaves the world a noble memory. His own people, and not only they, loved him as a man; time will make still clearer the debt of gratitude all the world owes him as a ruler. Under the shock of his loss, those who praised him dwelt upon his courage, his kindness, his candour. Their choice did credit both to him and to themselves. Never seeking popularity, King George became the friend of his subjects. A year ago at his Silver Jubilee the affection everywhere expressed struck a new note in the relation of King and people. Now, when there is quiet for a thoughtful survey, it is right to remark another not less important character of the past quarter century. With King George begins the new Monarchy adapted to the service of a new world.

In 1910 the Victorian stability was ending. Caught in the rapids, Europe hurried towards the great disaster. At home, during those troubled years, the British Parliamentary machine was driven hard to produce economic, social, political reforms. Budgets were devised which aimed not merely at paying the cost of government, but at reducing inequalities between classes. Ill-health and unemployment were made concerns of the State. The powers of the House of Lords were curtailed. Home Rule threatened civil war. In the outer Empire, India was asking for a voice in the management of her public business. In South Africa the reconciliation of Boer and Briton was not assured. In Canada and Australia a sense of nationhood was stirring. Always the King had a part to play. Sometimes it was decisive. He must never be weak, never partisan. How completely King George succeeded is shown by one fact. Though passion ran high, and the wildest charges were bandied to and fro and believed, he was not suspected of either irresolution or unfairness.

The war years tried the King even more mercilessly. Every resource was thrown into a struggle whose fierceness, range and continuance eclipsed the most extravagant prophecies. His position denied him the relief of direct activity. His role was to know the worst and to remain confident of the best. He personified the unshaken national will. When he spoke he reminded the Allies of their true purpose. He translated into words the better heart and mind of Britain. His war speeches contained no boasts and no abuse. At the first opportunity he set himself to soften angry memories. France placed a whole-hearted trust in a loyal ally; Germany respected his just-dealing and recognised his goodwill.

After the war a stricken and bewildered world found

itself facing tremendous tasks. Nations, exhausted and impoverished, doubted the value of their heritage and dared not entertain high hopes of their future. In despair, they attempted reckless experiments. Violent revolution alternated with not less violent reaction. An age whose landmarks had been swept away and whose foundations were shattered needed above all things a rallying point, a promise that stability was possible. Without such an assurance there could be no rebuilding, no building. The fabric of Great Britain and the British Empire escaped none of the shocks which brought other systems down in ruin. To-day, because the worst did not happen the temptation is strong to deny that the event ever hung undecided. Just as dangers which are realised are apt to be labelled inevitable, so dangers which are avoided are apt to be labelled illusory; the one fallacy is as common and complete as the other. Since 1918 in a score of crises Great Britain has needed all her toughness to survive. But she has done more than survive. She has set an example. On her the world has known that it can count. She has saved much which is old and has accepted not less which is new. She has made rapid and radical change a peaceful process. In the confusion of passing events, often seemingly haphazard, now and again contradictory, the influence which the King exerted, the share he took in the work, was little noticed. But when his Silver Jubilee compelled a comprehensive survey of the last twenty-five years the truth forced itself on the world's attention. The new Britain and the new British Empire, now become the British Commonwealth of Nations, had grown out of the old and had fitted themselves to play in the new world order a part as useful and as splendid as any that had ever fallen to them in their glorious history. They had done so because King George, in his unselfish devotion to his people's good, had always been there, always ready, when the right moment arrived, to take the next step.

A famous British statesman, one who had served King George loyally and wisely, who had watched at the closest range the transformation of Monarchy, wrote at the end of his long career:

British Kingship, like most other parts of our ancient constitution, has a very modern side to it. Our King, in virtue of his descent and of his office, is the living representative of our national history. So far from concealing the popular character of our institutions (as Bagehot supposed) he brings it into prominence. He is not the leader of a party, nor the representative of a class; he is the chief of a nation—the chief indeed of many nations. He is everybody's King; by which I do not so much mean that he is the ruler of the Empire, as that he is the common possession of every part of it. He is the predestined link uniting all the various communities, whatever be their status, of which the Empire is composed. The autonomous democracies, including among them Great Britain, the mother of them all, each regard him as their constitutional head; and besides this he is the chief of all the diverse races in all the scattered territories, for whose welfare Great Britain, in the course of generations, has made herself responsible.

With unerring insight Lord Balfour fastened on the essentials. To-day the King is knit into the texture of British life more completely and intimately than ever before. An ancient institution is serving novel purposes with unprecedented efficiency. The British gift of devising new governmental methods for meeting the new needs of a new age is not exhausted.

CONFIDENCE REBORN IN GENEVA

(From our GENEVA CORRESPONDENT)

OIL AND DANZIG

CONFIDENCE in the intention of Great Britain and France to apply the Covenant of the League in every way against Italian aggression is being recovered in Geneva, and it now appears very probable that the oil embargo will be finally voted during the second half of February. The delay between the meeting of the Sanctions Committee of Eighteen on January 22 and the earliest possible date for the putting into force of the oil embargo is due to the holding of a technical inquiry into the way the embargo can be applied. The complexities of the production and transport of oil are many, and however much the fact may be regretted, some such investigation is needed.

It is, of course, a pity that all this was not done six weeks ago. But, given good faith, much lost ground can be regained.

Confirmation of the impression dominant in Geneva after the meeting of the Committee of Eighteen that Britain and France are in earnest is provided by the publication—on the night upon which the oil sanctions decisions were taken—of a memorandum from the British Government to the League outlining the steps which it had taken to obtain from the Governments of Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and France, promises of help in the event of British ships or ports in the Mediterranean being attacked by Italy while Britain is carrying out her obligations under the Covenant.

The replies from Paris, Belgrade, Angora and Athens are all entirely favourable; the paramount importance lies in the change in French attitude.

After hanging back for months under the guidance of M. Laval, France took her position by the side of the other Powers a few days before M. Laval resigned, and she is now working as zealously for the League as anybody else.

Nor has France changed her attitude as a result of bribery. The British Memorandum makes it clear that the French support is given unreservedly—and that the stories of a Franco-British bargain, in which France was said to have promised to give her support in return for a British pledge in connection with her frontier with Germany, are false.

The definiteness and preciseness of the guarantees exchanged—for Britain pledged herself to help these States which would help her—came as a very great shock to the Italian delegation in Geneva. There was immediate talk of an Italian protest against these arrangements, and against the "concentration" of British warships in the Mediterranean during the summer and autumn of last year. Italy has since had her say; it makes most surprising assumptions.

If the Italian protest were to be upheld, such approval would be tantamount to saying that although one State may, unchecked, make ostentatious preparations for the violation of the Covenant—and then violate it, States Members of the League cannot take steps to back up the sanctions which the Covenant commands shall be applied.

The publication of the British Memorandum was followed by the publication of Notes from the Governments concerned pledging them formally to support Britain and the League. In addition to the States which had been approached, Rumania and Czecho-

slovakia gave assurances, in their capacities as members of the Little Entente. Thus Seven States are lined up in common agreement to defend, by force of arms if need be, the Covenant and its application. Or, if Spain be included, eight, Spain having given in substance the same answer as the other Mediterranean States.

January 22, when these replies were published, was another historic day for the League. But it is significant that the organisation which was the driving force in securing them was the British Foreign Office and not the League Secretariat—which it ought to have been. Spain, incidentally, attached to her reply the comment: "If it is thought necessary to study the case it should be studied in the committee set up for the purpose at Geneva."

The result, as summed up by a German observer, is that "The League is becoming dangerous." However, he did not specify to whom it was that the League is becoming dangerous, and the talk of its becoming a weapon forged for the hand of Britain is sheer nonsense. Any one of fifty nations could "expose" any sinister British designs if they existed.

The Sanctions Committee of Eighteen summoned its experts to study the measures already adopted and the results obtained. Before the Sanctions Committee met, the Council's Committee of Thirteen (which is the Council without Italy) was convened, and it reached three decisions. First, it decided that there could be no more conciliation for the time being; secondly, that it was impossible to grant Abyssinia's request for financial assistance; and thirdly, that no commission of inquiry should be sent to Abyssinia to investigate the various allegations of atrocities of both sides.

The work of the experts on the oil embargo will be pushed on without delay. The promise of speed was due in large measure to Mr. Eden's insistence. Perhaps the most important question practically which they are discussing is transport—in other words, tankers. It is thought that it may be possible to prevent non-League oil reaching Italy by simply refusing the use of tankers owned by League Powers to transport it. Even if the American neutrality proposals bear no fruit, which is most unlikely, the League may not be helpless. A great proportion of the tanker tonnage of the world is owned by Britain and Norway.

At Geneva everyone realises that the League cannot rest on its laurels—or Britain, for that matter. In the Italo-Abyssinian War it has not yet won them. Yet already another dangerous problem claims attention. The ninetieth session of the League Council, which opened on January 20, under the presidency of Mr. Bruce, the delegate of Australia, devoted much time to Danzig. The Free City had been pithily described in League lobbies as "our next mess." An intolerable situation had developed there, through the local Nazi Government over-riding the constitution, which is guaranteed by the League. The Nazis oppress Nationalists, Catholics, Socialists, Communists and Jews alike.

The unconstitutional proceedings of the dominant party in Danzig have been growing more flagrant ever since the Nazi party leader, Albert Forster, had the moderately-disposed President of the Senate ejected

and chased into exile at the end of 1934. The President of the Senate is the head of the City's government.

Repeatedly the present head of the Free City, and puppet of Albert Forster, Herr Greiser, had been brought to Geneva and warned by the Council of the consequences of continued violation of the Constitution; each time he had promised to reform, and each time his promise had not been kept. Now the League High Commissioner in Danzig—Mr. Sean Lester, an Irishman—has made a report to the Council which is an indictment of National Socialist corruption, terrorism, and bad faith.

Herr Greiser was sternly taken to task by Mr. Eden, who is the Council's rapporteur on the subject, and his severe words were echoed by the representative of France. Herr Greiser replied with a speech which made an extremely bad impression; much of it was either insolent or stupid.

After two days of plain speaking in public and anxious negotiation in private a friendly agreement was reached, whose loyal observance in practice will be a real success for the League.

No small part of the credit belongs to Mr. Eden. He dared to use the plainest terms, pointing out firmly

though courteously to the Danzig Senate that it derived its authority from a constitution which is part of the public law of Europe and could not be allowed to destroy Constitutional rights guaranteed to all citizens of Danzig. His candour and goodwill were rewarded. The delegates of other League Members supported him, and the Senate President adopted by stages a more complaisant attitude.

The subjects in dispute were two: (1) The privileged position given to the dominant Nazi party and the extra-legal penalties decreed against any one who opposed the Nazis; and (2) The dismissal of public officials on the ground that they were not Nazis. Under the first head, the President promised to respect the rights of all Danzig citizens; under the second, he agreed to compensate displaced officials. The necessary orders had already been given.

Poland, careful to keep on good terms with Germany, nevertheless made plain her readiness to act in the League's name in Danzig.

Thanks to Mr. Eden another proof has been presented to the world that the League system works when true League methods are employed.

A KING in GREECE

The Greek elections have resulted in the return to the Chamber of 143 Monarchists of various parties and 142 Opposition Liberals and Republicans

LET us pray for a political change to restore the country to the path of economic wisdom, military strength, external equilibrium and domestic peace, which it has abandoned."

With these words the *Eleftheron Vima*, the principal organ of the Republican party in Greece, closed its leading article on New Year's Day, 1935. Its prayer was granted. In the course of the year that followed a political change indeed took place in the country, but the change which of all others the party most opposed and dreaded. The Republican form of government was overthrown and King George of the Hellenes restored to his throne in Athens. Yet on New Year's Day, 1936, the same paper could write:—

"Few years have been so big with surprises as that which is just over; few perhaps have had so happy an ending; 1935 has been the year of the triumphant solution in Greece of the domestic crisis."

It is interesting to examine the course of events which produced in the Republicans so dramatic a change of attitude, and whose latest development was seen on the 26th of last month when all parties without exception participated in the General Election, the first under the restored monarchy, and returned a new House of Representatives to revise the constitution.

The hero of the story is King George II of the Hellenes, son of the late King Constantine and grandson of the founder of the dynasty. The history of the House of Glucksburg may be briefly told. When in 1829 the independent Greek State was recognised by the Sultan of Turkey at the Peace of Adrianople, the three "fairly godmothers" (Great Britain, Russia and France) had to decide upon its form of government. After an abortive experiment with a Republic under a native-born Greek president, the Crown was offered to Prince Otho, son of the King of Bavaria. Otho had both the virtues and the vices of German "thoroughness." Though conscientious and devoted to his adopted country, he alienated sympathy by his rigid supervision of public affairs, drawing upon himself the criticism which should have fallen to his ministers. In 1862 he was compelled to abdicate.

The Crown was then offered (in 1864) by the Powers to George of Glucksburg, second son of Christian IX of

Denmark. George I of the Hellenes had one virtue which Otho had lacked—the gift of tact. He was content to remain dignified in the background, while his subjects, the most politically-minded in the world, played without interference their games of politics. Thus he preserved his throne for forty-nine years, saw the triumphant extension of Greece after the Balkan

By GODFREY E. TURTON

War of 1912, and might have had considerable influence on the European War two years later, if he had not been murdered on March 18, 1913, by a criminal in the streets of Salonika.

His son, Constantine, who succeeded him, did not share his gift. Pro-German in the war, he lost the confidence in the nation, till in 1916 the rebels under M. Venizelos set up a Provisional Government at Salonika. In June, 1917, the King, with the Queen and Crown Prince, had to leave the country. His second son, Alexander, reigned only for three years, dying in 1920 from the bite of a monkey. Constantine was then restored, but the disasters of 1922, when Greece lost her Asiatic provinces to Turkey, completed his unpopularity, and he was expelled again. The Crown Prince succeeded him as George II.

The young king began his reign over a defeated country, in the hands of a revolutionary camarilla. He remained helpless while his father's ministers were shot, and soon afterwards, when even his presence became irksome to the all-powerful generals, was driven into exile. The Republic was proclaimed on March 25, 1924.

Throughout the years that followed Greece was at the mercy of politicians, who themselves were at the mercy of the army. In 1925 General Pangalos, the "vest-pocket Mussolini," set up his short-lived dictatorship. An unstable coalition followed his overthrow, till in 1928 Venizelos returned from abroad, and the Republican party gained office. They held power till 1932, when the "euphemistically named" Populist party of M. Tsaldaris, Royalists under thin disguise, won the election. Their Royalism provoked the

Republicans to armed rebellion in March of last year, but was not sufficiently pronounced for General Condylis—more Royalist even than the King, whom he had consistently thwarted and opposed in 1923.

But the country was utterly weary of the intrigues of politicians and generals. After the ruthless suppression of the rebellion even the Greek love of politics died. The nation looked on with indifference, while Condylis's *coup d'état* in October was followed by a resolution of the "Rump" of the Assembly to recall the king and, on November 3, by a plebiscite so organised that its 97 per cent. vote for the monarchy was a foregone conclusion. Greece no longer cared; one Government was as bad as another.

It was the king himself who awoke his people from this apathy. His proclamation from London on November 5 contained a significant hint of "collaboration." After his triumphal entry into Athens on November 25 he demanded a general amnesty. General Condylis, who opposed it, tendered his resignation—as a matter of form. But the King accepted the resignation and the king-maker was not reinstated. Instead, the amnesty was declared, and Professor Demerdjis invited

to form a temporary government of "neutral personalities," in order that elections might be held and the Constitution revised by a National Assembly truly representative of the nation. This assembly, elected on January 26, will meet on the 12th of next month.

It is interesting to look back at the impression made by this king during his brief reign in 1923 on Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission set up by the League of Nations:—

"I found the King to be a pleasant, but by no means imposing young gentleman. His pleasant smile and unaffected good manners were most attractive. He quickly showed, however, that he was not of kingly mould. The self-confidence of inward power was wholly lacking. Beneath his efforts at self-possession it was easy to perceive that he was a man of uncertain mind and possessed by fear."

A man "of uncertain mind and possessed by fear" could hardly have freed his country from the tyranny of politicians and military "putschists" and restored national unity in the two short months which have sufficed for King George of the Hellenes.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

By C. CLAXTON TURNER

Who has been speaking in Hyde Park on the Union's platform every Sunday for the past three years.

THE full value of open-air meetings can only be achieved if organisers recognise that the normal procedure which is admirable in a hall or at a private garden-party is definitely adverse at street corners and in public places.

The chief advantage of an open-air meeting is that its message can reach the ears of sections of the public whom nothing would induce to enter a hall in which a "pacifist" meeting is being held. The major part of that advantage is forfeited unless casual listeners are so interested by what they hear that they will thereafter regard the League of Nations as an attractive subject instead of as the dull fad they had believed it to be. Otherwise, our indoor meetings will continue to attract merely the same converted audiences over and over again.

One of the commonest errors in the organisation of open-air meetings is to be found in the choice of the pitch. It should be obvious that, as conversion of the unconverted is the primary motive, the meeting must be held within easy earshot of casual passers-by, who have no desire to listen, but who may be induced by what they hear by accident to stop and listen to the remainder. I have frequently found, however, that organisers obstinately insist on holding their meetings in a local park or on a common, even though that place is normally deserted at the time of the meeting (so that none but ready-made supporters can reasonably be expected). The corner of a quiet turning, where the crowd passing along the main street could easily be intrigued, would be infinitely more productive of result, though possibly less aesthetic.

An important difference between indoor and open-air meetings lies in the duties of the chairman. In a hall, the chairman is a very important official throughout the meeting. In the open air, his duties are brief and defined—merely to persuade a nucleus of an audience to gather in readiness to listen to the speaker, and by their presence to call attention to the fact that the meeting is already in progress.

Although the task of the chairman is not showy, his work is most valuable, because it gives to the speaker

the advantage of being able to plunge straight into his address without having to expend energy on obtaining his audience piecemeal.

There can be no hard-and-fast rule as to the point at which the chairman should make way for the speaker, but as soon as from thirty to fifty people have been attracted is a safe general assertion, for any speaker worthy of the name can obtain a large audience from such a start. If, however, a member of the gathering audience tries to put questions, that is definitely the precise moment, and the chairman should in every case leave it to the speaker to handle the questioner. In no case should the chairman indulge in attempts to eulogise the speaker or to recite the speaker's past history and attainments—open-air audiences do not care who or what he is; they can only be interested by what he has to say. Having called upon the speaker briefly by name, the chairman's duties are ended.

An open-air address should resemble one of those portmanteaux we see advertised—if the audience listens quietly, it can occupy half an hour or more; but if the audience be restive, difficult to interest or inclined to interrupt, it must be compressed into a quarter of an hour, or even less, without omitting any of the essential points.

Throughout his address, the speaker must watch for the slightest tendency for members of the audience to shuffle away, and on seeing such signs should at once invite questions as though his address were at an end. The omitted portions can always be incorporated in the replies to questions, and it is more useful to get the points heard in that way than to declaim them to an audience that has departed.

For that reason, the speaker must realise that interrupters, properly handled, are his best friends in spite of themselves. Even on a cold evening, an audience will remain to listen if there seems any likelihood of "fun," and a tentative dissolution of the audience can always be postponed by deliberately "drawing" a heckler into an argument.

A further important point is that no attempt should be made to propose a vote of thanks. When the

speaker feels that all his points have been made, he should close the meeting quietly but firmly, resisting any attempts to prolong the meeting. I have seen many meetings that have been well controlled and interested by the speaker utterly annulled by a well-meaning supporter getting on to the vacated rostrum, thus affording to hecklers, who had been kept in order by the speaker, an opportunity to turn the affair into a riot, merely because a comparatively easy victim had rashly offered himself. Similarly, if would-be hecklers find that the chairman is eager to interpose, they invariably redouble their efforts, in the hope of conveying to the audience the impression that the speaker is incompetent. It is sometimes difficult for a chairman or supporters to realise that a speaker must occasionally "play to the gallery" in order to retain an easily-dispersed audience, and that what may seem to be a piece of trivial byplay or careless handling is really open-air technique. The most essential traits of a successful open-air speaker are knowledge of his subject, a keen sense of humour, ability to sum up the sincerity of questioners and adaptability to the

needs of the moment, and of these latter the speaker alone can judge.

As has been proved in Hyde Park, at Reading, and at Kingston-on-Thames, the best possible results are obtained by regular weekly meetings. Not only do audiences acquire the habit of attending with their unconverted friends, but in addition the speaker becomes closely acquainted with the personal methods of the hecklers, with the further advantage of knowing their motives for opposition.

It has often surprised me that seaside branches have not yet realised that meetings held on the beach on summer evenings near the promenade and pier would ensure huge audiences of potential new members in an excellent mood to be interested by a speaker who could combine amusement and interest with solid information.

In conclusion, and perhaps the most important point of all, the speaker must not allow himself in any circumstances or in response to any provocation whatever to "get rattled" or to lose his temper. Loss of self-control inevitably means loss of control over the audience.

SHELVING THE REFUGEES

READERS of HEADWAY are already familiar with the refugee question in its broad outlines. But before the report of the Committee of International Assistance to Refugees is considered, it is well to recall the situation with which that Committee was faced.

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

The Nansen International Refugee Office is due to be wound up by December 31, 1938; the High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany, from which Mr. James McDonald resigned at the end of December, was not intended to continue beyond January, 1936. The Sixteenth Assembly decided to set up a body of five experts to review the problem and to make proposals for the future organisation of refugee settlement and relief. That committee has now reported to the Council of the League.

The refugees with whom the committee has been concerning itself are not, as so many people imagine, solely, or even primarily, exiles from Germany; 900,000 of them are Russians and Armenians; 80,000 are from Germany. Even if every Jew in Germany were to cross the frontiers they would still only number 500,000,

or a little over half the number of the "Nansen Refugees."

The committee was faced by two major difficulties. In the first place, it was bound by the resolution of the Assembly calling for the liquidation of the Nansen Office by the end of 1938. In the second place, it was aware of the Soviet Government's dislike of the Nansen Office, which it suspects of fostering White Russian propaganda. M. Avenol, the Secretary-General, impressed upon the members of the committee that Russia would oppose any continuance of the Nansen Office or of a League organisation designed to take over its functions. Possibly he was himself not unwilling that the Secretariat should be relieved of the responsibility for the refugees.

The committee, therefore, was well aware of the difficulties which stood in the way of a constructive plan for the refugees. The report begins with a very sympathetic review of the present situation; it pays tribute to the past achievements of the Nansen Office; it recognises the paramount necessity of co-ordinating the work of Governments and charitable organisations. But the proposals in Part III fail lamentably to make any concrete recommendations for carrying on the work for the "Nansen Refugees" when the office shall have ceased to exist.

The proposals of the committee fall into two halves. The first half deals with the temporary measures for carrying on refugee work until the September meeting of the Assembly; the proposals in the second half relate to a "subsequent organisation."

Under Part (1) an "eminent personality" is to be asked to act as President of the Nansen Office—the post has for some time past been vacant. He would hold office only until September, and his task would be to prepare for the winding up of the Nansen Office in a "constructive manner." A second "personality," not specifically "eminent," would be invited to carry on the work of the High Commission for Refugees from Germany for the same period. It would also be his duty to convene an inter-Governmental Conference to consider the legal status of German refugees, and possibly also of the other categories of refugees.

In its recommendations for the future, the committee differentiates between the older categories of refugees



The Nansen Stamps, by the sale of which funds for the Refugees are being raised. It is hoped that all Member States will issue similar stamps in the near future.

who are at present under the Nansen Office and the German refugees. For the refugees from Germany a permanent organisation would be set up and would have financial assistance from the League.

It would consist of representatives of Governments and of charitable organisations, and a person might be appointed as President of its Governing Body, possibly with the title of High Commissioner.

For the Nansen refugees, on the other hand, no permanent arrangements are contemplated. For the three years of life which remain to it the Nansen Office is to prepare to "die constructively."

The office, which was created because it was found quite impossible for Governments and private charities to deal adequately with the refugees, is then to hand over its work to Governments and private charities. The report frequently speaks of the necessity for co-ordination. But it makes no provision for any body to co-ordinate refugee work after 1938.

The experts who appeared before the committee have

THE CATHOLIC TRADITION*

THIS important book, published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace under the auspices of the Catholic Council for International Relations, has been a labour of love, involving much scholarly research and the skilful arrangement of a very large mass of material. It is not only a valuable restatement of one element in Catholic doctrine, but, as the preface says, "a reminder to Catholics of their duty . . . to translate into action the principles of international justice laid down by successive Popes." And without doubt it makes a great, though of course a different, appeal to the interest of those who "do not share the spiritual allegiance of the author."

The course of history has recently brought the Catholic Church into a position of conspicuous importance in world affairs. In proportion as nationalism has become more and more extreme in its claims and its violence, the great non-national, ultramontane, œcumenical Christian society has become more and more the natural exponent of the moral law that is above nations. As the State usurps the place of God, the Catholic Church becomes the most obvious centre of international protest against "that blood-stained idol, the Moloch of our time." The Vatican becomes a protector of liberty. It was, of course, very different in the middle of the nineteenth century, when nationalism was in the main an effort to attain liberty and the Church its determined opponent. It was still more different in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when each Christian church or society was a centre of war. For the present generation at least, while the old habitual champions of justice and freedom, the parties of the Left, the Rationalists, the Quakers, the Liberals, are all with diminished powers doing their best in various separate countries, the Catholic Church stands out as the one fully organised international body which must by its very nature refuse to bow the knee to Baal.

The growth of Catholic doctrine from the early Church, through Augustine, Aquinas, the great casuists, like Suarez, on to Taparelli in 1846, and the Letters and Allocutions of the more recent Popes, especially Benedict XV, forms an impressive historical study. Soldiers are by no means condemned in the New Testament, so long as they oppress no man and are content with their pay; Tertullian thought differently. In the

emphasised that only some central organisation, backed by the authority of the League, would be capable of undertaking the multilateral negotiations with Governments which are necessary if large-scale schemes of emigration are to be arranged. Only a central body could negotiate the loans necessary to finance emigration. Even in the days when millions were being subscribed for refugee work the private charities found the task beyond them. To-day, their resources are, in comparison, negligible. The fact that there are thousands of unemployed refugees congregated in certain countries makes it inconceivable that Governments, unaided, would be capable of conducting their absorption "in situ."

Why has the committee discriminated between its treatment of the German refugees and of those under the Nansen Office? Their problems are practically identical—the main difference being that the problem of the Nansen Refugees is considerably more difficult of solution. The answer has been suggested at the beginning of this article.

Constitutiones Apostolorum, again, soldiers may be admitted to baptism, which is denied to actors and actresses, musicians and the like. Yet there is a general sense of the wickedness of war. A ninth century Pope holds that it is "always satanic in origin." It is only right when "fought at God's command," a point somewhat difficult to ascertain. Aquinas insists on three tests: the authority of a legitimate prince, a

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY

just cause, and a right intention in those who make it. Vittoria, again, while protesting against the absolute pacifism of Tertullian and Luther—who seems to have condemned even resistance to the Turks—considers that "if a subject is convinced of the injustice of a war he ought not to serve in it even at the command of his prince."

From discussions like these a mass of coherent doctrine is gradually formed. Suarez recognises "a general society of peoples"; war is an offence against this society, and it has the right to punish. Taparelli develops the idea of an "ethnarchy" or Society of Nations, and regrets that their normal peaceful relations with one another are so few. (He did not foresee how immensely they would multiply.) The more recent utterances of the Holy See have developed the idea of a positive and active peace, and repudiated the Bismarckian dicta about man being "a fighting animal" and war a normal and proper activity of nations. It follows that an "armed peace" is not a natural state, but unnatural and abnormal. "There is only one absolute in sociology," says Mr. Eppstein: "the relation of brotherhood existing among men, arising from the unity of their nature and the Fatherhood of God."

Neither nations nor individuals nor even churches can be expected always to live consistently up to their principles, but it is an achievement of real international importance to have put before the world this body of noble and closely reasoned doctrine wrought out by generation after generation of great Catholic thinkers and theologians.

* *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, by John Eppstein. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935.)

THE DEMAND FOR COLONIES:

By H. D. DICKINSON
(LEEDS UNIVERSITY)

AGGRESSIONS such as those of Japan in Manchuria and of Italy in Abyssinia are often justified on the grounds that the aggressor nation has within its own territory insufficient natural reserves (minerals or fertile agricultural land) for the requirements of its own people, and that consequently it must obtain additional territory, either for colonisation by an expanding population or as a source of raw materials, or as a market for domestic manufactures. Countries that, like Germany and Italy, lack fertile colonies are contrasted with those possessing large colonial empires as "proletarian" nations, destined, unless they, too, can acquire territory, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the richer countries.

This view rests upon two assumptions. One is that a people is poor because it lacks minerals and fertile agricultural land. The other is that military conquest of mineral-bearing or fertile land will remedy such poverty. It is necessary to examine carefully these two assumptions.

I.

The poverty or wealth of a people depends on a number of factors of which natural resources are only one. As important as natural resources is the manner in which they are used. The example of countries like Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland shows what can be done by a vigorous and efficient people without valuable minerals and with land of low natural fertility.

The factors on which the standard of living of a community depends may be summarised under five heads: personal efficiency; organisation; mechanical equipment; the mode of distribution of wealth; and the relation of population to natural resources.

(1) Personal efficiency is a vital factor in the establishment of a high standard of life. The people of countries which have endured the discipline of modern industry have learnt habits of punctuality and reliability and have become mechanically minded, which raises their productivity and hence their real income. Education, both general and vocational, is one of the best investments that a nation can make. The peoples of Western Europe, North America and Australasia owe much of their prosperity to their public educational systems. (2) Efficient organisation of industry and agriculture enables the best use to be made of available resources by applying the principles of standardisation, of specialisation, and of adaptation of the producing unit to the most economical scale of output. In industry, large-scale enterprise and vertical integration; in agriculture, co-operation for the processing and marketing of products are examples of this. Thus the Danes have compensated by efficient agricultural organisation, as well as by applied science, for the poverty of their soil.

(3) Mechanical equipment is one of the factors governing the standard of life. The people of the United

States have at their disposal more than twice as much power per head as the people of Great Britain; this is one of the most important causes of their higher real income. The Norwegians and the Swiss, lacking coal, have developed their water power and established new industries on this basis, thereby raising their standard of life. The application of scientific knowledge in other ways, such as the breeding of new varieties of animals and plants and the control of diseases and plant pests, comes under this head. How much Canada owes to the discovery of Marquis wheat or tropical America to the control of yellow fever!

(4) The more equally income is distributed, the higher the standard of living of the great majority of the population. Hence the appearance of general well-being that characterises Australia and New Zealand. The presence of a class of rich men, whether landowners, mortgagees, industrial capitalists, fundholders or sinecurists, generally implies poverty at the other end of the scale. Here also we may refer to unproductive use of national wealth; a nation which squanders its resources on armaments and futile colonial wars does so at the expense of its standard of life.

(5) Natural resources must not be taken absolutely; it is the relation between natural resources and population that counts. Below a certain density of population communications are costly and the overhead costs of civilised existence amount to a large sum per head; above a certain density the necessity of having recourse to inferior grades of soil and minerals reduces the average level of well-being. There is thus, for any country with given natural resources, organisation, mechanical equipment, education, scientific knowledge, etc., a certain range of numbers within which the people can enjoy the highest standard of life attainable for them. No people, however well organised or personally efficient, can avoid a fall in its standard of life if it multiplies indefinitely in a given space. Neither emigration nor territorial expansion is a cure for this. These only enlarge the scope of the problem for the nation when it exports its population also exports the habits which make poverty inevitable.

It thus appears that a people need not be poor even if it lacks natural resources. Italy has already done much in the way of developing water-power and of agricultural co-operation. It still has much to do in the way of education. If the Italian government refrained from excessive military expenditure and ceased to encourage the very growth of population that menaces the Italian people's standard of life, there is little doubt that the prosperity of the country would increase without any need for colonial adventures.

II.

We must now examine the contention that the standard of living of a people, whatever it may be, can be raised by the conquest of territory. Territory so acquired may be utilised in five ways: settlement by

Possession or non-possession of colonies has nothing to do with a people's poverty or wealth

nationals of the conquering country; the development of plantations; the exploitation of mines; the establishment of trade monopolies; the export of capital.

(1) Settlement of unoccupied land in the temperate zone is undoubtedly beneficial to European peoples, provided that, once the valuable land is settled, they "cut their coat according to their cloth" in the matter of population. But there can be no question of this in the case of Abyssinia. For one thing the land is already occupied by native peoples, for another the climate is unsuitable for Europeans. Even if the present inhabitants are to be expelled or exterminated to make room for Italian settlers, the whole country will not hold more than a few hundred thousand, to judge by the example of Kenya Colony and North Queensland.

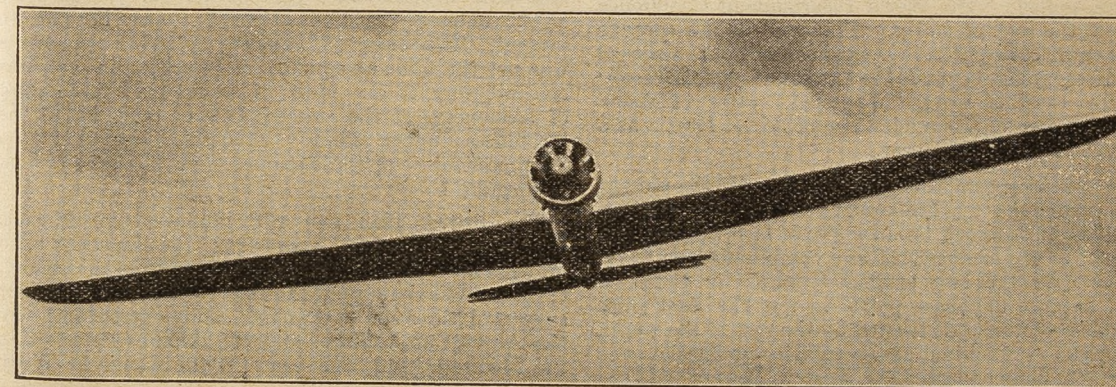
(2-4) If the natives are to be retained on the land to work for the benefit of Italian estate-owners, merchants and officials, it will certainly be to the advantage of these gentry themselves, but will it benefit the Italian people? The establishment of large plantations equipped with European capital and run by white overseers and native labour, exploitation of mines in the same manner, the reserving to Italian nationals of exclusive rights of import and export trade, all these proceedings might enable individual Italians to become rich, but they would not touch the causes of poverty of the Italian people. In the same way the administration of conquered territory creates well-paid posts and the chance of brilliant careers for a few individuals of the ruling classes, but for the bulk of the population it means heavier taxation. "Little" colonial wars also mean (perhaps) glory for the favoured few, but sickness and wounds for the conscript many.

(5) The opening up of opportunities for capital investment in railways, roads, waterworks, mines, etc., in an undeveloped country, where capital is scarce and labour is abundant (with wages correspondingly low), may greatly benefit investors in the controlling country, by checking the tendency to a fall in the rate of profit. But it is likely to react to the disadvantage of the bulk

of the population in the home country, since capital costs will be raised and wages will be lowered by the competition of cheap native labour. Cheap capital is a benefit to the non-capital-owning section of the people. If it is urged that overseas investment creates a market for the product of capital-goods industries that they otherwise lack, the answer is that this is an obvious indication of an uneconomic expansion of these industries, for which the remedy is a writing-off of capital and a transference of labour and other resources to consumption-goods industries or to capital-goods industries producing for the home market.

It thus appears that not only can a people be prosperous with little territory, but that the acquisition of territory by the State is unlikely to benefit the great bulk of the people of a country. Conquest may be accompanied by much talk of winning a place in the sun for an industrious but impoverished people; but in practice the gain, if any, is swallowed up by privileged persons or groups of persons and the sole satisfaction that falls to the people as a whole is that they have pulled chestnuts out of the fire for their more predatory compatriots.

The possession or non-possession of colonies has nothing to do with a people's poverty or wealth. If we classify the countries of Europe into those with a high standard of living and those with a low standard of living, we find that Britain and Holland, which have colonies, stand in the first category together with Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which have none; that Italy and Spain, which have no colonies to speak of, stand in the second category with Portugal which has colonies; that the Spanish people did not become poorer after 1898, when Spain lost her richest colonies, than they had been before 1898; and that the German people so far survived the loss of their colonies in 1919 as to have achieved by 1928 a standard of living for the masses at least equal to that of victorious France, with all her possessions—if the German people are now poorer than they were it is not due to the enemy *outside* her gates.



The New Vickers Super Warplane, which it is declared could be riddled with bullets without collapsing.

NAVAL ARMAMENTS and POLICY

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

THE Washington Treaty, 1922, which Japan denounced in 1934, and the London Treaty, 1930, both expire at the end of 1936. For four years the international situation, first in the Far East, then in Europe, steadily deteriorated. As a result, a new armaments race has begun, with Himalayan budgets and hot-house crops of national fears and complexes. Where is it to end?

The aim of the present London Conference, which sat from December 9 to 20 and reopened on January 6, has been to stop the deadly slide into the anarchy of uncontrolled naval construction. Yet it was collected with great difficulty, mainly thanks to the perseverance of the British Government.

The crux of the whole matter has been and still is profound differences of national policy. For armaments are still the instrument of national policy in a world of Sovereign States. Success for any Disarmament Conference rests on previous agreement on policy. On the eve of the Washington Conference, 1921, the situation was almost as appalling as to-day. An armaments race, starting in the Pacific, had spread to Europe. Three years after the bloodiest and costliest war in history, the three chief Naval Powers were already committed to spend £320 millions on capital ships, while completion of existing programmes of capital ships, auxiliary craft and harbour works must have meant a minimum outlay of (£)500 millions. But because agreement was reached first on policy in the Nine Power and other Treaties, the Conference was able to cut the throat of this Gadarene expenditure and limit the main categories of naval armaments. The European group, Great Britain, France, and Italy, were set on a policy of peace. The Pacific group, Great Britain, the United States and Japan, agreed to a common policy in the Far East—the maintenance of the integrity of China and the “open door” therein, with “equality of security” in naval strength. The latter was brought about by stabilising the existing naval strength of the Five Powers on a ratio 5:5:3:1.75:1.75—and, more vital perhaps, since it meant moral disarmament, by a self-denying ordinance demilitarising all the seas between the main naval bases of Hawaii, Singapore, and Japan.

The London Naval Conference, 1930, had only partial success because France and Italy could agree on no common policy. The World Disarmament Conference broke on the rock of policy. France could not concede armaments equality to Germany without political guarantees going beyond the Covenant and Locarno: Germany tired of being “disarmed,” after 14 years’ waiting, in face of the sudden rise of Soviet Russia as a great military and air power.

Were the prospects, then, any brighter for the present Naval Conference? Preliminary conversations, 1934, had ended in deadlock because Japan insisted first and foremost, to the exclusion of any compromise, on naval equality with the two leading Powers; in terms of policy, because Japanese policy in the Far East since 1931 was profoundly distrusted by the rest of the world. That Japan already had ample security under the ratio system was plain enough; the Western Powers had been quite unable to prevent her practical annexation of Manchuria and parts of Northern China. What reason

other than further “aggression” could there be for demanding more, what was, in fact, “superiority” in the Pacific? Yet until the adjournment (December 20) things went smoothly enough. The Conference discussed quantitative limitations first; qualitative limitation, on which all the delegations had proposals, was to follow. A full examination was given to two plans, the Japanese and the British. The Japanese raised no objection to this procedure.

The Japanese demanded parity in total tonnage—in plain words, mathematical equality with other Powers. The ratio system, an insult to national prestige, they said, must go. There should be a distinction between “offensive” categories—i.e., capital ships, aircraft carriers, and “A” cruisers, to be severely restricted if not abolished—and “defensive” categories—i.e., “B” cruisers, destroyers, submarines, etc. But for these last a “common upper limit” should be fixed, in relation to the highest minimum demand of any major Power. For example, if Great Britain insisted on a particular number of any kind of vessel, Japan would demand the right to build up to it, though she might not necessarily do so, but use the tonnage thus left over in some other category. Within this “common upper limit,” open to all Powers, there would be room for “adjustments.” By establishing in this way the principles of non-menace and non-aggression, their proposals, the Japanese insisted, would preserve lasting peace.

The British plan recognised that the *existing* ratios must go, in view of the hostility of Japan and the dissatisfaction of France and Italy, whose navies, as regards auxiliary vessels, were very different now from what they were in 1921. But it proposed to rule out an armaments race and limit armaments by means of a system of unilateral and voluntary exchange of information on details of future naval construction till the close of 1942.

The Japanese plan made no converts. The division into “offensive” and “defensive” categories was criticised as quite unreal and impracticable. The responsibilities of Powers, it was pointed out, varied enormously. The United States had an Atlantic and Pacific “front”; France an Atlantic and Mediterranean, besides a Colonial Empire. Great Britain, apart from a threatening situation in Europe likely at any time to immobilise part of her Navy, had some 85,000 miles of communications, her very life-line, to protect. This being so, equality of naval armaments was not the same as equality of security; in fact, was contradictory to it. More, it would lead to increase of armaments if the smaller Powers built up to the “common upper limit.” Finally, were not the “adjustments” of the Japanese plan the ratio system in disguise?

The British plan met with approval in principle from the delegations, apart from the Japanese, who hinted that it reintroduced the ratio system in disguise. Criticism was mainly on the score of duration. France suggested three or two years; Italy, preoccupied by the Abyssinian venture, and the dubious situation in the Mediterranean, one year. Both would be ready with detailed plans shortly.

The Conference adjourned from December 20 to

January 6. The centre of gravity shifted to Tokyo, where the Japanese Navy once more took a hand in affairs, in defiance of the Civil Government. Nothing else can explain the immediate hardening of the Japanese attitude when the Conference reassembled. Waving aside any further discussion of the British plan, or subsequently of qualitative disarmament, they threatened to leave the Conference unless a decision was reached then and there on their own plan. No self-respecting conference can expect to survive if it yields because a pistol is put to its head. On January 15 the Japanese walked out of the Conference.

The situation can be summed up thus. Other Powers have been willing to discuss proposals brought into a common pool. Japan throws a bomb into the Conference, insisting that before anything else is done her plan must be accepted. The key to this controversy lies in the Anglo-American-Japanese triangle. Broadly speaking, Great Britain and the United States are satisfied with the Washington principles of stabilisation of naval strengths and peace. Japan appears to be aiming at the partition of China. What bridge can there be between these two policies? Has not Japan herself destroyed it by breaking the Nine-Power Washington Treaty and the Kellogg Pact and the Covenant, and cutting herself off from the whole post-war peace

system founded on the principles of the League of Nations?

The Conference, of course, goes on. There is no manner of doubt it can still achieve real results in two directions, intercommunication of naval construction plans, and restriction of size and gunpower of the various categories of ships. The most urgent problem is to stop a race in capital ship construction. Here, most delegations are already in favour of smaller size. But a plan which has more to recommend it is a return to Washington principle of stabilisation by increasing the life of capital ships by six years. It is obvious that the expensive modernisation applied to so many of these ships cannot qualify them for the scrap heap immediately they reach the over-age limit, as many shortly will do.

But if the Conference is not to be a modest interim meeting, it will also have to face up to two further questions. Does Japan's denial of the Washington Treaty restore the right to build new naval bases in the Pacific? And how is the collective system, which represents the alternative to a frank return, such as Japan's, to a “Power system,” to be galvanised into reality, by linking it up with common naval action and, through this, with concrete measures of disarmament?



From the Arms Inquiry:—

POISON:

The Chairman of Messrs. Vickers admitted that their new anti-aircraft gun, which “in competition with the gun manufacturers of the world has proved its pre-eminence,” has been sold to foreign nations, and that our own Government can “if it wishes” also obtain this gun.

ANTIDOTE:

The fact that our Government could “also” acquire it is not calculated to comfort our British airmen who, in the event of war, might be brought down by Messrs. Vickers’ “pre-eminent” guns.

POISON:

The Chairman of Vickers claimed that, if armaments manufacture were restricted to the State, “the State would lack the advantage of supplying an export trade.”

ANTIDOTE:

But it would gain the greater advantage of not having to cope with the armaments sold to other countries by British firms.

POISON:

The same gentleman said that the principal interest of Messrs. Vickers “is in making warships and instruments of war,” and added that “to assume that we are anxious to see them used in war is carrying it too far.”

ANTIDOTE:

Slightly to paraphrase Shakespeare, “The sale's the thing!”

POISON:

In further evidence, Sir Herbert Lawrence stated that “after a prolonged peace” most armaments of war-time production “would be obsolete.”

ANTIDOTE:

Evidently armaments manufacturing firms do public service by ensuring that the development of armaments is not allowed to halt even in peace time!

POISON:

In reply to a question as to whether the general efficiency of his firm has “greatly enhanced the standard and quantity of arms in the world,” Sir Herbert replied that he did not think the quantity had necessarily been raised.

ANTIDOTE:

If the firm has sold one armament which would not have otherwise been purchased, “the quantity” has been raised!

POISON:

Asked whether he had very much doubt in his own mind that a great deal of bribery goes on, Sir Charles Craven replied: “I do not think any goes on which would create alarm.”

ANTIDOTE:

A cancerous person seldom feels alarm until the disease has been definitely diagnosed, but that does not mean that he is healthy.

POISON:

Sir Charles Craven expressed his opinion that armaments are not “more dangerous than chocolates or candy” and volunteered a little anecdote to the effect that whilst he “once nearly lost an eye with a Christmas cracker,” he had never undergone such a risk with a gun.

ANTIDOTE:

There is no tendency towards an international competition in chocolates or candy, nor do those articles arouse international suspicion. Incidentally, our Home Office has not yet issued circulars on anti-cracker drill!

C. C. T.

BOOK NOTICES

Man and the Sea. By Dr. J. Holland Rose. (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Holland Rose has placed his many readers under another heavy debt of gratitude with his last fascinating book. Only he could have written it. It covers a vast range of time of some three thousand years, from the war of Troy to the suppression of the slave trade, and it follows the wanderings of seafarers of every race in every corner of the globe. Not even a specialist in sea history will put down "Man and the Sea" without having learnt a score of valuable lessons or having seen a new light directed upon a hundred difficult topics.

In all Dr. Holland Rose's work three shining merits are conspicuous. Never have they been displayed to more notable advantage than now. He has an unflinching sense of the vital issue. He eschews all padding. He bears always in mind the realities behind the documents. Man's conquest of the sea has played an essential part in his conquest of civilisation. The struggle with the sea has steeled man to endure and has taught him to accept no near horizon and not to rest content until he has explored to its furthest limits the wide prospect of the whole world.

Dr. Holland Rose is equally at home with the Carthaginian navigators of Africa, with Vikings who fought their way in open row boats through Arctic storms to Iceland, Greenland, and the American Continent, with the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and English of the great age of discovery, with Tasman and Cook and their fellow voyagers

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the peoples of Malay stock who traversed the vast Pacific in their canoes and made new homes for themselves in a thousand islands. Incidentally, it is a matter of just pride for an English reader that Drake, Dampier and Cook should cut such handsome figures in the story, both for their personal quality and for their lasting services to mankind.

Dr. Holland Rose is an exceptional sea historian for the range and variety of his learning. He is unique for his interest in technical matters. Nothing could be better than the convincing fashion in which he links up the exploration of the globe with the growth of seaworthiness in the vessels which were the explorers' instruments. Man was a long time before he found out how he could keep his ship steady before the wind and still longer before he penetrated the secret of sailing into the wind.

A word must be given to the publisher. "Man and the Sea" is admirably illustrated, and not less admirably printed.

Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy. Volume I. By G. P. Gooch. (Longmans, 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Gooch's latest book is recent history written in a new way. No historian is better equipped to win a complete success with subject and treatment. The range of Dr. Gooch's knowledge is immense; his mastery of detail is even a little frightening; he adds

to his unique learning an exceptional candour of mind. His readers may sometimes dissent from his judgments: they can never doubt his fairness.

"Before the War" tells a convincingly concrete story of the relations between the European Great Powers. It is made up of five chapters, each devoted to a Foreign Minister. They are not character studies, though character plays a great part in them. Each is a monograph on a fateful policy—in each the man himself, the country he served, its permanent needs, and its temporary objects are all given their due place, throwing light upon and explaining one another.

The five Ministers are Lansdowne, Delcassé, Bülow, Iswolsky, and Aehrenthal. Dr. Gooch says:—

"All of them were men of ability, none of them were supermen. Some worked for change, others for the maintenance of the *status quo* according to their reading of the interests entrusted to their charge. All played the same game of *Machtpolitik* with different degrees of skill and success. Nobody dreamed of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and the rattle of the sword was never far away, for Europe was nothing but a geographical expression, and there were no recognised rules of the game. The haunting dangers of international anarchy were seldom envisaged, and no sustained attempt to remove them was made."

The English reader may feel that his own country comes not badly out of a comparison with others. Lord Lansdowne was intelligent, brave, honourable. He gave thought to the common good. In his dealings with Macedonia, for example, he strove hard and long and ran grave risks in order to obtain for the bewildered and tormented subjects of

Turkey reasonable security and liberty. But the conduct even of Britain was very far from irreproachable.

There came a time during Lansdowne's term of office when Great Britain, France and Germany, with perhaps the active help of Russia, might have built the Bagdad railway and developed Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in an equal partnership. Such a partnership might, further, have been the beginning of a new age, in which the Great Powers, instead of standing aloof and suspicious, could all have worked for the benefit of all. The chance was missed. The Cabinet of that day placed the blame on the hostility which the British people were beginning to feel towards an aggressive Germany; a glance backward from the vantage point of to-day shows that the Cabinet did not see the supreme value of friendly co-operation in a great constructive task.

The absence of genuinely constructive ideas is the weakness of all the five national policies which Dr. Gooch expounds. The old diplomacy worked to avert war in specific cases, but it worked under a general assumption that war, sooner or later, was inevitable; and, almost as a matter of course, it brought the possibility of war into many of its negotiations. Its rivalries gave exaggerated importance to objects of no moment and stirred up quarrels on essentially fictitious issues.

The world to-day has begun to estimate peace at its just price and to construct a system for preserving peace.

THE DEMAND for COLONIES
A Report for the Economic
Committee of the L.N.U.
 on
TERRITORIAL EXPANSION
OVER-POPULATION
RAW MATERIALS
 by
LIONEL BIRCH
 from the
UNION BOOK SHOP, 6d.

Essays in Honour of Gilbert Murray. By eighteen contributors. (Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.)

Professor Murray's friends are a multitude; a little group of them have paid him on his seventieth birthday a tribute which does honour to the man himself and to the causes for which he has spent his life—to scholarship, to poetry, to Oxford, to world peace.

Even readers who know Professor Murray well, and are familiar with his versatility, must feel some surprise as they turn over these essays at the many-sided activities they record. His mastery of the Classics and his vitalising influence upon the great honours school, which is Oxford's special glory, would be labour enough and fame enough for most men of high gifts and tireless industry. In his translations of Greek tragedy Professor Murray did a splendid and unique service to the unlearned many. He caused tens of thousands of English-speaking men and women to know and rejoice in thoughts and beauties which, without his mediation, would have remained for ever beyond their reach. Some forty thousand copies each have been sold of his versions of "The Trojan Women" and other plays of Euripides. Dame Sybil Thorndike, in a burst of passionate sincerity, gives glowing expression to a gratitude which is an army whose lives he has enriched.

What Professor Murray has accomplished as poet and playwright would suffice to crowd a lifetime with success. But still spending himself for the common good, he has devoted more than twenty years of his middle life to create a system of world relations which shall save peace for mankind. Professor Murray was one of the initiators of the League. Already in the dark days of the World War he was at work. He has been at work ever since serving the League and the Union. A man with endless calls upon his time and strength, he has continued through the years his unstinted service, month by month, week by week, almost day by day. Supporters of the League, members of the Union have often and gladly recognised that they owe him much. How great is their debt very few of them know. Some part of the story is told in Lord Cecil's tribute, some in the tributes of Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, and other writers, in the birthday volume.

When League and Union command such devotion from such a man as Professor Murray, can there be doubt of their ultimate triumph?

OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

Public Finance, 1928-1935. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.1.) Price 15s.

A series of separate parts, or chapters, one for each State. The first collection of chapters has just been issued, the others will be supplied as they are published. This procedure has been adopted in order to avoid delay in publishing those chapters already prepared. The period under review for each country begins with the financial year 1928 or 1928-29, and will end with the last year—1935, or later in the great majority of cases—for which information is available.

Organisation of Juvenile Courts and the Results Attained Hitherto. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. IV.5), 151 pages. Price 4s.

Published by the League of Nations, in collaboration with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

Minutes of the First Session, October 11-19, 1935. (Special Supplement No. 145 to the "Official Journal"). 155 pages. Price 6s.

Dispute between Ethiopia and Italy: (Co-ordination of Measures under Article 16 of the Covenant).—Co-ordination Committee, Committee of Eighteen and Sub-Committees.

THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
YEAR BOOK, 1936
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Readers of HEADWAY who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school. Applications should be addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219M), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8. The great demand for literary work at the present day is indicated by a professional author and journalist in the following article on *The New Writer's Chance*.

If you can write an entertaining letter there is the prospect of your being able to devote your spare time to a hobby that is not only the most interesting of all, but is highly remunerative—writing "free-lance" articles and short stories for the Press. There are editors in London who find it very difficult to get the right material to print.

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If you are one of those with the urge to write you cannot do better than communicate with the Principal, explaining your case, and he will consider you, not necessarily as a prospective student, but as a potential writer. If you are not, he will tell you so, and in either case there is no obligation.

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 (BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

READERS' VIEWS

(Letters for publication are only invited subject to curtailment if rendered necessary by exigencies of space.)

AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

SIR,—One of the main supports of a military dictatorship is its ability to shut out information and criticism from abroad by banning foreign newspapers and by internal censorship. Thus, with a few exceptions, only Italians who can understand broadcasts in one or more foreign languages get anything from outside. Here is an argument for an international auxiliary language. Were broadcasts of news, etc., in Esperanto general the power of a dictator to shut-out information would be much reduced.

It is high time that a serious move was made at Geneva in this matter. Man has made wonderful progress in scientific discovery, but to enable him to reap the fruits of his inventions it is necessary to facilitate the exchange of ideas. Esperanto was favourably reported upon by the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the report in question was adopted by the Third Assembly. Steps should be taken to get this secondary language taught in the primary schools of all League countries.

C. J. KITCHING.

Purley, Surrey.

MILITARY SANCTIONS

SIR,—As a convinced adherent of the League of Nations and a loyal member of the L.N.U., I am anxious that both should "make haste slowly." It is of the first importance that the League should be "kept in being," whatever complications may arise.

The ideal would be an all-inclusive League with an international police force to make effective its decisions against an aggressor nation. But the actual conditions are very different. Of the seven "Great Powers" of the world, three are outside, and one (Italy) is an "aggressor nation" still within the League. That is a state of affairs never contemplated by the framers of the Covenant. That fact should be faced.

The refusal of the American Senate in 1920 to honour the signature of President Woodrow Wilson was a terrible blow to the nascent League from which it has never fully recovered. Subsequent secessions have further weakened it. Yet even a truncated League is surely justified in vindicating its authority in the present crisis by every restraint short of military sanctions.

But, in all the circumstances, is not the L.N.U. going too far in requesting the Government to be prepared, if necessary, "to join in cutting Italy's communications with Africa"? That would be an act of war; and with three of the "Great Powers" among the dissatisfied nations, that act to end war might easily issue in another world conflagration in which the League would probably be overwhelmed.

A year ago General Smuts—true friend of the League and far-seeing statesman—in meeting the contention of those who held that the League must fail because force had not been used to restrain Japan in Manchuria, said his answer was two-fold: "In the first place, I cannot visualise the League as a military machine. It was not conceived or built for that purpose; it is not equipped for such functions. And if the attempt were now made to transform it into a military machine, into a system to carry on war for the purpose of preventing or ending war, I think its fate is sealed. I cannot conceive the Dominions remaining in such a League, and pledging themselves to fight the wars of the Old World; and if the Dominions leave it, Great Britain is bound to follow."

We may not all go the lengths of General Smuts in his aversion to the use of force under any circumstances, but under present world-conditions his words should be

pondered, and no risks should be run that might issue in the destruction of the League. Its emergence was the only valuable salvage of the Great War. Its continued existence, even though it can function but imperfectly, is of vital importance. If it were destroyed, could it be resuscitated? Every passing year helps to create a tradition and to consolidate its existence. It would be folly to force the pace and so bring about a catastrophe.

In most cases, it took centuries to evolve the reign of law within a nation. Is it reasonable to expect the evolution of the reign of law among the nations of the earth within a couple of decades? Whilst we work persistently within our means, let us be patient and avoid unnecessary risks, then we shall help to secure for our war-cursed world a permanent "Parliament of Men" and an abiding "Federation of the World."

D. HENRY REES.

St. Leonards-on-Sea.

WHY MORE ARMS?

SIR,—As a Branch secretary, the following question is often put to me by members. They have a right to think that a definite opinion should be made clear in HEADWAY.

The Government constantly tell the public that they will not undertake, on their own initiative, any action, military or otherwise. Why then must we be asked for more taxation for armaments? Surely there are enough armaments in a combination of nations to hold in check the aggressor?

Does the Union agree with this Governmental cry for more armaments even at the present moment?

ELLEN JOHNSON.

Cadishead Moss, Manchester.

DO NOT USE FORCE

SIR,—As a regular reader of HEADWAY and a member of the L.N.U., I am asking that you will be so good as to allow me to state briefly the Christian Pacifist case in regard to sanctions. The points I make will, I know, meet with strong objections, any of which I shall be pleased to answer.

I believe that the only laws we can obey are those outlined by our Lord, including the one which says: "As I have loved you . . . love one another." The action taken by Italy must, of course, be condemned by all Christian people, but the imposition of sanctions can in no way be reconciled with the law of love to all men. Peace can only be brought about by our living Christian lives and accepting suffering in the same spirit as it was accepted by Christ—by forgiveness.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST.

Leicester.

"THE FINEST JOB"

SIR,—I had occasion to visit the Schoolboys' Exhibition, adjoining the Imperial Institute, at Kensington, on Wednesday, January 8.

I was surprised to see that three of the stands were devoted to prominent displays by the Army, Navy and Air Force. In particular, I was impressed by the display of a poster on the Army Stand worded: "The Finest Job in the World."

It seems to me very unfair that advertisements of this kind, designed to attract boys to the fighting forces, should be displayed to boys at an impressionable age. It is misleading to use the title "Schoolboys' Exhibition" to shelter such propaganda.

N. R.

Southfields, S.W.18.

THE AIR PROBLEM

SIR,—We may well agree with Lord Eustace Percy's dictum, in his article "The Air Problem," in June HEADWAY, that advocates of disarmament, both official and unofficial, have sometimes become immersed in details before settling principles. But his "twin principles" are themselves but details.

To live in peace is our principle. The creation of peace based on law and order is our problem. For the maintenance of law and order police guardianship is necessary, both nationally and internationally. Confidence in international guardianship will give us the "corollary" of national disarmament, even as confidence in similar guardianship has given us personal disarmament within a nation.

Our first duties, then, are the creation of international law and a police to maintain that law. An efficient international police must be an air police, and to ensure that efficiency complete control of all aviation must be in international hands. (It is here that the "twin principles" find their place in a comprehensive plan of guardianship.) The destructive power of aviation is such, that in national hands it is an immediate menace to all other nations within range. The destructive power of mechanised armies is second only to that of aviation. We must remove the first menace, and of that same air power create a guardianship against all armed invasion.

In referring to the Italian and French proposals, Lord Eustace presupposes an inefficient international control of civil aviation, and then presents us, naturally enough, with difficulties. Given complete internationalisation of all aviation in Europe, the difficulties diminish. It is technically practicable to constitute an Air Police for Europe which it would be national suicide to challenge, and at the same time forbid to that Air Police all punitive and retaliatory action.

Punishment and retaliation are the weapons of the weak. The strong can restrain without such weapons. And to those who have set themselves to work out this problem, nothing stands out more clearly than this: If nations will make a full surrender of the claim to national sovereignty in the air, and will use air power in full strength as an international guardianship, then armed invasion will be a hopeless attempt; and if attempted, can be stopped without the cruelty of retaliation or punishment.

But if nations will not make the necessary sacrifice of sovereignty, will not pay the price of petty national pride, there can be no secure guardianship, there will be no disarmament, and no peace better than an armed truce.

ROB. N. LAWSON.

Hillside, Northam, North Devon.

"NON-ARYANS" IN COLONIES

SIR,—I wonder what Mr. Richard de Bary would do with what Hitler is pleased to call "Non-Aryans," with the native races of the former German colonies which he recommends should be returned to Germany? Are they to be "killed off," starved, deprived of their settlements? Mr. Macdonald has again revealed to us the persistent penalties and expatriation of all Jews and other "Non-Aryans" from Germany. If he can, Hitler will purge, in like manner, the native, and even the English, from the colonies Mr. R. de Bary proposes to give back to Germany. Even an enlarged Mandate Commission would scarcely prevent such a result.

WM. J. PEARCE.

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CERTAINTY AMID UNCERTAINTY

The New Year opened amid uncertainty—uncertainty in international politics, uncertainty in the economic world, uncertainty in domestic affairs, uncertainty in the religious outlook; and the question is upon many lips: Where can we find certainty in an uncertain world?

The Bible sounds a sure and certain note amid the fitful cries of the modern world. In place of our vague surmises the Bible proclaims the eternal Truth of God, and in response to our search for light and leading the Bible holds forth the Light of the World.

The Bible Society sends out this Book to the ends of the earth; and millions of men and women of many nationalities are reading it in their own language and finding in it that certainty for which their hearts crave.

"For ever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven."

Gifts may be sent to the Secretaries,

BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,
146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

HERE AND THERE

"Special Mention" in this month's "News Sheet" has not been achieved by any individual Branch, but has been devoted to general appreciation of the way in which Branches everywhere spontaneously dealt with the proposed Hoare-Laval Peace Plan.

The preliminary programme of 1936 Travel, Camps and Summer Schools can now be obtained from headquarters. It includes detailed information about the Easter School, Geneva visits in June, August and September (including the Junior Summer School for boys and girls and the World Youth Congress), a visit to the U.S.A., the Nansen Pioneer Camps, and numerous other activities. The 1936 School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs will be held at Wills' Hall, University of Bristol, when a course of lectures and discussions on the major international problems of the day will be offered. The fee for five days' residence, from April 9 to April 14, has been fixed at 3½ guineas. Early application is desirable.

Attention is drawn to the Nansen Pioneer Expedition to Holland, which will leave London on Tuesday, April 14, and will return on Friday, April 24. Membership of the party is open to Nansen Pioneers who are 15 years of age or over and who have attended one or more of the Nansen Pioneer Camps which have been held at Godhill or Overstone Park. If, however, there should be any vacant places owing to insufficient registrations from past members of Nansen Pioneer Camps a limited number of applications will be accepted from pioneers who have not attended any of the camps. Early application for all places is essential.

The itinerary will include visits to the Hook of Holland, Amsterdam, Alkmaar, — to see the cheese market—Haarlem and Zandvoort, where a visit will be paid to a bulb farm—Leyden, The Hague—where a study will be made of the Permanent Court of International Justice—and Delft. While in Holland the party will stay in Youth Hostels, which are large, clean, and very well run.

The inclusive cost of travel (starting from and returning to London), meals and accommodation, will be 6 guineas.

Pioneers wishing to join the expedition should send their names, ages, and addresses, together with a statement from their parents or guardians that they are willing for them to do so, to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, as soon as possible, and in no case later than **March 1**, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for reply.

OVERSEAS NOTES

The usual spring meetings of the Executive and Permanent Committees of the **International Federation of League of Nations Societies** will be held at the headquarters of the Federation in Geneva from February 22 to 25, 1936.

Iran

The general meeting of the Iranian League of Nations Association was held at the Faculté de Droits et des Sciences Politiques, Teheran, on Thursday, November 21, 1935, and was attended by over 200 people.

The Annual Conference of the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION is the Industrial Parliament of the World

It meets in June. It is attended by representatives of governments, employers, and workers from over 50 countries. This year, amongst the subjects with which it will deal, are:

Shorter Hours of Work.
Recruiting of Native Labour.
Holidays With Pay.
Safety of Building Workers.
For particulars of L.N.U. party which will leave London on June 13, apply 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Fee (for travel both ways, and one week's full accommodation in Geneva) 11½ guineas. Every facility to follow every stage of the proceedings is given to L.N.U. visitors.

After the opening speech by M. Esfandiari, President of the Association, in which he outlined the aims of the association, the Secretary, Dr. Matine Daftary, gave an account of its work; during the past year several lectures had been held and the secretary had himself given several addresses. Requests for lecturers were still coming in.

Dr. Daftary also told his audience about the Peace Ballot recently held in Great Britain.

France

The General Assembly and Congress of the Association of "La Paix par le Droit" was held at Marseilles from December 27—29, 1935, when resolutions were passed on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, an International Police Force, Commissions of Inquiry into the Private Manufacture of Arms, Redistribution of Raw Materials, Suggestions for Co-ordination of Peace Efforts, and the Problem of over-populated countries.

The following leaflet, for "distribution and wide circulation," has been issued by the Paris Branch (90,000 members) of the Ligue des Mères et des Educatrices pour la Paix:—

Les Anglais viennent de montrer comment un grand peuple, loyal, libre et pacifique impose sa volonté à son gouvernement.

O CHER PEUPLE DE FRANCE! Ne feras-tu pas, toi aussi, entendre ta grande voix loyale, libre et pacifique à ton gouvernement, aux saboteurs de la Société des Nations, aux suppôts de Mussolini, à tous ceux qui veulent te déshonorer et te pousser sans amis à l'abîme?

Jette donc aux Nations qui l'attendent TON GRAND CRI LIBERATEUR:

POUR LA PAIX, LA JUSTICE ET L'HONNEUR PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS.

New Zealand

In the annual report of the Auckland Branch of the New Zealand League of Nations Union, the secretary, Mr. C. E. Archibald, states that the year just ended has been an exceedingly active one. Many new members have been enrolled and a financial deficit has been converted into a credit balance. The membership of the Branch now stands at 1,096 members, with 35 lodges enrolled as corporate members. The eight luncheon talks held during the past year were well attended, but the attendance at the lectures held at the libraries was not up to expectations. The policy of bringing the work of the League of Nations to the notice of churches, clubs, institutes, etc., was continued with great success, speakers being supplied on 60 occasions. In sympathy with the great Youth Movement campaign in Great Britain, a sub-committee was set up and has made satisfactory progress in assisting to spread a knowledge of the League of Nations among young people.

Johannesburg.

The arrangements for "Peace Week" organised by the Johannesburg League of Nations Union, in November, 1935, included a public meeting on November 18, held in the City Hall and addressed by two members of the League of Nations Secretariat—Dr. R. Gautier, of the Health Section; and Mr. Duncan Hall, of the Information Section. Other arrangements were "Peace Sunday," on November 10, when the clergy and ministers preached on peace; and a "Women's Witness for Peace" at the Cenotaph, in Johannesburg, on November 11, in addition to special addresses given on the same day to schools.

WELSH NOTES

On December 20 a large gathering, representing all sections of the community in Wales and Monmouthshire, assembled at the City Hall, Cardiff, for the National Presentation to the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies, President of the Welsh Council, in recognition of his great services to Wales and in particular to the cause of World Peace. The Lord Mayor of Cardiff presided.

In commemoration of the foundation of the League of Nations, a Special Service was conducted by the Dean of Llandaff, The Very Rev. D. J. Jones, M.A., at St. John's Parish Church, Cardiff, on January 10. The Civic authorities arranged for the floodlighting, on the same evening, of the Welsh National War Memorial, in Cathays Park, Cardiff.

At a meeting of the Women's Advisory Committee of the Welsh Council at Aberystwyth, Mrs. S. E. Davies, M.B.E., J.P., was unanimously elected chairman upon the resignation of Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths. A warm tribute was paid to the retiring chairman for the invaluable services rendered by her during her period of office.

Many of the 1,000 centres, which it is hoped will ultimately participate in the campaign to enrol 100,000 new members, have already made good progress, and in some places every helper who volunteered to assist with the Peace Ballot has again joined the new canvass.

I.L.O. CONFERENCE

Tickets can now be obtained for the Lecture Conference on the I.L.O. and World Planning which will be held on February 18, 19 and 20 at the London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych. Among the principal speakers on the Tuesday will be Professor Murray, Sir Malcolm Delevigne, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., Mr. L. S. B. Leakey, Major Orde Browne, Lady Hall and Viscount Cecil; on Wednesday, Mr. A. A. H. Findlay, Mr. Graham Hutton, Professor J. H. Richardson, Lord Strabolgi, the Earl of Lytton, Mr. J. H. Richardson and Mr. W. S. Thatcher; and on the final day Miss Margaret Bondfield, Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders, Dr. Kuczynski, Captain L. H. Green, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins and Sir Daniel Hall. Application for tickets, which are free, should be addressed to the Secretary of the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments:—

For 1934:—

Houghton-le-Spring.

For 1935:—

Addlestone, Albury, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Aldbourne, Arnside, Ashted, Avonmouth, Bratton, Braintree, Brigstock, Brampton, Burnside, Bentham, Byfield, Blakesley, Bugbrooke, Burgess Hill, Bury St. Edmunds, Burnham (Bucks.), Bristol (St. Marks), Blyth, Birmingham (Stratford Road), Beaconsfield, Buckingham, Bridgewater, Bude, Bovey Tracey, Bakewell, Bishopston, Biddulph, Basingstoke, Brixham, Braunton, Blandford, Betchworth, Blackheath and Chilworth, Bletchingley, Byfleet and Pyrford, Bishop Auckland, Bruton, Bedminster Parish Church, Bristol District, Bromyard, Cottenham, Corfe Mullen, Cunnor, Cotes, Coombe, Chester, Congleton, Cartmel, Clayton-le-Moors, Chorley, Croston, Coniston, Camberley, Capel, Catherham, Clanton, Cobham, Chopwell, Clacton, Chesham, Chippenham, Church Stretton, Consett, Clevedon, Cleckheaton and Spensborough, Melbourne (Congregational Church), Cambridge, Dorchester, Dartmouth, Dalston, Dorking, (Victoria Street), Derby, Darlington, Downley, Dewsbury, Dunster, Diss, Durham, Egham, Elstead, Epsom, Ewhurst, Eton, Ewdmoor, Evesham, Eaking, Exeter, Eye, East Grinstead, Farthingstone, Fleetwood, Funtington, Finedon, Farland, Filey, Great Horton, Gomersal, Gasmere, Gerrards Cross, Gretton, Gillingham (Dorset), Godalming, Godstone, Great Bookham, Guildford, Holt, Hurstpierpoint, Hurtwood, Horsley, Horley, Holmby St. Mary, Hindhead, Hornchurch, Haslemere, Hemingsford, Halton, Hunstanton, Harborne, Haydon Bridge, Heversham, Hawkshead, Hartford, Hasbury, Huddersfield, Hillhouse (Congregational Church), Haverhill, Harston, Huntingdon, Hastings, Hungerford, Handsworth, Hartley Wintney, Irthlingborough, Ilkley, Ilfracombe, Ingatesone, Jesmond, Kislbury, Kerby Muxloe, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, Keswick, Kington, Ledbury, Linby and Popplewick, Langford, Laidon, Landrake, Liskeard, Lyme Regis, Leatherhead, Lingfield, Liverpool District, Leamington, Leintwarden, Letchworth, Liphook, Lakenheath, Lowestoft, Manley, Morecambe, Milnthorpe, Maidenhead, Marlborough, Milford-on-Sea, Martock, Mytholmroyd, Moretonhampstead, Mullion, Midsomer Norton, Mistley, Newport (Salop), Newcastle (St. James's), Northfield, Nafferton, New Longton, Nantwich, Newton Abbot, Newquay, Newport (I. of W.), Oxhey, Okehampton, Ottery St. Mary, Oxted, Ockley and Okewood, Painswick, Plumpton, Pangbourne, Portsmouth (North), Portsmouth (South), Pateley Bridge, Perranporth, Port Isaac, Peacehaven, Parkstone, Paignton, Penn and Tylers Green, Penzance, Queens and Fraddon, Reigate, Roade, Radlett, Ridgmont, Reading, St. Mawes, St. Ives (Cornwall), St. Minver, St. Dennis, Send, Shalford, Solihull, Southminster, Staveley, Shrewsbury, Stocksfield, Stafford, South Shields, Sedgley, Shaftesbury, Sidmouth, Southwold, Sunderland, Staveley, Saltley, Stanhope and Frosterley, Sipton, Stevenage, Shepton Mallet, Stoke Ferry, Southampton, Stanwick, Stanhope, Stanford-le-Hope, Stockton Brook, Truro, Torquay, Tiverton, Thaxted, Takeley, Tunstall, Thundersley, Taunton, Uckfield, Urswick, Wimborne, West Moors, Wells, Worle, Whitechurch (Salop), Walton-on-the-Naze, Welwyn Garden City, Wymondham, Wadebridge, Withersea, Walton, Wylam, Worcester, Water Orton, Wadhurst, Woodhouse, Weobley, Windermere, Wolverton, Weybridge, Whitechurch, Woodford Halse, West Mersea, Yardley Hastings, Yelvertoft.

ABYSSINIA ASSOCIATION

An interesting movement is on foot to establish an "Abyssinia Association" which will publish correct information about that country and seek in various ways to render assistance to its people. A provisional committee has been formed; and any who might be interested in the Association and be willing to make some contribution to its expenses are invited to communicate direct with The Secretary, Abyssinia Committee, 225, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.

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Edited by
VERNON BARTLETT

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L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

JULY, 1936

The question of an Equity Tribunal for the settlement of international disputes is to be fully discussed at the next General Council Meeting of the L.N.U. at Scarborough in July. In the meantime all Branches have been requested to study the subject. The New Commonwealth offers the services of speakers from its Panel for this purpose. Interesting and instructive literature is also available.

All enquiries should be addressed to:

The General Secretary
The New Commonwealth
Thorney House, Smith Square, S.W.1

Effective English

No. 2

February, 1936

For Ambitious
Men and Women

What Good English Means to You

By a WELL-KNOWN AUTHOR

YOUR English can be the greatest weapon you have, but if defective it can, like a faulty rifle, do you serious injury. You may not know that promotion in business is being held up by your slips in English, or that you are handicapped socially. You can discover such a trouble only by looking at results.

What effect has your phraseology on other people? If you fail to convince; if you use such phrases as "You know what I mean," "I mean to say"; if you cannot make your meaning clear; if you stumble over words; if your arguments seem weak and pointless—if you in any way fail to do your thoughts justice, then your English is faulty.

Next to the ability to think, the ability to express oneself convincingly

is the most valuable tool one can have in one's equipment.

If you are properly ambitious, your aim should be to make your English error-proof, instantly effective and impressive. Then your employer, your friends, your clients or customers and your casual acquaintances will respond to your resulting personality as you wish them to do. *Good English is a key to SUCCESS.*

In its ten lessons in Effective English and Personal Efficiency—a spare-time Course which, because of its fascination, seems more like a delightful hobby than a scientific study system—the Regent Institute provides a remedy for the troubles outlined in this article. If you lack the ability to express yourself effectively and are handicapped socially or in business as a result, here at a moderate cost is the means of supplying your deficiency.

Can You Write an Interesting Letter?

By LAURENCE WILTON

THE ability to write interesting letters was never more important than it is to-day.

Suppose you are applying for a post for which you know there will be dozens, if not hundreds, of applications. All the applicants must be dealing with much the same facts: can you make the facts regarding yourself so interesting that your letter stands out from the rest?

Ask any big employer if he does not judge candidates for interview not only on the facts regarding the particular applicant but also on the manner in which they are presented.

It is the same in social life. Nothing is more delightful than to receive a well-worded, gracefully composed letter; it endears us to our friends and heightens the respect of acquaintances if we are able to send them such letters.

Yet how many of us fail in this matter! Not because of our intentions but because we have not troubled to master the fundamental rules for the writing of sound, attractive English. We have neglected a comparatively simple art that inevitably must prove an asset in our lives.

The Social Value of Good English

By ANNE RICHMOND

TO talk well is one of the greatest — I am inclined to believe that it is the greatest — of social accomplishments.

Unlike most of the accomplishments that set a man or woman above the crowd and are dependent on talent, it is within the reach of everyone who will take the trouble to acquire it. The first step is to start to master one's language—not an onerous task when one goes about it in the right way.

Nothing is more embarrassing than to feel that you are likely to make blunders when you are talking, and not be able to guard against them. You become self-conscious and hesitate in your speech; although you long for companionship you dread to meet people.

Good English is an open sesame to some of life's most coveted treasures—friendship, perfect understanding and sympathy.

Success through Mastery of English

What Students Say—
Striking Letters

"IMMENSE BENEFIT"

The many letters on file at the Regent Institute testify to the substantial benefits obtained by students who have taken the Postal Course in Effective English and Personal Efficiency. A few extracts are given below:

"I feel I must write to tell you of the **immense benefit** I have derived from the Course. My power of expression has greatly improved. Before taking the Course I was always shy and felt uncomfortable in the company of others. Now I am perfectly at ease in any company."

"Your Course has been a **wonderful help to me**, and I am pleased to say I have prospered by it."

"I have obtained a situation of some responsibility. This was the **first post for which I applied** after your lesson dealing with applications for situations."

"It (the Course) gives one a completely new outlook on life. **Would I had known of it years ago!**"

A FREE BOOKLET "Word Mastery"

Write to-day for a free copy of "Word Mastery," an interesting booklet which explains the importance of good English and describes the unique advantages offered by the Regent Postal Course in Effective English and Personal Efficiency. Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (3d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 374A), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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Please send me, free of charge, and without any obligation on my part:

- A copy of your booklet, "Word Mastery," describing your Postal Course in Effective English and Personal Efficiency.
- Particulars of the moderate fee and the convenient terms of payment.

Name (BLOCK LETTERS)

Address