

**GERMANY AND  
CONSCRIPTION**

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**THE WORKERS AND  
THE UNION**

See page 70

# HEADWAY

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**A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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

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**IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE.**



Louis Raemaekers —

**THE NEW CRUSADER.**

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## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Peace is Indivisible

**A**MIDST the coming and going of statesmen across Europe, and in the intricate and necessarily often confidential negotiations which they are conducting, the risk is great that public opinion may unwittingly lose sight of the essential points. They were clearly set out in the London Plan of February 3, and the time is opportune for their repetition. The guiding principle of the London Plan is, peace is indivisible. In the world of to-day, no more than an individual nation, can a small group of nations isolate itself and be safe. With local reinforcements to meet local needs, the collective system must extend over the world. The London Plan contributes to such universalisation by:—

- (1) Bringing Germany back into the League;
- (2) releasing Germany from the disarmament provisions of the Versailles Treaty;
- (3) substituting for one-sided disarmament a general convention for the limitation and reduction of arms;
- (4) a European pact of joint defence in the air, to come into force at once against an air aggressor;
- (5) a Danubian pact, promoting friendly co-operation in South Central Europe and guaranteeing Austrian independence;
- (6) an Eastern European pact, on the Locarno model, of non-aggression and mutual support.

All these objects are closely inter-related. They form a system. In no matter what order, they must be attained. If they are all attained they banish any danger of rival alliances, and can be brought within the League system as a powerful strengthening of the League.

## Only a Beginning

**P**EACE is indivisible. That truth must never be lost to sight. The first reports of the Berlin conversations between Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden and Herr Hitler cannot do other than cause disappointment. But this month, or next month, is much too soon for despair.

Germany still wishes to pick and choose among the parts of the London Plan. She is all for the Air Pact. She is all against the Eastern European Security Pact, in any effective form which would leave it comparable with Locarno. If the other Powers produce a general disarmament plan she

will fall into line with them. She will return to the League if she is guaranteed complete equality and receives other concessions.

As the situation now stands it is a challenge to statesmanship of the highest order. Obstacles are numerous and formidable. They must be surmounted, but any hopeful manner of attacking them has still to be suggested. What has been gained by the visit of British Ministers to Berlin is the establishment of personal contact and a clearer understanding by each side of the other's views.

## Mandates are a Trust

**N**EVER has there been a more open readiness than at the present moment to discuss all manner of re-arrangements of international relations. Everywhere the desire is eager that substantial justice shall be done to all the world's peoples and a wide and solid foundation prepared on which a peaceful world order can stand. Such candour is a stimulus to hope, when confident hopes are not easy to retain.

The spectacle of Germany, deprived of all colonial outlets, and the contrasting spectacle of Great Britain and France in possession of vast territories in every continent have begun to disturb many quiet, level-headed men and women, who wonder whether such a state of unstable equilibrium can long continue. Or whether it ought to do so.

One frequently-heard suggestion is that the mandatory system should be extended and that the administration of mandated territories should be converted from a national into an international trust. Another, much less ambitious, does no more than propose the transference of the mandates of her old colonies from Great Britain and France to Germany.

Against this second proposal a grave warning is entered in a letter to HEADWAY by Lord Olivier, whom no one will suspect of being an aggressive Imperialist. Lord Olivier points out that the moral basis of the mandatory system is the guardianship of native interests. The first care of the administration must be the people who inhabit the territory. It might suit the temporary convenience of Europe to hand over primitive races to an oppressive rule, but no political convenience can justify such a betrayal. Some means must be found of combining fair dealing towards Germany with fair dealing towards native Africa.

## Four Millions

**M**ARCH ends with more than 4,000,000 votes counted in the Peace Ballot. April will add at least another two. A total of more than eight millions can be confidently expected. Ten is possible.

These vast figures mean an unprecedented success in the organised expression of public opinion. They mean hours of quiet thought and of serious discussion, whose educative effects will not be exhausted during the next few years, or perhaps during the next generation, spent in millions of homes in all parts of the country upon the supremely important problem of the age. They mean the unselfish completion of a difficult and often unpleasant task by half a million voluntary workers, who, after their daily toil for their livelihoods, have tramped many miles to deliver and explain, and collect the ballot forms.

The first purpose of the ballot is to show where the British people stand on peace and willingness to pay the price of peace. The huge army of workers is even more encouraging evidence than the much larger army of voters. Those who have answered have strengthened the cause; those who have worked have brought it a reinforcement which guarantees it against failure. No cause can be defeated which enlists such enthusiasm and service.

## I.L.O. and World Court

**I**N another column of the present issue of HEADWAY Mr. M. R. K. Burge, of the I.L.O., protests against the March article by a Geneva correspondent on the recent changes in the Governing Body. He denies several of the writer's statements. It is not easy to answer him because, although there is an answer on every major point, to make it conclusively would entail the disclosure of confidential information.

Mr. Burge may rest assured that the article was not published without careful inquiry. Information from several independent quarters, whose authority is unimpeachable, confirmed its substantial accuracy. It was concerned with fundamental issues. Its purpose was to explain the slow development of the League system, which is often disappointing to impatient enthusiasts.

The League itself, the I.L.O., the World Court are constantly dealing with most difficult and intricate questions. They have to surmount obstacles whose existence only the close student suspects. Haste sometimes defeats their best intentions. To ensure success they must calculate every step and allow for every conflicting interest. Whoever shows the formidable character of their tasks sets their actual achievements in the most favourable light and enlists for them in the most effectual manner the loyal and instructed public support on whose drive their success depends.

## The Union Appeal

**H**EADWAY for March published the appeal of the Union to its members and friends for £10,000. The money is required to continue unslackened the full activities of the Union. At a moment when the defence and strengthening and development of the League system is more than ever necessary, any retreat by the Union would, it was felt, be a betrayal. Events are imposing, with brutal emphasis, the alternatives, League or disaster. Fresh resources had to be mobilised. The response to the appeal has been wonderful, despite the financial difficulties of the time.

No less than £7,000 has been received already from a host of subscribers in sums both large and small. The many thousands of modest contributions are particularly welcome. They show how well the world situation is understood and how clearly the only means of coping with the imminent dangers are perceived. Several old age pensioners have spared something out of their pittance. One old lady has sent 4½d., making a generous sacrifice of the last mite she can afford. Another subscriber is 97 years of age, but still cherishes an unconquerable hope. Their common motive is a determination, if their help can avail, to avert from the next generation the horrors of conflict and collapse.

£3,000 remains to complete the £10,000. When so many have given so much with such open-handed confidence, others cannot be defeated by the last third of the task. The full £10,000 will give the Union the means to drive home many a brave effort on which much thought and labour has been spent.

## Union American Tour

**F**RESH proof of how vital is the Union is provided by the latest enterprise of the Travel Department. In the past its always useful activities have been confined almost wholly to taking parties to schools and conferences in different parts of Great Britain, or to Geneva for the various attractions of the League year. Only once has its programme included a visit to another part of Europe. Now it is extending its range across the Atlantic to a new continent. On Wednesday, April 24, a Union party leaves Southampton on the Cunard-White Star liner "Majestic," for New York. The return journey will be made by the "Aquitania," which sails on May 15.

During 15 days' stay in the United States, the party will see in the most helpful conditions the three model cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. In America widespread interest has been excited. The famous American hospitality, which many thousands of British visitors have enjoyed, will be as open-handed as ever, though the hosts feel more than the usual anxiety to give their Union guests a clear insight into the realities of American life. The fee is 46 guineas, a considerable sum, but small in proportion to the return, for such an experience will be a permanent possession.



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## THE PEACE WAY IS THE LEAGUE WAY

THE League is not a fair weather device. It was planned by practical Statesmen whose experience had taught them into what disasters rival alliances and competitive armaments plunge mankind. It is the alternative to a new and worse disaster. It provides the framework within which the nations can guarantee their common defence and pursue in partnership the constructive activities of peace.

The threats now dark over Europe are not difficulties which throw upon the League a strain it is unfitted to bear. If the League cannot banish them before they become real dangers, then it fails to fulfil its primary purpose. No supporter of the League surrenders because of the increase of fear and suspicion or the accelerated arming and counter-arming of Great Powers. He is disappointed that half a generation after the world war the League system has not won a wider success. But to dispel fear and suspicion and to make nations good neighbours and friends is, he very well knows, a long and toilsome task; and if progress is slow, he sees only the more clearly how necessary are the League's services and how important is the strengthening of the League's efforts. He is not panic-stricken. Neither is he much surprised.

For many years the Union, through all its channels of publicity, speeches and conferences, and journals, pamphlets and statements of policy, has been stressing the clear obligation of Great Britain and France and all the other signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, and Members of the League, to disarm in their turn and redeem the pledges they gave to Germany in 1919.

The crisis shows what dangers are inherent in competitive armaments. Some critics still object that disarmament alone does not guarantee peace. It does not. Unarmed men quarrel, and disarmed nations have improvised the means of waging war upon one another. But to infer that because disarmament cannot guarantee peace therefore disarmament cannot be an influence making for peace, is to commit the familiar fallacy of all or none. A single cause may play a large part in producing an effect which may still be produced in some measure in its absence. Vast armaments make for war. They concentrate the thoughts and resources of the nation on the business of preparing for war. They give war a dominant place in the national mind. War is accepted, first, as natural, then as inevitable, and in the end, sometimes, as desirable. What is natural and inevitable, though hateful, is that a nation which has put many of its highest gifts and strongest powers into

planning and constructing a machine will in the end use that machine.

Vast armaments are a cause of war for a second reason. They are always competitive armaments; and where there is a race to acquire a superiority in weapons of destruction there is no escape from the dread that the other runner is winning. He is stealing a lead, he is about to make a spurt, he is gaining an advantage. Increase answers increase, fear and suspicion beget fear and suspicion.

The League way is the only way of turning the nations from preparation for war to construction of peace. Only by a policy of, first, the limitation of armaments, and secondly, their reduction, can the nations be freed from the black care which otherwise will continue to perch on their backs and whisper in their ears. For its carrying out the League alone offers the necessary facilities.

Disarmament by international agreement is one of the crutches by whose use the stumbling world can reach a happier future. But it needs two. The second crutch is the joint defence of the peace-keeping nations against a peace-breaking nation. Great Britain looks askance at continental commitments. Her traditional dislike of involving herself in the affairs and quarrels of Europe is hardly less strong than the parallel feeling in the United States. During the past fifteen years she has tried again and again to separate disarmament and security. She has sought to advance the one without contributing to the other. But every time she has failed. That failure will continue so long as she pursues an unattainable object. She cannot procure disarmament for all, apart from security for all, because they are not two different things. They are two aspects of the same thing. The fatal circle is insecurity, fear, and suspicion, armaments, and so again, round and round in wider sweep, at more furious pace. To break the dance of death, arms must be first limited and later reduced, and the nations, with limited and fewer arms, must be made, not only more secure, but to feel more secure, in their new condition than they were in their old.

Security within the League system means the acceptance of clearly defined responsibilities and their exact observance in the hour of need. Neither the burden nor the risk, however, is great. In a disarmed world, a possible aggressor would have no great force at his disposal. An international army, sufficiently strong to confront him with an overwhelming superiority, could be formed of modest national contingents. The risk, also, of such measures having to be taken would be small, since an appeal to arms in defiance of the world's judgment would provoke certain defeat.

Disarmament and security wait upon the decision of the nations that they are worth having. The price is trivial measured against the benefits. The difficulties of translating them into concrete working realities will shrink immediately the nations take the task resolutely in hand.

Meanwhile the immediate practical step is to bring Great Britain, and France and Italy, and Russia and Germany, together in agreement on the comprehensive plan of a just and stable peace outlined in the Anglo-French conversations in London two months ago. The immense service which the round of continental visits now being paid by British Ministers can do to Britain and the world is to bring Germany back into loyal co-operation with her neighbours.

# AN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

By HARTLEY WITHERS

IT was a happy inspiration that prompted the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to assemble at Chatham House, from March 5 to 7, an international conference on economic and monetary problems; and the manner in which the conference conducted its business and expressed its conclusions was a gratifying proof of its opportuneness and utility. A distinguished gathering of statesmen, business men, publicists and economists, from America, the Continent, the Dominions and Great Britain, met and talked for three days with complete freedom and surprising unanimity, showing how easy it is to reach agreement on the cures for the world's present ills, when they are regarded from the point of view of the interest of the world as a whole.

After the failure of the World Conference of 1933, it has been clear that the time has not yet come for the discussion of our economic and monetary difficulties by a representative assembly of all the nations; and that before any good results can be expected to follow from such a gathering, much preliminary work has to be done, by those responsible for the policies of the Powers that have been most prominent in the operations that have produced the mischief.

### Towards Freer Trade

Among the economic causes of the disastrous decline in world trade and prosperity, the most obvious are tariffs and trade barriers and unstable exchanges; and the tariffs, imposed or heightened by the creditor countries, so increasing the difficulties of international debtors, have evidently had a specially devastating effect.

The conference thus made a sound beginning by suggesting, in its first recommendation, that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, the world's greatest creditor nations, should consult together, and with such other Governments as it might be advisable to approach, for the purpose of agreeing on measures to enable the debtor nations to meet their obligations in goods and services. This is clearly the most hopeful line of approach towards a lowering of barriers. The action of the United States, in continuing, as world creditor, the high tariff policy which had some justification in the time when it was a debtor country, has been an important cause of trade dislocation and of the fall in primary prices; and England's return to Protection has unfortunately increased the difficulties experienced by Germany, the British Dominions, and other debtor countries in meeting their obligations. In one case, the need for the American farmers to find a market for their surplus, and in the other, the embarrassments of the British export trades, are strong arguments in favour of freer trade. In order that this problem may also be approached from another angle, the conference also recommended that governments in general should consider the desirability of forming low tariff or free trade unions on the model of the Ouchy convention.

### Currency Stabilisation

Convinced as the conference was of the urgent need for freer trade, its general opinion seemed to be still more decided as to the evil effect on world prosperity of instability of currencies and the chaotic condition

of the market in exchange—that is, in the prices at which the moneys of different countries are bought and sold. This cause it held responsible for difficulties in completing trade transactions, trade barriers of divers kinds, gold accumulation and hoarding, the discouragement of long-term lending, a narrowing of the world's market, and a fall in world prices. Accordingly, it recommended that the leading governments, in the first instance those of France, Great Britain and the United States, should without delay consult with one another with a view to arriving at a provisional stabilisation of exchange on the basis of gold, allowing for the possibility of readjustment in case of need, with the ultimate object of a stable world gold standard.

The need for an early move in this direction needs no emphasis. Trade cannot revive to anything like its old volume as long as varying values of the currencies of all countries make it impossible for the trader to know what the money that he gets by selling, or has to provide when buying, is going to cost by the time the transaction is complete; and the conference rightly laid stress on the obstacle to long-term foreign lending that is presented by chaos in exchange. The breakdown of the international capital market, through which purchasing power used to be spread over the world by the creditor countries, is a cause of trade depression that has received too little attention; and it cannot be revived until lenders and borrowers can know, with reasonable certainty, what the money lent and owed is going to be worth, from the point of view of both parties to the bargain, for a term of years ahead.

It was the outstanding advantage of the gold standard that it secured steadiness in rates of exchange; and a gradual and tentative return to it is essential to a revival of real prosperity.

### Peace and Confidence

Finally, the conference came down to the real core of the problem, more important than all the economic and monetary details that obscure and complicate it. This is the need for peace and political confidence and security. "Throughout the world," it said in its third recommendation, "the peoples are earnestly desirous of peace and eagerly anxious that practical steps be taken to secure it." The conference accordingly urged the governments to cultivate and strengthen the habit of consultation between nations on equal terms, at the same time strengthening the League of Nations and increasing its authority, checking the growth of armaments, promoting the effectiveness of the Pact of Paris and the judicial settlement of disputes, and co-operating in improving the standard of the peoples on the lines indicated by the international labour organisation. A comprehensive and exhaustive survey and study of international economic relations, for the information of public opinion, was also suggested to the Carnegie trustees as a fruitful object of the energies that they direct.

The thanks of all who are earnest in the cause of peace and prosperity must be given to Dr. Murray Butler, and the other leading spirits of the Carnegie Endowment, for organising this momentous and successful conference.

# THIS AGGRESSION

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

THOSE who have had the arduous but inspiring task since the War of trying to procure complete security for the world by working and improving the Collective system which definitely exists in the League Covenant have always sooner or later run up against the business of "aggression." If this is a breach of international peace—and nations just as ordinary folk cannot always avoid a bad boy in the family—on what principles are States to define "aggression" and against whom are the forces of the civilised world organised in the League to be directed?

The plain truth is that the Covenant gives a far clearer answer than it is commonly supposed. Take Articles 10 and 16. Article 10 runs:—

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

Article 16 runs:—

"Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Article 12, 13 and 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League."

Senor de Madariaga once said that if the world would honestly subscribe to a statement that "The Covenant means what it says," there would be no need of any fuss over defining the aggressor. He was right. The words of these two articles are quite plain. The former says aggression means any attack by one State which

diminishes another's territory or independence; the latter that it is the use of war (and here the framers of the Covenant who were plain men meant attacking a country and killing its people) instead of the acceptance of peaceful settlement. The Covenant in fact puts in a general way what the Geneva 1924 Protocol put in a particular way and M. Herriot summed up in the phrase: "The State which refuses arbitration; there is the aggressor." But more important than this clear definition is the new principle that the Covenant has introduced for handling serious conflicts or threats of conflict.

Before the war a moral stigma was attached to "aggression," but it was always within the legal rights of a State to go to war to enforce a policy however unjust. The Covenant changed this. Aggression was recognised as an international crime which the States members of the League are all responsible for preventing. In the above Articles the aggressor is not left to his own judgment. The League Council (Article 10) or the whole of the rest of the League (Article 16) are now made judges of whether aggression has taken place. They have the duty of applying the definition of aggression which has been laid down to the particular dispute.

As is known, Great Britain rejected the 1924 Protocol on the alleged ground that it went beyond the Covenant, where as long as America was outside the League Great Britain could not follow. Yet the very next year, though in a limited area, Great Britain accepted at Locarno a far stricter definition of aggression than that of the Covenant. Great Britain became committed to give assistance *at once* if in her *own* judgment a case of

flagrant aggression occurred, as for example if Germany or France or Belgium crossed each other's frontiers, or assembled armed forces in the demilitarised Rhine zone.

As far as the actual judgment on any particular case goes—Locarno has not yet been called in to practice—there has really been no difficulty in recognising the aggressor. Jugo-Slavia in Albania, 1921; Poland, at Vilna; Italy, at Corfu; Greece on the Bulgarian frontier, 1925; Peru, at Leticia, 1932; Japan, in Manchuria; were all recognised as aggressors. The Chaco dispute was perhaps more difficult to assess, owing to lack of defined frontiers, the remoteness of the area concerned, the vicissitudes which resulted in Bolivia and Paraguay being each on occasion an aggressor. But it is true to say that on practically every occasion it has been easy to spot the aggressor, the more difficult job being, of course, the subsequent smoothing out of the tangled history of rights and national hatreds lying behind the conflicts. In fact, the alleged difficulties in defining aggression have thinly disguised what has been the real reason for the failure, on occasions, of the League to reach a successful solution—which is that the League States, generally the *Big Powers*, have not always meant business.

"Whenever the League machinery," said Viscount Cecil, "has been used fairly and genuinely applied, without fear or hesitation, it has produced admirable results." Meaning business, the firm will to act upon judgment if need be by the sanctions which the League has provided and which the founders of the Covenant hot from the experience of the war understood well enough, is the crux of this aggression business.

This weakness has been recognised by States inside and outside the League. They have tried to strengthen it in two ways—negatively and positively. On May 16, 1933, President Roosevelt's Message defined aggression as sending any armed force across another State's frontiers.

About the same time, to make the definition more "politician-and-lawyer" proof the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference worked out in a draft Act a long list of what a State cannot do without becoming aggressor. Based on the hard lessons of the last ten years and already incorporated by Russia, who was largely responsible for the analysis, in a number of Treaties with her neighbours, it can be said to hold the field to-day.

The draft is worth quoting, for though a minority of the Committee, including Italy, Germany and Great Britain, preferred a more classic definition to allow, they said, international authorities to take all the circumstances into account, a compromise text on these lines is very likely to be adopted. In any case, the existence of this kind of statement as to what aggression is cannot but be of importance just now when the Anglo-French air proposals of February 3, aiming at putting teeth in the Locarno obligations, are being discussed between Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy. This Draft Act defines aggression as:—

## ARTICLE I.

- (1) Declaration of war on another State;
- (2) Invasion by armed forces of the territory of another State, even without declaration of war.
- (3) An attack by its land, sea, or air forces even without declaration of war, upon the territory or flying machines of another State;
- (4) A naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
- (5) Support accorded to armed bands, which, organised on its territory, shall have invaded the territory of another State; or refusal in spite of the demand of the invaded State to take in its own territory all the steps in its power to deprive the bandits aforesaid of all aid or protection.

## EASTER IN OXFORD

Registrations can still be received for the

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Fee for Lectures and five days' accommodation, 3½ guineas. Early application is essential, and inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

## ARTICLE II.

No consideration of a political, military, economic or any other character shall serve as an excuse or a justification of aggression as defined in Article I.

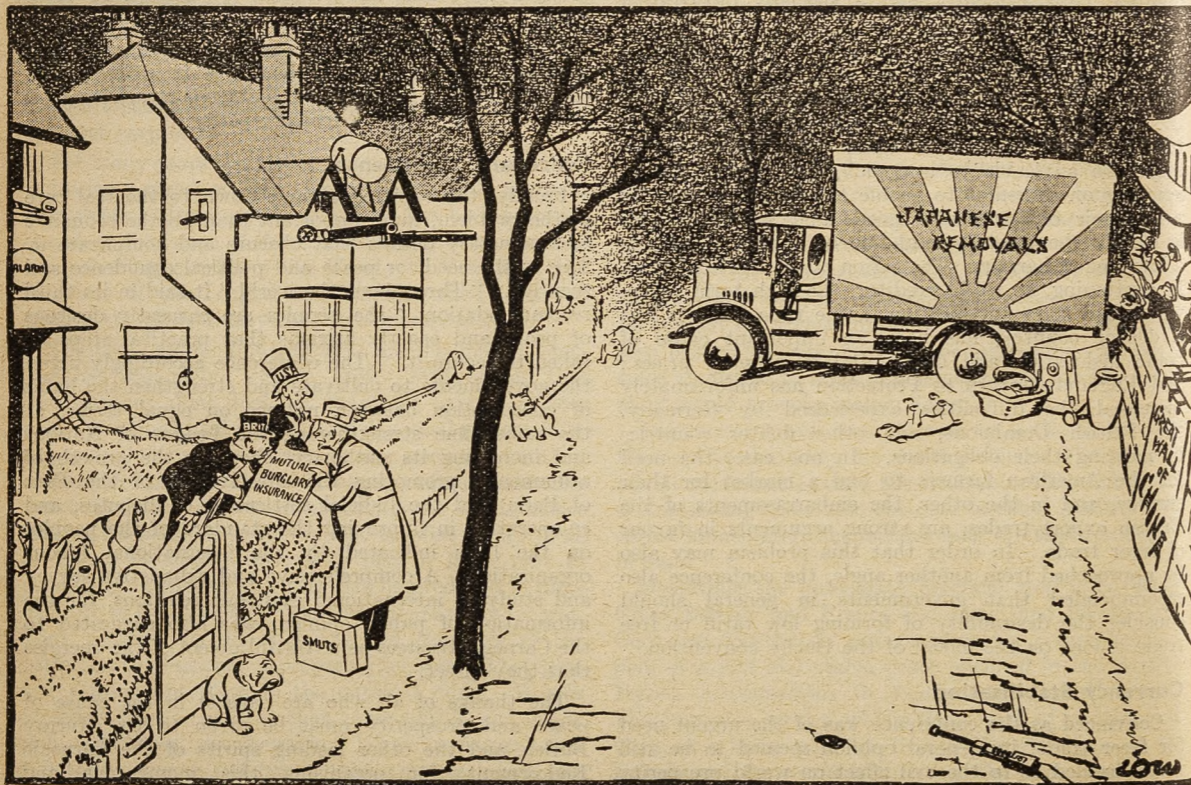
An annex said that:

The High Contracting Parties desired to furnish indications for the determination of the aggressor, and hold that no act of aggression in the sense of Article II could be justified by any of the following circumstances:—

- A.—The internal situation of a State—e.g., its political structure, economic or social, the alleged defects of its administration, disturbances arising out of strikes, revolutions, counter-revolutions, or civil war.
- B.—The international conduct of a State—e.g., the violation or the danger of violation of the moral or material rights or interests of a foreign State or its nationals; the rupture of diplomatic or economic, financial or other engagements towards foreign countries; frontier incidents which do not come under the head of cases of aggression indicated in Article I."

The positive approach is a matter of improving League machinery in handling a conflict and a crisis. It goes more to the root of the matter because it directly concerns action. Such, for example, is the remarkable Convention for the Prevention of War, sponsored by Germany in 1931, but not yet ratified, which empowers the Council, at once, to impose a truce, order the withdrawal of forces, create a neutral zone, and send commissioners to see order is obeyed. Common action would certainly be made easier and more automatic. Finally, to secure the justice without which no peace can last, the League Powers will have to make the use of Article XIX of the Covenant, which its founders always intended should embody the principle of growth in the world of international affairs.

Security—the problem of preventing "aggression"—boils down to this. There has been no real difficulty in spotting the aggressor; there is even less now. But there has been hesitation on the part of Members of the League to act upon a judgment which as a matter of fact has been easy to pass. As long as there is this collective inaction, until the Big Powers, especially, mean business in the matter of preventing war, there will be no security and no general reduction of armaments.



By permission of

BURGLARS' AVENUE.

[The "Evening Standard"]

## Germany Reintroduces Conscription

BRITISH public opinion has remained admirably calm during the past fortnight. Neither Herr Hitler's proclamation on March 16 of Germany's return to conscription, nor the subsequent coming and going of statesmen between the European capitals, has shaken the general belief that world peace can be saved and that sufficient goodwill exists to save it. When in the Parliamentary debate of March 21, whose tone enhanced the credit even of the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said, "Of course, there is a long history behind all this, and we should indeed be foolish if we forgot that history," he stated a crucial fact of which the public has never lost sight. Some of the immediately relevant passages of that history, beginning with President Wilson's Fourteen Points and ending with the new German "Law for the Reconstruction of the Armed Forces," are set out below without comment in the hope that thus conveniently assembled they will help towards the formation of an instructed judgment on a most difficult question.

### President Wilson's Fourteen Points (Point IV):

Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

### Covenant of the League of Nations (Article VIII):

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

### German Statement Before Signing the Versailles Treaty:

Germany is prepared to agree to the basic idea of the army, navy and air regulations . . . provided that this is a beginning of a general reduction of armaments.

### Reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to Germany, before the Signing of the Versailles Treaty:

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

### Treaty of Versailles (Part V):

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

### Sir John Simon, at the Disarmament Conference, February 8, 1932:

The abolition of conscription being a very controversial subject, Great Britain urges the limitation of effectives by the most practical course.

### French Conditions at Disarmament Conference, October 8, 1932:

The adoption by all Continental States of national armies organised on a short-term basis and with limited effectives.

### Terms of Germany's Return to Disarmament Conference, December 11, 1932:

The Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy have declared that one of the principles that should guide the Conference on disarmament should be the grant to Germany, and to other Powers disarmed by treaty, of equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations, and that this principle should find itself embodied in the Convention containing the conclusions of the Disarmament Conference.

This decision implies that the respective limitations of the armaments of all States should be included in the proposed Disarmament Convention. It is clearly understood that the methods of application of such equality of rights will be discussed by the Conference.

### Four-Power Pact of Rome, June, 1933:

Anxious to give full effect to all the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, while conforming to the methods and procedure laid down therein, from which they have no intention of departing.

### German Message to President on her Withdrawal from Disarmament Conference, October 14, 1933:

In the light of the course which recent discussions of the Powers has taken in the matter of disarmament, it is now clear that the Disarmament Conference will not fulfil what is its sole object—namely, general disarmament. It is also clear that this failure of the Conference is due solely to the unwillingness on the part of the highly-armed States to carry out their contractual

obligation to disarm. This renders impossible the satisfaction of Germany's recognised claim to equality of rights, and the conditions on which the German Government agreed at the beginning of this year to take part in the work of the Conference thus no longer exist. The German Government is accordingly compelled to leave the Disarmament Conference.

### British Memorandum on Disarmament, January 31, 1934:

The devotion of the whole British people to the cause of disarmament is deep and sincere, as is sufficiently proved by the present position of its armaments in comparison with those of other leading Powers. They realise that further progress can only be achieved by agreement, and therefore His Majesty's Government would still work for agreement, even though, having regard to the principle of equality of rights, agreement is found to involve alongside of disarmament in some quarters some measure of rearmament in others. . . .

The Five-Power Declaration of the 11th December, 1932, put on record, in connection with the problem of disarmament, the principle "of equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations," and declared that this principle should find itself embodied in a Disarmament Convention effecting a substantial reduction and limitation of armaments. From this Declaration His Majesty's Government have never withdrawn, and they now reaffirm their unqualified adherence to it. . . . His Majesty's Government do not hesitate to declare that the principle of equality of rights is no less essential in the matter of armaments than the principle of security—both must have their practical application if international agreement about armaments is to be reached.

### French Memorandum to Great Britain, March 19, 1934:

The Government of the Republic has not ceased to keep the question of disarmament on the basis of the principles laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant and in the preamble of Part V of the treaties of peace. It has always contemplated a supervised reduction of armaments progressively scaled down to a level allowing the realisation of "the equality of rights in a régime of security." . . .

In the last resort, it is always necessary to come back to the League of Nations and to the Covenant on which it is founded.

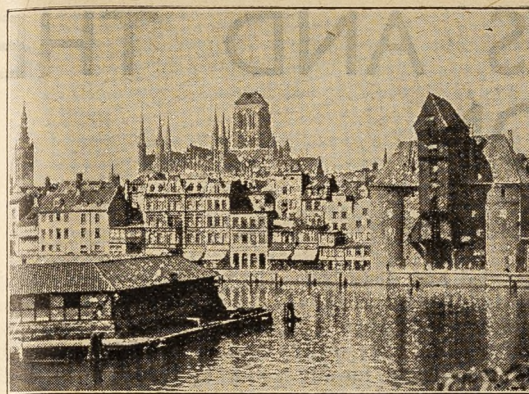
### Anglo-French London Proposals, February 3, 1935:

They are agreed that neither Germany nor any other Power whose armaments have been defined by the Peace Treaties is entitled by unilateral action to modify these obligations. But they are further agreed that nothing would contribute more to the restoration of confidence and the prospects of peace among nations than a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and the other Powers. . . .

Simultaneously and in conformity with the terms of the declaration of December 11, 1932, regarding equality of rights in a system of security, this settlement would establish agreements regarding armaments generally which, in the case of Germany, would replace the provisions of Part V of the Treaty of Versailles at present limiting the arms and armed forces of Germany.

### German "Law for the Reconstruction of the Armed Forces," March 16, 1935:

1. Service in the German armed forces is on the basis of general compulsory military service.
2. The German peace army, including police taken over into the troops, will be composed of twelve army corps and thirty-six divisions; and
3. Additional laws for regulating universal conscription are to be submitted by the Reichswehr Minister of Defence.



A View of Danzig.

## THE DANZIG ELECTIONS

By DAVID WOODWARD

In view of the prevailing temper of the German people, this election success is probable—recent local elections in the Free City bear this out, too—but there still remains another obstacle for Herr Greiser to overcome before the changes which he desires become law.

The constitution of the Free City is a democratic one, as it at present exists, and it is under the guardianship of the League of Nations, represented in Danzig by its High Commissioner, Mr. Sean Lester, formerly permanent delegate of the Irish Free State at Geneva.

Whatever modifications are introduced into the constitution will have to be approved by the Council of the League, and the reception which Herr Greiser received on his last appearance at the League Council table—in January—cannot have greatly encouraged him.

Mr. Eden, as representative of Britain, was *Rapporteur* on Danzig questions. He voiced disapproval of what he termed the possibility of developments which it would be difficult to reconcile with the status of the Free City and with the constitution.

The French delegate concurred on that occasion. The question which will arise at the May meeting of the Council is how much support the British and French delegates will receive for their stand, based on the assumption that a people, even by an overwhelming majority vote, cannot destroy the democracy in which they themselves live.

In days gone by it would have been wise to expect Poland's veto to any such change in the Danzig constitution as is now imminent. The Polish-German agreement of 1933, however, has resulted in Poland losing a good deal of interest in the Free City. That consequence is due also to the immense growth of the seaport of Gdynia, built by Poland to make herself independent of Danzig—to the great detriment of the latter, despite an agreement under which the two ports share Poland's export trade.

But relations between Germany and Poland at the present time are extremely complicated. Despite the *detente* between the two countries, the stream of anti-Danzig propaganda through Poland and of anti-Polish propaganda through Danzig and Germany is as strong as it ever was.

One of the most bewildering experiences that a traveller can have is to go to Polish Corridor, Danzig and East Prussia and see how, in defiance of the German-Polish understanding reached between the dictators of the two countries, both sides continue to air their old-time grievances against each other with all possible bitterness.

FOR years Danzig was one of the danger spots of Europe; then, owing to wise statesmanship on the part of the man who was at that time President of the Danzig Senate, and also because of the agreements which were reached between Germany and Poland, tension was relaxed. Now Danzig is once more in the news.

In July, 1933, following the accession to power of Hitler in Germany, elections were held in Danzig for the *Volkstag*, or Parliament. These resulted in a narrow majority for the Nazis, and Herr Rauschning became President of the Senate—the title given to the head of the Danzig state.

It was Herr Rauschning who initiated a policy of collaboration with Poland in an effort to bring an end to the constant disputes between Danzig and Poland which were strangling the development of the Free City.

At the end of last year Herr Rauschning resigned his office "owing to ill health," and the Vice-President of the Senate, Herr Greiser, was elected in his stead.

It was an open secret in Danzig at the time that Herr Rauschning had for some time been in conflict with Gauleiter Albert Forster, the Nazi party leader in the Free City, and it was known that Herr Greiser was much more sympathetic to Forster's extremist ideas than Herr Rauschning.

Immediately upon his accession to power, Herr Greiser arrested two of his predecessor's right-hand men—the chief of the Press service and the head of the political police—and these men were only released when their lawyers pointed out to the Government that such action was dangerously near a violation of the Constitution.

Then followed the recent incidents in the *Volkstag*, when members of the Socialist-Catholic-Communist opposition were deprived of the rights of free speech and the reporter from the *Volkstimme*—the Danzig Socialist paper—was manhandled and his notes of the debate taken from him.

Now, in an attempt to secure the majority (two-thirds) necessary for a revision of the Constitution of the Free City, Herr Greiser has dissolved the *Volkstag*, and a General Election will be held on April 7.

If the Nazis are successful, then the alterations which they propose in the constitution will convert Danzig into a Nazi State. All open opposition in Press and Parliament will be destroyed, and little more than different stamps and different currency will serve to distinguish Danzig from Germany.

# THE WORKERS AND THE UNION

By JOHN BROWN (Author of "I Was A Tramp")

THE Union does not succeed in winning into its ranks a large percentage of the manual workers. Many attempts have been made to analyse the causes of the failure and to plan new appeals. But no matter how energetic or capable the organisers, little progress has been made.

The reasons are not so difficult to find.

Imagine the life of the average industrial worker. Up early in the morning, a gruelling shift in the factory, mine, or shipyard, back home for a heavy meal in the early evening. The monotony of his task, the constant struggle for existence, the eternal worries of money, and the hundred and one little frictions oppressing people herded together in rows of brick boxes, compel him to seek some emotional stimulant at night.

He can choose between hobbies, reading books, meeting his friends, the thrills and laughter of the cinema and theatre, the radio programme, and the meetings of the various social, political, and religious bodies. Largely as a result of the great advances made in the technique of film presentation, interest in political and social reform meetings has declined rapidly since the war. In the old days "national" speakers could always draw huge crowds wherever they appeared. Halls were packed when Bradlaugh, Gladstone, Lloyd George, and John Burns arrived. Even men who had never been in the Cabinet—Tom Mann, Havelock Wilson, Trebitsch Lincoln, Victor Grayson, and Horatio Bottomley—attracted audiences of several thousands.

But to-day there are, I was informed a month ago by one of our leading lecture agents, no men in the country who are certain to fill the big halls, and only half a dozen of whom it can be said that they are reasonably sure to draw large audiences anywhere.

Compared with the organisation of a film show, most public meetings in this country are staged very badly. Those of the Union, while frequently better directed than those of the political parties, are also lacking in colour.

The crowd of people on the platform behind the speaker creates a subconscious impression of separation. The men and women facing the speaker lose the illusion of cohesion. The two crowds "repel" each other. At a stroke the receptivity of all present is weakened, and the "atmosphere" for the speaker

is jangled and disturbed. It is all very well to say that intelligent people should not worry about mass suggestion, and that it is far better for a policy to stand on its own merits without artificial aids. If success is sought for any policy in 1935, the methods appropriate to the year must be adopted.

I do not wish to see the Union adopt the methods of "Kingfish" Huey Long, of Louisiana, whose publicity "stunts" have made his name a byword throughout the United States. But meeting-organisation methods should certainly be brought up to date.

Another point which requires investigation is the language of presentation. A few days ago I was waiting for a train at a big London station, and having half an hour to spare, went into a "News Cinema." One of the items was a film of a tunny-fishing expedition. The commentary was given by an American, and was full of "wisecracks" and snappy slang terms. A few years ago the audience would have missed the point of most of the witticisms. On this occasion each quip was seized on, and the laughter was general. The public has been instructed in the meaning of scores of these terse Americanisms in the last few years, and they have become incorporated in the vocabularies of the younger generation. The variety stage and the newspaper headline have assisted in the process. Little wonder that the heavy periods of many speakers fail to "get over," and produce boredom and restlessness among listeners!

There are other reasons why the manual worker is not attracted to the Union. The continual propaganda for social change, added to the obvious and as yet unsolved unemployment problem, has produced a widespread mental unrest among the workers. It is most visible in the industrial towns. Such unrest always seeks self-expression. Men will go to cheer speakers who express it in simple and striking forms of words, who can coin colourful slogans, or phrases crystallising their aspirations. If orator-leaders have not arisen to take advantage of the fact, that is due to a strange temporary lack of platform talent among the men at the head of affairs. Because such advocacy is absent, workers do not flock in their thousands to the Union, although nearly all of them are willing to do something for the cause of peace. Union meetings are not



"Kingfish" (Senator Huey Long of Louisiana).  
"Forum," New York.

lively enough. Straight from work, washed and dressed, the manual worker is unwilling to take part in anything that smacks of stiff formalities. The "gentlemanly" tone of the platform does not appeal to them.

I asked some young workers in a Westminster garage if they attended L.N.U. meetings. No, they did not like meetings. Meetings never did any good, anyway. If I had the choice between seeing Eddie Cantor or going to a dance and listening to somebody droning about peace, what would I do? Two cooks at Wembley were not sure about the Union. They confused it with some other body. They were strongly pacifist, but had not the time to go to "these meetings." Yes, they went to the cinema regularly. An electrician at Hoddesdon attended the meetings, but could not persuade his friends to go. Why? Well, they believe in peace and all that, but some people don't like listening to lectures. He had taken them to one; they had sat through it, but they would not pay a second visit.

A squad of taxi-drivers cornered in a "open-all-night" condemned the Union. "We've listened to that stuff for years, but it leads nowhere," said the spokesman, and there was fairly general agreement with this verdict. What did they hear at these meetings? Just the old story over and over again, dreary and depressing. Factory workers at Edmonton held similar views, the only difference being that one of them thought the Union should agitate for "something concrete."

The consensus of opinion was that while the Union was worthy of support, its meetings were too "dead" or uninspiring to appeal in face of other attractions. This view was also shared by the men who had been "on the dole" with me in the north, I recalled.

The workers are behind the League—that is certain. It is the task of the Union to mobilise them. But that can only be done through the adoption of a new technique in publicity, based on the experience of our advertisers and psychologists, and not on the successes of pre-war days.

## Authority in German Education

By VIVIAN OGILVIE

THE great intellectual rebirth of the 15th and 16th centuries was a revolt against the oppressive rule of authority. Instead of repeating what Aristotle or some other unquestioned authority had said centuries before, men took to thinking, seeing and testing for themselves. It was this method that inaugurated the era of scientific advance which has continued up to the present and has revolutionised the world.

Modern education has been tending more and more to introduce the same method into the child's intellectual development which has proved so fruitful in the intellectual development of mankind. It is easier for a lazy or timid teacher to impose by the weight of an artificial authority certain beliefs and conventions, a certain view of the universe. It is convenient, too, for those who desire no change in the order of things to insist on such a system. But within our own day enlightened opinion has come to see (a) that the old ways demand many bold and radical changes, such as the substitution of world order for international anarchy, and (b) that imposition of opinion by authority is a crime against the child, in that it stunts the eager, questing faculties with which he is born, and tempers with his desire for truth.

German education under the Imperial regime suffered from precisely this defect. In matter and method it was very much "laid down" by authority, and teachers who were too independent or venturesome found to their cost that authority intended Germany to remain what Herder once declared it to be, "the land of obedience." Clear-sighted men pointed out the defect before the war. The great biologist, Virchow, looking back in 1890 over forty years of teaching and examining, complained that this system failed to form character, individuality and independence of judgment. "I cannot say that I have the impression that we have made material advance in training up men with strength of character. On the contrary, I feel that we are on the downward path." Others pointed out that the system bred a docile receptivity, but not the critical mind or the power of original production.

The catastrophe of the war opened many people's eyes, and they largely blamed the German schoolmaster for their country's plight. The opposite spirit made its way, and many schools tried out interesting experiments. In the words of Professor Paul Oestreich, "The aim of the new school is to bring up young people to be physically well trained, free minded, socially disposed, and resolute members of the national community and of humanity." Under the old system the individual had been encouraged not to think for himself, but to leave the responsibility for thinking and doing to "those above him." The new aim was to let him search fearlessly for himself and to make him self-reliant, ready to do and to decide on his own responsibility. It was the spirit of the Renaissance, for which Germany had so long been waiting.

People have to make mistakes before they become wise. But the opportunity to make an awful mess is the very condition of doing great things. The calculating machine can do its sums infallibly, but it is only the human brain, free to make howlers, that can make great discoveries.

Unfortunately, in Germany circumstances loaded the dice against the new spirit. The tragic post-war years unjustly lent the odium of failure and impotence to every good thing that was attempted then, to every brave and promising experiment. There are always plenty of sluggish spirits who deride the first wavering essays of a new thing—the sort of people who laughed at the uncertain flight of the first aeroplanes and the incoherent croaks of the first wireless. There were plenty of them ready to decry the new move towards freedom, self-reliance and self-responsibility, and to credit it with the humiliations and disappointments that dogged the Republic.

In 1933 the new advance was turned back. Instead of pushing forward through the wilderness to build a new land in this spirit, a group of men drove Germany back to the house of bondage, the bondage of authority and mechanical discipline.

For the tired and the disappointed, for those who were frightened at being given their head, it was a

comfort to be relieved of responsibility, to be told what to think and what to do.

The new leaders understood perfectly well that the virus of independence had infected the country largely through education. It was not enough to drench the adult population with propaganda and block up the entrances through which information, competing ideas and the intellectual currency of the civilised world might come in; the rot had to be stopped in the young. So the experimental schools were closed or driven to other countries. The administrative and teaching personnel of public education was made as purely Nazi as possible.

Teaching to-day in Germany is a branch of the propaganda which is so ably prosecuted in the interests of the government. Certain dogmas are compulsory. Freedom to search for truth, freedom to discuss, freedom to disagree, freedom to criticise, are things of the past. Hitler has from the beginning condemned "scientific objectivity." The guide in all matters is "political subjectivity." That is to say, certain preconceived notions decide what are facts and what are not; it is not the facts, arrived at by unprejudiced inquiry, which decide between true and false opinions. The facts have to fit the theory, not the theory the facts. This is the reign of authority brought back again.

But what of the young brought up under the rule

## LESSONS of the BALLOT By a Local Organiser

THE task has fallen to me of organising the Peace Ballot in the district where I live. The district forms part of a town just outside London with an industrial life of its own and a large number of residents who work in London. The section of the town for which I was responsible consists of middle-class roads in about the normal proportions. It includes also a rural area running out some three miles from the edge of the town. The number of houses in the district is approximately 2,200.

My scheme was to obtain 100 volunteer workers and to allot to each of them 20 to 25 houses. With slight modification in the allotment here and there, owing to a few of the helpers dropping out from one cause and another, the plan was successfully carried out. Very few of the workers were experienced canvassers and, as was to be expected, they showed varying degrees of capacity.

Some of the most efficient helpers made notes of the causes of failure in the cases in which they were unable to collect the forms. The number of persons who expressed active hostility by refusing to take in a ballot-paper, by tearing it up, or by declining to hand it back, was very small—not more than two or three in twenty to twenty-five houses. And there would be another two or three who handed the forms back blank.

Why then, were not similar results obtained by all the collectors? To get the papers back duly filled up, the ground had to be gone over three, four, five and even six times; not because of the hostility encountered but because of the procrastination and the unbusinesslike habits of the majority of people.

An examination of the returned ballot-papers strengthens the impression gained from the reports of the collectors that the ballot has been taken seriously by people in general. The number of papers dealt with by the voters in a frivolous or silly manner is negligible.

The most striking testimony to the conscientious

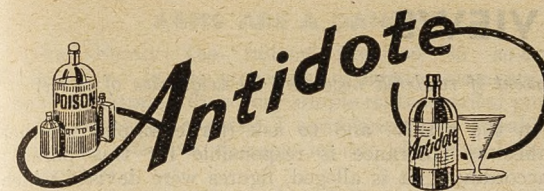
of authority, cut off from contact with the rest of the world, taught compulsory dogma, prevented from searching for themselves? Herr Rust, the Minister of Education, proclaims, as if it were a Nazi discovery, that in the past there was too much "book-learning." Precisely. The pioneers of the despised Republic urged that living knowledge should replace cramming and they did much to develop new and highly-successful methods based on the child's natural impulse to find out and try things for himself. Herr Rust lays stress, as did the pre-Nazi educationists, on the training of character. Discipline means *military discipline*, the unquestioning obedience of the soldier. The pre-Nazi pioneers wished to build character on the basis of *self-discipline*; they wished to form free men and women, who could stand on their own feet, who could "reason why," not merely "do or die" at the word of command, who would, in short, be human personalities and not simply parts in a machine. They believed in the German sufficiently to trust him, instead of flattering him in word and insulting him in deed. They also designed education to foster "the spirit of international reconciliation" (Constitution of Weimar, Art. 148), a spirit which can only grow in a free and open mind, ready to acknowledge the best that other nations have done, ready to bury the past, ready to work for a better future and a bigger loyalty than the national State.

manner in which the ballot has been dealt with is found in the variations in the entries of "Yes" and "No" to the six questions. Certainly they have not followed, like a flock of sheep, the lead of any party, or paper, or organisation.

"Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations?" drew an affirmative reply by virtually everybody who entered a "Yes" on the paper at all. But a large number of people, having answered "Yes" to this question, answered "No" to one or more of the other questions, or left them unanswered. It is interesting to see the variations within the same household and to speculate on the family discussions which must have taken place before the entries were made. Such proof of independence and intelligence gives additional importance to the overwhelming vote in favour of the maintenance of the League and of Great Britain's membership.

In general the comments made in the space provided for those who wished to say something, over and above recording their votes, confirm the impression of thoughtfulness. Sometimes the remarks are echoes of the familiar opposition to the League which is maintained by certain sections of the press. But this sort of comment is more rare than one expected. Sometimes the comments underline and emphasise the opinions expressed in the votes; sometimes they explain the inability to vote "Yes" or "No" on particular questions; sometimes, though very rarely, they introduce qualifications which make it difficult to count the vote. But taking them all in all they increase one's respect for one's neighbours and create a confidence that both the heart and the head of the average British citizen are sound when it comes to facing grave issues.

It is gratifying that in a district where the local branch of the League of Nations Union has only 250 members, over 3,000 persons should have supported a League-of-Nations policy in the ballot and should have done so with evident understanding and sincerity.



### POISON:

"I think that if Britain re-armed, a sigh of relief would go up in Europe."—MAJOR RAYNER, prospective candidate for the Totnes Division.

### ANTIDOTE:

To-day that sigh expresses itself in the words "Deutschland über Alles," "Parity," "Italian arms must be second to none," etc., etc., *ad nauseam*.

\* \* \*

### POISON:

"It is most difficult to determine what are and what are not armaments. On a ship, the guns are practically the only parts which come within the ordinary definition of armaments."—COMMANDER A. MARSDEN, M.P., in debate at Cambridge.

### ANTIDOTE:

But for the existence of its sting, a wasp would make a delightful little pet for a young child.

\* \* \*

### POISON:

"The money we have spent in the past few days on armaments is no more wasted than money spent on insurance is wasted."—MR. DUFF COOPER, defending the White Paper.

### ANTIDOTE:

The speaker should realise that a man who insures himself against burglary does not hit a marauder over the head with his policy, nor does the burglar add to his armoury because a householder is insured.

\* \* \*

### POISON:

"Every man who closes his windows and locks the doors before he goes to bed at night has clear-cut views on the question of domestic safety. His views, applied to the defence of the country, sum up the policy of the Government as stated in the White Paper."—Leading article in the *News of the World*.

### ANTIDOTE:

There seems to be a certain amount of unwillingness to regard the armaments of Continental nations as "closing the windows and locking the doors," though it is possible that Continental citizens also have "clear-cut views on the question of domestic safety."

\* \* \*

### POISON:

"There is no difference between armaments manufactured by the State and those manufactured by private enterprise."—Defenders of the armaments trade.

### ANTIDOTE:

The "Daily Express" Special Correspondent, writing on the Abyssinian crisis, reported: "Munition-sellers have descended on this country like vultures. . . . They are engaged in bargaining." Would a State arsenal send out similar vultures?

\* \* \*

### POISON:

"Our desire to lead the world towards disarmament by our example of unilateral disarmament has not succeeded."—MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, as reported in the *Sunday Pictorial*.

### ANTIDOTE:

Possibly because those whom the example was intended to impress are still wondering what our yearly £120,000,000 has to do with "unilateral disarmament."

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## READERS' VIEWS

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

### I.L.O. GOVERNING BODY

SIR,—The author of your article, "I.L.O. Governing Body Membership," states that "in well-informed quarters in Geneva there is a strong feeling" that the discussions about U.S. membership of the Governing Body "directly influenced the U.S. Senate in its refusal to vote for American membership of the Permanent Court."

If there is such a feeling, it cannot be in well-informed quarters. I do not wish to discuss the merits of the criteria selected to determine industrial importance; I will only remark that few will share your correspondent's surprise that one of the criteria was the figure of occupied population. On the one hand, this was one of the criteria employed in 1922; on the other, the I.L.O. deals in human beings, not in statistical abstractions. May I add that the criteria of 1922 would not have placed Canada among the eight States? So much for your correspondent's "tipping of the scales."

I am, however, concerned to dispute the allegation that the I.L.O. discussion had something to do with the adverse U.S. decision about the Court. Your correspondent's article ends: "At the moment of disillusion the advocates of U.S. membership of the World Court were pointing out that the Court had nothing to do with the League; it was only too easy for the Anti-World Court forces in the Senate to say 'That's what we were told about the I.L.O. and the damage was done.'"

It would have been impossible for them to say it truthfully. Nor, in fact, was any reference made in the Senate's debate on the Court to the question of membership of the I.L.O. Governing Body.

It is alleged in the article that the announcement that Canada might appeal to the Council of the League made a bad impression in America because "American opinion" had "been given to understand that in practice the League and the I.L.O. were separate." I would observe (1) that as the American authorities are and were perfectly aware, Canada (if she appealed) would appeal not against U.S. entry into the Governing Body, but against the retention of their places by two other States (or one of the two); (2) that the practical relationship of the League and the I.L.O. was fully developed in Congress before the resolution favouring U.S. membership of the I.L.O. was adopted.

To suggest that the Governing Body discussions produced a "moment of disillusion" is to imply that at some stage some person or persons misled Congress as to the relations between the I.L.O. and the League; this is particularly objectionable since the majority of your readers have no access to the records of Congress, and so cannot judge for themselves the irresponsibility of the suggestion.

Finally, may I ask what evidence your correspondent can give that "employers and workers in the United States believed that their representatives would automatically be given seats on the Governing Body"—despite the Treaty provisions with which your correspondent seems vaguely acquainted; or that a "bad impression was made on the American authorities" because the American worker was "only temporarily seated"? The fact is that the Workers' Delegate has been given a permanent seat, and not in place of the Spanish Workers' delegate; and that no application has been made for a seat for the American employer. Your correspondent might at least have got these facts right.

I am tempted to add one or two general comments

upon the article, and to ask (for example) whether malice or ignorance is responsible for this phrase; "accordingly, it is alleged, figures were devised which permitted Italy's much greater population to be taken into account." I will, however, confine myself to an expression of regret that HEADWAY ignored the opinion expressed by Professor Davies in its same issue that "it is no use . . . inquiring too closely how, when all the prospects seemed peculiarly favourable, the milk-can was at the last moment upset," and the proposal of U.S. membership of the Court defeated. If reasons, however, are to be sought, plenty can be discerned without the stretch of the imagination needed for the article "I.L.O. Governing Body Membership."

M. R. K. BURGE, London Correspondent.  
International Labour Office.  
London Office: 12, Victoria St., S.W.1.

### GERMAN COLONIES

SIR,—Col. Kelsall (in HEADWAY for March) asks: "How better can we do our duties . . . than by restoring to Germany her fair share of overseas possessions?"

Mandated territories administered in consonance with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, are not recognised by the Covenant as assets of emolument to the Mandatory Powers, on which hypothesis such restoration would be an empty boon.

But assuming that all that, and the rest of it about "sacred trust" for the native peoples, and so on, in the Covenant, to be regarded by Col. Kelsall as palpable fudge, and as hypocritical as the promises of disarmament, I should answer him, as a realist, that although German native administration, before the War, was not so much worse than British, as Lord Balfour's Blue Book on German Colonies sought to prove, it was worse and more oppressive, and that the administration of Tanganyika under our mandate has done so much to vindicate the ideas which inspired the Covenant, and to stimulate the indigenous progress of native dominion, that it would be a gross and disgraceful scandal—and a worse than any of which the nations have yet been guilty in administering the principles of the League, to restore Tanganyika to German rule.

How can a Nazi State, with Nazi anthropological superstitions, administer a Hamitic community? Hitler himself has admitted the incongruity, and declared he does not desire African colonies.

Bognor Regis.

OLIVIER.

### THAT "LAST STRAW"

SIR,—Lord Cecil has just pointed out that the vice of all coalitions is that "they do not speak with one voice nor act with one purpose." What an apt description of the National Declaration Committee! First, the egregious Blue leaflet, then the conflicting instructions for the count, and now the throwing to the wolves of the heading "Peace or War?" What generalship! No doubt the total when reached will exceed the anticipated four millions out of an electorate of 25,000,000, but does the majority of a minority constitute "an amazing success"?

For 15 years I have been a beast of burden for the L.N.U., but I am at last back-broken. Apparently the programme for 1935 is the raising of £10,000. I shall take no part in it. On the contrary, I shall decline to renew the subscription now due, as a protest against such vacillation.

Sanderstead.

ERNEST WILLIAMS.

### ARMS ARE A DANGER

SIR,—Surely the fallacy involved in so-called "Security" in the possession of large armaments can be demonstrated by a very simple mathematical proof?

For example, suppose 1 aeroplane to be capable of inflicting effective damage in one day equal to an amount,  $d$ .

Then, if two nations, A and B, are at war with A possessing 10,000 and B 5,000 aeroplanes, it is obvious that, other things being equal, A must expect to suffer damage amounting to  $5,000 \times d$ , and B  $10,000 \times d$ , in a single day.

The fact that A is twice as powerful as B will not render her secure against the damage that B can do her; this damage, in fact, might be sufficient to put her out of action, if number of hostile 'planes was sufficiently large.

On the other hand, if A possessed only 10 and B only 5 'planes, then A need only fear 5  $d$  worth in 1 day, and B 10  $d$ ; in other words, it would take 1,000 days to inflict the same amount of damage as the large air fleets, or 1,000 times the period, during which time recovery, or counter measures, could be made effective for defence in either country.

Evidently, then, it is not the *ratio* of power between countries, but the extent of the total power involved which should cause anxiety and distrust.

The assumption that 10,000 aeroplanes would effectively prevent 5,000 from inflicting serious damage is, of course, nonsense, and we all know it—"experts" and schoolboys alike. No, I'm wrong, apparently, as many of the world's statesmen and Press lords do not realise it!

Cannot the civilised nations be induced to understand so simple a problem, or must they learn it again by bitter experience?

Rochester, Kent.

"AN ENGINEER."

### TOLERATION.

SIR,—As a worker for the League of Nations Union during the last few years, both in business and private life, and having secured many new members, the majority being £1 ones, I am naturally very disappointed at the position of affairs.

Some few years ago I had several interviews when "The League Spirit" was issued, and obtained 500 copies with the following note:—

"All members of the League of Nations Union are urged to introduce into their everyday lives, both socially and in business, the ideals of the League."

Once again I suggest that this should be introduced as a general policy.

Another point I should like to bring forward (particularly as I feel to-day there is an increasing number of people who are convinced that thought and example have a very strong effect) is that it would be of the utmost value if everybody working on the numerous committees that exist put forward a suggestion somewhat similar to the following:—

"We are meeting and working to endeavour to get all nations together in a closer brotherhood, and it would, therefore, be intensely helpful if each member of the committee saw to it that some effort were made in his or her surroundings to avoid estrangements and enmities and aim at more toleration of the other fellow's point of view, as if harmony cannot be reached between relations, friends and acquaintances, it must be far more difficult to help a larger and greater cause."

LOUIS H. S. GOLDSCHMIDT.

Hampstead, N.W.3.

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The organization of the Bible Society in Australia was not built in a day—no, nor in a century, for we have to go back to 1807 to discover the first mention of Australia in the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society—a gift of Scriptures to "the colonists of New South Wales and the settlers of Van Dieman's Land."

To-day there are Bible Houses in the principal States of Australia, and the work is highly organized in most parts of the continent. Last year the circulation of the Scriptures amounted to 172,000 volumes.

What Australia owes to the Bible is a story that can never be fully told, but the part of it already known gives abundant cause for thankfulness.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

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



## BOOK NOTICES

**Russia's Iron Age.** By William Henry Chamberlin. (Duckworth & Co. 12s. 6d.)

Mr. Chamberlin's book is something more than just one more of the now tiresomely familiar discourses on Soviet Russia in which a fervour of praise or denunciation takes the place of knowledge. Tourists venture upon a three weeks' scamper through the vastest and most difficult country in Europe, and hurry home to publish, even more hurriedly, their conviction that the facts correspond exactly to the prejudices, either friendly or hostile, which they had always entertained.

Mr. Chamberlin has spent many years in Russia. He has made a thorough study of Russian history. He has enjoyed as full opportunities as the authorities allow any man to see the facts for himself. His revised judgment of the immense Soviet experiment is less favourable than the views which he expressed in his earlier books. But he does not deny the immensity; indeed, he seems to contemplate it with more than his former astonishment, if with an added tinge of horror. He well brings out the drive and pace of Russian development. So much has been accomplished during the past five years that many parts of his "Soviet Russia," originally written in 1929, are already out of date, even in the revised edition.

The drive is the reason for his title. "Russia's Iron Age" gives an account of the sudden industrialisation of Russia, and iron is still the symbol of industry. But Mr. Chamberlin rather stresses the other meaning of ruthlessness. The men who are building the new Russia are enthusiasts, to the verge of fanaticism and even beyond. They count no human cost too great; they let no mercy for individual men and women stand in their way. Having once dwelt in darkness, they have seen a great light.

Mr. Chamberlin stresses over and over again the systematic violent elimination of everything and everyone who hinders the march into the promised land. He tells a harrowing story of the fate of the kulaks, the two or three millions of peasants who had become more prosperous than their fellows through harder work and greater foresight. Perhaps he darkens the tragedy of the famine in great areas of the Union, in Ukraine, the Caucasus, the lower and middle Volga, and Central Asia, during the winter and spring of 1932-33. Yet he is precise enough in his citation of evidence to convince any fair-minded reader that large areas of rural Russia were devastated by hideous suffering. His investigation on the spot into the famine and its results palpably exercised the main influence in intensifying his doubts about Russia. He cannot feel that any problematical advantage, promised by theory, ought to be bought with the destruction of so much human happiness and comfort, and so many human lives. None the less he is fair to the actual and prospective gains. His summing up is:—

The Soviet régime has been contradictorily interpreted to the outside world as a menace, a challenge, an inspiration, and a laughing-stock. I should not personally subscribe unconditionally to any one of these sweeping interpretations, although, like all big historical movements, the Bolshevik Revolution has its separate aspects of horror, of heroism, and of absurdity. The Soviet system may be

considered the most dramatic and most spectacular effort to solve, along new lines, what seems likely to be the major social problem of the twentieth century; to ensure economic security for the masses while preserving a reasonable measure of liberty for the individual.

Mr. Chamberlin understands the objects at which the rulers of Russia aim. He sees how far they are succeeding and how far they have failed. He draws up an honest account of profit and loss.

**Europe: War or Peace?** By Walter Duranty. (Foreign Policy Association and World Peace Foundation, New York. 25 cents.)

Mr. Walter Duranty has been described by an Englishman, no less an authority than Mr. J. W. Wheeler Bennett, as one of the three most famous journalists of the day. Mr. Duranty has a great following and great competence. His articles in the *New York Times* are one of the sources from which many Americans have a sound knowledge of European affairs.

For a quarter of a century Mr. Duranty has studied Europe on the spot. He has spent long periods in several countries of that Continent, and has visited them all. His new 40-page pamphlet sets out with admirable clearness the positions and the tempers of all the European States. He is not an alarmist, but he is alarmed. He sees hopeful signs in the international sky, but he is aware that the sky is dark.

All the peoples, he declares, desire peace. "There is a growing opinion that war is not a satisfactory, or even permanent settlement of disputes among nations." During the past few months, "a great revival of League prestige has taken place, particularly as a result of the manner in which the Council has handled the Saar question, and the Jugo-Slavia-Hungarian dis-

pute, either of which contained enough dynamite to blow half of Europe to pieces." "The two greatest Powers in the Eastern Hemisphere, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., have become aware of the nearness of catastrophe. Neither of them has any fundamental or direct part in Europe's quarrels; both of them, for motives of their own, have the strongest reasons to maintain peace and prevent a conflict into which they would almost certainly be drawn. It is of paramount significance that last summer, for the first time, these two great Powers manifested their determination to support the *status quo* in Europe."

But militant nationalism threatens danger. Economic nationalism "perverts finance and trade until, instead of uniting and advancing the nations, they have become a battlefield." In the last resort, Mr. Duranty sees the greatest of all deterrents to war at present in the profound uncertainty of the consequences.

"It is here that lies the essential, and favourable, difference between 1934 and 1914. Twenty years ago the Great Powers of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia, believed that the risk of war was confined to the alternative between victory and defeat. To-day they know that there exists the greater danger of revolution, which may involve winners and losers alike in common ruin."

**Documents on the Traffic in Arms.** (League of Nations Union. 2s.)

The traffic in arms is very much a topic of the moment. It has excited general interest and is being studied with care in all parts of the world.

The official hearings before the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the American Senate, whatever they may have failed to do, certainly shocked many millions of formerly indifferent citizens into determined protest. Now a British Royal Commission has been appointed and is about to begin its sittings. At Geneva a Special committee of the Disarmament Conference is considering the American Draft Articles of November, 1934, for control of the trade and the amendments thereto submitted by Great Britain. On May 20, a Special Assembly of the League will be held to decide the future of the embargo declared by 30 States on the supply of arms for the war in the Gran Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay. In the Peace Ballot, the fourth question, which suggests the prohibition of the arms trade for private profit, is receiving a majority approval of 95 per cent.

These circumstances make most timely the issue to the public in a compact, convenient form, of the chief relevant documents. They are contained in the latest booklet published by the Union. The reader will find in its 100 pages everything that is important from the famous report of 1921 to the British amendments to the American Draft Articles in March, 1935. Some of these papers were formerly issued in printed form from an official source, either in London or in Geneva; others have never been publicly available. Collected within a single cover, they are the first aid required by anyone who proposes to follow in detail and with profit the proceedings of the Royal Commission.

**"The Beatitudes in the Modern World."** By M. Watcyn-Williams. (Student Christian Movement. 3s. 6d.; paper, 2s. 6d.)

While necessarily concerned with personal living, this book has a great deal to say of peace, and the making of peace. Many of the difficulties of the League of Nations are discussed by the author, who is an ex-Serviceman, a member of the League of Nations Union, and a regular speaker on peace propaganda in Wales.

D. C. D.

## Official League Publications

To be published shortly.

**Economics of Air Transport in Europe.** Report submitted to the Air Transport Co-operation Committee Special Sub-Committee, to study the Question of the Constitution and Operation of a Main Network of Permanent Air Routes, by M. Henri Bouché. About 80 pages. 3s. 6d. net.

As Editor of "L'Aéronautique," Vice-Chairman of "Air-France," and "Rapporteur" to the League's Air Transport Co-operation Committee, M. Henri Bouché is particularly well qualified to examine the question of the economics of air transport in Europe. By using original (and, not infrequently, hitherto unexplored) sources, he has been able to explain the recent development of this new form of transport and its immediate prospects. Among other aspects covered are the actual traffic results, and the report includes many excellent graphs and tables and maps.

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

## TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION BRANCH SECRETARIES

At the next Meeting of the General Council, to be held at Cambridge in July, the establishment of an International Equity Tribunal and an International Police Force will be discussed. In the meantime, Branches have been requested by the General Council to study these vitally important matters.

In order to facilitate the discussion of these subjects, The New Commonwealth offers the services of competent speakers for Branch Meetings.

Instructive literature is also available.

All applications should be addressed to The General Secretary, The New Commonwealth, Thorney House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

## SHALL I FIGHT? AN ESSAY ON WAR, PEACE AND THE INDIVIDUAL By ROBERT COOPE, M.D.

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## HERE AND THERE

**SPECIAL MENTION.**—The Editor of "News Sheet" has awarded this month's special mention to the Women's Section of the Wanstead Branch for a series of drawing-room meetings to which each member of the committee undertook to bring six hitherto unconverted members of the general public.

**Whitsuntide in Geneva.** A party organised by the Union will leave London for Geneva on Saturday morning, June 8, to study the work of the International Labour Conference, which will then be in session. This visit offers a unique opportunity for those who are interested in international labour legislation to study at first hand this aspect of the work of the League of Nations. Members of the party will have the opportunity of visiting sessions of the Conference, and of taking part in a programme of lectures and discussions with members of the staff of the International Labour Office. The attractions of Geneva as a holiday centre should not be overlooked, and the arrangements will include a series of visits and lake and mountain excursions. Those who can take an early holiday are reminded that June is perhaps the most delightful month for a visit to Switzerland.

The fee of 13 guineas includes second-class travel on the Continent, and accommodation for one week at a good hotel. The same arrangements, but with third-class travel throughout, are covered by a fee of 11 guineas. Members of the Union's Youth Groups are invited to apply for information about special arrangements that can be made for them to join this party. Application should be made as early as possible, and a leaflet giving full particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

**GOODWILL DAY, 1935.**

The following is the text of the 14th Annual World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales, to be broadcast on Goodwill Day, May 18, 1935:—

"From our playgrounds, schools and homes, we, boys and girls of Wales, greet the boys and girls of all the world.

"Springtime has come once more to our little country; springtime with all its loveliness in trees and flowers. And we children are of the spring, too; for through us the world becomes young again! Shall we, then, on this Goodwill Day, all join hands in a living chain of comradeship encircling the whole earth?

"To-day we would also remember with gratitude those, in all countries, who have renewed life and enriched it by conquering disease and who, by their labours, have brought health and happiness to mankind.

"Science has made us neighbours: let goodwill keep us friends." The Goodwill Message of the Children of Wales will be broadcast all over the world for the fourteenth year in succession. The British broadcast will take place on May 18 from the B.B.C. station West Regional at 5.15 p.m. The B.B.C. will also include the message in the News Bulletin broadcast in the various transmissions from its Empire Stations on May 18.

**Welsh Notes**

Many important public meetings in Wales and Monmouthshire were addressed by Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., President of the Welsh Council, in addition to a series addressed by the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies, Chairman of the Council. At several of which the audiences were over a thousand strong.

The Peace Ballot is also progressing in the Principality. Results so far are encouraging. In some of the rural areas a 100 per cent. poll has been obtained, and even in the most thickly populated areas several of the results already received show polls varying between 80 per cent. and 99 per cent.

Plans are already being laid for a large-scale Membership Campaign throughout the Principality, following up the Peace Ballot, and based on the excellent machinery which this colossal task has brought into being.

**Council's Vote**

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

Bournville Works, Bournemouth District, Compton, Exmouth, Finedon, Falmouth, Filey, Harston, Irthlingborough, Kingston, Milford (Surrey); Newport (Isle of Wight), Norwich, Nuneaton, Poulton-le-Fylde, Ryton, Seaford, Storrington, St. Minver, Wade-bridge, West Cranmore, Witney, Wootton, Worthing, Workington.

For 1935:—  
Brislington.

## OVERSEAS NOTES

Representatives from societies in 17 different countries attended the Spring Meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies which were held from March 1 to 3 at the headquarters of the Federation (Campagne Rigot, Geneva).

Among the matters discussed in preparation for the Plenary Congress (which will meet next June in Brussels) were the World Youth Congress which it is proposed to hold in 1936 at Geneva; the proposal submitted by the Polish Government to the last Assembly on the question of Minorities; I.L.O. and social questions (including hours of work and the age of entry of children into employment); and, in the political sphere, the Reform of the League and the problem of international responsibility in the light of the Marseilles crime.

On the subject of China, the Political Committee passed a resolution for submission to Congress supporting the prima facie case for giving China a seat on the Council of the League, at the same time recognising the difficulties of enlarging the Council, and urging that these difficulties should be examined with a view to their being overcome.

**Nineteenth Plenary Congress of the I.F.L.N.S.**

The Nineteenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be held in Brussels, by kind invitation of the Belgian League of Nations Union, from June 8 to 13, 1935. The sessions of Congress will be held in the Exhibition Buildings, by the courtesy of the organisers of the Exhibition.

**NEW ZEALAND.**

**Welcome to H.R.H.**—On the occasion of the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester to Wellington, an address of welcome was presented to him from the Dominion Council of the New Zealand League of Nations Union.

**U.S.A.**

**A Director Honoured.**—Mr. Clark Eichelberger, Director of the American League of Nations Association, has been awarded the Cross of "Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur" by the French Government, for distinguished service during the World War and contributions to international understanding. The Order was bestowed on Mr. Eichelberger by M. Andre L. de Laboulaye, French Ambassador to the United States in Washington on January 14, 1935.

**HUNGARY.**

**The First Youth Group.**—The first Youth Group was formed in Budapest on January 13, 1935. Its members are recruited from among University students in Budapest.

The leaders of the group are all young men, and the head of the movement is Dr. John Kispart, member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian League of Nations Society, and President of the Education Committee of the Hungarian Federation of League of Nations Societies. Dr. Kispart intends to form Youth Groups in country towns in Hungary, and hopes to be able to interest young men and women other than University students.

**HOLLAND.**

**The Peace House.**—The Peace House, 19, Laan van Meerdevourt, The Hague, was opened in May, 1934. The opening address was given by Dr. Jacop van Meulen, Librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague, and those present included Professor Jhr. v. Eysinga and Professor Schucking, both Judges at the Permanent Court of International Justice; and Prof. Dr. Ernest Jackh, a director of the "New Commonwealth" of Great Britain.

The aim of the Peace House is to interest men and women in the cause of peace. It is open every day, admission free, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., and has an Information Bureau, a Library, Study Room and Lecture Hall. Visitors will find there books and pamphlets relating to world peace.

**AUSTRIA.**

**A Peace Camp.**—Under the auspices of the International Pax Bureau, a camp, under the name of Paxo, will be held in Austria during August, 1935. The object of "Paxo" will be to bring together the friends of peace in the various countries. In connection with "Paxo," a conference will be held, and economic questions will be among those under discussion.

Further information may be had from the International Pax Bureau, Vienna 62, Box 54, Austria.

## BROADCASTING NOTES

On Tuesdays, at 10 o'clock, there will be talks on "Freedom," when a number of eminent men will give their views on the British conception of the word and how it works out in everyday life. Each speaker will have the background of his own experience, and the twelve points of view will together form an important whole. It is not to be a political series in the sense of party politics, but political views will naturally be represented, as will the Church, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, the Law, Industry, Letters, and so on, and it is hoped that a distinguished foreigner now residing in England may be included in the list. The series begins on April 2.

"Danubian Clues to European Peace," is one of the series of talks for group discussion, and begins on April 25. It will form a pendant to last summer's talks on "The Treaty of Versailles and After," and in the first talk Professor Arnold Toynbee will set the historical scene by discussing (a) The Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires as they were prior to the War; (b) The Break-up, and (c) The Succession States. The countries which in past centuries were part of the Austrian or Turkish Empires have been of particular concern to those engaged in the work of international conciliation ever since the great changes made by the 1919 Peace Treaties. In the ten talks experts will deal with the origins of these countries, their minority and frontier problems, and the effect on them of the policies of the Great Powers. It is hoped that this series will be of particular value to the groups which are studying questions of peace in Europe.

A pamphlet will be available in connection with this series, containing an introductory essay by R. W. Seton-Watson (Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London), a plentiful supply of maps and pictures, a bibliography, and a full syllabus of the talks. This pamphlet will be obtainable from any B.B.C. station, price 3d., or by post 4d.

Talks on Foreign Affairs will continue in April, and will on the 1st, 15th and 29th, at 9.50 p.m., be given by Mr. F. A. Voigt, speaking on current events in Europe. On the 8th and 22nd, Sir Frederick Whyte will deal with the changing situation in the American Continent and the Far East. On April 23, Mr. H. V. Hodson, Editor of the "Round Table," is giving his monthly survey of the affairs of the British Commonwealth, both Dominions and Colonies.

On the 11th April at 8.30 p.m., in the Regional Programme, a Discussion on "What German Youth Is Thinking," between R. H. S. Crossman and Jochen Benemann, will be broadcast.

## UNION MEMBERSHIP

## Terms of Subscriptions

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

*Foundation Membership is the financial backbone of the Union. All who are able and willing are besought to become Foundation Members; any subscription above the absolute minimum helps both local and national funds more than is generally realised.*

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In many households several persons are members of the Union. Where one copy of each Union publication is sufficient for the family the Head Office will be glad to receive an intimation.

*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: Freemat, Knights, London. Telephone number: SL0ane 6161.*

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# EAST AND WEST

Extracts from OPEN LETTERS by Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore

My Dear Tagore,

I VENTURE to trouble you with this letter for several reasons. First, you are a great poet, probably the most famous poet now living in the world, and poetry is to me almost the chief pleasure and interest in life. Your life and work are inspired by a spirit of harmony, and it is in the interest of harmony between man and man that I make my appeal. You are a Thinker, and in this distracted world, where nations stand armed against nation and the old Liberal statesmanship of the Nineteenth century seems to have given way to a blind temper of competition, I cannot but look to the Thinkers of the world to stand together, not in one nation but in all nations, reminding all who care to listen of the reality of human brotherhood and the impossibility of basing a durable civilized society on any foundation save peace and the will to act justly.

There is no need for sentimentality, no need for pretence. If I enjoy the beauty of your poetry, if I sympathize with your rejection of honours from a government which you had ceased to respect, that makes already a sufficient bond between us: there is no need for me to share, or pretend to share, or make a great effort to share, your views on every subject, or because I admire certain things that are Indian to turn round and denounce Western Civilization. Men of imagination appreciate what is different from themselves: that is the great power which imagination gives. For example, I have just been reading your play called in French "La Machine," and see in it, if I am not mistaken, your hatred of machines as such, and of all the mechanization of modern life. Now I happen to admire machines and the engineers who make them. I respect their educational influence. I feel that if a boy's horse or dog will not do what he wants he will probably try to make it do so by losing his temper and beating it; but if his bicycle or his wireless will not work, he knows it is no good losing his temper. He has to think and work, to find out what is wrong and to put it right: which is a priceless lesson for any boy. Then the use of machinery teaches conscientiousness to the mechanic. I often think of the thousands and thousands of aeroplanes that are plying their daily tasks throughout Europe and America; each one of them consisting of thousands and thousands of parts, every single one of which must be properly adjusted and made fast by the workmen before the machine starts. A mistake, almost any mistake, is quite likely to be fatal. But the engineers, quite ordinary men for the most part, are so trained that they do not make a mistake, and the rest of us have such confidence in their accuracy and conscientiousness that we travel in their aeroplanes freely and without a qualm. This seems to me a quite wonderful fact, that masses of men should have been made so trustworthy and reliable. It is the Age of Machines that, for the first time in history, has made them so. I write this not to argue but merely to illustrate; to show that difference of opinion, habit or training need not cause alienation. You can remain profoundly Indian and I a regular westerner, without disturbance to our mutual sympathy.

The artists and thinkers, the people whose work or whose words move multitudes, ought to know one another, to understand one another, to work together at the formation of some great League of Mind or Thought independent of miserable frontiers and tariffs and governmental follies, a League or Society of those who live the life of the intellect and through the diverse channels of art or science aim at the attainment of beauty, truth and human brotherhood.

I need not appeal to you, Tagore, to join in this quest; you already belong to it; you are inevitably one of its great leaders. I only ask you to recognize the greatness of your own work for the intellectual union of East and West, of thinker with thinker and poet with poet, and to appreciate the work that may be done by the intellectuals of India not merely for their own national aims, however just and reasonable they may be; there is a higher task to be attempted in healing the discords of the political and material world by the magic of that inward community of spiritual life which even amid our worst failures reveals to us Children of Men our brotherhood and our high destiny.

Believe me, with deep respect,

Yours sincerely, Gilbert Murray.

My Dear Professor Murray,

I HAVE no difficulty in responding to your friendly voice, for it is not only the voice of a friend whom I have the privilege to know and love; but it also carries the highest authority of European culture and scholarship, and is therefore eminently fitted to represent the great humanity of Europe.

I must confess at once that I do not see any solution of the intricate evils of disharmonious relationship between nations, nor can I point out any path which may lead us immediately to the levels of sanity. Like yourself, I find much that is deeply distressing in modern conditions, and I am in complete agreement with you again in believing that at no other period of history has mankind as a whole been more alive to the need of human co-operation, more conscious of the inevitable and inescapable moral links which hold together the fabric of human civilization.

I would like here to quote a passage from one of my writings published in April, 1929, which I think may interest you. You will find that it is impossible for me not to accept the true spirit of Science as a pure expression of the creative soul of man.

"Personally I do not believe that Europe is occupied only with material things. She may have lost her faith in religion, but not in humanity. Man, in his essential nature, is spiritual and can never remain solely material. If, however, we in the East merely realize Europe in this external aspect, we shall be seriously at fault. For in Europe the ideals of human activity are truly of the soul. They are not paralyzed by shackles of scriptural injunctions.

"When the aeroplane goes up in the sky, we may wonder at it as the perfection of material power; but behind this lies the human spirit, strong and alive. It is this spirit of man which has refused to recognise the boundaries of nature as final. Nature has put the fear of death in man's mind to moderate his power within the limits of safety; but man in Europe has snapped his fingers at Death and torn asunder the bonds. Only then did he earn the right to fly—a right of the gods."

We have seen Europe cruelly unscrupulous in its politics and commerce, widely spreading slavery over the face of the earth in various names and forms. And yet, in this very same Europe, protest is always alive against its own iniquities. Martyrs are never absent whose lives of sacrifice are the penance for the wrongs done by their own kindred. The individuality which is western is not to be designated by any sect-name of a particular religion, but is distinguished by its eager attitude towards truth, in two of its aspects, scientific and humanistic. This openness of mind to truth has also its moral value, and so in the West it has often been noticed that, while those who are professedly pious have sided with tyrannical power, encouraging repression of freedom, the men of intellect, the sceptics, have bravely stood for justice and the rights of man.

To me the mere political necessity is unimportant; it is for the sake of our humanity, for the full growth of our soul, that we must turn our mind towards the ideal of the spiritual unity of man. We must use our social strength, not to guard ourselves against the touch of others, considering it as contamination, but generously to extend hospitality to the world, taking all its risks however numerous and grave. We must manfully accept the responsibility of moral freedom, which disdains to barricade itself within dead formulæ of external regulation, timidly seeking its security in utter stagnation. Men who live in dread of the spirit of enquiry and lack courage to launch out in the adventure of truth, can never achieve freedom in any department of life. Freedom is not for those who are not lovers of freedom and who only allow it standing space in the porter's vestibule for the sake of some temporary purpose, while worshipping, in the inner shrine of their life, the spirit of blind obedience.

I feel proud that I have been born in this great Age. I know that it must take time before we can adjust our minds to a condition which is not only new, but almost exactly the opposite of the old. Let us announce to the world that the light of the morning has come, not for entrenching ourselves behind barriers, but for meeting in mutual understanding and trust on the common field of co-operation.

Yours sincerely, Rabindranath Tagore.