

NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY

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A REPLY TO LORD ROTHERMERE

THE NATIONAL CANVASS

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"Certain admirals say we need 40 per cent. more cruisers to protect our trade routes. But during the last two or three years two-thirds of our trade has disappeared completely from those routes . . . It is not the foreign navies that have taken it away, but dislocations occasioned by chaos, disorder, economic nationalisms . . . Only by co-operation with others can we get rid of the fear of war and so revive world trade."—Sir Norman Angell, in the Union's new twopenny pamphlet, Replies to Objections.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Rearmament

No matter how much we deplore the fact that the British Defence Estimates are up by £4,765,000 these figures are small compared with the increases elsewhere. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, the U.S. Senate has accepted a Bill for some £125,000,000 to be spent on 102 ships, this sum being over and above the £45,000,000 voted last June for new naval construction.

The Japanese Defence Budget, says the *Economist*, has been whittled down, but even so it is £7,000,000 more than last year and far and away the largest defence budget Japan has ever adopted.

The French Estimates, as reported in the *Times*, show an increase of £670,000 at present exchange value, and according to the *Manchester Guardian*, a £28,000,000 bill for frontier defence is shortly to be moved.

Tendencies such as these are symptomatic of the extent to which nations have lost faith in the League, and show the need for accepting the doctrine of Collective Security.

A Poser

By the acceptance of the Far Eastern Report in 1933, members of the League agreed not to recognise "Manchukuo," but mails have to be sent, and now the British Government has informed Mr. Avenol, the Secretary-General, that the G.P.O. in London has received a letter from Manchukuo requesting statistics so as to liquidate transit payments.

The Far Eastern Advisory Committee is to meet on May 14 to attempt a definition of the extent to which *de facto* relations may be permitted between foreign postal administrations and Manchurian Postal Authorities without involving, by implication or otherwise, recognition of Manchukuo. The Committee would do well to consider also the grave dangers involved by the establishment of drug factories in a country which, not being bound by any International Conventions, can flood the world with narcotics.

The Peace Movement in Canada

"SUDDENLY Pacifism has become respectable and fashionable," runs a sentence from a recent report of the *Manchester Guardian's* Ottawa Correspondent. The article notes that the Premier of Ontario has ordered the distribution in the schools of 5,000 copies of *Cry Havoc*; that on his death-bed Sir Arthur Currie prepared an address which, had he lived, he would have given to the meeting at Toronto of the University Veterans' League; that the *Toronto Daily Star*, which has the largest circulation in Canada, is devoting three pages a day to photographs of actual war scenes; that an appeal in favour of the League of Nations has been signed by leaders

of the three Parties in the Dominion Parliament. These facts are all the more important since the Conservative Party, which is mostly in power, "has always been foremost in advocacy of militarism and Imperialism."

World Suicide

THE total volume of goods exchanged between countries in 1933 had diminished by about one-third in comparison with 1929; and what makes it the more serious, it has been accompanied by a considerable drop in prices.

The League's Economic Intelligence Service seems to see that world trade may be in the process of returning to some kind of normality at a low and very restricted level. The recovery in national markets is due to the diminution of international trade, but how long even this development can continue unless there is some return to freedom and confidence internationally is doubtful.

Economic Sanctions

OVER the signature of several Oxford Dons, of whom the prime mover is Mr. L. M. Fraser, of Queen's College, we have received a most commendable memorandum on *The Nature and Use of Economic Sanctions*. "The only alternative to drifting into war," says their covering letter, "lies in the intelligent understanding, preparation and application of economic sanctions between the nations."

The memorandum deals with the subject under the four heads: What form should Economic Sanctions take? When should they be used? The Necessity for Preparation; and last, but not least, The Preparation of Domestic Legislation so that Economic Sanctions can be imposed at short notice. The final paragraph makes the interesting suggestion that, since unilateral action is impossible, as a condition of the Disarmament Treaty, all nations should engage themselves to pass the legislation required for the enforcement of sanctions at the same time as they ratify the Disarmament Treaty.

Without Fear or Favour

TOWARDS the end of last month, there met in the International Labour Office the Committee of Experts who "examine the reports under Article 408 of the Peace Treaty."

This somewhat mysterious name refers to the fact that under Article 408 each Member State of the I.L.O. agrees to make an annual report on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of Conventions to which it is a party. A Special Committee scrutinises these reports in the same way as in the League proper the Mandates Commission scrutinises the reports

of Mandatory Powers. Like the Mandates Commission, the Committee on Article 408 does not hesitate to ask awkward questions and to pierce any smoke screen of camouflage which a country may have put up to hide shortcomings in the application of Conventions. The American observers to the last International Labour Conference remark in their report to the Senate, that on the whole this "policing" work is effectively and frankly done and that it offers an example of effective international co-operation.

The articles which immediately follow 408 deal with the procedure to be adopted should a Government default. It is interesting to note that the highest penalty is "measures of an economic character."

Russia and the League

SINCE Mr. Arnold Forster wrote his article on the Brussels Conference in the March issue of this paper, we have been able to obtain a copy of the full text of the speech of Mr. Rosenberg, the Soviet Ambassador in Paris.

Speaking with the full consent of his Government, he made the following most important observations:—

"Two facts have not escaped the notice of the Russian people. In the first place, they see improved relations between the Soviet and a number of influential States that are members of the League. In the second place, they see that the Covenant of the League has so embarrassed two Powers who are strongly infected with a military spirit . . . that they have preferred to leave the League. They have noted with satisfaction that to some slight extent the League, despite all its imperfections, is able to check aggressive tendencies; and they realise that, under certain conditions, it may even be able to prevent the outbreak of war in the future. If the Soviet Union felt sure that such conditions could be fulfilled it would not hesitate to co-operate with the League in order to consolidate and strengthen their organisation of peace."

Surely this is the best answer to those who aver that the League is an outworn institution.

A Film Congress

IN the latest available number of the *Monthly Summary* of the League of Nations, reference is made to the decision of the Governing Body of the League's Educational Cinema Institute at Rome to hold this month an International Congress on the Teaching and Educational Cinema. To the Congress have been invited representatives of Governments, producers and users of educational films, Educational Associations, and interested individuals.

They are to discuss the use of the teaching film, the technique of using visual aids to teaching, the preparation and instruction of the teacher in the use of the actual film apparatus, and the manipulation of teaching films, and lastly the extent to which States will be implicated by the general introduction of teaching films into schools.

The Institute also has a large number of other

subjects on its programme for the next twelve months, such, for instance, as how the cinema may help agriculture; the problems raised by the cinema in view of its appeal to a diversity of races and civilisations; and the part to be played by the cinema in workers' leisure. It is continuing to publish its monthly *Review*, and it will press on with getting into force the Convention facilitating the international circulation of international films by the abolition of Customs Duties on them.

Emigrants and Immigrants

THE Permanent Migration Committee of the International Labour Office has recently met at Geneva. In regard to the recruiting and placing of migrant workers, the Committee was unanimous in thinking that further Conventions concerning the equality of treatment between foreign and national workers should be passed and that the recruiting and placing of migrant workers should be placed on the Agenda of a future International Labour Conference. A series of resolutions were passed on the de Michelis proposals concerning the co-operation between land, labour and capital, agents of production which are not at present fully utilised. Mr. de Michelis claims that his scheme would reduce unemployment by permitting workers to settle on at present unexploited land the economic development being ensured by having credits available for this purpose.

The Office Research Department has established the fact that though the first results of the crisis were to reverse the tide of emigration, the latest figures show signs of returning normality and the Michelis scheme becomes topical.

More Hopes Dashed

TO use a bellicose metaphor, the Chaco Commission seems to have fired its last shot. Early in March the League Commission sent to both sides a draft treaty upon whose items it considered further negotiations could take place. Very briefly, they consisted of cessation of hostilities within twenty-four hours, the creation of a demilitarised zone, and thereafter arbitration. But both sides created so many obstacles and expressed such divergent views that, with the exception of its Secretary, Mr. Buero, the Commission booked its passages back to Europe.

Such mulishness on the part of the belligerents urges us to reiterate even more strongly the necessity for bringing them to reason by a League embargo on the export to them of munitions of war.

Speakers are particularly asked not to make use of the names of H.M. the King, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, or other members of the Royal Family in the course of controversy at meetings or debates organised by the League of Nations Union.



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A BOLD IDEA

A MONTH ago, under the title of "The Price of Peace," we discussed the British Government's Memorandum on Disarmament. We go to press again before the publication of the French Government's reply. But, if we may assume that France will once more assert her unwillingness to reduce her armaments until she can rely upon Britain's readiness to join in collective defence against aggression, we can easily imagine the present dilemma of the British Government.

On the one hand there is the demand, vociferously made by Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere, for isolation, neutrality, and no commitments. The Government is, of course, too well informed to have any doubts where this would lead. "It looks to me as though the human race is to have another lesson," said the Financial Secretary to the War Office in a recent address to a recruiting meeting. "It is unthinkable that if there is another international war Britain can stand aside and preserve a spirit of isolation. . . . We cannot keep out of it unless we sink to a third or fourth-rate Power. I ask you to disabuse yourselves of that folly."

On the other hand there is the obvious fact that, if Britain could be relied upon to join in collective defence against aggression, France would agree to substantial reductions of armaments and perhaps to the all-round abolition, within a limited period, of all the weapons prohibited to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Such a reduction of armaments would further increase security. As the fear of war diminished, economic nationalism would tend to disappear. World trade would then revive; and the Government would have the credit of having solved the unemployment problem (or, at least, of having reduced it to manageable dimensions) by a supreme act of statesmanship.

Moreover, after the debates on the Service Estimates, it is now clear that the British Navy, Army and Air Force are no longer certainly able to defend this country and our Empire. If we were to try, as at the beginning of this century, to supplement our national forces with those of some other countries by forming alliances or ententes, they would be faced by rival alliances or

rival ententes. The final end, as in 1914, would be World War. The only alternative to collective defence is for the British Admiralty to continue asking for more and more cruisers to defend British trade routes, while the Board of Trade continues to report that (owing to the decrease of international trade because of the fear of war) the trade routes are becoming empty save for the warships designed for their protection.

But, and it is a big BUT, the British Government doubt whether they would have the support of public opinion were they to declare for the collective system and against the policy of no commitments. It is the duty of the League of Nations Union, in accordance with its Royal Charter, to help the Government out of their dilemma. We have got to educate British public opinion until it understands and appreciates the new machinery for the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the frustration of any attempt to obtain a settlement by war.

Education alone is not enough. Even when most British citizens are able to answer the common arguments of the enemies of the League, their knowledge may not affect their action as citizens and electors. If, therefore, the British Government—whatever its party colour or lack of party colour—is to feel sure that the British public will support them in supporting the League and the collective system, public opinion must be organised as well as educated.

The direct way to educate public opinion and then to organise it (since both are necessary) is to increase the membership of the League of Nations Union; and the best way to that end is the nation-wide house-to-house canvass planned to take place between Easter and midsummer. This bold idea has been described in letters recently addressed to the secretaries of all the three thousand branches of the Union.

Of course it is true that four hundred thousand subscribing members of the Union form but a small proportion of the British electorate. It is also true that eight hundred thousand subscribing members would still be a small proportion. But if the effective membership were doubled within a few weeks, and mainly on the issue of collective defence *versus* neutrality and no commitments, the result would be decisively significant.

Now is the time to prevent the World War which has, of late, begun to threaten. It can be prevented. Its prevention is only a matter of human understanding and of human will. If it is not prevented while there is still time, how horrible will be the lot of those men and women who, if they are left when it destroys their children or their husbands or their wives, will know they did nothing to stop it!

M. G.

NOTICE

Help in this nation-wide Canvass to preserve peace is urgently needed. Offers of personal service, or of other assistance, will be most gratefully received by the Secretary of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1; or by the Secretary of any Local Branch or Youth Group engaged in the Canvass.

THE MEMEL PROBLEM

By

STEPHEN

HEALD

(On a charge of activities directed against the State, the German parties in the Memel territory were suspended by the Lithuanian Governor on February 22, and their leaders were arrested. On February 8 an emergency Law for the Protection of the People and the State was promulgated, prescribing severe penalties against maintaining relations with foreign political organisations with objects prejudicial to Lithuanian interests. These actions are considered by Germany to be infractions of the Memel Statute of 1924.)



IN a recent book the now notorious Nazi Professor Banse wrote: "The Third Empire, as we envisage it—from Flanders to the Raab, from Memel-land to the Adige and the Rhone—will only be born through blood and iron." Such ideas naturally render the Lithuanian Government suspicious of Nazi activities in Memel.

The future of Memel presented the Peace Conference with a problem of some difficulty. In the first place, the population of the town of Memel was almost entirely German. On the other hand, as the Allied Powers pointed out to Germany, the district as a whole "has always been Lithuanian, and the majority (albeit a small majority) of the population is Lithuanian in origin and speech." Secondly, the German character of the town, as distinct from the territory as a whole, was offset by the fact that Memel was a port of international concern (to Lithuania, Poland and "Russia") at the mouth of an international river, the Niemen. Thirdly, Memel was the only possible port for the new State of Lithuania.

Germany's Renounced Claims

On these grounds, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany renounced all claims to the territory of Memel in favour of the Principal Allied Powers, by whose forces it was occupied. The future status of Memel was not, however, settled. This delay was due partly to the fact that the frontier of the new State with Soviet Russia had not yet been defined, partly to claims advanced in favour of Poland, and partly to the necessity of drafting a Convention which would protect the rights of the German population of Memel and Lithuanian economic interests, and guarantee facilities in the port and the river to Poland, without unduly restricting the exercise by Lithuania of sovereignty over the territory. Pending a final settlement, the district was provisionally administered on behalf of the Allies by a High Commissioner assisted by a State Council, the members of which were mainly German.

It was not until 1927 that the Russo-Lithuanian frontier was settled by treaty. In 1921 Lithuania was admitted to membership of the League of Nations. In 1922 *de jure* recognition of the new State was granted by the Allied Powers. But no step was taken about Memel.

In January, 1923, Lithuanian patience gave out. Suspicious of the delay and of intrigues by Poland, with whom a semi-state of war had existed since the Polish seizure of Vilna, the old capital of Lithuania, in October, 1920, and fearful of a similar *coup de main* in Memel, Lithuanians took matters into their own hands. The town of Memel was seized, the small French garrison being overpowered, with the aid of military reinforcements which surreptitiously crossed the border in spite of the Lithuanian Government's official repudiation of their action. A provisional Lithuanian local Diet was set up and voted for the union of the Memel-land with Lithuania.

The Lithuanian Viewpoint

Against these events the Allied Powers protested and despatched a naval force and a special commission to the port. A month later the Conference of Ambassadors decided to recognise Lithuanian sovereignty over the Territory, on condition that full autonomy was granted and the right to use the port and the river was assured to Poland. These conditions the Lithuanian Government at first accepted, but later withdrew its consent when it came to drafting the terms in the form of a Statute. The Conference of Ambassadors, however, insisted on the terms and referred the matter to the League, which in turn set up a special committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Norman Davis, to propose a practical solution. On May 8, 1924, a Convention was signed between the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, on the one side, and Lithuania on the other. This met Lithuanian objections in the matter of the port, by dropping the proposed Polish free zone and entrusting control to a Harbour Board, with a neutral chairman.

The Territory of Memel was constituted, "under the sovereignty of Lithuania, a unit enjoying legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy," the limits of which were defined in an Organic Statute annexed to the Convention. The territory has a Governor appointed by the President of Lithuania, and elects members to the Lithuanian Diet. Legislative power is exercised by a Chamber of Representatives elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage; executive power is vested in a Directorate consisting of not more than five members, all, including the

president, appointed by the Governor. The Directorate and its president hold office "so long as they enjoy the confidence of the Chamber." The Governor possesses the right of veto. Lithuanian and German are recognised equally as official languages.

Minorities in the Territory were expressly included in the declaration relating to the protection of minorities already made by Lithuania on entering the League. Any member of the Council of the League is entitled to draw the Council's attention to an infraction of the Convention, and any difference of opinion concerning its provisions may be referred to the Permanent Court. Provisions regarding the river and the port were included in annexes in which Lithuania, "recognising the international character of the River Niemen and the traffic thereon," undertook "to permit and grant all facilities for the traffic on the river to or from or

in the port of Memel." The port itself is to be administered by an international Harbour Board, with a neutral chairman appointed by the chairman of the League Transit Committee.

Though on paper the regime represents a fair arrangement between national rights and economic interests, it has not functioned smoothly. While German irredentism and Nazi influences in Memel have undoubtedly furnished provocation, the action of Lithuanian Governors has often been high-handed. It has proved impossible, in the circumstances, to obtain a Directorate which possesses simultaneously the confidence of the Governor and of the Memel Chamber, in which the German parties are in a majority. In consequence there has been obstruction on both sides and a resort by the Governor to the use of his special powers and of the right of veto.

The Mineral Sanction

By SIR THOMAS HOLLAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh

THE Kellogg Pact renounces war as an instrument of national policy, but prescribes no form of compulsion or punishment which could be applied to a nation which breaks its word.

Article 16 of the League's Covenant provides for compulsion by methods so complicated and so severe that it seems improbable that nations will ever care to enforce them. As I said in my Trueman Wood Lecture* early in 1930:—

"The activities of the League's Council and of the International Court of Justice have been acting during the past few years as a lightning conductor, quietly drawing off the electricity, and so reducing the potential of electrified war clouds. But a lightning conductor is of little use in an actual thunder-storm; and so, too, neither the League nor the Kellogg Treaty would prove to be effective in an actual war, whilst enforcement of the well-discussed Article 16 might actually convert a local into a world war."

As practical people, we want some safeguard that can be imposed promptly and without force—in other words, a form of sanction that will be a real menace to the international law-breaker; for if it be a real menace it will serve the purpose of all good penal laws in reducing the necessity of its use to a minimum.

Since no nation—not even the British Empire—is sufficiently self-contained in mineral resources to meet its civil needs, *even in peace time*, I propose, therefore, a "Mineral Sanction," as General Smuts called it when I first suggested it in my Presidential Address to the British Association meetings in South Africa in 1929.

Those of us who held responsible positions in the manufacture of munitions during the war, and have some definite idea of the kind and extent of progress which is now being made in the metallurgical and mechanical sciences, are quite well aware of the fact that any agreement for disarmament will be out of date before it is ratified by the legislative bodies of the signatory Powers.

So long as it can be prolonged, the Disarmament Conference will do good, much good; when it reaches an agreement, though it seems cynical to say so, all technical specialists will rightly regard it as merely

* This is a detailed discussion of the scheme referred to below and outlined in the Presidential Address to the British Association in 1929. The Trueman Wood Lecture was published in the "Journal of the Royal Society of Arts," February 14, 1930.

the close of the politicians' tournament. Plans for a new tournament will be necessary at once. *Without some restriction regarding the supply of raw materials, everyone among the industrially developed nations can and will expand rapidly whenever they get a war scare.* Within a matter of weeks it will be possible to repeat, and even to extend, the horrors of 1914-18.

The only practicable safeguard that I can see is an agreement to refuse to supply those raw materials which cannot be produced synthetically; cannot be replaced by substitution; cannot be stocked in sufficient quantities; and cannot be produced in sufficient variety or quantity by any single nation. These conditions apply only to minerals and, so far as any technical specialist can see, will apply to minerals for an indefinite future.

To maintain mineral stocks sufficient even for a few months of war is utterly impracticable for commercial, financial and technical reasons. The country which is fully armed would be like a "road hog" with a powerful car when the wayside petrol stations refuse to sell any petrol: his range of mischief is limited to the resources of his own tank. Obviously, it would be foolish for a nation to go to war at all if it cannot continue it; every nation then would be forced to go to Geneva with its grievances and, of course, would do so. The League of Nations would then become really powerful because it will have control of a real form of restraint that can be used.

Acting in agreement, the United States and the British Empire could by themselves effectively stop a serious war merely by refusing further mineral supplies, for between them they control three-quarters of the world's resources in minerals.

As I see the procedure, it would be that the Member States of the League should agree to act by a majority vote—possibly a two-thirds majority. On such a vote being taken, all the Member States of the League (or nations who, while not being Members, for the purpose of the dispute will undertake the obligations of membership) will undertake to prohibit the export of minerals to any nation that in the opinion of the majority is guilty of an act of aggression. Thereafter a representative Committee—*ad hoc* or standing—will be empowered to reduce the contraband list to its minimum proportions.

The object of this last proposal is to ensure that

possible financial hardships shall be minimised as far as possible, since the simpler and less expensive the sanction, the greater the certainty that it will be used. I would say in parenthesis that the first object of a sanction is to ensure that a nation will submit its case, in the words of Article 13, "to arbitration or judicial settlement." If their cause be just they will get something, whilst in war they will certainly not get all that they want and may even get less than is due to them!

Another practical advantage of the Member States of the League agreeing to refuse mineral supplies to an aggressor is that no blockading force will be necessary, for port clearance will be given only for mineral transport to countries acting in accordance with the League's resolution.* No country need be refused food supplies, medical supplies, clothing, comforts or literature for its

civilian population. Ironically enough, the larger a nation's mechanical armaments the more will it be embarrassed to keep them supplied should the Mineral Sanction be applied.

The Mineral Sanction provides a safeguard so simple that many people will think there must be a catch in it somewhere. There is. It is the difficulty of getting a collection of politicians and their "expert advisers" to adjust their ideas to a new world of science and technology. Most of them, it seems to me, suffer from only one of the two complaints that affected Naaman the Syrian, that is a mental reluctance to accept any remedy that is simple.

* This covers the minority countries that may refuse to vote for the application of the sanction, not only the aggressor country itself. It would, of course, be useless to export to a country that would re-export to the aggressor.

The Netherlands and the League

By C. VAN DER MANDERS

General Secretary of the Netherlands League of Nations Society.

EVEN during the War the Netherlands Peace movement realised the necessity to organise in readiness for the coming League of Nations, and the general "Netherlands Peace through Right" Union, dating from 1871, amalgamated with the Netherlands "Anti-War Council" in the "League of Nations and Peace Society."

The name was intended to show that though the task of the Society was support for the League of Nations, it would not neglect general peace work. But its character of *League of Nations Society* has steadily come more and more to the fore as the years have passed—though the Society has not as its goal propaganda for the League-as-it-is, but for the League of Nations cause, whereof the League of Nations itself is as yet but an incomplete expression.

Holland is one of those countries where many—in fact, far too many—subjects are regarded politically. Before one realises it one is drawn into political conflict. The Netherlands League of Nations Society, therefore, has prominent persons of every political party and every religious denomination among the members of its extensive General Executive, who co-operate because the existence of the League of Nations is recognised by the whole of Holland as an international necessity. The all-party character of the Society is expressed in our presidents, who by our statutes do not have a longer term of office than two years. Such prominent political figures as Messrs. Limburg, Treub and Dresselhuys, belonging politically to the left, Anema, Van Lanschot and Rutgers, ranking with the right, and the ex-Minister Van Karnebeek, president of the second "Assemblée," have in turn occupied the presidential chair.

Extension of *knowledge* of the League of Nations and its work is urgently necessary if the support of public opinion on League of Nations questions is to be assured for the Government. Consequently the education of the members in our hundred Branches has been our constant attention. Committees are formed to study important questions, their reports being discussed in the Branch meetings. Government publications dealing with the League of Nations matters are circulated and discussed. Each month the "Monthly Summary" of the League of Nations is sent to all Branches.



*An Open-air
League Meeting
in Holland*

Numerous Study circles have been formed, and in order to give guidance to the discussions a working programme of a few items is drawn up annually by the General Executive. Comments on the items of this working programme are expected from the Branch reports. These are combined into a whole by the Secretariat of the Head Office and form the basis for discussion at the General Meeting.

The Netherlands Society keeps its eye on Youth in particular. As long ago as 1908 the then ex-Minister Goeman Borgesius recognised the necessity of interesting and recruiting youth to the Peace cause. We have tried to utilise every possible means to disseminate knowledge concerning the League of Nations both in the elementary and secondary schools, nor can we complain either of the co-operation met with from the education authorities and the teachers in the elementary schools. Hence, every year on May 18 (League of Nations Day), when propaganda for the whole of Holland is conducted, special attention is devoted to schools. Meetings in Amsterdam on that day have become a tradition, a start was made at the Hague with a meeting in the Peace Palace, and in other towns other means are tried. Forming of youth nuclei is on the programme, and once a year a demonstration is held around the statue of Hugo Grotius at Delft. On that day also our Society annually awards its Grotius medal, instituted in 1925. Amongst the recipients have been the late Lord Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil.

In so far as our modest financial means allow—for finances constitute our weakest point—the Society conducts vigorous propaganda—by means of lectures,

pamphlets, its monthly periodical, *Die Volkeboonde*, its quarterly translated is *For League of Nations and Peace*, a popular film produced by the Society in 1926 and by every other possible means. One of our troubles is that pacifist organisations of a more radical tendency, shouting their fierce battle cries, gain more easily the ear of the masses. Our League of Nations Society adheres strictly to the standpoint that the work of the League of Nations is of a gradual nature, which this

generation can only prepare in order to furnish benefits to later generations.

The Society appreciates the valuable international co-operation afforded by the Federation of League of Nations Societies and acts in collaboration with kindred organisations in other countries. Our League of Nations Society, for instance, is grateful for the support it has so often had the pleasure of receiving from its English sister society.

REFUGEES FROM GERMANY

IT was among the positive results of the last Assembly of the League that the presence of a number of refugees from Germany were recognised as a social and economic problem which called for international action, and that the Council was asked to appoint a High Commissioner to deal with it.

It is now three months since the organisation of the "High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany" has been at work. It is a child of the League of Nations, although it has the appearance of a cast-off child. For, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Assembly, the Council, after appointing the High Commissioner and selecting the Governments which should be invited to send a representative to the Governing Body, declined further responsibility. The High Commissioner with his Governing Body are an autonomous organisation and are not responsible to the League in the way that the Greek Refugee Commission was responsible, or that the Nansen Office is still responsible. In accordance with the same motive of detachment the office was placed, not at Geneva, but at Lausanne; but, though detached physically and administratively from the League of Nations, the High Commission is an expression of its humanitarian activity.

The first meeting of the Governing Body was held last December at Lausanne and was attended by the representatives of twelve States, including all the countries neighbouring to Germany in which the Refugees are distributed, and also the United States and Uruguay. Lord Cecil, the representative of Great Britain, was happily persuaded to be the Chairman of the Governing Body for the year.

The business of the meeting was largely to adopt the constitution of the organisation, the statutes, the rules of procedure, etc., and to lay down the scope of the activity of the High Commissioner. It would be his function not to collect funds himself, nor to carry out directly the work of settlement or emigration of the refugees, but rather to stimulate the fund-raising activities of the philanthropic bodies, and to co-ordinate the efforts of the organisations in many countries for the settlement, the emigration and retraining of the refugees, and to negotiate with Governments both on technical questions such as passports, and on the admission of groups of refugees into countries where there is opportunity of their absorption.

The Governing Body decided to create also an Advisory Council with representatives of the principal organisations that are concerned with the assistance of the refugees. At present some 17 associations, or groups of associations, are represented on the Council, nine of them Jewish and eight Christian or undenominational bodies.

Out of the Governing Body a small Permanent Committee was appointed, and out of the Advisory Council the High Commissioner has selected a committee or bureau. He will be in constant consultation with these two smaller bodies and had his first meetings

with them in London at the end of January. Between the meeting at Lausanne and the meeting in London he had been in America, and he was able to report that the American Government was introducing some relaxation of the restrictions on immigration for deserving cases of German refugees, and that there was hope of united effort to raise large funds for constructive relief. It has been apparent for some time that the settlement of the refugees in countries in which they can start a fresh life calls for some larger financial means than can be obtained

By **NORMAN BENTWICH**

from charitable collections, just as the settlement of the Greek refugees in 1923 called for an international loan.

The meetings in London considered proposals for dealing with the urgent problem of passports and adopted recommendations that have been sent to the Governments represented on the Governing Body. Difficulty arises when a refugee is a German National and cannot obtain a renewal of his German passport from the German authorities, and when a refugee, as "a stateless person" (and there are some thousands who belong to this flotsam and jetsam of the international order), requires a fresh document of travel.

The recommendations are, broadly, that the Governments should use the so-called "international passport"—i.e. the "document of identity and travel" recommended by a Conference of the League of Nations in 1927 for persons who are stateless or of doubtful nationality.

The meetings adopted a number of further resolutions concerning the better co-ordination of the work of the private bodies. It is one of the difficulties of the problem that the refugees are scattered in many countries; and inevitably there is overlapping and duplication of work between those labouring for their assistance. The Permanent Committee agreed that there should be a Central Information Bureau in London for questions of emigration; and that for the academic and professional refugees certain bodies should be recognised as qualified to negotiate with Governmental and other authorities in finding places. Lastly, the Committee adopted recommendations to the Governments for allowing a reasonable number of the refugees in each country to be apprenticed in industrial enterprises, or admitted to technical schools.

Since the meetings in London, the High Commissioner has paid a short visit to Berlin, his immediate purpose being to lay before the German Government certain proposals about such technical questions as passports and property. He has now left for America, to continue the efforts for a united appeal on a large scale. For it is clear that the sinews of work must be provided by the peoples; and this year, it is hoped, will be provided in larger measure by the American communities.

effectives . . . that would not take account of the existence of formations which, in spite of certain denials, are incontestably of a military character."

The reference, of course, is to the Storm Troops, upon whose retention Germany insisted in her memorandum of December 18 as being an essential point.

Another vital German claim—that to an immediate measure of rearmament, while other powers reduce—is opposed by the French just as emphatically.

"The French Government could not accept an immediate reduction of its armaments which would be accompanied by an immediate rearmament of a qualitative character," states M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, in this document, which concludes with the following reference to German rearmament at present going on in violation of the Treaty of Peace:—

"Present circumstances, and more particularly the increasing pace at which certain countries are continuing to rearm in contravention of the provisions of the treaties, necessitate a rapid solution of the problems with which the Conference is concerned."

British Policy

Between these two viewpoints the British and Italians have, as in the past, been endeavouring to build a bridge. In this effort the recent German-Italian tension over Austria has, obviously, not helped, while British assistance has suffered from the immensely harmful impression created by the complete change—unexplained and inexplicable—which British policy has undergone since October.

In that month Sir John Simon was chiefly responsible for the formation of the "united front" which attempted to dictate disarmament terms to Germany. As a result Germany left the League and the Conference, whereupon the "united front" did nothing, and broke up within a few weeks.

Having abandoned the idea of drawing up a treaty in Germany's absence, and then presenting it to her for signature, the British began to look for a method of conciliation, and, to the surprise of many well-informed observers, produced what is emphatically the best series of disarmament proposals it has yet laid before the Conference. They represent a very fair measure of compromise between the French and German viewpoints.

It is of little use at the present moment to think how very much better the state of the world might have been had these proposals been made two years ago—when the Conference began. As it is, the British plan is the only one that has the slightest chance of acceptance at present, and every effort should be made to ensure its going through.

An Intelligent Anticipation

General opinion seems to suggest that the first step in this direction will take the form of a Conference of the principal Powers, outside the framework of the League, in the hope of securing the return of Germany to Geneva.

Sir John Simon was obviously envisaging something of this nature when he wrote to Mr. Henderson on February 10, forwarding the text of the Disarmament White Paper laid before the House of Commons on January 31.

At present it seems most probable that this Conference will be called in London by Mr. MacDonald, but if this is not done, there is a belief in well-informed circles that one of the neutral European States may take the initiative, in which event it is felt that the country best equipped and most likely to take this stand is Sweden.

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During recent months the opinions of a number of famous men concerning the Bible have been quoted—men famous as statesmen, poets, novelists, historians, essayists and reformers. These tributes to the value of the Scriptures go to show that the Bible does not fail to make its appeal to men of keen intellect, strong personality and broad sympathies.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

FROM LIEUT.-GEN. SIR ALEXANDER GORDON

SIR,—Your appeal in January for an increase of our membership so that "British loyalty to the League" may no longer "be doubted," Sir Arthur Hort's cogent letter in your issue of this month, and Mr. Cardew's advice, seem to show that the Union has failed in its First Object: "To secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people, etc." The reason for this failure probably is that enough attention has not been given to educating our people about the League. And it is useless for the Executive Committee to advocate any policy so long as so small a proportion of the electorate is known to support them, many of the "400,000" not being of franchise age.

In the matter of education, a local experience may be of interest to your readers as an example of what can be done. A debate about the League of Nations was arranged, and I succeeded in getting two good speakers from London to move and support a resolution which criticised the League adversely. This had the desired effect of bringing many members of the Union, even from a distance, to defend the League, besides others who came to condemn it. I may say that the resolution was defeated by a handsome majority. But it was a most interesting and educative evening, and if similar debates could be arranged all over the country I feel sure they would do much good, because in a debate both supporters and opposers of the League have an opportunity to express their opinions. Moreover, the prospect of the fun of a good fighting debate, in which everyone has a chance of saying what he thinks, may attract the unconverted, with possibly good results!

Chalfont St. Giles. ALEXANDER GORDON.

(This letter was received too late for inclusion in our March issue—EDITOR.)

NEW MEMBERS FOR TWOPENCE!

SIR,—I contend that the value of a meeting depends entirely on the *type* of persons who constitute the audience. An audience consisting almost entirely of the converted—branch officials, committee and members, local ministers and religious leaders—merely means that the propaganda value of the meeting is practically nil.

The only method to ensure getting at those who are not already interested is to *take the speaker to the indifferent and hostile, instead of hoping that they will come and listen to him.*

The ideal solution of the difficulty is to secure a speaker from Headquarters, and arrange for him to speak at every possible local club or organised body in the district. The audiences may not be so numerous as at an ordinary Union meeting, but opportunities would obviously be afforded for the exchange of questions and answers, and above all, those ignorant of the truth about the League would not remain in ignorance.

The Burnley Branch, I have heard from their energetic secretary, Mr. Alec Clegg, has found that it definitely saves money by this method, which it has tried extensively during the past two years. Mr. T. W. Gillinder, from Headquarters, has carried out two yearly campaigns on these lines, and the cost per head of the audience worked out at twopence—as against fivepence per head (in spite of a collection!)—at the last public meeting organised on ordinary lines.

I suggest to branch secretaries, especially in districts where the proportion of members compared with the population is small, that this method of addressing thousands of the unconverted without costing a penny for advertising would succeed in their districts as it has succeeded in Burnley.

Merton. OLIVER BELL.

PUBLIC OPINION—FOR the League 7 to 1

By C. J. A. BOORMAN

(Editor of the "Ilford Recorder.")

DURING January a Peace-or-War Ballot, as it was called, was held in the Parliamentary Borough of Ilford. It provided a useful and interesting test of public opinion on issues of great international importance, and proved that, in spite of the worst that the stunt Press can do, the private citizen still believes in the League of Nations.

All residents over the age of sixteen were asked to vote on the following questions:—

1. Should Great Britain remain in the League of Nations?
2. Should the Disarmament Conference continue?
3. Do you agree with that part of the Locarno Treaty which binds Gt. Britain to go to the help of France or Germany if the one is attacked by the other?
4. Should the manufacture of armaments by private enterprise be prohibited?

More than 26,000 people voted, 13,184 papers, or 37 per cent. of the total distributed, being returned signed. The voting was:—

Question	Yes	No
1	21,532	3,954
" 2	20,472	4,960
" 3	5,898	18,498
" 4	20,415	4,819

That is the story in a nutshell. Readers of HEADWAY, however, may like to know how the thing was done. Should they be encouraged, as I hope they will, to make similar tests in their own districts, perhaps our experience in Ilford will be of service to that end. They will at least be able to avoid our mistakes.

The idea of the ballot was proposed by the *Ilford Recorder*, which, being an independent local newspaper, was above suspicion, politically at any rate.

A plan of operations was drawn up in the editorial office. Voting papers were to be delivered and collected by hand. The Borough Council and the churches readily agreed to lend rooms free for meetings.

The way having been thus prepared, the newspaper addressed an open letter to the people of Ilford, explaining the scheme and the need for it, and emphasising how important it was that their opinion should be made known to the Government. A few days later the representatives of the leading organisations in the borough were invited to a meeting over which the

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I have £..... invested (or to invest) and shall be glad to know what annuity this sum would purchase.

Name
(Mr., Mrs., or Miss)
Address

Exact date of birth
HEADWAY, April

Mayor presided. The proposal was put before them, and adopted with marked enthusiasm. More than sixty organisations, including the three political parties and nearly all the churches, gave their support and promised to appeal to their members for personal service. An advisory committee was appointed, with two sub-committees—publicity and organising—to work out details.

For the purpose of organisation, the borough was split up into polling areas, the committee deeming it wise to follow the beaten track of election campaigning. An appeal for workers produced between 500 and 600 volunteers. Those with organising experience were appointed to take charge of areas; street lists (with the number of houses in each), maps and advice post-cards were supplied to them; and as many workers as possible were allotted to each.

A fortnight was the period fixed for the delivery and collection of voting papers. The *Recorder* office was the central depot, and my job during the campaign was to visit the area organisers and see that they had the help and supplies that they needed.

Meantime, the newspaper itself kept the public well informed of what was going on. Interest was stimulated by special articles, messages from Viscount Cecil, Sir Norman Angell, Commander Stephen King-Hall, the Bishop of Chelmsford, and leading citizens, and a lively debate in the correspondence columns.

I think our methods of organisation were the best for the purpose. But it was hurried. We had only six weeks for preparation, with Christmas intervening, and it was not long enough.

A Few Useful Hints

Other difficulties we had to meet were, of course, the ignorance and apathy of many of the public and the average Englishman's objection to filling-in forms of any kind.

Don't leave anything to the intelligence or the imagination. One voting paper, with spaces for six signatures, was delivered to each household. On the front it was addressed "To the Occupier." It was unfortunate that we did not state directly that others beside the occupier were invited to sign. The result was that one-third of the papers returned bore only one signature. But for this oversight there would probably have been an average of three signatures to a form instead of less than two.

Our method of delivery was to slip the voting paper through the letter-box and chance whether the householder saw it or not. Experience suggests that a lot of time and trouble would have been saved later had the paper been handed to the householder with a few words of explanation and a polite request to have it ready for the collector in a day or so.

Generally, we found that young people were very interested in the questions and were eager to support the League. Old people, on the other hand, were not interested and had little faith in the League. This is shown by the reports of collectors and an analysis of voting papers. It may seem curious that although there was a seven-to-one vote in favour of the League and Disarmament, the public did not approve of Locarno. Everywhere the objection was the same: "We believe in collective action, but Locarno is a one-sided bargain for Great Britain. Who will come to our help if we are attacked?"

As the first experiment of its kind, the Ilford Peace-or-War Ballot was a great success. The results certainly justified it. Not only did it show that the public are behind the League, but it also encouraged them to recognise League affairs as matters of direct and vital importance to themselves. And that is going to be a factor of consequence to the future of the League.

BOOK NOTICES

Germany, Prepare for War! By Professor Ewald Banse. Translated by Alan Harris. (Lovat Dickson. 10s. 6d.)

"The man's mad!" was my first reflection, having read through the first 40 or 50 pages. If Professor Banse were an ordinary individual, it would not matter very much. What is serious is that, as Professor of Military Science at Brunswick, he is let loose on German youth.

English students have the saving grace of a sense of humour, but my experience of the German undergraduate is that he has a little sense of the ridiculous as his elders; hence this fire-eating nonsense will be swallowed whole by such as come into contact with it, and to a greater or lesser extent will leave its mark upon their outlook in later life.

The following extract will show Professor Banse's attitude better than any words of mine. Here is the warrior type, the essentially Nordic aristocracy:—

"His eagle eye is ever on the alert for chances and opportunities of fighting; with his slight frame, which looks as if it were built for cutting through obstacles, he comes down like a wolf on the fold. . . . So far from trying to avoid a quarrel, he looks for it and greets it with a cheer. For him battle is the everlasting yea, the fulfilment and justification of his existence."

And then:—

"How utterly different from both these warlike types is the peace-loving man, the pacifist! Peace is the only state for which he is fitted, and he will do anything to preserve it; he will endure any humiliation. . . . His dim, lustreless eye betokens servility, his clumsy body is obviously built for toiling and stooping, his movements are slow and deliberate. This type is the born stay-at-home, small-minded. . . . To this bourgeois or philistine, the warrior is the sworn foe."

As one lesson of the world war, the loss of which by Germany much of this book seeks to explain, Professor Banse tell us to "go on to train the minds of the whole people for war." And again, "The science of national defence must become a recognised subject of instruction both in the Reichswehr and in our universities and technical institutes. . . . It should also be made a subject in our secondary schools and in the two upper classes of our primary schools." There is much else in the same strain.

The publishers have done well to give us this book which, though we find it hard to take seriously, is symptomatic of the revival of the same spirit which gave rise to Bernhardt, and which is dangerous because it is apt in Germany to be accepted uncritically—lock, stock and barrel!

The World Adrift. By Raymond Leslie Buell. World Affairs Pamphlets, No. 1. (World Peace Foundation. 25 cents.)

Soviet Russia, 1917—1933. By Vera Micheles Dean. (World Affairs Pamphlets, No. 2. 25 cents.)

The Foreign Policy Association of America and the World Peace Foundation have joined forces and intend to publish some ten pamphlets a year in order to assist the citizen to understand the forces underlying contemporary international problems. The pamphlets will be "less detailed and more interpretive than the factual research data published by both organisations."

If later issues keep up the high standard set by these two essays, we shall be able to accumulate on our bookshelves a very useful collection of the dispassionate views of able and eminent individuals.

Mr. Buell has painted a brilliant impressionist picture of recent world tendencies. In such a short compass he naturally has to generalise a great deal, but the final impressions left by his analysis are, I think, accurate. The chapter headings (which show the scope of the pamphlet) are: The Quest for Peace and Security; Revolutionary Systems; Hitlerism and the Isolation of Germany; The World Depression; The Roosevelt Program; Self-sufficiency versus World Planning. The hope of the world lies in the Planning, thinks Mr. Buell; the future, in fact, depends on the capacity of France, England and the United States to co-ordinate their domestic programs and take a common stand in favour of world reconstruction."

Miss Dean's pamphlet is in the nature of a brief history of Russia under Soviet rule. It is clearly written and will be of permanent value to those who want something short and, as I am, are ready to accept the author's selection of important facts to be emphasised. O. B.

The Teaching of Geography in Relation to the World Community. (Published for the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union by the Cambridge University Press. 1s.)

A book for teachers primarily but also of value to everybody who is interested in education. Each contributor makes some useful suggestion. As a layman, I must confess, however, that those chapters which most attracted me personally were those by Dr. George Green, of Aberystwyth, who contributes two. The first deals with a subject of

which he has made a special study—namely, Racial Prejudices amongst School Children; and the second with The Film and Geography Teaching. From the former may be culled:—

"If you wished to present the children of England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland fairly to the children of Turkey, what material would you use? Would you select all that was odd and queer and strange and repress all that seemed ordinary and usual? Would you illustrate the life of the English child by reference to the Maypole and country dances? . . . Would your illustrations be limited to showing children in costumes of a bygone age, or men and women wearing costumes which are rarely worn, on special occasions?"

Dr. Green has something equally good to say about films and geography teaching:—

"From the point of view of 'romance,' it may be necessary to present Africa as a place in which widely separated peoples live in adjoining territory, where diverse natural features and geographical forms occur in amazing juxtaposition, and where film stars may rush about, unarmed and unguarded, for many days without derangement of artificial complexions or physical discomforts—but it is obviously impossible to impose a geographical point of view upon material already so distorted in the interest of a very different purpose."

The pamphlet forms a useful complement to the recently-published Union Curriculum sub-Committee's fourpenny report on "Geography Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship."

One Year of Hitlerism. By the *Times* correspondent in Berlin. Friends of Europe Publications, No. 9. 2½d. post free.

The Military Science of Professor Banse. Friends of Europe Publications, No. 10. 2½d. post free.

Two months ago we noted that the Friends of Europe had pro-

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CHOCOLATE

duced Lord Howard of Penrith's pamphlet, "The Prevention of War by Collective Action," in a cheaper edition than that in which it was originally published.

The Friends of Europe, whose address is 97, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.1, is an organisation whose purpose is to make known what is happening in Germany and how it affects international relations in Europe.

If we might be forgiven one comment, it is this. Much as all of us must dislike the methods, aims and tactics of the Nazi Dictatorship, and much as we value information such as these pamphlets provide, the editing in all of them is inclined to spitefulness.

"What is the Real Difficulty in the World Crisis?" An address by Lord Allen of Hurtwood. Obtainable from Haslemere Branch.

Official League and I.L.O Documents

Entretiens: L'Avenir de la Culture. International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. 18 francs (French).

Last summer the International Committee on Arts and Letters held its meetings at Madrid under the presidency of Madame Curie.

The subjects which formed the basis of their discussions were: "The Individual, National and Human Aspects of Culture." In this somewhat metaphysical publication of the Institute, all of which is in French, are reprinted the points of view expressed by the eminent individuals of foreign nationalities who took part in this "Conversation."

Commercial Banks, 1925-1933. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. II A5.) About 330 pages. Price 10s. (\$2.50).

A study of the recent banking experiences of forty countries from 1925 to 1933. For each of the forty countries considered, there is a separate section, summarising national developments in the period under review. A particularly thorough analysis is made of the banking crisis in the U.S.A., Germany and Austria. The introduction which precedes the national summaries gives an analytical account of general tendencies and furnishes supplementary data and information for the year 1933. Just out.

Institutions for Erring and Delinquent Minors. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. IV 1.) 253 pages. Price 7s. 6d.

Information regarding the organisation and working of institutions in forty different countries, with full particulars of the laws under which these institutions were created, their staffs, the various categories of minors sent to them and the educational methods adopted.

Road Signalling. Recommendations and Prescriptive Rules adopted by the European Conference on Road Traffic and the Permanent Committee on Road Traffic. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1933. VIII 1.) 20 pages with coloured tables. Price 1s.

A summary of the work done by the League of Nations in this field, this replacing the pamphlet Ser. L.o.N.P. 1928. VIII 1.

International Labour Review. Vol. XXIX No. 2.

This number contains, amongst others, an article on "Forest Camps For Unemployed Young Men in the United States"; and also reports on the Poor White Problem in South Africa; Labour Conditions in the Dutch East Indies; and Labour Conditions in Malta.

The Rural Exodus in Germany. 3s. 6d.

One of the studies and reports series, and the first of a group of similar reports which will deal with movements of the agricultural population.

Partial Revision of the Convention Concerning Employment of Women During the Night. 1s.

A "Blue" report prepared since this subject is one of the items on the agenda of the 18th International Labour Conference which opens in Geneva on June 8.

NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

No. 0272. Church and State Calling. 2s. 6d. a 100.

A four-page leaflet designed to show that the leaders of both the religious and political life of the country support the League of Nations. Useful for circularisation to many people who still are inclined to look upon the League of Nations as something which only cranks support!

No. 0273. Canvassers' Answers. Replies to Objections concerning the League of Nations. 2d.

A 24-page pamphlet specially prepared in order that canvassers (and everybody else—EDITOR) may be ready with pithy answers to pertinent questions. The pamphlet has been prepared under the direction of Sir Norman Angell. It is first-class stuff!

HERE AND THERE

Lord Cecil in Ireland

Every supporter of the League must surely appreciate the fine results of Lord Cecil's recent visit. In **Belfast**, where he spoke first, he was the guest of the Speaker of the Northern Commons, and was supported on the platform by all three parties—Unionist, Nationalist and Labour.

From Belfast Lord Cecil went to **Dublin**, where he was entertained to luncheon in the Senate, and addressed the **Trinity College** Branch of the Union. Though, as is well known, Trinity College is the headquarters of the pro-English loyalist element in Ireland, Lord Cecil had a splendid meeting, at which President De Valera attended at his own request.

The Press of Ireland extended enthusiastic publicity to Lord Cecil's meetings, which were greatly appreciated.

The **Pinner** Branch reports for 1933 a greater increase than in any previous year, the membership showing a net increase of 83 per cent. in spite of the loss of 19 members by death. Here again a special Armistice house-to-house canvass resulted in 64 new members, thus affording further proof of the truth of the words of the energetic Pinner secretary:—"Only by personal effort can new members be obtained in large numbers."

The **Winton** Branch has achieved an excellent answer to the plea that it is almost impossible to persuade members of the Union to keep up to date with their subscriptions. This Branch boasts of a membership of 537, the total collectable sum amounting to £62 11s. 6d. The treasurer has just reported that of this amount only one shilling is still outstanding!

The **Westminster** Branch has succeeded in enrolling 135 new members during the past year, and is now hoping to extend the membership into four figures during 1934.

The experience of the **Felixstowe** Branch during 1933 serves to illustrate the ever-present necessity for Branches to be unremitting in their efforts to organise public opinion. During the past twelve months, the Branch has lost 49 members by removal, 13 by death (including five most valuable helpers), and 37 who could not be induced to realise that the present time of difficulty renders firm support more necessary than ever. In addition, 36 members found themselves unable to support the Branch financially, for economic reasons. The 57 new members who have responded to the fine efforts of the Committee and Officers counterbalance the losses to a great extent, but the wastage proves that even a live Branch in a big district dares not relax its efforts.

We take this opportunity to express our deep sympathy in regard to the loss sustained by the **Hoylake and West Kirby** Branch by the death of its Chairman, Mr. Harold Coventry, J.P., who had identified himself with the Union from the very inauguration of the Branch.

The Committee and Officers of the **Walkden and District** Branch merit very high appreciation for the fact that their fine efforts have resulted in practically doubling the membership of the Branch during 1933. Three local churches have now become Corporate Members.

The **Oxhey** Branch has also had a successful year, and 33 new members have rewarded its efforts. A Youth Group is also flourishing here, and wonderful all-round support is forthcoming from all religious denominations in this locality.

The **Loughton** Branch is able to boast of a membership list of 910 out of a population of 8,000, which is an excellent percentage in a suburb surrounded by so many other interests. It is worthy of note, however, that the Secretary, in rendering his report, expressed himself as being far from satisfied!

The **Saffron Walden** Branch introduced a somewhat novel form of propaganda at the end of their recent general meeting. At the end of the business portion of the meeting the President donned a cap and gown and introduced five members of the Study Circle to the audience as "examinees who were trying to secure a degree—of World Peace." The members of the audience, as examiners, were invited to put questions, the secretary writing down each question as it was asked and handing it to the examinee who signified desire to deal with it. Thus five questions were being dealt with simultaneously, the candidates each getting ample time to consider his or her answer. The appropriate degrees were awarded at the end of this so-called "Aunt Sally" evening.

The **Bournville Works** Branch obtained over 100 new members during last year, and now includes nearly 750 "live" members—in addition to an obviously live committee and set of officers.

The **Hallam** Branch is another that has contrived to triumph over the past year of difficulty by enrolling 124 new members.

Sir Norman Angell and all concerned in organising the Public Meeting which was held last month at the Plaza Cinema, **Birkenhead**, merit hearty congratulations in having achieved what we think must constitute a record. As the result of Sir Norman's address on "Our Threatened National Defences," four hundred and twenty-seven members enrolled on the spot. Sir Norman contends that much of the credit was due to the magnificent support tendered by the Birkenhead Youth Group. It would be interesting to know the details of any meeting which has surpassed or may in the future surpass this excellent result.

Another probable record was made last month at **Iver**, where a debate between a member of our Staff and two speakers representing Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade resulted in a very definite repulse for the latter. The Crusade moved "That the League of Nations had Failed," and advocated the substitution of Lord Beaverbrook's policy of "Splendid Isolation." Among an audience of over 70, however, not even a single vote was recorded in their favour, the audience voting unanimously in favour of the League. There could be no suggestion that it was a one-sided gathering, for many new members enrolled at the termination of the debate.

Thanks to energetic house-to-house canvass, on the subject of Disarmament early in the year, 173 new members joined the **Berkhamsted** Branch. This should encourage other Branches to utilise to the full this almost invariably productive field of propaganda.

The XVIIIth Plenary Congress of the **International Federation of League of Nations Societies** will be meeting this year in Folkestone from May 18 to 24.

The miniature working Demobilisation Office Model, depicting the fallacy of the contention that Disarmament will make unemployment, is still available for hire by branches in search of a sound publicity demonstration for Disarmament propaganda. The hiring charges are only 15s. per week (or £2 10s. per month). Applications for the hire of this model or for further details should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Broadcasting Notes

Although Vernon Bartlett's regular weekly talks are stopping at the end of March, he will still be heard in the programmes from time to time. During the next few months many of the Thursday evening talks will be relayed from various foreign capitals, among the speakers being Percy Philip (the Paris correspondent of the "Observer"—whom listeners may remember for his talk on the Stavisky riots), C. F. Whittall, and V. Bodker, Reuter's correspondents in Rome and Berlin respectively.

On Mondays at 7.30, there will be talks on "The Treaty of Versailles and After," beginning on April 9. In nearly every European country to-day the Treaty has influenced the lives of the citizens to a remarkable degree. The series will be in three parts, the first dealing with the personalities and the scene itself and setting out the exact problems to be solved; the second explains in detail the terms of the Treaty, and in the last it will be considered in the light of to-day by representatives of several countries. There is probably no man better fitted to tell the story of the actual scene in the famous glass salon at Versailles than Lord Riddell of Walton Heath, who was present and closely in contact with the protagonists during the years 1914 to 1919. You will hear him on the 9th; on the 16th, Dr. C. K. Webster will discuss the problem before the peacemakers; and on the 23rd Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, Research Professor of International History in the University of London, will give the first of four talks on "What Was Done."

During April, Miss Cicely Hamilton will give four talks on Saturday mornings on impressions gathered during her recent journeys in Europe. Her book on Modern Russia was published by Dent a few weeks ago.

Chelsea Peace Shop

We have received the first annual report of the Chelsea Peace Shop, 326, King's Road, London, S.W.3, to whose inauguration by Lord Cecil we referred in these columns about a year ago.

The report notes that "perhaps the most important feature of the work performed by the Shop is the large number of meetings, whether for lecture or debate, that have been held there. The effect has been to bring together an entirely new audience of people who ordinarily do not go to meetings organised by the League of Nations Union, and our aim has been not propaganda but education."

The final words are on an optimistic note. The Committee say that they have proved that times are never too bad for a venture

to be successful if that venture is based on a firm and reasonable faith!

We congratulate the Chelsea Branch on its efforts, and hope that other Branches may be encouraged to follow suit.

WELSH NOTES

When the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council met on March 8 the chair was taken by Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., in the unavoidable absence of Lord Davies. The recommendations of the recent International Congress at Brussels were considered in detail and commended to the Branches for consideration as a statement of fundamental principles adopted at a Conference of delegates from twenty-three Peace Societies throughout the world. The Committee further commended the study of the Brussels policy and resolutions, together with the Memorandum, already circulated, on "The Crisis of Confidence in the League."

A series of Conferences of Branches is being organised by the Welsh Council, and many Conferences have already been held, and similar Conferences will be held at other centres early in April.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh Council is to be held at **Llandrindod Wells** on Friday and Saturday, June 8 and 9.

Special arrangements are to be made for the broadcast in the United States of the 1934 Welsh Children's Message. Through the influence of the World Federation of Education Associations a hook-up of stations will be arranged from Washington for the American and Welsh Messages on Goodwill Day, May 18, and it is hoped that President Roosevelt will speak on the occasion of the broadcast.

Branches are now engaged in preparations for Daffodil Days, the proceeds of which form such an important part of the Welsh Council's resources, especially in the present crisis, when greater activity is demanded of the movement than at any time in its history.

Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1933:—

Aldershot, Blakesley, Byfield, Bristol (Stapleton Road Congregational Church), Bournville Works, Bradninch, Bugbrooke, Bishopston, Cranfield, Danbury and Little Baddow, Darlington, Eastwood, Faversham, Greystoke, Geddington, Gomersal, Hull, Hall Green, Kislbury, Kegworth, Kempsey, Kirkoswald and Lazonby, Leiston, Manchester District, Parkstone (completed during 1933), Plumpton, Oxford Federation, Ross, Stourport, Send, Sevenoaks, Skipton, Tunstall, Thrapston, Wadebridge, Withernsea.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

Foundation Members	..	£25 for life or £1 a year (minimum)
Registered Members	..	5s. or 3s. 6d. or more a year
Ordinary Members	..	1s. or more a year.

Foundation Members are entitled to receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

Registered Members are entitled to receive monthly by post HEADWAY or, if they prefer, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union.

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.

Corporate Membership (for Churches, Societies, Guilds, Clubs and Industrial Organisations) costs £1 a year, in return for which a nominee is entitled to receive, for the use of the Organisation, HEADWAY and such other publications as are supplied to Foundation Members. (Corporate Membership does not apply to Wales or Monmouthshire.)

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: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6161.

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

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire can be had from: *The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.*

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National Canvass News

The prevention of World War is perfectly possible. It is only a matter of human will. If there is a vast increase in the membership of the League of Nations Union, ruthless dictators abroad and cautious Parliamentarians at home will know for certain that the British people is (in the words of the King's Speech of November 21 last) "determined to uphold the work of international co-operation by collective action through the machinery of the League of Nations." Such is the objective of the Union's National Canvass.

The Hampstead Youth Group, the Northampton Youth Group, and the Keswick Branch have already started on their section of the National Canvass.

* * *

The following Branches and Youth Groups are also making preparations to carry out a canvass in their own areas:—

Allonby, Arlington, Almondsbury, Burton-on-Trent, Beckenham, Basset, Birmingham Central, Brixham, Brighton, Basingstoke, Barnet, Bredbury and Woodley, Barton Hill, Bishop Auckland, Barnoldswick, Bristol University Settlement, Cavendish, Cropredy, Church Stretton, Coventry, Clydebank, Consett, Croydon, Colchester, Dunstable, Ditchling, Dartmouth, Edinburgh, Eye, East Willesden and Cricklewood, Farnham, Fenwick, Glastonbury, Great Missenden, Guildford, Goring, Hessele, Hayward's Heath, Hasbury, Hull, Heckfield, Hardington, Hungerford, Hexham, Hucknall, Huntingdon, Haslemere, Hoylake and West Kirby, Hampstead, Ilford, Kenton, Kirkby Moorside, Keswick, Longton, Leigh, Lynes Woolscote, Lancing, Leyland, Leamington, Moberley, Milport, Maidstone, Maldon, Maryport, Nottingham, Newton Abbot, Northampton, Northwick, Oxford, Pangbourne, Paddington, Pattendale, Portsmouth, Peterhead, Rossington,

Rainham, Rowland's Castle, Royden, Reigate, Rushden, Radcliffe, Small Heath, Saffron Walden, Shaftesbury, Selly Oak, Sherborne, Sunderland, Spilsbury, Silsden, St. John's Wood, Scotley, Sheringham, St. Peter's-in-Thane, Truro, Tamworth, Tottenham, Uttoxeter, Walkden, Warwick Road, Widnes, Worcester, Wells, West Wight, Woodford, Welwyn, Whitstable and Tankerton, Warsop, Waterloo and Crosby, Walkern and Ardeley, Woodbridge, Wooler, Wimbledon, West Bristol, and many others too late for inclusion in this issue.

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The members of the West Bristol Youth Group, whose preparatory organisation is now nearly complete, in addition to the usual literature, are to be armed further with a letter from the Bishop of Bristol commending the object of the canvass to all householders in his diocese.

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The latest addition to the Canvass literature is *Canvassers' Answers, or Replies to Objections Concerning the League of Nations*. To canvassers this admirable new pamphlet is, of course, free. More details about it can be found in the New Union Publications Section, p. 77.

The Affirmation

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

A Conference to discuss the principles enunciated in the Affirmation of Christian Faith on Peace or War was held at Canterbury and Rochester, when 100 clergy and ministers from the County of Kent met at the Deanery. Canon C. E. Raven and Dr. Maxwell Garnett were the speakers, and the Dean of Canterbury was in the chair. Those present resolved to accept and act upon the Affirmation. This Conference was followed up by the sending of a memorandum to the ministers and clergy, giving particulars of literature available and information with regard to individual and corporate membership.

Another Conference for the same purpose was held at Farnham Castle, when 50 per cent. of the Diocese of Guildford were present. Sir Norman Angell and Canon C. E. Raven were the speakers, and the Bishop was in the chair. This is to be followed up by a large open-air demonstration later in the year.

For the Diocese of Chichester, a similar Conference was held at Brighton, with Dr. Maxwell Garnett as the speaker and the Dean of Chichester in the chair.

* * *

At the Portsmouth Diocese Conference, the Master of the Temple and Dr. Maxwell Garnett were the speakers, and the Bishop was in the chair. This is being followed up by writing to the clergy and ministers who were present, giving them information with regard to corporate membership, and suggesting that they should display the Affirmation in the church porch or vestibule.

* * *

Conferences have been arranged to take place in the Dioceses of Gloucester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Lichfield, York, London, Salisbury, Southwark and Southwell.