

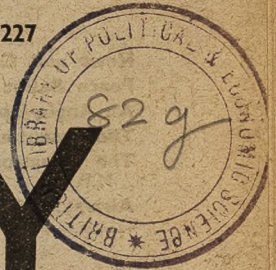
PROGRESS OF THE  
BALLOT

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THE SITUATION IN  
THE SAAR

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# HEADWAY



A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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## THE OTHER POINT OF VIEW



Louis Razmaekers.

Cain: "I can't stand that. He thinks his way is as good as mine."



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## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Arms Trade Inquiry

THE Government proposes to hold an inquiry into the trade in arms. The decision is wise. If there is nothing that anyone desires to hide, then barest justice demands that the unsullied innocence of everyone concerned in the traffic should be made clear to the whole world. If there are secrets sedulously preserved, then, in a matter exercising a decisive influence upon the world's peace, the world ought to be fully informed of all the facts, as the first step towards putting right whatever is wrong.

Sir John Simon used cautious terms in his announcement to the House of Commons. But he was sufficiently explicit to show that he realised the gravity of the subject. Thoughtful, decent people all over the country, he admitted, were aware that a demand for armaments might be stimulated by means which were improper; and he referred to the undoubted opportunity which the system of private manufacture might afford in some cases and in some parts of the world for improper pressure. In view of his phraseology, it is difficult to credit the rumours that the Government will confine the inquiry to a narrowly restricted field and deny to those who are charged with its conduct the power to take evidence on oath and to insist upon the production of documents.

## Personnel and Powers

THE personnel of the inquiry and the powers granted for it are the vital points. A Royal Commission is effectual in proportion to the alertness and persistence of its members. Two or three men or women who are complete masters of their subject and are determined to get at the truth can force positive results from proceedings which without their knowledge and their courage might do no more than cover an old scandal with a new coat of whitewash.

Adequate powers, also, are important. Lacking them the best will in the world must be in constant danger of at least partial defeat. The American Senatorial hearings are not suitable for imitation in Great Britain. Yet in some respects they teach necessary lessons. Had Senator Nye and his colleagues not been able to swear witnesses and to demand the use of whatever documents they thought fit, they could not have directed a cleansing light into many dark corners. Adequate

powers are not only required for a thorough-going report; they are essential also in the interests of the arms trade. If any excuse be left for an insinuation that malpractices have been hushed up, the trade will be left befogged in discredit, which it may not deserve.

## Scheme of Control

WHEN public opinion becomes articulate, Governments must listen. New proof of an old truth is afforded by the emergence of the trade in arms as one of the major international topics of the day and the failure of all efforts to thrust it back into a comfortable obscurity. Events are tracing the same curve at home and abroad. At Geneva the United States has presented Draft Articles for the regulation and control of the manufacture of and trade in arms and the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. Here is the promise of a treaty separated from any general Disarmament Convention and therefore not blocked by the obstacles in the way of the larger success. The American Articles are interesting for other reasons besides the high probability of their acceptance. They grapple with the supposed intractable difficulty of describing and classifying arms. They provide for a thorough-going system of Government licences in every stage of the industry. They set up "a permanent and automatic system of investigation" under a Permanent Disarmament Commission, seated at Geneva, to which each contracting party shall appoint one member. They require prompt communication to the Commission from every country of all activities in the making and sale, the import and export of weapons.

## Not a Full Solution

THE Articles apply to State establishments as well as to private firms. They are certainly not a full solution. No less certainly do they give a guarantee that all countries shall be fully and knowingly responsible for all the activities of the arms trade within their own territories, and fully informed of what is being done in the territories of their neighbours. A footnote is not out of place. The United States, in putting the Articles forward, advocates the setting up of a Permanent International Organisation at Geneva, closely linked with the League, which by collective authority shall apply its scheme of operation to all nations, including

the United States. Yet the pretence continues that the United States persist in irreconcilable opposition to the League. Some day, perhaps, the critics who stand still will realise that the world has moved on.

## Saar is German

SIX weeks hence will be held the plebiscite in the Saar. No one seriously doubts that an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants will vote for the return of the territory to Germany. Many Saarlanders dislike, and not a few of them fear, the Nazi regime. Yet they look with horror upon a wilful severance from the Fatherland. The several thousand refugees from other parts of Germany, it should be noted, will not have a vote, since the franchise is confined to men and women who are now twenty years of age or over and were living in the Saar at the date of the signing of the Peace Treaty, in June, fifteen years ago.

## Duty to Refugees

THE Saar problem is not so much difficult as distressing. It is shot through and through with tragedy. When the return to Germany is decided, a flood of refugees will pour over the western frontier. These poor people must sacrifice careers, fortunes and homes, because they dare not remain under Hitlerite rule. But the League is doing what is possible to lessen such evils, and its efforts have been at least sufficiently successful to save it from any discredit. The facile course of distorting the Saar clauses of the Peace Treaty to the disadvantage of Germany has been rejected. Measures have been taken to obtain as far as possible a free vote, and to protect the voters from reprisals during the ensuing year. There are multiplying signs that both France and Germany are exerting themselves to prevent a conflict. What remains for the League to do is to undertake the relief of the refugees as a collective League responsibility. Having controlled the Saar for fifteen years, the League cannot now suddenly and completely disinterest itself in any sequel to that long chapter.

## Is the U.S. an Obstacle?

MR. BALDWIN in his speech at Glasgow to the Scots Conservatives expressed himself unfortunately in his references to the collective peace system. No doubt he was unfortunately reported, for he has always been a firm if not a fervent friend of the League system; and not many days ago the Government, in which he wields the most powerful influence, reaffirmed in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament its League support. With consistent League support the words attributed to Mr. Baldwin at Glasgow cannot be reconciled except by the most liberal interpretation. Even after the exercise of the utmost liberality, there remains a passage to which an answer must be made. Mr. Baldwin said: "Never so long as I have any responsibility in governing

this country will I sanction the British Navy being used for an armed blockade of any country in the world until I know what the United States of America is going to do."

## Behind the Times

TO speak at this late day in the phrase Mr. Baldwin employed is to lag very far behind events. As long ago as May 22 of last year at the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Norman Davis, President Roosevelt's Ambassador-at-Large, declared:—

"We are willing to consult with other States in case of a threat to peace. Further than that, in the event that the States, in conference, determine that a State has been guilty of a breach of the peace in violation of its international obligations, and take measures against the violator, then if we concur in the judgment rendered as to the responsible and guilty party, we will refrain from any action tending to defeat such collective effort which the States may thus make to restore peace."

These words of Mr. Davis do not stand alone. Nor is the party at present in power in the United States singular in pledging itself to such an attitude. The Pact of Paris, which renounces war, was as much the work of Mr. Kellogg as of M. Briand. For six years the United States has been in the most explicit fashion committed to the unqualified championing of great principles of world policy which make it impossible for her to obstruct the measures of collective defence adopted by the peace-keeping nations against an aggressor who has resorted to arms. The Republicans are as completely committed, through President Hoover and his successive Secretaries of State, Messrs. Kellogg and Stimson, as are the Democrats, through President Roosevelt, his Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and his Ambassador-at-Large, Mr. Norman Davis.

## Non-Party

ONE criticism of the Ballot, often repeated by much more weighty critics than Lord Beaverbrook, must be met every time it is advanced. The accusation is made that the Ballot is partisan. Nothing could be less just. In its original design and in its later management the Ballot was and is wholly free from all party taint. Every effort was put forward to secure for it the most widespread support. Every interest was warmly invited to co-operate at every stage. Help of every kind, of every political colour, is still earnestly desired at headquarters and in the local Declaration areas. If some points of view are less adequately expressed than others—proof is still awaited of that fact—the reason is that those who hold such views are in too many instances keeping aloof from the organisation; to base a complaint on what is the critics' mistake and the Ballot's misfortune is unfair. But complaint and blame are minor matters. There is yet time to correct the mistake and repair the misfortune. Co-operation from every quarter is still welcome. Critics who suspect the Ballot of partisanship should come in and by their presence guarantee its impartiality.





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## PEACE BALLOT IS SUCCEEDING

THE Peace Ballot is already placing on unchallengeable record the virtually unanimous stand of the British people for peace. The early results show that two-thirds or more of the population are filling in the forms, which is a considerably higher proportion than troubles to vote at municipal elections. Everywhere overwhelming majorities are answering "Yes" to all five questions. Over 95 per cent. say that Britain should remain a Member of the League; even the most controversial proposal, that peace-keeping nations should join together to restrain a peace-breaking nation, is receiving the support of 75 per cent. or more. These figures far surpass the expectation of the organisers of the Ballot. If the aggregate for the whole country comes anywhere near them, then a new and powerful factor will have been introduced into world politics in so emphatic a form that no people and no Government will be able to ignore it.

The Ballot has obtained other results which make the labour of holding it abundantly worth while.

First it has shown that the mass of the British people give serious thought to the great problems of the day and are prepared with serious and reasoned answers. The comments written on many of the papers are evidence; so are the inquiries eagerly addressed to workers and vivaciously debated with them in both poor homes and prosperous. The quiet citizen has grasped the truth that British isolation from world affairs is impossible, and that there can be no secure defence for any individual nation except through the collective system.

The Northamptonshire village of Scaldwell bears convincing testimony. Scaldwell has answered the five questions of the Ballot almost unanimously in the affirmative. At the first hint of its decision the *Daily Express* hurried to the scene a corps of paid canvassers. Now, with yells of triumph, the announcement is made that 52 householders in the village, containing an unspecified number of those who have said "Yes" in the Ballot, have also said "Yes" to Lord Beaverbrook's pet rigmorole. But the shouting and the tumult cannot conceal what has happened.

Whereas Lord Beaverbrook has completely befogged himself he has failed to deceive the English shrewdness of rural Northamptonshire. Scaldwell villagers have read the five questions and have found them plain statements of issues on which a plain answer is possible. They have also read the confused formula of the *Daily Express* and have arrived independently at the conclusion which was stated in HEADWAY two months ago. Lord Beaverbrook's question is:—

Are you in favour of Great Britain isolating herself from all foreign entanglements, treaties, and understandings, and refusing

to engage her armed forces—Navy, Army, and Air Forces—in any way unless our territory, or that of our Dominions and Possessions, is menaced?

Attempting to let a ray of light into this darkness, October HEADWAY suggested:—

"Foreign entanglements, treaties, and understandings" are exclusive, aggressive alliances; their opposite is the collective system, expounded in the Covenant and developed through the League. "Menaced" means the real endangering of Britain or the Empire, which must result from war on a large scale in any part of the world. Thoughtfully read, Lord Beaverbrook's confused formula repeats the five plain questions of the Peace Ballot. Whoever says "Yes" to Lord Beaverbrook, being aware of what he is saying and its many implications, can with entire consistency go on to say "Yes" six times in the Peace Ballot. Indeed, logically, he cannot do anything else.

Scaldwell, which has refused to be frightened out of answering the Peace Ballot's five questions, has refused also to be misled by Lord Beaverbrook's own misunderstanding of his one.

Secondly, the Ballot is justifying its advocates who specially value its educative effect. Many tens of thousands of quiet men and women are showing that they are able to arrive at sound judgments on supreme issues. At the same time, a mass of ignorance is being exposed. Those who betray a complete unawareness of crucial facts are not by any means all of them persons of little education and humble circumstances. Through the debate to which the Ballot is giving rise, however, the League system, the services of the League to world peace, the proceedings of the Disarmament Conference, the obstacles which have stood in the way of success are becoming more widely known, and, being more widely known, are better understood. The gain is immense for Britain and for the world.

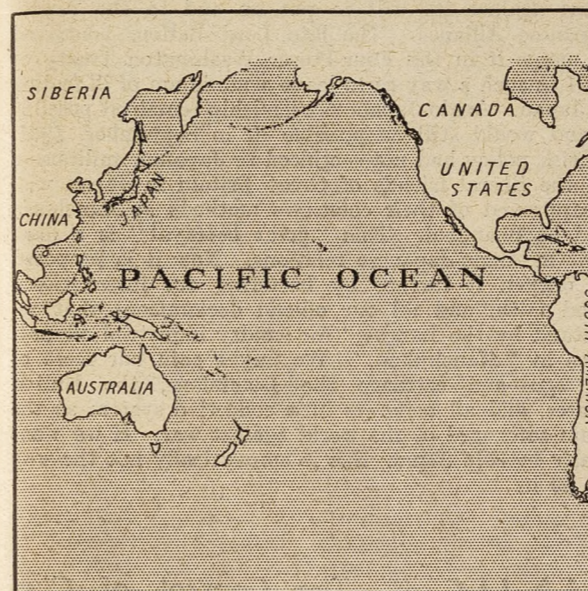
Thirdly, the Ballot is presenting a most useful example in political realism. In its purpose and its planning the Ballot is entirely unpartisan. It has nothing whatever to do with any Party. Its management has been kept wholly free from all party influences. A few fervent politicians pretend that, because it must have vitally important political consequences, therefore it must be a party manoeuvre. Such an objection condemns themselves and not the Ballot. The quiet citizen refuses to be impressed. He believes the inseparably linked issues of national security and world peace vastly transcend in importance all party interests. To the protest that this party or the other is being injured, or merely hampered, by his speaking his mind upon vital matters, he replies: "I think you are mistaken. But if what you say is correct, do not blame the Ballot. If you are not satisfied with the Ballot's impartiality and wish for some further guarantee, why do not you accept the constantly repeated invitation of its organisers and become an equal partner with an equal partner's rights of control?"

For many years the British people have been loosening party ties and escaping from the old rigid party inhibitions. When they consider the pressing questions of their day they scrutinise and weigh the relevant facts for themselves and come to their own conclusions, neither for nor against a particular party, often without troubling to remember that parties exist. In exactly such a temper they are now pondering and answering the five questions of the Peace Ballot. Every party is welcome, and will be wise, to associate itself wholeheartedly with their conclusions.

# AN ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

By

WICKHAM STEED



Relative national positions in the Pacific arena

SOME months ago an English business man of wide experience wrote from the City of London to ask for my "ruling" upon a point at issue between him and a prominent American citizen to whose family he was related. The point was "whether Great Britain had or had not put an end to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance during the Washington Conference of 1921 merely to please the United States?" My correspondent, who knew the United States well, held that this had been the main (if not the sole) motive of the British decision; and he thought it a pity that, on this account, our old relationship to Japan should have ceased.

His American relative was persuaded, on the contrary, that the desire "to please America" had played little or no part in the British decision, which had been determined by knowledge that the British Dominions in general, and Canada in particular, disapproved of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and wished it to be terminated.

Since I was aware of the facts and circumstances, and was present at the Washington Conference, I gave my "ruling" unhesitatingly in favour of the American citizen's view. And I advised my correspondent to look up an article on "British Policy in the Pacific," which I had contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* in April, 1932, for a statement of the case.

If this be ancient history, it has so direct a bearing upon the intrigues and manoeuvres that have been going on in this country and the Far East during the past six months, with the object of bringing about some overt or tacit renewal of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance, that it ought to be borne in mind. Traces of these intrigues and manoeuvres have been noticeable in the most unexpected quarters; but it needed the imprudent statements of Sir Charles Seligman, during the visit of the Industrial Mission of the Federation of British Industries to Tokio, to awaken the decent-minded public to a sense of what has been, and is, afoot. For the purpose of the F.B.I. Mission and of its supporters is that of selling to Japan, for a mess

of industrial pottage, any chance of effective British participation in a system of collective security against war.

On November 10 the *Times* published a telegram from its Tokio correspondent, saying that Mr. Julian Piggott, a member of the F.B.I. Industrial Mission to the Far East, had stated that he had obtained offers of business in Japan and "Manchukuo" (the *Times* printed "Manchukuo" without inverted commas), which he personally regarded as a fair return for his 12,000-mile journey. He added that he would recommend acceptance of the offers since, in addition to their intrinsic value, they were likely to lead to a permanent connection for British steel manufacturers.

Mr. Piggott made no mention of the "price" of these offers. Nobody who has watched pro-Japanese propaganda in this country can doubt that the "price" is the recognition of "Manchukuo," despite the moral obligation of the British Government to uphold the League Assembly's Resolution of March 11, 1932, which declared that, "It is incumbent upon members of the League not to recognise any situation, treaty or arrangement which may be brought about by means contrary to the League Covenant." As the special correspondent of the *Times* at Geneva telegraphed on March 11, 1932, "the fact of Japan's abstention does not detract in any way from the obligatory character of the Resolution."

By an interesting coincidence, the *Times* published on November 8, the eve of Mr. Piggott's statement in Tokio, a letter from Professor H. A. Smith, who teaches International Law at Oxford, claiming that resolutions of the League Assembly "are not equivalent to Treaty obligations, and are not binding upon this country." He said further: "I do not presume to suggest that Manchukuo should be immediately or unconditionally recognised, but I do claim that we are entirely at liberty to determine this question in accordance with our own judgments."

From an abstract legal point of view, Professor Smith may be right—just as right as he would be in claiming that Great Britain is at liberty to give notice of withdrawal from membership of the League of Nations. But until such notice has been given, and has taken effect, there is no answer to Lord Lytton's reply (in the *Times* of November 9) that if Professor Smith's assertion "be good law (and that I leave to lawyers to argue), it is bad morals."

And, I presume to suggest in my turn, it is worse policy. One may or may not agree with the first part of General Smut's striking speech on November 12, but no Briton with a sense of what is at stake in the world, both for this country and for the British Commonwealth as a whole, can fail to heed his admonition to beware lest what he called "the Pacific concert" disappear. If Japan, who has already given notice of withdrawal from the League, should likewise withdraw from the Washington Treaties, he said, "the whole collective system goes, so far as she is concerned"; and "the collective system is probably the most beneficent of all post-War changes in international affairs, and its weakening or destruction might involve dangers the magnitude of which none can foresee to-day."



In conclusion, General Smuts urged us not to forget that,

"Through the Dominions, British policy is ultimately tied up with the U.S.A. in a very profound sense which goes much deeper than the occasional jars which, perhaps, are more acutely felt at any particular moment. That fundamental affinity, coming from the past, stretching to the future, is, or must be, the real foundation of all British foreign policy. Any policy which ignores it, or runs counter to it, is calculated to have a disruptive effect on the Commonwealth as a whole. We are here on bedrock, which we ignore at our peril."

The public scarcely guessed how severe a lesson General Smuts was thus reading to a large number of our "statesmen," in and out of office, as well as to not a few of our diplomatists and business men. Doubtless he knew it was urgently necessary. He will have remembered that the Imperial Conference, in the summer of 1921, insisted that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance must come to an end. He did not need to be told what I had to discover for myself in Canada shortly afterwards, that, had hostilities then broken out between Japan and the United States, not merely Western Canada, but the whole Dominion would have

sided with the United States against Japan, whether Great Britain were technically the ally of Japan or not.

It was this fact, and the fact that other Dominions supported Canada, which compelled the British Government against its will to put an end to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The late Lord Balfour contrived to merge it in the Four-Power Washington Treaty of 1921 in such a way as to leave a minimum of ill-feeling in Japan. Anglo-Japanese friendship remained possible—and would still be possible if, in September, 1931, British policy had not sacrificed to Japanese militarism all the liberal friends of Great Britain in Japan who disapproved of their country's methods in Manchuria and at Shanghai. This "great betrayal" is a dark spot in Anglo-Japanese relations. Now it is proposed to darken it further by bartering our international good faith, and all our official declarations that we "stand by the League," for sundry industrial advantages in "Manchukuo." We might gain our mess of pottage—and estrange the Dominions, the United States, and all believers in a collective system as the main safeguard of the world against war. If we want really to help Japan, this is emphatically not the way to do it.

## THE ESSENTIAL LINK: The Control of Civil Aircraft

By PIERRE COT

(Minister of Air in Four French Governments; Delegate to the Disarmament Conference, where he submitted the French official plan for the abolition of Naval and Military Aircraft and the Control of Civil Aviation)

"WE are going on with our work, and we are going to attain our ends," said Mr. Arthur Henderson, Chairman of the Disarmament Conference, at a meeting of the Conference Bureau on November 20.

This is the most encouraging piece of news for many weeks.

I hope that the Conference, or one of its Committees, will, at the earliest possible moment, resume the consideration of what is to me the most important of all disarmament problems—the total abolition of all national military and naval aircraft by international agreement, and the rigid control of civil aircraft.

Of all the weapons of war, the aeroplane is now far and away the most dangerous to civilisation. If it is not eliminated, any future war would at once, within a few hours, imperil the safety, not only of the armies and navies taking part, but of every man, woman and child in the nations they represent.

Your beautiful London, which I have just been so pleased to visit again; my Paris, Berlin, Rome, Madrid could be reduced to ruins, no matter how well defended, within a few days; and thousands of their inhabitants, from the youngest child to the oldest impotent old man, killed by bombs or poison gas dropped from the air.

Let the Disarmament Conference, then, grapple with this most important of all problems without delay. Each nation can do something by making quite clear its own willingness to reduce, or at any rate not to augment, its own expenditure on military and naval aircraft, in the event of all the other nations doing the same. But nothing can be done on a big scale without international agreement: and that can only be done effectively through the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference meeting under its auspices.

Inseparable from this problem of naval and military aircraft is that of civil aircraft. The larger, faster and more efficient civil aeroplanes become—and the recent remarkable achievements of your English flyers in connection with the race to Australia have shown the world some of the possibilities in that direction—the more readily can they be adapted to the purposes of destruction immediately a war breaks out.

In fact, in the case of the larger aeroplanes and airships, at any rate, practically no adaptation is necessary. A big air liner can be as easily filled with bombs as with luggage or letters. Many of the smaller bombs need take up no more room than the bottles of wine or beer normally carried for the passenger's consolation or stimulation. Even quite a small civilian machine could carry enough destructive power to wreck a town hall or hospital.

So, jointly with any international agreement for the abolition of military aircraft, must come another agreement in regard to the control of civil aircraft. Obviously it cannot be abolished—properly used, it can render civilisation great benefits in many directions. But it can and must be rigidly controlled.

I would begin by taking the manufacture of aeroplanes right out of the hands of private firms mainly concerned with making a large profit. The only form of effective control is by governments, acting in close agreement internationally and with all the authority invested in them by their own people within their own countries.

I said in your Queen's Hall, London, the other evening that there can be no real limitation and reduction of armaments without control, and that any such control must be useless as long as the private manufacture of arms remains free.

I would say exactly the same in regard to the manufacture of civil aeroplanes; since, as I have indicated,

every civil aeroplane is, *ipso facto*, a potential military aeroplane.

I would go farther, and say that it is even more necessary to control the manufacture of civil aircraft than the manufacture of some of the more specifically armament material—such as long-range guns, for example—since a few hundred civil aeroplanes, for all their apparent innocence, could do more damage to civilian populations in a few hours than a row of big guns could do in a week.

That is why the third and fourth questions in the most useful National Declaration your League of Nations Union is helping to organise, are, to me, inextricably interlocked.

Naval and military aircraft cannot be effectively abolished without the control of civil aircraft; neither

would the prohibition by international agreement of the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be effective without the control of civil aircraft. The control of civil aircraft thus becomes the essential link between the two problems outlined in these two questions.

Perhaps you would allow me to add that I regard this National Declaration campaign, in which I find all the workers for peace in this country at this time so deeply interested, as of the utmost international importance? A large vote as a result in support of the League of Nations, and the main points in its present policy, cannot but be of great value at this stage. I know that its effect for good in my own country, France, will be very great, and I am sure the same would apply elsewhere.

## HEADWAY The Situation in the Saar

By GEOFFREY Le M. MANDER, M.P.

PROBABLY a mistake was made in the Treaty of Versailles by attempting to remove, even for a time, the Saar, with its overwhelmingly German population, from its homeland. But, however that may be, we are now faced with the fact that in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, on January 13 next those who were residing in the Territory on June 28, 1919, and who intend to remain there permanently are entitled, provided they are 20 years of age, to vote either for the return of the Territory to Germany, its incorporation with France, or the maintenance of the present position known as the *status quo*.

At the beginning of the 15-year period no doubt the French did contemplate the possibility of its coming their way, and conducted an attempted policy of Frenchification which from the first met with very little success. Now no one pretends that there are any but a very limited few who would vote for France.

Until the advent of the Hitler regime there is no doubt whatever that an overwhelming portion of the population would have voted for an immediate return to Germany, but the Nazi revolution has altered the whole situation. Probably there is now a majority against Hitler, but that does not mean that the voting will not go in favour of a return to Germany. Feeling for their own country, whatever its form of government and whatever the risks involved, is likely to outweigh the anti-Hitler feeling, and it seems probable that a substantial majority for Germany will be obtained.

I spent some days about a month ago investigating the whole position, and had opportunities of discussing it with representatives of both sides as well as of those who must necessarily be entirely neutral.

The Governing Commission appointed by the League of Nations has, inevitably, never been very popular, however efficient its administration, and certainly it has at the present time a man of outstanding ability, courage and impartiality at its head in Mr. Knox. On the other hand, the Plebiscite Commission appointed by the League of Nations earlier in the year from the citizens of neutral countries appears to be regarded with consider-

able goodwill, and I believe its work is being carried out with the strictest impartiality. On both sides praise was given to the thoroughness and care of its work, and there seems no reason to doubt that the Ballot on

January 13 will be absolutely secret, and that the list of voters will be reasonably accurate. At the time of my visit there was certainly no evidence that an attempt was being made by either side to obstruct or to make fictitious claims on any scale. Voting will be in 83 separate kreisen and the results have to be given for each. On polling day neutral presiding officers, chiefly Swiss, will be drafted in in large numbers.

The arrangements for enabling voters to see whether they were on the list or not were excellent and were fully used. In many cases the lengthy printed lists were put up in heated and lighted rooms protected by transparent screens, and I believe that the whole arrangements are an admirable example of the efficient and disinterested way in which a League of Nations Commission should carry out its duties.

There is, in addition, the Plebiscite Tribunal, comprising a number of eminent jurists, such as the Vice-President (Mr. Justice Meredith of the Irish Free State),



Mr. Knox

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whose task it is to decide points in dispute as to the voting, and to hear cases arising out of it.

It is difficult to believe that the Germans will be so foolish as deliberately to organise a putsch prior to Polling Day; all the evidences seem to indicate that the Territory is coming their way by the peaceful process of the ballot. But there are possibilities of trouble through various causes. For instance, if the Nazi regime itself cracked and the control of the Central Government weakened, violent action in the Saar might ensue.

On the other hand, if the French Government showed signs of weakness similar to those experienced on February 6 last, this might similarly encourage forceful action. Then there is the possibility of a Communist putsch, which would be easily suppressed by the local police.

If there were indications that the voting were going in favour of the *status quo* it is possible the Germans might organise a putsch in order to prevent the vote, and if there was considerable delay after the poll in handing over the Saar to Germany (assuming that it voted in that way) there is danger of violence. Payment for the mines need not be in gold; the League Council has considerable discretion in the matter.

What is going to happen, then, if the peace in some way is broken? Provided it is organised inside the Territory, and is on a small and local scale, the International Police Force at the disposal of Mr. Knox

## AIRWAYS: by a World-Traveller

THIS year "Imperial Airways" celebrates its first decade. During its ten years of life, aircraft have figured largely in the world's news. We have read of flights, attempted and achieved, across the Atlantic, of speed records and long-distance records, of the dangers of aerial bombardment and, in the course of the last few weeks, of the great air race to Melbourne. Amidst the clamour, "Imperial Airways" has been almost forgotten. We have been so much occupied with sensational records and stunts that we have had no attention to spare for the quiet but enormous progress of commercial aviation. How many, for instance, realise that the Dutchmen, who were "runners-up" to Scott and Black, were piloting an American commercial air-liner? Or that the American liners have recently been fitted with a device so that they can change gear to increase speed in mid-air, and with drop-planes which, descending from the wing, act as a brake when landing? Whatever may be claimed for the record-breakers, technical improvement is most often born of slogging commercial routine.

The greatest wonders are those that occur almost imperceptibly. Who would have believed, even as recently as 1924, when Imperial Airways, Ltd., came into being, that the eleven thousand or so passengers then carried in the year would have risen in ten years to sixty thousand? Slowly but surely, air travel has established itself as a novel means of transport. Its services have become more reliable; during the past year the percentage of flights cancelled owing to bad weather was only 1.55, as compared with 23.25 in 1924.

It is common to think of airways as covering vast distances; few can help being impressed by the great routes from London to Cape Town (8,359 miles in 11 days) and London to Karachi (4,812 miles in six days). Yet just as much admiration is due to the network of

should be adequate to suppress it, but if it arises through the action of persons coming in from outside, then they would be quite inadequate, and according to present arrangements, French troops would be called in to act on behalf of the League of Nations and preserve order. They could be over the border within an hour of notification being received.

It is distinctly unfortunate that such action, if it were ever necessary to take it, should devolve upon French troops, who belong to a country which is a party in the case, and for this reason I cannot help thinking that there is a good deal to be said for certain other countries, including the British, sending over a very limited number of the troops in order to indicate to Germany and the world that the action provided for is collective on behalf of the League of Nations, and not simply the French nation alone. The moral obligation under the Covenant is overwhelming, and nothing could prevent more certainly the outbreak of violent action than the knowledge that the League as a whole intended to preserve order and to see that justice was carried out.

Tremendous pressure is being put upon the inhabitants from Germany, and the whole population is divided up in cells of 20 each with its watchman, and the lot of those now working for the *status quo* who are combined in the Einheitsband consisting of Catholics, Socialists and Communists is not to be envied after the handing over.

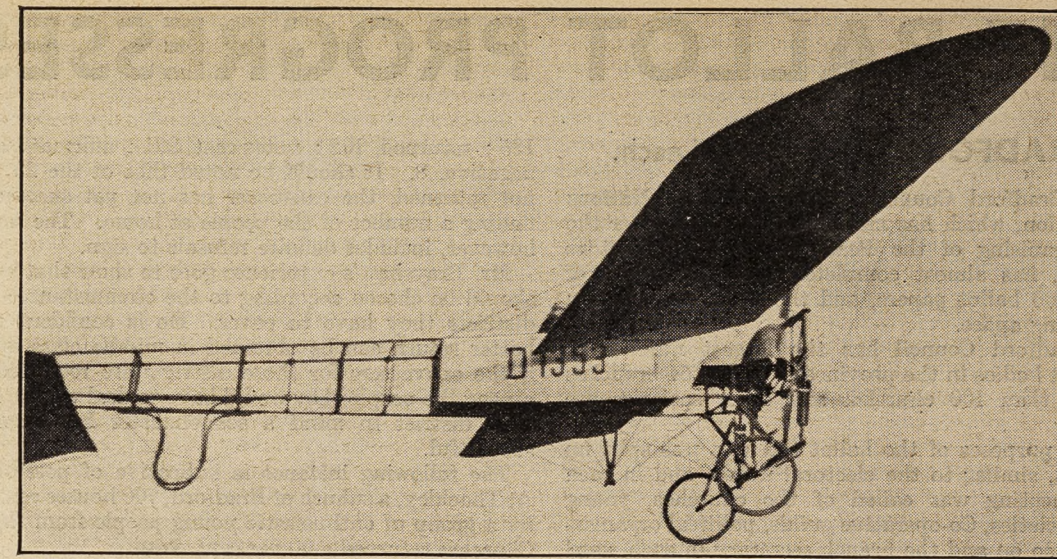
inland air-transport which has grown up in this country without comment. There are 22 inland air-routes in operation in Great Britain and Northern Ireland; regular services link the Orkney Islands and the Isles of Wight and Man to the mainland; even for such journeys as Cardiff to Bournemouth or Leicester to Skegness the traveller has the choice between air-liner and train.

Equally striking is the increase in air travel between England and the Continent. In 1909, only twenty-five years ago, Blériot made the first flight across the Channel—to the marvel of the world! Average statistics taken over the last five years give a total of 9,142 flights and 50,063 passengers over the Channel *per annum*.

British aeroplanes make the largest contribution to these figures, with 3,000 flights and 27,314 passengers; next in order come France, Holland, Belgium and Germany. To provide for so much new traffic, there are 223 aerodromes and landing-grounds in the kingdom. It would be interesting to compare this with the number of railway stations after the first ten years of railway transport in the last century.

The growth of commercial aviation is not peculiar to Britain. In 53 countries of the world there are facilities for aerial transport—though this figure includes Abyssinia, which has only one machine, a "Moth," left behind by the Vicomte de Sibour *en passant* and taken over by the Government! But other nations, equally remote, are better provided. For instance, there are 15 aerodromes in Persia. Even China has two companies, Chinese or partially Chinese owned, engaged in air traffic, and a regular service is run from Hankow to Chungking down the famous Yang-tse gorges, shortening a 10-day journey by steamer to seven hours by air.

The greatest length of air-lines is in the United States, where there is a total of 48,357 miles of route.



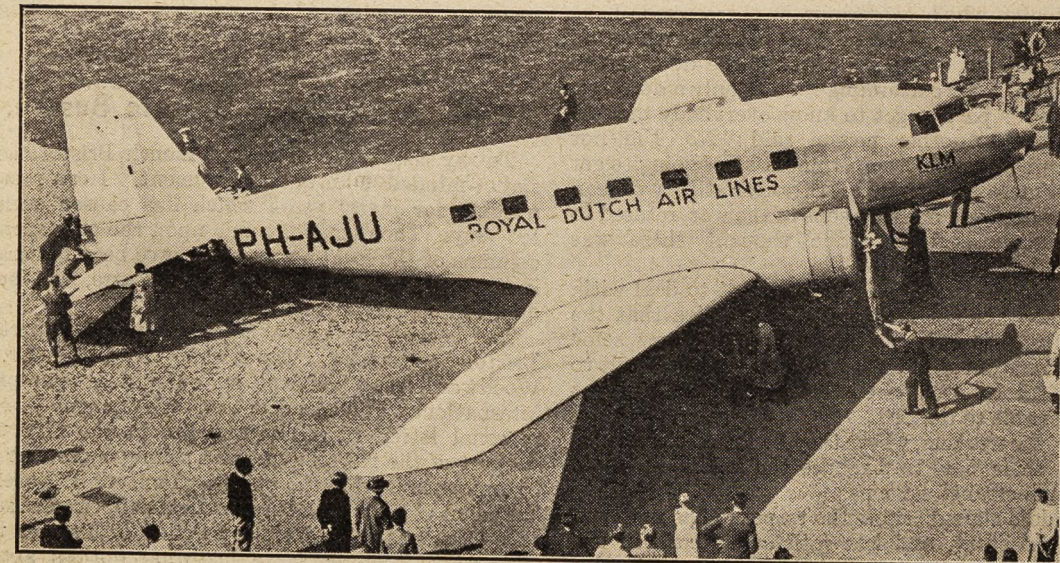
Plane in which Blériot crossed the Channel in 1909

Soviet Russia follows second with 34,375 miles; Great Britain, in comparison, is a laggard, having little over 18,000 miles as yet, though this will be vastly increased if the projected air-route across the Atlantic *via* the Bermudas is ever operated. Both the United States and Russia, lands of great distances, make up their total by the number of their inland communications. But, in addition, Pan-American Airways have direct transport to every country in the Americas, except Bolivia and Paraguay. The greatest airway in the world, however, is owned by *Air-France*, and runs from Paris (although with changes of machine at Bordeaux, Toulouse and Casablanca) to Santiago de Chile *via* Senegal and Brazil.

In some respects the progress in the smaller countries is even more remarkable. In 1924 air communications barely linked together the capitals; nowadays, a network ramifies over the whole of Europe. In many of the Central European States air travel is little more expensive than second-class fare on the railways, and the number of routes has so multiplied that there are few important towns the traveller cannot visit. In Poland he has a choice of 19 routes, in Austria of 14,

in Czecho-Slovakia of 9, and even in war-shrunken Hungary of 7. The Polish airways carry over 10,000 passengers in the year, the Czech over 16,000. The German *Deutsche Luft Hansa* alone carried 29,471 passengers in the first six months of 1933, and the annual tonnage of freight has risen from 202 tons in 1926 to 1,246 for the past year.

The moral to which these figures point is the growing confidence of the travelling public in commercial aviation and the number of passengers who embark daily on an aeroplane as much as a matter of course as on a ship or train. In little over ten years an entirely new method of transport has sprung into being, and is already regarded with indifference as an established fact. Surely this is a greater achievement than any record? May it remain a source of pride for the future and not of danger! Civil aircraft can be converted with alarming ease into military, and the horrors of aerial warfare are not to be exaggerated. The triumph of commercial aviation has the power to bring inestimable blessings to the human race; it would be a bitter irony if, through man's self-will and folly, it proved his ruin.



The Dutch Air Liner which made flying history in this year's race to Australia. It is worthy of note that this photograph should be magnified 2½ times to bring it into proportion with the photograph of Blériot's plane!



# THE BALLOT PROGRESSES!

## I. BRADFORD. By C. H. Leach.

THE Bradford Council of the League of Nations Union, which has made itself responsible for the organising of the Peace Ballot throughout its large area, has almost completed the distribution of about 85,000 ballot papers, and the work of collection is proceeding apace.

The Bradford Council has the largest number of constituent bodies in the provinces. It has 54 branches and more than 100 churches and other societies are affiliated.

For the purposes of the ballot the area was split up into wards, similar to the electoral wards, and in each ward a meeting was called of the churches, young people's societies, Co-operative guilds, political organisations, and so on and the branch secretary in each ward undertook secretarial duties. The wards were then split up into blocks of about 400 houses each, and each organisation was asked to make itself responsible for a block. About 2,000 canvassers enrolled, and they included ministers of all denominations (including Roman Catholic priests), Salvation Army officers, aldermen, councillors, nurses, ex-Servicemen, and the young men and women connected with the churches.

Out of about 27,000 votes which have been counted at the time of writing, the following overwhelming support for the League of Nations and Disarmament is shown:—

- Question 1.—Yes, 26,324; No, 346.  
 Question 2.—Yes, 26,071; No, 530.  
 Question 3.—Yes, 24,569; No, 1,099.  
 Question 4.—Yes, 24,240; No, 737.  
 Question 5a.—Yes, 23,122; No, 577.  
 Question 5b.—Yes, 17,779; No, 3,173.

It will not be possible to tell the percentage of people who through indifference or opposition, have failed to vote until all the available papers are in, which will not be for some time yet.

It is nevertheless possible to give some indication of the ultimate result of the Bradford ballot from the papers that have already been returned. The biggest response has undoubtedly been in the working-class districts, where there is whole-hearted support.

One difficulty which canvassers in these wards have encountered, however, is the number of people who have been afraid to sign. One person shut the door in the face of a worker after exclaiming: "It's only a dodge on t' Government's part to get to know everybody over 18 years of age." Another person said: "No, I'm not signing nothing no more. Government's not going to get to know no more about me." Stranger still, a woman who lost her husband and two sons in the war, refused to sign on similar grounds. She thought there was "something behind the ballot."

These cases, of course, are very difficult to deal with. Once a person has got into his head the idea that the ballot is a underhand way of getting to know some private information about the individual it is difficult to remove it, for in such circumstances people are not usually amenable to reason.

However, the workers, where they have had the chance have done their best to disabuse the minds of these people of such strange notions.

In the middle class districts the response has not been quite so satisfactory, and less satisfactory still in the really well-to-do quarters. However, in one district composed of middle class and artisan class people one canvasser's return was as follows: Papers distributed,

125; returned, 102; votes cast, 231; affirmative, 223; negative, 8. It should be noted that of the 23 papers not returned, the canvasser has not yet succeeded in finding a number of the people at home. The number, however, includes definite refusals to sign.

Mr. Brayshaw's experience goes to show that workers should be chosen according to the circumstances of the districts they have to cover. He is confident that a better return can be obtained in middle class districts if the canvassers for those districts are recruited from among the people they would have to deal with. In one such district in mind a schoolmaster has been very successful.

The following instance is indicative of possibilities: At Thackley, a suburb of Bradford, 700 houses canvassed by a group of enthusiastic young people from the Free Churches returned a 90 per cent. vote.

"In the light of our experience," says Mr. Brayshaw, "I should advise other organisers to place the ballot papers in envelopes bearing the words, 'National Declaration—Will be called for.' I would also urge every canvasser to see that each eligible person in each household signed a paper, for I have noticed that votes have been lost because canvassers have been satisfied to let, say, the father sign for the family.

"Canvassers should also carry spare papers with them when collecting, for there are many houses, especially in the poorer districts, where the papers are lost. Not more than two days should be allowed to elapse between delivery and collection.

"Canvassers should make it clear that two answers are desired on Question 5. Many people think they have to sign only one. They have signed 'Yes' to 'a' and left 'b' blank in a number of cases."

Apathy towards the ballot has been shown by some members of the City Council, the members of which, complain bitterly of the apathy of the public at election times.

It is interesting to note that the local cost of the Bradford ballot is only about £25.

One very satisfactory feature is the indication in all quarters that the attacks on the ballot have had very little adverse effect. In fact, it is believed that the effort has benefited from the publicity received. Many instances are on record of canvassers having volunteered because of Press and other criticism.

## II. BRISTOL. By Eric Buston.

To say that during the past month Bristol has been Ballot-minded is an under-statement. I can remember nothing for many years which has caused such controversy. The demands made upon the correspondence columns of the local newspapers have been remarkable; in factory and office, club and theatre, the burning question has been discussed.

The hearty support of all three political parties in Bristol was secured. The Bishop of Bristol—Dr. C. S. Woodward, recognised as an outspoken champion of international brotherhood and the League—wrote a personal letter to all incumbents in the city urging support of the referendum, and asking those who could to announce it from the pulpit. Dr. Ivor J. Robertson, President of the Free Church Federation, circularised the Free Churches and subsidiary bodies in his area to the same effect. Later, large hoarding notices appeared outside church and chapel halls, etc., and bills in lobbies and meeting-rooms. It was subsequently proved that

the co-operation of the church people and their ready-made organisation machinery was invaluable.

The next step in the publicity campaign—which, incidentally, cost £52 in a city of 400,000 people—was the insertion of advertisements in the one morning and two evening papers in Bristol. The goodwill of the editors was another important factor.

The official time for the ballot in Bristol was from November 12 to 19. As that period approached, a couple of well-chosen letters in the newspapers set fire to a correspondence controversy such as has not been known in Bristol for many years. The *Western Daily Press* alone published nearly 70 letters in a fortnight, quite apart from others on general questions of Peace about Armistice Day.

Of these it is interesting to note, over 40 were in favour of the ballot, and in the majority of cases, of the League of Nations policy; 15 expressed no definite opinion for or against; and 12 violently opposed the scheme. Of these 12 (it is even more interesting to note) five were written by the same clergyman—who went back to the Greek of the New Testament to prove that Christ would have opposed the ballot and the League—and four came from the pen of an R.N.V.R. captain.

Now for the spade work of the Ballot itself. Bristol was another example of the most thoroughly-prepared soil yielding the best fruit.

Mr. Lovell wrote to about 100 organisations of all shades of thought and influence—everything from a Trade Union to a Mothers' Meeting. Many of these replied by sending lists of their own sub-branches and secretaries. So the snowball of voluntary help grew. Appeals for volunteers were also made, of course, through the Press. Finally, between 3,050 and 3,410 helpers took part in the work, while offers of help from several hundred more had to be turned down.

The city was divided into its municipal wards (the three most difficult were split up again) and a ward organiser was found for each one. He was the contact between headquarters and the voting in his area—a vital link in which a first-class man was essential. To him was passed on the names and addresses of the volunteers who had come forward in his district. To him, too, was loaned the polling register with its list of electors and streets in convenient geographical order.

The ward organiser's next task was to divide his ward up into sections—say, according to the polling stations—and to appoint leaders for each section. These leaders, again, had to be reliable, as succeeding lines will show. To them was given the list of volunteers in their particular area and it was their responsibility to see that every street and house in it was covered. They distributed the Ballot Forms to their workers, and, when they had been collected again, handed them on to the ward organiser, who gave them to headquarters. The workers, generally speaking, left the forms on Monday or Tuesday and called for them on Wednesday or Thursday.

That, roughly, was the scheme, and it worked

well-nigh perfectly. In one or two cases, leaders and workers in a particular district could not be found, and headquarters had to draft men and women from other places. In rare instances the reliability of a leader or worker was over-estimated and complaints were received from householders that they had not had forms, but swift action was always taken to fill the breach. (People were asked in the Press to inform the Park Street office if they did not receive forms.)

People could be divided into three groups: (1) Those who actively supported the Ballot; (2) Those who were violently opposed to it; and (3) Those who were willing to sign it, but did not see what good it could do.

The last group were effectually answered by the Bishop of Malmesbury (Suffragan Bishop of Bristol) in a letter to the Press: "I do not agree with Sir Austen Chamberlain that there is no need for a ballot on the League of Nations and Disarmament," he wrote. "People on the Continent see that two out of the three papers with circulations of over a million a day are determined opponents of the League. We must make it clear those views are not those of the majority. The real purpose of the Ballot is to show the world that England stands for Peace and international fellowship. I am proud to be associated with this 'dirty work' . . ."

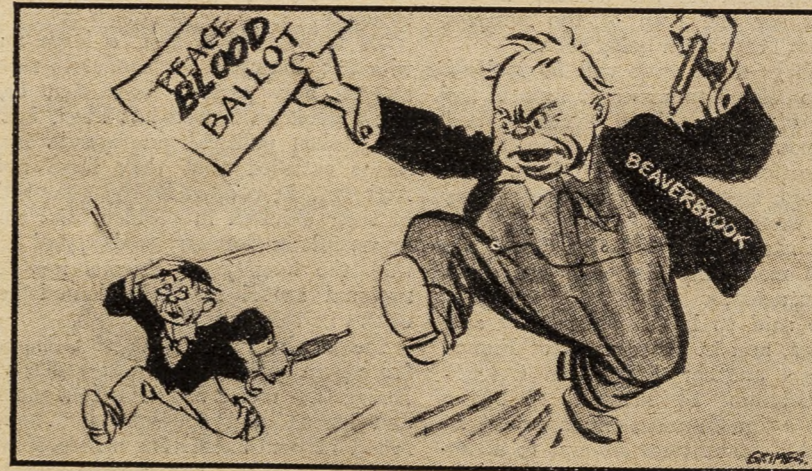
Results showed that convinced opponents of the scheme were in a very small minority. The number of people who steadfastly refused to vote was practically negligible, and only a very few workers had the exhilarating experience of seeing an irate citizen bitten with Beaverbrookitis tear the Ballot paper up in their faces.

Many people who sincerely desired peace, and, for that matter, supported the League, were led by propagandists into regarding the ballot as a trap or a subversive method of undermining a nation's patriotism and defences. A polite request to read the questions carefully and a gentle emphasis on the "international agreement" clauses of Questions 2, 3 and 4 dispelled such fears.

Workers had the easiest time in Corporation housing estates and districts roughly corresponding to them, and met most opposition in the more affluent suburbs. The ignorance of some adults whose education and position should have made them better informed was appalling. This minority had but the haziest conception of the aims and records of the League, and knew not the difference between unilateral and internationally agreed disarmament. And, of course, prejudice nearly always followed in the wake of ignorance. That was when the workers really needed to be conversant with the implications of the five questions if the latter were to receive fair treatment.

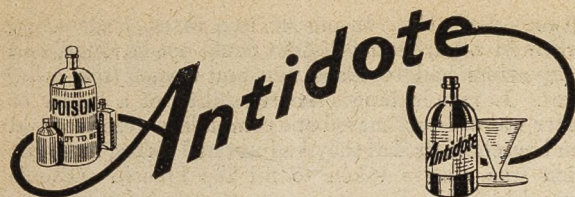
The counting of the Bristol Ballot papers now begins, 14 workers taking morning or afternoon shifts for 17

days. Whatever the voting may reveal—and I personally am confident it will be as satisfactory as the conduct of the Ballot itself—there can be no doubt that the effort has awakened Bristol people as never before to the realisation that there are such things as dangers in formulating a foreign policy.



FEE-FI-FO-FUM—Etc.  
 (Reproduced by courtesy of "The Star")





## POISON :

"When politicians say that the best way to prevent war is to cut down the Army, I reply that it is the politicians who make wars. It is the soldiers who have to save the politicians by ending wars."—*The Earl of Harewood, speaking at Leeds.*

## ANTIDOTE :

The best reply of all is for the people to prevent the politicians from making wars, for even the soldiers are not able to save the people from suffering when war has been permitted to happen.

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## POISON :

"It is tragic to think that a single German air firm—and that not by any means one of the largest—is turning out 200 of the most powerful aeroplane engines a month for the German air fleet, while not one single new squadron in the British Royal Air Force has been formed and equipped with machines in the present financial year."—*Leading article in the Daily Mail.*

## ANTIDOTE :

It is even more "tragic" to hear the chairman of Hawker Aircraft boasting that the experience of foreign nations with military aircraft supplied by that firm is "comparable to that of the R.A.F. with the same type of machines," and that the firm "hopes to double its foreign markets during the next year."

## The German Refugee Problem

By EDITH M. PYE

(Representative of the Society of Friends on the Advisory Council of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany)

WHEN the League of Nations took action on behalf of the refugees coming from Germany, and set up a High Commission to deal with the problem, great hopes were raised, but since the Governments who compose the League felt unable to make any financial provision for the working of the Commission, still less for the help of the refugees themselves, the problem is far from being solved.

The enormous numbers dealt with will be realised from the fact that the High Commissioner reports the settlement of 27,000 of them—22,000 overseas, and 5,000 in various European countries.

A very large proportion of the 22,000 have been sent to Palestine through the generosity of the various Jewish organisations, whose efforts on behalf of their co-religionists put to shame the Christian Churches, who so far have not made anything like the same effort for non-Jewish refugees.

In Paris, there are said to be between 4,000 and 5,000 destitute refugees, and in other parts of France and the Saar, perhaps another 1,000. In Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, etc., the numbers given in the High Commissioner's report as being dependent on relief committees amount to about another 2,000. But the figure of need is probably considerably higher, since many of the relief com-

## POISON :

Although he has for many months protested that the Conservative Central Executive is effete and utterly inefficient in his opinion, Lord Beaverbrook is now basing some of his attacks on the National Declaration on the allegation that the Conservative Central Executive "will have nothing to do with it!"

## ANTIDOTE :

1—1=0.

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## POISON :

"Wise pastors will take no part in the League of Nations Union campaign in support of a "Peace" ballot, which has begun by making schism."—*Daily Express.*

## ANTIDOTE :

Evidently Lord Beaverbrook does not regard the Archbishops, the 35 Diocesan Bishops, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the leaders of all the Free Churches as "wise pastors."

\* \* \*

## POISON :

"The League of Nations Union is not the same thing as the League of Nations, and should make it plain to its supporters that their subscriptions are not sent to Geneva."—*Widely circulated letters from the Navy League.*

## ANTIDOTE :

Nobody in their senses ever misunderstood the fact that the purpose of the Union is to educate public opinion in support of the League—just as the Navy League exists as a separate organisation to educate the public with regard to the Navy.  
C.C.T.

mittees have had to close their doors because there were no funds left to distribute. There are only three ways of dealing with the refugees. Further emigration, settlement and absorption into the country of refuge, or return to Germany—since we cannot contemplate the fourth, which would be to allow them to starve to death.

To take the last first, a large number of refugees who left Germany for economic rather than political reasons have already been sent back. We do not know what their fate has been, but if they had not undertaken political propaganda in Germany, report seems satisfied that they have not been molested. And yet, how dark is the outlook! The education of their children in pacifism and world citizenship is impossible in Germany to-day, and it is for that reason that the Society of Friends has founded an international school in Holland and helped in starting others in this country.

Those who remain out of Germany now are those for whom political reasons make return impossible. Emigration to far countries is a remedy for the young and strong and courageous. A country has been found in South America, where it will be possible to settle families at a cost of from £200 to £300 per family. Some of this money can be given on loan, which may

be returned in the future. These families will be in touch with an existing German colony, so that they will not feel so lost away from all that they have so far known. The country is new to cultivation, and very fertile, and has been reported on favourably by a League of Nations Commission.

But for those for whom emigration is not possible, the outlook is more difficult, but not without hope. No European country wants refugees, and it is often forgotten that among those who have had to leave Germany are the very flower of our civilisation, men and women of deep culture and learning, whose presence is an enrichment to the country to which they go. Fortunately for this type, the enormous efforts that have been and are being made by special committees to secure for them places in which their knowledge can be used, has been more or less successful, and many brilliant students have also been enabled to complete their education.

But for the mass of ordinary people who are refugees because of their convictions, very little has been accomplished. They are making heroic efforts to maintain their high standards under conditions of frightful poverty and destitution. They are not allowed to work in industry, because of unemployment, and although a certain number has succeeded in maintaining themselves and their families by setting up tiny businesses or workshops, the least accident or illness makes it impossible for them to live without assistance.

What can be done to help such cases? Absorption is a slow process, and highly trained social workers are needed to find the right remedy in individual cases, but the remedies can be found if the funds are forthcoming. Many will need helping over a year or two until they have become used to their changed existence. Some are being placed on the land, to bring back into culti-

vation deserted farms and fields, and it is one of the cheering aspects of the work, to see the courage with which intellectual workers turn to raising their bread from the good earth, and the immense satisfaction they find in doing it. Small groups of this type are at work in England, France, Holland and Czecho-Slovakia. In the towns, individual skill can be set to work by the provision of machines, tools and material. But above all, the refugees need friendly contacts which will make them feel that they have a place still in the world, and have not been cast upon the scrapheap and left there to die.

Those who have suffered, and are suffering, for their convictions in Germany itself, present a difficult problem. Courage, hope and strength is given to many individuals through a stay in a home of rest, and various other ways are found of expressing that large human sympathy which springs from the conviction that humanity is one in its divine source, however divided it may appear to-day.

The Prince of Wales, in speaking of unemployment, said that the problem must be broken up, and that is a profound truth. Hated by governments, harried by officials, the problem of the refugees in the mass seems insoluble. Break it up and realise that it is made up of families and individuals like ourselves, to whom we dare not refuse a helping hand, lest the thought of their suffering should haunt us, and the problem can and will be solved.

France, because of her nearness, has been overwhelmed with the mass of refugees, and may be again. This country is much less burdened. All the more reason, surely, for English people, who believe in world co-operation for the solution of world problems, to help in a task which bears so heavily upon other countries.

### HELP THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

to care for the refugees from Germany. It set up a High Commission, but said the funds must come from private sources.

### THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS APPEALS FOR FUNDS

for reconstructive work in settling refugees in various countries and helping them to emigrate to lands outside Europe, and  
**BEGIN LIFE ANEW.**

Friends have already expended £8,000. Other Committees are having to close down, so that

### FUNDS ARE NOW URGENTLY NEEDED

for

### EIGHT TO TEN THOUSAND REFUGEES STILL REQUIRING HELP.

The Society of Friends is already working on the problem in ENGLAND, FRANCE, HOLLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA and GERMANY, but we need £1,000 per month to maintain this work, and more is needed to extend it.

This appeal is supported by LORD CECIL, Chairman of the Governing Body of the High Commission, and PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, Chairman of the League of Nations Union.

Funds may be sent to the GERMANY EMERGENCY COMMITTEE, SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, FRIENDS' HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1.



## BOOK NOTICES

**Harold Wright: A Memoir.** Edited by C. Ernest Fayle. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Harold Wright did much excellent work in his life of fifty years. But the man himself was still more remarkable than his work. He was a fine example of a peculiarly English type, of which England has always had the good sense to be proud. Honesty of mind and public spirit were his qualities. He had a profound conviction that men and nations could direct their affairs by the light of reason. He accepted without question Gladstone's dictum that every man should make it a part of his religion to see that his country was well governed. But he was worlds away from being a prig. His wonderful capacity for making friends with an almost endless diversity of his fellow-creatures was conclusive proof. His history in boyhood, at Cambridge, and later, in journalism and public service, is a tale of lasting friendships.

At Cambridge Harold Wright was a most able editor of "The Granta," and one of those few Presidents of the Union of whom a living memory survives long after their time. He gained little distinction in the Schools, but exercised a unique personal influence. He was a Radical, not less persuasive than progressive. He gave devoted service to the League of Nations, through the L.N.U. World peace was always a major interest of his. Long before the world war he had grasped how futile was the attempt to obtain national security by an armaments race. In the post-war years, when he was assistant editor and editor of the *Nation*, that great organ of instructed opinion never wavered in its support of collective defence.

The memoir now produced by friends who knew Harold Wright intimately will be read with eager sympathy by thousands of friends who never met him. It is an unpretentious volume; not a single book, woven all in one piece, but a collection of essays, by eight writers, each contributing his personal experience and appraisal. It leaves the effect of first-rate conversation. That would have pleased Wright, for he rated good talk high, and talk was, perhaps, the instrument he used with the most characteristic effect and by whose use he most surely influenced his age. His talk, like his writing, was, as Canon Mozley well says, essentially constructive.

Besides Mr. C. Ernest Fayle and Canon Mozley the contributors to the memoir are Sir Norman Angell, H. D. Henderson, H. Norman Keen, Albert Mansbridge, H. G. Maurice and William Cavendish Searle.

**The Disarmament Deadlock.** By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. (G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 15s.)

Unquestionably Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's "The Disarmament Deadlock" is the ablest book to date on the Disarmament Conference. The technical side of the business is handled in quite enough detail to be of real use to expert or ordinary reader. One thing emerges clearly, that *technically* disarmament by agreement is possible. The peoples want it, the experts show it can be done, but there are political obstacles in the way which the Government have not yet been inspired to remove.

These political obstacles take up much of the book and it may be said at once that Mr. Wheeler-Bennett moves with masterly and authoritative ease through the mazes of European politics (though he seems to attach insufficient weight to the disastrous effect on the Disarmament Conference of Japan's aggression in Manchuria). A dominant motif of post-war history in Europe has been Germany's demand for equality as a Great Power.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's book indeed might have been called "The Struggle for Equality—with Interludes." Versailles forced Germany into inequality, and though the Allies promised to remedy this they have not kept their word. Germany's entry into the League gave her no equality of defence, and from the first day to the last of the Conference equality has been her platform. Yet it was never granted—except in principle. When Hitler came into power the German tone and German methods changed, and though the justice of the German case remained, these changes had unfortunate psychological effects on many Governments. As a result the Conference has broken down and Germany, outside the League, is steadily *re-arming up* to equality.

What is to be done? Either States must regularise Germany's re-armament, and minimise the risk by insisting on international control of armaments. Or they will drift into an uncontrolled armaments race such as wrecked the world in 1914. For the moment it looks as if most of the Great Powers are doing the latter, to the slogan: "Get ye armaments, for thereon hang all the law and the profits."

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's book must be warmly recommended. It is indispensable at this time. For a second edition a short chronology of the Conference is suggested.

M. F.

**Report by the Second Committee to the Fifteenth Assembly on Economic and Financial Questions.** A.40. 1934. II. Geneva, September 22, 1934.

The report of the Second Committee to the Fourteenth Assembly on Economic and Financial Questions was a rather colourless and an obviously fatigued recapitulation of the arguments which successive meetings of experts had urged upon governments for more than two years without avail. The tone was defeatist. This year there is a new and more hopeful note. The French proposal for an inquiry into the causes, scope and methods of compensation and clearing agreements has rallied the spirits of the committee. The report shows confidence and purpose, and presents an able though brief summary of the present economic situation and of the work which the Economic and Financial Organisation continues to discharge with benefit to the economic life of states—benefit which will become even more apparent as international trade revives.

**The Treaty of Trianon and European Peace.** By Count Bethlen. (Longmans Green & Co., London. 1934. 187 pages. 10s. 6d. net.)

The questions discussed in this book, which is a reprint of four lectures given in this country by Count Bethlen last year (one to the League of Nations Union

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of Cambridge University), should be of interest to all students of international affairs, for they include some of the most burning foreign political questions of to-day. Nor could any person be found better qualified to present Hungary's case for frontier revision than Count Bethlen, for ten years his country's Prime Minister and now its regular delegate to Geneva. The views set out naturally represent only one side of a very hotly-contested problem, and not only the arguments but even some of the facts are disputed by Hungary's neighbours; but none the less for that—perhaps even the more for it—they deserve the closest study.

**Organising Peace.** Ninth Edition. 1934. By Maxwell Garnett. (League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent. 3d.)

"Organising Peace" is a handsome booklet. Well planned, well printed, well illustrated, it is both interesting and easy to read. Yet it is in size no more than a booklet, containing 109 small pages. Its fame, therefore, in no way depends on its bulk, but altogether on its quality. For famous it is. It is one of the germinal works of the time. Several hundred thousand copies have been sold, and many tens of thousands of copies continue to be sold every year.

The new edition is specially notable for a clear demonstration of how much more extensive and comprehensive is the League system than is commonly perceived, even by its supporters. That system combines in a unique measure the qualities of toughness and flexibility. It is singularly adaptable while it continues with tenacious loyalty to serve its settled purpose. Dr. Garnett explains the part regional pacts can play in strengthening it and making it more efficient with a cogency not equalled by any earlier worker on this novel topic. He is also peculiarly successful in his exposition of the differences—practical, political and moral—which distinguish collective defence from war.

"Organising Peace" retains in full the merits which originally won its readers' approval. It has been thoroughly revised throughout. It presents the League of to-day in the world of to-day. Students and speakers can trust to it, free from the dread of finding that their conclusions are relevant only to conditions which have ceased to exist.

## Official League Publications

**Official Journal.** Vol. XV, No. 9.

**Official Journal.** Special Supplement No. 123.

**Verbatim Records of the 15th Session of the Assembly.** Nos. 6 to 13.

**Journal of the 15th Session of the Assembly.** Nos. 16 and 17. (Ser. L.O.N.P.)

**World Production and Prices, 1925—1933.** 1934.II.A.13.

**World Economic Survey, 1933—34.** 1934.II.A.16.

**Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq.** Report by the Committee to the Council. 1934.VII.11.

**Saar Territory.** Second Monthly Report on the Plebiscite Commission. 1934.VII.12.

**Transit.** Systematic Survey of the Regime of Communications of Importance to the Working of the League of Nations at Times of Emergency. 1934.VIII.6.

**Monthly List of Selected Articles.** Vol. VI. Nos. 7-8.

**Chronology of International Treaties and Legislative Measures.** Vol. V. Nos. 7-8.

**Journal of the 15th Session of the Assembly.** Nos. 1 to 15, and Supplement.

**Verbatim Records of the 15th Session of the Assembly.** Nos. 1 to 5. Ser. L.O.N.P.

**Financial Committee—Report on the 55th Session 1934.** II.A.18

**Penal and Penitentiary Questions—Report of the Secretary-General to the Assembly 1934.** I V.9.

**Annex to the Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat—Ratification of Agreements and Conventions.** 15th List. 1934. V.1

**Ratification of International Conventions—Results of the Fourth Inquiry addressed to the Governments.** 1934. V.3.



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### AIR LEAGUE SUGGESTION

SIR.—An International Air Police Force has been the subject of debates at more than one branch of the League of Nations Union, and has, as might have been expected, given rise to controversy.

There are those who think that the League of Nations can only exist by exercising the extremist forms of an armed force, and those who hold that it was designed to lead men, and not bludgeon them, into the paths of peace. But it is not my opinions on this subject which I wish to inflict upon your readers, but to make the suggestion with some diffidence that an *unarmed* police (on the ground and not in the air) might be a valuable contribution to international peace.

The green-coated League policeman, not armed with lethal weapons, but exercising the tact and restraint for which our British police are famous, might be of immense value along the frontiers of Europe. They would be an ever-present reminder of the League, and in times of stress would help to restrain hot-heads from the creation of those incidents which lead to war. Their evidence would be of great value to the League in arriving at a definition of the aggressor, and even after war broke out, their presence should do much to aid a stricken civilian population.

The cost of their establishment would be very small. Indeed, if in the course of time the unarmed League policemen took the place of the national soldiers, they would be a permanent economy. Is not this a proposal to which all who love peace could readily subscribe? The Churches, the League of Nations Union, the Society of Friends, the National Peace Council, and the New Commonwealth could all combine to urge that such a system should be given a trial. True, these police will not guarantee security to nations, but our police can give no such guarantee internally, nor can any form of force (air or otherwise) give such definite assurance in international matters; but these police may do much to assist the cause of peace.

J. A. CHAMIER,  
Air Commodore.

Secretary-General,  
Air League of British Empire.

### WHAT ARE POLICE?

SIR.—It is sad to see Mr. Roseveare attempt to rout the pacifist case by brandishing the word "police." Any pacifist will explain to him that we approve a national police force so long as it can (1) Arrest the individual offender without undue bodily harm; (2) Produce him before an equitable, impartial and sympathetic tribunal; which (3) Will inflict such penalties as not only protect society, but, above all, redeem and reinstate the offender.

If an International Police Force can do that we support it. If Mr. Roseveare envisages a police that will arrest the patriots, the arms-mongers, the newspaper instigators of national hatreds—in short, the *individuals directly responsible* for war then we are with him. But if he speaks of a force which shall bomb recalcitrant nations into submission, then it is no police force at all, but merely an International Military Force, and we cannot approve it.

L. H. PERRATON.

### THE BALLOT QUESTIONS

SIR.—All the questions on peace and war in the National Ballot can of course be answered only in the affirmative, but it is little use answering lists of questions unless

we as a union and a nation do something more practical and thorough. First and above all things else, if we want peace we must get rid of political prejudices and send to Parliament only those who, regardless of party, are strenuous supporters of peace, and absolutely oppose with all our strength every person who advocates the use of any armaments whatever except such as are placed in the hands of the League of Nations for the maintenance of peace.

It is simply so much fooling to say that the said weapons are only meant for defence. After telling us that such weapons are useless for defence, the Government have actually proved it by a bombastic blaze of aeroplanes over London for a week. Aeroplanes and bombs are deliberately meant for murdering defenceless men, women and children, as they were in the last war, and they are deliberately and cunningly designed for the same purpose for a future war, and will be so used unless we have the sense and courage to rid ourselves for ever of warmongers.

WRIGHT MILLER.

### BRITAIN'S INHERITANCE

SIR.—Your note to Mr. Platt's letter in November HEADWAY seems to me to fully justify those cynics who declare that our reason for supporting the League is the fear that some nation in the future may try to deprive us by war of the "inheritance" which we got by wars in the past.

And what wars! Think of the disgraceful "opium war" by which we got possession of Hong-Kong!

If one believed that this is the opinion of the majority of the L.N.U., some of us would soon leave it.

B. S. BOULTEN.

[NOTE.—Our correspondent gives too material a meaning to "inheritance." The word covers not only territory, but everything handed down from the past—traditions, institutions, ways of thinking and feeling. Our past has played an essential part in making our present. We cannot renounce it. Even could the exact measure of British guilt in the so-called "opium war" be assessed, that would not touch our duty to accept and to be worthy of our inheritance.—ED.]

### THE FOURTH QUESTION

SIR.—In Question No. 4 of the Ballot Form, why "by international agreement"; why wait for that? I should like to see it at once put into the same category with drug traffic and slave-dealing. Why not? Can anybody say?

H. C. BROOKS.

### SCRAP OF PAPER

SIR.—One almost despairs of human nature when one sees the nearly general assumption that governmental pledges are valueless. It is indisputable that if pledges are kept, war is at an end, for there can be no war without perjury. All the great, nearly all the smaller, nations are pledged under the Kellogg Pact not to resort to war. Nearly all have signed the Covenant also; and there can be few which have no arbitration treaties with some others. Yet there is constant talk of war.

The man who speaks of it as inevitable and natural implies that perjury is inevitable and natural; he condones it beforehand and makes himself a party to the crime. United effort should make it an inconceivable outrage from which any Government would shrink. Is it not then the *practical* way of attaining disarmament to stress, in season and out of season, the sanctity of solemn pledges? Every nation is sensitive to the charge

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*Constable*

## GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

### (2) *The Scriptures in Japan*

The news that the circulation of the Scriptures in Japan amounted to more than half-a-million copies—a record for the Bible Society in that country—will hearten all Christian people who long and pray that Japan may be won for Jesus Christ.

This immense distribution of God's Word represents careful organisation and much hard work. Ten colporteurs were each responsible for the sale of more than 25,000 volumes; four of them each sold over 30,000; and one actually reached a total of 45,706 copies.

Numbers are not everything, but these figures seem to show that the Japanese people are not indifferent to the Christian religion, but are anxious to learn all they can about it.

Japan occupies a great place in the modern world, and who can say what may be the influence of the wide circulation of the Scriptures upon her attitude to international affairs, her religious conceptions, and the spiritual life of her people?

*Gifts will be gratefully received and  
acknowledged by the Secretaries:*

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

of bad faith. The condition of success for a democracy is acknowledged to be a steady elevation of the ethical standard of the individual; the condition of success for the League is likewise a steady elevation of the ethical standard of its members. Surely no effort should be spared to drive home the fact that a people which consents—I will not say to war, but to the preparations for war—is making itself a party to the violation of its word of honour. If promises mean anything, that is fact from which there is no escape. B. G. M. BASKETT.

### THE ARCHBISHOP'S APPEAL

SIR.—It is significant that neither Mr. Phillips nor Mr. Wilson attempts to refute my charge of inconsistency against the Archbishop's Appeal. If the hope of the world is to be found in readiness to spill blood, nothing can excuse the clergyman from taking his share in this exalted duty.

It is perfectly true, as Mr. Phillips indicates, that there is nothing to prohibit an ecclesiastic from advocating the spilling of blood by others, not even his self-respect, with the sinister consequence that, during the great war, the Church of Christ became a potent factor in preventing discord. Servants of the Prince of Peace dedicated themselves, in every country in Europe, to the incitement of the people to slay and to hate the peoples of other lands. It was one of the major tragedies of the war had we but eyes to see it.

I, purposely, in my letter, refrained from assuming an extreme and unlikely case, and I took the actual case before us—namely, that of Japan—in which the advocates of force—if there is any consistency in their plan—would have us resort to force.

The task of compelling Japan by physical means is one from which the enlightened mind recoils in bewilderment and dismay, and it affords a useful illustration of the folly of such proposals.

If we are once deceived into the betrayal of the peace principle by specious appeals to the sanctity of Japan's own method—namely, the spilling of blood—the disintegration of the League will have been completely assured by the attempt, as one of your correspondents puts it, to use "Satan to cast out Satan."

The grave danger in every form of physical duress is that, once it is attempted, we cannot desist when we choose, but must continue to the bitter end, even if it means bloodshed.

The method of physical force and bloodshed has been a deadly disaster every time it has been tried, and we have not yet thrown it over.

Are we to throw over the method of moral force simply because it has not yielded 100 per cent. of all that we desired?

A. STANLEY DAVIES.

### "VEGETARIANISM AND WORLD PEACE"

SIR.—As I have never seen in HEADWAY (which I generally read carefully before putting my copy in the Public Library here) any reference to the above pamphlet (copy enclosed), I suggest a very careful study of it by all who are working for peace.

This arresting document takes a very comprehensive view and goes to the root of the matter.

Romford.

F. J. EVERARD.

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## HERE AND THERE

THE Editor of "News Sheet" is inaugurating an interesting new feature. Much excellent Branch work often passes without appreciation, mainly because of omission to furnish headquarters with details. He proposes, therefore, to give the first space in his "Here and There" column to description of the best account of recent activities sent in during each month, preference being given to successful attempts to attract the unconverted to Union meetings. This new departure, in addition to being an encouragement to the Branches concerned, must have the additional value of presenting useful ideas to other Branches, and should be followed up with close interest. As far as space permits, all information of general interest that may be sent in will be included in the column, and the item which qualifies for Special Mention will also be printed in HEADWAY. All items intended for this feature should be addressed to the Editor of "News Sheet," the envelope being marked "Special Mention." The Editor's judgment will, of course, be final, and it will be impracticable for him to enter into discussions with any who may feel that his choice should have fallen on their contribution rather than on the selected item.

A new Youth Group has just been formed in connection with the St. Michael and All Angels Church at Sutton. Monthly meetings will be held, and the first season's programme for discussions includes an excellent selection of important problems.

The Colchester Branch had an auspicious send-off for its winter campaign when an audience of over 700 packed the Moot Hall to listen to Lord Allen of Hurtwood. The Bishop of Chelmsford described it as one of the finest at which he had attended.

Despite the rain, some 3,000 women took part in a pageant procession of "Witness to Peace," recently organised by the Tyneside Branches at Newcastle. The procession, which extended for the better part of a mile, marched to the Town Moor, where a mass meeting was held. In addition to the Union Branches, 26 other organisations co-operated wholeheartedly.

The Town Hall was filled to capacity when a public meeting was convened in order to re-form the Devises Branch, which had become inoperative. The meeting, which was organised by a handful of local people who had the revival of the Branch at heart, was an outstanding success. Mr. Frederick Whelen, from headquarters, was the principal speaker.

Another temporarily lapsed Branch has been reformed as the result of a public meeting at Shiplake. In this case, Commander Lewis, R.N., was the principal speaker.

A Youth Group has now been formed in Carlisle at a meeting addressed by Mr. T. W. Gillinder. The enthusiasm evinced was so unanimous that the chairman of the meeting predicted a membership of over 500 during the year.

Driffeld is another locality which to-day has a Branch, the original one having been permitted to lapse. A strong committee and an excellent preliminary list of members results from a meeting last month.

A new Branch has now been formed for Burnmoor and Little Lumley as the result of a meeting at the Church Hall, Burnmoor.

Aviemore (Inverness-shire).—During the summer months Lady Henschel, president of the Branch of the League of Nations Union, gave several interesting lectures on "The Humanitarian Aspect of the League of Nations." Summer visitors attended those lectures and were very greatly impressed by Lady Henschel's enlightening talks. This Branch held its Annual Whist Drive and Dance in the Comrades' Memorial Hall during October. All the Branches in the Speyside district have decided to have the referendum taken during Armistice Week.

### AN EXCELLENT PEACE PLAY

IN his Three-act Play, *The Path of Glory*, L. Du Garde Peach has conferred a benefit on all who are seeking a Peace Play which has the advantages of excellent propaganda, delightful satire and strong dramatic interest. Although it does not come under the heading of actual League propaganda, the way in which it exposes the crass stupidity of war, without having recourse to even casual reference to the already over-emphasised "horrors of war," cannot fail to convey its message. Its exposition of the way in which war is developed from a trifling excuse, and also of the scandalous exploitation of a country's patriotism as a cloak to cover the crass ineptitude of the warmongers, is beyond praise. This play is earnestly recommended to all Branches which can command the services of a reasonably good company of players. The book, price 2s. 6d., can be obtained from the Union Book Shop. The fee for presentation varies according to the circumstances of each production, full particulars being obtainable from Messrs. H. W. Deane & Sons, The Year Book Press, Ltd., of 31, Museum Street, W.C.1.

### OVERSEAS NOTES

**A Royal Message.**—The League of Nations Society of Canada has planned a second national study project which will be based on a series of proposals for the formulation of a complete policy for Canada in the modern world.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, as President of the Society, had, on the recommendation of the Governor-General, sent a message to the King in which he expressed the conviction that the lasting security of the British Commonwealth against war was only to be realised in a collective system of security founded on the principles of co-operation, arbitration, and social justice as embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Paris Pact.

His Majesty, through the Governor-General, has replied: "I have learned with pleasure and approval the work of the League of Nations Society of Canada in spreading knowledge of the ideals and work of the League. It is vitally necessary for the promotion of peace and co-operation between peoples that public opinion in all countries should thoroughly understand and appreciate the activities of the League in the task of maintaining through collective international action peace and good order in the world. The people of the British Empire have borne, and will continue to bear, a heavy share of this work, and I wish every success to the League of Nations Society in the execution of their plans for the coming winter."

### New Zealand.

The following is taken from the Annual Report of the New Zealand League of Nations Union for the year 1933-34:—

The question of a suitable school book to be used for the education of students in primary schools in the work and objects of the League of Nations is now being considered by the Dominion Council.

A new Branch has been established in Tauranga, which now has a membership of 120.

The Masterton Branch has inaugurated a library of League of Nations Union literature. Christchurch has set up a special committee to organise educational work in the schools and other institutions. It is hoped to form Junior Branches in secondary schools in the near future. The Otago Branch has formed a Youth Group on the lines of the British Youth Groups.

At the Annual Conference of the New Zealand League of Nations Union, held in Wellington early in September, a resolution was passed reaffirming its adherence to the policy of the British League of Nations Union—viz. :—

- (1) To preserve peace and security, members of the League of Nations must be ready to co-operate in the defence of a member who has been wrongly attacked.
- (2) Peace in Europe and in the world can be preserved only by collective action through the League of Nations and a policy of British isolation is impossible and undesirable.

### Queensland.

During the last week of August this Branch conducted an intensive Publicity Week. Heads of Churches were asked to hold special services on Sunday, August 26. The suggestion was accepted by the Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregational Churches, and since then the Congregational Union has affiliated with the Australian League of Nations Union. A large number of addresses were given to metropolitan schools by speakers from the League of Nations Union, as well as by the Minister for Education, the Minister for Agriculture, the Home Secretary and the Director for Education.

Will those members who have been kind enough to send Professor G. Davies Watkins, of Madras Christian College, their copies of HEADWAY and other literature, please note that Professor Davies Watkins has now returned to England? He would be very grateful if these members would continue to send him literature, as he has begun the study of peace problems amongst the adolescents at Birkdale Central School, of which he is head master. The address is as follows: Birkdale Central School, Windy Harbour Road, Birkdale, Southport.

### Hungary.

Good luck to the Youth Group! The Hungarian Society for Foreign Affairs and for the League of Nations intends to form a Youth Group, the members of which will be recruited from among University students between the ages of 18 and 30. In a letter to the League of Nations Union, the acting vice-president, M. d'Éttenyi, writes: "We are convinced that the difficult international problems can only be solved if the youth will make our enterprise its own."

### WELSH NOTES

An important meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council was held at Shrewsbury on November 7, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies. Plans for the winter's work were reviewed and important resolutions on international questions were adopted.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh Council in 1935 will be held at Rhyl. In addition to the usual public meetings organised in November by the Branches, the Welsh Council is this winter arranging a Special Campaign of Public Meetings throughout the Principality.

The National Declaration Section is also extremely busy and quite a number of the local committees are proceeding energetically with the house-to-house canvass.

The annual meeting of the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh Council was held during November, when the committee had the pleasure of welcoming M. Bonnet, the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

On Armistice Day, wreaths were laid, on behalf of the Welsh Council, at the Welsh National War Memorial in Cardiff and at the North Wales Heroes' Memorial at Bangor.

### BROADCASTING NOTES

The last two talks in the Causes of War series will be Sir Josiah Stamp, the eminent economist, on December 7, while on December 14 Sir Austen Chamberlain will sum up.

On December 10, in the Poverty in Plenty series, Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B., will review the economic world at large.

### Council's Vote

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

Arundel.

For 1934:

Albury, Barton-on-Humber, Bembridge, Byfield, Blisworth, Colchester, Chippenham, Cradley Heath, Duston, Epsom, Felbridge, Great Shelford, Gateshead, Goole, Henleaze, Hindhead, Headingley, King's Lynn, Laidon, Ludlow, Leatherhead, Nettlebed, Newquay, Nafferton, Olveston, Pontrilas, Pudsey, Queenborough, Runton, Stoke Ferry, Sarisbury, Sawtry, Stourbridge, Silverstone, Stewkley, Torrington, Tettenhall, Teignmouth, Tenderden, Thirsk, Writtle, Waterlooville, Wokingham, Walton-on-the-Naze and Walton-on-Thames.

### 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.

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: Frenal, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6161. Cheques should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank."

**Foundation Members:** £1 a year (minimum). (To include HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly, by post, and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.)

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**Ordinary Members:** 1s. a year minimum.

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\* In Wales and Monmouthshire the minimum subscription for Registered Members is 5s. Particulars of the work can be had from The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

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Headway, December



## FEAR OF WAR.

*The Secretary of the Union speaks out:—*

**F**EAR of War is the curse of Europe to-day; and that fear is growing, week by week and month by month.

There is hardly a country that is not replenishing its armoury, closing its doors to the products of other countries, impoverishing its peoples in an attempt to become self-sufficient, and helping to strangle the trade by which we live. And why? The answer is, because of this fear. Each nation feels itself to be surrounded by enemies; each fears that at any moment the enemy may attack.

But strive as they will, each nation cannot be stronger than its neighbour. And, in a world of competing armaments and economic rivalries, one result is certain. The world to-day is drifting towards War.

We British can prevent that war from happening. We can enable the world to recover from its fear and from its economic depression. But if we are to do so, we must shed our old tradition "never to commit ourselves beforehand." We must give up trying to live unto ourselves as Lord Beaverbrook would have us do. The only way to avoid war is to be ready to prevent it.

Fifteen years ago the League of Nations—"the greatest gain of the battlefields"—was founded to substitute international co-operation for international rivalry. It was in the hope of winning the people of this country to that new conception of their international responsibilities that our Union was founded. It is in that hope that we still pursue our labours. To-day we need all the help we can get, not only for our main work of education but also for the immediate task that we, in conjunction with other societies, have undertaken. I refer to the National Declaration. By this means we hope to tell the world how far the British people are prepared to go in the direction of using the persuasive power (and, if need be, the military strength) of all nations for the defence of each—which is, after all, the only sure way to make British territories and trade routes safe against attack.

To these tasks we must bend all our energies if we are to prevent the world from drifting into war.

Let us begin by making the National Declaration an outstanding success.

M. G.



28 OCT 1957



