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# THE ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE

See pages 150 to 152

# THE CAMBRIDGE COUNCIL

See pages 147 & 160

# HEADWAY

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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### CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	142	Impressions of Abyssinia. By James Bramwell	150
No War if the League Stands Firm (Editorial)	144	Among the Italian Workers. By John Brown	151
Training the Young Idea. By Frederic Evans	145	Italy, Abyssinia and the League. By David Woodward	152
Those German Colonies. By Elizabeth Yandell	146	Antidote	153
The Mandate System and Germany. By Philip Mumford	146	Book Notices	154
Impressions of the Cambridge Council. By J. E. Eppstein	147	Readers' Views	156
The Value of Pageants. By J. M. Gibson	149	Here and There	158
		Personalities at Cambridge. By Peggy Smith	160

### A NEW VERSION OF SAFETY FIRST!



S. O. S.

By courtesy of the "Evening Standard"



## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Security For All

ON July 11 the House of Commons debated British foreign policy. The new Secretary of State reasserted Great Britain's loyalty to the League. Sir Austen Chamberlain condensed in a brief speech the response of the whole nation, irrespective of party, to the Italo-Abyssinian crisis. He declared:

"... It is not to be supposed that the League can be flouted under the eyes of Europe, that League methods can be repudiated, a policy of force and conflict engaged in, and that the League can pass all that by, because it happens to occur in Africa and not in Europe and cannot by so doing destroy the value of the collective security not for Africa only, but for Europe...."

"... The value of the Covenant to Austria and to the Powers that are interested in Austria is exactly the value that the League can secure for it when Abyssinia comes to plead at the Council, and it is idle to suppose that what is at stake in this matter is merely a quarrel between Abyssinia and Italy—a quarrel which might or might not affect our interests."

"What is at stake is the system of collective security...."

"... But if we do not live up to those obligations, then the whole collective system is gone. It is not merely that it has failed to protect Abyssinia; it is that it is a broken reed for any European Power to rely upon. It is more; in fact, it does not exist...."

"... in the last resort we have to take our decision at the Council table at Geneva. We have to take the risk of saying, 'We are prepared to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant if others will do the same.' We ought to say that openly to the Council even at the risk that others may refuse. If we have to use that language and others are offended by it, and we come home empty-handed, that much we owe to the honour of the British name and to the efforts that our successive Governments have made to make the League of Nations a real force in international life in the interests of peace and security for us all."

In these firm and moderate words, the world hears the authentic voice of Britain.

## Ten Years' Rule

IN the House of Commons debate, Sir Austen Chamberlain referred to "what the Rt. Hon. Gentleman still calls the 'Allies'—a word I have never used since Locarno, because I do not want to maintain that distinction." Ten years ago, after the signing of the Locarno Treaty, Sir Austen, then Foreign Secretary, addressed a meeting in London of political journalists. One of his audience, in asking him a question, used the phrase "ex-enemy countries." "I hope," said Sir Austen in his reply, "that expression will never be used again." Not often does a statesman, having adopted a generous and wise usage, maintain such a consistent fidelity in its practice.

## Equal Rights; Equal Duties

THE member nations of the League must stand together and not only fulfil their own obligations to the full but also join in requiring an equally scrupulous observance from any nation

inclined to default. The individual interests of each not less than the common interests of all require such action. The reasons are admirably stated in a leading article in the great Paris paper *Le Temps*. It says:—

"The day when the authority of the League can be impudently flouted, or a State, because it has force at its disposal, is able to defy the common rule which is the law of Geneva, without having to fear the sanctions which only the League can decide and recommend against whatever nation does not fulfil its international obligations, will be the day when the small nations will find themselves the first victims of the fact that the organisation at Geneva, betrayed in its spirit and in its methods, is no longer in a position conscientiously to perform its mission.... But equality of rights implies equality of duties, and it is a direct consequence that power should exist to take in stated circumstances decisions upon which all States, both great and small, must know how to act courageously. To fear to accept certain risks, when they have as their counterpart the collective defence of the rights of all, would be to reveal a singular lack of confidence in the effective co-operation on which depends the common safety.... France and Great Britain desire that the League shall continue a living reality, the only force by which the life of the world can develop upon the basis of right, in whose absence there cannot be any organised peace."

This is well said. But it happened to be said when the League Council was passing its condemnation of Germany at its extraordinary meeting in April, and was addressed to Denmark who withheld her vote. To-day the need for an uncompromising assertion of League principles is far more desperate and immediate; *Le Temps* seems to have forgotten its own words. It has been fertile in excuses for Italy.

## France Thinks Again

THE attitude of *Le Temps* was that of almost all the Paris Press. It would seem to have reflected not unfaithfully the official French attitude. During the last ten days of July, however, there has been a change. From a dread of offending Italy and a desire to find any means at any cost of avoiding a clear-cut "No" by the League to Signor Mussolini's war plans, the realistic French mind has been awakening, under the relentless pressure of facts, to the simple truth. The one thing France cannot do is to stand by, weakly acquiescent, while an aggressor tears up the Covenant. Organised supporters of the League have not been idle, and the Government has not been left in ignorance of the increasing alarm with which the possibility has come to be regarded of divergence from Britain when Britain stands for the common interest of world order. Even *Le Temps* has advanced so far as to protest that Italy must be represented at Geneva in order to make known "her needs of expansion, which are nowhere denied, but which can be satisfied only within the framework of the League."

## Air Menace

THE advocates of monster air armaments are pleased with the results of the July air manoeuvres. Illogically. For if the achievements against the air raids on London were as real as they claim, and dispelled as conclusive as they argue present popular fears, then the restraining influence upon other nations of a vast British air force, which is the first chapter of their own case, has been wildly overstated. Easily, also. For on their own showing not more than one in ten of the air raiders were brought to action, let alone turned away from their objectives. During one twelve hours of the manoeuvres, for example, when the clear skies were specially favourable to the defence, only six raiding squadrons out of seventy were challenged; and of one of them, to say that it was intercepted is a polite euphemism, the defenders not meeting it until it was over its target. In wartime, in an area whose homes had been wrecked and set on fire and blanketed by poison gas, the few survivors might be a little consoled to know that the killers had not escaped. But the ruin and the slaughter would not be any the less. The air menace can be banished only by the abolition of war aircraft.

## Premier and Peace Ballot

THE presentation of the Peace Ballot results to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister for League of Nations Affairs (Mr. Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Anthony Eden), was doubly notable. The strong deputation headed by Viscount Cecil had a message which it very much concerned the Government to know, and the Prime Minister's answer, like the Peace Ballot itself, has a world-wide significance.

Mr. Baldwin said the result had been described by Lord Cecil as a National Declaration and he received it as such. He repeated his own recent statement that the League of Nations was the sheet anchor of British policy. He appreciated and admired the immense amount of voluntary work which has been done on behalf of the League. He was glad that the object of the ballot was to show the Government that a large volume of public support was behind it in the efforts which it is making to maintain the authority of the League.

At its inception the ballot was much and variously attacked. But now in a world situation of immense difficulty its results, by almost unanimous consent, are placing decisive support behind an energetic and far-sighted policy for peace.

## 40 Hours Week

NATIONS, both great and small, betray from time to time a tendency to doubt whether they have any business with their neighbours except to quarrel with them. There are hours when the world seems to be breaking down into a chaos of hostile nationalisms. But only seems. For continuously the great permanent, impersonal

forces, far more powerful than any mischief-making of political adventurers, are drawing the nations together into a coherent world order. The Nineteenth International Labour Conference, held at Geneva during June, has thrown a light on the evolving unity. It has provided an example of what needs to be done and is being done by constructive statesmanship.

One of the "guiding principles" laid down when the I.L.O. was founded was the institution of the eight-hour day and the forty-eight hour week. Now, after several years of agitated discussion, provoked by a proposal of temporary measures to cope with a tragic volume of unemployment, and leading on to an admission that not a passing expedient but a fundamental reform is required, the Conference has approved by a substantial majority the principle of the forty-hour week. The Draft Convention must still pass through many stages before it even begins to be translated into industrial fact. None the less, the vote marks a decisive advance.

Each country which ratifies the Convention will thereby approve the forty-hour week, declare its willingness to take appropriate measures for the maintenance of the standard of living, and promise to apply the principle to industries in accordance with the detailed provisions laid down in separate Conventions concerning various industries. The separate Conventions, of course, will have to be adopted one by one at Geneva, and ratified by each country; and 1935 has seen no further progress than the voting by the Conference of a scheme for the glass-bottlemaking industry, and the carrying over for a second reading next year of similar schemes in building and contracting, public works undertaken or subsidised by Governments, iron and steel, and coal mining.

The question to ask, however, is not why so little has been accomplished, but whether anything would have been done except through the agency of the I.L.O.

## Wage Stability

DESPITE all the obstacles, superfluously raised in its path, the world is evolving into a single economy. Uncertainty hampers progress, making it more expensive and more painful than it need be. Some means must be discovered and enforced of adjusting hours and wages, which in one form or another constitute far the biggest factor in production costs. Step by step the I.L.O. is bringing the industrial nations of the world to establish a reasonably stable relationship between their competing trades.

By putting upon international record in the most public manner what are the pressing needs of the existing economic system, and by suggesting ways in which they can be satisfied, the I.L.O. helps as no other agency can to enhance human welfare. Thanks to the I.L.O., the forty-hour week for the industrial worker is coming.





# HEADWAY

AUGUST 1935

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## NO WAR IF THE LEAGUE STANDS FIRM

NEVER were the British people more set upon the preservation of peace. They see all the folly and the ruin of war. Busy with the great constructive task of building a healthier and happier Britain, where life shall be for every class in the community a fuller and more splendid adventure, they dread the blind interruption which must multiply their difficulties and might even deny them their final success. But peace cannot be saved unless those who value it are prepared to pay the price of peace.

The British people have never refused to make the effort required from them by their situation, although they are sometimes slow to bestir themselves. They are prepared, in the last resort, to defend world peace by enforcing respect for the international institutions on whose vigour and effectiveness world peace depends. If action is necessary to provide a conclusive demonstration that there is no place for war in the new world order, and that war has become inevitably unprofitable to those who wage it, then the British people will join in action. But only to save peace from the peace-breaker.

Such, as it affects Great Britain, are the elements of the crisis with which the world is confronted at the beginning of August. The dispute between Italy and Abyssinia does not yet forbid all hope of a friendly settlement. Nevertheless the repeated refusals of Signor Mussolini to consider any way of escape from armed conflict, his continual despatch of troops and munitions to the Italian colonies in North-East Africa, the extravagant, intimidatory tone of his speeches, are difficult to reconcile with any plan short of military conquest.

The omens are dark. But there is nothing in the situation which can defeat Great Britain and the other nations who desire to preserve world peace. They have the right, and they dispose also of forces much more than sufficient to secure complete and immediate respect for their right, if they choose to employ them. It rests with them, at little cost and no risk of war, to save all that their peoples most value by forbidding a resort to war. To-day law is the only tolerated means of adjusting the claims made by nation upon nation.

Abyssinia, fearing Italian aggression, has appealed to the League and has pledged herself beforehand to accept and carry out whatever judgment League justice may pronounce. Under the Covenant the League's duty to hear and decide is clear; no less clear is the duty of the member nations to join in the common defence against any aggressor who resorts to war in disregard of the Covenant. If such an unhappy situation arises, Italy will have no ground for complaint. She

helped to make the League. She has held a permanent seat in the Council ever since its inception. She has been a chief beneficiary of its work throughout the past fifteen years. She is tied by the Covenant, if national honour has any constraining effect, "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

To quote other prohibitions would be idle; they abound in the instrument which by the explicit acceptance of its signatories is the basis of the public law of far the greater part of the world. Italy has suggested no shadow of a case to lend even an appearance of legality to an attack on Abyssinia and the conquest of Abyssinian territory. Indeed, neither she nor any friend of hers seriously attempts to reconcile with the plain meaning of the Covenant the course on which Signor Mussolini declares she is inflexibly set. They are no more capable of an answer when an appeal is made to the Briand-Kellogg Pact, where Italy "condemns recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounces it as an instrument of national policy" in her relations with the other signatories, of whom Abyssinia is one. Or to the eight or nine bilateral or multilateral treaties by which, during the last thirty odd years, Italy has promised to respect Abyssinia's integrity and independence.

If her threatened action compels the other League members, bound by Article 16, to decree against her the sanctions there provided for the restraint of a peace-breaker, Italy can raise no reasoned protest. She could not in decency even pretend to be surprised that the world had taken her at her often repeated word. And, since an overwhelming superiority in force would be ranged against her, she would have no choice except to submit. Meanwhile, the League offers Italy peace and justice.

Great Britain's policy is loyalty to the League. It demands that the members shall fulfil their obligations under the Covenant. It does not mean war. It is not in any sense an attack upon Italy. It is a measure of self-protection required by the permanent interests of Britain, and the British Empire, and the whole world. The world is entitled to live in peace. Only settled peace, secure against violent disturbance, can make possible present welfare and future hope. Resistance to the peace-breaker with every means required for success is the obvious measure of self-protection for any society that deserves to survive. In the new world order, whoever resorts to war inflicts, at his own irresponsible will, unlimited damage upon the world. He saps the foundations and throws down the walls which mankind has built for the common shelter.

As the day draws near for the decision which must be taken to save the peace of the world, the need for common sense and courage is happily growing clearer, not only in Great Britain, but in other countries. When they have to declare themselves, France and Russia and the other members of the Council are likely to join Britain in telling Italy that peace must be kept. If they do so, peace will be kept. Surely they will do so if Britain speaks plainly. Methods are for Ministers to decide. No attempt is dreamed of to dictate to them. The resources of friendly settlement are still far from exhausted. Sanctions are not yet under review. But about Britain's resolve and the League's defence doubt is not permissible.

## TRAINING THE YOUNG IDEA

THE remarkable success of the National Peace Ballot in expressing the real opinions of mature people on the collective system of keeping peace, will prompt the question: what of the young post-war generation, who knew not, even indirectly, its horrors and its anxieties?

The effect upon young opinion of spectacular pageants, military tattoos, air displays, navy weeks, troopings of Colours, and what not, either witnessed personally or in innumerable film news reels, has been a matter of much concern to workers for future world peace. It has not been easy to ascertain how far the new attitude in the teaching of subjects like history and geography, and indeed of direct instruction in ideas of international citizenship and the League of Nations, was having its intended effect upon children to whom the Great War is, strange as it may seem to us older people, as remote almost as the Crimean War is to us.

Evidence of the effect of devoted teaching upon young minds in their opinions about war must be of

1 yes. So much for the present-day propaganda value of the films!

The replies to the question "What do you think ought to be done?" were interesting and varied. The chief type of answers were as follows:—

League of Nations	.. .. .	122
Disarmament	.. .. .	123
Arbitration, Treaty, Conference, etc.	.. .. .	85
"Keep the Peace"	.. .. .	54
Develop Fraternity, etc.	.. .. .	39
International Force	.. .. .	28

There were only four references to a world Court of Law—an omission in the teaching which it seems desirable to remedy.

But national loyalty was in the main sound. To the question "If England went to war with another country, what would you do if you were grown up?" 309 said they would assist, 124 gave evasive replies, and 32 gave unconditional negatives. A great many of those ready to serve qualified their readiness by saying, "with the aid of the League of Nations it ought not to be necessary to go to war."

In the second paper there were further interesting reactions. From the adjectives "horrible, dreadful, heroic, splendid, wicked, wise, savage, foolish, useless, thrilling, glorious," the children had to select those which described war. Of the anti-war words there were an overwhelming number of choices—1,994 in all; "heroic" was chosen 182 times, a natural choice; "thrilling" followed with 59 choices, but "glorious," "wise" and "splendid" only served 22 choices between them.

The second question in paper (2) asked "Can you think of a good reason for going to war?" To this 211 gave negative answers and 165 affirmative ones—the latter being mainly "defence" (76), "to stop aggressor" (23), "conquest" (17), "to increase employment" (20). It was clear the children, in answer to this question, racked their brains for reasons, and the causes of wars in history were evidently paraded as "good reasons." Interesting reasons were "to give experience in surgery," "to show the foolishness of war," "to enforce peace."

The third question in the second paper asked the things the children remembered best of the war films, and 175 referred to the horrors and waste of life and treasure, 63 to "soldiers going over the top," 59 to the ambulance work, 57 to the "English and Germans—helping each other," 48 to the "bravery and cheerfulness of the soldiers," and 40 to the dead animals and horses. Those were, in the main, the reactions.

The final question in the second paper, repeated in another form one asked in the first, "What could be done to keep war from ever happening again?" The delayed question gave even a more favourable reaction for the League as 151 (as compared with 122) gave it as their belief in what could be done to prevent war. Then 148 (as compared with 123) referred to disarmament, with other suggestions roughly in the earlier proportion. This result "on reflection" shows how deep-seated the idea of the League is becoming in British education.

All results of the experiment are a distinct encouragement to British teachers who have laboured so faithfully since the war to correct the over-nationalist features of pre-war syllabuses in the schools.

By FREDERIC EVANS, M.B.E., M.A.

Director of Education, Erith Education Authority

interest to readers of HEADWAY. An important investigation held recently at Erith in Kent will give some indication of the depth and character of the children's real mental reactions to the idea of war. About four hundred children from the Authority's central schools, with boys and girls roughly equal in number, and ranging ages from twelve to fifteen years, were shown, without comment, silent films taken during the Great War. They were shown the Battle of the Somme, the war in the Near East, the war in the air, and also films of naval activities. The films selected were documentary pictures taken about 1916, and had been widely displayed in that year, and later, in order to create a public opinion favourable to a strenuous prosecution of the war. Though the worst horrors were, therefore, not shown, the films depicted the war as it really was in its more respectable phases. What were propaganda films in 1916 might produce very different reactions in 1935 in the minds of a generation which has been taught to regard the collective system as the desirable and some-day normal method of conducting world affairs. But these reactions could not be gauged without some objective test. When the films were exhibited, and the children cheered the infantry going over the top, or the big battleships in action, the pressmen present reported that "the youngsters, girls as well as boys, would have gone to war to-morrow if they had been asked. . . . It was all so thrilling . . . it seemed as though war was a good thing."

Subsequent inquiry proved that this was a superficial conclusion. The children's immediate reactions were natural—momentary in character—but not sinister. To them the picture was drama—action—cinematography. Their real opinions were expressed in their answers to the two questionnaires set them—one soon after the films had been seen, and one some days later.

In Paper (1), to the question "What do you think of War?" there were 381 replies against war, 1 for, and 1 indefinite. To the query "Would you like to see another war?" the answers were 382 noes, and



## THOSE GERMAN COLONIES

By ELIZABETH YANDELL

Lord Olivier asks me four questions, and then proceeds to answer them for me. I hope I may therefore assume that, at any rate to those who approach Lord Olivier in intelligence, my remarks can have presented no undue difficulty of interpretation.

I hasten to assure Lord Olivier, if it is really necessary, that I did not propose that Great Britain should generously offer to present to Germany one of the latter's erstwhile territories now administered by some Power other than Great Britain, and that—my remarks being based on Lord Olivier's letter in the April number of HEADWAY, in which the ex-German colonies in Africa were under discussion—I had, indeed, these territories in mind.

When I spoke of "offering" Germany her colonies—I must be careful in my choice of words when Lord Olivier pays me the compliment of bringing his strongly analytical mind to bear on them—I thought of an offer to transfer the administration of ex-German territory to Germany under the same conditions as those under which Great Britain holds it at present. As for a possible equivalent, this would obviously be a matter for discussion between Great Britain and Germany.

Lord Olivier "will not proceed to discuss the arguments for or against such a proposal." He would personally think it (the proposal, he means) "preposterous."

I appear to him "to belong to that school of abnormal Englishry . . . which . . . appears to be now getting somewhat deflated . . . which looks upon African peoples and their possessions as a species of international currency, suitable to be swapped about according to the interests and convenience of European Imperial Powers."

To this I would reply that Lord Olivier appears to me to act upon the maxim, "if you have a weak case, abuse those who disagree with you." I have no need to follow his example, though I admire the vigour of his style.

Further, it seems somewhat remarkable to me—but then I am neither a politician nor an administrator—that, since it proved by no means an impossible task to take away Germany's African possessions, no

machinery can be devised which would restore to her some part of them. I have a greater faith in our (i.e., British) statesmen that Lord Olivier appears to have, and would at least urge them to make the attempt, for reasons which I have already indicated.

And when, after the war, the distribution to the victorious Powers of ex-German territories in Africa took place, was it not obliging of the native peoples affected by the transfer of territories inhabited by them to show such deference to the wishes of these Powers, that they consented to all the readjustments actually made at the time? Would it be too much to hope that they would not prove less obliging on a subsequent occasion?

Or was, by any chance, the permission of the African peoples not obtained? If it was not, then I hope Lord Olivier raised his voice and took up his pen to protest against what he must have considered an arbitrary and unjustifiable procedure.

In all earnestness, I would ask Lord Olivier to consider this: if our (British) statesmen should ever base on a concern for the African races such as Lord Olivier professes a refusal to entertain the question, would not their sincerity be called into question, if not at home, then certainly in Germany, and not unreasonably so?

Lord Olivier concludes his remarks with an anecdote, which he, perhaps, intends as a hint that they are not to be taken too seriously. If he intended the anecdote to have a serious bearing on what he wrote, I may, perhaps, be permitted to relate a curious dream which I had the night after reading his article.

I saw, in my dream, an old gentleman slowly driving a small car up a steep hill. Suddenly, a huge panthecon came over the hill top and charged down towards him. I do not know whether it was out of control. Instead of pulling in to the side of the narrow roadway, the old gentleman kept to the middle. I remember wondering, in my dream, if the inquest would reveal whether the victim was exceptionally short-sighted or merely obstinate.

Was not Lord Olivier's old gentleman rather more sensible?

## The Mandate System and Germany

By PHILIP MUMFORD

THE Mandate system and the moral and other rights and advantages of the government of "backward" peoples by European and other Powers become subjects of increasingly active controversy.

Let us examine the opening clause of Article 22 of the Covenant:—

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

At once several questions suggest themselves.

(1) Why should this principle be confined to the colonies and territories described in Article 22?

(2) Are there, in actual practice, two distinct standards of behaviour upon the part of the governing Powers towards subject races—i.e., the Colonial Possession standard and the Mandate standard?

(3) Upon what principle was the original disposal of Mandates made? In effect, did Germany receive no Mandate because she was the defeated Power, or because the German people were not considered fit to receive such a trust?

(4) Have the peoples "not yet able to stand by themselves," whose "well-being and development form

a sacred trust of civilisation," any reason to expect that their own wishes and opinions will be considered in connection with the manner in which such trust is carried out by the race or Government by which they are ruled?

The first question may be thought academic. Cynics will suggest that the very necessity of formulating such principles for Mandates shatters any illusion that the colonial policies of Europe are as altruistic as the Victorian boast about the White Man's Burden would assume.

The second question brings us to the root of the problem. In Africa it is an urgent problem that yearly becomes more grave.

All who have studied African affairs realise that one of the chief reasons for the increasing native discontent is the different standards of justice applied to the populations in different and often adjacent territories. Education is spreading in Africa, so also are the facilities for travel. The artificial political boundaries are no longer the watertight compartments of twenty years ago.

To teach the African that his place in the universe was such-and-such as formerly a comparatively simple matter. But to-day the matter is growing more complicated. Changes are leading to what the Japanese describe as "dangerous" thought. Numbers of natives have only to cross some arbitrary frontier that has little or no geographical, racial, or other meaning, and beyond it they find the standards they have learned modified or even reversed.

For example, the introduction of the Mandate standards in Tanganyika territory is not passing unnoticed by the natives of Kenya to the North or of Portuguese East Africa to the South. Two different standards do exist and this fact is having repercussions that must not be underrated.

The two remaining questions bring us up against a more immediate problem, and one that may well throw the whole structure of the Mandate system into disorder unless it is handled with the greatest foresight.

Why was Germany given no Mandate and ought she to receive some now? Germany, of course, cannot

complain at the loss of colonies as the result of defeat in the World War. Colonies, being possessions, may be considered to rank in the light of "booty" to be gained or lost under the old war game. The "sacred trust of civilisation" is an entirely different idea. That trust is not a partitionable commodity at the mercy of defeat or victory upon the battlefield. The claim of Germany to be a Mandatory Power must be considered entirely in the light of her capabilities to attain the standards required for the Mandatory system.

But fifteen years after the war the matter is not quite so simple! The areas which come under the Mandatory system were parcelled out at the end of the war and the inhabitants have since been living and adjusting themselves to the Governments assigned to them. However much they may have been guided by the main principles proscribed for Mandates, the Governments have naturally their own particular methods to attain the accepted ideal. Continuity of policy is normally desirable in the interests of a country's inhabitants. Except in cases (if there be any such) where the government has been entirely unsatisfactory there can be no question of scrapping the administrative machinery and other framework of public authority to which a people have become accustomed and which they have learnt to understand. It should be unthinkable to hand whole peoples over to entirely new overlords. Such action would be the greatest breach of faith unless done at the express desire of the inhabitants themselves. Populations for whom civilisation holds a "sacred trust" can hardly be made pawns in the game of European politics. Even should Germany be considered eligible for the position of a Mandatory, she can only be given mandated territory when the change is to the advantage of the inhabitants, and no such territory can be transferred merely to soothe Germany's national pride or assist her national exchequer.

A lasting solution of the whole problem will not be achieved until the Great Powers of Europe admit that two standards of behaviour towards subject peoples are incompatible—the "Colonial Possession" standard and the "Mandate" standard. The Mandate system must be universal.

## Impressions of the Cambridge Council

By JOHN EPPSTEIN

STIFF in prayer against the linen panelling of St. John's College Hall, the Lady Margaret Beaufort glanced side-long at the men-folk of the Union discussing, as they ate and drank together, a European scene far more disturbing than it was in her day, tragic outcome, as some of us think, of that splitting of Christendom into rival national sovereignties of which she had witnessed the beginning. Be that as it may, it was happy thought of our admirable hosts, the Cambridge Branch, to give the delegates to the General Council meeting a whiff of collegiate life, the ladies in Westminster College, the men in St. John's. To this and to the blessed tranquillity of those deserted lawns dozing in the sun, we owe the advantage of many intimate exchanges of view which helped to make it the best of our Council meetings.

It was indeed the biggest and most representative gathering of the Union's leaders—every English county represented; Wales and Scotland no less in evidence. And what a truly British spectacle! It suffices to return from a short stay abroad to realise it. British first in its defects. Is there not a touch of smugness in these

speeches and resolutions? If only the poor benighted foreigner would model his conduct upon those nice simple ideals which we, without much difficulty, profess! After all, we are an island in more ways than one. But the Union has one very solid British virtue for which one day the world will be grateful: and that is the tenacity with which it defends a good cause most vigorously in adversity. Not the successes of the League, as Lord Cecil has said, but its reverses have produced that solid vote of eleven and a-half million Britishers on behalf of it. And the Union is in a sense the trustee of those votes and all the hopes and fears which they enshrine. Hence a very different mood at Cambridge from the disillusionment and despondency which in so many countries have been produced by the successive flouting of the League by Japan, Germany and Signor Mussolini.

The Union no longer spends its breath upon the exposition of abstract principles: its aim is to propose to Governments and the League practical means of applying them here and now.

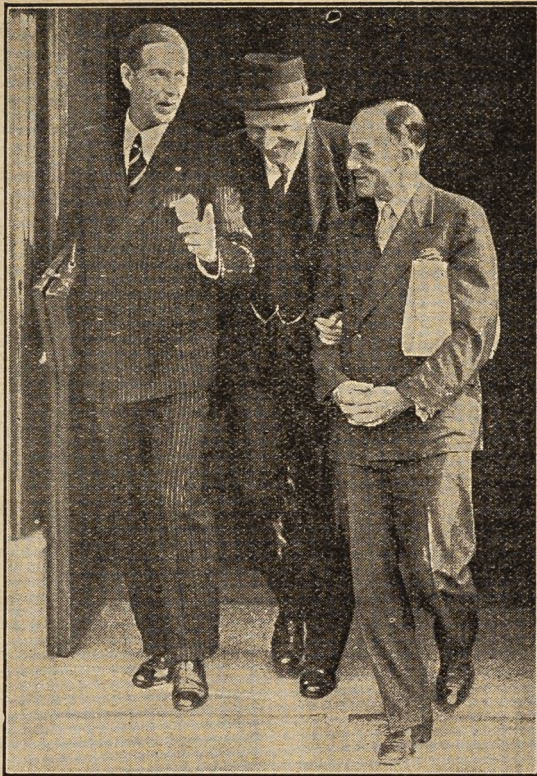
Take disarmament, for instance; the most perfect programme is of little worth. We are faced with an



immediate menace—the race in air armaments. At the Council meeting last December there was an Olympic debate between Lord Allen and Sir Austen Chamberlain upon the merits of an international force. At Cambridge both these statesmen and their supporters agreed to bury this airy hatchet. Together they won the Council's support for a resolution urging the Government to press unceasingly towards what all thinking men, not excluding airmen, know to be the only means of eliminating the danger of a knock-out blow from the air—the complete abolition of military air forces. The international control of civil aviation and any other precautionary measures against the misuse of civil planes are a price well worth paying.

Upon the threat of the Duce to Abyssinian independence and the League's authority, there was none of that cautious beating about the bush which the Council practised in the early days of the Manchurian affair.

Mr. Noel Baker put forward a clear-cut policy which was promptly endorsed. Here the Union takes Mr. Baldwin at his word. If, as he says, the Covenant is the sheet anchor of British policy, then in this hour of trial let the Covenant be frankly carried out. Abyssinia has unreservedly accepted arbitration in advance. It is our duty, in common with all League Members, to preserve her territory from invasion, and if Italy resorts to war in breach of her covenants, to call upon other loyal Members of the League to join us in putting



Viscount Cecil, Dr. Maxwell Garnett and Mr. John Eppstein leaving the Cambridge Guildhall

But the test of sincerity on the part of those who detest the terrorism of the totalitarian state is their willingness to help its victims. That is the reason for the Council's insistence that the League should come swiftly and effectively to the aid of the many pitiful refugees—Russian, German, Armenian and others—who, because of the xenophobia generated by the prevalence of unemployment, are more and more denied even permission to earn their living in the countries to which they have fled.

Article XVI into force. Conscious that it speaks for millions of Britons, the Council ends by telling the Government that it can count upon unwavering support "for any measures, however drastic, which it may take to fulfil our obligations." Note, however, a complete absence of hatred against Italy.

The Council was no less practical in regard to the general phenomenon of nationalism with its attendant dislocation of international trade, distortion of history, intolerance to individuals. Here the Union sticks to its view that the education of the younger generation "to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs" is the best deterrent. Consequently, on the proposal of Professor Gilbert Murray, it asks the Government to contribute to the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation so that it may arrange visits of teachers from one country to another.

## THE UNION AND THE CRISIS

### Resolution on Abyssinia Pledges Warm Support to the Government

THE General Council of the League of Nations Union, Noting that Abyssinia has offered arbitration on all the issues involved in her dispute with Italy, and has undertaken beforehand to accept any decisions of the League Council or the arbitrators,

Considering

- (1) That by Article X of the Covenant it is the duty of every Member of the League to respect and to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of Abyssinia;
- (2) That by Article XI every war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League;
- (3) That by Articles XII to XV all Members of the League are bound to seek peaceful settlement for their disputes;
- (4) That by Article XVI of the Covenant, as explained in Annex F attached to the Treaty of Locarno, it is the duty of the Members of the League to sever economic and financial relations with and to apply whatever military, naval or air measures their military situation and their geographical position allow against a State resorting to war in breach of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII and XV;

(5) That the Prime Minister recently declared that the Covenant of the League of Nations is the sheet anchor of the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government, and

(6) That the Minister for League Affairs declared at Fulham, on May 16, 1935, that "our part should be to pursue a foreign policy that is frank, stalwart, and above all firm in support of the League of Nations and of the collective peace system":

Draws attention to the great and growing danger of war and to the incalculable consequences which will follow to the collective system if war breaks out;

Expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government's policy in this matter will be based upon the principles laid down in the declarations by the Prime Minister and the Minister for League Affairs quoted above; and

Assures His Majesty's Government of the warm support of public opinion for any measures, however drastic, which they may consider wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations and maintain the supreme authority of the League in international affairs.

## THE VALUE OF PAGEANTS

PAGEANTS have caught on amongst supporters of the League and the Union. We in Ripon have just made our trial. Our success has exceeded our hopes.

The proposal for a pageant arose from the wish in the local branch of the L.N.U. to do something other than the usual and overworked garden fête. Late in April it was decided to find out whether it were possible to present something in the way of a series of playlets showing the growth of law and order. The idea was that, in the same way as the craft guilds in the Middle Ages took different episodes from Bible history and turned them into little plays in order to make the stories of the Bible familiar, so we should take a number of episodes from history that threw light on the development of law and order and the work of the League. We thought of starting with primitive man—"Might is Right"—then a scene showing early tribal justice with the beginnings of the growth of custom and law, and so on up to the work of the League of Nations. Help in writing the episodes was given by two of the Maddermarket Players from Norwich, Dr. H. Edgar and Mr. A. Stephenson, and we set to work.

Episode I is based upon Acts, chapters vi and vii (Stephen's speech to the Sanhedrin). It shows the opposition met with by any new idea of effort to change old customs, the moral being that the acceptance of the principles of the League of Nations involves changes in national customs. One nation is by those principles no longer a law to itself.

To avoid the possibility that an audience may not see the connection between the episode presented and the League, we had a general prologue spoken at the beginning of the pageant, and notes on each episode were included in the programme.

Episode II, "Law in the Making," shows a court scene early in the thirteenth century. The matter is taken from the records of the city of Norwich. "Crime wrongs society, and the prosecution of criminals should not be left wholly to private initiative." On one question raised in the court, the citizens resolve that rather than support the local baron they will support the king, the central government. Just as England was pacified by making the central government all powerful over the local barons, so the world to-day can be pacified by having a central authority to whose ruling each nation would submit.

Episode III shows how Louis XIV slapped the face of his Minister, Louvois, in public for daring to argue with him about whether one of the windows of the Grand Trianon was straight or not. It was said at the time that to be left in peace to finish his building, Louvois pushed Louis into making war. Louvois was continually promoting war in order to keep himself rich and powerful. A war may be engineered for trivial reasons when a country is ruled by a vainglorious autocrat.

Episode IV illustrates industrial conditions in England in the early nineteenth century. These conditions have been improved in England by the Factory Acts and other reforms, but sweated labour still exists in the world at large. The work of the League is not concerned with politics and peace only. A note in the programme calls attention to the International Labour Organisation.

Episode V, the last of our series, compares the consequences of the murders of Ferdinand at Sarajevo and

Alexander at Marseilles, and suggests that because the League existed, 1934 was not another 1914.

The words of the episodes may be obtained from the publishers, Messrs. Harrison, The Market Square, Ripon, price one shilling a copy.

As a financial backing, we collected thirty patrons and some subscribers who gave us a guinea and half a guinea respectively. Our idea was to advertise the League, not to make money, so we did not aim at a profit. Donations were collected and tickets sold to cover expenses, which were kept as low as possible. We had advertisements from local businesses in our

By J. M. GIBSON

(Ripon Grammar School)

programme so that we might be able to give it away. The programme included general notes on the League and its work and an invitation to join the Union on the two centre pages. The players were drawn from local dramatic societies and the schools of Ripon. Many of the costumes were made by the players themselves; those that were too difficult, or that we were prevented from making by lack of time, were hired at generously low rates from Citizen House, Bath.

At the same time as advertising the League, or perhaps one should say in order to advertise it, we aimed at giving good entertainment. For Stephen's long speech in Episode I we had a first-class speaker available. Episode II opens with some tumbling while the court is being prepared, and ends with a singlestick fight which arises after the court has closed. In Episode III we have a burlesque ballet of workmen and a minuet by courtiers; later comes the singing of part of the French marching song of the time, "Malbrouckes'en va-t-en guerre." The dialogue in Episode IV leads up to a reference to Blake's "And did those feet in ancient times," whereupon the chorus sings Parry's setting of "Jerusalem." Episode V consists of two scenes. In the first a series of paper boys with posters pass across the stage with cries starting "Murder of Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria," and developing to "Great Britain Declares War." Here the band breaks out into martial music which gradually changes to a funeral march, during which a procession of women in deep black passes across the stage. Then follows an interlude in which Tennyson's verses from "Locksley Hall," "For I dipt into the future . . ." are spoken.

In the second scene there is a repetition of paper boys and their cries, starting "Murder of Alexander of Yugo-Slavia," and ending "Peaceful settlement of Yugo-Slav-Hungarian Dispute," upon which groups of children run on to the stage rejoicing, to do country dances. The pageant ends with the singing of Alfred Noyes's "Prayer for Peace," set to music by Coleridge-Taylor.

The writer of these notes suggests a series of playlets, analogous to a mediæval mystery cycle, but centred round the League and its work, from which those wishing to give a show could pick and choose to suit themselves.



# Impressions of Abyssinia

By James Bramwell: who has recently spent several months travelling through the country

I HAVE in my possession a picture by an unskilled Abyssinian painter which I purchased during a recent visit to the country. It represents the present Emperor witnessing the Coptic Christian festival of the dance of the priests. The dancers are beating drums with their hands and waving long prayer sticks. The Emperor, seated on a yellow throne, is clothed in blue and gold. On his head he is wearing a kind of sombrero, and a soldier is holding a red umbrella over it. Around him in stiff array are grouped a gorgeous crew of princes, dignitaries of the Church, chieftains and councillors. Above, the blue sky is partially filled by two drab and badly-drawn aeroplanes, which are swooping down upon the festival in a salute. At the time when I was travelling in the country these two machines represented the total air force of Abyssinia. Their purchase was commemorated by a special issue of stamps.

This picture is a good epitome of present-day Abyssinia. Contrast and contradiction are the cause of the quaintness which is apparent at every turn. Yet there is no country in the world so difficult to describe briefly and in general terms. The customs and costumes of Abyssinia are a strange mixture of ancient and modern, civilised and barbaric, Eastern and Western. The people vary in colour from *café au lait* to ebony, in facial structure from finest Aryan to grossest negroid. Within the boundaries of this empire, the size of France, Belgium and England put together, almost any kind of climate may be experienced, and, physically, the country varies from swamp and low-lying tropical

jungle to grassy plateaux 8,000 ft. above sea level. These are some of the elements which bewilder the traveller from Europe: to try to correlate them into a general statement is like attempting to guess from the scattered pieces of a jig-saw puzzle what the assembled picture would look like. After three weeks in the country I had not the slightest idea whether I liked it or not; still less had I any idea how to describe it to my friends at home.

Perhaps the simplest way to describe the impression or multiplicity of impressions it made upon me is to show the series of contrasts which are implied or directly presented in almost every aspect of Abyssinian life, especially in the cities; for only in the cities is it possible to realise that there exists a centralised system of society which can be called characteristically Abyssinian.

One of the most striking things about the chief cities—Addis, Harrar, Dire-dawa—is the fact that their populations consist of many different races co-existing without enmity. The main divisions include Gallas, Amharas, Goozages, Shankala and Somals, not to mention the large foreign element of Greeks, Armenians

and Indians. Apart from racial division, there is a further division caused by religion, though, despite the bitter religious strife which is a feature of Abyssinian history, Christians, Moslems and Jews are able to practise their faiths in peace. The only real bonds are a common knowledge of the Amharic language and membership of an empire which is not yet completely united in obeying the rule of Addis Ababa.

This cosmopolitanism is emphasised by the extraordinary mixture of architectural styles to be seen in the cities. In Addis, for instance, there is a cinema which might have been taken from any of the less important provincial English towns, a large and well-equipped modern hotel like a Swiss hydropathic, a bank and governor's house in the neo-classical style, and a parliament house that is reminiscent of a palace of industry at an international exhibition. Yet the

greater part of the buildings consist of wooden shacks with roofs of corrugated iron, and conical thatched huts or toukous, built of wattle and daub and surrounded by bamboo fences. In the midst of these various stages of architectural sophistication there are even more striking contrasts of humanity. From the smart foreign diplomat, who drives in his motor car over the rough cobble stones, to the Ethiopian baron, who rides through the streets on muleback, surrounded by armed domestic slaves, there is an astonishing variety of types, and there is no small amount of amusement to be got from observing the curious adventures in European dress in which the natives indulge.

In Harrar there are other kinds of contrast. The

ancient walled city is dominated by a palace of white stone standing on the top of a hill above the main gate, its glaring whiteness against the brown colour of the walls, and the earth making an imposing symbol of modernity. Beneath the palace there is a large open space which at the time of my visit was constantly occupied by soldiers drilling. Close by is an aerodrome, where officers of the Belgian and Swedish military missions were training the Ethiopian army in machine-gun manipulation and cavalry manoeuvres. Yet at a corner of the parade ground it was possible at almost any time of day to see Shankala negroes beating out the ears of teff (millet) with long wooden flails singing, as the flails rose and fell with the regularity of a metronome, a monotonous and primitive chant. They have used this method of threshing for hundreds of years, and they seemed no more concerned with the adjacent military activity than the camel drivers, whose sluggish caravans arrived and departed from the city gate with nomadic indifference to time and place. In this connection, however, it is worth remarking what a very large percentage of Abyssinians go about armed with rifles. Theoretically, mobilisation is based on



ABYSSINIA

feudality, but in event of invasion it is probable that there would be a very large volunteer force of irregular riflemen.

Inside the city, Harrar is like a rabbit warren. Little narrow streets run up and down between mud walls, teeming with citizens who seem to have nothing better to do than stand and gossip. Chains of donkeys, women with calabashes on their heads, and carriers of wood, thread their way through the crowds. Occasionally a lorry is driven down the one negotiable street, scattering the people; sometimes a diversion is caused by a herd of manacled prisoners on their way from the court of justice to the town gaol, or sometimes it is a big landowner riding into town on his gaily-decked mule, holding up his hat to acknowledge the salutes of the townsfolk. Outside the Greek hotel, opposite the Municipalité, whence loud shouts indicated that civil cases are being tried, the Greeks and Armenians sit and drink aperitifs, unconcerned by the din. They hold themselves apart from the natives, and are considered inferior.

At sunset the curfew drives everyone indoors on

pain of imprisonment. Once the gates are shut no citizen may enter or leave. Returning late in the evening from the British Consulate, accompanied by a Somali orderly, I found it a strange experience to pass through the gate into a completely silent city. The opening of the gates was even stranger. First of all, my escort banged upon the outside. After a wait of several minutes, there was the sound of bars being lifted, the gate was pulled back a few inches, and a short parley ensued between the orderly and the guard. Satisfied by my claim to be admitted, the guard opened one side of the gate, revealing a number of armed white-clad officials sleeping round a watchfire in the gateway. Some stirred as I went through, others continued to sleep. As I walked through the deserted street I heard the bars rattle behind.

Abyssinia to-day is a paradise alike for the tourist, the journalist, and the comparative sociologist, quite apart from the possibilities of exploiting its great wealth. It will be sad if the wise and benevolent rule of the last black Emperor is ineffectualised at this picturesque stage in his country's development by the loss of its ancient independence.

## Among the Italian Workers

By JOHN BROWN

LIVING among the workers in Sicily I found that little interest was taken in the abstractions of Fascist doctrine or the rights and wrongs of the Abyssinian dispute. Some young unemployed men who were drawing between two and five shillings a week benefit according to the wage previously earned thought of the war only as a long-looked-for chance of escape from the island. The older men, who had fought in the last war, had other ideas, and were more concerned with the validity of the promises of "farms for good soldiers" that were being made by party lecturers.

Before I left Rome a member of Mussolini's first Cabinet invited me to stay on his estate near Agrigento, and warned me that conditions were much worse than in the north. This was nothing new, of course. But the reality was worse than anything I had imagined. For in many villages no cooking is done for six months of the year, and peasants are compelled to work 100 hours a week for a few lire—barely sufficient to buy the necessities of life. Food was scarce in some villages and it was difficult to purchase anything beyond bread and artichokes.

Everywhere in Sicily I found the conditions of the workers below those of Germany and France, to say nothing of Britain. One of the worst features of life in the villages was the way in which women were compelled to accept very low rates of pay for work at home in order to maintain their families. But they worked uncomplainingly, for such conditions had prevailed for generations, and were accepted as part of Nature, like the eruptions of Etna. The most dissatisfied men in the island were the young fellows who had been to secondary schools in the towns and had then returned to their village homes to see no future beyond the gruelling labour of the fruit farm and the sulphur mine.

In Calabria a system of organising the unemployed for labour service has been in vogue for a considerable period, and roads have been made by men paid a penny an hour. Twopence per hour was paid in the Abruzzi. Conditions were much better, of course, in Piedmont and Lombardy. But the unemployment problem was growing more and more serious, the adoption of the shorter hours plan being undoubtedly hastened by this crisis.

In Rome I stayed among the workers in a flat in the Piazza Cavour. One of my new friends knew some members of a reconstruction gang that was repairing the pillars of a nearby temple—which will be a "show-piece" next year. They were paid, he said, fifteen shillings a week, and received no extra pay for working on Saturday afternoons—an illuminating example of labour conditions in the capital! Many thousands of workers in and around Rome were receiving the equivalent of less than a pound a week, although they were members of the syndicates which share responsibility for the "collective hour rates"!

In Milan the keen competition for jobs had reduced wages until they nowhere resembled the agreements published by the Ministry of Corporations, and the syndicates were largely disregarded. Only the metallurgical plants were enjoying a rush of orders, and the more cynical of the business men did not hide their belief that the mobilisation was an extraordinary measure directed against the crisis. For while it is possible to disguise the reality of decline to a considerable extent through clever propaganda, a point is reached when a diversion is necessary!

I saw enough during my stay with the workers and peasants in various provinces to realise that there is no war-fever among the people. Like the men and women of the rest of Europe, the Italians hope only for peace and ordered progress.

In Naples I attended a meeting of militia and party officers at which the war situation was discussed. Afterwards questions were invited by the principal speaker, and it was interesting to note how the men in the audience kept reverting to the economic position, and how those on the platform strove to keep military affairs predominant.

But the ideas in the minds of the people are not so important when "public opinion" can be dictated in the Ministry of Propaganda, and the posters headed "For National Security and Defence" show the attitude that is being demanded. To-day pacifism is placed alongside democracy, communism, socialism, and internationalism as a "menace to the state"!



# ITALY, ABYSSINIA and the LEAGUE

By the time August HEADWAY appears the Council of the League of Nations will have met in an emergency session to deal with the Italo-Abyssinian question.

Certainly it is to be hoped that this is what will happen. There have been far too many delays in League procedure. Not a few have occurred because those responsible for the functioning of the League machinery have been anxious not to give such offence to Signor Mussolini as would cause him to take his country out of the League.

Even now it is argued by men who should know better that it would be a very good thing if, before the Council met again, the three Great Powers directly interested—Britain, France and Italy—could come

By  
**DAVID WOODWARD**

of the issue of a war that to them it seems vital to keep Italy on their side. Or, as second best, she must be tired out by a long struggle in East Africa. They do not want to estrange Signor Mussolini by protesting against his action. Alternatively, if it is not possible for them to be assured of his support in their own war in Europe, they hope to see him with something to think about which will prevent his intervening against them. The best thing for that purpose would be a long and expensive war in East Africa.

It took the Italians nineteen years to "pacify" Libya; how long a similar process would take in Abyssinia no one can say. If Italy embarked on such a conquest seriously she could be left out of the reckoning in a European struggle.

It is idle to remark that France, and her two satellite Ententes, for years took the lead in urging rigorous application of the Covenant. Or that they were followed by Russia, whose Foreign Minister coined the famous phrase "peace is indivisible," at a time when a new Russo-Japanese conflict seemed to threaten.

To-day these countries are in the grip of an overwhelming fear, whose cause is in Europe. All else is forgotten. Peace, as they now think of it, is divided into two parts, one European and the other extra-European; and with the extra-European part they are not concerned.

The one thing that can dissipate their fear is a definite assurance by Britain that she will intervene on behalf of the League principles in every time of need; it is difficult to see how any Continental Power would hesitate to choose between Britain or Italy as a friend in a war in which it was the victim of aggression.

"The first shot may be fired in Africa, but no one knows where the last bomb will drop."

For a time it seemed that France, irritated by yet another change in British foreign policy, at the time of the Anglo-German naval accord, had definitely decided to cease seeking Britain's co-operation, and to throw in her lot with Italy.

Since then, however, British policy has shifted once again—a shift represented by Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the House of Commons on July 11—and French opinion is more favourable to Britain and less fearful of offending Signor Mussolini through supporting the League.

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Edited by  
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### TEXT OF THE MAY RESOLUTION

The Council:

Leaving to the two Parties full liberty to settle the dispute in question in accordance with Article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of August 2, 1928,

Decides to meet if, in default of agreement between the four arbitrators for the settlement of the dispute, an understanding shall not have been reached by July 25 between these arbitrators as to the selection of the fifth arbitrator (unless the four arbitrators agree to the extension of this period); the Council also decides to meet to examine the situation if on August 25 the settlement by means of conciliation and arbitration should not have taken place.

together and endeavour to settle the problem, apparently without consulting the Abyssinians.

Such a course would be fatal to the League, as indeed might be a delay of any sort.

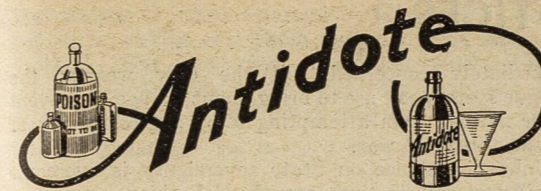
Were some League members to urge resolute action upon their fellow-members, the League might split and disappear as an effective force for many years. To that plight of weakness it has been brought by past failures of the Great Powers, and small States, too, to fulfil the Covenant to which they are pledged. But, it must be emphasised, delay and failure to act will lead the League with certainty to a fate which may yet be escaped by a different course.

The blows which the League has received during the past few years have damaged it. They have not, as its opponents so loudly proclaim, killed it. But one more blow might be fatal. Refusal to deal with the Italo-Abyssinian question would strike such a blow.

What are the chances of the League's saving itself through the vigorous backing of its chief members? They are not brilliant. Under the compulsion of fear, too many countries are prepared to betray their promise to maintain the Covenant. To them the Covenant, which was designed to assure them protection, now seems likely in time of emergency to be of much less use than the aid of a single ally.

France, desiring Italian support, is vacillating between Rome and Geneva. Vigorous steps taken by one or the other to obtain French support might be decisive for good or evil. This must be remembered, however. Last spring, in a speech which was never fully reported, the French delegate to the Chaco Committee made it quite clear that his country had no intention in interfering on behalf of the League outside of Europe.

An even more exaggerated tendency to European introspectiveness is seen in Russia, the Little Entente, and the Balkan Entente. They are so terribly fearful



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

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#### POISON:

"The news that the British Government had given in its resignation from the League would be received with general relief in this country and in the Dominions."—Leading article in the "Daily Mail."

#### ANTIDOTE:

As nearly 12,000,000 people have definitely expressed the opposite opinion, whilst less than 350,000 voted against the League in the Ballot, Lord Rothermere should try to realise that any "relief" felt by him could not justly be described as "general." If he had ever served his King and Country actively, he would probably have accused the remainder of the Battalion of marching out of step.

#### POISON:

"Lord Cecil claimed at the Albert Hall that the opposition to the ballot led by Lord Beaverbrook and the Daily Express was one of the main factors in producing the result. That, of course, is not true, and it is absurd to suggest that a newspaper with a circulation of two millions could produce the effect attributed to the Daily Express."—Leading article in the "Evening Standard."

#### ANTIDOTE:

The writer evidently has not yet detected that the thinking people of this country have learnt the advisability of looking closely into anything condemned by sensation-mongers, with the result that such condemnation has become a very valuable certificate of sterling merit.

#### POISON:

"Lord Cecil's 11,600,000 signatures are now like so many used stamps or tram-tickets. You cannot trade them for anything. Every now and then, somebody starts a rumour that used tram and bus tickets have a value, and poor children hasten to collect them. These signatures have a precisely similar value now, and that is their worth as pulp."—Collinson Owen in the "Sunday Pictorial."

#### ANTIDOTE:

Evidently collecting tram tickets strikes Lord Rothermere as being so dangerous that long articles, leaders and cartoons must be directed for months towards efforts to belittle it—scarcely a tribute to the news' appreciation of our Press Lords.

#### POISON:

"The policy proclaimed by the ballot result would have meant war with Japan two years ago, and would in the next few months involve England in war with Italy over Abyssinia."—Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P., speaking at Weston-super-Mare.

#### ANTIDOTE:

The Ballot questions were solely directed towards enlisting public support for the League of Nations and the Covenant; the Covenant expressly forbids any nation to intervene as an individual nation on either side in the event of war; Mr. Amery's opposition to the Ballot is probably due to his omission to acquaint himself with the relationship of the Ballot and the Covenant.

C.C.T.



## BOOK NOTICES

**The Way to Wealth.** By Hartley Withers. (Thornton Butterworth. London: 1935. Pages 278. 6s.)

Among those who write for the public on economic affairs Mr. Hartley Withers is distinguished as the most readable. Long-established as that reputation is, and numerous as are the volumes to his credit, this new book may well enlarge the circle of his admiring readers, for its subject-matter appeals more directly to the interest of everyone than its predecessors even. That subject-matter is the Crisis, its Cause and Cure.

In a notable speech some years ago Signor Mussolini asked rhetorically if this were a crisis "in the system" or "of the system," and answered emphatically that it was a crisis "of the system," and that the system must be replaced. Mr. Withers answers hardly less emphatically the other way. His point of view may be summed up not unfairly by three short quotations:—

"... depression was the price paid by the world for the luxury of indulging in international hatreds."

"Man can have as much wealth as he chooses, if he makes up his mind to pursue it with intelligence, and not to allow his prejudices and savageries to interfere with its acquisition."

"... One thing certain about war is that it is the deadliest obstacle to wealth-getting, and that its evil effects are run very closely by those of its highly efficient competitor, an unreal peace."

Mr. Withers has for many years, as Chairman, guided the work of the Union's Economic Committee. Members of the Union will read with special interest and confidence his discussion of the economic problems facing the world, of the various solutions offered by Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Planning, Douglasism, etc.; and his presentation of his own admittedly non-heroic remedy of "restoring" and "improving" in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation between the nations. J.B.B.

**Pacifism is Not Enough—Nor Patriotism Either.**

Being the Burge Memorial Lecture for 1935, by the Marquess of Lothian. (Clarendon Press, Oxford. 2s.)

On world affairs Lord Lothian commands as large and attentive an audience as any man in public life. Both his talents and his experience give him authority. In his recent Oxford lecture he puts clearly a point of view which is finding wider and wider acceptance. His text is: "The fact of State sovereignty is the fatal flaw in the Covenant, for acceptance of State sovereignty in effect perpetuates anarchy."

The League, Lord Lothian concludes, cannot save us from war, and we can never escape from war as long as we build on the sovereignty of the national State. For so holding he advances four main reasons: (1) Every unit in the League tends to look at every issue from its own point of view; (2) the Council or Assembly cannot wield any real power; (3) neither the Council nor the Assembly can revise any treaty, modify any tariff or commercial discrimination, or remodel in any way the political structure of Europe or the world except with the voluntary consent of the State or States

immediately concerned; (4) the only weapon the League system can use to bring about change or prevent other nations from attempting it by aggression is war or the threat of war.

Unless insistence on State sovereignty is overcome it will certainly in time, says Lord Lothian, once more produce world war and a far worse world war than the last. He sets his hope on "enough citizens of national States, while retaining their full autonomy in national affairs," consenting "to form a world nation for common purposes, and to enter into that organic and insoluble bond which is the foundation not of a League but of a commonwealth of nations."

**Enquiry Into Clearing Agreements.** C.153. M.83. 1935. 11.B. League of Nations: Geneva. (Obtainable from the Union Bookshop.)

A very interesting report of an inquiry, made as a result of the last Assembly's resolution, into "the causes, scope, methods and results of compensation and clearing agreements." Gives the replies of governments to a questionnaire regarding the character and experience of their clearing agreements. Describes the unforeseen and disastrous results of the system and suggests the action most likely to relieve the situation.

**Does Capitalism Cause War?**

Edited by Henry Brinton. (H. & E. R. Brinton. Price 1s. paper, 2s. 6d. cloth.)

Mr. Brinton's pamphlet, commended in a foreword by Viscount Cecil, readably and adequately serves at least one good purpose. It shows that there are two sides to a question which is all too often answered with a passionate dogmatism.

The economic system existing in any country in

any age is intimately related to the wars of that place and time. A broad survey of human history makes doubt of the fact impossible. The economic, political and social aspects of a nation's life are different sides of the same thing. War is an economico-politico-social activity. Or perhaps the same meaning is better expressed by saying it is an anti-economico-anti-politico-anti-social activity. But the leap from an admission of the relationship to an assertion that war is due to economic causes is long and venturesome. Still longer and more venturesome is the plunge which links up war with one special economic system.

In some quarters there is a craze for finding the culprit of every crime in capitalism. No inquiry is thought necessary. Evidence is supposedly superfluous. At the first hint of wrong doing the accustomed cupboard is wrenched open and the familiar skeleton pops out and postures. The letters which Mr. Brinton has collected from Sir Norman Angell, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, and the other contributors to his pamphlet, are too short to deal deeply and comprehensively with a most complicated problem. They are sufficient, however, to guard their readers against coming too quickly to a too confident conclusion. Sectional interests in the capitalist system are sometimes guilty of cheating.

# THE ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE

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From the Union Book Shop

They snatch at selfish interests by illegitimate means. But for capitalism as a whole war on a great scale is a disaster. War, the great destroyer, must always damage and dislocate any system, fully developed and operating, for the production of wealth.

**Over My Shoulder.** By Bernard Martin. (Duckworth. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Martin has journeyed across the world with an observant eye and a questioning mind. Now at home again he has collected in a handsome and vividly illustrated volume a lively account of the lands he visited. Mr. Martin has escaped the twin dangers of the travel-writer. He condescends neither to his home-staying fellow-countrymen nor to the diversity of fellow-creatures whom he met abroad.

Mr. Martin draws a sympathetic picture of the British in the great Overseas Dominions, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, seeing in these young and bustling communities some defects of which they themselves are less acutely conscious, but recording generously their successes in the vigorous struggle with material circumstances which is imposed upon them by their youth.

He has a quick and penetrating glance, detecting many truths not commonly observed. It shows him, for example, that the Dutch have taken deeper root in Java, Sumatra and Borneo than have the British in the Malay Peninsula. It is the Dutch who are the true colonists, not the British.

Similarly, in describing China and Japan, he is not content to skim amusingly over the surface of a quaint un-European life. He knows he is in contact with one of the historic civilisations, one of the major achievements of the human race. He is especially helpful in his treatment of Japan. He admires both the country and the people. He records the beauty of the one and the attractiveness of the other; and he explains simply how it comes that the Japanese have set themselves in opposition to the world. The West has armed Japan and at the same time has refused to give her anything she cannot take by force. She is both strong and frightened. Looking into a future where no place seems to be reserved for her, Japan, in recent years, has followed an anti-social course from which a profounder political wisdom would have restrained her. But fairness compels the admission that her course is dictated by the past behaviour of Europe and the United States.

**Official League Publications**

**Review of World Trade, 1934.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.8), 89 pages. 2s. 6d. net. (Just out.)

Compares world trade in 1934 with that in preceding years.

**Fiscal Committee.—Report to the Council on the Fifth Session of the Committee.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.9), 8 pages. 6d. net.

**Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation.** Annual subscription 10s., post free.

**Vol. IV, No. 2, June, 1935,** price 2s. 6d., consists largely of an article on "Nutrition and Public Health."

**Report on the Work of the League Since the Fifteenth Session of the Assembly.** Part I. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935.2), 117 pages. 4s. net.

**Summary of Annual Reports on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee for 1933-34, prepared by the Secretariat.** (C.127. M.65. 1935. IV.) (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. IV.1.) 41 pages. 1s. 6d. net.

**Official Journal. Special Supplement No. 134. Dispute Between Bolivia and Paraguay. Appeal of the Bolivian Government under Article 15 of the Covenant.** 74 pages. 3s. net.

Documentation communicated to the Members of the League of Nations for the Special Session of the Assembly. Records of the Proceedings of the Advisory Committee (Session held at Geneva, March 11 to 15, 1935). Documents.

## New Commonwealth Institute Monographs

### A PLAN FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A EUROPEAN AIR SERVICE

By Rear-Admiral R. N. Lawson, C.B.

2s. 6d. net.

Also

Theory and Practice of International Policing. By Hans Wehburg. 4s. 6d. net.

The Legal Process and International Order. By Hans Kelsen. 2s. net.

The Power of the International Judge to give a Decision *ex a quo et bono*. By Dr. Max Habicht. 4s. 6d. net.

William Ladd: An Examination of an American Proposal for an International Equity Tribunal. By Dr. Georg Schwarzenberger. 4s. 6d. net.

The Contribution of English Equity to the Idea of an International Equity Tribunal. By Dr. Wolfgang Friedmann. 4s. 6d. net.

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## READERS' VIEWS

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

### HEAR THE DEFENCE

SIR,—I am disappointed to find from Lord Olivier's letter in June HEADWAY that he still believes in the deadly doctrine that Might gives Right, in the

"Bad old rule the wicked plan

That they should steal who have the chance,  
And they should keep who can"

—that is, of course, only in international affairs.

Before we decide that Germany alone among the nations is unfit to hold colonies, she should be arraigned before the Mandates Commission or the Hague Tribunal and given the chance allowed to the vilest criminal to defend herself, if she can.

The method of blackening the character of the party whose property you covet is as old as the time of Jezebel. And the custom of stealing is still older. One would have thought that the Ten Commandments had made the custom more honoured in the breach than the observance. I remember that Mr. Gladstone said in reference to Alsace-Lorraine that the wishes of the people concerned should be considered in questions of transfer of territory, though I do not think that was done in the various transfers of that beautiful province.

It would seem that Germany has a better claim to her Colonies than we to ours, since she got hers by negotiation; we got ours by conquest.

For the sake of the world peace, it is to be hoped Germany will be able to make a fair defence against the charges made on her Colonial administration. We cannot treat her as a permanent pariah. She must have a bad record if it is worse than Belgium's and some other countries we could name. I cannot claim to be an authority on such subjects, but I do remember, when in South Africa, that the most energetic defender of native rights that I met with was the German assistant editor of the Kafir newspaper, published in King Williamstown.

Hendford, Yeovil.

C. PITHER.

### WIDER MANDATORY SYSTEM

SIR,—Lord Olivier appears to contend that war must be the final arbiter, and that the best we can hope for is that Germany will not be strong enough or will not wish to challenge the distribution of land effected at Versailles.

It is painful to hear an Englishman argue that the rights and interests of native peoples should not be subject to the interests of European Powers, unless at the same time he makes it clear that he desires that membership of the British Empire should be entirely voluntary.

Personally, although I am ashamed of the fact that my country has conquered so many peoples by force, I could not advocate the transference of any human being into Germany's power. The best solution would be to place all our undeveloped possessions under the protection of the League of Nations, for administration in the interests of the natives first, and afterwards in the interests of member States.

We cannot expect other nations to be impressed when, having taken so much of the globe for ourselves, we cry "Pax."

M. A. PRATT.

Willesden.

### IS GERMANY FIT?

SIR,—So long as the German Government shows by word and act that there are no civic rights to be allowed to those of non-Aryan blood within its European territory, how can there be any questions of extending its rule over territories where the great mass of the population is non-Aryan? Let us see justice and toleration

again exercised in Germany as a first step towards re-incorporation amongst world-nations.

Worthing.

WM. HENRY F. ALEXANDER.

### TRUSTEES

SIR,—In an article in HEADWAY Lord Olivier states: "The victorious Powers did not divide or retain the sovereignty of the ex-German Colonial possessions. . . . They were placed in trust for their own inhabitants under trustees appointed by the Allied Powers."

How far is the use of the word "trustees" justified in this connection? Are such trustees responsible to any others, as is usually the case with trustees? Can they be dispossessed of their trust, e.g., by any International Council?

And what exactly is the meaning of the words "in trust for their own inhabitants"? Do these words imply that the inhabitants can appeal against their trustees and, when no longer wanted, can dispense with them?

Finchley, N.3.

G. T. DICKIN.

### "GERMANY MUST EXPAND"

SIR,—Elizabeth Yandell's article in the June issue HEADWAY is little short of exasperating.

It will be observed that she does not wish to offer the ex-German Colonies to Germany to be run under the mandates—much might be said in favour of such a course—but she advocates the return to Germany of her colonies.

In other words, sacrifice the natives to the exigencies of European policy. They are, after all, only niggers. Can any more heartless policy be imagined?

These coloured folk have enjoyed the undoubted benefit of living in mandated territories, and we know that their lot is infinitely happier than that of their brethren in un-mandated regions, even under British rule. Witness what has recently happened in Kenya, which could not possibly have happened under the mandates.

What about that solemn trust for civilisation embodied in the Covenant of the League?

73, Cadogan Place, S.W.1.

E. S. WOODROFFE.

### WHY NOT AUSTRALIA?

SIR,—By all means let Germany have her colonies restored to her; she is as much in need of colonies as any other great nation—Japan, for instance. Western Australia has thousands of square miles uninhabited and waiting for cultivation. English people cannot or will not settle on the land there. Japan has hardly standing room for her people; has she not as much right to unoccupied Australian territory as Britain had a hundred years ago?

HENRY T. HOOPER.

Dover.

### AIR FORCE INCREASE

SIR,—Sir Herbert Kealy, in his letter to HEADWAY, regrets that on the agenda of the General Council at Cambridge there was no motion deprecating any increase in the Royal Air Force beyond the minimum necessary to enable Great Britain to fulfil her obligations of collective action required by her membership of the League of Nations. To move such a resolution on the General Council would have been easy if Sir Herbert, by the normal procedure, had obtained the support of his Branch at Oxford. Then the matter would have come before the delegates and have been freely voted upon by them.

HECTOR MUNRO.

Latheron, N.B.

### "ARE WE TOO TECHNICAL?"

SIR,—I am greatly interested in the HEADWAY correspondence: "Are We Too Technical?" It shows great differences, but these had to come out. We must face them—to smother them would be fatal.

The discussion was opened by Mr. Arnold Whitaker in February (page 25), who says: "Concentration on technicalities distracts attention from principles; and these are the real business of the Union." Yes, but concentration on principles in the abstract, without applying them to to-day's problems, ends in platitudes and sterility. Take, for instance, his next sentence: "The Union has said comparatively little of late about the greater question of building up an order in which armaments will not need to be used."

Everyone will agree to that, if you keep it sufficiently vague, until, in fact, you ask how you are going to do it. By a League of Nations relying on moral force alone? Or are you going to give it once again the power to use force against the aggressor, which it originally had?

Then in the March number, we have Miss Mildred Perrin, a local secretary, who feels "exceedingly uncomfortable in that position," and who says: "To my mind, it is tampering with principles . . . to advocate so urgently the promises of collective military action—which is war." Both these writers seem to ignore the fact that the Covenant BINDS us to use force against an aggressor.

I am also a local secretary who "feels exceedingly uncomfortable," but for the very opposite reasons. I would like to see the L.N.U. fight most eagerly for the return of the League to its original position by the reaffirmation by Britain of Article XVI, which was destroyed by the unilateral declaration of Sir Austen Chamberlain at the Assembly of September, 1925. Of course our repudiation of Article XVI has no legal effect. The clause is still in the Covenant. But Britain, in 1925, gave notice that it did not want the use of force, "war against war," and that it wished the League to rely on moral force alone. It has crippled the League ever since. We broke the Covenant.

This is what lies behind the statement of M. Herriot, first delegate of France, in the Assembly on September 29, 1932. "I am continually being asked," he said, "what is France's doctrine for arriving at the desired result. I reply once more—the Covenant; nothing but the Covenant; the Covenant in its integrity." There you have the root of the deadlock. The French will not disarm without security, and they think that they were guaranteed security by Article XVI until we repudiated it in 1925. That is why it is necessary "to advocate so urgently the promises of collective military action." We can't have disarmament without it.

Gisborne, New Zealand.

THOMAS TODD.

### MOST BALLOT ANSWERS

SIR,—With reference to the "Peace Ballot," I think it would be interesting to know which honorary worker collated the greatest number of votes.

I will start the ball rolling by confessing I collated the votes of 2,275 voters in the Streatham District.

G. L. M.

All publications reviewed in "Headway" (and many others) can be obtained from the Union's Book Shop at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London.

## Causes of War

By Dean INGE, Sir NORMAN ANGELL, Lord BEAVERBROOK, ALDOUS HUXLEY, G. D. H. COLE, Major C. H. DOUGLAS, Sir JOSIAH STAMP, and Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN. 3s. 6d.

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## Disarmament in British Foreign Policy

By ROLLAND A. CHAPUT. 16s.

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## HERE AND THERE

**Special Mention** in this month's "News Sheet" is shared by Mr. Frank Cox, Hon. Sec. of the **Sedgley** Branch, and Mr. R. Carless, Hon. Sec. of the Worcester Youth Group.

One of the results of the **Peace Ballot**, as far as Manchester is concerned, has already shown itself in a marked increase of the strength of the Union. When the voluntary workers who had come forward disbanded, they felt a strong desire to become more permanently identified with the movement. Their decision has led to a new Branch being formed at Rusholme, and there is reason to expect that both Salford and Levenshulme will have individual Branches in the immediate future.

A Junior Branch has been organised by the **Rochdale** Secondary School, the 140 members having given a splendid set-off to the Branch's career by an excellent first year's programme of lectures and other activities.

Unwelcome burglarious visitors broke into the Geneva Club at **Bingley**, a great deal of wanton damage being done in the process. The members are now keener than ever on the advantages of Collective Security, realising as they do that such crimes would be of daily occurrence were individual precautions the sole means of coping with invasions.

After a meeting at which the majority of the audience was composed of helpers in the Peace Ballot, a new Branch was inaugurated at **Sowerby Bridge**.

Messrs. **Bumpus**, the well-known booksellers, have devoted a special window in their new shop in Oxford Street to the exhibition of League of Nations publications. Our readers will readily agree that this sort of eminently practical service merits all possible encouragement.

Great interest was taken in the blue and white lorry of the League of Nations which the **Walkern** Branch entered in the Royal Silver Jubilee Celebrations.

The **Ilford** Branch is holding a Peace Competition for all Ilford residents up to the age of 18. All entries must be received by September 30, full details being obtainable from Mr. J. R. H. Hazard, the hon. sec. of the Branch, whose address is 20, Chichester Gardens, Ilford. It will be remembered that Ilford had the honour of being the first locality in which, thanks to the enterprise of the Editor of the "Ilford Recorder," a Peace Ballot was organised, and we hope that all Ilford readers of **HEADWAY** will co-operate to make this competition an outstanding success.

Mr. George Francis, who held the position of Secretary of the **Stockport** Branch from its inauguration, has been awarded the M.B.E. in recognition of his services in connection with the National Savings Movement. We hereby extend to him our heartiest congratulations.

The article on the **Peace Ballot** in Manchester, which appeared in our July issue, was written by Mr. Leonard Behrens.

The wide response to the Call of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Moderator of the Federal Council of the Free Churches of England for special prayer at Whitsuntide has been followed by the issue of a **Prayer Card** by the Christian Organisations Committee, which may help many in responding to the Call and continuing in prayer. Copies may be obtained from Rev. E. N. Porter Goff, at Headquarters, on receipt of requests, which should be accompanied by two penny stamps to cover postage.

### OVERSEAS NOTES

**New South Wales Annual Report.**—The year's programme has included many lectures, public meetings, luncheon addresses, etc. Representations have been made to the Federal Government on the question of Disarmament and on dangers of an uncontrolled race in arms. Much literature has been distributed and a special "Publications" Fund was opened so as to enable the Union to print special leaflets from time to time. More use was made of the Branch's International Library, to which a number of new volumes have been added; this International Library is now second to none in Sydney. A number of important organisations have become affiliated to the Union, and this number has greatly increased during the past year. Before the Federal Elections the Branch sent three questions to all New South Wales candidates, asking what action they intended to take in support of the League of Nations. 383 Junior branches have been formed in schools and 40 additional schools have been linked up with the work as Corporate members. The University League of Nations Society also reports excellent progress. The income from membership subscriptions during 1934 reached the highest total since the Union was formed—namely, £624 7s.

The Tenth International Ball organised by the **Australian League of Nations Union** was held in Sydney on May 28, 1935, and the crowded

attendance included many members of the Consular Corps, as well as the Governor of New South Wales and Lady Hore-Ruthven.

### NEW ZEALAND.

We regret to record the death last May of Mrs. Evans, a former secretary of the Dominion Council of the League of Nations Union of New Zealand. Mrs. Evans was the first woman graduate in New Zealand and the first woman B.A. in the British Empire. All her life she was connected with various organisations, scholastic, humanitarian and social, and her sterling qualities of heart and brain endeared her to many people in the Dominion.

### JAPAN.

**The International Association of Japan has withdrawn its resignation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.**

**L.N.U. Branch Visits Paris.**—Under the leadership of Miss Winifred Gill, a party of members of the Barton Hill Branch of the League of Nations Union paid a visit to Paris at Easter, 1935, where they put up at a Youth Hostel. Thanks to arrangements made by Madame Prudhommeaux, wife of the Secretary-General of the French Federation of League of Nations Societies, they were shown, at their request, housing conditions as well as social work.

For next year, this Branch is planning a visit to Holland.

### GENEVA!

There is still time to register for the **Geneva Institute of International Relations**, and a leaflet is available which gives particulars of this important lecture course on international relations. In addition to the lecture course arrangements will be made for a series of optional introductory lectures, and there will also be opportunities for more advanced discussion groups. A short **Conference on the Teaching of World Citizenship** will be held in conjunction with the Institute, and this will consider the psychological principles of training for world citizenship, and the particular contribution that can be made through the ordinary school subjects as well as out-of-school activities such as those undertaken by the Junior Branch of the Union.

**Youth Groups** have their own Conference in Geneva, which includes attendance at the Geneva Institute lecture course and discussions and camp fires with young men and women of other nationalities. There are still vacancies for this Conference, but immediate application is necessary for this and for the delightful holiday extension to the mountains, where the party will stay in a picturesque village of chalets high in the Vaudois Alps. Mr. Colin Allsebrook (of Reading) and Miss Elsie Sheldon (of Birmingham) will be the leaders of the Youth Conference and of the holiday party.

**The League Assembly.**—Speakers, Branch officers and others concerned with the work of the Union are urged to apply for the printed leaflet that describes the arrangements that are being made for visits to Geneva in September during the sessions of the League Assembly, which opens this year on September 9. Members of these groups will have the opportunity of attending the sessions of the Assembly and its commissions and of taking part in a programme of lectures, visits and excursions. Arrangements will be made for a tour of the new League building which will be completed this year. Conducted groups leave London on September 7 and 14, each to spend a week in Geneva.

### FOR A HOLIDAY

Visits to Geneva arranged by the Union invariably include a lecture course or special study of some aspect of the work of the League of Nations. It should not be forgotten, however, that it is a delightful holiday centre. There is good bathing at the plage; excursions, long or short, may be made by lake steamer or motor boat, and there are mountain trips in great variety. Annecy, an ancient town of much charm, is within easy reach and its exquisite small lake is an added interest.

Full particulars and details of fees and travel arrangements for all these Geneva visits may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

### BROADCASTING NOTES

The transatlantic Bulletins during August will continue to be given from New York by Mr. Raymond Swing, but the speaker from London this month will be Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe. Mr. Swing's talks will be given on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th. "In the Shadow," the interesting play, which dealt with the intensely dramatic situation of two warships of different nationalities lying at anchor almost within a cable length of each other while the Admiralties of their respective nations filled the ether with wireless messages presaging almost certain hostilities before the next morning, will be repeated on August 21st and 22nd.

### WELSH NOTES

The Welsh Council is following up the Peace Ballot with a nationwide campaign. Rallies of all the workers, in the respective areas of the Principality, who gave their invaluable assistance in securing such a successful result in the Peace Ballot, are being organised in about 50 rally centres. The first four rallies were held during July and the remaining rallies will take place during September and early October. The Welsh Council aims at securing 100,000 new members of the Union before Whitsuntide, 1936.

Montgomeryshire led the way with the first rally, which was held, through the kindness of Lord and Lady Davies, at Plas Dinam on July 27.

The Council's Pavilion, on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at **Haverfordwest**, during July, attracted a large number of interested visitors.

### Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1934:—

Barnard Castle, Rowlands Castle, Weymouth.

For 1935:—

Allerton, Ashington, Burley, Badby, Baildon, Bristol (Central Church), Coleshill, Cosham, Clifton, Colwall, Cradley Heath, Chester-le-Street, Chalford, Didcot, Desford, East Bolden, Evenwood, Edgbaston, Flitwick, Great and Little Leighs, Great Missenden, Great Ayton, Heckfield, Hythe (Hants.), Helmdon, Highley, Hessele, Kingswood, King's Walden, Littlehampton, Marlow, Methwold, Nuneaton, Oldbury, Olton, Pershore, Penn Fields, Runton, Redland, Shillington, Seamills, Silverstone, Sherston, Weldon, Walkern, Waterbeach, Weston Rhyn, Uttoxeter, Yatton.

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*Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to a local Branch, District or County Secretary; or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegraphic address: Prcnat, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6161.*

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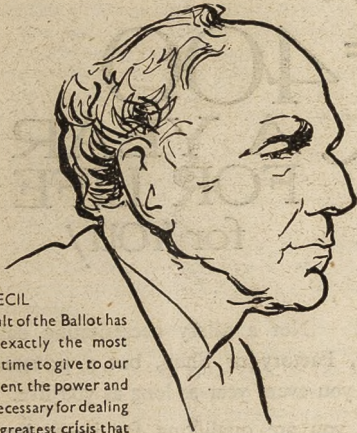
EXACT DATE OF BIRTH .....

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Headway, August, 1935

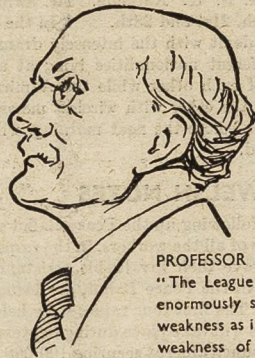


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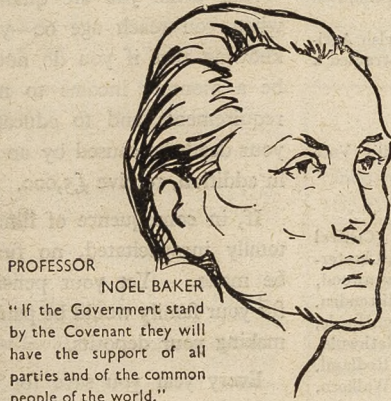
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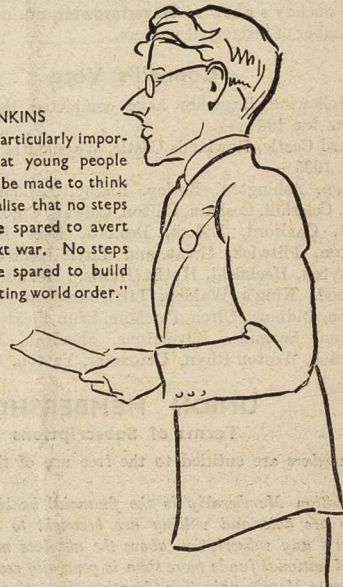


MR. LEONARD BEHRENS  
"I am not sure whether it is done in a drum or in a hat, but I suggest that it is not a very edifying procedure."



PROFESSOR NOEL BAKER  
"If the Government stand by the Covenant they will have the support of all parties and of the common people of the world."

MR. JENKINS  
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ADMIRAL DRURY-LOWE  
"The world is desperately in need of moral leadership."

CAPTAIN PHILIP MUMFORD  
"The march of events is going to bring an international police force to us."



SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN  
"Let us never forget that the primary purpose is to prevent war."



LORD ALLEN  
"Collective Security to-day is the key that opens all the doors to peace."

*Peggy Smith*