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HAVE WE DISARMED ENOUGH?

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

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Specially drawn

LORD BEAVERBROOK IS TOO BUSY!

By G. L. BREMER

MATTERS OF MOMENT

A NAVAL expert has computed that if the present race in armaments is allowed to develop, before 1942 the five great naval powers will have spent £800,000,000! If, on the other hand, he says, the Powers would agree to the British proposals for limitation in size that have been put forward so many times, the replacement bill would only be some £420,000,000. And if the Union plans for the abolition of submarines and the abolition of ships over 10,000 tons were adopted, the expenditure would be another hundred or so millions of pounds less. An estimate of the hope of economy and reduction in taxation may be made from the following passage out of the speech of Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons on November 14:

"In 1931, Japan laid down two cruisers of 8,500 tons reported to mount 15 6-inch guns. It is learnt that she is now laying down two more of the same dimensions and that the construction of yet another two, making six in all, is projected. The United States have already announced the intention of building four cruisers of 10,000 tons, each with 15 6-inch guns. . . . We propose to revise the 1933 programme so as to include two cruisers of a new type of about 9,000 tons with increased armament."

As isolation is impossible and as competitive building is obviously ruinous to all of us, the logical conclusion is that we must really embrace the idea, implicit in the Covenant, of collective responsibility for the peace of the world.

Propagandists of Apprehension

OUR centre-page contributor, Philip Baker, feels sure that the persistent rumours of adjournment which have been in circulation ever since the Disarmament Conference opened in 1932:—

"were deliberately manufactured by people who desired for whatever reason that the Conference should fail. I have no definite evidence to support my view . . . but I believed then, and I believe to-day, that paid agents of armaments firms were endeavouring by the dissemination of false news to demoralise the Conference, to undermine the belief of delegates, press and public that it would be a success." [Recovery, Nov. 10th.]

Lord Rennell, in *The Times* of November 15, attributes the War talk everywhere to "some malign propaganda."

"I think it would not be without value if those associations which devote so much zeal to preaching to the converted were to direct their energies to investigating the control over publicity and the political influence exercised by those vast interests on the Continent which are engaged in the manufacture and furnishing of armaments."

But why only on the Continent?

Land Armaments Increase

IT is symptomatic of the distrust which the Nazi system has engendered in Germany's neighbours that even the small States are voting extra military defence credits. Holland, Belgium and Switzerland between them are spending £15,300,000 more for frontier defence and better armaments. No wonder armaments firms' shares are still rising in value!

Dead and Moribund?—Sez You!

MORE League Committees have been in session during the last few weeks than for several months past. At various dates meetings took place of the Mandates Commission, the Health Committee, the Economic Committee, the Transit and Communications Committee and its Permanent Sub-Committee on Inland Navigation, the Permanent Central Opium Board, and the Opium Advisory Committee, as well, of course, of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference. At the end of October the Inter-Governmental Conference for Refugees was convened by the Advisory Inter-Governmental Commission and by the Nansen Refugee Office, and concluded a Convention on the international status of Russian and Armenian Refugees.

Opium

AFTER the Permanent Central Opium Board's meetings followed those of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs. At both Manchuria came in for a good deal of discussion. The Board, considering the very special circumstances obtaining in Manchuria, decided to apply for statistical information as regards neither the 1925 nor the 1931 Conventions. At the Opium Committee, the American delegate, Mr. Fuller, made a fierce attack on the shameless efforts made by the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo to encourage the cultivation of the poppy and the smoking of opium.

"A vast monopoly," declared Mr. Fuller, "the largest of its kind ever conceived, has been established and the methods used in its establishment leave no doubts as to its ultimate object." Both Committees also expressed some anxiety about the increase in the exports of opium from Persia to Manchuria. The worst fears expressed by the Opium Committee at its 16th session last June seem in train to be coming true. Almost by invitation the world's dope barons have shifted the scene of their operations from Europe to the Far East."

The World's Doctor

SIR GEORGE BUCHANAN, as usual, took his seat as the British member of the recent meeting of the Health Committee, which held its 20th session recently under the Chairmanship of Dr. Madsen, of Denmark. In some ways the meetings of the Health Committee are now such as a layman supposes those of the British Medical Association to be. For instance, a long report was received from the Malaria Commission and included in it was a highly specialised section on *Housing and Malaria*, by Colonel Sir S. R. Christophers, of the I.M.S., and Professor Missiroli, of Rome. The Committee also debated several medical questions put up to it by the Opium Committee, and then gave itself over to the discussion of the most popular item on

its agenda, namely, *The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Public Health*. Inquiries on behalf of the League into the unemployed's food and its value are already proceeding in various countries.

At Danzig

THE final months of Mr. Rosting's tenure of office as High Commissioner for Danzig are being marked by a certain liveliness. After a period of quiescence, the Nazi Government is on the war path again, the principal causes of annoyance being the suppression of two newspapers and the purging of the Police Force of its non-Nazi members. Like Mr. G. G. Knox, the League High Commissioner of the Saar Territory, who, as his recent report shows, is also greatly troubled by Nazi penetration, Mr. Rosting is keeping the Council informed of developments, but on account of the withdrawal of Germany from the League the tasks of these two High Commissioners are made more difficult. When on January 15 Mr. Sean Lester arrives at Danzig for his period of three years as High Commissioner he may find a very turbulent situation awaiting him, which will need the exercise of all his native wit to calm.

The Governing Body

AT its recent 64th Session the Danish Government's representative, Mr. C. V. Bramsnaes, was elected to succeed Sir Atul Chatterjee as Chairman of the Governing Body. The finishing touches were put to the Agenda of next year's International Labour Conference which will open on May 11, and the new subjects to be discussed for the first time in 1935 were decided.

In 1934, besides the usual routine matters, there will be seven items on the Agenda paper. There will be "second" discussions on the Forty-Hour Week; Unemployment Insurance; and Automatic Sheet Glass Works Shifts: "first" discussions on Women's Work Underground; and Pension Rights for Immigrants; and the Conventions on Occupational Disease Compensation (1925) and Night Work for Women (1919) come up for partial revision.

Coloured Workers

IN addition to Unemployment of Young Persons and Holidays with Pay, on the Agenda of the 1935 International Labour Conference, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. has decided that there shall also be the subject of the recruiting of native labour. Thus our contributor, Mr. Weaver, is putting into operation the programme for the protection of native workers sketched out by the late Harold Grimshaw, who before his death had the satisfaction of knowing that the Conference in 1930 had adopted a Convention on Forced Labour. To this thirteen ratifications have now been registered. In the matter of coloured peoples, the League Council on its side, on the report of Mr. Eden, has nominated the Advisory Slavery Commission. Its members are Sir George Maxwell, former Secre-

tary-General of the Government of the Federated Malay States, Mr. Albrecht Gohr (Belgium), Madame de Palencia (Spain), Mr. Marchand (France), Comendatore Zedda (Italy), Mr. de Wilde (Holland), and Mr. d'Amada (Portugal). Their first meeting will be held early in January.

The Mandates Commission

THE recent unhappy events in Palestine cannot be considered until the next meeting of the Mandates Commission, since, in November, at its 24th session consideration was only given to the annual report on Syria of the "A" Mandates, on the Cameroons (French and English) and Uranda Urundi (Belgium) of the "B's"; and on Western Samoa (New Zealand) and the Pacific Islands (Japan) of the "C's." From the very bare and colourless reports distributed by the Information Section it is not possible to glean much news of what took place—for that we must wait until the minutes are published some months hence—but there must have been some fairly strong speaking with regard to the Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate, for Mr. Ito, the accredited Japanese representative, was at some pains to prove that the decreasing native population in some of the islands was a phenomenon general throughout the Pacific area.

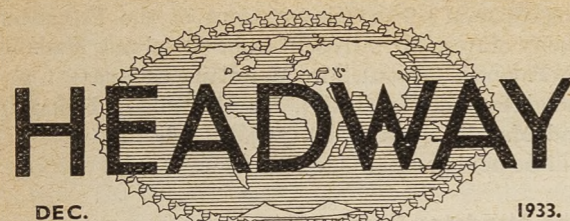
At the Hague

THE Permanent Court of International Justice is as busy as ever. During the course of its present session (the 30th Extraordinary one) its time has been taken up by the hearing of the "Appeal" instituted by Czechoslovakia against the judgment of the Hungaro-Czechoslovak Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in the case of the University of Buda-Pest. These proceedings are instituted before the Court under the 1930 Agreements between Hungary and her creditors, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

We are informed that, contrary to Press reports, Germany has not resigned from the Court. She is, however, not pursuing the two cases in which she was involved as a member of the League Council.

"La Pose du Bouquet"

AVERY pleasant little ceremony took place in Geneva on November 6. To show that the roof is on the new *Palais*, there was hoisted the traditional bouquet, composed on this occasion of a be-ribboned Christmas tree to which was attached a streamer of the flags of all States Members of the League. In turning the shell over to Mr. Avenol, the Secretary-General, Mr. de Flers, in the name of the builders, said: "The *Palais* is born. It is strong, but it is bare. Now we have to set to work to make it habitable and to decorate it." The Assembly Hall may be ready in time for the next ordinary meeting ten months hence, and the rest of the building in the following year.



HOW WE CAN SAVE IT.

WAR, though still far off, is once more in full view. There it stands, the most ferocious and the most futile of human follies, waiting for the boys and girls who are now at school, to kill or mutilate their young bodies, to blight their hopes of happiness and usefulness, perhaps to destroy their souls.

Last month we were commemorating that earlier generation whose ten million dead and twenty million wounded paid the price of permanent peace. Their sacrifice set going the peace machinery of the League of Nations. Are we, who survive and who still have some active years ahead of us, going to let that machinery be broken up? Or, recognising that the damage done to it by the mistakes of the last two years is by no means irreparable, are we going to do all we can to repair it, to strengthen it, to use it to avert the war which now begins to threaten, and, ultimately, perhaps, to render it irresistible?

Let us inspect the damage and see what it amounts to.

The failure during the past two years to restrain Japanese aggression and to fulfil our promises to preserve the territorial integrity of China has put an end for the present to Japan's active membership of the League. It has also reduced to a very low ebb the faith of the nations in one another's readiness to apply the League's principle of "pooled security." As the nations lost confidence, it became increasingly difficult for each of them to agree to reduce their national armaments in the sure and certain hope that the others would come to the rescue if any one of them became the victim of aggression.

The Disarmament Conference has all along depended for its success upon its being able to achieve Equality for Germany, Security for France, and Economy for all.

In March last the British Government made a notable attempt to solve this problem by proposing a Draft Treaty or Convention. Mr. Eden said of it, in the House of Commons on November 7:—

"Had the nations of the world accepted it, if they would now accept it, we should have reduced the term of service in the conscript armies to eight months; we should have very largely reduced the number of men under service in all the conscript armies of the world; we should have virtually abolished all heavy artillery. . . . we should have abolished all heavy tanks; we should have provided for the total abolition of military and naval aviation, provided that a scheme could be worked out, and that is an indispensable condition, for the control of civil aviation."

This scheme was welcomed at the time by the League of Nations' Union. It has provided a basis for subsequent discussion. But the terms in which it was originally drafted did little to increase the sense of security; would not greatly have reduced the cost of armaments, at any rate of British armaments (although even British armaments still cost half as much again in gold as they did during the five years before the

war); and, while going a long way towards equality for Germany, did so more by the rearmament of Germany than by the disarmament of other Powers.

Last June this British Draft was accepted in principle by the chief Powers concerned, including Germany. In October private conversations had led to a new plan which gave more immediate security to France but less immediate equality to Germany. Germany complained of this change and put herself entirely in the wrong by leaving the Disarmament Conference less than two days before the reassembly of its General Commission would have given her the opportunity to state her case in public and perhaps to obtain the complete equality, so large a measure of which the new plan already offered her within eight years.

Since, however, Germany was to attain equality under the new plan by creating a national air force, a tank corps, and (unless the General Naval Conference to be held in two years' time decided otherwise) warships of the largest type, aircraft carriers and submarines, she might just as well, from the point of view of her present Government, go to the expense of re-arming outside the League as inside. There was nothing very attractive to Germany about a League which had never seemed to her to care for justice, and now appeared to care so little for peace that it did nothing to restrain Japan's aggression in Manchuria. So Germany decided to leave the League as well as the Conference. One can understand her point of view even if one cannot sympathise with it. But who can doubt that Germany would readily return to a League of which the Members show sufficient confidence in one another to get rid of the weapons which Germany has been compelled to do without for fourteen years, and which (according to a communication made to the British Foreign Office on October 6) she is prepared perpetually to forgo provided that they are abolished all round within a limited period?

The departure of Germany is followed, at the moment of writing, by a threat from Italy. "At its next meeting on December 5," says the *Turin Gazzetta del Popolo*, "the Fascist Grand Council will have an opportunity of examining the international situation and, particularly, the relations with the League of Nations and the efficiency of the League itself after the exit of Japan and Germany, while the United States and Russia have never been members of it." It would seem that high authority in Italy is considering retirement from active membership of the League. If that were to happen, the Council of the League would be rendered well-nigh impotent from the fact that only Great Britain and France, among the Great Powers, would remain active Members of it. If this last and greatest disaster is to be averted, Italy must realise in time how deeply Great Britain is committed to the League. "My Government," says the King's speech of November 21, "remain determined to uphold the work of international co-operation by collective action through the machinery of the League of Nations. . . ." And, if there could have been any doubt whether what was true of the Government of this country was also true of the people, it was set at rest by the deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary on November 10. That deputation was led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and included among its members the Chairman of the British Legion, the President of the Royal Society, and eminent repre-

sentatives of the Churches, Literature, Industry, Commerce, and Education. The deputation urged that the Disarmament Conference should continue and agree upon a Draft Convention which would abolish all round the weapons forbidden to Germany; limit expenditure upon armaments; and establish an effective, regular and continuous system of international supervision. Italy and the world must know that a great mass of Englishmen love and trust the newly created international system of government at Geneva just as they love and trust their old national system of government at Westminster. Italy's threat to the League will then doubtless be withdrawn. And England and Italy will be able to cement their traditional friendship in loyal co-operation with one another and the League.

It will not, however, suffice to avert further damage to the League from Italy. The damage already done in respect of Security (and Japan) and in respect of Disarmament (and Germany) must be repaired. The first step to that end is to make a Disarmament Treaty by which all the States, including Germany, will agree to be bound. If such a Treaty is to have any chance of acceptance by Germany it must at long last give her

equality of status; and, if she is also to return to the League, that equality must be attained not by her own rearmament but by the disarmament of others.

And so we return to the only condition under which England and France can agree to abolish armaments of the type which have been denied to Germany for the past fourteen years. The condition is that "the principle of collective action must supersede in the minds of the nations that of individual defence." We cannot reduce our navy, nor the French their army, unless we can rely upon other countries to join in protecting French territory and British trade routes. What others must do for us we must be willing to do for them. We cannot have Peace without Responsibility.

If only the British people will face this issue clearly and decide in favour of the League system, their decision will mean disarmament and security and fair play all round. It will mean more than that. War will recede ever further into the distance until nothing remains of it but a ghastly memory of how narrowly our civilisation escaped destruction in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

The Breakdown of Internationalism

By VIVIAN OGILVIE

TO re-read now some of the books which appeared immediately after the war is to be carried into an atmosphere that is already strange. The "never again" frame of mind, the conviction that war was a washout, the vision of a world where nations would settle their differences as if they, like the individuals who formed them, were human and decent, must then indeed have been strong to prevail as much as they did, in spite of scrubby politicians and powerful interests.

But the world to-day has changed. The danger of European war has loomed appreciably nearer and the ties of internationalism are visibly frayed, the foundations of peace unsteadier.

First of all, the war has reached a distance in our memories where it can be sentimentalised about. Forgetting the reality, people begin to say: "Well, it wasn't such a bad old war after all." For it was a great experience and the years following it could not but seem flat and unprofitable.

To this natural reaction we must add the long-drawn-out futility of these years, with the growth of unemployment, the financial ups and downs, the obstinate refusal of the world's trade to get going again. It is only too easily forgotten that "the old war that wasn't such a bad old war" laid those depressing weights upon us.

Accustomed now to the existence of the League, we have forgotten its newness, and are indignant when that new and experimental machinery breaks down, forgetting that nations had been practising the opposite method for thousands of years.

There are, of course, exceedingly powerful interests in the world, internationally organised, controlling a mass of important newspapers in various countries, which have seen to it that the world at large knows very little of the League's successes or of its wider co-operative activities, in respect of health, labour conditions, drugs, white slave traffic, intellectual co-operation, etc., and that its failures have been derisively trumpeted from China to Peru. The greatest triumph of this interested propaganda up to date is the present frame

of mind in Germany. But in other lands, too, the scepticism has grown, especially on account of the endless and seemingly abortive efforts to bring about disarmament. The man in the street fails to remember that it is not the League but the Nations themselves which are refusing to disarm, and he does not know that the armaments industry has its agents in all useful places to block the work.

Against these massed forces of natural reaction, ignorance, romantic memory, disappointment, and the machinations of vested interests, what have we? To be frank, isolated pea-shooters. Far too many societies, all over the world, are nibbling independently at the problems. Recently in the office of an international association for a progressive cause I saw the review copies of periodicals for this sort of work; shelves upon shelves of papers whose functions largely overlapped. Petty differences had divided and sub-divided the organisations, so that they could do little against the co-ordinated strength of reaction. The cause of peace and co-operation was being split up over personal quarrels, differences of religion, sex or political creed, even differences of conviction about alcohol, nicotine, meat, vivisection, vaccination, dancing, cards, cinema, wireless, open shirts and what not. It was a pitiful spectacle, compared with which Nero's fiddling was charming *sans froid*.

It is only too evident that the work on which our future existence may depend has been left too much in the hands of cranks, so that it gives personal vanity, fatheadedness and intractability their fullest scope. Cranks perform some useful services, but they have two grave disadvantages: they are apt to regard a great cause as inseparable from some small one which they have at heart, and they put the ordinary man off.

On this matter the example of Hitlerism is illuminating. By calling war "manly" and peace "womanish," by harping on the deep masculine strings at every turn and by giving his followers ample chance to puff out their he-man chests and stamp through the streets in uniform, Hitler has shown himself a good psychologist

It was the very thing to capture men who felt that they had been cheated and humiliated and who had not forgotten the coloured troops of occupation.

This point is an example of a general principle which the friends of peace and internationalism will have to digest. People are *not* moved by reasons or the calculation of their own interests, but by the obscurer forces of instinct and emotion, operating largely below the level of consciousness. Passion can only be overcome by a stronger passion. Cool reasoning cannot do it. The party which tried to win votes with the slogan *Safety First* received a rude shock. When internationalism gives up relying on edifying conferences of leaders and leisured people, and gets down to the masses, it must not be too refined to use popular methods, too intellectual to make contact with the basic impulses.

We shall want to be clear what emotional roots we want to reach. I suggest four: (1) The love of wife and children; (2) The love of fairness and decency; (3) Potential friendliness towards members of other nations; (4) Resentment over the misuse of ourselves and our money in the interests of certain small groups, principally the armaments industry.

The last of these may be objected to; resentment it may be said, should form no part of our attitude. Although I respect the principle behind this objection,

Native Labour

At its recent October meeting the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided to place the question of the recruiting of Native Labour on the Agenda of the 1935 International Labour Conference.

International measures for the protection of Native Labour were first contained in the slavery provisions of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, and were extended to the regulation of forced labour by the texts of the Mandates. The basis for further enlarging the scope of the international protection of Native workers was laid by the first Temporary Slavery Commission of 1924, which not only made recommendations regarding the measures to be taken to secure the final abolition of slavery, but also in regard to forced labour and the recruiting of labour.

The Office, which had taken an active part in the work of the first Temporary Slavery Commission through its representative, the late Harold Grimshaw, had already begun to examine the possibilities of further developing the international protection of Native Labour. A Committee of experts was appointed in 1926, and was requested by the Governing Body to assist the Office in the study of two major problems: forced labour and contract labour.

In these circumstances, and having regard to the interest shown by various International Labour Conference resolutions in regard to contract labour, the Office proposed that the Governing Body should invite the 1935 Conference to deal with the methods of recruiting, as a first phase of the discussion of contract labour problems.

The recruiting of Native Labour—by which is here meant the active operations of seeking labour, often at a considerable distance and sometimes in other territories—is a matter of vital importance to foreign undertakings in territories where the labour force must be obtained mainly or in part from populations unaccustomed to wage-earning employment. There are, of course, densely populated regions, such as Java, where labour can be obtained locally without recourse to

I think there is a justifiable enmity against those who try to use others for their own financial interests, whether as slaves or cannon fodder. A difficulty is that the interested parties can easily represent any attack on themselves as a communist attack on capitalism, and so scare people with investments. But as the armaments industry is doing that already, I regard the fight as begun and attack our only alternative to an early walk-over defeat.

Greater efforts must be made to reach the wage-earning population. Siegfried Sassoon wrote in his *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*: "If once the common soldier became articulate the War couldn't last a month." We must get at the potential common soldiers and help them to become informed, articulate and resolute. They are eminently decent and their sense of decency is shocked when they learn of the forces which work so unremittingly to discredit the peace machinery and bring about war.

The forces that are making for peace and international co-operation must, I say again, rationalise and organise their machinery into an effective front, and, study their technique. The triumph of Hitler is an object lesson in mass psychology, as well as a terrible warning of the present-day possibilities for forming opinion and popular feeling.

By C. W. H. WEAVER

Chief of Section, International Labour Office

recruiting operations, and there are other territories where labour has become accustomed to seek employment spontaneously. But in the greater part of tropical and southern Africa, in Ceylon and Malaya, in the Netherlands Indies, in Indo-China and in many parts of the Pacific, agricultural and mining undertakings must normally rely at present, and probably for some time to come, on recruiting for the maintenance of their labour effective.

It is true that the immediate need for recruiting has been diminished by the economic crisis. So far from continuing to recruit Javanese for employment on the plantations of Sumatra, the employers in this Dutch possession have been obliged to repatriate a very large number of workers. But this reduction of recruiting can only be temporary if there is to be any kind of an economic recovery, since any recovery must stimulate the demand for those raw materials which are the main produce of colonial territories.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the more intensive development of colonies is being actively discussed—especially in France—as a potential factor in economic recovery, and any such development will raise the problem of the labour supply in an acute form. Whether, however, an economic revival does or does not lead to an increase in the normal demand for Native Labour, the need for the satisfactory organisation of recruiting will become pressing. The administrative and technical machinery for dealing with recruiting have both been partially dismantled during the depression, and there is a genuine danger, as Major Orde Browne has pointed out in his excellent book, "The African Labourer," that "industrial progress may outstrip administrative measures, with possibly disastrous consequences." The present is, therefore, a suitable time both for the revision and reconstruction of recruiting systems.

Apart from the dangers that arise from inefficient administration under any system, however well regulated in theory, the principal abuses to be avoided in recruiting

are (in the case of recruiting by or with the active participation of Government officials) virtual compulsion, and (in the case of the various forms of recruiting by agents) coercion, bribery of Native authorities, misrepresentation of conditions of employment, and excessive advances of wages.

In the opinion of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour—an opinion which is widely shared by colonial administrators—the risk of official recruiting being tantamount to forced labour is such that Government officials should not be authorised to participate in recruiting.

Of the various forms of private recruiting, the Committee considered that recruiting by employers themselves or their organisations, through licensed agents who should be paid salaries in preference to remuneration according to the number of workers recruited, offered the best guarantees against abuses, provided that it was properly and carefully regulated. The system of recruiting by professional recruiters or companies as a commercial undertaking, although it has been found to work satisfactorily under the supervision of a strong and efficient labour administration, is the one which is most

associated with abuses prejudicial both to the liberty and well-being of Native workers.

When, however, the question of the recruiting of Native labour comes before the International Labour Conference in 1935, the Conference must weigh in the balance the advantages and disadvantages of the various methods of recruiting and suggest the extent to which they should be permitted and regulated. It will also be necessary for the Conference to deal with such questions as advances of wages to recruited workers, the responsibility for their welfare during the journey to the place of work and the precautions to be taken during the journey, and other provisions for safeguarding the well-being of the workers. In so doing, and carrying a stage further the elaboration of an international charter of Native labour, the Conference will be animated not only with the desire to improve the lot of the colonial worker, but also to promote the efficiency of colonial industrial organisation.

It will be assisting the Colonial Powers in carrying out their dual mandate—the development of colonial territories alike in the interest of their inhabitants as well as of mankind generally.

The German Revolution

By Dr. G. P. GOOCH, *President of the National Peace Council*

FRIENDS and foes of the Nazi revolution are at one in regarding it as the most important event in the life of Europe since the War. To myself it is also the most grievous, not merely on account of its detestable crimes, but because it need never have been.

Hitler, as the saying goes, was born at Versailles, the child of Poincaré and Clemenceau, and the dictated peace is the first rung of the ladder up which he has climbed. In the costly gamble of war the loser inevitably pays, but Germans of all parties believe that the victors broke their promise of a Wilson peace. Add to this conviction of foul play, the wounding attribution of sole responsibility to the Central Powers, and we shall begin to understand the passionate resentment of an emotional race. When the Treaty was followed up by the stationing of black troops in the Rhineland, by the stimulation of a rascally separatism, and—as a climax—by the occupation of the Ruhr, the mood of the Wars of Liberation began to revive. An explosion was averted by the welcome change in French policy in 1924, but the bitter memories survived.

The situation was aggravated by the flight from the mark in 1923, which ruined the bourgeoisie, and a few years later by the economic crisis which added millions to the unemployed. The Weimar constitution and indeed democracy itself came to be associated with political humiliation and material distress; and it was almost inevitable that a leader should emerge as a flaming symbol of revolt.

Hitler's ascent is even more romantic than that of Lenin and Mussolini, for, like Napoleon, he imposed himself on a country not his own. His autobiography (which should be read in the original rather than in an expurgated abridgement) reveals an arresting figure, part fanatic, part idealist. An uneducated Austrian *petit bourgeois*, his contacts with the intellectual world are confined to a love of Wagner and an interest in architecture. I asked a friend of mine what had impressed him most in an interview with the Chancellor. "Fanatical concentration," was the reply. He has risen not only because he is the most irresistible mob-orator

in the world, but because he hammered a few nails on the head till he drove them home. The Jews and the Marxists, those diabolical allies, were denounced as responsible alike for the military defeat and the miseries of the peace. Away with these traitors and scoundrels! he shouted, first in Munich, then up and down the country. Away with the men who engineered the revolution, who signed the Treaty of Versailles, who truckled to the conquerors! National self-respect would return with a foreign policy of proud intransigence, and in domestic affairs a new broom would sweep clean. Discipline would be restored, corruption would be punished, and prosperity would revive. Young Germany responded with enthusiasm. The worm had turned. The Messiah had appeared. A new era had dawned.

Hitler and his lieutenants had elaborated their programme in the long years of struggle, and when the call came there was neither fumbling nor delay. The Weimar constitution was torn to shreds, Parliamentary government scrapped, the parties abolished, the autonomy of the States suppressed. The Press was enslaved, Broadcasting became a Nazi monopoly, and Trade Unions disappeared. Jews were hunted from their posts and left to starve or to fly. Concentration camps were opened to break the spirit of suspects and malcontents. Liberty of teaching, the glory of the Universities, was curtailed, and unfashionable books fed blazing bonfires in the squares. A Nazi chaplain was foisted on the Protestant Church, and Catholic antagonism was neutralised by a Concordat. It was a veritable orgy of destruction, a triumph of the technique of ruthless attack. Henceforth, in the classic phrase of Goebels, one Party was to be enough for Germany.

If National Socialism were a mere gospel of terror and outrage it would not receive the joyful support of half the German people and of more than half of the German youth. The leader has a philosophy of his own which appeals to millions of his countrymen. Democracy was an experiment in Germany, and it was tried at the most unfavourable time. Coalitions involved compromise.

Cabinets rose and fell, and the Reichstag steadily lost prestige. Rathenau, Stresemann and Brüning were statesmen of high character and ability, but they could not perform miracles. Disappointment and impatience swelled into a clamour for a strong hand at the helm. The doctrine of the totalitarian state, which makes the Englishman see red, is far less distasteful in what Herder termed the land of obedience.

Hitler is strong, not merely from fear of the concentration camp and the axe, but because in the eyes of many millions he embodies the will of the nation to live. He is strong primarily because he stands for national pride and national strength. He leads the simple life himself and desires others to do the same. He cares nothing for titles, money or birth. His ideal community is Sparta, not Athens. He dislikes the teeming cities with their moral temptations and their feverish rush.

He is the champion of the little man against the big landowner, the big capitalist, the multiple shop. He salutes the peasant as the reservoir of national vitality, and has decreed that he shall never be evicted from the family farm. Life in the open air upon the family holding, with room for unlimited children, seems to him best for body and soul. He longs to restore a world of unsophisticated simplicity, before the native hue of resolution was sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought. The intellectual life is beyond his range. There are whole tracts of human experience which he is too uneducated to visualise or to understand.

I am often asked three leading questions about the Nazi regime: Will it last? Will it fight? What should we do? To the first I incline to answer Yes. All the resources of the State are at the disposal of men who are not afraid to kill, and the opposition is paralysed by disunion no less than by fear.

Preventing War

By Dr. C. DELISLE BURNS

PREVENTING war would be regarded by most reasonable men as the first step in a programme of peace, but the conception of war is clearer, even in the minds of its opponents, than the conception of peace. The new book* about the League and the danger of future war, by such writers as Lord Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray, is necessarily a book about peace; and it contains the very best description now available of the policies which will make peace more likely.

Professor Murray's section on the Revision of the Peace Treaties is an admirable statement of the good points as well as the bad in those Treaties. It should assist in doing what the American calls "debunking" for many of the fantastic grievances of Germany and Hungary.

The "injured innocent" pose is peculiar in persons who adopt the attitude towards foreigners that was expressed by the German military leaders in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

Mr. C. M. Lloyd discusses Russia, and Mr. C. R. Buxton, America, Asia and Africa—the vast areas where the conceptions for which the League stands are hardly even as operative as they are in Europe.

Lord Cecil and Mr. Arnold-Forster explain very admirably the League system and the actual efforts which have so far been made to use it, especially in reducing armaments. Sir Norman Angell at the beginning of the book interprets recent history as an exercise in anarchy and, in a later chapter, states and

Moreover, The Leader wields an almost hypnotic influence as the symbol of national regeneration. "Germany was living in a sort of Babylonian captivity, in spiritual distress and moral despair," writes Friedrich Sieburg in his new book, *Germany My Country*: "She was languishing beneath a sort of evil spell, but none of her leaders could find the magic formula with which to unbind it." He is by far the best of his group, and indeed the sincere fanatic shines brightly in comparison with the adventurers and degenerates around him. To the second question Will he fight? I should answer no. There are plenty of Nazis and Nationalists who are not only dreaming but talking of war, and the country is full of armed men. But the Leader confesses in his book that Germany cannot fight without an ally, and fortunately no ally is in sight. Moreover, I can scarcely believe that he will be mad enough to expose his system to the desperate gamble of war.

The third question is: What should we do? I answer: No menaces, no boycott, no blandishments, no condonation of atrocities, but an intrepid advance towards the organisation of the world. Germany is far too strong either to coerce or to ignore. Her claim to equality of status in a system of general security has been recognised and must be loyally carried out. The Nazi revolution and the withdrawal from Geneva are fresh and formidable obstacles in our stony path. But they afford neither reason nor excuse for us to return to the suicidal nationalism of the pre-War era or to surrender the liberties which are dear to us as life. For the moment, Potsdam is in the ascendant and Weimar is in disgrace.

But Weimar will come again! The best way of hastening its return is to build up a system of international co-operation in which Germany may one day be willing to play an honourable and effective part.

corrects some of the recent psychological theories about war. Professor Laski's chapter ends the book with a strong dose of cold water, because he does not believe that any peace is possible until the economic rivalries of the capitalist system are brought to an end.

The whole book is a most valuable collection of information and argument for the use of anyone working for peace. It is to be hoped that it will have a large circulation.

The emphasis which should be placed on different parts of the problem of war and peace naturally changes as conditions change, and the editor, Mr. L. S. Woolf, and his authors were, no doubt, right in giving the chief weight of the argument for immediate policy to the problem of disarmament. Even within the limits of that problem, however, the situation changes. There is now in Great Britain, for example, a strong revulsion from all possibilities of war; and the idea that a "League" war would "end war" is not likely to attract. To most people also an international force, even if called by the commonplace name, a "police" force, seems impracticable.

In what sense is the League "international"? The tendency now is to seek any and every excuse to avoid all forms of military adventure—even a crusade! In France also conditions have changed. The Governments of the Left for the past six months have been asking, not for armed assistance after "aggression," but for control of the possible preparations for any war. In all the highly educated countries there has been a rapid increase of hostility to the activities of the private

* "The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War." (Gollancz, 5s.)

armament firms. And, as recent elections in Great Britain have shown, great numbers of men and women are impatient at vague words which are excuses for doing nothing at all. It is evidently not good enough to decide what you will do when war actually occurs—whether you decide not to fight at all or to increase your arms and to sell munitions to all the foreigners while remaining neutral until it is clear which side will win.

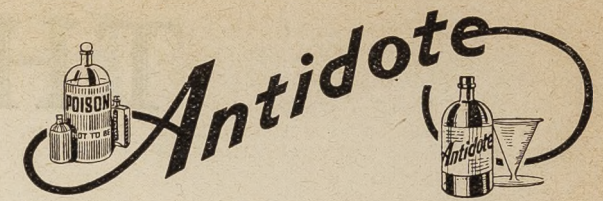
If anything is certain it is that the time is short. Unless something is done to prevent the actual accumulation of war material which is now going on in most countries, no League nor Pact of Mutual Assistance will save us from a general slaughter—either in the name of the League or otherwise. The first sign of real desire for peace on the part of the Governments would be a control of the private profit gained from selling armaments. It may be the test of the honesty of what Professor Laski calls "The Capitalist Governments." But we all know that the arms traders have more influence with Governments than any League of Nations Societies. There is also the problem of manufacturing capacity for war material. Everyone knows that industrial plants are now being prepared for war: and some of us think that it matters not at all how many youths march backwards and forwards, if war material is not increased and accumulated. Preventing war at present is an industrial problem. There remains the question of the end in view. What on earth is peace? In the book under review there is no mention of diplomacy; and yet the diplomatic system is an essential part of the State system. There is no mention of the interlocking of the administrative departments of different States. War continues to be possible because most men can see a common good which they serve in war. What common good is served by peace? Only the chance for each gang to take as much and give as little as it can?

REFUGEES

IN true American fashion, Mr. Macdonald, the High Commissioner for German Refugees, has not let the grass grow under his feet. The first session of the Governing Body of the German Refugee Organisation is to be held at Lausanne on December 5. The Government has appointed Lord Cecil as the British representative.

As to the Assyrians, the Iraq Government has given assurances of good behaviour, but thousands whose villages have been burnt and pillaged are in dire necessity. Major Thomson, a British official in the service of the Iraq Government, has formed a camp for the families of the massacred men. At present it contains 1,557 souls of which 1,066 are children under 16. The Royal Air Force has another camp for the families of the "levies." In the meantime, the League has decided that a Commissioner should be sent out to Mosul by the Nansen Office so soon as it is known to what country the Assyrians can be transferred. If any reader feels inclined to send money with which clothing can be purchased for the destitute in the Thomson camp, Lord Lugard would be glad to receive such gifts at Little Parkhurst, Abinger Common, Near Dorking, Surrey.

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POISON:

"Eight years ago to-day the Locarno Protocol was signed . . . we must reject Locarno . . . War-Pact of Locarno . . . we must not continue to allow Locarno to hang round our necks like a millstone . . . the Treaty of Locarno rivets a triple mortgage on the sons of men of 1914 . . . withdraw from it while there is still time and honour . . . these pacts were designed to involve us in foreign squabbles . . . we must seek freedom from all these entangling alliances."—*The Gutter Press on the Locarno Pact in October, 1933.*

ANTIDOTE:

Extract from leading article in the *Daily Mail*, October 17, 1925, entitled "The World's Hopes of Peace":—"The event at Locarno may well open a new chapter of world history. . . . British policy in this again is following cautious and time-honoured lines . . . criticisms of the Treaty in newspapers are merely the rearguard action of an army in full retreat. Their opinion is of no consequence." * *

POISON:

"The British people will be better satisfied and British naval tradition will be better maintained by a fleet that is the strongest for its size that can be produced. . . ."—*The "Evening News."*

ANTIDOTE:

If competition in armaments leads to the unexpected possession of an even stronger though possibly smaller fleet by some other nation regardless of the expense to all concerned, the British security so jeopardised will not satisfy the people, even though "naval tradition"—whatever that may mean—may derive some negative satisfaction. * *

POISON:

"This morning we received the first part of an enquiry from the Brazilian Government. It was for practically a complete new navy. The firm will be in competition with many other countries, but I am so hopeful about it that I am sending four or five senior staff men to Brazil to be on the spot."—*Commander Craven, Managing Director of Vickers-Armstrong, as reported in the "Observer."*

ANTIDOTE:

Mix this poison with an equal part of the poison which says that a huge British Navy is the only hope for Peace, and the mixture will act at once as an emetic, and make the patient profoundly sick of both armaments manufacturers and armaments advocates. * *

POISON:

"The League's highly paid staff . . . good shorthand typists paid £7 per week . . . heads of sections get £10 . . . every penny is spent as soon as it is earned . . . girls buy the most expensive clothing . . . wanton extravagance of the League Secretariat employees . . . etc., etc."—*Sunday Express.*

ANTIDOTE:

If employees of the Secretariat agreed to take a minimum wage for living abroad, wore nothing but dowdy clothes, scurried straight from the office to their lodgings and remained indoors in solitary gloom until it was time to start the next day's work, would this poisoner praise the League?

THE END OF A MYTH

By P. J. NOEL BER (Who needs no introduction to our readers)

LORD BEATTY is a great sailor, with a long record of distinguished service to his country. There is a story about him at the Battle of Jutland which has endeared him to the world. So much so, indeed, that even a disarmar, who does not expect to agree with Lord Beatty's views on ships, feels a sense of chill and disappointment when he reads Lord Beatty's recent speech to the Annual Dinner of the Navy League at the Dorchester Hotel.

Lord Beatty is thus reported in the columns of *The Times* :—

"The world has talked of disarmament since 1919. In this country alone we have done more than talk; we are the only country that has carried out fully the policy of Disarmament, and to an extent that makes us incapable of playing the part of a Great Power and of guaranteeing the safe passage of the sea to our ships."

On the basis of this general assertion, applying apparently to armaments of every kind, Lord Beatty desires that this country should once more lead the world into the frenzy of a new armaments competition.

I say "once more" advisedly. Twice in the lifetime of the present generation, this country, on Admirals' advice, has precipitated the world into a new armaments competition; and on both occasions with results gravely detrimental to the naval security of the British Isles.

Concrete Examples

The first was in 1905, when the late Lord Fisher produced the "Dreadnought"—and by so doing rendered obsolete the existing type of battleship in which Great Britain had an overwhelming superiority against the world.

The second was in 1924, when we began the construction of the new type of 10,000-ton 8-inch-gun cruisers. In reply the United States and other countries built considerable numbers of these vessels, which by their superior speed and gun-power are a serious menace to all the 6-inch-gun cruisers we had before. For this and other reasons, including their great expense, even the Admiralty now regret that we embarked upon this type of vessel.

With such examples in our memories, we should think twice before we agree to Lord Beatty's new demand for twenty cruisers. But we should think thrice and four times before we accept that extraordinary assertion already quoted, upon which his demand is based.

Before we can usefully attempt comparisons with the relative armament reductions made by Great Britain and other powers, we must first answer the question: "Reduction from what?"

Some people like to take as their standard for this purpose the level of armaments maintained by the various governments of the world when the war ended in 1918. Every reduction from that standard they describe as "disarmament"! But to take such a standard is obviously unacceptable from any point of view.

Another standard of comparison sometimes put forward is the level of armaments maintained when the war began. This standard was used by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons on November 7, 1933. It may be accepted for the present purpose, although some comments must be made upon it later.

The figures of the comparative strength of the Great Powers in 1914 show, firstly, that in battle fleets our superiority in Europe to-day is not only greater than it was in 1914, but is greater than it has ever been since modern navies were first constructed.

Secondly, so far from it being true that no other power has reduced its armaments, the situation is as follows:—Germany, who was our great rival in 1914, and who was responsible for her Navy Law for the immense expansion of our fleet from 1900 onwards, has had her navy reduced from approximately 1,100,000 tons to 140,000 tons. She has no battle fleet at all, no aircraft carriers, and no submarines. The Austro-Hungarian fleet—not unimportant in 1914, as a Mediterranean auxiliary to the German navy—has ceased to exist. The Russian fleet has virtually ceased to exist; it has no modern units of importance and naval experts never take it into account. France and Italy are weaker relatively to Great Britain in all categories of ships than they were in 1914, with the exception of cruisers and submarines, and it must be remembered that France has 6 battleships, 9 cruisers and various destroyers, etc., which were in service before the war, while Italy's battleships and 9 of her cruisers were launched before the war. There is no unit listed in the British navy so old as these vessels, some of which, indeed, are regarded by most sailors as "scrap-iron." It may be added that in Europe we have no "potential enemy," as we had in 1914.

Naval Treaties

There remain the United States and Japan. Both made great increases in their forces during the war—(increases made in order to assist us to defeat Germany). Unhappily their building developed into a Japanese-American competition during the years 1918-21. The danger which this involved for us, as well as for America and Japan, was happily averted by the Naval Disarmament Treaty of Washington, under which we established a definite ratio of relative strength with both the United States and Japan. The ratio with the United States (maintained by the London Treaty) was that of parity; as against Japan we obtained a superiority of 5 : 3. These ratios have never been exceeded by the United States or by Japan; indeed in some categories of ships they are still well below their permitted levels.

Can anybody suggest that in these last 10 years the bargain has proved to be a bad one for the British Empire? Does anyone suggest that if we reverted to free competition we should be able to outbuild the United States or to maintain a margin of superiority greater than 5 : 3 against Japan? And in any case, is Japan the "enemy" against whom Lord Beatty would have us build?

The truth is that all the signatory Powers gained by the two Naval Treaties; but certainly none gained more than we.

Military Forces

Since 1914 the regimental strength of the standing Regular British Army has been reduced from 247,250 (its 1913-14 level) to 192,677 (League of Nations Armaments Yearbook, 1933, p. 760)—a reduction of approximately 22 per cent. The French Standing Army numbered approximately 890,000 in 1913-14. In 1932

it numbered 552,000* (*ibid.*, p. 264). One of the first acts of Monsieur Herriot's government in the summer of 1932 was to decree a further reduction of more than 50,000 men. Nor is that all. In 1913-14, close on 700,000 of the French had done one year's military training or more. To-day there are in France only 280,000 troops, and a considerable proportion of that number have only had six months' training or less.† Germany's Standing Army (before Captain Goering had begun to rebuild its strength) had been reduced from 850,000 two-year conscripts (an army with vast reserves) to 100,000 twelve-year volunteers (i.e., with no official reserves at all). This is a reduction, however reserves may be allowed for, at least five times as great as we have made.

Russia's Standing Army was alleged in 1913-14 to number not less than 1,300,000 men. At the lowest computation it was not under 1,000,000. In 1932, it numbered 534,000, together with 61,000 others (O.G.P.U. and such) in "formations organised on a military basis." This is a reduction of 60 per cent.

Even Italy's army shows a considerable reduction compared to 1913-14, though no doubt it is offset by a large increase in voluntary military organisations. (Czecho-Slovakia (a fair example of the new Central European States) had no army in 1913-14; but she has reduced the numbers of her land forces since 1925 by more than 10 per cent.

It may, perhaps, be added, before the subject of Armies is left, that mere numbers are becoming every day of less importance. The three chief factors in any future warfare on land might well be tanks, mechanisation and poison-gas. In all three, it has been confidently claimed that Great Britain leads the world.

Air Forces

The Air Force is always cited as an example of the degree in which Great Britain has "disarmed beyond her neighbours." There were no Air Forces in 1914, and, therefore, no comparison of reductions can be made. The grand total of our Military and Naval aircraft is declared in the Armaments Yearbook for 1933 (p. 765) to be (as on April 1, 1931), 1,434. France is the strongest Air Power. She is also virtually our only rival, since Germany under the Versailles Treaty has no Air Force, and the other Great Powers are geographically too remote to attack us.

The total Military and Naval aircraft in France (the strongest Air Power) is declared (p. 269) to be 2,375. But there are certain important considerations to be borne in mind. First, as in her Navy, France maintains and lists a number of old aircraft, some of them, so I have heard it said, barely fit for service. Second, France has three Air fronts in Europe, while we have one. Third, in Air Forces it is *quality*, and, above all, *speed*, that counts. On June 28, 1931, the Air correspondent of *The Times* declared that "Great Britain, deficient in numbers as compared with other Great Powers, has gone far ahead of them in efficiency." He further added that: "Put into general terms, these comparisons mean that

* At the Washington Conference the U.S.A. scrapped 829,800 tons of ships built and building, including 291,800 tons of Port-Jutland Super-Dreadnoughts. Great Britain scrapped 593,100 tons, including no Port-Jutland vessels. On some of the American ships work had not proceeded very far, but without the Treaty they would certainly have been completed.

† As late as 1925 it still numbered 730,000.

the British military aeroplane is about 30 miles an hour faster than comparable machines in other countries . . . nor is it only in speed that improvement has been made. The new aeroplanes have remarkable powers of climb and manœuvre."

It may be added that the figures given for the total aircraft of Italy are 1,507 (Armaments Yearbook, p. 420) and of Russia, 750 (*ibid.*, p. 712).

Comparisons of Expenditure

I have no space to discuss the test of Budgetary Expenditure. But the greatest living expert on the subject, Mr. Per Jacobsson, showed in 1930 that "the British taxpayer is still burdened with (armament) charges . . . as high as those in 1913-14, before the Great War was won." He further showed that most of the other great Powers were likewise spending at about the 1913-14 level. Since 1930 the statistics show that the situation has not changed appreciably in our favour.

The facts cited above are all of them taken from official sources, the authenticity of which no one has ever attempted to deny. They do not support the thesis that "in this country alone we have done more than talk." They show, indeed, that the whole basis of the present campaign for armament increases by Great Britain does not bear examination. By their demands for cruiser and aircraft programmes, the leaders of the campaign have forced the country to examine the facts; and by so doing, they are exploding the myth which has been so carefully built up.

It is no part of my intention to contend that Great Britain has not done as well as other nations in armament "reduction." My purpose is to show that *no one* has disarmed. The numbers of ships and men have been reduced. But the ships that remain are far more powerful than in 1914; the men are armed with weapons far more deadly. Mr. Duff Cooper once said that mechanisation had doubled the striking force of the Army in the space of four years. Another expert has said that 10,000 men with modern weapons could easily defeat 100,000 armed as they were in 1914. Aircraft and poison-gas alone are far more effective and far cheaper than any weapons that existed before the war. Yet we, with other nations, are still spending—at 1914 prices—what we spent before the war. More of it may go in higher wages to the men; but none the less, we are getting for our money an infinitely greater power of destruction.

1913-14 was the culminating peak of that long period of armament competition which General Smuts has called "The Armed Peace." Mr. Jacobsson shows that the Great Powers of Europe increased their armament expenditure by *five times* in the sixty years before the war broke out; and the rate of increase was becoming every year more rapid from 1900 onwards. Is this standard of 1913-14 expenditure—a standard of frenzied and reckless competition—really to be taken as the level of our normal peace-time requirements? Must we always spend that much money, however far science may cheapen and improve the means of war?

The grim truth is that society—here and throughout the world—is more dangerously militarised to-day than it has ever been before. Disarmament has not been "fully carried out"; it has not even been begun.

THE CASE FOR CANVASSING

By JOYCE ANSELL, *Honorary Secretary of the Hampstead Youth Group*

I HAVE often wondered in recent months just how many branches of the League of Nations Union have tried the house-to-house canvass method of membership-increase, and persevered with it. It is evidently a type of campaign which, so far, has not attracted a large number of willing volunteers—and yet if members only knew what an entertaining affair it is, they would probably roll up in shoals to offer their services.

The first requirement in a canvasser is, I think, a sense of adventure—a sort of “What’s round the corner feeling?”—and even if he possesses it in only an elementary form, his first evening’s work will develop it considerably. For some obscure reason, argument with a person totally unknown to you seems to have a stimulating effect often lacking in more familiar surroundings. As a rule, the man on the doorstep seems willing to listen to what you have to say, and to consider it seriously. Possibly this is the reverse side of the old proverb about “familiarity” breeding “contempt”!

I find it a good plan to be in no hurry to get on to the next house, especially if you have been invited inside this one, as is often the case. [Note by Editor—Remember, though, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, “I am a great eater of beef and I believe that does harm to my wit.”] On the other hand, I have known as many as six new members to be enrolled during a two hours’ canvass.

Nobody Quite Hopeless

The “despondent” type particularly needs a lot of talking-round, and perhaps the best way with him is to discover what are his chief interests and see if they can be put to some useful purpose within the Union. For example, my partner and I (our canvassing team always hunt in couples) spent a whole evening talking round one young man who proved to be intensely keen on dramatic production. Finally, he said that he could throw himself heart and soul into the production of plays for peace propaganda, and he is now working minor miracles with some very raw material in our dramatic section.

Our canvassing team hunt in couples for the reason that when one dries up, the “other” can take up the argument. Then, a lone hunt is no fun at all—and you might as well stay at home as canvass with a long face, however serious the international situation may be. Further, I believe it is quite sound psychology to rely on the principle of “mixed canvassing,” so that in each case the prospective member may be disarmed at the start by the opposite sex! [Another Note by the Editor.—Psalm 8, v. 2.] The moral disarmament of both sides is a most important factor in canvassing!

The parlour-maid problem is rather a big one, because, if a maid is well trained, you can get no further than the doorstep. In this event, the only thing to be done is to retreat in good order, and to call again at the first opportunity with a not-too-formal note in which you have stated your business and requested an interview.

A variety of strange excuses for not joining the Union has been met with by our team. One quaint old man was very solemn with his repeated refusal on the grounds of his position as “a public official”; asked what this was, he announced with great pomp and circumstance that he was a verger at the Church round the corner.

Although I will not go so far as to say that canvassing is essentially a Youth Grouper’s job, it seems fairly certain that youth gets more fun out of it than does the average parent-branch member, and if the Secretary of every Branch possessing a Youth Group can put the case for canvassing to it in the light of a new and attractive adventure, he should not have much difficulty in getting it to form a canvassing team.

Encourage the team to start off in couples on a fixed evening, canvass for an hour or two, and finish up by meeting to discuss their experiences over coffee. The latter is most important for the simple reason that those of the team who are red-hot with a good “bag” can encourage those who have been less successful, and that a general exchange of experiences is very helpful.

Qualifying Tests

Our team, as a matter of fact, held a preliminary meeting at which a general inquisition was staged. Our captain then put us through a number of questions and arguments such as were likely to be brought forward by “canvasees.” Those who passed the test satisfactorily were appointed Senior Canvassers, and each Senior was told off to take a Junior hunting; Juniors, who have done well, are now promoted to the rank of Senior.

It might as well be confessed that we undertook this campaign with a rather forced enthusiasm and more than a little trepidation—I was about to say “funk”—but first results soon changed all that, and I hope that other branches and Groups will be as fortunate as we were in enrolling over forty new members in six weeks.

Of course, it would be of enormous help to canvassers if a Disarmament Campaign (or some such demonstration) could be staged in the district beforehand. This would prepare the ground for the team, but this involves lengthy preparations besides much expense, and the international situation has become so desperate that I think Youth canvassing teams everywhere should get going at the earliest possible date.

£20!

YOUR LAST CHANCE

December 31st is the closing date of Sir Norman Angell’s Peace Poster Competition which was announced in these columns last September. Don’t forget that your entry must be received here not later than the first post on New Year’s Day.

In addition to Sir Norman Angell himself, Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. David Low, the well-known cartoonist, have consented to act as judges. It is hoped that it will be possible to announce the award in the February “Headway.”

Reprints of Sir Norman Angell’s article giving the “Angles of Argument” that are to be illustrated can be had on application to the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

UNION POLICY

TWO debates in the House of Commons and one in the House of Lords show the wisdom and foresight of the Executive Committee in having concentrated Union opinion upon Disarmament as the problem of the day. The policy to which it adheres and which it will recommend to the December General Council meeting is as follows:—

To urge H.M. Government to proceed with the Disarmament Conference with a view to obtaining an agreed draft which can then be submitted to Germany and which shall bring about for all nations alike:—

- (1) The abolition by a stated time of all the weapons now prohibited to Germany;
- (2) The limitation of expenditure on armaments; and
- (3) The establishment forthwith of an effective regular and continuous system of supervision and control.

But to this resolution on what should be the form of the Disarmament Treaty, there is a prefix which underlines the value of the Collective System. The Executive feels so strongly on the matter, that it hopes the general Council will say “that only through the League of Nations and the collective system can war be averted and civilization saved.”

This resolution is also to be put to the Albert Hall* meeting on the evening of December 15. Another to be proposed on the same occasion declares that it “is not in the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit.”

There is little doubt that such a resolution expresses the views of almost the entire nation, as the chairman remarked at the first meeting of the Executive after Armistice Day, he had been struck everywhere he spoke by the unanimity of opinion on this subject. Other members added corroborative evidence of this fact.

The same feeling against the private manufacture of arms runs through the resolution on World Trade that the Executive is presenting to the General Council wherein occurs the phrase: “Notes with alarm that the improvement (in world trade) has been particularly marked in the trade in war material.”

What Germany Wants

The Executive Committee has also decided at Lord Cecil’s request to give the widest publicity to a communication published in *L’Europe Nouvelle* and described as an “Official Note sent by Herr Von Neurath in reply to a proposed Anglo-French-American Convention.” This is known to be substantially correct and the essential portions summarised in a letter from Lord Cecil to *The Times* on November 10 are as follows:—

The German Government accepted as a basis the British plan. In particular they accepted a five-year period for the first step in disarmament, and agreed that the first stage should be two years and the second three years. And they claimed that the principle of equality should be accepted from the start. Germany further agreed to change the Reichswehr into an army of short-term recruits. With regard to material, she agreed not to demand any form of armaments which other countries were prepared to abolish, provided that the actual abolition was to take place within the five-year period. But where particular armaments were to be maintained, though limited, Germany asked that she should be entitled to possess such armaments, and that from the beginning of the five-year period. The quantity of such armaments was to be left over for further discussion. Finally, she claimed that, with respect to armaments which were not to be limited to other powers, those also should not be limited to Germany.

The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Deputation to the Prime Minister on November 10 represented all shades of British opinion. It was not very satisfactory according to all accounts. The members of the deputation left without receiving any answer to the Archbishop’s direct questions as to the Government’s intentions.

* For particulars see page 244.



LANGUAGE PROBLEM SOLVED AT LAST

How to Learn a Foreign Language in Half the Usual Time

THE problem of learning a Foreign Language in half the usual time has at last been solved.

A new method has been devised which is enabling thousands of men and women to learn French, German, Italian and Spanish without any of the usual drudgery.

Even those who “couldn’t get on with languages” at school can by this method learn any one of these four languages with the greatest ease.

There are no complicated rules to master. There is no dreary desert of grammar to be traversed. There are no vocabularies to be memorised mechanically. There are no prose passages to be translated from one language into another.

All these obstacles to the acquirement of a Foreign Language have been swept entirely away. The new method takes you to the language itself, and it does this from the very start. You learn from the fountain head. You learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. It is a direct method. English is not used at all. Yet the method is so simple that even a child can follow it, and so enjoyable that everyone who starts to learn a language in this way goes on until the language has been thoroughly mastered.

Here is the experience of one student who took the German Course:—

After studying it for three months he went to Silesia and stayed with some Germans. He found he could talk with them very well, that he could understand them, and they him. Everyone was surprised at his good pronunciation. When he went shopping the shop assistants were surprised when he told them he was English, and said they hadn’t the least idea he was a foreigner.

Since his return he has received many letters from his German friends, and can read them all without the least difficulty.

He found the Course most enjoyable. And in three months it enabled him, without any previous knowledge of German, to stay five weeks in a part of Germany where English is seldom spoken. As he says, this “speaks for itself.”

Many similar statements could be quoted. Almost every day readers write to the Pelman Institute to say that they have learnt French, German, Italian or Spanish in from one-half to one-third the usual time by this new method. And all of them agree that the Pelman method of learning languages is simple, thorough and interesting, and presents no difficulties of any sort to anyone who adopts it. As another student writes:—

“The Pelman method has changed the study of languages from a drudgery to a delight.”

The Pelman method of learning French, German, Spanish and Italian is explained in a little book entitled “The Gift of Tongues.”

There are four editions of this book, one for each language—

FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH, ITALIAN.

You can have a copy of any one of these by writing for it to-day by

the Pelman Institute, 114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

STATE WHICH OF THE FOUR BOOKS YOU WANT and a copy will be sent to you by return, free and post free. Call or write to-day.

Pelman (Overseas) Institutes: PARIS, 80, Boulevard Haussmann. NEW YORK, 71, West 45th Street. MELBOURNE, 396, Flinders Lane. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI, 10, Alipore Road. AMSTERDAM, Leliegracht 30.



BOOK NOTICES

World Tides in the Far East. By Basil Matthews. (Edinburgh House Press. 2s.)

Mr. Basil Matthews has made good use of the time he has been spending in the Far East. In this his latest book he sweeps away the unessential and brings us down to bed-rock.

"Externally the world sees Japan and China at grips over Manchuria, with Russia in the background, waiting and preparing a master blow. And this is, politically, the situation. The real battleground is quite different. What we see is, in essence, not so much international antagonism as a unique conflict of values of an almost terrible fascination. It is not only a war of new values on old. . . . It is a clash of modern with modern."

Elsewhere Mr. Matthews crystallises out those forces as Nationalism, Bolshevism, and mechanistic industrialism.

Of China, despite the fact that "the tides of nationalism, communism and imperialism all strive for mastery over her," the family "has done and still does for the individual all and more than all that is done for the individual in the West by the insurance company, the building society, the lending library, and the education, unemployment relief and old age pension departments of governments."

His analysis of the forces moulding the Japanese spirit is admirable, if perhaps a shade too kindly, for he over-emphasises the charming as exemplified by the *haiku*—the tiny lyric epigrams—as against *bushido*—the worship almost of militarism. His explanation and description of Communism in China is the best thing that I personally have read. In the concluding chapters of his book Mr. Matthews becomes more general. "Let us try to climb a ridge of contemplation," he says, "from which we can get some glimpse of this fascinating human scene as a whole." Here is a

sermon for everyone. Salvation can be attained "if youth will have the imaginative daring and develop the disciplined will to rediscover the meaning of Christ's message and person for mankind to-day, and will then go out into all the world . . ."

There is a map, a useful bibliography and an index. O. B.

The Protection of Colonial Peoples: A study in British Colonial Policy. (Issued by the New Fabian Research Bureau and published by the N.F.R.B. and by Victor Gollancz. 1s.)

The well-informed but anonymous author of this pamphlet has marshalled for his readers' benefit a mass of data on a subject that has latterly dropped somewhat out of the public eye, but which is nevertheless of immense importance to an imperial power like ourselves. Administrative methods and principles in Asia and Africa are really too vast to be dealt with adequately in the short compass of 52 pages, even though this is intended as an introduction to a further study. Each of the 12 chapters is worthy of a pamphlet to itself.

For all that, many stimulating avenues of thought are opened up. Worse uses could be made of leisure than in reading this through carefully.

The Prevention of War By Collective Action. By the Rt. Hon. Lord Howard of Penrith. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 6d.)

At a time when the collective system for the prevention of war is so bitterly attacked by irresponsible isolationists on the Right and undermined by sentimental pacifists on the Left, it is good to find one of the most experienced of British diplomats putting forward a well-considered case for collective action. Lord Howard of Penrith, who as Sir Esmé Howard was the British Ambassador in Washington who helped to negotiate the Kellogg Pact, has examined the question most lucidly in this essay. He also argues the case for developing the financial and economic boycott as the main or normal international sanction, and holds out the hope that the United States of America, as well as Members of the League, will co-operate in this action. J. E.

The League Year Book, 1933. Second Annual Edition. Edited by Judith Jackson and Stephen King-Hall. (Ivor Nicholson & Watson. 12s. 6d.)

This is not to say that the appearance of the League Year Book for a second time is not useful. It is. But it could have been, I believe, so much better had the joint Editors put in that little extra effort in order to find out those seemingly trivial details which make all the difference between usefulness and indispensability. The best section in the 468 pages are the mordant thirty-seven, written by Mr. C. A. Macartney, on The Activities of the League, 1932-1933.

Part I of the Year Book, which is illustrated by useful diagrams, deals in detail with the now highly complex League organisation. Part III, which is the weakest section of the whole, gives information on members of League Committees, the names of the higher members of the Secretariat Staff, and so forth. It appears to have been taken direct, without any acknowledgment, from numbers of the "Monthly Summary" or of the "Official Journal" O. B.

The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism. Benito Mussolini. An authorised translation by Jane Soames. (Hogarth Press. 1s.)

This pamphlet is mainly of interest because we have here for the first time translated into English a clear statement of the ideals of Fascism in Italy from the pen of its creator. The following passage (written in 1932) shows quite clearly the position of Fascism in regard to international co-operation:—

"And above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity, quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. . . . War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it."

These sentiments are intended for home consumption. Italy's foreign policy is, luckily, not entirely in accordance with them.

Japan at the Cross Roads. By Yukio Ozaki. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 1s.)

Mr. Ozaki is the veteran Japanese parliamentarian who came to London to set out, among other things, his views of international affairs as they affect the welfare of the Japanese people. He wrote in London so as to be safe from assassination, though not from fear of it, for as he says: "I do not like the idea of dying in bed. If I were asked what kind of death I should prefer my answer would be: a death which would serve as an example to posterity. . . . To suffer instant death in an earthquake is not an unenviable way

THE SPECTATOR

Founded in 1828

Edited by H. Wilson Harris

6d. every Friday

WHY read a weekly paper?

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BECAUSE it is entirely independent in its outlook and associated with no political party.

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BECAUSE its book-reviews, traditionally an outstanding feature of the paper, form a necessary and reliable guide to the books of the moment, including fiction.

FREE A copy of the Christmas Number will be posted free of charge to all "Headway" readers who enquire early.

"The Spectator," 99, Gower St., London, W.C.2.

NAME

Mr., Mrs. or Miss

ADDRESS

.....

to die; but to be killed as a public service by an assassin is better." Surely a most illuminating insight into the Japanese mind!

His view of Japan's real destiny is this:—"Japan may be equal in military strength to any Power in Europe and America, but she is poorer than they are in wealth and territory. It might take her one hundred or even two hundred years to reach their level in these respects. Is it not better for her, therefore, to advocate internationalism, to encourage the nations to use the lands and wealth of the world for the mutual good of all?"

Books Received

BRITAIN HOLDS ON: 1917, 1918. By Caroline E. Playne. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 15s. 0d.)

THE BOY OF TO-DAY: A DEFENCE. By J. Howard Whitehouse. (Oxford University Press. 3s. 0d.)

LIFE OVERSEAS—INDIA. By Ernest Young and Samuel Gilmour. (George Philip & Son, Ltd. 8d.)

THE BURNING OF THE REICHSTAG: Official Findings of the Legal Commission of Inquiry. (The Relief Committee for the Victims of German Fascism. 2d.)

WHAT GERMAN CONSERVATIVES THOUGHT ABOUT THE REICHSTAG FIRE: The Oberfohren Memorandum. (German Information Bureau. 6d.)

EUROPE: A LIVING ORGANISM. By Dr. Victor M. Bauer. New Europe Group.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. By H. R. G. Greaves. The New Fabian Research Bureau. 4d.)

CASTE AND DEMOCRACY. Day-to-Day Pamphlets, No. 17. By K. M. Panikkar. (The Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.)

EUROPEAN RELATIONS. By M. M.K. Turnbull. (William Hodge & Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d.)

NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

Party Leaders Give the Lie Direct to Armaments Panic-Mongers.—(International Truth Broadsheet No. 3. 1s. 6d. per 100).

Extracts from Mr. Baldwin's speech at Birmingham and Mr. Henderson at Hastings.

No. 281.—Peace Through Industry. By Oliver Bell. 3d.

An old favourite dealing with the work of the International Labour Organisation brought up to date.

No. 356.—50 Facts and Figures About the League of Nations. 2d. A new and revised edition of Mr. G. A. Innes' well-known little booklet.

No. 357.—Geneva, 1933. By Freda White. 9d.

A first-class and eminently readable summarisation of what took place at the last Assembly. Miss White has managed to convey the "Geneva atmosphere" as well as the solid fact.

League and I.L.O. Documents

National Recovery Measures in the United States. Cloth, 5s.; paper, 3s. 6d.

This Report consists mainly of a compilation of the principal legislative measures fundamental to the National Recovery Programme in the United States, together with a number of Industrial Codes adopted under N.I.R.A. These original documents are valuable to an understanding of present developments in the United States.

Resolutions Adopted by the Assembly During its 14th Ordinary Session. (September 25 to October 11, 1933.) 26 pages. Special Supplement, No. 114. 1s. 6d.

The exact text of all the Assembly resolutions. Very handy for speakers.

Convention for Facilitating International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character. (October 5 to 11, 1933.) 10 pages. 1933. XII.B.1. 6d.

Final Act of the Conference for Facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character. 10 pages. 1932. XII.B.2. 6d.

The subject of a Matter of Moment in the November HEADWAY.

Statistical Information Regarding Territories Under Mandate. 20 pages. 1933. VI.A.2. 9d.

This Document contains the statistical tables regarding Trade, Public Finance, and Vital Statistics of Mandated Territories.

International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age. (Geneva. October, 9 to 11.) 9 pages. 1933. IV.5. 6d.

The subject of a Matter of Moment in the November HEADWAY.

The League of Nations will shortly publish four more volumes concerning the Taxation of Foreign and National Enterprises. The prices are between 12s. and 2s. 6d. a volume. Particulars from the League of Nations Publications Department or the Union's Book Shop.

READERS' VIEWS

SECRET SERVICE

DEAR SIR,—Next to the cruelty and hatred which are inseparable from war the most odious feature is the orgy of falsehood which war entails. One of the richest fields for this evil is in connection with the organisation of spying, known as the Secret Service, which involves a network of incitements to treachery and deceit, often of a shamefully sordid kind. Moreover, this Service is ceaselessly and zealously employed by most Governments in times of peace. Without it, as things are, there is indeed no means of knowing the full extent of the preparations for war which are being made by other potentially hostile Governments.

If the French plan for a regular, searching, and comprehensive supervision of armaments in all countries be adopted, as it surely should be, there will no longer be any need or excuse for the Secret Service, as long as peace be maintained. I do not know whether the matter has been discussed by the Executive of the L. of N.U. I would, in any case, suggest that there should be added to our programme for disarmament a definite demand for the complete abolition at least of all appropriations for Secret Service from State funds in time of peace. Even if the Governments could not be trusted to keep their engagements in this respect, it would be a great step forward if a general agreement were secured to the abandonment of this most hateful and harmful form of public employment.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

Broxbourne.

UNION POLICY

SIR,—It seems to me that the L.N.U. has a very definite policy to pursue; which is to utilise every available material, from whatever source emanating, toward international co-operation to world welfare through the machinery of the League of Nations. This necessarily implies opposition to anything which obstructs that policy. Abstract propositions, such as that war if persisted in will eventually destroy civilization—etc., etc., are merely of negative value. On the other hand, the consideration of positive methods of action necessarily involves the inclusion of controversial subjects. If the adoption or rejection of any particular line of action results in loss of membership one must infer either that offended members are obstructed in their vision by their party labels, or, on the other hand, that political party weight has been cast in the balance with ulterior motives. If, as Mr. G. E. Lillie asserts such resignations are occurring "all over the country" the matter needs immediate investigation.

Wallasey Branch.

A. C. TENNANT.

STICK TO THE LEAGUE: STOP THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS!

In connection with the General Council Meetings the League of Nations Union is organising an

ALBERT HALL MEETING

8.0 p.m., on DECEMBER 15

Some of the Speakers are

LORD CECIL

LADY ASTOR BUNNY AUSTIN
NOEL BAKER DOROTHY WOODMAN

Some Free Seats: others (numbered and reserved) at prices ranging from 1/- to 10/6.

Write to 15 Grosvenor Crescent for Particulars

A GOOD EXAMPLE

SIR,—I ordered fifty copies of the pamphlet-reprint "Lord Beaverbrook is Too Busy," through the Secretary of the Heswall Branch. It may interest you to know that I was able to re-sell the whole batch before lunch. This I attribute largely to the excellent way in which the pamphlet has been produced. In all my experience of pamphlets—both as pamphleteer and pamphletee—I have never seen one that has been so attractively presented. It actually stimulates people to read it, even though they have not the slightest knowledge of, or previous interest in, its subject.

I now propose to buy another two hundred copies. If to-day's experience can be taken as typical—and I think it can—I ought to have re-sold them all by the end of next week.

MAUD BUDDEN.

Heswall Women Citizens' Association.

LEGACIES FOR THE UNION

SIR,—In glancing over HEADWAY my eye was arrested by your appeal for "Legacies for the Union." The Union lacks the support of income from invested funds. It relies on subscriptions and in lean years the income is diminished and the work restricted.

No Charity can serve humanity better than the League; no Charity can bring a richer blessing to mankind. War is the robber of wealth that could be used to support our struggling hospitals and help on every good and worthy cause.

Then there is the League's work for humanity: its work to put down slavery, the White Slave traffic, the drug traffic; its work to prevent and restrict the scourge of epidemics and to co-ordinate medical research for the cure of disease.

All this work depends on the support given to the League and for that support the Union stands.

The income needs increasing at the headquarters of the Union and legacies left for this purpose will bring in the richest harvest for mankind.

H. POWNALL.

Whalley Range Branch.

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

SIR,—I am this year adding to the usual inscription on my Christmas cards the following message:—

"If you wish to see the spirit of Christmas perpetuated and spread throughout the world, please support the League of Nations by joining the League of Nations Union."

I offer this suggestion to all Union members.

Oughtybridge, Sheffield.

W. F. WILSON.

A RIDICULOUS CHARGE

SIR,—I understand that a certain admiral brings against the League of Nations Union the charge that the Union is financed from abroad by those who desire to reduce the Navy below safety point.

Could you deal with this charge in your monthly journal?

G. J. INCE.

Haywards Heath.

[There is absolutely no foundation whatever for such a charge. The words of our King and the Prince of Wales with regard to the Union should in themselves be sufficient refutation.—Ed.]

League Books for Children and Teachers

SIR,—To many of HEADWAY's readers, the book list which the Union publishes each year for the use of children and teachers needs no introduction. Others, however, may be glad to hear about it. The children's section contains a complete list of up-to-date books for children and young people of all ages on the League of Nations and international relations. The books are divided into suitable age-groups and the contents of each summarised very briefly.

The teachers' section is divided under subject headings:—League of Nations, Education, International Relations, Special Problems and Disarmament. Keeping in mind the educational function of the list, the books have been very carefully selected and each section contains only the most up-to-date and comprehensive books on the subject.

Copies of the list may be obtained gratis from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. All the books may be borrowed, of course, from the League of Nations Union library.—Yours, etc.

B. N. NEWTON,

Librarian.

15, Grosvenor Crescent.

International Friendship League

SIR,—I would like to draw the attention of your readers to the above League for promoting International Friendship.

Eighty guests passed through our hands during the month of August from France, Holland, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, India and China.

Other centres had other groups, Eastbourne, Brighton, Horsham, London, all under the same League, and all working under the same slogan: "Build Friendship for Peace."

This is a movement which might well work as a section of the League of Nations Union. The joy and fun of co-operative service were entered upon with zest and delight, and all were sorry to leave, many declaring their intention of coming again for a future holiday to England.—Yours faithfully,

ESTHER M. KITCHING,

9, Shaftesbury Avenue, New Barnet, Herts.

Films and Branch Publicity

SIR,—Mr. Stainton's admirable article omits mention of the value of films. The showing of half-an-hour's films at the beginning of a Branch meeting, even if a whole evening could not be devoted to a show, would help greatly in the publicity which, as Mr. Stainton writes, ensures "full houses" and stimulates public interest.

D. F. RITCHIE.

Christmas Presents

SIR,—The Christmas present suggestion of Mr. C. H. Edwards is an excellent idea.

I would make such a present to my Lord Beaverbrook—if I thought that he would have the sense to read it!

A. HAMMOND.

Barnham.

THE STAMP FOR PEACE

Since big donations cannot be obtained in these days of crisis, members of League of Nations Societies in all countries are shouldering the responsibility for the funds of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies to which 40 League of Nations Unions belong.



The Stamp is the means whereby the voluntary levy of 1d. a head for the Funds of the Federation is most easily obtained. It is both a receipt and a reminder of the usefulness of the Federation. It calls to mind, too, that other countries are working for peace through their own League of Nations Union. Have you bought your stamp yet?

THE SCHOOL AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY SERIES

Pamphlet No. 1

The Teaching of Geography in Relation to the World Community

One Shilling

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for Wales
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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

FAMOUS MEN AND THE BIBLE

(10) CHARLES DICKENS

"I put a New Testament among your books for the very same reasons and with the very same hopes that made me write an easy account of it for you when you were a little child—because it is the best book that ever was or will be known in the world, and because it teaches you the best lessons by which any human creature who tries to be truthful and faithful to duty can possibly be guided." (Letter to his youngest son, who was leaving home to join his brother in Australia.)

The Bible Society has placed the Bible in the hands of tens of thousands of young people setting out in life, believing, as Dickens did, that it is the surest help and best guide for life's journey.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

EAT MORE MILK
IN
CADBURY'S
DAIRY MILK CHOCOLATE

NOTES AND NEWS

The **Newton Abbot** Branch merits congratulations on its determination not to allow their ideals to be thwarted by the local Pooh-Bahs. The Urban District Council recently decided to ban the posters showing H. M. Bateman's clever cartoon entitled "The Man Who Thought War Was a Glorious Adventure" on the score that it insulted the men who served. As one of the latter, I remember well that, although I enlisted as a patriotic duty, I chafed against the weeks of delay for training before I was drafted to France, dreading lest too quick a termination of the War would rob me of "the glorious adventure," but the Councillors of Newton Abbot think that they know our thoughts better than we do ourselves. The Branch has declined to be snubbed, however, and the posters proudly proclaim their message from shop windows and other places of exhibition over which the Council has no power to exercise its narrow tyranny. It is worthy of note that the Press throughout the country has devoted space to this parochial war, and that in almost every instance, even in papers which are not usually too friendly in their attitude towards the Union, contempt for this piece of stupidity has been expressed.

A most ingenious and attractive display was evolved for Armistice Week at **Plymouth**, a window being generously lent for the whole week-end by Messrs. Montague Burton, Ltd. The display, which was the result of a brain wave on the part of Mr. K. M. Angus, formerly District Secretary, took the form of a large plan of Europe, showing the principal countries, each territory being "guarded" by a castellated turret, varying in regard to height in proportion to the armaments cost per head of each population concerned. The appropriate national flag adorned each turret, which also bore a warrior in chain armour, oscillating fans at each corner of the display causing the warriors and flags to swing round in all directions as though nervous of attack. Japan and the U.S.A. were also depicted. A notice called upon spectators to "Stop this mediaeval foolery and come back to the League method," and a further indication pointed to a desk at which new members were invited to enrol. Large crowds were attracted and a flattering number took advantage of the invitation. Mr. Angus and Plymouth Branch deserve hearty congratulation for his ingenuity and their enterprise.

Twenty-two Branches were represented at the Annual Meeting of Delegates to the **Surrey Federation** at Leatherhead, and a very big audience heard Lord Allen of Hurtwood at the Public Meeting which followed.

The first **Northants** County Youth Group Conference was an outstanding success. Mr. Whelen, from Headquarters, who was the principal speaker, spoke on the question of the practicability and desirability of an International Police Force. After discussion, both items were unanimously decided in the affirmative.

A hundred new members rewarded the work put in by the **Hill Branch** (Leeds) at its Civic Week Stall, as the result of their definite plea: "Now more than ever" is support needed for the League in order to make Peace secure.

Some 700 people attended the presentation of the play "Slavery" by the Youth Group of the **Waterloo, Crosby, Seaforth and Litherland** Branch, and a further 350 listened to an address by Professor C. K. Webster.

At the **London Regional Federation's** Council Meeting on Friday November 3, Miss K. D. Courtney gave her Presidential Address on the Disarmament situation to a gathering of about one hundred delegates. During the evening a presentation was made to Mr. Geo. A. Innes, the London Regional Organiser, by Miss Courtney on behalf of the subscribers, who wished to record in a practical way their admiration for his past work, and their wishes for his future activities. The presentation took the form of a cheque and inscribed scroll, which was signed by Lord Dickinson and Dr. G. P. Gooch, who were present and took part in the presentation ceremony.

Applications for the three new lantern lectures prepared by the London Regional Federation are coming in steadily, 77 having been booked to date. The lectures are: "Dealers in Destruction," an account of the private manufacture of armaments; "Redressing Human Wrongs," which describes the humanitarian work of the League; and "Nansen," an account of the life of this great explorer, with special reference to his work for the League. Applications for hire of the slides, price 5s., including copy of lecture, should be made to the Federation office, 43, Russell Square.

The League of Nations Union takes part every year in the **Conference of Educational Associations**, at University College, Gower

Street, London, W.C.1. This year the Session will be held on Tuesday, January 2, at 11 a.m., when Dr. J. F. Unstead will lecture and open a discussion on "The Teaching of Geography in Relation to World Citizenship." The Union being affiliated to the Conference entitles members to attend this and any other sessions except those marked Private.

Vouchers for reduced railway fares may be obtained to secure either return tickets, available from December 30 to January 9, at a single fare and a third, or single tickets, available for any day of issue between the dates specified, at two-thirds of the ordinary fare. The vouchers must be obtained beforehand from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

B.B.C.'s Christmas Plans

The central point of the Christmas broadcasting will, of course, be the greeting of H.M. King George to his people throughout the Empire, which is to come at the end of the programme between two and three on Christmas afternoon. This will, as last year, be relayed from Sandringham, where His Majesty will spend Christmas. At 8 o'clock on Christmas Eve we are to hear the bells of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, which will be relayed from the Holy Land.

This Christmas Day programme will be the exact reverse of the last, when the Dominions and Colonies each in turn called the homeland and gave their own characteristic sketches of life in different parts of the Empire. This time it is the turn of the Old Country and the programme is being planned to present a cross section of life at home to the people overseas. The various Regional Stations will each contribute a part.

Of particular interest among the December Broadcasts are Commander King-Hall's talks on "Economics in a Changing World," on Mondays at 7.5; Vernon Bartlett on "Foreign Affairs," on Mondays at 9.20, and on "Events Abroad on December 7 and 21; the "National Character" talks; and talks on the Commonwealth of Nations. Details of the latter items will be found in the "Radio Times."

Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1932:

New:—Earswick, Tiverton.

1933.

Addlestone, Ardingly, Angmering, Baildon, Blockley, Blackheath, Bury St. Edmunds, Burpham, Chelmsford, Chinnor, Church, Crawley Down, Danbury, Dartmouth, Epping, East Brent, Felbridge, Fleet, Frodsham, Glensford and Cavendish, Gravesend, Hailsham, Henleaze, Hockley, Harlow, Headingley, Halton, Hemel Hempstead, Laindon, Lancing, Mundesley, Malmesbury Park, Martock, Middlewich, Midhurst, Newbiggin, Newquay, North Chapel, Rugby, Rottingdean, Ruskington, Sea-Mills, Seaford, Shoreham, Sedlescombe, Taunton, Tenterden, Winscombe, Witham, Wimborne, Withyham, Warwickshire County, Winton, Worle, West Wight.

Overseas Notes

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies has decided to transfer its headquarters from Brussels to Geneva. The move should be complete before June 1, 1934. The new office will be situated at the Rigot property, opposite the League's new building. The spring meetings of the Federation will be held in Brussels about the middle of February.

Mr. W. Stanley Anderton, Hon. Secretary of the League of Nations Society for Ceylon, writes:

"... We held an interesting meeting in Kandy on October 6. Our platform was very cosmopolitan—two Buddhist Priests, a Moslem 'Bishop,' a Roman Catholic chairman, a Methodist speaker, an Anglican speaker and a Singalese lady to propose the Disarmament resolution!"

The Council of the South African League of Nations Union has passed two resolutions on education, urging the Provincial authorities to insert League education in secondary courses and examinations, and also urging the Minister of Education and the Four Provincial Administrators to further League instruction in schools.

A schoolmaster (aged 45) in South Africa wishes to exchange letters with an Englishman. Will any member who would be willing to correspond with him please communicate with the Overseas Secretary at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

FROM GLASGOW

Signatures to the Petition organised by the Women of Glasgow against the Private Manufacture of Armaments, are being obtained in most gratifying numbers, and it is hoped that by Easter the Petition can be presented to Parliament.

Lady Henschel, Mr. Gerald Bailey, and Mr. Ramsay Muir have just conducted successful tours in the West of Scotland. The meetings were all crowded, and their visits have aroused enthusiasm throughout the West. On arriving in Glasgow, Lady Henschel met with an unfortunate accident at the Central Station and she sustained a severe injury to her leg. Nevertheless, she very pluckily and gallantly carried out every engagement she had undertaken.

A very successful Musical Evening organised by the Glasgow Branch on behalf of its funds was held at Sir Daniel Stevenson's house on October 21. The Duchess of Hamilton spoke on behalf of the Union, and a sum of over £130 was obtained for the Glasgow Branch.

The fortnightly luncheons organised by the Glasgow Branch are attracting numbers of interested people.

WELSH NOTES

A large number of Public Meetings and Demonstrations were organised by Branches throughout Wales and Monmouthshire during November, especially during Armistice Week and audiences at almost all the centres were larger than ever. Over 2,000 attended the Remembrance Service at the Park Hall, Cardiff, on the afternoon of Sunday, November 12, and hundreds were turned away.

The Cardiff District Committee, as in past years, arranged for a "Peace Shop" in the centre of the city.

On Armistice Day a wreath was laid, on behalf of the Welsh Council, during the Civic Service, at the Welsh National War Memorial at Cardiff and at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor. In each case the wreath was laid by a mother who lost a son in the World War.

On November 16, the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council met at Shrewsbury, when there was a record gathering of members. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Davies, Mr. Dudley Howe, the Deputy-Chairman, presided. Resolutions on the Far East and Disarmament were passed.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

Foundation Members	..	£25 for life or £1 a year (minimum)
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Ordinary Members	..	1s. or more a year.

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

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

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

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

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

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to a local Branch, District or County Secretary; or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegraphic address: Frenal, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6181.

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

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

for £30

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THE BUSY BEAVERBROOK

"If you will get SIR NORMAN ANGELL to ask me questions about isolation, *I will answer them*," wrote LORD BEAVERBROOK.

So SIR NORMAN ANGELL asked LORD BEAVERBROOK some questions on the following lines:—

(1) Does Lord Beaverbrook agree that Britain's political independence, prosperity, freedom from unemployment, industry and trade are most endangered by war, whether it be victorious or not, since victory has not enabled us to defend our trade, which dwindles and dwindles; nor our investments; nor our monetary system; nor prevent disastrous financial collapse, nor the disruption of our Empire?

(2) Does he agree that if we pile on our already shaken and disordered economic system further dislocations (unpayable debts, revolutions, which we now know are the necessary legacy of war) then it will probably finish off the present order in chaos?

(3) Is it Lord Beaverbrook's general view that the best way to prevent that recurrence is to continue the old armament competition? If so, on what ground does he believe that the old method will not produce the old result?

(4) For a nation to be secure under the competitive principle it must be stronger than any probable rival. What becomes of the rival? Is he to go without defence? Does Lord Beaverbrook think there is some system by which each can be stronger than the other?

(5) If, in order to be secure, we make ourselves stronger than a rival, does Lord Beaverbrook suggest that that rival will accept the situation and not resort to alliance making? And if that rival makes alliances are we to refrain from resorting to the same weapon?

(6) From the time of Julius Cæsar to Kaiser Wilhelm there has not been a single century in which we have not been drawn

into the affairs of the Continent. Does Lord Beaverbrook really believe that, if isolationism was not possible even for a remote island in ancient times, a great Empire in the days of the aeroplane can continue to pursue isolationism?

(7) Although we had no League Commitments in 1914 we were drawn in. Does Lord Beaverbrook think we could have kept out, that our entrance was a mistake?

(8) If he thinks our entrance a mistake, would he have regarded the victory of the Germanic powers as a matter of indifference? If so, why trouble about armaments at all?

(9) If, on grounds of national security, we cannot accept the preponderance of a foreign combination, why should we expect foreigners to accept ours?

(10) When the Peace Treaty was under discussion did Lord Beaverbrook's Press support the efforts of those who desired to moderate its terms? Or did it attack those "pro-Germans" with bitter personal abuse and raise against them easily excited nationalist prejudices?

(11) On what general grounds does Lord Beaverbrook differ from practically all the British statesmen and all the competent students in view of the fact that he says (*Sunday Express*, September 11): "I am no authority on European politics. I cannot speak their language. I don't want to. I don't know their politicians. I don't like them"?

(12) If a preferential arrangement between Canada and Britain is good for Britain why should an exactly similar arrangement between Argentine and Britain be bad?

But LORD BEAVERBROOK could only reply:—

"When I said I would answer questions, I had no idea that I should be confronted with such an immense catechism. It would take me a great deal of labour and time to answer the questions as they should be answered. In the busy life I lead, I do not have the opportunity to do so. *It is Too Big a Proposition for Me.*"

For all that, LORD BEAVERBROOK spared the time to organise and address a massed meeting at a London Theatre on "Isolation," but he was still unable to *afford the time* even to refer to the above questions. And why? Doubtless because it was indeed

TOO BIG A PROPOSITION!!!

[Taken from the Union Pamphlet (3d.) "Lord Beaverbrook is Too Busy," which is itself a reprint of Chapter X of Mr. Beverley Nichols' Book "Cry Havoc," published by Messrs. Jonathan Cape.]