

# HEADWAY

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## Matters of Moment

SIR JOHN SIMON'S mediation in the Westerplatte affair at Danzig was as successful as that of M. Benes in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's dispute last January. It shows that despite the almost universal habit nowadays of decrying the effectiveness of the League machinery, that machinery can still work—though we are under no delusions that the troubles between Danzig and Poland are now settled for good and all. The dispute originated in the action of the Danzig Government on February 15 in withdrawing from the Westerplatte, the Polish munitions dump in Danzig Harbour, the police under the control of the Harbour Board and substituting for the police so withdrawn members of the City police force under its own control. Behind this unilateral breach of a Polish-Danzig agreement were seen repercussions of the Hitler *coup* in Germany. Immediately there was a grand flare-up of nationalistic passions. The numbers of the Polish guards at the Westerplatte were increased. The tension was extreme. It became the more aggravated with the rumour of an intended Nazi attack. In Great Britain George Slocombe wrote an article for the *Evening Standard* headed "War in Europe?" and on the same day the paper ran a leading article "Keep Britain out of War!" Prior to that the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Express* ran scare articles headed respectively "Danzig Leaps to Arms" and "Startling Move by Poland Follows

Hitler's Triumph." The press in other countries also joined the general staff of the forces of hell. On March 15 two British papers chronicled the fact that "the Westerplatte affair was amicably settled at a special meeting of the League Council to-day (March 14)." The incident then faded from the news columns, for a war scare is better copy than a successful peace effort.

### Veterans' Geneva Demonstration

EVEN the most hard-hearted of the audience were moved to tears at the sight of so many blind, crippled, and mutilated ex-Service men, representing fifteen nations, marching through the streets of Geneva to hold a mass meeting in the Reformation Hall on March 19. The 4,000 odd delegates represented some 8,000,000 former combatants on both sides. They demanded both moral and material disarmament which latter should be "substantial, simultaneous, and progressive." The resolution was presented formally to the Conference through Mr. Arthur Henderson by Colonel Brown of the British Legion, who said ex-Service men preferred acts to pacts. The scrapping of actual weapons would give to Europe more security than any number of paper treaties. Mr. Arthur Henderson referred to the people who circulate war talk as the "general staff of the forces of hell." For our part, we hope that such an unanimous expression of opinion from those who have seen active service will make the

delegates to the Disarmament Conference realise that public opinion, though less hopefully than in 1932, still waits expectantly on the results of their deliberations.

#### The Menace of the Air

IF the air question is left unsettled the world is done in. The air interests are beginning to say that, with control, they will lose dividends. To hell with their dividends!" Thus Sir Ian Hamilton in the speech which he intended to deliver on his installation as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University. How correct are his sentiments the Japanese drive in Jehol has shown. The Chinese communications were cut and their front lines shot up—both from the air. It is the first full-scale example that the world has seen of what latent power lies in the new fighting arm. Full support must therefore be given to Lord Londonderry's agreement on behalf of the British Government that naval and military aircraft should be abolished provided that an absolute control of civil aviation can be established.

#### A Corrupt Practice

JUDGING by the tone of the speeches made at the luncheon given recently by the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League in order to inaugurate the presidency of Sir David Milne Watson, the standard of public morality in this country has so greatly improved during recent years that without garbing ourselves in the white sheet of the hypocrite, we are in a position to go to the rest of the world and advocate the conclusion of an international convention to put a stop to a practice only too rampant in the business circles of some of our commercial competitors. But as Sir Arthur Salter pointed out it is one thing to make a law and yet another to get it enforced. Such action as can be taken through the League of Nations now that its Council has endorsed the principle of a Bribery Convention put forward by the Economic Organisation, should only be regarded as a first step laying down a minimum standard of morality to which all civilised countries should make its nationals conform. The second business in the words of Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General, is to create a "sharper, finer public feeling" on the matter.

#### Social Questions

EARLY spring is the normal meeting time of the League's Advisory Committees on Child Welfare and the Suppression of the Traffic in Women. On March 27, therefore, the Child Welfare Committee will begin its session and will continue its study of blind children, illegitimate children, and the inquiry into the laws in force in various countries governing the admission of children to cinema shows. The most important subject on the Agenda of the

Traffic in Women Committee is, of course, the examination of the Annual Reports for 1931. There will also be a preliminary examination of the Far Eastern Traffic Report, and it is probable that a discussion will take place on the question of publicity, a subject in which the League of Nations Societies have been asked to co-operate.

#### The South American Troubles

HAVING learnt a lesson from the Far East, the League is going forward in its efforts to compose the two South American disputes at comparatively breakneck speed. Both in the case of Colombia and Peru and in that of Bolivia and Paraguay, the Council has delegated its authority to a Committee of Three, which is composed of the representatives of the Irish Free State, Spain and Guatemala. With regard to the former, Señor Garcia Calderon, the representative of Peru, having eventually come to Geneva, and conciliation having failed, like Mr. Matsuoka he walked out. A report has accordingly been prepared under Article 15, paragraph 4 of the Covenant. As to Bolivia and Paraguay and the Gran Chaco, the Council has had reported to it the acceptance by Bolivia of the proposals of the Argentine, Brazil, and Chile, namely that hostilities shall cease, troops be withdrawn and demobilisation brought about after which a court of arbitration shall consider the rival claims. Paraguay, on the other hand, is adopting a somewhat truculent attitude. Rather tired of the procrastinations of both sides, on the proposal of the British delegate (Captain Eden), who was supported by France, discussions are taking place as to the possibility of placing an embargo on the export of arms to both parties.

#### A Change at the Nansen Office

GEORGES WERNER, Professor of Law at Geneva University, has replaced M. Max Huber, who, owing to ill health, has resigned his chairmanship of the Nansen International Office for Refugees. The last report of the Office shows that there is still a lot of work left for it to do before it winds up its affairs some two years hence. The recent fire at Beirut has rendered homeless 3,000 Armenians. In three hours of 450 huts there "only remained glowing embers and the mangled sides of the petrol tins." This last phrase shows the poverty stricken conditions under which even before the fire the refugees had to live. Now they are once again entirely destitute. The Office issued an emergency first loan of 200,000 French francs, but additional funds will be required. Further troubles have been caused by floods in Manchuria, which have destroyed the beaten earth *fanzas* of some 7,000 Russian refugees. Almost the only pleasant news recorded in the report is the fact that the fifth group of Armenian refugees have been transferred to Erivan, where accommodation and employment have been provided by the Armenian Government.

#### Black Coats

THE second session of that International Labour Office's mixed committee of Governing Body members and experts or representatives of other institutions which deals with salaried employees is due to meet at Geneva on March 27 and 28. Mr. J. Hallsworth, of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, is the British expert on this body which came into being as a result of the passing of the 1930 International Labour Convention regulating hours of work in commerce and offices. At the first session of the committee in 1931 were discussed various questions relating to unemployment, the protection of inventions of wage earners, and it adopted a resolution in favour of the abolition of the "restraint of trade" clause. At the present session, amongst other items on the agenda paper, are: the regulation of the opening and shutting of shops; holidays with pay; Sunday rest; and lastly, the possibility of decreasing unemployment by reducing hours of work, a subject that obviously appears as a direct result of the January Hours Conference. So soon as any of these subjects are ripe for international action the committee will render a report to the Governing Body with a request that it may be included on the agenda of one of the forthcoming International Labour Conferences.

#### Textiles

THE International Labour Office is hoping to do for textiles what it has already accomplished for coal. For the third time a few weeks ago there met at Geneva (Mr. Leggett of the Ministry of Labour being in the chair) a small committee whose object it was to prepare the ground for an international enquiry into the conditions of work in the textile industry. As a result of the previous enquiries and the information received at this meeting the ground has been well prepared. It now remains for the Governments of the chief textile-producing countries to indicate their willingness to co-operate along the lines which the committee has laid down. It will be recollected that, as a result of a similar enquiry into the coal industry, the way was prepared for the conclusion of the 1931 Convention on Hours of Work in Coal Mines, whose ratification unhappily seems as far off as ever, owing to the fact that the unofficial meeting of the Governments of the seven European coal producing countries six weeks ago failed to reach any form of agreement, largely because of the difficulties raised by the British Government.

#### The Prop That Failed

BY diverting attention from external to internal affairs the American Banking Crisis may delay for several months the new Roosevelt Administration's participation in world affairs. Though this is a serious enough matter, on the credit side can be put firstly the fact that American opinion has been shown clearly that even a rich

country well-endowed with natural resources cannot stand in glorious isolation; and secondly, that a banking system appropriate to the conditions of 1860, imposed permanently on the country under the combined influence of the doctrine of state rights and of local small town patriotism, is no good under modern conditions. The crisis was due to the publication of a list of the loans issued by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to prop up hard-hit organisations, mostly banks. Depositors, seeing that their own banking institution had received a loan, lost confidence, and a run on the banks commenced till state after state was compelled to declare a Bank Holiday of several days' duration. Confidence has returned sufficiently now to allow the banks to re-open their doors, but a searching inquiry is to be undertaken, the probable outcome of which will be something approximating to our present British practice. It cannot fail to alter the commercial policy of the U.S.A. in a positive direction.

#### At Snail's Pace

THE League Secretariat is now carrying out the instructions with regard to the nationality of women issued by the Council at its 70th session in January. It will be remembered that the last Assembly recognised that the question was in process of evolution and instructed the Council to follow the development of public opinion in order to determine when a point had been reached at which concerted international action would be justified. The Council asked the Secretary-General to write at once to all governments asking them to send information of any changes which might be made in their laws with regard to the nationality of women, and further requesting them to supply him with statements as to the effect of their nationality laws upon the nationality of women. This information is not required before 1935, the year in which the 1930 Hague Nationality Convention will be reconsidered with a view to revision.

\* \* \*

"They [the people] say that these statesmen of the old school have made the city great and do not see that they have made it inflamed and rotten underneath. They have filled it with harbours and docks and fortifications and revenues and such trash without temperance and righteousness.—From *The Gorgias of Plato*.

\* \* \*

"He [Dr. Johnson] this day again defended duelling and put his argument upon what I have ever thought the most solid basis: that if public war be allowed to be consistent with morality, private war must be equally so. Indeed, we may observe what strained arguments are used to reconcile war with the Christian religion. But, in my opinion, it is exceedingly clear that duelling, having better reasons for its barbarous violence, is more justifiable than war in which thousands go forth without any cause of personal quarrel and massacre each other."—From *Boswell's Life of Johnson*.

\* \* \*

God, I am travelling on to death's sea,  
I, who exulted in sunshine and laughter  
Dreamed not of dying—death is such waste of me!  
Grant me one prayer: Doom not the hereafter  
Of mankind to war . . .  
. . . Let not my sinking  
In dark be for naught, my death a vain thing!  
God, let me know it the end of man's fever!  
Make my last breath a bugle call, carrying  
Peace o'er the valleys and cold hills for ever!  
—From *John Galsworthy's Valley of the Shadow*

## The Problem of the Polish Corridor—I

By STEPHEN HEALD

So many arguments for and against the revision of the Eastern Frontier of Germany and the abolition of the Polish Corridor have been advanced that it is worth while to look back at the history of this part of Europe.

In the tenth century the Polish Kingdom included in its territories (as far as the present Corridor is concerned) Pomerania and West Prussia, i.e., approximately the region between the Oder and the Vistula. By the thirteenth century German expansion had taken Pomerania, and the Teutonic knights had established themselves in East Prussia. In 1309 they conquered West Prussia, including Danzig, cutting Poland off from the sea. Thus began the struggle for the mouth of the Vistula. A hundred years of war ensued. By the victory of Tannenberg (1410) (historic name!) and the treaties of 1454 and 1466 Poland regained West Prussia, Danzig, and the control of the Vistula, while the Teutonic knights retained East Prussia, but as a fief of the Polish Crown.\*

### The Partitions

From 1466 to the first partition in 1772 Polish control over what is now the Corridor was maintained. At the end of the eighteenth century Poland had sunk into a poor, backward and lethargic state, an easy prey to her powerful neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria. By the first partition Frederick the Great obtained West Prussia, but not Danzig. By the second (1793) Prussia took Danzig and Posen, and in 1795, the third partition, East Prussia was extended to the South.

Thus from 1772 to 1919 Germany was in control of the Vistula mouth and the Corridor. During the latter part of this period under Bismarck, and at the beginning of this century a systematic policy of colonization and denationalization was pursued by Germany.

### The Peace Conference

Such briefly was the historical background which confronted those responsible for framing the German-Polish sections of the Treaty of Versailles. The situation was further complicated by the pledge contained in the Thirteenth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points which ran as follows:—

"An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

The Conference was thus faced with two problems:—(1) the problem of drawing the new German-Polish frontiers on ethnographic lines, and (2) the main

\* In 1525, however, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albert of Hohenzollern, forced the consent of the Polish King to form East Prussia into a Duchy hereditary in his family. In 1618 it had passed to the Brandenburg branch of the family and by 1660 the Great Elector had shaken off Polish suzerainty.

problem of meeting the Polish claim to "free and secure access to the sea," involving Danzig.

In a sense the first problem was subsidiary to the second in view of the fact that as a result of the predominance of the Polish population, what amounted to a Polish "corridor" already stretched down the west bank of the Vistula to the sea. The Germans argued that the inhabitants of this "corridor" were Kashubs. The reply was that the Kashubs spoke a Polish dialect, and were, in any case, Slavs and Catholics and not Teutonic. A complication, however, arose out of the existence of a series of German "islands" running across this "corridor" through Bromberg and centred in certain towns, predominantly German, in contrast with their Polish hinterland.

The Peace Conference considered that the claims of these German minorities were prejudiced by the fact that their settlement had been the result of the partitions and the German policy of colonization. Their interests, it was felt, could be adequately protected by minority treaties, and, in any case, as they consisted largely of officials and townfolk, should not be preferred to those of the Polish rural population, predominant in the area as a whole, and comparatively unable to migrate.

### Polish Access to the Sea

The second case was one of greater difficulty. In view of the German nature of Danzig, the existence of the German strip through Bromberg and of the needs of East Prussia, the Germans claimed that the territory north of Bromberg to the sea, including Danzig, should be retained by Germany, that Poland should be given rights of transit and free zones in the ports of Königsberg, Danzig, and Stettin, and that the Vistula should be internationalized.

It is interesting to know from Colonel House's Papers that President Wilson did at one time contemplate this solution. He was, however, committed to self-determination and to the granting of "free and secure access to the sea" for Poland. For obvious reasons the French supported this policy, and even favoured the cession of Danzig to Poland on the ground that it was essential for the control of the Vistula, and, with justification, that it was bound by economic interests with the Polish interior.

### Germany or Poland?

In the end British insistence resulted in the adoption of a compromise in the case of Danzig between its national and its economic interests, by which it was established as a Free City under a High Commissioner appointed by the League.

Whichever way the decision went some interests had to be sacrificed. Either Poland would be cut off



from the sea at the expense of the Polish majority in Pomorze, and of the economic and political interests of the twenty million Polish inhabitants of the interior, whose national existence would be dependent on transit rights and free zones in the Baltic ports; or Germany would be cut off from East Prussia at the expense of German minorities in the Corridor and the interests of the two million Germans in East Prussia.

Which sacrifice was to be preferred? The latter seemed to have more justification on historical, political, ethnographic and economic grounds and accorded with the principle of self-determination. If, as the Germans claimed, transit rights and free ports were good enough for the twenty million Poles of the interior, the suggestion must be even more reasonable in the case of the two million Germans in East Prussia who had the sea as an added means of communication.

These considerations, supported as they were by ethnographic fact, prevailed, and the lines of the settlement were drawn accordingly. The Vistula Basin, Pomorze and Posen were assigned to Poland. In Allenstein and Marienwerder, plebiscites were left to decide the retention by Germany of territory which had been German before the partitions.

Such was the basis of the peace settlement. Easy as it may be to criticise it to-day on the ground that

it solved difficulties only to create others, it must be admitted that its principles were fair. There was, however, one serious defect, and that was the lack of a comprehensive survey. The various difficulties were settled separately, and, on the merits of each case, fairly, though the benefit of the doubt was usually given to the Poles, on the ground that the land had been Polish before the Partitions. As a result, the settlement may have suffered somewhat from the point of view of reality. It must, however, be remembered that the Peace Conference, while not unconscious of realities, trusted in the influence of the League to prevent war, and, if necessary, to bring about peaceful adjustment of any inequalities under Article 19. *The settlement as drawn up was, given good will, perfectly workable.*

History, however, tends to repeat itself, and the historic struggle for the Vistula continues—a struggle, in the case of Germany, psychological, in that of Poland economic and political—between German national pride and determination on the one hand, and Polish economic interests and political security on the other.

[Next month Mr. Heald will discuss how the Settlement has worked in practice and what are the German claims and Polish arguments to-day.]

## Geneva's "Dole" Discussions

By D. CHRISTIE TAIT

[Mr. Tait is a member of the Unemployment Research Section of the International Labour Office]

SINCE the Wall Street crash of October, 1929, unemployment has become steadily worse throughout the world. Some countries were later affected by the crisis than others owing to special circumstances; one at least (Japan) appears to be emerging sooner than the rest. But, taking the world as a whole, the number of unemployed persons has continually increased, until it now amounts to at least 30 million, and probably appreciably more than that.

The remedies for this appalling scourge lie in the economic and monetary fields, but while waiting for these remedies to be applied and to take effect, something must be done immediately to help its victims.

### Reasons for Relief Schemes

That is at least one reason for the existence of benefit schemes in an increasing number of countries. It is, however, more and more recognised that, apart altogether from industrial slumps, there is always a certain amount of unemployment due to the fluctuations of particular industries or firms, technical progress and other special factors, and that some form of benefit system is necessary at all times

to provide compensation for those who lose their jobs through no fault of their own.

These may at first sight appear to be two distinct and separate problems. So they are in theory; but in practice it is impossible to distinguish between unemployment due to the normal risks of industry and unemployment due to an industrial depression.

The crisis of the last three and a half years has thrown a tremendous strain on all unemployment benefit systems. Almost every system in existence would have broken down but for an increase in expenditure

by the State and other public authorities. Moreover, many countries have instituted benefit schemes for the first time, and have been anxious to profit by the experience of others.

Such are the principal facts which have made this problem an international one, and which led the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place it on the agenda of the International Labour Conference which meets in June next.

One of the main objects of the International Labour Organisation is to improve the conditions of the workers throughout the world. There is surely no more urgent question affecting those conditions at the



A Paris Soup Kitchen for the Unemployed

present time than unemployment and the measures to be taken for the relief of the unemployed.

#### No Unfair Competition

In addition to that, the expenditure of large sums by the State for this purpose necessarily involves an increase in taxation. It is natural that those Governments which have the most advanced benefit systems should wish to ensure as far as possible something like an equivalent expenditure by other countries. This would eliminate the possibility of what is considered to be the unfair competition of countries with lower standards of social legislation.

The official report prepared by the International Labour Office for the Conference points out(\*) it is desirable in the event of a Convention being adopted "to determine, so far as possible, the relative amount of the charges which each State will undertake to assume as a result of the Convention for the maintenance of the unemployed."

A third reason which may have influenced the Governing Body in its decision is the desire of those Governments which have established benefit systems to ensure equality of treatment for their nationals residing in other countries.

#### The Five Present Types of Insurance

There are, roughly speaking, five different types of schemes in the world at the present time: (1) Compulsory State schemes like that of Great Britain; (2) voluntary insurance by the Trade Unions subsidised by the State; (3) the Wisconsin system of employers' reserves (which, however, has not yet come into force); (4) the French system of non-contributory relief; (5) schemes providing primarily for relief works.

In countries like the United States, which have no State schemes of unemployment benefit in operation, the unemployed have to rely on doles from the local authorities and private charity supplemented by grants from the State and occasionally from the Federal authorities. Such relief is very haphazard and uncertain; indeed, it is often barely sufficient to keep the recipients from starvation. It is rather similar to the pre-1911 system in Great Britain.

#### Relief Works Not Enough

The countries which have set on foot relief works as the first line of defence against the evils of unemployment (such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada) have found that with the lengthening depression it was impossible to provide employment on relief works for all the involuntarily unemployed, or even all those who could satisfy a needs test. More and more cash relief has had to be given.

The French system is based on the idea of payments by the local authorities supplemented by grants from the State, the latter being a percentage of the benefits provided by the local authorities, thus enabling the State to insist on a certain minimum standard in the conditions for the receipt of benefit. But the unemployment funds of the local authorities are not permanent institutions; they may be created, abolished or suspended at the will of the authority, and in practice they exist only during a period of crisis and even then not everywhere. The alternative is, of course, something corresponding to the Poor Law in Great Britain.

Great Britain was the first country to introduce (in 1911) a system of unemployment insurance organised by the public authorities, and its example has been followed by many other countries since then.

In 1919, at Washington, the International Labour

\* International Labour Conference, 17th Session, Geneva, 1933. *Unemployment Insurance and Various Forms of Relief for the Unemployed*. (I.L.O., 12, Victoria Street, S.W.1. 6s.)

Conference at its first session recommended the establishment of effective systems of unemployment insurance, either through a Government system or through a system of Government subventions to associations whose rules provide for the payment of benefits to their unemployed members. It is probable that this recommendation has had a good deal of influence in the great extension of unemployment insurance which has taken place since 1919. At that time only 4½ to 5 million workpeople were insured against unemployment throughout the world, while at present the number has increased to 42 million in 17 different countries.

#### A Steady Rise in Cost

I am not, of course, going to consider in this short article whether these schemes are really "insurance" schemes or not. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that whatever a scheme may be called, the State has in practically every case been compelled during the last 3½ years to spend a steadily increasing proportion of a steadily increasing amount in the provision of unemployment benefits.

While in Great Britain the percentage was 71 in the year 1930-31, in Germany it was 58 in 1930, and in Switzerland it was as high as 84.7 in the same year. Whether we like it or not, *the old idea that unemployment benefits could be based on equal contributions from the State, the employer and the worker has been shattered by the industrial depression of 1929-33*. One country after another has been obliged to modify its schemes or to set up a supplementary relief scheme for those who have exhausted their rights to standard benefits.

#### Farm Workers

In respect of the classes of workpeople included, there are a number of points of special interest. Take the case of agriculture, for instance. While this industry is entirely excluded from the British scheme, a certain number of agricultural workers, though not very many, are covered in Austria, Germany, Italy and Queensland, and in some other countries which have State-aided Trade Union insurance. Then in Poland there are two schemes, one for manual workers and the other for non-manual workers without any limitation as to earnings. In the non-contributory relief scheme in France a number of independent workers who are not under a contract of service at all receive benefits from the local authorities and the State.

#### No Co-ordination Yet

There are considerable differences on other points such as the age of admission, the conditions of benefit, the length of the benefit period, the means test, etc., but enough has been said already to show the great variety in the principle, and still more in the details of the different benefit schemes.

The crisis has caused all Governments to take a new interest in the question, and in some countries more or less far-reaching changes have been introduced or are under consideration. In the United States, where hardly anything has been done on these lines so far, there is a growing demand for some form of unemployment insurance, and President Roosevelt has declared himself in favour of the idea. In certain Asiatic countries, too, particularly in Japan, an increasing interest is being shown in measures for the relief of the unemployed.

#### A Case for International Action

It is natural in these circumstances that a desire should have been expressed for an international discussion of the problem, and that an attempt should be made to arrive at a draft Convention setting forth certain guiding principles for application in national legislation.

## Disarmament

### The Prime Minister's Intervention at Geneva

By DAVID WOODWARD

THERE is a general feeling in Geneva that with the arrival of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the curtain rises on the last act of the Disarmament Conference. While it is recognised that the Conference has survived many crises, it is believed that the Prime Minister's present visit gives the Conference its last chance of success.

#### The Power of Public Opinion

The Conference has not failed before simply because every delegate is conscious of the fact that public opinion has demanded its success. No statesman of any nation, no matter how autocratic or non-democratic its form of government, has dared to take the risk of flouting that wish.

It is felt now, however, that unless the Conference does something quickly—that is to say, takes the definite decisions on the points of primary importance—public opinion will cease to pay any attention to the Conference, and with that check removed, the discouraged diplomats will close it down.

For thirteen years in the preparatory work, and for thirteen months in the Conference itself, the nations have successfully avoided taking a single definite decision.

It is realised that Britain alone cannot alter this situation, if the other powers will not co-operate, but it is felt very strongly that a British lead at this moment might serve to break the existing deadlock. It is to be hoped that the arrival of the Prime Minister will result in such a lead being given.

The twin fields of disarmament and security in which Britain can make an offer are governed respectively by Germany and France.

#### What Britain Can Do for Disarmament

As regards disarmament, the question is *whether or not Britain is prepared to advocate the complete and universal acceptance of the Versailles limits?* If she is, and the other powers are in agreement, then the excuse which the extremist faction at present in charge in Germany have for rearmament falls to the ground.

The adoption of this course by Britain would mean willingness to abolish tanks and capital ships over 10,000 tons. Britain has offered to come down to Versailles limits for replacement of mobile land guns, and has, by implication, offered the almost total abolition of military aircraft, as well as aircraft carriers, big cruisers and submarines.

#### A Possible Gesture

It will thus be seen that she has, in fact, already signified willingness to go much nearer the Versailles

limits than either France or the United States. If she would follow up this policy to its logical conclusion, and side definitely with Italy and Germany for a full Versailles régime, and at the same time offer France something real in security, it is not impossible that both the United States and France would, for different reasons, follow her example.

#### What Britain Can Do for Security

Possible lines of action by Britain with regard to security fall under two heads: *a guarantee of Polish frontiers similar to the guarantee given France by the Locarno pact, and an agreement for mutual assistance in the Mediterranean.*

Britain has already refused to add to her liabilities in either of these directions. It is recognised that there is a good deal to be said for her unwillingness to guarantee Polish frontiers, so long as the feeling exists that they have been rigidly fixed without regard to the justice or equity of the instrument which fixed them, and as long as there seems to be no possibility of any adjustment of them by pacific means. In this connection, it would seem that the provisions of the Covenant under Article 19 are a dead letter.

On the other hand, a "Mediterranean Locarno" is seen as something upon which it would be a great deal easier for Britain to agree, for she has nothing to gain, and a great deal to lose, by a forcible alteration of the *status quo* in the

Mediterranean. Any further agreement reached on questions of material, along these lines, will cause the outstanding questions of disarmament—save only those created by Japan—to settle themselves.

#### A Far Eastern Repercussion

A repercussion of the Sino-Japanese dispute which may have the gravest effects upon the Disarmament Conference occurred on March 8, when the Japanese, in a note to Mr. Henderson announcing their continued participation in the Conference, stated that:—

"They must acquaint the Conference with the fact that they consider it indispensable to effect various important modifications in the national defence of the Empire, in view of the new situation in the Far East, all relevant circumstances should, they are thoroughly convinced, be taken into due account in the future discussion of disarmament questions."

Thus the long foreseen breakdown of naval disarmament negotiations through the Japanese demand for an increase in ratios, if not in actual tonnage, and, also, perhaps, the right to arm and equip bases forbidden them by the Mandates Section of the Treaty of Versailles and the Nine Power Treaty of Washington, seems likely.

It is recalled that the Japanese chose the moment



Mr. Ramsay MacDonald accompanied by his daughter Ishbel and Mrs. Riddell, the wife of the Permanent Canadian Representative at Geneva, leaving the hotel to go to the Conference Hall

of the British gold standard crisis, in September, 1931, to launch their first great attack in Manchuria. It is not believed to be beyond the bounds of possibility that they have chosen the American crisis as a ripe time for another breach of international conventions. We shall see.

P.S.—I wrote the above remarks before the Prime Minister made his speech to the Conference on March 16. I see no reason for rewriting them, for they give my ideas of the Geneva background against which the British proposals have to be set.

It may interest readers to know that Geneva's first reaction to the momentous proceedings has been "it might have been a good deal worse," this phrase applying both to the British draft treaty and to the recep-

tion which it has received at the hands of Daladier, Gibson, Nadolny and Cavalero, despite the fact that all these statesmen confined themselves to stating that they required time to consider the document which has just been laid before them.

Another comment from a foreign diplomat was that the British proposals had produced the *detente* which the Conference and Europe so badly need.

The general opinion here is that the Americans and Italians will accept the scheme, that France should accept it, and that the Germans will probably not do so.

What measure of success the proposals will have without concessions by Britain in the nature of those described above is doubtful.

## The Danger of a World Breakdown

By Sir GEORGE PAISH

At the behest of the Council of the League of Nations, in pursuance of the decision reached by the Lausanne Conference, the Preparatory Commission of the proposed World Monetary and Economic Conference have drafted an agenda\* which promises to make the forthcoming London Conference not only the most important of all the Conferences held since the war to adjust the affairs of a disordered world, but the turning-point in the present difficult and dangerous economic crisis.

In considering this agenda, one is compelled to recognise the authority of the Commission. Its members were most carefully chosen by the Governments of Great Britain, of the United States, of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Japan and of other leading countries.

For instance, the British delegates were Sir Frederick Leith Ross, Chief Economic Adviser to the Government, and Sir Frederick Phillips, the Under-Secretary of the Treasury. The German delegation included Herr Posse, the Director of the Ministry of Public Economy of the Reich. The French, M. Charles Rist, Honorary Deputy-Governor of the Banque de France. The Japanese, Mr. Juichi Tsuchima, Financial Commissioner of the Imperial Japanese Government in London; and from the Bank of International Settlements came Dr. Trip, President of the Netherlands Bank at Amsterdam, who was also elected Chairman of the Expert Committee.

The supreme importance which this Commission of Experts attaches to the Conference is evident from the following extract from their introductory report:—

"In essence the necessary programme is one of economic disarmament. In the movement towards economic reconciliation the armistice was signed at Lausanne; the London Conference must draft the Treaty of Peace. Failure in this critical undertaking threatens a world-wide adoption of ideals of national self-sufficiency which cut unmistakably athwart the lines of economic development. Such a choice would shake the whole system of international finance to its foundations, standards of living would be lowered, and the social system as we know it could hardly survive. These developments, if they occur, will be the result, not of an inevitable natural law, but of the failure of human will and intelligence to devise the necessary guarantees of political and economic international order. The responsibility of Governments is clear and inescapable."

In other words, unless the Conference is held or if it fails to draft a Treaty of Economic Peace, a world financial breakdown, world disorder and world distress without parallel would be threatened.

### An Unchallengeable Conclusion

Nor is this conclusion likely to be challenged by anyone in possession of the facts of the situation or aware of the dangerous trend of events at the present time in all countries.

\* Draft Annotated Agenda, 1933, II. Spec. 1. (Allen & Unwin, 1s.)

On the contrary every responsible authority is aware that unless the World Monetary and Economic Conference is speedily convened and its decisions are implemented with the least possible delay, the situation which the Commission visualises will arrive and the peoples of all nations will be subjected to great privation. Indeed since the agenda was drafted the situation in the United States has become still graver while the number of unemployed has risen far beyond thirty millions.

The adjustment necessary is not confined to a solution of a single problem. There are many problems to be solved and comprehensive and bold statesmanship is needed to deal with them. The recommendations of the Commission in this respect need special attention. Here is their conclusion as to the attitude demanded:—

"It will not, in our judgment, be possible to make substantial progress by piecemeal measures. A policy of 'nibbling' will not solve the crisis. We believe that the Governments of the world must make up their minds to achieve a broad solution by concerted action along the whole front."

### The Three Pillars of Success

And this front, it should be understood, includes political problems as well as those of an economic and monetary nature. The weighty words of advice of the Commission before setting out the general programme of the Conference are these:—

"We should like to emphasise the fact that in formulating this programme we have been dominated by the desire to find effective and enduring remedies for the present depression and for the unemployment which weighs so heavily on the whole world. We believe that partial remedies in this field will not be successful. What is needed is a comprehensive programme of world reconstruction, and this should be carried through as rapidly as possible, so as to strengthen the forces which are now working towards recovery. We have here presented such a programme. We would not give the impression that the adoption of this programme could deliver the world at a stroke from the difficulties under which it is now labouring. But if the Governments are prepared to undertake it and also to settle political questions which lie outside the scope of the Conference we believe that confidence and prosperity can be restored."

When the Conference is held the political obstacles—and there are many—to recovery will become obvious, and it is of great moment that concurrently with the efforts to solve the economic and monetary problems similar efforts should be made to solve the political problems.

May we not hope, however, that when the spirit of co-operation is created by the effort to solve the world's grave economic and monetary difficulties it will become so strong and all-embracing that it will cause the statesmen, who will be brought together, to reach agreements concerning the political questions as well, and thus effectively remove from the nations the whole of the causes of their present distress?

## Arms Traffic and Manufacture

By COLONEL DAVID CARNEGIE

Two recent signs have inspired fresh hope that the twelve years struggle by the League of Nations to control the arms traffic has not been in vain.

The first is the firm action taken by the British and French Foreign Secretaries in demanding that the Austrian Government should either destroy or return to Italy the large consignment of rifles and machine guns (described as "Iron Ware") which Austria had received in contravention of Article 134 of the Treaty of St. Germain.

The second is the Far Eastern arms embargo by Great Britain.\*

The fact that the first action was taken by Sir John Simon and the French Foreign Secretary, in spite of, as "The Times" called it, "a Press campaign of hysterical abuse among certain organs of the Press in Italy, Germany and Austria against France and Sir John Simon," makes it clear that at least Britain and France are not to be terrorised to inaction by the powerful armaments interests.

The second action, though taken alone by Britain, appears to have been taken equally regardless of the Jingo Press. Britain's action was misunderstood in some countries, because it was individual and did not discriminate between China and Japan, but the man

\* Since this article was written, on March 13, in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanley Baldwin said:—"... In the circumstances no useful purpose would be served by maintaining an embargo observed by this country alone, and the Government have decided to remove it as from to-day. At the same time the Government are convinced that the only satisfactory solution for the future is to be found in international agreement. Accordingly it is their intention vigorously to pursue the conversations already begun. . . ."

in the street did not fail to discover in it a new determination that no nation which has broken the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact shall be supplied with arms.

The regret is that this decision was not taken eighteen months ago. Had the step been taken then, we should not have witnessed the criminal folly of nations pouring arms into Japan to enable her to break the Covenant and at the same time condemning her for breaking the Covenant.

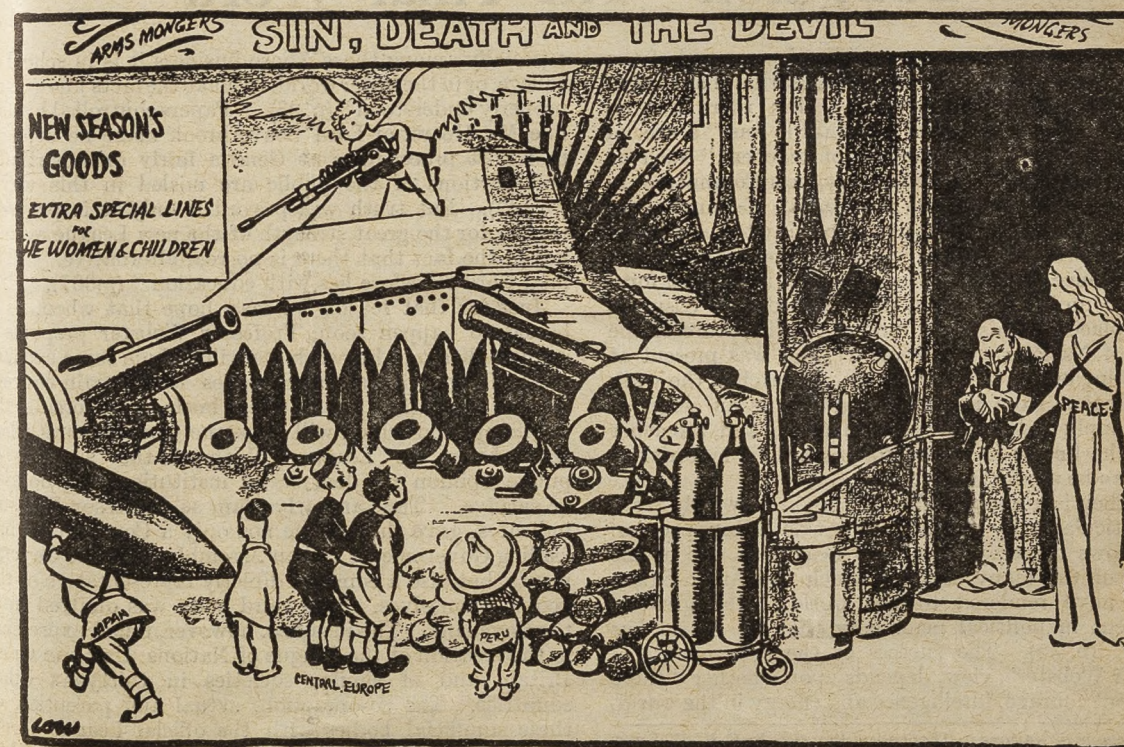
### Contradictory Actions

The arms-producing countries know that Japan's material resources and industrial equipment are entirely inadequate to produce the weapons she requires to sustain warfare; yet the very nations which have been trying to avert the Far Eastern catastrophe by strenuous investigation on the spot and by months of discussion at Geneva, have been silently rousing the tempers of the belligerents by supplying both with fuel enough to start another world blaze.

The continuance of this uncontrolled supply of arms by Member States of the League must tend inevitably to destroy confidence in the work of the League and to provide its critics with ample material for ridicule. But far beyond this is the awful certainty that war must follow this uncontrolled supply of arms.

Because of these things, the recent acts of the British Government gave some hope that at last the almost insuperable resistance to the control of the arms business is breaking down and that the demands of the people to put an end to the evils of private manufacture and the smuggling of arms will be realised.

It remains to be considered what constructive steps



WE'RE ALL PACIFISTS NOW, OF COURSE — BUT BUSINESS IS BUSINESS.

\* "Evening Standard" copyright

can be taken to follow up the lead given by Great Britain in this matter. It is the work of the League to devise definite means for the abolition of the existing evils. The following proposals are made after very careful consideration of the problem.

Three definite steps should be taken:—

1. The Disarmament Conference should include in any convention the prohibition of the export of arms to a country which has broken both the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

2. The British Government should ratify unconditionally the Arms Control Convention of 1925, and

3. The British Government should give the same lead in taking immediate steps to prevent the evils of private manufacture by either efficiently controlling the manufacture or by prohibiting it entirely.

These proposals are definite and no technical difficulty need stand in the way of their fulfilment.

#### The Time for Action Overdue

During the past twelve years Great Britain has shared in the discussions at Geneva on arms traffic and manufacture. Discussions should cease. The time for action is overdue. Britain's unconditional ratification of the 1925 Arms Convention would not injure her legitimate traffic. It would be welcomed by self-respecting armament firms who have no use for corrupt practices, and would be a constant reproach to arms-producing nations who did not follow Britain's lead.

As to the evils of private manufacture and their prevention, British leadership in this matter also is overdue.

Two courses are open: (1) Strict Control, (2) Absolute Suppression. By the first a strict control could be effected by prohibiting, under severe penalty, the solicitation of orders for arms and all Press propaganda

by private manufacturers; at the same time providing a public authority, free from political control, through which all orders for arms for home or foreign Governments would be placed. Again, no technical difficulty stands in the way. Such an authority could be established at once.

The power of the armaments trusts ought not to be a barrier to the administration of such a body appointed by the Government. Such an action by the British Government could be taken without loss to the legitimate arms business, even although the other thirteen arms-producing countries declined to follow suit.

#### The Risks of Prohibition

The other course open is entire prohibition. This might prove to be the wisest course. There are, however, dangers to world peace in prohibition. For instance, over fifty nations which now buy arms might begin to make their own, and new centres of arms design, construction and competition might arise, and agricultural pursuits would be changed to warlike industry.

If such nations did begin to make their own arms and followed the general practice of existing armaments firms they would install factory equipment which would be used for both commercial and warlike products. In peace time 90 to 95 per cent. of the products made by armaments firms are for peaceful purposes. Imagine fifty countries becoming sellers instead of buyers! It is impossible to estimate the dangers to world peace which such a change would mean in a world where the industrial capacity to produce is already many times greater than the demands of the people.

It seems therefore that the strict control rather than the entire suppression of private manufacture should be tried. Should this fail, then prohibition with all its risks should be imposed.

## Education—The Final Word

MANY admirable accounts of the League and of the International Labour Organisation have been produced in this country. But there was no volume of which it could be said that it was "a special reference book . . . for the use of teachers," such as had been recommended by the League's Committee in July, 1927. Two years ago the British National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation invited Professor Webster to write the book, which has just appeared.\*

It is at once obvious, as indeed could have been foreseen, that no official action will be needed to ensure a leading place for this work among the literature of the League of Nations. Professor Webster was present at the drafting of the Covenant; he has watched the work of the League from the beginning; he is an adept at saying simply and vividly what he means, and, a teacher himself, he knows how best to present his material so that it can be studied and taught.

Here then is a great book. It should be widely read, and particularly by teachers of Anglo-Saxon peoples, for it shows the creation of the League as one of the greatest of the many services which the Anglo-Saxon nations have rendered to the world, "the greatest experiment in political machinery that the world has known" (p. 55). The success of the experiment, in Professor Webster's view, depends upon whether "there is sufficient courage, intelligence and energy in the world,

\* The League of Nations in Theory and Practice, by C. K. Webster, with the help of Sidney Herbert in some chapters. (Allen & Unwin 10s.)

especially among those whose business it is in school or college, or in the wider world, to make the facts known and properly understood" (p. 93). "Papers controlled by men like Mr. Hearst or Lord Beaverbrook make no attempt to report proceedings at Geneva fairly or impartially, and portions of the public are misled in this way" (p. 102). But truth will prevail if only it is properly taught, for the great strength of the new League system lies in the fact that there is no real alternative. "The final word therefore lies with education" (p. 307).

Just for that reason we may hope that when, as is bound to happen soon, Professor Webster prepares a second edition of his work he will include some account of the League of Nations Societies whose main concern is with education. It is their business to create the public opinion which will back the Governments when they back the League. Without the support of public opinion no democratic institution can flourish or survive. Thus an early plan, as Professor Webster indicates, gave the League not only a Council of a few leading Governments and an Assembly of all the Governments, but also a congress directly representative of the people themselves. This third body was omitted from the Covenant. The idea has, however, found expression in the creation of the League of Nations Union in Great Britain and of similar societies in thirty-six other countries. The co-operation, actual and potential, of these unofficial bodies with the official League forms an integral part of the machinery of international co-operation.

J. C. M. G.



## Keeping Faith?

ONLY by keeping faith and so restoring confidence will it be possible to overcome the great difficulties confronting the attempt to bring the Disarmament Conference to a satisfactory conclusion. A powerful nation in the Far East has thus far achieved its purpose by force of arms and in defiance of its international obligations; and this lamentable situation has reacted upon those nations in Europe who hesitate to reduce their national armaments until they can rely upon international co-operation for their defence against aggression.

On February 24 the Assembly of the League of Nations unanimously adopted the findings of Lord Lytton's Commission as regards the facts of the dispute between China and Japan, and set up a new Advisory Committee of Twenty-one to follow the situation and to aid the Members of the League in concerting their action. At the same time the Members of the League resolved, according to the Assembly's Report, not to recognise the existing regime in Manchuria and to abstain from any isolated action in regard to the Far East. Three days later the British Government, acting independently, imposed an embargo upon the export of arms to Japan—and to China! But this embargo was withdrawn within a fortnight. The way is now open for the Advisory Committee to concert the action of the Members of the League in preventing the export of arms to Japan alone. This step, taken by itself, would not, however, suffice to secure Japan's compliance with the Assembly's recommendations. The Japanese army has since added another territory the size of England and Wales to those already forcibly severed from China in violation of three international treaties.

With a view to putting an end to the illegal acts which the Assembly has condemned, the Council of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, meeting in Brussels on February 27, suggested that the following steps might be taken:—

- (1) The withdrawal of the chiefs of the diplomatic missions from Tokio;
- (2) The prohibition of the export of arms . . . to Japan;
- (3) The prohibition of financial assistance to Japan; and
- (4) (if necessary) The refusal to accept imports from Japan.

The Federation urged the League of Nations Societies "to prepare public opinion in their respective countries

to support any collective action which the Government may agree to take for the purpose of giving effect to the Assembly's recommendations." The Executive Committee of the League of Nations' Union has considered this resolution, and is of opinion that it need not take any further decision since it has already decided to urge upon the British Government "concerted discrimination corresponding with the character of the verdict pronounced by Geneva." The Union's Executive believes that it is "incompatible with the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact that any assistance, whether by the export of arms or by financial facilities, should be given to any country which has been declared to be guilty of aggression against another." We, the nations of the League, have promised to preserve the territorial integrity of China against external aggression, and if we are to keep faith and restore confidence we must do all we can to fulfil that promise.

It is first of all necessary that the Advisory Committee of Twenty-One should examine, with the help of the Chinese representatives, the suggestion made by Lord Lytton's Commission for the establishment in Manchuria of an effective administration which will safeguard the legitimate interests of Japan. When the League's constructive proposals to this end have received the same measure of world approval as its verdict on the merits of the conflict, it will be easier for the Council to recommend the concerted action necessary to make its Report effective. *That action must then be taken* so that Japan shall not consolidate the position she has won by force. Acquiescence in the result of Japan's action as a *fait accompli* would strike a grievous blow at international solidarity and destroy the prospect of any great reduction of national armaments in the near future.

Meanwhile it is good news that the British Prime Minister has put a definite scheme before the Disarmament Conference. That scheme is shortly discussed on another page. We need therefore say no more here than that all supporters of the League of Nations will wish to promote the success of the new Draft Convention and will certainly do nothing to hinder it. But it is necessary to insist, as the British Prime Minister insisted in his speech to the General Committee of the Disarmament Conference, that, in addition to "the contribution of disarmament," there must be "the contribution of trust and tranquillity." The first part of the Draft Convention is concerned with "security," but it leaves each Great Power with the right to veto any proposal for protecting a State victim of aggression. On what principle is that right to be exercised? If "the contribution of trust and tranquillity" is to be effective, collective protection against aggression must be assured: the world needs to know for certain that, if other means fail to prevent the unlawful use of force as an instrument of national policy, the strength of all will be employed for the defence of each—for defence, be it noted; for protection; never for punishment; never for castigation.

But deeds speak louder than words. By their action in the Far East, as well as by their declared acceptance of the principle of collective defence, the nations—and especially the Great Powers—must demonstrate their determination to stop war, to provide justice, and to organise peace. The only way to "disarmament" is by keeping faith and so restoring confidence.

## Higher Education and Moral Disarmament

By E. and W. STANLEY LEWIS

(The authors are members of the staff of the University College of the South-West of England)

AT present, there is an atmosphere of disappointment abroad. People cry that the League has failed; that the delegates at Geneva have no true wish for international co-operation and all that it means in the way of disarmament, economic rapprochement and so forth. Let us be just! If the statesmen have accomplished far less than we hoped and they promised, we, and our like in other countries, are largely to blame.

Public opinion has been lazily content to leave the conduct of international affairs to its representatives: the peoples of the world are still making little effort to comprehend the problems of their neighbours. Indeed—far from extending their sympathies—men are actually narrowing them within the confines of a nationalism more rigid even than that of last century. Not that nationalism is necessarily an evil. There is no nation but would be the worse for laying aside that readiness to sacrifice private interest for the commonweal which is an intrinsic quality of nationalism. Only out of a vigorous national life can any great ideal develop in the mind of a people: and perhaps this very intensification of national life is responsible for the new conception that is beginning to take shape in the minds of many—the conception of the need for spiritual disarmament.

### Seeking Understanding

Men are at last coming to realise that political, financial and economic disarmament can only be achieved when every nation is truly desirous of "that peace which the world cannot give." The nation so minded will be eager for the mutual understanding which destroys prejudice; will view objectively the problems of others; and will assiduously cultivate that broadness of outlook that can realise the structural unity of the world. Especially will it recognise the economic interdependence of nations; and will try whether it cannot find common spiritual aims amongst the peoples of the earth.

Here is the ideal. What of the will towards its fulfilment? It is not overstating the case to say that there is, at present, only one organised force working for community of world interest. Communism is undoubtedly imbued with the object of co-ordinating all economic effort: it has yet to justify its assertion that it aims also at establishing a common cultural and spiritual life for humanity.

In the meantime, the nations look for guidance and inspiration to their universities and university colleges, whose purpose is to provide higher education. Surely the promotion of spiritual disarmament is the task of the universities; since it is they whose concern it is to seek the truth, and whose purpose it should be to fashion the minds of their students so as to ensure the ultimate success of this search.

To some extent they have already paved the way towards affording this assistance; for there is certainly a tendency in many parts of Europe, since the close of the Great War, for the universities to return in part to the mediæval ideal. They do encourage the presence of students from other countries in their midst.

In Great Britain, France, Germany and Spain many of the universities have a number of foreign students who are learning the language and studying the country

for either educational, commercial or diplomatic reasons. But there is, as yet, no co-operation within the individual nations, much less between them, as to what should be done for these students. The usual practice appears to be that of letting them find their own way about both inside and outside the university.

### Special Courses for Foreigners

Some have done more than this. For instance, several British universities now offer occasional or sessional courses which are especially designed to foster mutual understanding between British and Continental students, and between the foreigners themselves. To cite two which are most familiar to the writers, the University of London and the University College of the South-West in Exeter arrange lectures and classes which endeavour to provide for the foreigner a cultural and economic framework as a basis for his personal structural study of the nation, its life, and its institutions. Moreover, Exeter and other colleges which have the advantage of being almost entirely residential, promote, in their halls of residence as well as in their class-rooms, discussions and general contacts which draw students from widely separated countries into close and sympathetic relations with one another.

Such contacts cannot but be of value; and a great extension of like activities throughout the world would be at least some step towards the solution of that most urgent problem of moral disarmament.

But enlightened public opinion must demand from its institutions for higher education very much more than this. There must be co-operation—first national, then international. We must press for real conferences on the part of the universities. *What we need is a symposium drawn up by the universities of the world upon what they understand by the future of the world.* And they must suggest methods by which the present chance contacts may be sustained and welded into a permanent solidarity of intention. It is they who should decide how to focus national idealism so that it may be viewed against a background of world achievement, and direct it so that it may make its most effective contribution to world aspiration for the future.

### Congratulations

NOT one of the many kindly but candid critics of the policy of HEADWAY raised his or her voice at the dinner given in honour of Mr. Wilson Harris's retirement from the editorship of HEADWAY to become Editor-in-Chief of the *Spectator*. Tribute was paid by many people to Mr. Wilson Harris's wealth of knowledge, unflinching courage, discretion and balanced statements. His health was proposed by Lord Cecil, who praised Mr. Harris for avoiding the dangers of giving but a colourless account of the policy of the Union which the function of HEADWAY is to explain and defend. Mr. Harold Wright, as a brother editor, and Mr. Penman, as a representative of the Branches of the Union, supported Lord Cecil. In an amusing reply, Mr. Wilson Harris spoke as himself and not as "Warren Postbridge," a pen-name which he used for some of his many contributions to this journal. All his many friends at Grosvenor Crescent wish him a long and happy reign at Gower Street.

## The Federation's Brussels Meetings

LORD CECIL presided over delegates from Societies in seventeen different countries who attended the spring meeting of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels from February 25 to 28. The L.N.U. was represented by Lord Dickinson, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Hall, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, and Captain A. E. W. Thomas.

### The Far East

On the question of the Far East the Council passed two resolutions. One was for transmission to the Japanese Society, and read as follows:—

"The Federation tenders its best wishes to the Japanese Society and relies upon its continued co-operation in creating public support for the League of Nations."

The other was a long and reasoned resolution very similar to that passed by the Union's Executive Committee, emphasising the duties laid upon Members of the League under Article X, and suggesting (without prejudice to the possible application later on of Article XVI or to the methods of such application) what steps might be taken to put an end to the illegal acts which have been condemned and to secure compliance with the Assembly's recommendations.

### Economics and Hours

In the matter of the World Economic Conference, the Council invited Societies to use their whole influence upon their respective Governments and public opinion so that the Conference might reach agreements on the bases of the draft annotated agenda of experts.

The Council also recommended that "the Economic Organisation of the League and the I.L.O. should jointly and immediately determine what facts are the essential preliminary to consideration of the effect of reduction of hours of work upon unemployment"; urged "States Members and other industrial States to furnish to the international organisations these relevant facts," and invited "Societies to urge their Governments to institute national surveys for this purpose without delay."

### Domestic Business

After a long debate on the place and date of the next Congress—the British recommending Geneva—the Council decided to accept the invitation of the Swiss Society to hold the Seventeenth Plenary Congress at Montreux, beginning on June 1. It was also agreed that in future years the Congress should always commence on the Thursday preceding Whit Sunday.

The British delegation made a great effort to get the Federation headquarters transferred forthwith to Geneva. After considerable discussion the Council accepted the transfer in principle, and requested the President to take what steps he could "to secure from new sources the funds necessary to cover the supplementary expenditure for a period of five years." In the meantime the Federation's office in Geneva is to be maintained.

Sir Eric Drummond retires from the post of secretary-general of the League at the end of June. Members of the Union will early have a chance of hearing his views, for he has agreed to speak at the Queen's Hall, London, on the evening of July 6.

Another summer event taking place under the auspices of the Union is an *International Ball*, to be held at Grosvenor House on June 20. Mrs. Stanley Baldwin is chairman of the organising committee.

## FRENCH—SPANISH GERMAN—ITALIAN

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"May I again, as I have already done in the case of the German and Italian Courses, express to you my thanks for having rendered possible what would otherwise have been quite out of the question. With no previous knowledge of German or Italian, I now read scientific works in German and a weekly newspaper in Italian. . . ."

"Without doubt your system is the most perfect I have seen; it has enabled me, a very busy Medical Practitioner, to find pleasure in the study of languages without feeling that I am wasting valuable time that should be devoted to improving my knowledge of my own subjects. Your system has enabled me to do both—study medicine and languages." (S.K. 235.)

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## The Wise Young Men

By GERTRUDE M. PAYNE COOK

WHAT a to-do and a bother 275 young men at the Oxford Union caused! The *Daily Mail* had an impassioned leader; the *Evening Standard* screamed Decadence of Oxford, and inserted a picture of Oxford the Adorable Dreamer to assure us that the venerable city still stood, and had not crumbled under the decision of these young men, whom the *Evening Standard* felt certain were mainly foreigners and "non-ascripts"; and *The Times* quietly, and with the manner of an injured Don, put them in their place.

The *Daily Mail* said we must not take them too seriously. Is it possible we may not take them seriously enough?

What a world it is! We wax eloquent over the need of Peace, we admit that the League of Nations seems the only way out, even if the way is no easy going. Yet we judge youth as spineless and devoid of opinions when a small collection of young men say what they really think about war and the Press waves the Union Jack and has hysterics.

These young men were accused of being "Posturers and gesturers." To posture means "to arrange," and gesture means "a mode of action." If these young men were arranging a mode of action for the days that will follow their life at Oxford they were wise in their generation, and wiser still for the generation that will follow them, the generation of their own children.

They have probably discovered that there is more sense in being keen to live for their country than in being blown to pieces, gassed, or otherwise destroyed. It is as well to believe also that they realise that living for one's country to-day means hard work and constructive service. Economic, national, international, and ethical problems can only be dealt with by living men and women. The dead are beyond the earthly solution of such problems. The multiplicity and complexity of these problems to-day is obviously an aftermath of War. War and Death hit us hard in all those directions, and we have not recovered. Because all this is a truism to the middle-aged, it is not necessary to pour cold water, or boiling printers' ink, over the young things who have just seen it for themselves.

Young men and young women to-day have discovered that "Patriotism is not enough." They have not used those words thinking the muddled and sentimental nonsense many people have in their minds as they use them. The thing has come to them as clear cut as it came to Edith Cavell, and they intend to live it, as she would mean them to live it were she here to stand by them. The Press talks about the example of heroes and martyrs being forgotten. It is just because the example is not forgotten that the growing generation chose to build rather than to destroy.

The snag in this business has been that the Oxford Union used the expression, "will in no circumstances fight for King and Country." It is a drastic wording, but it has point in so far as it presupposes that youth is out to make the circumstances of War impossible. Therefore, there will be, if they have their way, no circumstances in which they would have any need to fight for King or Country.

### Wisdom at the Albert Hall

At the Disarmament Meeting in the Albert Hall last autumn the effect of the four young speakers on that vast audience was electrical. Of the four, three were previous Presidents of the Oxford Union. They were sound young men, with achievements to their credit.

The thousands in that Albert Hall audience responded in an overwhelming manner when youth spoke its mind on War. The Press reported the Archbishop of York, and Professor Gilbert Murray and Lord Cecil, and we know they have done, and will do the spade work, but what are they using spades for at all if they do not want things to grow? They do want things to grow, and all those three leaders that night, though they were a little cautious in their attitude toward such vehement youth, were really saying to themselves: "This thing has taken root, the gardeners of the next generation have begun to get down to it."

A girl of twenty said the other day, "There are too many people in England thinking what will happen if we do disarm, and too few people thinking what will happen if we don't." And what will happen if we don't touches young people too deeply for them to remain silent. That vote at Oxford was a still small voice, and there is more to follow.

More has followed. There was a majority of 750 against expunging the Minutes of the original Meeting. It was not only the Minutes which 750 young men did not wish to have expunged. The Press seized on their regret for any misunderstanding of certain words in the original Motion, and made much of it. Young England actually dotted its I's and crossed its T's more firmly. There is indeed more to follow.

There is no lack of courage in these young things. In some ways it would be easier for them to let the matter rest, to let there be wars, and to let the war machine function, and to let themselves be caught into the machine's vast workings. It is going to take courage to stop the machine functioning.

Behind Patriotism are the things that matter. Youth see those things. Thinking youth knows that what King and Country ask of them is that they shall live and build and construct in the same unflinching spirit of self-sacrifice that drove youth in 1914-1918 to destruction.

### "Youth Discerns the Way"

The *Evening Standard* shed tears that the flower of England was killed in the War. It seems to have been said before. We have them all mentioned: Rupert Brooke, the Grenfells, Lister, and Raymond Asquith. It was the heaviest price we paid for the War. We deny that the tradition is gone, and we deny that the future does not hold others to be even as they were. It is possible to imagine just those five taking counsel now. "They are going to let the same thing happen for which we died. It will all work round again to the same end; they will discover too late that they sacrificed their builders, and lost the building, and then they'll say, 'alas, our best and brightest have gone.'"

The children of this generation are going to find it hard to be wise, and harder still to build. It is as if some of the middle-aged tried for peace with their tongues in their cheeks, saying below their breath, "it will not work, but there will always be the young ones to see the thing through the old way. We really must not let them say so much about peace. We must be able to count on them, because after all, there will be no other way."

Those millions who died said there was another way. Youth to-day has discerned that way, and is preparing with courage to follow it. They must be allowed to talk about it, and the majority of the nation rejoices that they are prepared to make that way plain to us.

## Comments on British Arms Plan

A WELL-INFORMED correspondent writes that the British proposals\* are to be welcomed even if they do not go so far as to effect a reduction, limitation and control of the armaments of all countries upon the lines repeatedly advocated by the Union. But if they prove to be generally acceptable, they are far preferable to a breakdown of the Conference with all the incalculable consequences which such a failure would involve.

The scheme is no more than a first step, and that is perhaps its best feature. Moreover, it is open to amendments and improvements. German claims to equality of status and French demands for security may thus be met. The reduction of the period of service of conscript armies, and the acceptance of the principle of the abolition of military aviation are also good. So is the eventual abolition of heavy military artillery.

On the other hand, sixteen tons as the upper limit of size for tanks involves little if any reduction of armaments. It appears, however, from the note to Article 21 that the question of permissible tanks below this weight is still open. It seems strange, too, that after prohibiting bombing from the air, the scheme should propose a limit of three tons in unladen weight for aircraft, other than troop carriers and flying boats. What sort of aircraft, one may ask, except big bombers, need to be so large? And why was there no reference to budgetary limitation, private manufacture, the control of the traffic in arms and moral disarmament?

Very much depends upon the constitution and work of the proposed Permanent Disarmament Commission. If it is to be made up of mere Government officials it will be of little use. If, however, like the Mandates Commission or the Lytton Commission, it is to consist of individuals nominated by the different countries but not taking orders from their Governments, it may be of immense service.

\*The full text of the proposals are to be found in League document, Disarmament, 1933, IX.2. (Allen & Unwin, 9d.) Summaries appeared in all the daily papers of Friday, March 17.

## Church and World Peace

As was noted in some of the daily newspapers, there has lately taken place a private meeting of some fifty leading representatives of the Christian Churches in this country. The statement issued at the end of the meeting best shows the trend of their discussions. It runs as follows:—

We are convinced:

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

At further meetings two particular points are to be intensively studied—plans for rallying Christian people throughout the country to pray and work for peace and plans for securing co-operation between Christian people in all countries to this end.

George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

## The League of Nations in Theory and Practice

By C. K. WEBSTER, with some chapters on International Co-operation by Sydney Herbert. 10s.

"A fine example of the modern type of history text-book which looks forward as well as backward . . . . Lucid and stimulating." —*The Times*.

## The League on Trial

By MAX BEER 15s.

Translated by W. H. Johnston.

"There is no doubt that his criticisms reveal many important weaknesses. . . . A valuable criticism, the more valuable because it accepts completely the purposes which the League is intended to realise."—*Manchester Guardian*.

Museum Street, W.C.1

## BOROUGH ROAD COLLEGE, ISLEWORTH

In consequence of the reduction by the Board of Education of the number of students admissible to training colleges for official certification as teachers, the above College, which is one of a group under the management of the **British & Foreign School Society**, will have **vacancies in September for a limited number of Men students** not seeking official recognition as Teachers.

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## Book Notices

**The Year Book of Education, 1933.** Edited by Lord Eustace Percy, M.P. (Evans Brothers. 35s.)

To all who believe that the world of to-morrow can be found in the schools of to-day these year books of education, edited by Lord Eustace Percy, are of quite absorbing interest. In the present volume Professor Kumaji Yoshida, of the Imperial University in Tokyo, contributes a chapter on Japanese education which explains how the national spirit of Japan has been nurtured. Every detail of school administration and policy are determined by the Control Department of Education, whilst there is "a special staff of officials whose business it is to study current movements of thought amongst students and pupils and to lead them into proper channels."

Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Mr. Rivas Smith and Mr. Mayhew discuss with complete frankness the education of native races in Africa; and Dr. N. Hans, a former Director of Education in Odessa, in one of the most fascinating chapters of the book, describes the progress of education in Soviet Russia very largely in terms of a struggle between the Idealists who would base the curriculum on "Nature, Labour and Society," and the Realists who demand the retention of our old friends' languages and literature, mathematics and science, physics and geography as the main divisions of the school time table. There may be some who feel that Mr. Hans fails to do full justice to the national struggle against illiteracy, and they will also criticise Sir Charles Grant Robertson for a chapter on the Universities in Great Britain which contains much wise advice for the "re-interpretation of the university ideal of a corporate life" in the modern universities, but ignores the immense opportunities those institutions have to encourage and direct the whole movement for adult education in the great industrial centres they are privileged to serve.

Some of this material necessarily covers ground already explored by the previous volume, but the remaining 430 pages (rather more than half the book) provide completely fresh material for a world survey. Thus in 1932 we had a general account of the systems of education in the Dominions where the new book contains a series of chapters on special aspects. To the material on education in Ceylon, Trinidad and Tobago, and Cyprus, provided in 1932, the new book adds chapters on Malta and Gozo, Hong Kong, New Zealand and the South Sea Islands. The foreign countries treated for the first time this year are Japan, Russia, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and Hungary.

Readers of HEADWAY will welcome the inclusion of an article by Sir Frank Heath on "The League of Nations and Intellectual Co-operation." (This new volume maintains in every respect the standard of thoroughness set by its predecessor.) C. W. J.

**Nationalism. Man's Other Religion.** By Edward Shillito. (Student Christian Movement Press. Cloth, 4s.; Paper, 2s. 6d.)

In this short book, which I read on a journey between London and Birmingham, the Rev. Edward Shillito successfully attempts a philosophic study of the evils of unrestrained nationalism. It becomes, as might be supposed, a plea for real internationalism upon an ethical basis—for preference a Christian basis. Some strong things are said about the part played by the ministers of the Church in time of war. "The Church," says Mr. Shillito, "cannot let its servants be like town clerks reading as a matter of duty the decrees of the State." Such an idea is worth repeating many times until its essential truth is realised.

Adequate attention is paid to the effects of the life and actions of Eastern Thinkers such as Sun Yat Sen or the Tilaks of India. The book is of value in that it explores a field of thought somewhat neglected since the Middle Ages, when the Church was a world and not a national instrument of salvation.

**How the World is Governed.** A Study in World Civics. By Hebe Spaul. (The Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.)

Though the title may be misleading, for naturally, in any consideration of international government, account has to be taken of its purely national forms, and to this aspect a good deal of the space available is devoted, Miss Spaul got hold of a good idea when she decided to write this little book. All the same, the whole book is instinct with the international outlook.

Many new facts come to light. Few people know, for instance, that the—

"British Foreign Office, which is one of the oldest, dates from the year 1782. Charles James Fox was the first Foreign Secretary. Before that date there were only two Secretaries of State to do the King's business. One of these, called the Southern Secretary, looked after affairs in Great Britain. . . . The other statesman, called the Northern Secretary, dealt with the business concerning the rest of Europe."

Naturally, the need for compression being so great, some of the details are blurred, but the general picture is correct. There will be some people who will quarrel with Miss Spaul's proto- and pre-history. It is now almost certain, for example, that the art of writing was known in the Euphrates Valley before its discovery in that of the Nile.

In the second edition, which should not be long delayed, it is to be hoped that the author will remove some of the evidences of hasty writing, and perhaps make some mention of the International Labour Organisation, whose part in the new world government is surely worth at least a passing reference.

**La Société des Nations et le Rapprochement Economique International.** By F. A. Van Woerden. (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932. 298 pp.)

Books of this kind, whether written in French, English or Urdu, are a welcome sign of the times. They attempt to explain League failures less as the inexorable results of differences in race, creed and culture than of the incompetence of the nations at large to evolve that technique of co-operation which is essential to the conduct of the international society in which we live.

Mr. Van Woerden's treatment is orthodox; he avoids controversy and departs as little as possible from official (mainly League) sources and documents. The result is that he has provided an excellent guide to the work of the Economic and Financial Committees of the League. It is a sober commentary on our present need for developing the technique of international co-operation. E. V. F.

**Public Works in their International Aspect.** By J. E. Meade. (New Fabian Research Bureau. 6d.)

This little pamphlet gives a most interesting account of what can be done in regard to public works, a subject initiated internationally by the late M. Albert Thomas, and one likely to come up at the forthcoming World Economic Conference. Mr. Meade's booklet is commended as a profitable study to our readers. The fact that the *Evening Standard* was not very enthusiastic about it should add to that commendation!

## Book Notices—Continued.

**Kit's Coty. A New Musical Play in Three Acts.** By Frederic Evans and H. J. Anderson. (Lincoln Williams. 3s. 6d. net.)

A well-written and attractive Fairy Play for children, the main *motif* being the wickedness and folly of war, presented in an unusually lucid fashion that is both simple and direct. There are some 14 parts for adults, the remainder of the long cast being children. There are 32 musical items, many of which are suitable for use individually. This play is eminently suitable for branches of the League of Nations Union or for school presentation.

### OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

**Appeal of Chinese Government.** 1933. VII. 2, 27 pages. 1s. *The Report of Committee of Nineteen adopted by Assembly. The most important political document ever issued by Geneva.*

**Draft Convention submitted by the United Kingdom Delegation.** IX. Disarmament. IX. 2. 9d.

**Dispute between Colombia and Peru:** Colombia's appeal under Article 15 of the Covenant, including a map of the the Leticia Trapezium. 1933. VII. 3. 9d.

**Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.** Annual subscription (12 numbers), 18s. post free; single numbers (48 pages each), 1s. 6d. net.

*Beginning with the January 1933 number, considerable changes have been made in the "Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," both in form and content. Each number now contains an Introduction, Special Tables and Diagrams on subjects of current economic interest, e.g., gold stocks, gold production, movement of world trade, prices of commodities, stocks of commodities, tonnage launched and under construction, tonnage laid up, bond yields, etc., and Monthly Tables showing regularly the more important economic statistics of the world relating to industrial and mineral production, foreign trade, transport, wholesale and retail price indices, banking and unemployment.*

Specimen number sent free of charge on application to English Agents for League of Nations publications: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.

### PERIODICALS

**Monthly Summary.** Annual subscription (12 numbers), 8s., post free. Single numbers, 1s. Supplements, if any, free to Subscribers.

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**Official Journal.** Annual subscription (12 numbers), £3 post free. *Contains the complete Minutes of all the Sessions of the League Council, its Reports and Resolutions, as well as the principal official documents received or despatched by the Secretariat of the League.*

**Information Bulletin of the League of Nations' Intellectual Co-operation Organization.** Annual subscription (12 numbers), 10s. Single numbers, 1s.

*A monthly account of the League's work for intellectual co-operation.*

**Permanent Court of International Justice.** "Ten Years of International Jurisdiction" (1922—1932). 74 pages. Paper, 4s. 9d. Cloth, 6s. 9d.

*The Court's autobiography of the first ten years of its life. Gives a plain and succinct account of the salient facts, but avoids all technical detail.*

English Agents for League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation and Permanent Court of International Justice publications. Messrs. Allen & Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1.

### OFFICIAL I.L.O. PUBLICATIONS

**Report of the Preparatory Conference (January, 1933) on Hours of Work and Unemployment.** 6d.

**Blue Report on the Abolition of Fee Charging Employment Agencies.** 1s. 6d.

*A document prepared for the 17th Session of the International Labour Conference which starts on June 8.*

**International Labour Review.** February, 1933. 2s. 6d.

*This number of the Review contains an article on the highly important subject of Popular Arts and Workers' Spare Time, from the pen of M. J. Jules Destrée. It is the best account yet written of the work of the Folk Arts organisation of the League of Nations.*

All I.L.O. documents can be obtained from the London Office of the I.L.O., 12, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

### NEW L.N.U. LITERATURE

No. 339. **Manchuria, Past, Present and Future.** Price 1/6 per 100.

No. 340. **The League of Nations and the League of Nations Union:** Some familiar objections answered. Price 2d.

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**Peace** A NEW MONTHLY! 2D.

Arthur Henderson, Lord Ponsonby, J. B. Priestley, H. M. Tomlinson, Stephen King-Hall, W. Arnold-Forster, and others contribute to the April issue.

39, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W.1.

## Readers' Views

### COMMENTS ON UNION LITERATURE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I wonder if the Editor of a series of three provincial weekly newspapers, who has recently accepted the secretaryship of a L.N.U. branch, may be allowed to venture an opinion on the League literature his predecessor in office has handed over to him with the keys of the branch safe?

I read four pamphlets, and I am surfeited. My sense of taste offended. I am mentally thrown off my balance and intellectually sick. The feast of words has not produced in me a flow of League soul.

I am provoked in much the same way when I attend League meeting. Why is it that many of our speakers are such gas bags? They are stored with facts sufficient to surfeit a circus of elephants, but a kitten could lap up their gift for explanation and look round hungrily for another saucer.

I know they do it because I have had to take yards and yards of shorthand notes during my attendance at Union meetings when I was a reporter, and the difficulty always was to find the point of a particular speaker's remarks. Ambiguity, prolixity, wordiness, lack of simplicity—these are our faults.

I have in front of me a publication by the—Shire Federal Council. It must have cost a small mint of money. Yet it is deadly and dull, and seems to me to be about as useful as a blot of ink on a will document. Yet it has one advantage over much L.N.U. literature; it is illustrated.

There is a picture of Geneva. No doubt the photographer took great pains to get all the stonework and masonry of the League of Nations offices into it. He certainly must have succeeded. Unfortunately, however, for the photographer there must have been three parts of the building which the printer of my copy did not like so very well, because, hovering in the sky over the building are many markings which I make out to be representations of Zeppelins but which my wife persists are flies martyred between the pages.

Then on the opposite page the writer of the booklet uses these words in explaining the work of the League: "Institution; international; co-operation; armaments; arbitration; amicably; covenant; permanent; preparatory"; without one word of explanation to the man in the street what those long, nasty words mean.

Possibly when I have established my three journals I will use all my leisure trying to write appeals for the League in unblurred, direct simplicity. I hope I shall succeed.—Yours, etc.

ERNEST WHITAKER,

Editor, Middlesbrough and Cleveland Standard Series.

[This letter has had to be considerably shortened.—ED.]

### HISTORY TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—May I, having twenty years' experience of urban and rural schools, answer Mrs. Corbett Ashby's very pertinent questions relating to the teaching of history, as far as this teaching concerns to-day the 5½ millions of primary school pupils.

The Board of Education dictates no fixed course, but in framing a school syllabus the head teacher is usually guided by the suggestions made in the Board's publication, *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, and by those in the more recent Reports of the Hadow Commission. Reference to the section on the teaching of History in the *Handbook* will give a correct idea of the proportion which national and local events are likely to bear to those of international importance in the teacher's presentation of the subject. In the Report of the Hadow Commission on the Education of the Adolescent, this summary is stressed by italics: *Whatever arrangement is adopted, there appears to be considerable general agreement that the main work of the course should be general British history, with some idea of its world setting.*

There is no lack of text-books upon the market, many of them excellently produced; nearly all are framed upon

the lines of these suggestions, and present national history in detail, with a brief prologue of pre-Christian story.

Human history, in proportioned outline, without national bias, will not be taught generally until:

(a) University syndics and scholarship examining boards give a lead by setting an alternative paper on the subject.

(b) Its study is introduced into the training college course.

In the meantime, a relatively few head teachers, who recognise the urgent need for a fairly proportioned view of human affairs, are teaching history along the lines indicated by Professor Gooch when he wrote, in the introduction to Mr. F. Crossfield Happold's *Approach to History*, "We must work from the whole to the part, not from the part to the whole."

I am, yours truly,

HELEN CORKE.

Kelvedon, Essex.

February, 1933.

### THE LEAGUE AND THE FUTURE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In view of the present world situation, I have been trying to take stock of my beliefs and ideas about the League of Nations, disarmament, pacifism, and the like, for of all sins that of loose thinking is likely to do the maximum of harm at this chaotic period of history.

I confess myself puzzled by the mentality of those left-wing pacifists who at one and the same time declare that war is an abomination, and fiercely denounce the League for not applying sanctions to Japan—and thereby inevitably precipitating war. It is an unpalatable truth that Great Powers will not submit to methods of coercion which may be successfully applied to lesser Powers. A very unpalatable truth indeed, but one which must be faced. It is no good sending L.N.U. speakers round the country explaining the theoretical terms of the Covenant, only to find that these articles cannot be enforced without precipitating a world war every time a Great Power transgresses the Covenant.

The League's principal weakness, it seems to me, lies in its failure to tackle causes of trouble before they reach the dispute stage. It is true that Article 19 of the Covenant does make a vague reference to the reconsideration of international conditions whose continuance may endanger the peace of the world, but actually this work, as I see it, is the most important task of the League, and should take precedence of everything else. Years and years before the outbreak of an actual dispute between China and Japan the League should have invited these two countries to consider their mutual relations and see what could be done to adjust them harmoniously.

With regard to the Disarmament Conference, the whole affair seems to me a tragic farce. What is the use of a paper agreement, a "form of words" beloved of politicians? Does anyone imagine that France is going to disarm with a Nazi Germany on her frontiers? True enough that France herself, with the rest of her Allies who drafted the Treaty of Versailles, is partly responsible for the trend of affairs in Germany. Nationalist sentiment is bound to arise in a country which has suffered unjust territorial losses. But to admit this is to provide no solution.

I am beginning to wonder if, after all, the drastic measure of unilateral disarmament by the British Government might not be the only means of bringing the world to its senses. The only alternative is to stop talking about disarmament at all, and to concentrate on security; and security, as I see it, can only be achieved by a League of Nations which cuts the unworkable "sanctions" out of its Covenant and concentrates on providing a solution of world problems long before they reach the dangerous stage of world disputes. On these lines I think the League has an important part to play.

Yours, etc.,

Padworth, near Reading.

JESSIE CAPPER.

[This letter also has had to be considerably shortened.—ED.]

## News Reels

THE news theatres are gradually creating a new kind of audience. It is that which goes to see and to hear that type of programme. It is interesting to note that in this new class of cinema patron men predominate roughly in the same proportion as women outnumber men in ordinary theatre audiences.

An analysis of the news-theatre audience shows that it can be divided roughly into four categories: those who go to see themselves or somebody they know upon the screen; those who wander in to while away time; those who are attracted by the notices of a particular item; and, lastly, the regulars.

The news-theatres try to please all this rather diverse collection. The result is that some part of the programme is sure to bore some section. One probable reason, for instance, of the comparative fewness of women is due to the fact that about one-third of the items offered as news are concerned with sport or athletics. Other sections of the audience are catered for by means of "magazines" or "pictorials," or other short films designed to divert the city-bred mind.

### The Programme Balance

Sport, it has already been said, occupies about a third of the news-theatre programme. The reason may be that it is about the only part of modern life with a wide appeal which consistently provides pictorial news items of a cheerful character.

The pure news of the day is often depressing—witness the subjects of recent "news" both in the daily press and on the film—trouble in the Far East, the *Atlantique* fire, the Neunkirchen explosion, blizzards, tornadoes, floods and wreckage generally, and the attempt on the life of President Roosevelt with close-ups of a battered prisoner undergoing cross-examination.

In the ordinary theatre the news reels are definitely subordinated to the feature pictures. The result is that they are ruthlessly shortened and speakers are cut off in the middle of a phrase so as to be almost unintelligible. But despite these shortcomings they play their part. There is no denying that our judgment is more easily influenced by the news film than by a written account of the same happening.

Amongst the more recent news reels worthy of the internationalist's attention were those of Nazi processions, Hitler addressing mass demonstrations, French and American farmers voicing their troubles, Chinese and Japanese troops in the field and Messieurs Matsuoka and Yen voicing their respective view-points. Economic questions and the banking crisis in the United States have found a place on the screen in interviews with such authorities as Sir Josiah Stamp and Sir Walter Layton. Sir Ian Hamilton has been heard on the problems of security and the control of civil aviation.

In the main we can praise the selective ability of the news-film editors. Our only comment is that sometimes when an English commentary is supplied to a foreign event it is not so impartial as we should have liked. Cinema-goers should be on their guard against such a thing and check up their impressions both by remembering that only a very little of any particular event can be seen and by setting the film against their own recollection of other versions of the same event. Being human, the editors, like their colleagues in Fleet Street, are tempted to over-emphasise some comparatively unimportant event, such as the dramatic Japanese exit from the Assembly Hall which was insignificant as compared to the unanimous expression of world opinion in adopting the Report.

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## COMMON OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.—II.

### 1.—War Is Part Of Human Nature

Even if the fighting instinct in Man is still strong, he has overcome many of his other primitive traits. Would anyone declare that man is not more civilised now than in the Stone Age? (See further "The Covenant Explained," Union pamphlet No. 34. Price 1s.)

### 2.—The League is Contrary to the Workings of Divine Providence

The Churches are united in maintaining that the League is based on Christian principles: and the leaders of all other religious bodies (as at the Moral Disarmament meeting last December) are whole-hearted in their support of it as being in accordance with their own ideals.

### 3.—If Britain Had Been Better Prepared in 1914, the War Could Have Been Averted

Perhaps: but the whole tendency of pre-war diplomacy and policy inevitably led towards armed conflict. If a more prepared England had postponed an outbreak of war in 1914, in the end there would have been a conflict on as large or an even larger scale.

### 4.—Unilateral Disarmament is the Only Way

As explained in January HEADWAY, Security can only be ensured by simultaneous limitation and reduction of armaments by International agreement. One-sided Disarmament would defeat its own ends.

### 5.—All Treaties Are Scraps of Paper

If there were no trust in the word of an individual foreigner, all business dealings would come to a standstill. Nations must also regulate their dealings with one another. It must be remembered that the League Covenant, unlike Treaties between two or more countries, is world-wide in its application and is to the considered and agreed interest of all nations.

### 6.—Britain Has Not Enough "Say" in the League Secretariat

In proportion, there are more Englishmen in the service of the League than men or women of any other nationality. On a similar argument other nations are entitled to resent the fact that Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General, or that Mr. H. B. Butler, the Director of the International Labour Office, are foreigners so far as they are concerned.

### 7.—The League Costs Too Much

The estimated League Budget for 1933 amounts to £1,335,100 at par. A proportion of the cost is borne by each of the 57 Member States. The world is spending yearly nearly £1,000,000,000 on armaments, and Great Britain is spending about £100,000,000. The interest on a fraction of the world's preparatory expenditure for war, if invested, would pay for the League in perpetuity. (See further Union pamphlet, No. 334, "What Does the League Cost?" Price 3d.)

### 8.—We Have Had Too Few Contracts for the New Building

Unless the League had accepted the lowest contracts, the cost of the new Offices would have been increased and there would have been a legitimate cause for complaint against the League's extravagance.

### 9.—Russia is Not a Member of the League and Means to Fight the World

History proves that whilst in defence Russia is impregnable, in attack she is useless. It is a significant fact that all the border States either have concluded or are shortly to conclude Pacts of Non-Aggression. The Soviet ideal as Russia fully understands, is more easily achieved by subtle propaganda than by force.

### 10.—The League Does Nothing

This is a very common objection from people who know nothing about the manifold activities of the League in the promotion of international co-operation. Let them read Union pamphlet, No. 195, "What the League Has Done, 1920-1932," price 6d., and they will see that in the spheres of the promotion of better health, the suppression of social evils, the raising of industrial standards, the establishment of law instead of war, and so forth, quietly and efficiently the League has justified its existence a hundred times over.

We have to thank our numerous correspondents who detected the misprint in No. 5 of *Common Objections Answered*.—I. Of course the world spends on armaments not a hundred million but a thousand million pounds a year.

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## League of Nations Union News

### SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY

April, 1933

## The Million

ST PATRICK'S DAY, 1933, was a red letter day in the annals of the League of Nations' Union. For the first time the numbers of people who have at any time joined the Union and are not known to have died or resigned topped the million mark.

This may appear to be a cause for congratulation. For two reasons at least this is not entirely the case. A million is less than 2½ per cent. of the total population of this country; and secondly, only 388,255 renewal subscriptions were paid in the year ending December 31, 1932.

The latter point is a comment on our organisation. Had they been asked there is small doubt that the other 615,000 would have gladly paid their debts, but they were not asked, even if some of them did receive a circular on the subject. The difficulties and trials of the noble band of collectors are great. As one wrote in the last issue of the *Berkshire and South Oxon News Sheet* :—

"The ex-Service man who thought we should arm to the teeth for another war because he'd rather be shot than starved—he was not one of the unemployed; the business man who couldn't see any use for the League of Nations; the former member who felt the League was not strong enough to deal with the Sino-Japanese question (only one out of more than 100 members); the friends who wanted to help and did not, or, the real friends who asked if they could be enrolled; the lady and gentleman who joined readily remembering a loved one in a mental hospital as the result of the last war; the ex-Service man eager to save others from his experiences; the members who know when their subscription is due and offer it, unasked; are, one and all, types met with in five weeks of canvassing and collecting for the League of Nations Union.

"Then again there is just ill-fortune, as, for example six calls before the subscriptions are paid, with apologies and quite simple explanations—glad it was not the subscriber who lived a sevenpenny bus ride out of town! Imagine the satisfaction when in one morning five second calls result in the payment of all five subscriptions!"

The extract shows that where there is a will there is a way. All branch organisers should adopt the "Ward" system, under which the members of a branch are arranged in groups or "wards" according to the neighbourhood in which they live or the church or other organisation to which they belong. Each ward is placed in charge of a member of the branch who visits, collects subscriptions, since it is not enough to send out a written or printed reminder (save to the effect that a collector will call at such and such a time on such and such a date) owing to the trouble of buying a postal order and posting it to a branch official. But the ward system cannot be expected to succeed if the shilling member is left from one year's end to another with nothing to maintain his interest.

This system has been approved times without number by the General Council of the Union and by the Branches and Regions Committees. It is that in vogue in those fairly numerous branches where 100 per cent. of renewals are obtained year after year.

Now let us deal with our first assertion above. It

has taken us thirteen years to have persuaded a million individuals to take a sufficiently active interest in the conduct of world affairs and in the positive organisation of peace to go to the extent of paying a subscription to the only society given a Royal Charter to obtain support for the League of Nations.

At our present rate of growth to obtain the second million will take a good deal longer than thirteen years. But if world peace is to be maintained on a just and permanent basis, the second million, and the third, fourth and fifth millions, too, must speedily be obtained.

As Professor Gilbert Murray, the chairman of the Union's Executive Committee has said in a letter sent to members recently :—

"Things go wrong because the League is not strong enough. . . . Dr. Nansen used to say that the strength of the League was in public opinion, and the best measure of public opinion was the strength of the League of Nations Union.

"If the Union had five million members . . . no British Parliament would hesitate in its support of the League, and the Governments which are now afraid to fulfil their covenants would then be afraid to break them."

Statesmen, like ordinary individuals, unless spurred on, have a knack of doing the right thing too late. From amongst recent events a few examples can be culled. The Arms Embargo was a move in the right direction, but it was taken at least twelve months too late. Equality of Status to Germany was granted some ten months too late. The British Disarmament plan would have been more useful if it had been presented earlier in the history of the Disarmament Conference.

The right course to be adopted and the dangers of procrastination in all these matters were foreseen by the Executive Committee, as a study of back numbers of this journal will show. And the reason why more attention was not paid to our counsel? That not enough people in this England of ours are members of the Union.

An informed and organised public opinion killed the Slave Trade, the centenary of whose abolition is being celebrated this year; it rendered possible the condemnation of the duel as a means of settling personal disputes; it can render possible the permanent outlawry of war as a means of settling international disagreements.

With five million members the Union would be a force for peace not only in its direct effect on the conduct of the foreign policy of this country. Its influence would extend to other nations of the world through the International Federation of League of Nations' Societies. There would not occur such Press campaigns as we have seen during the past few weeks whose avowed object was the belittlement of the League. Instead of breaking down opposition artificially created by a gang of narrowly nationalistically-minded newspaper proprietors, our energies could be bent to constructive effort.

## In the Executive

THE first important decision taken by the Executive Committee during the past month lays down the very important principle of *concerted discrimination* against a country which has been declared to be guilty of aggression against another. The text of the resolution was as follows:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union welcomes the principle implied in the Arms Embargo, that when issues of peace and war are involved, official policy must subordinate trade considerations to the paramount object of helping to restrict and arrest hostilities.

Urges that the British Government should, by publishing the communications which it is making to other countries, make it clear that the present measure is a purely interim measure while they are attempting to secure concerted discrimination corresponding with the character of the verdict pronounced by Geneva.

In particular the Executive urges that this concerted discrimination should recognise the general principle that it is incompatible with the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact that any assistance, whether by the export of arms or by financial facilities, should be given to any country which has been declared to be guilty of aggression against another.

### The German Situation

At one of its other meetings the Executive heard an account of the present situation in Germany from one who had just returned from that country. It felt that the German Government should realise the danger of alienating the sympathy of those in this country who had recognised the justice of the German claim to equality of status in armaments. Britain should make it quite clear to Germany that the existing treaties still stand, and that no concessions can be made to threats of force of which the recent excesses

of the Nazi party and certain recent German ministerial speeches were ominously symptomatic. The policy of the Executive was defined in the following terms:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges His Majesty's Government to take this occasion to make clear in a public declaration of policy that, while they still consider themselves bound by the assurances they have given to grant equality of status to Germany, existing provisions relating to the limitation of armaments and abstention from force should be strictly maintained.

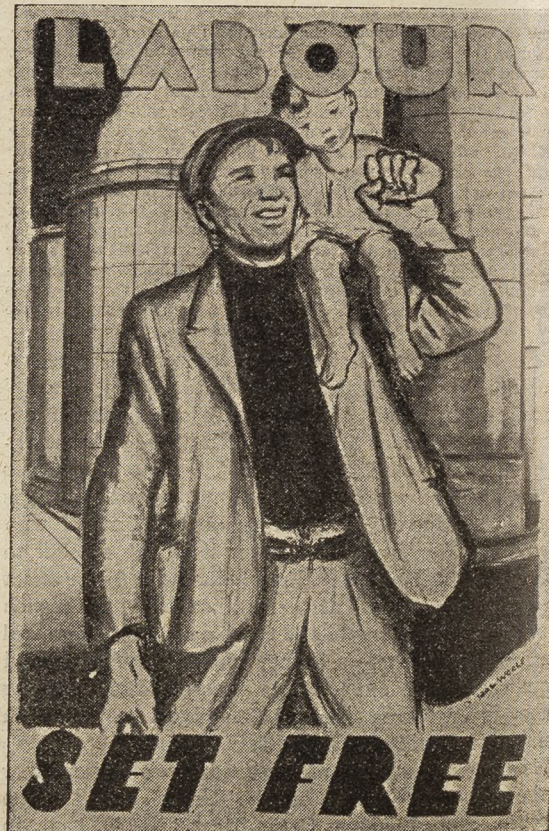
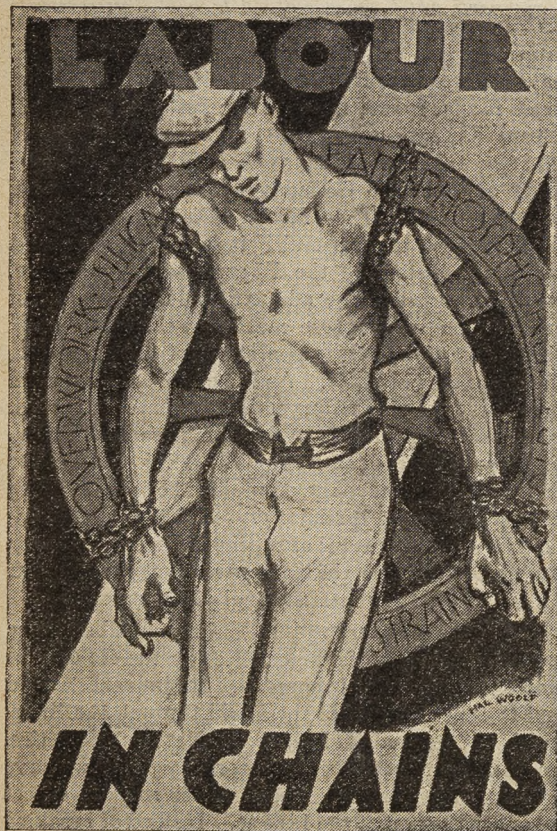
It further assures His Majesty's Government of its unhesitating support in any action that may be necessary for the fulfilment of our treaty obligations.

After discussing the British proposals at a special meeting, the following resolution was passed:

"That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union congratulates H.M. Government on having put forward a definite scheme of 'disarmament'; and trusts that the lead so given may enable the Conference to arrive at an international convention which will secure the peace of the world."

At a meeting of the Education Committee, satisfactory progress was reported from the various panels (history, geography, physical education and hygiene) who are studying the text books and methods at present used for teaching these subjects. A report presented on text books in China and Japan came to the conclusion that there was "a strong *prima facie* case for an inquiry into Chinese and Japanese text books used in Japan." As a positive step the Executive Committee has recommended that the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in both countries should be asked to undertake such an examination.

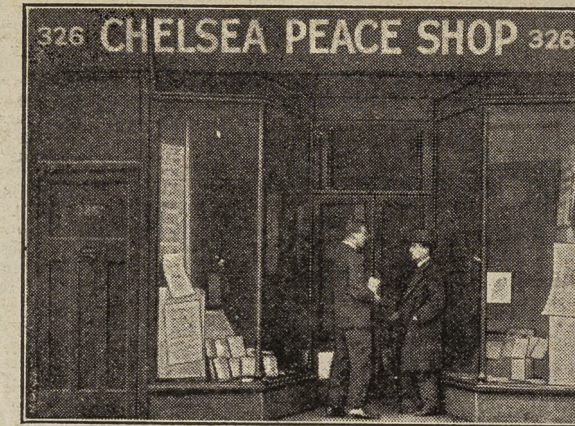
## This Month's Posters:



The legend on the centre poster will be:

"The League of Nations through the International Labour Organisation has brought Shorter Hours, Greater Freedom, Better Conditions to millions of workers throughout the world"

## Notes and News



The Chelsea Peace Shop

Sales at the Chelsea Peace Shop have increased every week since the Shop was opened. A new venture is the organisation of a second-hand department.

The limit of capacity has been reached for the use of the Shop as an Unemployed Centre. Classes in French, German, drawing, anatomy and play-reading are held for the men.

A cordial invitation is extended by the Organising Committee to all readers of *Headway* to pay the Shop a visit.

Milnthorpe, in Westmorland, assisted in sending a student to the Geneva Junior Summer School, and in due course heard a short account from the scholar of "the wonderful ten days he had spent there." Other Branches might consider undertaking a like activity this year.

Although the membership of the Shipley Branch has dropped from 650 to 602, the Treasurer and his colleagues are disappointed, but not disheartened. An effort is to be made to persuade each member of the Branch to obtain six new members during the coming year.

Tribute was paid at the Annual Meeting of the Colwall Branch to the death of the Rt. Hon. J. W. Wilson, the founder and first President of the Branch. His death was a loss not only to Colwall, but to the Malvern district generally. There are now 218 members of the Branch.

The Wallasey Branch has had a good year. Subscriptions show an increase of 60 per cent. on last year, and 244 new members were obtained. Among future plans are an exhibition of the Children's Disarmament Posters, the erection of a Union poster board and a lecture on "Manchuria," by Professor Roxby, of Liverpool University.

The Union's *News Sheet* is circulated to all members of the Beaminster Branch, says the Annual Report, and serves to keep its readers informed of the current activities of the League.

The Annual Report of the Mortlake and East Sheen Branch comments on the activities of the anti-League press, and shows its readers some of the untrue statements that have been put forward. The great event of the year was the League of Nations car, which won second prize in the procession which took place on the day when the District was granted a Charter.

Two hundred and seventy-six members have been gained by Felixstowe during the past twelve months. Branch efforts during the earlier part of the year were chiefly devoted to helping the Junior Branch. Attention was next turned towards the anti-League campaign that was going on in the press, and in addition to the distribution of the *Broadsheets*, a poster frame was erected. The local press has courteously allowed a series of ten articles, written by Union members from different points of view on "Why we Need the League." A very useful year's work!

By means of a small Concert Party the Fraserburgh Branch is carrying out missionary enterprise in the neighbouring districts, and has accomplished some good work. The members of the Branch visited their neighbours at Peterhead. The meeting was a notable success.

One of the most successful of the many meetings which Lord Lytton has addressed on the Far Eastern dispute was that in Manchester, where he had an audience of about 2,000 in the Albert Hall. The Chair was taken by Colonel George Westcott, one of the leaders of the Conservative Party in Manchester, who was supported by the Earl of Stamford, Lady Hanworth, representatives of the Churches, University, and the business community.

Despite appalling weather, the Borough Hall, at Godalming, was crowded to hear Lord Lytton. People came from all parts of Surrey, and from as far afield as the borders of Kent, Sussex and Hampshire. The meeting was most enthusiastic. Lord Lytton also spoke to another county meeting at Worcester. The Bishop took the chair.

The Stockport Branch are fortunate in securing the support of the local press for a regular account of Committee meetings, the future programme and some account of the Branch's work. Well over a 1,000 subscriptions were collected by the Branch during 1932.

The Waterloo and Crosby Youth Group has been a great help to the Adult Branch and has already visited nearly all its 1,000 members. It also gave a performance of the play, *These Things Shall Be*, which the Secretary says: "Is a piece

of propaganda for peace difficult to beat."

The children of Linby School gave an excellent performance to the Branch before an address by the Vice-President of the Nottingham Rotary Club who said that, in his judgment, the League was the most important subject before the world at the present time.

Under the auspices of the School Journey Association, a group of 700 British boys and girls will leave London on the morning of April 19, and return on the afternoon of April 23. Bruges will be made the party's headquarters, and its members will be present at the ceremony which is to be broadcast from the Menin Gate. Full information of this and other expeditions can be obtained from the Secretary, whose address is, 35, Parkview Road, Addiscombe, Croydon.

We are glad to be able to call attention to the new paper, *Essential News*, which has just made its appearance.

Made up of quotations, summaries and significant facts and of constructive suggestions from English and foreign sources, it saves the time of busy people by putting forward the essential facts in a constructive, objective and compact manner. Single copies cost 4d. each, and four months' subscription is 5s., post free. Specimen copies can be obtained from the Editor, 65, Portland Place, London, W.1.

The Spring number of *Service*, the quarterly review published by Rotary International contains several articles of international interest. Mr. H. B. Butler, the Director of the I.L.O., sums up the results of the 40-Hour Conference and a discussion on the same subject takes place between Sir Charles Mander and Mr. Percy Wallace. Lord Howard of Penrith contributes an article on "Sanctions, Confidence, Disarmament, Recovery," in which he makes a case for the general acceptance of a system of economic sanctions as one of the bases of confidence.

A local peace poster competition, which resulted in twenty-three entries, is one of the activities chronicled in the Annual Report of the Winscombe (Somerset) Branch. During the summer a camp fire meeting was held, when some 130 children, chiefly Scouts and Guides, met round a bonfire to hear told the story of the League. The evening was interspersed with songs and games.

The following letter from Sidcup was received with a 3s. 6d. subscription for 1933: "I am an old age pensioner, but as I am blessed with health to work, I can subscribe this small sum."

Very generously the Chester Branch has made a grant of £10 to the Union over and above the Council Vote quota due for 1932.

The Blackpool Branch has made good progress during the year. Besides getting many new members, several large Junior Branches have been formed in the Schools of the Borough, largely as a result of a visit from a Headquarters speaker, who spoke in every School under the auspices of the Education Committee.

In view of the fact that the Centenary of the Abolition of Slavery within the British Empire is being celebrated this year, many Branches are holding meetings at which addresses are given on the present situation now that the abolition of slavery has been undertaken by the League of Nations. Among others, a meeting was held at Norwich, where Sir John Harris, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery League, deputised for Lady Simon. A resolution was passed congratulating the Government on having secured the creation of a Permanent League Slavery Committee.

Mr. Alec Wilson paid a second visit to Oundle, and instead of "prep" the whole school and staff listened to a talk on the League of Nations, which, from all accounts, was highly appreciated.

Annual Reports have been received (amongst others) from the following Branches:—West Hartlepool; Clapham and Battersea; Harrow; Gledholt Methodist, Huddersfield; Colne; Southend; Bexhill; Worcester; Gillingham; Wantage; Teddington and the Hamptons; Wishaw; Launceston; Newquay; Wealdstone; Hartford (Cheshire); Petersfield.

## Forthcoming Broadcasts

Mondays, 10.45 a.m. : "The International Housewife." Talks by nationals of various countries on differences and similarities in their modes of life. In April, housekeeping in Yugoslavia, Spain and Sweden will be described.

7.30 p.m. : "Slavery, 1833-1933." The Wilberforce Centenary. April 24 : "Slavery and the Slave Trade up to 1833." Sir John Harris.

Tuesdays, 6.50 p.m. : French and Italian Conversations.

Wednesday, April 5, 9.20 p.m. : National Lecture. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, speaking on the work of the League.

Thursdays, 6.50 p.m. : Spanish Lessons. Third session.

9.20 p.m. : Mr. Vernon Bartlett, speaking from abroad. April 6 and 20.

Mr. Wickham Steed : April 13 and 27.

On Sundays, at 10 p.m., take place the regular weekly broadcasts from the new League of Nations Station on the two wave lengths, 31.3 and 38.47 metres.

## School Broadcasts

Tuesdays, 4.5 p.m. : Current Affairs. "What's the News?" Godfrey Lias and Hugh Ross Williamson.

## Council's Vote

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

1932.—Barlston, Blockley, Berks Federal Council, Biddulph Moor, Chelmsford, Chinnor, Compton, Earl's Barton, Essex Federal Council, Gresham School, Holt, Hereford City, Hythe, Hexham, Haddenham, Heathfield, Kent Federal Council, Little Baddow, Manchester District, Northants Federal Council, Nutfield, Newbury, Princes Risborough, Peace Crusade (Birmingham), Rickmansworth, Shepton Mallet, St. Osyth, Sussex Federal Council, Stroud, Windlesham, Worcester Federal Council, Witham, Wymondham, Water Orton.

1933.—Ludlow, Lydney, West Cranmore.

## Overseas Notes

**New Zealand.**—In its annual report for 1932 the Executive of the New Zealand League of Nations Union says : "That the failure of the League, in so far as it has failed, is due to the vacillation of the State Governments, especially France and Great Britain. and this in its turn is due to the failure of public opinion to insist that the League's programme shall be carried out in full. It is hardly too much to say that the League of Nations Unions are as indispensable as the League of Nations itself. . . . The lesson for us in New Zealand is that our chief endeavour should be to add to our membership until we become a body so numerous that the Government cannot ignore it. . . ."

**America.**—The Tenth Annual Convention of the League of Nations Association was held in St. Louis from January. The opinion often and emphatically expressed by speakers was that absence of the United States from the League of Nations has been largely responsible for any lack of effectiveness the League has had in dealing with the present world crisis.

The Annual Dinner was held on January 13, when Dr. Glenn Frank, President of Wisconsin, delivered the chief address. The chair was taken by Mr. Charles H. Strong, Chairman of the American League of Nations Association, and other speakers included E. M. Grossman, of St. Louis; Charles P. Taft, son of the late President of the United States; and Mrs. Israel Zangwill. An outstanding feature of the dinner was a pageant, written and produced for the occasion by Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., of St. Louis University.

**France.**—The annual general meeting of the Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union was held at the Wesleyan Church Hall on March 1. Captain A. E. W. Thomas, Overseas Secretary of the League of Nations Union, presided, and the speakers included Madame Puech, President of the League of Nations Women's Union, and M. Francis Delaisi.

## Speakers from St. Dunstan's

We learn that during the 1933-34 lecture season some of the war-blinded men of St. Dunstan's are ready to speak at meetings and tell the story of St. Dunstan's. No charge for their services is made, nor would an appeal be promulgated. Lecturers are accompanied by a sighted guide. Where desired, the speaker takes a hamper containing goods made by St. Dunstan's men for illustration purposes. Though the address does not primarily deal with international and foreign affairs, St. Dunstan's is bound up with the League of Nations, for there can be no greater appeal for disarmament than a blinded soldier, even if he does not mention the actual word.

The President of the **Hendon Rotary Club** has sent us a Declaration on Disarmament, which was signed by himself, the Mayor and religious and communal leaders. It was printed in the local paper.

## WELSH NOTES

Nine hundred and eighteen representative individuals in Wales and Monmouthshire have now signed the Petition to H.M. Government. Nearly 1,500 Union Branches, Churches and other organisations in the Principality, representing a total membership of over 360,000, have passed the special resolution on the Sino-Japanese Dispute.

At a further Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council, held towards the end of February, the following resolution on the Sino-Japanese Dispute was adopted:

"The Executive Committee of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union—

Welcomes the attitude taken by the Committee of Nineteen in its adherence to the Lytton Report, and

In view of the imminent threat of full war owing to the Japanese intention, officially announced to the League, of invading the Chinese Province of Jehol,

Urges the British Government to request—

(a) That the Assembly remain seized of the conflict and organise co-operation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., with a view to concerted action between the League and these Powers for the protection of the peace of the world.

(b) Immediate consultation between all arms-exporting countries with a view to an embargo upon such export, and also upon the export of products needful for the manufacture of armaments, to Japan."

Among many public meetings held during March on the subject of the Far Eastern Crisis, Major Goronwy Owen, M.P., addressed a united meeting at Criccieth. Sir Norman Angell and Dr. Joan Fry spoke at Wrexham, Mr. Alec Wilson in the Cardiff Area, Mr. Ellis Lloyd at Aberkenfig.

In connection with the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers at Aberystwyth in Easter Week, a meeting on "The Teaching of World Citizenship" will take place in the Siloh C. M. Chapel Vestry, Aberystwyth, at 6 p.m. on the evening of Easter Monday, April 17. The Welsh Council is also arranging an Exhibition Stall.

The Welsh National Council Daffodil Day will be held at most centres in the Principality on Saturday, May 20. Other places that have found that date unsuitable have selected dates during the summer months.

The Welsh Council Annual Conference will be held this year at Aberystwyth in June.

## THE EASTER SCHOOL

THERE are still vacancies for the Easter School to be held at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from April 13 to 18. The School will frankly examine the causes and characteristics of the present world crisis and possible lines of policy for the future. The lecturers include such authorities as Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Mr. Wickham Steed, and Professor C. K. Webster.

The fee for the full week-end with lectures and five days' accommodation is 3½ guineas. The fee for admission to lectures only is 1 guinea, or 10s. 6d. for members of the Oxford Branch or Youth's Groups of the Union.

## Membership

## RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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