

# 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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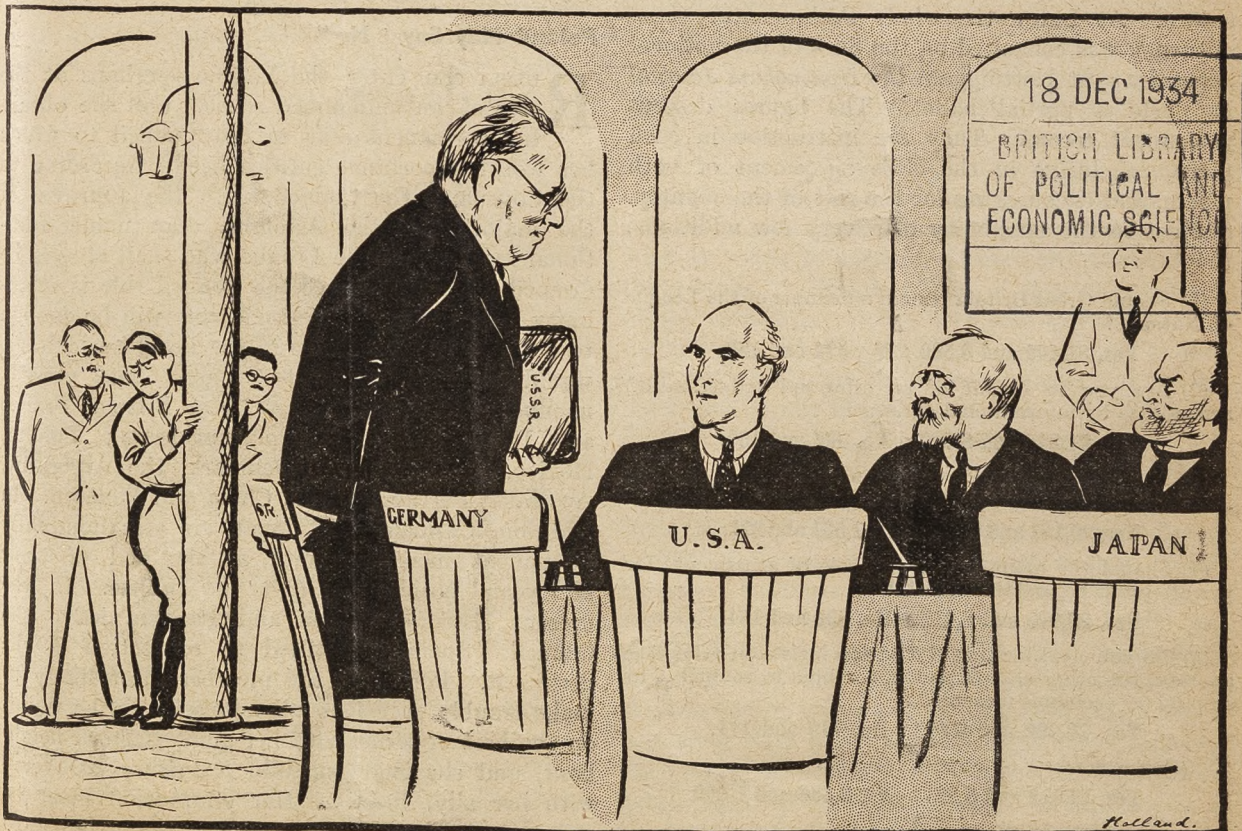
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### A WELCOME AWAITS RUSSIA IN —



—THE LEAGUE OF ALL THE NATIONS.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Peace Ballot

THE National Declaration on the League and Armaments needs workers. If, throughout England, Scotland and Wales, 250,000 men and women can be found who care sufficiently for the security of the country and the peace of the world to spend, during the coming autumn and winter, a full fortnight's time, made up of their spare afternoons and evenings, in often dull and sometimes difficult voluntary service, then the Peace Ballot will be a triumphant success. Not otherwise. The results now depend upon the number of workers, and the intelligence and devotion they bring to their task. A dozen Local Declaration Committees are at work; in some five hundred other constituencies committees are in the process of being formed. It has become certain that no district in Great Britain will be neglected. The high adventure has already given the members of the League of Nations Union one good cause for pride. In less than half a dozen districts has a Union Branch failed in the resources and the enthusiasm needed to take the initiative.

## Luton and Nottingham

FROM the start the promoters of the Declaration have believed that the questions on the ballot paper will be answered in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority. How right they are in their judgment Luton and Nottingham have shown. At Luton the whole Parliamentary constituency was consulted on the lines of the national campaign; at Nottingham the *Nottingham Journal* has held a partial ballot. The figures deserve permanent record. They are instructive in each place, conclusive in the close agreement of both places, and encouraging for the rest of the country. Subject to the possibility of a very few additions, they are:—

(1) Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations?

Yes, 21,449 and 8,580; No, 574 and 159.

(2) Are you in favour of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement?

Yes, 21,374 and 8,570; No, 366 and 169.

(3) Are you in favour of an all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement?

Yes, 20,181 and 8,273; No, 1,531 and 271.

(4) Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited?

Yes, 20,973 and 8,417; No, 893 and 164.

(5) Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another, the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by (a) economic measures?

Yes, 20,202 and 8,252; No, 749 and 171.

(b) if necessary, by military measures?

Yes, 13,614 and 5,887; No, 3,586 and 1,599.

The first total of each pair is the Luton count, the second is the Nottingham count.

## Will Russia?

WILL Russia enter the League in the current month's Assembly? France wants her in; Britain will welcome her; and Russia, herself, is eager to join. But there are difficulties. The Covenant provides for the admission of new members with the consent of two-thirds of the Assembly, provided the new member "shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations." In these words lurk obvious possibilities of trouble. If the constitutional procedure be strictly followed, a few resolutely protesting members could provoke a most uncomfortable debate; and there are signs, here and there, of at least an inclination to protest. French diplomacy is known to be looking anxiously for a way out. When Mexico was admitted, the Assembly gave its assent by general acclamation. That was an exceptional occasion. Some amends was generally felt to be due to a nation curiously ignored, it is believed in complaisance towards President Wilson, when the League was established. France is inclined to say that Russia's entry is another exceptional occasion. But many supporters of the League who are very far from unfriendly towards Russia view with grave doubt such a proposal to break the rules. An institution whose purpose is the extension of law to all international affairs cannot safely trifle with its own regulations.

## Poland May Say "No"

RUSSIA can enter the League—perhaps at the cost of an undignified scene. Can she obtain the permanent seat in the Council to which her world importance entitles her? According to the Covenant, the Council, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, can name additional members of the League who shall always be Council members. Since the Council rule is unanimity, this means that a single vote will be enough to deny Russia the status in the League which she would certainly refuse to forgo. The present members of the Council are Great Britain, France and Italy, who have permanent seats; Poland, Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Argentine, Australia, Portugal, Spain, China and Panama. In addition, Germany and Japan are still nominally permanent members, until at the end of their two years' notice they quit the League. In the present Assembly China and Panama leave the Council. Spain is entitled to re-election if she desires it. Poland is the member most likely to make trouble over Russia's admission. She is not on the best of terms with her giant Eastern neighbour, and she is engaged in feverish controversy with her ally, France. Her temptation must be strong to make full use of her opportunity to say "No."

## Budget Grumbles

THE modest annual budget of the League seems to possess a queerly provocative quality. Year by year its appearance moves scores of excellent citizens to explosive protest. Their voices grow hoarse and their pens splutter as they strive to express their indignation. The spectacle this year is more than usually comic. Champions of thought who have not blinked an eyelid over a programme of increased air armaments which will cost Great Britain £20,000,000 in five years, and at the end of five years will leave the air estimates permanently increased by an annual £10,000,000, are horrified because Britain may have to add £10,000 for one year to her League contribution. Britain's League contribution, even reckoned in the paper pounds of to-day, is only £200,000. That is a substantial amount, of course. She would, however, have to go on supporting the League at her present rate for more than 500 years before her League costs equalled the sum she is now spending on armaments in a single year. Put in another way, had King Henry V made the League of Nations part of his peace terms after the Battle of Agincourt, and had the annual bill from the first been what it is in 1934, the total British expenditure since its establishment would only now be approaching Britain's expenditure on army, navy and air force in the single year 1934-35.

## Hopes of New Revenue

BRITAIN may have to add £10,000 to her League contribution for one year. We have chosen these words deliberately. The immediate future of the League's finance is uncertain for half a dozen reasons. An extra £10,000 from Britain is the worst that can happen. But it is by no means certain. If Russia comes into the League she will contribute largely to its expense. If Germany returns there will be both a similar German contribution and a payment of substantial arrears. The United States membership of the International Labour Organisation means other revenue from a new source. Brazil is returning. That, again, will help. And as the world economic revival strengthens, defaulters will begin to meet their current obligations and even discharge past debts. Britain may confidently look forward to a long succession of shrinking bills from Geneva. Will the chorus of angry splutterings and the violent smashing of pen-nibs be succeeded by salvos of cheers and an enthusiastic throwing up of hats? It is much to be doubted. League failures and complaints against the League are news; League successes are a matter of course.

## U.S. Draws Near

ONE such success passed with little notice on August 20. The official entry of the United States into the International Labour Office was announced to date from that day. The event cannot fail to be historic. It is an explicit recognition that the world, if it has not yet become a single economic system, is far advanced on the way to that

goal. Despite the testaments of her founders, Washington and Jefferson, and the traditions of a century and a half, America cannot keep herself free from foreign entanglements. What economics accepts politics cannot long refuse. When the United States takes a part in discussing and improving the conditions under which the workers of the world earn their livelihoods, to continue the pretence that what happens to the rest of the world is not America's business would be fantastic. The American people are much too honest and practical-minded to persist in it. Meanwhile the adroit arrangement by which the United States is allowed to be in the I.L.O. and out of the League provides a striking example of the flexibility with which the League system meets new needs and accommodates special cases. The American appetite is happiest making two bites at a cherry. By all means. America will travel to Geneva most comfortably in two stages. Entirely as she wishes. The end is certain. In the interval, her membership of the I.L.O. gives that admirable institution immensely strengthened authority and promises many valuable additions to an already splendid record of achievements. At the present moment, it is fitting to add, President Roosevelt and his Labour advisers are contemplating a reduction of the legal working week to 40 hours in some industries and 36 hours in others. A second addition is suggested by a different topic which is even more eagerly canvassed. The Covenant allots a permanent seat in the League Council to the United States. The seat still awaits its destined occupant.

## The Call of Geneva

WHEN things go wrong the friends of the League rally to its cause. The lukewarm grow fervent, the doubters become converts. Of all proofs that the League case is widely understood this is the most convincing, as it is the most sure in its recurrence at every crisis. The League must be made to succeed, because the world needs the League. 1934 has been a year of repeated disappointments. It has been also a year of many recruits for the League of Nations Union and of large attendances at the various schools and courses promoted by the Union at Geneva. At the beginning of August the Junior Summer School for the Study of International Relations brought together 130 boys and girls, aged between 16 and 19 years, from British Public and Secondary Schools. In the middle of the month the Eleventh Session of the Geneva Institute of International Relations attracted 160 British students. These visits are rich in intellectual reward; to active minds they are most enjoyable. But they demand real sacrifices in time, effort, and money. The distinguished men who come from many countries and many walks of life to give addresses, and the crowded classes who gather to hear them, are evidence of how strong is the League's appeal and how great are the resources of brains and character on which the League can call in time of need.

# HEADWAY

SEPT. 1934

EDITORIAL OFFICE:—15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.  
Telephone: Sloane 6161.

## COMMONSENSE IS ENOUGH

**C**LEVER people are often much too clever. They owe it to themselves and to their neighbours, they feel, to make the most of their special gifts; and, as a result, they are apt to be too clever by half. Plain men and women, on the other hand, are content with plain common sense.

This contrast is a frequent experience in public affairs. It is being repeated in the welcome accorded to the National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments. Many clever people have puzzled over the five simply-worded questions. They have scrutinized and dissolved and distilled and analysed them until they have managed to raise a scarcely penetrable cloud of difficulties. Cazing through the fog, they have detected many undesigned dangers; and several deliberate ambushes. When the abolition by international agreement of military and naval aircraft is suggested, why is nothing said about the need for international control of civilian aircraft? Obviously a catch! Why, in asking the voter if he would prohibit the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit, does the ballot paper not set out the many problems prohibition would raise? Not less obviously another catch! Is it not sharp practice to withhold a warning that economic sanctions against a Covenant-breaker must create a situation in which recourse could not be avoided to military sanctions also. True, these matters are candidly explained in the supplementary literature. But having the conveniently short memories which are a characteristic of their kind of cleverness, the critics forget about them when they have finished with the ballot paper. In the supplementary literature they find only welcome excuses for a host of other objections; and so the game of fault-finding goes on, with the dull placency of a timeless Test Match.

The situation would be utterly depressing, were it not for one factor. Plain men and women are taking no notice of fanciful difficulties. They refuse to be puzzled with questions simply worded and easy to understand. Admittedly advantages and disadvantages must be carefully counted and accurately compared before the right answer can be entered. But that is not an exceptional circumstance. Every important practical decision involves the weighing of reason against reason. Only where the question answers itself is it unnecessary to strike a balance. Every momentous choice is difficult to make. That, however, does not mean that common sense is insufficient for its making.

The earliest stages of the National Declaration have already demonstrated that plain men and women understand the questions and also understand the Declaration as a whole. The Declaration is not a Parliamentary Bill. No more in the ballot than in a General Election are they asked to sanction the details of a new law. Apparently the difference is too subtle for cleverness to detect. Common sense sees it clearly enough. The orders for a voyage state the final destination and specify the chief ports of call on the way. They are not defective because they do not elaborate minutely all the incidents of day-to-day navigation. The ballot invites plain men and women to say whether they wish national policy to be directed towards several great and explicitly defined objects. At Nottingham and Luton, as previously, on a not identical set of questions, at Hull and Bristol, decisive majorities have declared their wishes. The "Yeses" outnumber the "Noes" by five, seven—even nine to one.

The majorities are immensely encouraging. Still more encouraging are the comments and explanations. Not a few voters have taken the trouble to develop their opinions on the space provided at the foot of the ballot paper. The critics have not observed that space. Perhaps because it destroys the last feeble excuse for much of their criticism. The voters have both observed it and used it. They have expanded their brief "Yes" or "No" with suggestions sometimes original and nearly always evidence of quiet independent thought. They have proposals of their own to submit for the ending of the arms traffic, or the air menace. Or, having traced out for themselves the consequences of any application of sanctions, they argue, for example, that economic coercive measures would be both ineffective and provocative of further trouble. Therefore, members of the League when they are required to restrain a Covenant-breaker, ought to face up at once to the needs of the case and take military action without further ado. A mistaken point of view, no doubt; but it is not ignorant or thoughtless.

There is someone who is wiser than anyone—namely, everyone. The old saying is French. But, perhaps, it is truer of the British than of any other people. Collectively they have the knack of tight judgment. Their attention is not easy to attract. They never make haste to excite themselves over new subjects. But when they have been persuaded that a matter is important and have had time to think out possible lines of action and the probable consequences their conclusions are almost always sound. Within the experience of the present generation all the party leaders have blundered repeatedly; on occasion all the parties have gone wildly astray. But the nation as a whole has never chosen what was, in the circumstances of the moment, the wrong course. It has marched honestly forward, along the broad highway, deaf to all attempts to decoy it down flowered and pleasant and delusive by-paths.

An overwhelming majority of the British people are desperately in earnest about peace. They are convinced that the League offers the best chance of preserving peace. They demand that a thorough and resolute use shall be made of the League. They are answering the questions on the ballot paper "Yes" and "Yes" again, five times repeated, because they are satisfied that the questions have fastened upon the vital points. Meanwhile the clever people worry about unimportant details.

# INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

By HAROLD TEMPERLEY

**T**HE technical achievements of the International Historical Congress have been admirably described elsewhere.\* Part of those activities is likely to interest readers of HEADWAY, and will be mentioned later on. But the main interest of this organisation is to show it as a working example of good will between the nations. Further, it has greatly developed since the war, and is at the present moment stronger than it has ever been. This is in itself a notable achievement when so many are shaking their heads over the decay of international good feeling. It is even more notable when we recollect that no study is more affected by national and chauvinistic influences than history.

The International Historical Congress existed before the war. The first informal meeting was at Paris in 1900, the second at Rome in 1903, the third at Berlin in 1908, the fourth at London in 1913. But the meetings were quinquennial, and there was no permanent organisation. Petrograd had been fixed for the fifth meeting in 1918, which of course could not be held there. It was feared that the Congress would disappear altogether after the war. The fifth meeting ultimately took place at Brussels in 1923. It consisted of representatives of Entente or neutral countries, but there were none from Germany and her quondam allies. There had thus arisen a dangerous situation which it was hard to remedy. There were many difficulties in the way. Some delegates, for instance, had openly protested at one general meeting at Brussels against the future admission of Germany. But these troubles were all surmounted. The existing officers of the congress were instructed to continue in office as a central bureau, to arrange for the next quinquennial meeting, and to create a permanent international organisation for history.

### Successful Geneva Meeting

In 1926 each of the countries represented at pre-war historical congresses was requested to send delegates to a meeting at Geneva. The meeting was a great success. A constitution was drawn up, with a bureau or council and an Assembly, very much on the model of the League. The credit for these arrangements is due first to the Treasurer, Mr. Waldo G. Leland (U.S.A.), now Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, then to M. Pirenne (Belgium), and to M. Lhéritier (France), who was (and still is) the Secretary-General. Professor Brandi (Germany), now Vice-President of the Congress, exercised a great influence. Other important personages came from Scandinavia. Professor Hallendorf (Sweden), Friis (Denmark), and

\* Note on the works produced by the International Historical Congress:

(1) *The International Historical Bibliography*, vol. I, 1926; vol. II, 1927; vol. III, 1928; vol. IV, 1929. 40s. Ed. J. H. Baxter. Oxford University Press.

(2) *La Costituzione degli Stati*. Nell'eta Moderna, I, Albanie-Hongrie. Ed. G. Volpe; Fratelli Treves. Milan, 45 lire. Most of the articles are in French.

(3) *Essays on the History of Banking*. Nyhoff, den Haag.

(4) *Journal of the International Historical Congress*. Ed. M. Lhéritier, France, vols. I to V, 50 francs. D. Nutt.

Koht (Norway). These had much the same influence as Branting and Nansen had on the League. The sixth quinquennial meeting was fixed for Oslo (1928). Professor Koht, the most distinguished of Scandinavian historians, presided at the Congress, which was marked by the utmost harmony. Even the conflicts between Professors of the Soviet Republic with White Russian historians from America failed to mar the harmony of the proceedings. Professor Koht remained President until the year 1933, when I was elected to succeed him.

### The Warsaw Congress

The seventh quinquennial Congress was at Warsaw in 1933. It met just after the great change introduced into Germany by the advent of Hitler to power. One of the most delightful features of the Congress was the friendship between the Polish and German representatives, and the Soviet professors, despite their denunciation of the bourgeois, were as welcome guests as any. The delightful hospitality of our Polish friends, from the President of the Republic downwards, was responsible largely for this result.

The last meeting was at Paris in March of this year, when representatives of thirty-two nations were present. This was a large number for what was simply an annual meeting for routine business. At the larger quinquennial meetings forty-two nations are represented.

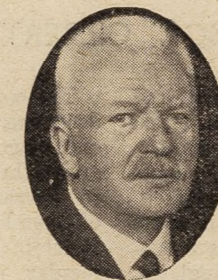
Perhaps a word may be said as to the composition of the Bureau, which is the permanent executive of the Congress. From 1926 to the present day, despite re-elections, France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Poland have retained seats on the Bureau.

They look like becoming permanent members, though there is nothing laid down in the constitution as to that. Apart from those mentioned, the countries at present represented are Switzerland, Belgium, Hungary and Spain. In the past Czechoslovakia and U.S.A. have also been represented. Two delegates from each country sit in the Assembly, where debate is quite free and often animated.

### National Committees

The existence of an International organisation has led to the creation of national committees everywhere. The British National Committee, of which the late Professor T. F. Tout was the founder, has included the leading British historians. Among them have been Professors A. F. Pollard, F. M. Powicke, C. Hancock, C. K. Webster, Norman Baynes, Eileen Power, Lillian Penson, Drs. Gooch and Little, and Messrs. Sumner and Galbraith. The British National Committee was organised for the annual meeting in England in 1930, when nine honorary degrees were conferred on distinguished foreign historians at Oxford and at Cambridge. On this occasion, as in 1913, the British Government gave a dinner to the Congress.

The last point to be mentioned is the actual international output of the Congress. The most elaborate work is the annual volume known as the "International Bibliography of Historical Sciences," of which the chief editor is Professor Baxter (Aberdeen). This was begun in 1926, and all volumes up to 1929 have already been produced. The volumes for 1930-31 will



Prof. Karl Brandi,  
Vice-President of the  
International  
Historical Congress

appear this year, and those for 1932-33 during 1935. This has recently been described by a historian as "a great undertaking," presenting the work of "hundreds of experts" by an international effort hitherto thought impossible of achievement. An equally interesting project is a "List of Constitutions of all Countries," with short historical introductions and bibliographies. The first volume (including England), edited by Professor Volpe (Italy) is complete. "A History of Banking in Eleven Countries" has also been published. "A List of Diplomats from 1648 to the Present Day" is also being compiled, and the first volume will shortly be published. A journal of the International Congress has been published since 1927. These various activities are such as could not be manifested without international co-operation, and they would immediately break down if one or two important countries withdrew from the work. The organisation and some of the publications of the Congress were only made possible in the first instance by the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundations. But its grants are non-recurrent

## A CANDLE IN THE DARK

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY

IN these dark times, when almost all the political and governmental activities of the League are stamped with failure or something worse than failure, there is still some light burning in sheltered places where the storm of nationalism has not penetrated. You can see it in the League's Health section, in some of the voluntary societies, some of the religious movements; I see it also in the work of Intellectual Co-operation. The Organisation is now quite large, with its own Institute in Paris, an affiliated Institute in Rome, national Committees in almost every country, and sub-committees and offshoots in considerable number. Parts of it, of course, are dead or lifeless, as are parts of every organisation. But in its centre the flame burns well.

The original plan of "Intellectual Co-operation" was struck out by M. Bergson and Léon Bourgeois and warmly supported by Lord Balfour. Mme. Curie also, the well-beloved colleague whom the Commission has recently lost, used to tell me how she had noticed during the Great War that the "intellectuals," the thinkers, artists, scientists, the men whose work or whose word could move multitudes, formed a vast potential force for international amity which was neither recognised nor used. Many "intellectuals" were no wiser in international matters than the man in the street; those that were wiser were mostly powerless. Would it not be possible to have somewhere in the League of Nations a Commission whose business should be the organising of this force, irrespective of frontiers and governments?

Fifteen people, thirteen men and two women, were selected as the first committee. They took some time groping about to find the best channels for their activity: they suffered a little at first from lack of mutual knowledge and confidence. Sometimes in the early days I almost despaired of the organisation, but for several years past the Commission has not merely done effective work, it has found itself. It has a spirit and a character. Its Fascist members, its ardent Catholics, its Liberals and its Socialists, even its Japanese and Chinese representatives, amid all their differences have learned to work together for the League and for mutual understanding. Its Germans have gone, but their places remain open for them.

and, having emerged from infancy, the Congress is now striving to become self-sufficient.

The International Historical Congress was the first of all learned societies to reunite its pre-war members separated by strife and bitter memories. From the point of view of international good feeling, the Congress seems impregnable. The work of Lhéritier (France) as General Secretary; of Dembinski (Poland) and Brandi (Germany), as Vice-Presidents; of Ussani (Italy), Domanovsky (Hungary), Delahaye (Belgium), exhibits remarkable good feeling to-day, while the services of Koht (Norway), the ex-President, and Leland (U.S.A.), the ex-Treasurer, cannot be over-estimated. They have put the Congress in a position to withstand all assaults on its solidarity. The next quinquennial meeting is to be in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1938, where the chief Swiss representative will be Professor Nabholz. He is well known not only as a historian, but as a most prominent supporter of the League, and his sixtieth birthday was celebrated recently in Switzerland with allusions to his work in both capacities.

The work done is too varied and widespread to be described in a short article. One part is the mere encouragement of co-operation for its own sake. There are gatherings of scientists, artists, and men of letters to discuss some general subject. There are exchanges of Open Letters on particular problems, like that between Einstein and Freud entitled "Why War?" There is regular co-operation in technical matters between museums, libraries, institutes of International Politics, and the like.

People are impatient of intellectual work. "What have you done?" they ask. "Have you stopped a war?" "Have you reduced armaments?" No: in that sense we have done, and can do, nothing. We only prepare men's minds: we spread the will for understanding and peace: though sometimes we have studied usefully a problem which has afterwards been taken up by governments. But there is one part of our work to which, in my introductory speech this year, I ventured to call special attention.

The Council and Assembly of the League have laid on us the duty of seeing, through our educational sub-committee, that the youth of all nations is made familiar with "the work and aims of the League of Nations" and "accustomed to the idea of international co-operation as the normal method of world government." That is not a light and easy task. It would take the whole life-work of a staff far greater than we possess. A few countries have done the work loyally for themselves, but otherwise it has simply not been done. This is surely one of the chief reasons for the unceasing disquiet of the present time and the humiliating defeats of the Disarmament Conference. The psychological and educational foundation of peace has not been laid and consequently the superstructure will not stand firm.

I confess I am surprised at the levity with which the Governments of the world have treated this matter of League education. They passed admirable and unanimous resolutions and have done nothing to see them carried out. Great Britain, like France, and one or two other countries, is doing the work excellently within her own borders. That is good: but the more obvious advantage is to other nations. It secures them against

aggression from us. But we want also to be safe against aggression from them; and a great many nations—indeed most—have little conception of what League education really means. Some have one flag-day in the year when a Cabinet Minister praises the League. Some combine the praise of the League with a celebration of victory. What is absolutely needed is an increased staff of three or four persons at Geneva who have studied League teaching as given, for instance, in England and France, and who, in response to invitations, will go to various countries, talk with the Education Authorities and school-teachers, give model lessons or the like, and make League Teaching throughout Europe a reality instead of a sham.

Great Britain is specially concerned in this matter.

The Resolution accepted by the Council and Assembly was proposed by Dame Edith Lyttelton on behalf of the British delegation; the handbook of Recommendations was drawn up chiefly by a member of our English Board of Education for a sub-committee of which an Englishman was Chairman. The Board itself has done nobly. But nothing is done to ensure the general carrying out of the recommendations, and Great Britain shares with Germany alone of Great Powers the distinction of not subscribing a penny to the Institute on which it has laid so important a burden. The ways of governments, even the best of them, are rather bewildering. I have only had some sixty years in which to study them and so far have made little progress. Perhaps in another sixty I shall begin to understand them.

## THE LEAGUE OF ALL THE NATIONS



M. Litvinoff, as seen by  
Peggy Smith

High Wood, up Death Valley, to the capture of Flers. Overhead, an air squadron drummed and soared and swooped. The twelve planes kept station perfectly, shining dots strung out on a line which might have been ruled across the sky. They swept out vast circles with the accuracy of a pair of compasses. But when the three men broke their silence they did not speak about the past or war. Peace and the future were their topics.

"See in the *Times* this morning," asked the Leaguer suddenly, "that Russia's entry is settled? You'll have to think of a new argument at last." He grinned with friendly malice. In their army days he and the Isolationist had always differed on points of theory and always backed one another up in moments of crisis. They were unchanged by the years.

"The League may want Russia in, and Russia may want to come in," retorted the Isolationist. "But can it end there? Will Bolshevik Russia be at home rowing in your boat? Remember the Covenant says: 'Any fully self-governing State . . . may become a member!' The League is a Democratic device; and Russia is not Democratic. The strain will be too severe for them both."

The Sceptic: "Splendid. Ever since the League started you have complained of its false pretences. Its claim to world authority was a fraud so long as Russia was not a member. Now Russia becomes a member you make that a grievance. Any stick to beat a dog."

The Isolationist: "Unfair. True, I objected because Russia was out; and I object again if Russia is in.

But I don't just find fault. Your League is fundamentally unsound. It won't work either with Russia or without her."

The Leaguer: "Euclid's method of 'reductio ad absurdum' is logical. You have our permission to use it. We'll confess that you are a more respectable opponent than your friends who are forever trying out of blind prejudice to shout the League down, no matter what it does. Still, when you say the League can't adapt itself to Russia's membership, you only show how completely you misunderstand the League. The League isn't perfect. Neither its founders nor its friends ever supposed it was. But it has one supreme merit which makes non-sense of your criticism. It is alive and it can grow. General Smuts, after signing the Treaty of Versailles, said it was a tolerable settlement because it provided the means by which it could be amended and those means were the League. The League is a changing instrument for meeting in new ways the new needs of a changing world. It can adapt itself to novelties that are much more startling than Russia's entry."

The Sceptic: "On that point I'm with you. The Covenant shows the business of the League is an organised peace, not mere avoidance of war. Article XIX provides for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable and the removal of injustices. New conditions must arise and will have to be met by new contrivances. There's the mainspring of the League system. Events bring it more clearly into sight every year. Some people denounce the League as 'the warden of the Versailles prison,' and at the same time take for granted a petrification of 1919 as the only conceivable basis for a world policy. In their eyes the Covenant is a legal contract, incapable of being varied in any of its clauses, whose period is eternity. They haven't begun to see that the League system is a living body serving vital needs. Russia's membership will modify both Russia and the League. That doesn't mean that the process of absorption will be specially difficult. Nor that either party will suffer any harm."

The Isolationist: "Perhaps the League is flexible enough to admit Russia without wrecking itself. Your biological analogies don't convince me. But the League may be as invertebrate as you say. Don't forget, however, the little matter of the British Empire. The twin foundations of Bolshevik Russia are hatred of

capitalism and hatred of Imperialism. Whatever Peace Pacts Russia may sign, against them she has declared war without end. In the League she will continue to exploit every British embarrassment and work for Britain's downfall. For our prosperity and security we should keep her out."

The Leaguer: "Russia's dogmas oblige her to love us about as much as the Inquisitor loved the heretic he had relinquished to the lay arm. But dogmas are not realities. In every country, even politically, orthodox theory lags behind actual policy and policy is far out-distanced by accomplished facts."

The Sceptic: "You and I will have to change names. You run to extremes of incredulity."

The Leaguer: "Only a heightened and telling way of making my point. Seriously, words do very often conceal and misrepresent things. Bolshevik Russia is a phrase. Russia is the fact, and the important truth about Russia is the obstinacy with which she continues Russian. The Jewish element in the Communist leadership scarcely dilutes the essential Slav. Under the Tsardom the heritage of Byzantium and Tartary, more Asiatic than European, was an object of fanatic pride. Russia's holy mission as a bridge between East and West enlisted armies of believers. The queer mixture of humility and arrogance is the characteristic of Russia in the 1930's as it was in the 1880's. The mission, the belief, and the armies have survived the Revolution."

The Isolationist: "And where does this long story land you?"

The Leaguer: "In the conclusion that Bolshevik Russia, in what affects the relations of Europe with Asia, has taken over in large part the role of Tsarist Russia. She will play that role in a Russian fashion for Russian purposes, which indeed she has every right to do. And how she plays it must concern Great Britain closely and continuously. Britain is a powerful factor in Asia through sheer contrast; Russia is a powerful factor through sympathetic understanding. That was the old relation. It still obtains. In the old Tsarist days it would have been an immense convenience for Britain if she could have had Russia always where she could watch her. And contrariwise, of course, as Tweedledee would say."

The Sceptic: "Thanks. We have heard of the

partners in the Wall Street bank who always work in the same room. Even before you had concealed it behind words of ten syllables we could see the comfort of being able to keep an eye on one another."

The Isolationist: "Then you are quite happy about Russia's entry?"

The Leaguer: "Frankly, no. There is talk of wangling the procedure which I don't like. And other talk of Russia's entry compelling Germany to come back in self-preservation. A pistol at a nation's head is not the League method. The most loyal members of the League are the Scandinavian countries and the other neutrals. It is not an accident that they joined after thorough debate or most careful consideration. A case can be argued that Germany hurried in too soon, too much influenced by hopes of immediate advantage. I dread another false move. Better wait for her whole-hearted goodwill. Delay her return until she has thought the whole matter out. The League needs a willing Germany."

The Isolationist: "But, quite apart from Germany, Russia, if she comes in, will come in for entirely selfish reasons. She is frightened of Japan and Germany. She is looking for safety in the League."

The Leaguer: "There is an essential difference. I dislike the idea of a Germany blackmailed into membership. Russia will join on wider grounds, though her motive may be lower than the highest. She confesses that the League is an instrument of world peace. The gain is real. She co-operates with capitalist and Imperialist Powers for common ends. Another real gain. Remember, exactly in the same way as the League grows to serve new purposes, so the opportunities offered by the League help new purposes to develop. Russia will generalise the League, and the League will liberalise Russia. I don't mean to be offensive when I say it will civilise her."

The Sceptic: "In every way the League will be stronger, and therefore more useful, for its far wider sweep of territory and its more complete diversity of members."

The Isolationist: "I admit, if the League system is a world system Britain cannot stay out. After all, the only problem is, finding a world system."

The Calais steamer had reached the Continent; the war planes had vanished from the sky.

## THE LESSON OF LUTON

By GODFREY E. TURTON.

LUTON has cast a decisive vote for Peace and given a magnificent opening to the National Declaration on the League and armaments. The figures published in the middle of last month are an encouraging foretaste of the verdict to be expected from the whole country. To all but the second part of Question 5 (where opinion was rather more divided) more than twenty thousand voters consistently replied with a "Yes." Thirty-five per cent. of the population voted—a remarkable achievement for a house-to-house canvass, organised hastily, the forerunner of a campaign, by voluntary workers. Luton has proved that a cause of real urgency can make even the Englishman conquer his traditional dislike of filling in forms.

The "Noes" are in some respects more illuminating than the "Ayes." The man who is merely hostile does not vote "No"; he either destroys his paper or scrawls a taunt across it. The "Noes," on the other hand, are

generally well-wishers who disagree with the question on particular grounds. Question 1, whether Britain should remain in the League, received, as might be expected, least "Noes"—only 574; in contrast, 3,586 were unwilling to apply military sanctions against a Covenant breaker. These figures must be taken in conjunction with the comments which about one in ten of the voters appended to their voting papers, and in which lies much of the value of the Ballot.

The comments reveal the personal feelings of the people. Few are very profound, some are merely platitudes picked up from reading the daily Press; but it is astonishing how many are imbued with a shrewd realism and sound common-sense. Luton is an industrial town; among its citizens are no University professors as in Oxford, no rich, leisured class as in London. It is a town of artisans, manufacturing hats, stoves and motor-cars. Most of the ballot papers

collected came from working-class homes; often their origin was evident from the handwriting. Yet the views they express frequently show a grasp of facts that many a Member of Parliament might envy:—

"Future wars will be prevented by promoting a better understanding among peoples by (a) Radio, (b) Better Education (Languages, etc.)."

"Give everybody plenty of work; we shall not have much time to think or talk about war."

"Stop this never-ending talking of war and give it a rest. That will do as much good as anything."

"We should advocate that no person under the age of 40 must bear arms. Men of such mature age and sound judgment would ensure that there be no future wars."

"Is it worse for a nation to be governed from a foreign capital than for half the world to be wiped out in agony by poison gas?"

Some of the comments are concerned with criticism of the Ballot itself, and these are particularly valuable as a guide to the conduct of the campaign. "I do not consider it possible to answer a plain Yes or No to any particular question": this opinion recurs frequently. The only way to meet it is to encourage voters to add their comments and collate and publish them afterwards—as is going to be done at Luton. A more pungent criticism is, "How can this be a true ballot when an unlimited number of forms can be obtained from newspapers, etc.?" It is true that on looking through the Luton voting papers certain suspicious resemblances of handwriting were to be noticed—not many, but enough to make the danger real. In a General Election such malpractices would be heavily penalised; but unofficial bodies have not the power at their disposal. It is well that other local organisations should be on their guard. There is this to be added. The trouble arises out of the printing of the ballot form in newspapers and the acceptance of answers written on newspaper clippings. In the national campaign the rule will be the delivery of forms by hand and a strict check on their return.

But the bitterest protests are from those who feel they are being regimented. "The fact of being told what to answer completely destroys any semblance of a Ballot." There is a genuine danger that notes provided with the questions may be construed as an attempt to constrain the voter's opinion—like the tendentiously underlined "Ja" in Hitler's plebiscite. It is important that workers should explain that any notes are intended to help, not to force, a judgment; it is clear that many voters misconceived their purpose at Luton.

Luton has proved how much depends on the workers, and the Committee emphasise the care that should be taken in appointing them. It is work calling for brains and pluck. The Englishman is not communicative when he answers his door-bell. Nor is it easy to get an answer at Luton doors, for man and wife are often both out at work, and it is a problem to know when to catch them. Yet it is essential that the worker should explain the Ballot personally; at Luton it was discouraging to find how few of the population were reached by ordinary methods of publicity. Posters, sandwich-men and banners hung across the streets were found to be most effective, and these are recommended for other districts. But the principal lesson from Luton is the need for due preparation; a good eight weeks should be allowed to workers to cover their areas.

The Luton Ballot, like all first attempts, was in the nature of an experiment; it was hurried, and faults were committed from inexperience. Thanks to its lessons, however, the National Declaration is enabled to go on from strength to strength. Twenty thousand Englishmen and Englishwomen answered "Yes" on this first appeal; the entire nation will be affirming it before the campaign is over.



### POISON :

"The better we prepare for war the more assured we may be of maintaining peace. Let us be quite clear about what is wanted: Double the Navy, treble the Army, quadruple the Air Force, let every man be trained to arms as the finish of his education."—THE VICAR OF CHARING, in a letter to the *Morning Post*, under the heading, "How I Would Procure Peace."

### ANTIDOTE :

Evidently the reverend gentleman wishes to suggest that "the finish of the education" of even young men intended to preach the Gospel should be militant. One could wish that he had not omitted to express his opinion with regard to the possession of shares in armaments and other war-provoking interests.

\* \* \*

### POISON :

"What good is the League of Nations? It is like an old maid—all right to supply the cat with milk, but Germany is a man-eating tiger roaring for blood."—VISCOUNT CASTLEROSSE, in the *Sunday Express*.

### ANTIDOTE :

It is a better service to humanity to supply cats with milk than to develop the propensities of man-eating tigers in the manner that is typical of the sensational press.

\* \* \*

### POISON :

"There is no direct defence against gas. There is one defence—but it is an indirect one—and it must be taken at once if it is to be effective. Every country must be strong enough in the air to implement threat with action. Then sane people, bound by the lasting tie of common funk, may put aside the madness of war."—LORD HALSBURY, in the *Evening Standard*.

### ANTIDOTE :

This policy resembles limitless "poker" in which the longest pocket must win. Any nations which might find themselves financially unable to cope with the competition would inevitably be faced with the choice of either permanent relapse into "individual funk" or decision to force the issue by attacking without further delay. Further, the sponsor of this policy does not seem to have given much thought to the effect on general trade of such a concentration of all finance on armaments.

\* \* \*

### POISON :

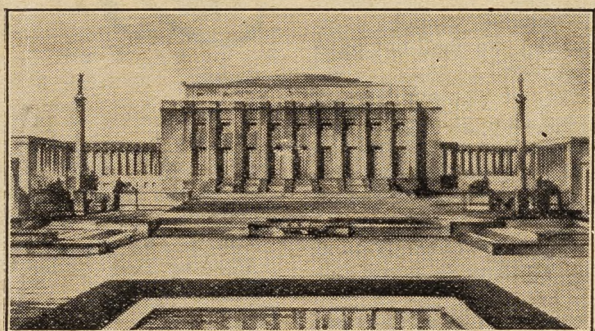
"No country will be able to defend itself satisfactorily against modern air attacks. . . . The only defence will be the power to pay the attacker back in his own coin. . . . My own latest creation, the F.36, can carry six tons, which might include two tons of bombs, and can fly at a speed of nearly 200 miles an hour."—*Evening News* report of a speech delivered by ANTHONY FOKKER, the famous aircraft designer.

### ANTIDOTE :

In a similar way, Messrs. Bass, Guinness, Watney, Worthington and other brewers shriek from the hoardings that beer is good for us. C. C. T.

## The Past Year in Geneva

★  
The now almost  
completed Palace  
of Peace



By  
Henry  
Compton

**S**OCIETY is always in evolution, unless it is in revolution. The function of the League of Nations is to make the adjustments that the evolution of society demands.

If one asks "Where does the League stand on the eve of the Fifteenth Session of the Assembly?" the question is wrongly framed. One should ask: "Whither is the League moving? Is it advancing or retreating amid the conflicting currents of history?"

The League stands for the collective judgment in international affairs. The heart of the problem is, therefore: "Have we moved towards anarchy or towards organisation?"

The past year has been one of anxiety. The famous "atmosphere" of Geneva has been made oppressive by storm clouds on the horizon. A year ago the League was gravely weakened by the Sino-Japanese dispute. In October there came the heavy rebuff of Germany's departure from the Disarmament Conference and the League—"at a moment," in Mr. Henderson's words, when the Bureau of the Conference "had just decided to submit to the General Commission a definite programme."

Germany thereafter was "present by her very absence," as M. Barthou expressed it, and present as yet another thorny problem for an already embarrassed Conference. Upon this deterioration has followed the British plan for a larger air force—evidence, says Geneva, that the British Government has no longer sufficient faith in collective security to accept a low level of national armament. Our inheritance of international anarchy has proved highly obstructive to the forces of control and organisation.

But the clouds on the horizon of Geneva are less black than they were a year ago. The settlement of the Saar plebiscite, after Herr Hitler had so forcibly underlined the difficulties, has proved that the forces of organisation have resilience and a power of recovery. The League has secured a general consent to an embargo on arms for the war in the Gran Chaco. Working on a memorandum submitted by the United States, eighteen nations have approved a draft convention on the control of the private manufacture of arms.

Further, the movement for bringing new members into the League has gathered momentum during the year. Russia's entry is virtually assured—and the considerations likely to prompt Germany to return have thereby been strengthened. Finally, the United States has joined the International Labour Organisation. Despite all reservations, it is thus, for the first time, an official and permanent part of the League system.

The letting loose of disruptive forces has done damage. It has also shown how precious is the League as a last

resort for a distracted world. Facing an agenda from which major disputes are absent, the Assembly may hope that the League has already threaded the worst of the storms that had gathered round its path.

These are positive gains. But perhaps the most valuable achievement has been a negative one. Austria has been saved from degenerating into a second Manchuria. German pressure upon her might have created a new Manchurian problem, all the more dangerous and embarrassing for being at the very heart of a disturbed Europe. The League has been spared the wound which it must have suffered by a formal or actual loss of Austrian independence. Shocked by the Dollfuss murder, and the massacre of June 30, public opinion has been stung to widespread condemnation of the anarchic use of force. Self-assertive nationalism is discredited. Violence cannot be accepted as the arbiter in world affairs except at a cost of moral bankruptcy. This truth is clearer than a year ago.

The League's friends, however, must not content themselves with rejoicing in the discomfiture of their opponents. The case for co-operation as the only alternative to anarchy is still far from proved in the judgment of many sincere men. They have yet to be persuaded of the lesson Lord Lytton has drawn from the Far Eastern crisis: "The solution which has been effected by force is no solution, and until the injustice has been rectified the confidence of the world in the collective system of maintaining peace will be seriously diminished." Meanwhile the German people are being impregnated with nationalist dogma by controlled newspapers and broadcasting. And Soviet Russia has been converted from devotion to total disarmament to support of regional security pacts. Such pacts, although they look forward to more international organisation, cast half a glance backward at the old system of the balance of power.

The new ideal will not demonstrate its worth beyond all cavil until it has solved the most vital problems. Nevertheless there is less cause for alarm than there was a year ago. The more recent tensions between states have not prevailed over the cohesive force of the League, although the strain has been great. Those who listened will not easily forget M. Barthou heaping satire on Sir John Simon and his policy at the Disarmament Conference, but even so marked a breach between French and British policy did not give the Disarmament Conference the anticipated death-blow. The statesmen did not dare to face the grim consequences of abandoning the Conference. Germany and Japan are the only two great nations which have taken the risk of breaking with the League, and their position is by no means enviable.

## LOYALTY AND THE LEAGUE

By FREDA WHITE

**L**OYALTY is made of love, faith, and truth. Men and cities have been ruined by blind devotion as often as by enmity. We who believe in the collective system should remember this, for we are tempted to leave criticism of the League to its opponents. They rarely trouble to learn anything about it, and the rubbish they pour out can only be swallowed by people with a natural taste for spite. Besides, their purpose is purely destructive. But we owe the League honesty. In proportion as we care about it, we must recognise its weak places in order to mend them.

None will deny that the League is in broken water. We can all recite its calamities, and its convalescence must depend upon the slow process of general political recovery. Meantime we might begin by overhauling the League itself in the light of the breakdown.

Reformers disagree as violently as doctors, and there must be dozens of schemes for improving the League. But if I were Foreign Minister of a Great Power, there are some proposals I should make during the next year. I should impose them on my Cabinet, and advocate them at Geneva with all the iron resolution, profound statesmanship, and genius for persuasion with which, as Foreign Minister, I should of course be endowed.

First I should tackle the Covenant. Not to alter it much, for the Covenant is a queer document, but a clever one. Its general principles, of renunciation of the right of war, international justice by means of publicity and impartial settlement, and collective action for preventing war and constructing peace, are perfectly sound. Moreover it has the signal merit that you cannot empty it of obligation, as you can the Kellogg Pact, but you can put almost anything of the peace-making kind into it. One major amendment, however, is badly needed, and that is the abolition of the unanimity rule in League disputes. Article XI is a fine flexible article; it binds all League members to do anything whatever to preserve the peace. And what is the use of that if both disputants, including, inevitably, one which does not want

either peace or justice, must vote for the settlement? The thing is flat against common sense, as League history has proved. In October, 1931, Japan refused an Article XI settlement, and had a right to. Worse, the absence of unanimity enabled the craven Powers to wave their hands and say that they could do nothing but "attempt conciliation"—i.e., permit aggression. The rule for all League settlements should be that of Article XV, unanimity save for the disputants.

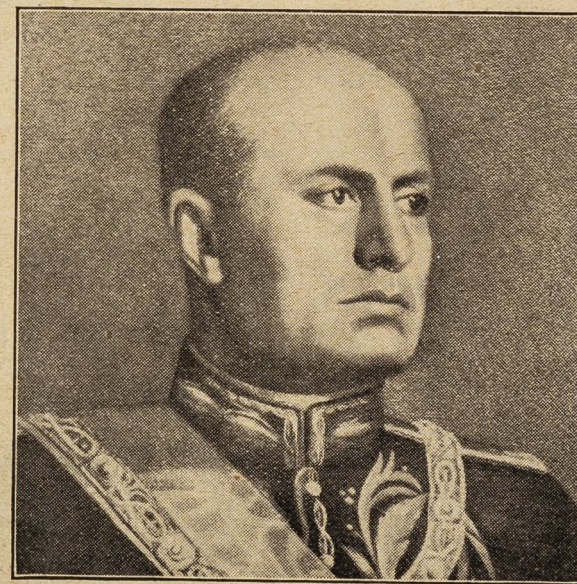
The wiler enemies of League principles attack them by way of procedure. Italy, for instance. The Duce would like to turn the League into an Authorised Version of the Am-

bassadors' Conference, of unregretted memory. Fascism sets might above right, and would banish justice from Geneva by turning the Council into a preserve of the Great Powers, and debarring the lesser states from voting. I would reform procedure with precisely the opposite aim, for I do not see the least danger of the Powers losing their present preponderance in League affairs. Their quarrels and intrigues stultify its working quite enough as it is. My reorganisation would enlarge the use of enquiry and advice by independent experts, a method to which almost all past League successes have been due. Denmark has proposed that if any country threatens war the military attachés of non-interested Powers should report to the League. The same principle could be applied to every League activity from disarmament to traffic in women; as soon as controversy arises, the matter should be sent to impartial people for public report. Anybody who has watched the messy compromises which emerge from secret Council sessions and private Assembly committees will agree that Government delegates do not shine at making judgments, or at drafting treaties. Their part should be to consider a solution put before them; and the proper use of experts would introduce speed and decision where procrastination and evasion now reign.

Then I should boldly venture upon Secretariat reform, demanding a modified purge of officials. Every higher official should submit to this test: "Is Mr. X. trusted by all States members to give them the soundest advice on how to use the League?" If he failed, he should be dismissed. Every minor official should be tested for efficiency; if Mr. Y. is employed mainly to represent Atlantis, and his secretary, the intelligent Miss Z., actually does his work, he should be returned home and a competent Atlantis engaged in his place. One thing is certain: I should get officials sacked and lay waste the Secretariat till it produced documents promptly and in adequate numbers. It is a fact that the 1932 Air Commission minutes, containing Pierre Cot's proposals

for the abolition of military aviation, have never been printed. Only about six wretched roneograph copies exist in Britain. The thing is a scandal, and it is no excuse to say there is no money for documents. If the Secretariat cared for the League principle of publicity, they could easily induce the Governments to produce the money. But they prefer to saw away the branch of public knowledge on which they sit.

Yet how vain a dream it is to picture any Great Power trying to strengthen the League. For the Covenant, after all, is a contract; and a contract is worth precisely as much as the good faith of its signatories. And the Powers do not much like the look of their signatures to-day.



Signor Mussolini, who proposes to re-organise the League by strengthening the authority of the Great Powers

# Control Broadcast Propaganda!

By ALAN HOWLAND (late of the B.B.C.)

RECENT events on the Continent of Europe have once more brought into prominence the international importance of broadcasting. I have previously tried to examine the precise functions of this comparatively new element in our modern life both in time of peace and in time of war; now one of our Continental neighbours gives a practical demonstration of what might be its functions—or its fate—in time of revolution.

Everyone who followed the unhappy course of events in Austria a few weeks ago must have been impressed by the fact that certain people there considered, rightly or wrongly, that control of the broadcasting authority was essential for the success of a *coup d'état*. It was equally obvious that one in a crisis must look to the wireless for the first news as well as for the first message of peace to an alarmed world.

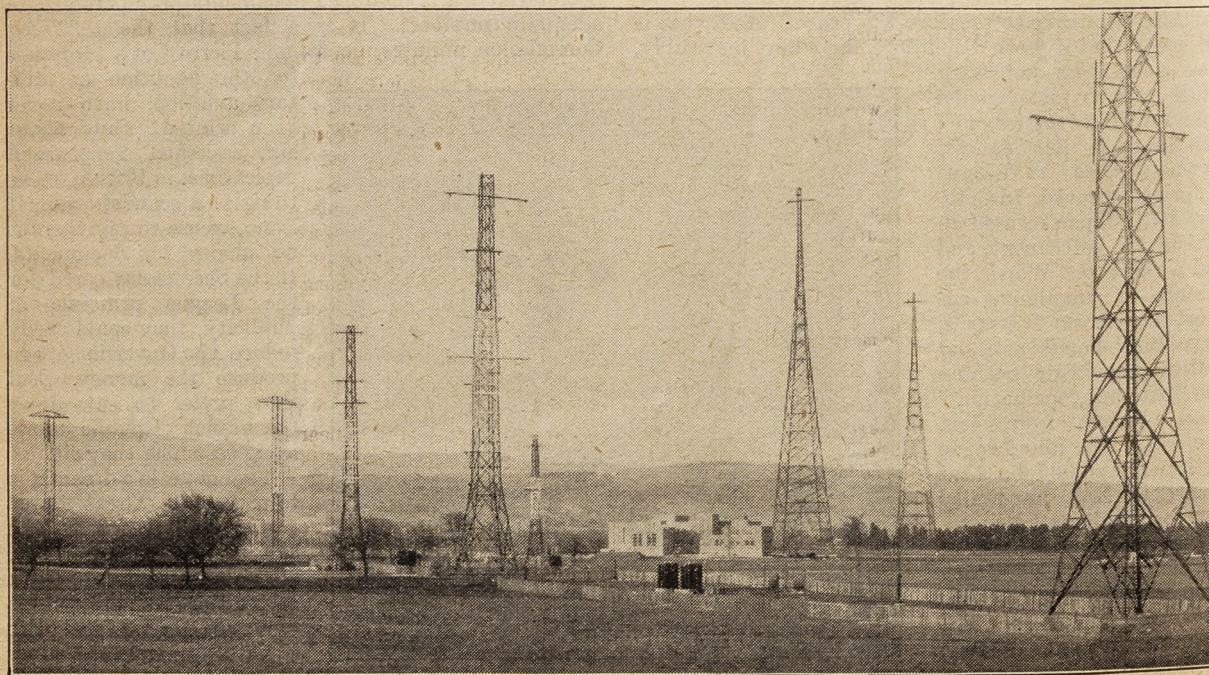
Wireless assumes tremendous importance during times of stress. It provides the ideal instrument of propaganda. It is far more powerful than the press for three reasons. First, it can speak immediately the events on which it proposes to comment have taken place, and before rumour and conjecture have had time to distort the facts. Secondly, it does not suffer the fate of newspapers which are excluded from households where the political views of the occupier are at variance with those of the editor. Thirdly, it can and does percolate into the homes of those who do not see a newspaper from one month's end to another and could not read it if they did.

Broadcast propaganda must be controlled internationally. It should be made impossible for any one country to endeavour to influence the opinions of foreigners by broadcasting tendentious opinions in an alien language. True, there is a kind of "gentlemen's agreement" between the Governments of Europe not to interfere with each other's internal affairs in this way

but although that agreement has been scrupulously observed, both in the letter and the spirit, in Great Britain, there have been regrettable lapses in certain other countries.

The trouble is, of course, that, at the present moment, there are no means of compelling obedience to what is little more than an agreement in principle nor has any international machinery been set up which could penalise the transgressor. The only international body which exists for the control of broadcasting is a collection of technical experts who are chiefly concerned with the allocation of wavelengths. This body as at present constituted suffers from the twofold disability of representing, not the various governments, but the various broadcasting organisations, and also of being completely powerless to enforce even its own regulations. There are, as everyone knows, still pirate stations roving the ether.

How, then, can the misuse of wireless facilities for propagandist purposes be prevented? In the first place, I believe that this "gentleman's agreement" must be transformed into something more solid and binding. In times of dire necessity such exchanges of courtesy are, unhappily, only too likely to be conveniently forgotten. There must, therefore, be a convention between all the nations of Europe. A broadcasting pact must be signed by the accredited representatives of the various governments. International co-operation would be substituted for international interference. This pact would have to include among its objects the erection of an international disciplinary board whose duty would be to listen to programmes from every country and report on any violations of the pact. If the practice still continued after representations had been made to the offending nation by the governments concerned the disciplinary board would have the power to deprive the offender of its existing wavelength and allocate it elsewhere.



The League of Nations Wireless Station.

There is already too little ether to go round. A somewhat frequent reshuffling of wavelengths might be an early consequence. But I believe that in the long run the penalty of being deprived of any means of reaching one's own nationals by means of wireless would be too heavy a one to pay.

The problem of national propaganda is not so simple. Educated people of to-day have far more languages at their finger-tips than they had before the war, and with the increased range which modern ingenuity has given to the wireless set it is possible to eavesdrop all over Europe. It is essential then that even when propaganda is intended for home consumption only the greatest care should be taken not to give our neighbours any excuse for believing that we are pursuing an aggressively nationalistic policy.

Peace should be the first aim of every broadcasting authority. Nothing could secure this end more successfully than an agreement between the nations to devote

a certain amount of programme time to descriptions in simple language of the aims and aspirations of the League of Nations. The League is already there and every nation is pledged to support it. This support can be given in no more vital way than by utilising the miracle of wireless for the better understanding of the League's endeavours and achievements.

As far as Great Britain is concerned I believe that the best work in this direction is being done in the broadcasts to schools and in the invaluable talks to children given by Commander Stephen King-Hall. The B.B.C. is still a little shy of internationalism where adults are concerned. I am, however, sufficiently optimistic to look forward to the day when there will be authoritative talks on the work of the League at least once a week and descriptions of the international situation given under the auspices of the League itself. Only thus can we convince our neighbours of our desire to seek peace and ensure it.

## A Reply to Captain Mumford

By JOHN M. FISHER

Member of Executive Committee, Essex Federal Council, and of the Regions Committee of Headquarters.

CAPTAIN MUMFORD pictures our General Council at Bournemouth as passing confused resolutions on civil aviation and an international air force. He then comments, thus "divided" are "the forces which make for peaceful settlements in international disputes" at a time when "the Imperialists of the old school know what they want." Later, the Captain's brush touches the League itself. He depicts its achievements after 15 years of "conference" as "failure or something depressingly near it." But, finally, he intimates that it is easy to fly from all this frustration. Have not the soldiers found a new and invincible weapon of offence in the aeroplane? Let us "take this weapon out of the hands of national forces and place it in the hands of the League." Then all will be (nearly) well.

The General Council at Bournemouth was confused. For the most part we did not know where we were in these discussions, or what we were doing (until it was done). One result was that the case against an international police force found scarcely any expression except in a large minority vote. Doubtless the reason and the remedy for the confusion at Bournemouth will be considered elsewhere. Here we are concerned with Captain Mumford's picture of a League which fails ("or something depressingly near it") and his assumption that an international air force would (largely) cure this failing. In his picture Captain Mumford expresses again the view which has been urged with formidable authority by Lord Davies, its protagonist, and by Lord Allen of Hurtwood, its orator. This view is, briefly:—

The League has failed: long live the League!  
To be successful the League must be armed!

Or, in other words:—

The League was founded upon a new conception of international relations. It was instituted to secure the settlement of international disputes by discussion instead of by arms. It has failed. The only hope for it, then, is to subordinate the new conception to the old—we must arm the League.

Now the large minority find the proposal to arm the League impracticable. To begin with, the institution of an international police force would require firm co-operation between the nations. Again, firm co-operation at Geneva would be essential to the maintenance and use of force. But if, as the advocates of an international police urge, the League's members now

fall short of the standard of firm co-operation, how can it be assumed that an international force would be instituted with general consent and employed with general approval? Supposing the League were armed, surely the indifference or reserve with which some nations now regard it would be changed to fear? Under stress of fear nations would rush to form alliances against the League. So, an international police force would merely make the League another of the great military powers of the world and add one more to the serious risks of war.

It is pertinent to recall that in a letter to *The Times* a few months ago, Lord Davies declared, "Nations cannot be bludgeoned into the ranks of an international authority." We think this declaration unimpeachable. But we are not able to reconcile it with the argument of Lord Davies (and Captain Mumford) that nations can be bludgeoned into accepting the decrees of an international authority which comprehends only some nations.

We find it impossible to subscribe to the doctrine that if an incomplete society of nations is unable by peaceful means to secure co-operation between all the nations, it should proceed to shoot or to bomb the dissident into a co-operative frame of mind. Therefore we must deplore any proposal to instal a military general staff in the temple of peace at Geneva and to make the League the supreme military power in the new Christendom. We see no short cuts to the heaven of peace and goodwill among men. Those who advocate a League for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, have set themselves a long and difficult task. Their aim is to effect a moral revolution in the world. Moral revolutions of such magnitude are not effected in fifteen years. To declare the League a failure ("or something depressingly near it") after its fifteen years of significant achievement is to misuse words.

The high privilege of members of the Union is to consecrate themselves to the work of peacefully persuading men and peoples to behave peaceably one to another. We see no surer way to this goal than the way of patiently recruiting members for the League of Nations Union in our own country and thus encouraging the growth of League of Nations Unions in other countries. We believe that thus may peace eventually be enthroned in all the kingdoms of the world.

## BOOK NOTICES

**Russia Reported.** By Walter Duranty. (Gollancz. 6s.)

Journalism seldom bears reprinting. Yesterday's thrill is tiresome to-morrow. Mr. Duranty's book is made up of articles which he contributed during a dozen years to a daily newspaper published in New York. That 400 pages of such articles, reprinted between the covers of a book, should still provide a fascinating entertainment from the first sentence to the last seems miraculous. Mr. Duranty is a miracle worker.

"RUSSIA REPORTED" is a vivid, sympathetic, yet detached and impartial account, compiled from day to day at the closest range by a most skilful observer, of one of the greatest experiments in history. Mr. Duranty has the rare gift not only of seeing what is in front of his nose but also of understanding it and of omitting his prejudices from his subsequent statement. As a consequence his book, besides being the most remarkable piece of reprinted journalism which the past decade has seen, is the book about Russia. From it better than from any other single volume the average, intelligent Briton or American can come to know Russia, and her rulers, and their objects, and the measure of success they have attained.

Mr. Duranty sees Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and the rest as men. Neither ogres nor demi-gods. Merely men, though men of exceptional powers. Lenin in particular is shown in his genuine force and stature, a world figure. He was not in the strict sense a dictator. He was not in the conventional sense an orator. He was a brain and a will. He had a quick eye for facts, a sound judgment, and a highly developed "tact of the possible." To borrow the commendation of a famous Oxford philosopher, "he knew what was the next thing to be done."

Lenin's authority derived from his purely personal prestige. He would assess a situation correctly and outline the policy required to meet it. He was inhumanly seldom influenced by hopes or fears. He had an almost inhuman courage in facing and confessing unpleasant truths. When a blunder had been made and a retreat was wise he admitted the blunder and advised retreat. Mr. Duranty's picture of Lenin is convincing.

Having lived and watched and thought twelve years in Russia, Mr. Duranty paints a picture equally convincing of the country. The new order has come to stay. It is a changing evolving order, but there will be no going back. A new society has been created. Life is full of hardships, but it has its triumphs and it gives the common Russian satisfactions and opens out to him prospects which he could never have even begun to enjoy under the Tsardom. The other nations have no choice. They must adapt their policies to Soviet Russia's permanence. They must accept her as a member of the world comity. If they are sensible they will attend to the lessons she may be able to teach them. And she offers them a reassurance. She is too essentially and radically Russian for slavish imitation as a model.

**Understand the Chinese.** By William Martin. (Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

Dr. William Martin's book on China is a sound League of Nations volume, as was only to be expected from one

of the soundest and most faithful friends the League has had. For years the leading articles in the *JOURNAL DE GENEVE*, initialled "W. M.," enjoyed a unique audience and extorted from that audience a unique attention. In the columns of a materially insignificant Swiss paper William Martin was read with respect by the statesmen of the world. On occasion his arguments influenced world policy. Not a great writer, he was possessed of an unrivalled store of knowledge on all League subjects and he applied past experience to the solution of present difficulties with an individual quickness and a judgment that was seldom at fault.

In China, Dr. Martin found a challenge to all his powers. Both country and people fascinated him. The intermingling of what was immemorially ancient with the novelties of the very latest hour posed again, in a new form and with insistent emphasis, the question he had heard so often at Geneva: Is the course of human affairs always the same and, therefore, out of reach of change? Or does it alter so rapidly and erratically that any comprehensive plan of guidance to a distant end must remain an idle dream? Or is it at once fluid and insistent enough for the lessons of the past to be made use of in giving it a wiser direction for the future?

In Canton, Shanghai, Nanking and Peking, Dr. Martin turned a clear-sighted eye upon young China adrift and old China anchored to the rock of its past. His eye was critical, yet sympathetic. He did not under-estimate the obstacles in the way of the reformers who are now trying to give China a strong, orderly, efficient Government, but he conceived a high regard for their sincerity and their powers and set a solid value on what they have already accomplished.

Lack of long and close familiarity with the Far East did not lead Dr. Martin astray. He was watchful, and the freshness of his impressions helped him. During his few months of residence, brought into close and confidential relations with most of the men and women who move in China to-day, he penetrated to the heart of the problem. He perceived the peculiar subtle strength of Chinese civilization; its capacity to dissolve and absorb foreign invaders, institutions and influences.

From one point of view, China has always seemed to be sinking into anarchy; from another she has always been busy subtly and creating her future. Nearly every assertion that can be made about China is true in some sense or other; the only utter and unjustifiable falsehood is that she has ceased to count.

Dr. Martin did not fear that even the Japanese will break the tenuous yet tenacious thread. As has happened to all the invaders before them: if they stay, they will become, sooner or later, good Chinese.

**Some Aspects of the Covenant of the League of Nations.** By Sir J. Fischer Williams. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.)

Sir John Fischer Williams is a scholar, a thinker and a man of affairs. With these qualities he combines a gift for clear and simple exposition. His new book, therefore, which appears at a most timely moment, is most welcome.

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#### Official Publications

Official Journal. Vol. XV, Nos. 5 and 6 (Part I.)

Official Journal. Special Supplement No. 121.

Monthly List of Selected Articles. Vol. VI, Nos. 5 and 6.

Chronology of International Treaties and Legislative Measures. Vol. V, Nos. 5 and 6.

Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation. Vol. III, No. 2.

List of Works Relating to the Mandates System and the Territories under Mandate catalogued in the Library of the League of Nations. First Supplement.

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1933-34. Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934.II.A.6.

Review of World Trade, 1933. 1934.II.A.12.

Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. Abolition of Licensed Houses. 1934.IV.7.

Dispute Between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Committee for the Regulation of the Trade in, and Private and State Manufacture of Arms, etc. 1934.IX.5.

Report on the Work of the League since the Fourteenth Session of the Assembly. Part I. 1934.3<sup>1</sup>

#### New Union Publications

No. 371. Economic Sanctions. Price 2d.

No. 372. World Labour Problems. Price 4d.

No. 092. The League of Nations Painting Book for Children.



## READERS' VIEWS

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

## LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

SIR.—One of the principal lessons to be learnt from the Bournemouth Conference is that it is a mistake to put important resolutions to the vote immediately before lunch.

Two such resolutions were rushed through, after discussions which could hardly be considered sufficient.

The more important of these, sprung on the Conference as an emergency resolution, deprecated an increase in our Air Force on the ground that the aeroplane is an exclusively aggressive weapon.

There are two weighty arguments against the resolution. One is, in the words of Captain Murphy (*vide* the current issue of the *Listener*), that "To suggest that there is no advantage in being able to hamper, to lessen the efficiency of, and to inflict losses on, air-raiding forces, is to lack a sense of balance; the ability to hit back 'good and hard' if attacked is in itself a powerful deterrent."

The other is that the principle of collective security, which the delegates accepted, does not admit of our dishonouring our commitments to other nations by allowing our Air Force to become a negligible factor. These are not trivial or frivolous arguments, but the Council would not even allow them to be stated.

The other resolution was to the effect that the Council recommends members to oppose Parliamentary candidates who do not declare themselves in sympathy with the aims of the League. Such a resolution should never have been passed

as drafted. It is impossible of application to the quite possible case of an election where both or all candidates are opposed to the League. It involves the principle that the League is the most important thing in the world, whereas a large majority of those who voted for it believe that the League, with all its activities, is only a means to an infinitely greater end, and would in no circumstances support an anti-God revolutionary professing approval of the League against an otherwise estimable die-hard who disagreed with its aims.

Surely it would be better in future to limit severely the number of resolutions put forward rather than rush through ill-considered resolutions without proper discussion?

Lymington.

J. A. WATSON.

## THE OFFICIAL UNION TIE

SIR.—I would like to congratulate the Union on the attractive official tie it has evolved, and at the same time would suggest a very practical use to which it could be put.

I have often thought, when attending Union meetings, that it must be very difficult for a speaker to assess the proportion of members in his audience. If the entire audience consists of the converted, obviously he must concentrate on the task of making his hearer feel even more keen on our cause. If, on the other hand, the majority of the audience are so far uncon-

verted, he must equally obviously refrain from a tendency to leave out elementary points with which existing members would of course be already acquainted.

If, however, every member of the Union would make it his business to wear the official tie when attending a meeting, the speaker could see at a glance what proportion of unconverted he has to tackle, and could easily make his appeal accordingly.

In this regard, it might be of value if you could devise some similar method to enable the ladies also to show their adherence. The badges are excellent, but something more apparent is needed for wear at meetings.

Kensington Branch.

T. APPELEY.

## THE PACIFIST POINT OF VIEW

SIR.—The "Plea for the Pacifists," voiced by Mr. Sydney H. Ellis, in the August *HEADWAY* is opportune.

No right-minded person should be "bitterly scornful and contemptuous of the pacifists and their policy" for everyone is entitled to his opinion and universal peace is a divine ideal, but I would venture to suggest

to Mr. Ellis that those lovers of peace who do not share his views are not necessarily "hypocrites" or "warmongers." Every member of the L. N. U. desires universal peace; the divergence is as to the best policy whereby to attain it.

On the other hand, the "pacifist" frequently complains bitterly of the "apathy" of the Conservatives. Yet the latter as a whole are

as keen on peace as any pacifist, but many object to joining the Union on account of the "pacifist" views of some of its adherents, which they mistakenly confuse with the policy of the League of Nations Union.

The "anti-pacifist" considers that the British Empire is the greatest bulwark of world peace which exists, and that both the development of world civilization and the maintenance of the League of Nations is dependent on safeguarding the integrity of that Empire. This obviously calls for adequate and efficient military and naval forces, consistent with the campaign for all-round reduction.

It is worth while to note that the policy of the Union is distinctly of the latter way of thinking, although this does not preclude the pacifist from also being a member.

If the pacifist wishes to help the Union he must respect its policy. It may well be that in time world thought will become more and more "pacifist," but meanwhile to the majority of people of this country the maintenance of the Empire as a world asset is a paramount article of faith, and we must keep in line if real progress is to be made. The League of Nations Union movement (now an international one) is capable of proving the most potent instrument for the pacification and progress of the world and it is fortunate that its leaders are characterised by wisdom and moderation.

H. FRANK T. FISHER.

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## THE PACIFIST POSITION

SIR.—The letter from Mr. Sydney H. Ellis in the August issue of *HEADWAY* seems to call for some reply. No reasonable person will describe all Pacifists as cowards, for some who were most strongly opposed to war volunteered in 1914-18 for the often dangerous work of stretcher-bearers or similar duty on the field of battle.

We ought to sympathise with all sincerely conscientious difficulties, while recognising that there are unenlightened as well as enlightened consciences. Of course it is possible that some objectors during the war attributed their objection to the call of conscience, when a deeper self-examination would have shown that it was rather due to a reluctance to expose themselves to the bullets of the enemy. But no good is effected by calling names, and the cause of peace will hardly be served by calling the clergyman who said that he did not believe in war, but would fight if it were necessary, a "canting hypocrite," as Mr. Ellis does.

Membership of the League of Nations Union involves a general acceptance of the objects of the Union, one of which is "to advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will . . . maintain international order." This would appear to involve at least the possibility of the resort to force, as indeed is recognised by Article 16 of the Covenant. It is not easy to understand how persons who object to the use of force altogether in questions of international order can consistently join the League of Nations Union; and our desire to increase the number of our members ought not to lead to the admission of persons whose principles tend to paralyse action when the time for action comes.

Mr. Ellis is surprised at what he calls the bitterly scornful and contemptuous attitude of many members of the Union at the policy of the Pacifists. Scorn and contempt are certainly misplaced, but what adjective should we use to describe the attitude of a man who shirks the duty of every citizen to help the police in arresting a criminal? And how can we fittingly describe a man who, when an enemy airman is casting his bombs over a town and slaughtering, it may be, hundreds of inoffensive folk, refuses to lift a rifle to bring the airman down, but prefers "on principle" to let him continue his work of destruction?

W.13.

W. H. SWAIN.

## PRIESTS AND WAR

SIR.—Mr. Stanley Davies is mistaken in supposing that the canons of the Church, which forbid the clergy to be combatants, imply either a double standard of morality, or the opinion that to fight is necessarily sinful.

The clergy are forbidden by the Church to take part in war, as they are also forbidden to engage in trade (with certain recognised exceptions), and as they are forbidden by the State to sit on juries, or in the House of Commons, because they are supposed to have something more important to do.

The priest is, or ought to be, a man carefully trained and authorised to perform certain services which no one else can perform, and which are just as important in war as in peace: he is excused from combatant service on the same grounds as a doctor. The clergyman referred to, who was employed in making munitions, seems to me to have been evading rather than obeying the law. On the general question, whether to be a combatant is necessarily sinful, I express no opinion.

Warminster.

C. B. MOSS.

THE ROMANCE  
OF STATISTICS

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## HERE AND THERE

On three consecutive Sundays, the speaker at our weekly meetings in **Hyde Park**, after describing the objects of the National Declaration, put the questions involved one by one, inviting the audiences to express their opinions. The results were unanimously in the affirmative in every case, the only exceptions being five young Fascists who opposed the points on the first occasion but were entirely unable to gain any support for their dissension among an audience of several hundreds.

The **Reading** Branch has held weekly open-air meetings in the Market Place on Early Closing day during the past few months, and excellent audiences have been gathered together. Here again the questions incorporated in the National Declaration have met with unqualified support from audiences in which declared supporters of the Union were in the minority.

The **City of London** Branch has co-operated with the Rector of St. Mary Wolnoth Church, Lombard Street, in arranging an unusually interesting series of talks on Peace and War. Full particulars of the series, which will commence at the end of October, will be published in our next issue.

In connection with the Floral Pageant recently held in Edinburgh in honour of the visit of the King and Queen, the tableau entitled "From Peace to War" which was entered by the **Edinburgh** Branch was awarded the Second Prize. The pageant was reviewed by their Majesties, the Union lorry arousing considerable interest among the thousands of spectators. Any Branch desirous of obtaining details of the successful tableau, a photograph of which appears in the September issue of "News Sheet," is invited to communicate with Mr. Leishman, at 3, Rutland Square, Edinburgh 1.

The **Erith** Branch is collating a special Calendar, which will be published and on sale in time for Armistice Day. Quotations or original thoughts for each day of the year will be included, and a prize is offered for the most appropriate entry sent in. To cover the cost, a donation of 6d. towards the Branch funds must accompany each entry. Any further information may be obtained from Miss G. O. Stephens, 52, Milton Road, Belvedere, Kent.

A very successful League of Nations Week was an integral part of the **Worcester Youth Group's** programme in connection with the National Canvass. In addition to a well-attended mass meeting which was addressed by Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P., a special Service at which the Lord Bishop preached, several street-corner meetings, and a procession, an American tennis tournament and a very successful dance at the Britannia Hall were outstanding items.

The house-to-house canvass organised by the **Saffron Walden** Branch has not yet been brought to a conclusion, but it has already resulted in the membership of the Branch being doubled. This eminently encouraging state of affairs was disclosed at a garden meeting, addressed by Mr. Alec Wilson, from Headquarters, which took place during the campaign.

Speaking at a garden party organised by the **Hull** Branch at Brantinghamthorpe, Canon E. Arthur Berry referred to the League as "the world's greatest miracle."

Congratulations to the Rev. C. W. Carver, president of the **Stebbing** Branch, on his marriage to Miss Phyllis Ivy Bolden. The Branch owes a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Carver's unremitting work for the League.

In spite of the counter-attractions of no less than six other local functions, a vast audience supported a garden party held at "The Dene" by the **Dartford** Branch. The speakers were Mr. Y. C. Hsu, the well-known Chinese journalist, and Miss Sylvanus Thompson.

The Branch at **St. Martin's High School, Tulse Hill**, has organised a very successful exhibition to illustrate the progress made by man through gradual co-operation between nations and the need for more complete co-operation in the future. Models and statistics worked out in pictorial form—all devised and executed in the school—helped to make the exhibition absorbing as well as educational. It is worthy of note that the local press has selected as "the keynote of the exhibition" Holland's "unfinished bridge" cartoon which was issued by Headquarters as a national poster.

The experimental section for younger members of the **Cheadle Hulme** School Junior Branch, run entirely separately, with its own Committee, etc., has attained its ends of attracting the interest of the younger end and of increasing the membership in the middle School. The annual Summer Meeting took the form of an International Exhibition, with exhibits from many lands, a collection of posters loaned from Headquarters, whilst foreign stamps were also a feature, and an inaugural annual Joint Meeting between the past and present members, which it is hoped will serve as a vital link in the future, took place.

The **Torquay** and the **Newton Abbot** Branches have each increased their membership by over 500 during the past year. There are now several Youth Groups in the district, and arrangements have been made for the display of Union posters in each of the political clubs of the three parties.

The **Bletchley** Branch is able to report that, in spite of hard times and the unremitting attacks of certain sections of the Press, their membership has increased by 36 during the past year.

The **Southbourne** Branch has also contrived to triumph over all difficulties with 122 new members, bringing their total figure well into four figures.

Another triumphant Branch is that at **New Beckenham**, with 57 new members and two additional Corporate Members.

The **Goole** Branch has been able to extend its valuable work among the neighbouring villages with great success. In this regard the Secretary gratefully acknowledges the advantages derived from the splendid co-operation of Howden Toc H.

A novel "international" banquet was recently held by the **Middlewich** Branch, at which members of the Branch represented delegates from Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, U.S.A., Japan, China, and Russia, and in the course of the speeches explained their countries' attitude toward the League and Disarmament. Considerable interest was aroused, and the banquet was an outstanding success.

The **Plymouth** Branch recently struck an excellent opening for sound propaganda. Ronald Gow's drama of the days when slavery was being stamped out in America, entitled "Gallows Glorious," was announced for presentation at the Repertory Theatre and the Branch arranged for a speaker to be at the theatre each evening and at the matinée. There was also a table in the foyer for the enrolment of new members. This example could be followed with advantage by branches at other towns visited by this play.

The **North Finchley** Branch reports a most successful year, with an increase of 56 in paid-up members over the preceding year.

"Dividends, Ltd.," is the title of a new peace playlet, by L. M. Norris. There are seven important parts, and it is capable of easy production by an amateur society. The plot centres round a gang of international armament manufacturers and their machinations in sustaining a world war. They are depicted holding a "business" meeting in the crypt of a cathedral while a service of prayer for the restoration of peace is in progress above their heads. The fee for presentation is 10s. 6d. per performance, and all inquiries should be addressed to The Beverley Press, Bexley Heath, Kent.

A new song, dedicated to the Union and set to music by Mr. Spencer Shaw, the Organist and Musical Director of Whitefields Church, entitled "Upon Earth, Peace," has just been published by Messrs. W. Paxton & Co. Copies at 6d. each, or 3s. 6d. per dozen copies on sale or return, can be obtained from the Union Book Shop. A further new Hymn to International Peace, by Carl Alwin, entitled "The Sacred Cause," for unison, mixed and male voices, can also be obtained from the same source.

## Overseas Notes

## Canada.

The Third Meeting of the National Council and the Twelfth Annual General Meeting of the League of Nations Society in Canada was held at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, on Friday, May 25, 1934. The Chairman of the Society, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., presided, and others present included Mr. T. W. L. McDermot, Secretary of the Society, Mr. Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., and Mr. Clark Eichelberger, Director of the American League of Nations Association.

After the financial report and report for the year had been read and discussed, it was resolved—

**That the League of Nations Society in Canada make immediate application for membership in the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.**

The meeting also resolved that the National Council of the League of Nations Society in Canada, conscious of the danger to the peace of the world if steps are not now taken to promote disarmament and strengthen the means of maintaining peace through international co-operation, and believing that the Canadian people keenly desire peace founded upon law and justice, both self-interest and self-respect demand that Canada, as a member of the League and of the British Commonwealth, should make her utmost contribution to the cause of peace by maintaining and strengthening the collective system based on the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris, particularly by supporting amendments to the

## WELSH NOTES

In spite of the trying weather conditions, visitors to the stall set up by the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union in the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Llandudno were very numerous. Conducted parties of school children took great interest in the replies to the Children's World Wireless Message exhibited on the stall.

The Welsh Council stall on the grounds of the Royal Welsh National Eisteddfod at Neath was also the centre of much interest and activity. Here again, the literature displayed, and particularly the Children's Wireless Message section of the stall, attracted much attention. A large number of overseas visitors to the Eisteddfod were greatly interested in the material displayed.

On the Thursday afternoon of the Eisteddfod week a Reception and tea were given to the overseas visitors to the Eisteddfod by Mr. D. M. Evans-Bevan, J.P., on behalf of the Welsh League of Nations Union. Mr. Evans-Bevan, as host, and the Right Hon. Lord Davies of Llandinam warmly welcomed the visitors. Referring to the close connection between the Welsh Council and the Eisteddfod, Lord Davies said that both institutions were striving for the cause of peace and justice throughout the world and appealed to the friends from overseas for their help and sympathy. Viscountess Snowden also spoke and emphasised the urgent necessity of avoiding another war which seemed to loom dimly on the international horizon. Among the many visitors from overseas who took part were Mr. S. J. Phillips (America), Mr. Lewis Jones (Australia), Mr. J. Howell Davies and Mr. Stanley Evans (representatives of the National Eisteddfod of South Africa), Mrs. Dawes (Southern Rhodesia), the Rev. E. L. Mendus (India), Mrs. M. Lewis (Brisbane), Mrs. De Buss (Canada), Mrs. Booth (Chile) and Mr. J. Thomas (Newfoundland). There were representatives present from many other countries including Palestine, France, New Zealand and Patagonia, but time did not permit the representatives of these other countries to respond.

## BROADCASTING NOTES

The B.B.C. has not been able to furnish us with a detailed Talks programme for September at the time of going to press, but our readers will probably find much to interest them in the talk on "The Social Work of the League," which will be delivered on September 5 by Sir Arthur Salter.

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**Life Members:** £25.

\* 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, 12, Museum Place, Cardiff.*

Covenant and supplements to the Pact which would make them effective, by working wholeheartedly for the full and rapid success of the Disarmament Conference to achieve essential measures of disarmament, by taking every reasonable means to secure the membership in the League, or failing this the co-operation of the United States, U.S.S.R., Germany, Japan, and other countries not in the League of Nations; and by taking steps in Canada to promote social justice and moral disarmament.

The National Council further urged the Government of Canada, as an important member of the British Commonwealth and the friendly neighbour of the United States, to endeavour to persuade the Governments of the Commonwealth and of the United States to pursue a programme of joint action for the organisation of peace, and appealed to every Canadian citizen and organisation to support the Government in every effort for peace and to co-operate in a cause over which humanity can no longer afford to be divided.

## Youth Unit for Canada

The Toronto Branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada is organising a "Youth Unit" in which it hopes to interest young people of the ages of sixteen to thirty who have not hitherto been interested in the peace movement. This small group under Miss M. M. J. Reid, with financial assistance from the Toronto Branch, began its publicity campaign by building a "peace float" on modern lines, which won a cup in the Toronto Centennial Parade held on Dominion Day. The Group is now planning a comparatively large peace exhibit at the Canadian National Exhibition, August 24 to September 8, 1934. There they hope to use lantern slides, speakers, posters and dramatic skits. A room has been allotted to them with seating capacity for two hundred persons.

## U.S.A.

The National Office and the Greater New York Branch of the American League of Nations Association have moved, their new address being 8, West 40th Street, New York City, on the twenty-first and top floor. The Foreign Policy Association, World Peace Foundation, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Library as well as the Foreign Affairs Forum all have offices in the same building. The new offices of the Association are particularly attractive as a roof balcony runs round the outside of them.

## International Peace Garden in U.S.A.

The Turtle Mountains Region of North Dakota and Southern Ontario is being cleared for an International Peace Garden, with the aid of the two Governments concerned, under the sponsorship of an organisation set up by the National Association of Gardeners. The Peace Garden project was launched at Toronto about five years ago at an international gathering of gardeners and it has since been endorsed by the Garden Club of America in the following resolution:—

"We heartily endorse the plan of the National Association of Gardeners for an International Peace Garden on the boundary of the United States and Canada . . . because this garden will be a beautiful symbol of friendship and understanding that exists between the people of these two great countries . . . and finally because the Garden Club of America feels that in the International Peace Garden will be sown the seeds of International Goodwill that will flower in the future in all the nations of the world."

The committee hope that the project will ultimately be sponsored by the school-children of the two nations after further initial contributions have given it a good start.

## Queensland

A motion "that the Synod of the Anglican Catholic Church in Queensland commends to the Faithful the duty of joining the League of Nations Union" was moved in June by the Reverend Father Vincent Cavey and seconded by Dr. Elwell. It was carried unanimously.

## Council's Vote

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

Southbourne (Sussex).

For 1934:—

Ashstead, Aldeburgh, Aldwinckle, Berkhamsted, Benfleet, Bourn, Blagdon, Bucklebury, Coleford, Capel, Caterham, Cobham, Colwall, Dorking, Elstead, Ewhurst, Esholt, Fraddon, Great Bookham, Goxhill, Glastonbury, Grasmere, Greens Norton, Guildford, Huntingdon, Heathfield, Holmby St. Mary, Haslemere, Horsforth, Knebworth, Lingfield, Liskeard, Methwold, Maldon, North Weald, Otley, Ockley, Sheringham, Shipley and Coolham, Shipley (Yorks), Stony Stratford, Shalford, Send, Todmorden, Thrapston, Takeley, Wymondham, West Mersea.

# The Writer's World

No. 24

September, 1934

For New Writers

## Free Lessons for New Writers

### An Interesting Offer to Readers

Readers who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school. Applications should be addressed to the Regent Institute (Dept. 219H), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8. The great demand for literary work at the present day is indicated by a professional author and journalist in the following interesting article:

IN these days it does not seem possible that there is interesting and remunerative work to be had for the asking. Yet in all seriousness I say it is so. There are editors in London who find it very difficult to get the right stuff to print.

Why is it that with the great demand there is for contributions the rejection slip is an all too common reward for effort? Because, just as a person who has an aptitude for music cannot play an instrument without learning the technique of the art, so a person cannot hope to write saleable MSS. until he or she is conversant with the essential knowledge that turns the amateur into an expert.

The history of the Regent Institute is a record of unbroken success, due primarily to the fact that the instructional staff, composed as it is of well-known authors and journalists, take such a kindly and sympathetic interest in each student. The Course is extremely fascinating and the exercises—practical ones designed to produce saleable MSS. at the outset—are adapted to meet each person's special need. As a mental tonic it is wonderful; as a means of increasing income it has amply proved its worth.

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

## WRITE for Famous Newspapers and Magazines

Do you want to write? Why not try to put your ideas to profitable use? Provided you have a little natural ability, professional training by post will enable you to produce articles and stories in spare time for which editors will pay you good prices.

The chief reason why the Regent Institute enjoys outstanding success is that the instructional staff consists of established authors and journalists who unite sound experience with the ability to teach—a rare combination. Further, their united qualifications are such that practically every literary need can be met.

## "I Have Stepped from Success to Greater Success"

### Striking Letters from New Writers— A Second Income in Spare Time

FEW postbags are more interesting than that of the Regent Institute. Letters are being received almost every day from students in all parts of the world reporting their success in getting articles and stories accepted by leading newspapers and magazines.

Practically all these students had no experience of writing for publication before they enrolled for a course of literary training, yet after a few postal lessons under the guidance of the successful authors and journalists who comprise the instructional staff of the Institute they were enabled to dispose of their work at good prices.

#### Income Nearly Doubled

Reports of substantial success are being constantly received. A Scottish student writes that his spare-time earnings almost equalled his salary last year. "Since finishing your Course I have stepped from success to greater success, until now I am turning out articles with such regularity that I am never idle. My published articles for last year alone numbered well over 200. I am never at a loss for a subject, your valuable tuition having taught me how to 'dig out' material, and, what is more, how to treat it."

"All along my earnings have been truly gratifying—far in excess, indeed, of my wildest dreams. In all sincerity I say that but for your excellent Course and constructive criticism I would most likely have still been groping in the dark and meeting the inevitable disappointments incidental to ignorance of the technique of writing."

Other success reports received—there are thousands on file—include the following:

#### A Profitable Hobby

"Although my normal duties do not allow me to devote the amount of time that I would like to give to this fascinating hobby, my record book reveals a steady increase in the number of articles published. . . . It may interest you to know that as a result of writing my wife and I are taking another

holiday overseas. We shall be away four months this time. The Regent Institute will always be a grateful memory to me, and I lose no opportunity of telling my friends about you."

#### An Article a Week

"In the two years which have elapsed since I completed your Course in Journalism I have had, on an average, about one article a week accepted. . . . Considering how little time I can devote to writing, my progress—thanks to your Course—has surprised and pleased me."

#### Writing for Leading Magazines

"I went through your Journalism and Short Story Courses, and with a result that I cannot speak too highly of. I have the entry to the best magazines of the day."

#### 20 Stories Sold

"The Short Story Course was instrumental in my getting twenty stories published in the local evening paper."

#### Best Investment

"I have an absorbing spare-time hobby, and my tuition fee is the best-paying investment I ever had."

### Send for FREE LESSON and "How to Succeed as a Writer"

Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (3d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet and the specimen lesson.

#### THE REGENT INSTITUTE (Dept. 219H)

Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8

I shall be glad to receive the following on the distinct understanding that I am not committed to any expense or obligation whatever:

(a) A free specimen lesson of the Postal Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing.

(b) A free copy of your prospectus "How to Succeed as a Writer."

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