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THE ABYSSINIAN CRISIS

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THE ASSEMBLY AGENDA

See page 172

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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ABYSSINIA.



This relief map, which we reproduce by the courtesy of the "Illustrated London News," gives an excellent idea of the difficult country in which Italian troops will be condemned to fight unless better counsels prevail.

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Any Necessary Action

AT a special meeting held on August 12 the following resolution was passed:

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

In view of the fact that collective action, which is indispensable if war between Italy and Abyssinia is to be prevented, will be rendered more difficult by any uncertainty as to the part which the British Government is prepared to take,

Urges His Majesty's Government to decide without delay to communicate a statement to the Members of the Council on or before September 4, making it clear that the British Government are bound to fulfil the undertakings they have given in signing the Covenant; that this is an obligation of honour binding this country and other Members of the League; and that the British nation will be ready to bear its part in any action, however drastic, that may be necessary for the purpose.

The response has been immediate. At home it has left no doubt that public opinion is solid behind the League policy of the Government, conciliatory, anxious to meet every legitimate claim by Italy, but firm that the pledges of the Covenant shall be honoured. Remarkable evidence of British opinion appears day by day in the correspondence columns of the *Times*. Men and women readers in every department of life, in every part of the British World Commonwealth, are writing to declare the same conviction. The League, guaranteeing world peace, is Britain's most vital interest; it must be defended.

A Lawyer's View

How does the suggestion that the Suez Canal should be closed to Italian ships impress the legal mind? A most interesting answer is given by the *Law Journal*. Says that authority:

The international law of war has been radically altered by the Covenant of the League and the Agreements which have followed it. Italy, if her present Dictator makes war on Abyssinia, will not be embarking on a war of the old type, recognised as a lawful expression of the ambition and demands of a nation. Italy will be a criminal in International Law, and the Commissioners are under no obligation to allow the Canal which is under their charge to be used for the furtherance of a crime.

Politicians and the Press are often accused of

lagging far behind the times in their thinking on the League. Often the charge is true. Amongst lawyers, the most conservative of men, there is a realisation that with the League began a new world order. The Covenant breaker abandons all the rights given him by International Law. He is no more entitled to free navigation of the open seas than he is to passage through the Suez Canal.

British Tradition

HERE are two quotations strictly relevant to the moment. First this:

"The maintenance of world peace does not cease to give my Government the most anxious concern. They will continue to make the support and extension of the authority of the League of Nations a cardinal point in their policy."—*The King's Speech at the opening of Parliament, November 20, 1934.*

Next this, stating the policy of the British Government in the present crisis:

"When I consider the League, I think of it from two standpoints. I think of it first from the British standpoint, from which we should regard one of our own institutions, for example, the Imperial Parliament. I believe that the strength of the League in Great Britain, just as the strength of the British Parliament, depends upon the amount of public opinion behind it in this country, and on the adaptability of a great institution to a continually changing world. Secondly, I consider the League not from the angle of the past, but from the angle of the future. I think much less of what it has done and what it has failed to do in the last 15 years than of what it may do in the next 15 years if it is given a fair chance.

The more I look at the future prospects, whether it be a near or a far prospect, the more sure I am that a system of collective security is essential to peace and stability, and that the League best provides the necessary machinery. If the system of collective security that is gradually being built up with great care and patience were smashed, if the League became so feeble and futile as to have no real influence upon the course of events, the old system of alliances, that is, the reverse to collective security, must necessarily reappear with all its ancient disquiets and intrigues.—*Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, House of Commons, July 11, 1935.*

What Britain says to-day is in the British tradition, which may be traced back through a hundred earlier pronouncements to the beginnings of British foreign policy, of which the League is the logical outcome.

Article XVI

THE action required is League action undertaken by the Members of the League under the authority of the League. First, persuasion; then, if need be, pressure; finally, coercion. The Covenant is not free from uncertainties. But in one matter its meaning is clear beyond dispute.

If a Member resorts to war in disregard of its bond, "it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members." They undertake immediately to cut off all trade and financial relations. They are pledged to measures not stopping short of complete economic, political, social blockade. Such a prospect must daunt even the most reckless Covenant breaker. League Members will co-operate to minimise the loss and inconvenience to themselves of their measures. In the last resort, the Council shall recommend what contingents League Members severally shall contribute to the armed forces required for the defence of the League's legally acknowledged right to peace.

In face of Article XVI, the argument is idle that the obligations knowingly accepted by all League Members are too dubious for them to be acted upon promptly and effectually. Or that they can be ignored with honour. The procedure advances by prudent stages. But it does not stop short of maintaining or restoring peace.

Refugees

AT a moment of crisis whose outcome may change the world, attention is inevitably, and rightly, concentrated on the one supreme challenge. Peace or War? Yet, even now, it is wise to spare an occasional thought for the other work which must be accomplished if the social order is to justify the cost of saving it. Every day in half a hundred ways the League is busy defending life, defeating death. Sometimes the League members hesitate to embark on a difficult task. The intricacies or the bill may daunt them. Usually they have early cause to regret their irresolution. Delay does nothing to dispel the need; it merely multiplies obstacles and increases expense.

The Assembly of the current month will be called upon to decide how the League shall deal in future with more than a million political refugees. For deal with them it must. Some parts of the refugee problem it has solved in the past with high credit to itself, thanks to the devoted labours of Dr. Nansen. Some parts it is still evading. But permanent evasion is not feasible.

Vision and Courage

RUSSIANS, Armenians, Assyrians, Italians, Spaniards, Austrians, Germans, driven from their homes as a consequence, direct or indirect, of the World War or its aftermath are a collective responsibility. They cannot be left to starve; they must be put in the way of becoming self-supporting citizens. There are empty spaces

enough in the world and sufficient unexploited natural resources. The Nansen Office has only a partial mandate. More is required. If a League Commission is appointed with comprehensive authority and modest funds, and if the League Members co-operate loyally with it, the refugee reproach can be ended within ten years and the refugees can be settled in new homes where they will be sources of strength and wealth for their adopted countries. Experience has proven that they are scrupulous in repaying the money advanced to them. Vision and courage will guarantee success. The alternative is misery and shame and continual wasteful spending.

Where Mr. Eden Sits

REUTER'S AGENCY has been praised for many things, and denounced for many. But never for an uncritical, sentimental credulity. Its pride is to record plain matter-of-fact in plain pedestrian fashion. When, therefore, it announces from Geneva that visitors to the Council Room of the League are asking, without distinction of country, to be shown where Mr. Eden sits, it seems at the first reading to have been guilty of an uncharacteristic and questionable lapse. Not from Reuter's do we expect bright news paragraphs with a human touch. Perhaps, however, Reuter's correspondent in Geneva had no thought of gossip. He may have seen a political significance in the world-wide interest in Mr. Eden. And he may have been right. The problem deserves the attention of the enemies of the League in Britain and abroad. When a statesman's defence of a cause wins him world-wide approval there is clearly world-wide support for his cause.

The Tragic Descent

THE lot of the refugee was tragic from the first days of his exile. But his sufferings were most cruelly intensified and nearly all hope of their relief was swept away by the world trade depression.

In France at first he was welcome as a recruit to the nation's man power. The last three years have made him an outcast. In steady work, giving complete satisfaction to his employer, he has found his permit revoked. After vigorous, vain protests his employer has had to discharge him. A deportation order has followed. He is unable to obey because he has neither the money for a journey nor a country to go to. On the heels of involuntary disobedience has come a series of imprisonments, each term longer than the one before. Thus a decent human being, with children dependent upon him, is reduced, first to hopeless destitution, and finally to crime.

The appeal to the League must not fall on deaf ears. Created by a brave humanitarian impulse, the League will continue to live, if it lives, by its fidelity to the principle that each of us is his brother's keeper.

HEADWAY

SEPT. 1935

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

THE WORLD HAS A RIGHT TO PEACE

IN August, 1914, Great Britain, supported with men and money and material from every part of the world-wide British Empire, went to war in defence of the international system. Her territories were not attacked, but she was convinced that her whole future was at stake. Faithful observance of treaties, respect for public law, and habitual resort to peaceful means for the adjustment of disputes between nations—these were essential to her prosperity and her freedom. She resisted the claim of armed violence to be the ruler of the world. Whether her judgment was right or wrong, the faith for which a million of her sons gave their lives was unclouded. It remains an inspiration.

August, 1935, sees Great Britain once again called upon to make the same decision. The British people are summoned to defend a much more vital interest than a scrap of distant territory which they scarcely know themselves to possess. The threat they are challenged to repel is far more deadly and strikes far deeper home than any frontier brawl with unruly, raiding tribesmen. What is endangered is the maintenance of world order and respect for world law.

As twenty-one years ago, so to-day, but much more flagrantly, there is threatened a refusal to fulfil treaties. The prospective aggressor seemingly rejects the rule of justice and fair-dealing between nations. The attack which he loudly announces his intention to launch is upon the international machinery whose efficient working is the world's only guarantee against war. For Great Britain and every part of the British World Commonwealth the uninterrupted operation of that machinery is specially important because Great Britain is the one true world-power, sharing the wealth or the poverty of every corner of the globe, everywhere exposed to loss through local disturbances. Britain's risk, indeed, is more than loss. In the conditions of the modern world, were the licence of the jungle to be permitted, and were nation to become a wolf to nation, the British Empire could not long be defended. Damage to the machinery by which world peace has been established, and is being preserved, must inflict on Britain a wound whose dangers of infection are incalculable.

Signor Mussolini's threatened aggression to-day is more flagrant than was Germany's aggression twenty-one years ago. Such a statement may shock those who insist that Britain ought to mind her own business and persuade themselves that Signor Mussolini is intent

on no more than a beneficent police measure. Yet it is the simple fact.

In 1914 Great Britain was proud to fight for a scrap of paper, knowing that unless nations honour their signatures civilisation is impossible. To-day, what Signor Mussolini proposes is to dishonour not one treaty with a local application, but several treaties, including two signed by nearly all the nations of the world. One of those two is the legal basis of the existing world order. The Covenant of the League is not less binding than other treaties. It is not even of merely equal force with them. It is superior to them all. League Members, including Italy, assert its supremacy in Article 20, which says: "This Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof." In passage after passage of the Covenant League Members not only announce their good intentions, but exchange explicit pledges which Italy threatens to betray. By Article 10 they undertake to "respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all Members of the League." By Article 12, they agree that "if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration, or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council." And what the Covenant promises the Pact of Paris, to which both Italy and Abyssinia are parties, repeats in equally explicit terms, condemning recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy. The Pact declares that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin they be shall never be sought except by pacific means."

In some quarters the answer is made: "The League as it exists is not the League contemplated when the Covenant was drawn up. The United States is not a member, nor Japan, nor Germany. Therefore to appeal to the Covenant is to appeal to an instrument which has never come into force." But at Locarno in October, 1925, the Covenant was solemnly reaffirmed. Amongst the signatories was Signor Mussolini.

A nation which signs a treaty thereby enters into an obligation towards the other nations who sign with it. Italy herself proclaimed the truth no longer ago than last spring in the resolution which she took a chief part in promoting at the Stresa Conference and at the subsequent meeting of the League Council, "that the scrupulous respect of all treaty obligations is a fundamental principle of international life and an essential condition of the maintenance of peace, and that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty or modify the stipulations thereof unless with the consent of the other contracting Powers." To-day, six months later, the principle retains its full authority. Should she throw aside the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact, Italy would infringe the interests of the other League Members and the other Pact signatories, weaken the foundations of their security, and attack them not less dangerously than she would do by invading their territory with her armed forces.

The Covenant enshrines the world's right to peace. In defending the Covenant Great Britain defends the world against "red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

GERMANY'S COLONIAL CLAIM

THE possibilities of meeting Germany's claim to some rearrangement of the colonial interests of the Great Powers boil down, I think, to three:—

- (1) Simple transfer to German sovereignty of colonial territory at present held by some other Power or Powers.
- (2) Acceptance by Germany of mandates under the League in respect of territories for which the mandates are at present exercised by some other Power or Powers.
- (3) Some large extension and development of the mandate system affording Germany equal rights and responsibilities with other Powers in respect of all "colonial" territories covered by the system.

We may at once rule out No. 1. No Power, however great and however unsated, has any right to a private empire which it is free to exploit for its own ends and to organise without reference to a world community. The fact that, in our present world anarchy, several such empires still exist is no reason for creating a new one for the benefit of Germany or anybody else. Two, three, four, five or six wrongs do not make a right; nor can right ever arise by adding to their number. The problem here is to abolish the old empires, including, of course, the British, and to prevent the emergence of new; it is certainly not to discover means of letting Germany in on the imperialist racket. On the other hand, in modern conditions every industrialised country has genuine need of access to tropical raw materials on equal terms with its neighbours; and the tropics themselves have need of capital goods and of some of the cheap mass products of highly mechanised industry, which Europe, America, and Japan are at present best fitted to supply. Briefly, therefore, we may say that what Germany is fairly entitled to claim is equal facilities with other industrialised countries as regards trade with and capital investment in those tropical and sub-tropical territories which are not yet self-governing.

As for offering Germany a mandate under the League, it is true that a mandate has the advantage of obliging the mandatory to acknowledge that the interests and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants of the mandated territory take precedence over those of the mandatory itself and of its emigrant nationals; of forbidding the mandatory to discriminate against the trade of other members of the League with the mandated territory; and of subjecting the mandatory to a certain measure of administrative supervision. The hand of the Permanent Mandates Commission, has, however, lain

but lightly hitherto upon the discretion of mandatory Powers, and the League has no effective authority for calling a recalcitrant mandatory to heel. South-West Africa's experience as territory mandated to the Union of South Africa is sufficient evidence that there are at present few obstacles to prevent a mandatory

By **LEONARD BARNES**

Author of "The Duty of Empire," formerly an official in the British Colonial Service and Editor of two South African newspapers.

with a disbelief in the principles for which the League is supposed to stand from doing pretty much as it likes. Nothing in the régime established by Hitler suggests that it comprises any sincere faith in League principles.

There are also difficulties of another kind. In Tanganyika, for example, Britain has spent sixteen years of hard effort in trying to reconstruct the country after the ravages of the East African campaign, and in doing so she has evolved certain principles of native policy and a certain technique of native administration which experience has shown to be practical and appropriate. Suppose, now, by some means or other the mandate is transferred to Germany. Even if we grant the likelihood of German policy being no less honest and disinterested and her administrative methods no less suitable and efficient than ours, there would still be a break in continuity, a dislocation of system and of the expectations naturally accompanying it, which might bring grave inconvenience and discouragement to the African populations affected and perhaps involve scrapping the endeavours of half a generation. It is essential to see the question, not merely as one of high international politics, but also from the point of view of humble African tribes now struggling up towards those heights of independence where they may one day be able to stand on their own feet in the strenuous conditions of the modern world.

The third possibility noted above implies many things and is capable of carrying us, at least in thought, a long way towards a new international order. It cannot be adequately discussed in a short article. But its rough outline is as follows. Britain should offer to bring under a mandate system, to be developed out of the present one, all British Colonies and Protectorates not yet ripe for self-government. Every endeavour would be made to induce other Imperialist Powers to follow suit, but the British offer would not be conditional on their doing so. The "open door," which since Ottawa has been barely ajar, would thus be restored in the full sense so far as League members were concerned. At the same time an international board of colonial investment would be set up.



Native Labour. Note the armed native guard!

This would ensure that (a) movements of capital in and out of colonies should be subject to public control primarily in the interests of the native inhabitants, and (b) that orders for capital, goods and works should be fairly apportioned between the several members of the League. Only those countries would be associated with the mandate system which unconditionally agreed to work the principle of trusteeship for backward races and to interpret that principle as covering self-government at the earliest possible moment and the raising of the standard of living as quickly as possible to a level comparable with that of western countries. Arrangements would be made by which the administration of the territories still in a condition of wardship would gradually pass under the direct control of the League, which would appoint the personnel of the colonial services as far as possible from the native inhabitants of each particular territory concerned,

and for the rest from among the nationals of all countries associated with the League system. Germany, by thus associating herself, would win as much as she has a right to claim by way of "colonial interests," and as much as Britain herself would then enjoy from them. And she would have done so without the welfare of any backward and defenceless peoples having been put in jeopardy, and without the fanning into flame of any new international jealousies.

Some such scheme as this would not have been Utopian in 1919, if it had been seriously broached at the Peace Conference. How far it is Utopian to-day depends largely on the moral courage of Britain and her acceptance of the paradox that you can't have security without taking risks. Peace is a high stake to play for. But if you don't play for it, you will certainly get war.

The Next Five Years

By HAROLD MACMILLAN

M.P. for Stockton-on-Tees, a leader of young Conservative opinion, part-author of "The Next Five Years."

"THE NEXT FIVE YEARS" is a book which—to be understood—must be read in the spirit in which it was written. We started by accepting the view that so long as there are two million of our fellow-countrymen idle, and many millions more living at a precarious and ridiculously low standard of life, there is no room for complacency. We agreed that the economic problems from which these evils arise would not solve themselves with the passage of time, and that optimism is not, therefore, an adequate substitute for a comprehensive and well-considered policy of action. We tried to consider the problem of Britain in the way a Board of Directors would consider the difficulties of a single business; theories were subordinate to the fruits of experience, prejudices were overcome by a realisation of the urgency of the nation's needs, Party ties and slogans and the manoeuvring for political advantage were left behind and forgotten. We sought to maximise the area of agreement and minimise the field of dispute. And we succeeded, far beyond our expectation, in formulating a programme which we claim is deep enough and broad enough for our needs, and reasonable enough to command the support to make it possible of immediate political application.

Let the reader of the book approach the problems in the same way. Forget for the moment that you have any party ties, any class prejudices, or any quarrel with the rest of us regarding the purely speculative problem of the ultimate future of society. Remember that here and now you have a responsibility to the immediate victims of the present situation. Remember that the intolerable suffering of hundreds of thousands of our people in the depressed areas is too urgent to await upon the full realisation of your political ideals or mine. Remember that the peace of the world and the future of civilisation may depend upon our ability to find in Britain a new pattern of economic life as an example to the world. And when you have remembered all these things, examine the programme we have outlined with a sense of your own responsibility, not to elaborate abstract theories or paint desirable Utopias, but to find an immediate answer to the crying needs of a tortured generation.

If we can discover a method by which production can be allowed to expand to full capacity, and all the

economic resources of the nation be fully employed, we can then consider the directions in which social benefits might be distributed. Until we have made that discovery it is idle to talk of anything else. The object of economic effort is to enrich man's life and endow his leisure. But it is useless to advocate the distribution of benefits until we have discovered how our economic power to produce them can be harnessed and controlled.

The pretence that the old self-regulating economy can be re-established must be abandoned. The function of statesmanship is not fulfilled by a passive policy of succouring the victims of an obsolete system. Active, energetic leadership is demanded. We must construct a new framework for the orderly planning of our economic life. We must substitute a machinery of conscious and comprehensive direction for the haphazard decisions of individuals or groups who cannot, in the nature of things, see the problem as a whole.

Accepting this view of the problem I might introduce the more detailed proposals in the book, with the following summary of what we regard as the broad requirements of economic planning:

(a) The competing units of separate industries must be co-ordinated under a central authority for the direction of the general policy of each industry. This authority must be given statutory powers (under adequate safeguards for the workers, for the minority of owners in an industry, and for the community) to compel the obedience of each unit to regulations and orders which will have as their object the elimination of the wasteful instability of competitive production, the scrapping of redundant plant, and the more socially efficient organisation of the industry generally.

To achieve this, certain vital industries and services may have to be brought under public ownership and control, others may be reorganised as public utilities, while the great variety of industries outside these categories would be enabled to achieve greater stability and efficiency under a corporate organisation of private enterprise.

(b) The granting of such powers must be accompanied by the setting up of a national planning organisation for the supervision of the activities of all industries and services to ensure that the policy of each is in harmony with the policies of all the others. This body should include among its members representatives of the management side of industry, of labour, and of government and finance. It should be in touch with the Import Duties Advisory Committee in

order that our foreign trade policy can be related to the economic welfare of the nation as a whole.

(c) Side by side with this body and related to it, another organisation is required for the supervision of general financial policy and the direction of investment.

Through this structure a comprehensive plan of economic development could be conducted, and equilibrium, or balance, in the production of all goods and services for exchange with one another could be sought and maintained.

It is submitted that while such a policy means a greater number of restraints upon the activities of individuals, greater stability and security would be gained for society as a whole. No interference is involved with the rights of free speech, of freedom of thought, or with the democratic system of Parliamentary government. The additional restraints to be imposed would be upon individual actions which, however innocent and even laudable their intention, contribute towards the creation of instability and thereby menace collective welfare. It means an extension of the authority which society exercises over its members, but it is an extension which has become necessary in order to preserve liberty by preserving the basis of economic stability on which alone civil liberty can be based.

The plan of action which we have outlined is not advanced as a final solution of the economic and social problems of society. We regard it rather as the great effort of adjustment of our system to a new basis which has fallen to the lot of our generation to carry through. We also regard it as the minimum policy necessary to a solution of our immediate problems. A timid adoption of some of the measures and a lethargic method of carrying them out would be quite inadequate. The policy hangs together as a single plan. The safeguards

necessary to one part of it are contained in the others. The impetus of public works is needed to provide employment while the transference involved in adjustment to a new production balance is being carried out. It is a plan which should be carried through under energetic and courageous leadership. It will require confidence and determination. The nation must be made to feel that a comprehensive plan is being carried through by men who understand the full magnitude of the task and who are determined to conduct it with resourceful expedition.

The democratic system of government is on its trial in its last and greatest stronghold. It will only survive if it can produce a policy equal to the problems of our time and a leadership capable of evoking the co-operation and enthusiasm necessary to carry it through. In these times a special responsibility rests upon informed men of moderate opinion whatever their party allegiance may be. They must force a policy of this kind upon whatever government may be in office. If they fail to do so the probabilities are that we shall drift on till the next shock of crisis strikes a weakened system and a despondent population, when the outcome may be a despairing lapse into the tyrannical and barbaric methods that have supervened in similar circumstances elsewhere. A confident leadership with a policy of this kind could, on the other hand, rally the nation to great achievement and create the conditions of prosperous security in which the future evolution of society could be determined by the process of argument and reason.

It is because we accept this view of the vital importance of policy at the present time that we have agreed to set aside our differences regarding long-term objectives and register our agreement upon the immediate plan of action contained in "The Next Five Years."

The Background of Modern Statesmanship

By ARTHUR S. HEDDERWICK, B.A. (Cantab.)

(Economics and Politics), LL.B., Advocate, Editor of the "Evening Citizen," Glasgow

HISTORY is an unbroken chain of causes and effects. Therefore, to understand the present political position, one must consider the past. In particular, one must study the philosophical background in order to find out why statesmen act as they do act.

It is truly said that science has shown us how to produce incalculable wealth, that all might enjoy a far higher standard of comfort. Science has also taught us the rules of health, and greatly lessened the risk of those diseases which used to destroy so many lives.

But this knowledge is barely one hundred years old; and for countless centuries of time, the human race did suffer from famines and from plagues. Even a small population pressed hard upon the means of subsistence; and if a family was to survive, there had to be many children, for so many died before reaching marriageable age. Hence "Hunger" and the preservation of the family, or clan, were two of the strongest forces in human life. They were, in my opinion, the root causes of most wars. Even when the clans became welded into nations this struggle for subsistence persisted. National strength depended upon the size of the population. Increasing population forced the nations to found colonies and to fight for new markets and new sources of wealth. Thus arose imperialism, which is simply the old struggle for subsistence in a new and more extended form.

The primitive idea of preserving the family or clan

now takes the name of "economic nationalism." In order to preserve the nation, tariff barriers are set up and immigration laws are passed which prevent the movement of commodities and of populations. *Dominated by ideas which belong to the pre-scientific ages, men refuse to use the power over nature which science has given to them.* The old idea of numerical strength, the old conception of inter-tribal rivalry, the old fears, continue and form the background of modern statesmanship. We are moved by instinct, born of epochs of scarcity and savagery, rather than by reason and the light of discoveries which are so new that we have not yet had time to understand their meaning.

Turn now to the present position in Europe and witness how these primitive forces are still at work.

The Germans want to bring the German-Austrians into the Reich. That is the clan instinct at work. They want, also, access to new lands, new sources of material, and new markets. The policy of the *Drang nach Osten* is still held, and I think that the Germans have turned their eyes beyond Austria and look hungrily into the Ukraine.

The Italians for like reasons want Abyssinia or some other fertile lands with rich mineral resources. France, with a dwindling population, is dominated by fear. In particular she fears the growth of the German clan.

Thus, it seems to me, savage and primitive forces are

driving Europe towards war. Moreover, all these nations are practically bankrupt. Their clan-consciousness, in the modern form of economic nationalism, has very largely destroyed international trade. As a result, there is high taxation and poverty which may lead to revolution and counter-revolution. This internal distress adds to the immediate danger of war, because governments may attempt to divert popular attention from internal affairs and offer the people glory when they cannot give them bread.

I think that Italy is almost certain to invade Abyssinia unless France and Britain agree to give her compensation elsewhere. I do not think that they are likely to do so; but it is just possible that France might agree to something of the sort provided that she could secure British co-operation in the event of war against Germany.

If Italy does invade Abyssinia the balance of power in Europe may be upset. In 1936 she may be wasting her strength in Northern Africa; and, at the same time, France may be involved in internal troubles consequent upon the policy of deflation which her Government is attempting to pursue. If the Austrian National-Socialists effected a *coup d'état* Germany's

opportunity would then arise. A Nazi Government in Vienna might ask for German help, and German troops might enter Austria.

I cannot see that the League can prevent war, because the League cannot be effective unless the Great Powers are willing to co-operate. But how can there be co-operation so long as statesmanship is dominated by those primitive instincts which I have described? So long as there is exclusive political and economic nationalism, internationalism is impossible.

In my opinion wars are inevitable while these savage conceptions persist, and until mankind is prepared to treat the whole world as an economic unit, and to pull down the barriers that prevent the free movement of commodities and of populations, and hinder the scientific organisation of production and distribution of wealth.

If the statesmen at Geneva had devoted to the economic reorganisation of the world all the time and energy that has been spent upon such matters as disarmament, the need for armaments might by now have disappeared. That they have not done so is because the world has not far emerged from the Dark Ages, and science has outstripped civilisation.

Religion and the League

MOST members of the League of Nations Union are members of the Christian Church. If the Union received from the Churches the support it should, the total of its membership would be very much larger than it is. Both these facts were commented upon in a debate on the last day of the recent meeting of the General Council of the Union at Cambridge. The Council passed a resolution affirming its belief that the problems of Peace and Disarmament are essentially spiritual in their character, and while appreciating the support of the Christian churches for the cause of peace, asked them to continue and to extend their efforts to bring to all Christian citizens a full realisation of their great responsibility for the welfare of the world.

In its work in the Churches the Union is advised by a Christian Organisations Committee which is representative of all the Christian denominations in Great Britain. This committee has recently been giving its attention to the lack of support the Union encounters in certain directions, and it has come to the conclusion that one of the difficulties which some Christians have in supporting the League is to be found in the fact that certain States, members of the League, deny religious liberty to their citizens. This use of religious persecution as part of the national policy is a disturbing influence in international life and a source of weakness to the League, since the co-religionists of a persecuted minority in any country can hardly be expected to view with very friendly feelings the government of that country.

The good faith of the League as guarantor of the Minority Treaties is also liable to be questioned when certain members deny to their own citizens the rights which they are called upon to guarantee abroad.

Under the Minority Treaties and the Mandates—for the proper execution of which all members of the League are jointly responsible—the governments concerned are bound to ensure to all inhabitants the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and good morals. No subject of any of these States may be debarred from employment or from the enjoyment of full civic rights by reason of his religious convictions.

By the Rev. E. N. PORTER GOFF
Vicar of Immanuel Church, Streatham, and Secretary
of the Christian Organisations Committee, L.N.U.

Compare this with the Russian decree of April 8, 1929: "A religious society or group of believers has no right of juridic person." "It is prohibited to teach any religious creed in State, social and private schools and educational institutions." The Russian Constitution, as amended in 1929, denies political rights to all ministers of religion, and renders liable to imprisonment any citizen found preparing, storing, or distributing religious literature.

Another member of the League, with a seat on the Council—Mexico—allows each citizen to embrace the religion of his choice but forbids religious education, and denies to religious bodies the legal right to acquire, hold or administer real property. All places of public worship are the property of the Government, which can determine which of them may be devoted to religious purposes. In point of fact, a large number of them have been closed and put to other uses.

With these facts in mind a resolution was passed at Cambridge, declaring that the General Council of the Union:—

Is concerned about the religious intolerance at present shown in certain countries;

Believes that any Government which denies to its subjects the free exercise of religious practice and teaching creates a serious hindrance to good international relations;

Requests His Majesty's Government to take any steps it thinks possible whether by private representations or by public action at Geneva or elsewhere to influence such Governments to grant religious freedom.

This is no more than a re-assertion of a resolution passed by the League Assembly itself in 1922, before Germany, Russia or Mexico had joined the League, to the effect that all States Members of the League should observe at least the standard of justice and tolerance to which certain of their number were committed by the Minorities treaties. There is no doubt that if the League is ultimately to succeed this minimum standard of civilised conduct must be accepted by all its members.

Those who urge, as the Union has done, the grant of religious freedom to all citizens in all countries are not animated by any hostility to those countries which still deny that freedom. Still less are they actuated by political motives.

Meanwhile those who feel most strongly on this

question need not be deterred from supporting the League, for that which they desire for their co-religionists in other countries is most likely to come to them through the work of the League itself. In the Covenant, in the Mandates, in the Minority treaties a minimum standard of civilised conduct has been laid down. It is for us to keep that conscience alive, and to strengthen the League, which alone can give expression to the desire of the world community. That is the task of the League of Nations Union in this country and in carrying it out it deserves the active support of every Christian citizen.

Decisions at Cambridge

Extracts from the Resolutions Adopted by the 16th Annual Meeting of the General Council at Cambridge

Political Work

THE General Council having regard to:—

- (i) The Challenge presented by the world situation,
- (ii) The success of the Peace Ballot,

Considers that every effort should be made to give expression to the will of the people for peace, and resolves that the political work of the Union on non-Party lines be extended, and that every branch be reminded of its responsibility and urged:—

- (i) To prepare immediately for work at the General Election, so that a clear call may go out to the whole country to return a Parliament pledged to support the League of Nations and the collective peace system.
- (ii) In the meantime (a) to work at by-elections, if any; (b) to watch the situation and to keep the views of the Union constantly before Members of Parliament by means of Constituency Committees, deputations, personal letters, etc.

Civil Aviation and an International Air Force

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Having considered the proposals approved and adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1, 1934, for the abolition of national (military and naval) air forces, and for the creation of an International Air Force.

Declares that the need for limitation, reduction and control of armaments has become more urgent than ever;

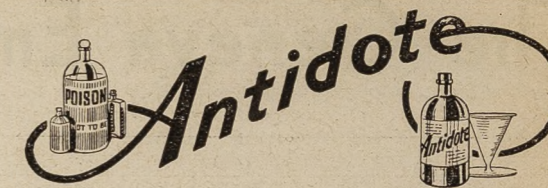
Reaffirms in particular its conviction that all-round abolition of national air forces, which was proposed on certain conditions in the British Draft Convention of March, 1933, is vital to the security of nations against the most sudden and atrocious of all forms of warfare;

Recognises that such abolition will prove unattainable unless coupled with effective measures to prevent the use of civil aviation for military purposes;

Urges His Majesty's Government to press unceasingly and with all its influence for the total abolition of all national air forces in the shortest possible time, and to indicate its detailed proposals for the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation; and

If these objects are found to be impracticable unless the system of international control of civil aviation is supplemented by provisions for the maintenance (as part of that system) of an air force or air forces to prevent the use of civil aircraft for military purposes, the Council further urges His Majesty's Government to examine, through the Air Commission set up by the Disarmament Conference, how such a force or forces may be established; and

Calls upon the Executive to press for an immediate statement from the Government with regard to the procedure above outlined.



POISON:

"That preposterous tribunal, the League of Nations, will sit this week at Geneva. It is to consider, or hopes to consider, Italy's grievances against Abyssinia. Abyssinia is opposed to the march of Western civilisation, and by the aid of sentimentalists all over the world, has been pictured as a small nation about to be coerced by a great nation. Whatever the rights and wrongs of her relationships with Italy, she is likely to enlist the sentimental sympathies of the small States, not because her cause is just, but because she has been featured as a small State in danger of aggression. Is it any wonder that Italy regards with suspicious contempt such a tribunal?"—*Leading article in the "Sunday Dispatch."*

ANTIDOTE:

In the first place, Italy sponsored the admission of the nation which is alleged to be "opposed to the march of Western civilisation" into the "preposterous tribunal." Secondly, "sentimentalists all over the world" cannot justly be blamed for the dispatch of vast Italian war forces to Abyssinia. Further, although Lord Rothermere seems unaware of the fact, the League is not considering "Italy's grievances against Abyssinia," but has been called upon by Abyssinia to consider Abyssinia's circumstances as threatened by Italy in contravention of the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

* * *

POISON:

"The *Daily Express* understands, though it condemns, the institution called the League of Nations. The League is really a coalition of Great Powers to hold down Hitler. Why not avow it frankly and honestly?"—*Leading article in the "Daily Express."*

ANTIDOTE:

Those who have expressed surprise at Lord Beaverbrook's opposition to the League will find an explanation in this artless exposition of his bad understanding of the League. The League was organised in 1920, but Hitler only attained power in 1931! Yet the *Daily Express* "understands" that it was organised in readiness—a degree of international foresight that should augur well for the League's ability to prepare for future international developments!

* * *

POISON:

"Our Government are involved in the problems of Abyssinia. Bring Mr. Eden back from Geneva. Mind our own business!"—*The "Daily Express."*

ANTIDOTE:

As every business man knows, if his neighbour sets fire to his own house in such a way that the blaze may extend next door, that is very much the business of every firm within possible reach of the flames. It is therefore "our business" to help to keep the Peace of Europe.

* * *

POISON:

"One step further! On and on! Forward to the complete policy of Isolation from Europe. . . ."—*Leading article in the "Daily Express," advocating that Britain should concentrate on Isolation plus America.*

ANTIDOTE:

Evidently Lord Beaverbrook wants Britain to get off the map.

C. C. T.

The Geneva Emergency Session

By Our Geneva Correspondent
(DAVID WOODWARD)

THE emergency session of the League Council, which was called because of the breakdown of conciliation and arbitration in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, met at Geneva between July 31 and August 3.

During these four days the Council held only two meetings—on the first and last days of the session; the negotiations were carried on by the "hotel bedroom" method.

The result, which was embodied in two resolutions passed by the Council and two declarations made before it at the last meeting of the session, is that the arbitration and conciliation procedure will be resumed, but if a settlement has not been reached by September 4, then the Council will meet again and endeavour itself to restore good relations between the two parties to the dispute by a review of the whole problem.

This result has been attacked as mere temporisation; the Council, the critics say, has done nothing except put off the evil hour at which it will have to make up its mind whether or not it intends to apply the Covenant of the League in the event of an Italian aggression. They assert also that M. Laval and Mr. Eden, who carried out the negotiations on behalf of the Council with Signor Aloisi, the delegate of Italy, and M. Jeze, the delegate of Abyssinia, gave away a great deal to Signor Mussolini—at least as far as procedure and formula were concerned.

So much for the debit side of the account; there is, however, sound reason for thinking that it is, in the main, the superficial aspect of the matter, and that, although the dispute in East Africa has not yet been settled, the danger of war has been diminished and the prospects of peaceful settlement are much brighter.

Many observers in Geneva have no doubts about what has happened. It is that Britain and France together have chosen the ground upon which they intend to give battle to Signor Mussolini next month—if it be necessary to give battle.

The first meeting of the Council began with a declaration by Signor Aloisi. As the dispute had been referred to a procedure of conciliation and arbitration—which had temporarily broken down—it could not, he argued, be considered by the Council at the present session. The duties of the Council should be confined to restarting the arbitration and conciliation. Italy could not take part in any other work of the Council. Thus the Council found itself faced with a threat that Italy would withdraw if the Italian viewpoint were not adopted. Signor Aloisi received a good deal of support from M. Laval.

Mr. Eden and M. Laval met to discuss the situation. The British Government, apparently, made up its mind at an early stage that no attempt should be made to force the pace on a question of procedure. The League's objects were taken to be: first, the maintenance of peace; secondly, the maintenance of justice between Italy and Abyssinia, so that the stronger power should not crush the weaker; and thirdly, the accomplishment of these two aims without creating a rift between either France and Britain, or Italy and France.

Perhaps too much emphasis was laid upon the danger of driving Signor Mussolini to extreme measures. But

if peace and justice were to be defended without resort to diplomatic violence, obviously a ladder must be constructed down which Mussolini might climb. It was to this task that M. Laval and Mr. Eden turned.

Within a few hours of the meeting on July 31, the first formula for a resolution by the Council had been drawn up. The Thursday, Friday and Saturday which followed were spent first in efforts to frame an agreement acceptable by Italy and then to refer it to Abyssinia.

The initial draft of the Eden-Laval resolution covered four matters:

- (1) arbitration and conciliation to be resumed, with special emphasis on the responsibility for the Wal Wal incident of December, 1934; a fifth arbitrator to be named; a date—September 4—fixed when the Council should hear the report of the arbitrators; if complete settlement had not been obtained, then the whole question of Italo-Abyssinian relations to be considered by the Council;
- (2) a declaration that neither party to the dispute should resort to force for the settlement of the dispute;
- (3) the examination of Italo-Abyssinian relations, on the widest possible basis, by the signatories of the 1906 treaty (Britain, France and Italy); Italy had said that she would not participate in any Council talks on the subject, and it was thought wiser to come to some tripartite agreement than to drive Italy from the League; any arrangement the three-sided talk might produce to be freely consented to by Abyssinia. There never was, and there is not now any question of Britain, France and Italy endeavouring to force any agreement upon Abyssinia;
- (4) a declaration showing distinctly that the negotiations under the 1906 treaty were being carried out under the auspices of the League.

By Friday night—late—all was in order save the reply of the Emperor of Abyssinia. After two nights' hard work in the various delegations' hotels, an amended formula had been adopted which won the acceptance of Italy. In the amended formula, the first point—the date of the Council to consider all questions at issue should no settlement of arbitration or conciliation succeed—remained in the original terms, essentially, in which it had been proposed by Mr. Eden.

The second point—the non-recourse to force—was dropped, the Italian delegate having pointed out that Italy was already bound by the Treaty of 1928 with Abyssinia, by the Covenant of the League and by the Kellogg Pact not to have recourse to force. If three previously given guarantees were not sufficient, would a fourth make any difference?

The third point, put in to meet Italian wishes, was drafted. The fourth point was subjected to intricate drafting changes.

The four points were incorporated in two resolutions; both were adopted by the Council without dissent—though Italy abstained from voting for the Council meeting on September 4.

The representatives of the Argentine and Denmark

congratulated Mr. Eden and M. Laval. They added that they were firmly impressed with the need to maintain the Covenant. These two speeches—by MM. Ruiz Guinazu and Scavenius—were listened to with special interest because it was well known that they expressed the views of the smaller States anxious that the Council should do everything in its power to defend peace and justice.

So much for the bare bones of the settlement.

In consenting to it, Mr. Eden had to bear in mind several things. First, it was not desirable to drive Italy from the League if the League's supreme purpose could be served in any other way; therefore, a means of escape and the appearance of a diplomatic victory had to be given to Rome.

Second, it was desirable that Britain and France should work together as closely as possible, and that nothing should be done to estrange Paris and Rome. It is felt in Geneva that Franco-British relations are now nearly as good as before the signing of the Anglo-German naval agreement.

Third, if Britain, France and the League must join issue with Signor Mussolini, it should be on the most carefully prepared ground; delay was necessary for this end, as for the re-cementing of British and French collaboration.

Negotiations will go on for a month; then either peace will have been secured, or Britain and France will lead the League against Italy; such is the view of usually pessimistic and usually accurate Geneva opinion.

Can Italy Afford It?—By BERNARD KEELING

Part-author of "The Economic and Financial Position of Italy," 1935.

ITALY'S gold reserves have fallen so low that the Government has suspended the Decree which fixes the legal minimum at 40 per cent. of note and sight liabilities. Italy has for some time been wrestling with acute exchange difficulties, but the crisis has undoubtedly been hastened by the heavy cost of importing supplies for the "East African expedition." In embarking on this venture, Mussolini is defying economic facts which would deter a man of less boundless self-confidence.

He is faced by two major economic problems. Not only must considerable funds be raised in Italy; it is essential also for the Government to acquire foreign currencies, in order to pay for the indispensable imports without which the country cannot live, let alone wage war.

The second is the more fundamental difficulty; but the first cannot be ignored. Italy is already in grave Budgetary trouble. There have been a series of large deficits since 1930. In the financial year 1933-4 no less than one quarter of the national expenditure was unbalanced by revenue, even according to the official Budget figures. The real deficit must have been still larger. For the vast subsidies, public works and agricultural schemes of the Fascist Government have been largely financed by the issue of "deferred payments," or promises to pay annuities over anything up to fifty years; and these are not recorded in the Budget. A very considerable debt has been incurred in this way. It was recently estimated by the Italian Minister of Finance that between 1922 and 1935 the "present capital value" of these "deferred payments" had risen from 4 to 24 milliard lire. These obligations are entirely additional to the official Internal National Debt, which rose from 92 to 104 milliard lire during the same period.

By April 30, the "East African expedition" had already, according to the Finance Minister, cost 620 million lire (£10,000,000); but he gave no estimate of the expenditure involved for the year 1935-6: "this must be regarded as an extraordinary item, the burden of which cannot now be calculated, since it is too dependent upon events."

To many it may seem that an inflation of the currency is inevitable. But it must not be forgotten that the Fascist Government has secured fairly complete control over Italian financial institutions, through the semi-official or "parastatal" bodies like Istituto Mobiliare Italiano. Control of this kind, as Dr. Schacht has shown, enables an immense new short-term debt to be "placed"; and though the slightest expansion in

a country's note issue at once excites misgiving, a large credit inflation of this sort passes relatively unnoticed.

But though her Budgetary problems may not be insoluble, Italy has more fundamental obstacles to overcome. She has no metals, no cotton, no wool, and virtually no coal or oil. (No doubt Abyssinia could remedy the deficiency of cotton, and perhaps even of metals and oil; but though this may explain Italy's objectives, it does not make them any easier of attainment.) To purchase these essential sinews of war, Italy needs, not lire, but foreign currencies; and these foreign currencies can only be acquired in four ways: by expanding exports, visible and invisible, by selling foreign investments, by shipping gold, or by raising foreign loans.

Could Italy increase her visible and invisible exports to the degree required? Some increase should be possible by devaluation. It is clear that the legal parity of the lira bears no sort of relation to Italian costs and prices; even officially the lira is quoted 8 per cent. below par. And since all day-to-day transactions involving the use of foreign exchange are subject to the strictest official control, a better indication of the natural level of the lira is afforded by its quotation three months forward—which is anything up to 45 per cent. per annum below spot, a record for all time. A bold devaluation of the lira should certainly stimulate the tourist industry, and probably also the flow of emigrants' remittances; both these invisible exports are very important items in Italy's balance of international payments. For visible exports, on the other hand, devaluation offers less hope. Italy mainly exports textiles and light manufactures, and for these there is such fierce competition in all markets that no great expansion is likely.

The method of devaluation has not yet been tried. So far, the necessary foreign currencies have been raised by shipping gold and by selling foreign credits and investments. These latter had to be declared under a Decree published in December, and to be surrendered under a subsequent Decree published in May. These devices will fulfil their purpose for a while; but Italy has not an inexhaustible store either of gold or of foreign investments.

Thus it is difficult to see how Italy can finance a war without foreign assistance. Yet early in August the American Export-Import Bank refused even a short-term loan to finance Italian cotton imports; and later in the month it was learnt that London banks were cutting down their Italian credits to the lowest possible figure.

The Assembly Agenda

HISTORY never repeats itself, exactly. But the rope of destiny, usually so tangled that it seems to have neither beginning nor end, sometimes appears to lie symmetrically coiled, each turn repeating the loop below it. Something like that was in Mary Stuart's mind when she wrote "In my end was my beginning." Something like it will be in the minds of the Assembly delegates this year. Many of them will remember the 1923 Assembly, which met under the shadow of the first defiance of the League by a Great Power; and that Power Italy. The stake was a smaller one then, the ownership of Corfu; the motive of the Italian bombardment smaller, too, for it was "national honour"; that strange

By **FREDA WHITE**

Intelligence Department, L.N.U., author of "Geneva 1933" and "Geneva 1934"

prestige which was supposed to be vindicated by killing nineteen Armenian orphans. But then as now the issues transcended the dispute. The whole validity of the new international order was in question, as it is now; and with it the possibility of world peace.

There were other resemblances. Then, too, the Assembly was the spectator, while the Council dealt with the crisis. Again, the manner in which the settlement of the dispute, which concerned the territory of a small nation, Greece, was handed over from the League to the Ambassadors' Conference is paralleled, fairly closely, by the passing of negotiations on the Abyssinian dispute to the signatories of the Tripartite Agreement of 1906. One may hope the precedent may hold; that peace may be preserved; and fear that it may hold, and the victim be blackmailed into paying a heavy compensation, for an unproven injury, to the aggressor. For there are differences, too, this time, and they are none of them auspicious. It was commonly said, at the Fourth Assembly, that Signor Mussolini had never read the Covenant, and that when it was shown him after the fleet had sailed, it gave him quite a turn to realise Italy's obligations. Now he has read it, and proclaimed that it has no bearing on his policy, unless it can be falsified to cede Abyssinia to Italian rule. That was a sudden flame-up; this a cold-blooded preparation for war. At that time, too, Britain and France had not lost the habit of action which was one of the few merits of the War. It was the rumour that Lord Cecil had inquired from naval experts whether Italy could be blockaded that caused her to accept settlement. Nowadays the League Powers, nominally true to the Covenant, show less disposition to apply it. There is no doubt about it; the attention of this Assembly will not be given to the documents in the desks of the Batiment Electoral, or of the committee-rooms in the Disarmament Building. They will be riveted on that queer, frivolous, ugly pavilion, the Glass Room, where the Council meets.

The Assembly agenda, a bleak document, is a purely formal list. The real text on which the delegates debate is the Secretary-General's Report, which is an account of the work done by the Council and its numerous committees throughout the year. This chronicles in rather a dry style the history of most world affairs. Here is the Disarmament Conference, dwindled to a vain attempt to make a working treaty on manufacture and trade in arms—the American draft was blocked by Britain, Italy, Japan and Poland. Then there are a series of political disputes; the Bolivia-

Paraguay War, now mercifully ended, though not directly by the League, the Abyssinian dispute, growing more dangerous daily, Danzig and a number of minor matters. The report records the two League successes of the year: the Saar and the case of Yugoslavia against Hungary over the Marseilles murder. How long ago these hopeful days seem! It is extraordinary how temperamental the world is; it flies from cheerfulness to fury in the twinkling of an eye; the pity is that it has as little self-control as a badly brought up child.

The social work is, as ever, the most steadily progressive activity of the League. The best is the Health work; and that is partly because doctors are a picked set of men in most countries; partly because Dr. Rajchmann is possessed by an imp of energy; but mainly because no government desires the continuance of diphtheria, or plague, or malaria. This is not quite true of the social evils; governments have been heard at Geneva defending the use of opium, coca, and even, astonishing as that may appear, the conditions which cause traffic in women and children. But here time is all on the side of the reformers; neglect of these evils is due far less to callousness, in the countries where they flourish, than to the ignorance of the decent people. The publicity which attends League discussions is the best cure for apathy.

The tragedy of refugeeism and the tragedy of minority oppression are not rooted social vices; they are governmental crimes; and as such they are terribly difficult to remedy. The fate of the Assyrians of Iraq; the fate of the Russian women in China; these are responsibilities incurred by the Allied Powers in the War, and never met. These helpless people pay, now, for our policies then. But there is no practical scheme to help them, save for the French offer to find room for some of the Assyrians in Syria.

On the legal side there are two allied and highly controversial subjects. One is the nationality of married women, a fruitful source of agitation, eloquence, and disappointment; and the other the proposal, made by South American states, that the League should adopt a convention re-organising the equality of status and rights of men and women. This is a white-hot controversy; and the First Committee will certainly be exciting.

It is odd how things fall out, but perhaps the most interesting paper before the League just now is the report of a subcommittee on the application of economic sanctions short of total blockade. This commands the prohibition of export to an aggressor of arms and of raw material especially used in the manufacture of arms, and discusses other matters. The report is only too apt, at this moment.

The Assembly never turns out as it expected to, so it is useless to prophesy. It is certain that September, for good or ill, will see a decisive moment in League history, with the failure or success of the efforts to settle the Abyssinian dispute. This month may see the League mortally hurt; or it may see the vindication of the collective system.

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

One Aspect of an Important International Problem

THE problem of refugees will once more occupy the attention of the Assembly of the League of Nations during its coming session. It is one of especial interest to members of the League of Nations Union and has been the subject of careful study by a committee of the Union set up for that purpose, and a deputation organised by the Union urged upon the

By **MARY ORMEROD**

Foreign Secretary the necessity of the League taking definite action for the care and protection of refugees.

The investigations of the committee showed that a satisfactory solution will not be found until all categories of refugees at present cared for directly or indirectly by the League are placed under the care of a League High Commission for Refugees, directly responsible to the League, and an integral part of the League organisation. As much opposition might be aroused if any suggestion of increasing the League's budget were made, this office or commission may only be able to deal with such problems as legal status, facilities for emigration and settlement, passports, work and travel permits. The money for settlement and relief will, as hitherto, have to be raised by private charitable organisations.

Among the many thousands who have been driven from their native countries during recent years by political or racial persecution, the numbers of persons belonging to the liberal professions has been very high. To find new openings for highly skilled and experienced professional people is difficult and expensive. Additional doctors are only needed in far distant countries, and to the ordinary expenses of emigration must be added the cost of purchasing or transporting expensive instruments. Teachers must be trained in different methods and new languages. Lawyers, too, can rarely find any employment in their own profession, but must enter industry or commerce, in which case a small amount of capital is nearly always necessary. Nurses and social workers must be re-trained in the practices of the countries of immigration. Textile or brewing chemists may have to be re-trained as metallurgical or soil chemists in order to be eligible for appointments in South America or Russia. Engineers and architects have to transport themselves and their families across the world to seek new opportunities.

The *pro capita* expenses of a committee dealing entirely with professional workers are necessarily high and the finding of openings so specialised that it would never be undertaken by a League organisation responsible for the whole body of refugees. The work of the voluntary committees must, therefore, continue for some considerable period and it is essential that the money should be found for them to continue that work.

At the present stage, when most of the refugees with capital have found openings, the most urgent need is

to raise a considerable sum to serve as a loan fund for emigration and settlement for those without capital of their own. It is difficult to do constructive work of this nature when the resources of the committees are strained to the uttermost by the necessity of providing day by day relief for the absolutely destitute, and the sympathy of the charitable public is difficult to arouse repeatedly for an international cause of this description.

An ingenious method of raising additional sums of money has been adopted by the International Committee for the Assistance of Professional Workers with the generous collaboration of the Luxembourg Government. The Duchy of Luxembourg has issued a special series of stamps which will be on sale at all the Luxembourg post offices for a period of six months. The designs on the stamps illustrate the activities of various professions. A civil engineer examines plans in consultation with his foreman. Another stamp shows a painter and

a sculptor, a third a chemist in his laboratory, others a doctor, a lawyer, a journalist and a teacher. Several stamps are printed in two colours representing different values, so that a complete set numbers fifteen stamps. The stamps are sold for twice their face value, one-half of the proceeds going to the Luxembourg post office, the other to the International Committee.

It seems almost fantastic to suppose that the proceeds of the sale of one issue of stamps can materially help to build up a loan fund for the emigration and settlement of some thousands of refugees. In the United States, however, the dealers hope to sell \$150,000 of these stamps, as the sale there has been organised with characteristic thoroughness. President Roosevelt consented to receive a set which was presented to him publicly by Professor Einstein, on behalf of the committee. This and similar presentations to notable people made excellent propaganda. In this

country the publicity methods adopted in the United States are not practicable, and naturally only a much smaller number of stamps can be sold, but if every British philatelist bought a set of these stamps and every person interested in international friendship would give a set to a stamp-collecting friend a very considerable sum would be raised in Great Britain.

Lord Cecil being an interested and active member of the International Committee for the Assistance of Refugee Professional Workers, its work needs no further commendation to readers of HEADWAY.



A few of the stamps described by Mrs. Ormerod

CADBURYS
MILK 2^{oz.} 2^{d.}
CHOCOLATE

BOOK NOTICES

Mussolini's Italy. By Herman Finer. (Victor Gollancz. 18s.)

Mussolini is a disturbing influence in the world for two reasons—because he isn't understood by other people and because he doesn't understand himself. Dr. Finer's admirably full and admirably clear book will do more than any of its forerunners to dispel some widely current misconceptions. A careful reading of it might even prove suggestive to Signor Mussolini himself, though he would not be grateful.

In Great Britain, Signor Mussolini is pictured by his admirers as a good Conservative who saved Italy from Communism. The March on Rome is compared with the defeat of the General Strike. It has been followed by a period of efficient government and sound social reform. Details are few and vague, but Italian trains now run to time. No travesty of the facts could be more complete. Mussolini always has been, and still is, an extremist. Moderation, compromise he despises. When he was a Socialist leader he consistently preached violence. In the industrial disorders in Northern Italy after the War, at the time of his supposed saving of Italy from Communism, his complaint against the workers who seized the factories was that they were not violent enough. During the past six months his speeches and his actions in the dispute with Abyssinia have shown him unchanged. Dr. Finer sets out the evidence in convincing volume. He goes back to the masters who taught the poor and obscure young political rebel and fugitive and whose influence on the Dictator remains unmistakable. Nietzsche, Sorel, Pareto all exalted the will, the deed, the chief. They all belonged to the school which so worships a rumpus that it is inclined to be scornful of mere results.

Dr. Finer is far from unappreciative of Signor Mussolini. He acknowledges him a man of forceful personality, of strong will, of high courage, of great executive ability. He insists also on the weakness and meanness of the political and social system in Italy before the Fascists seized power. Authority bought the right to survive by manipulating interests and bribing opponents. Mussolini, at least, gives orders instead of striking bargains. But whether Mussolini's way of grappling with a real evil was the best, or even a good way, remains to be proved. Dr. Finer, eminently fair-minded, is persuaded that in the end the effects will not be beneficial to the Italian people, or to the world at large. Will, deed, chief are fine words, but they may serve to disguise an evasion of the central, vital difficulties of the political problem. Those difficulties are how to persuade citizens and countries to work together constructively for the common good.

Problems of Peace. Ninth Series. (George Allen and Unwin. 6s.)

The editor of this now famous yearly volume has borrowed from Sir Norman Angell the attractive title, "Pacifism is Not Enough." Sir Norman has the knack

of such things, which he shows not only in his title, but also in his lecture with his habitual felicity. The other contributors are scarcely less well-served by his phrase. Indeed, it expresses with admirable point the truth which must be the text of all effectual League advocacy at the present time. The need for peace, and the right to peace, are patent; the need and the right to defend peace must be made equally obvious.

Dr. G. P. Gooch, speaking on "The Growth of Nationalism," points out that civilisation is a collective achievement and a common responsibility. But our thought in the sphere of international relations has stood still while the world is shrinking before our eyes. The miracles of science have made us all close neighbours and the provincialism of the last four centuries is out of date. "In the new international machinery which we are painfully learning to work is to be found not only the strongest bulwark against the recurrence of war, but the only security that the peoples will retain their treasured national life."

Professors Rappard and Zimmern, lecturing on "The Small States in the League" and "The Great Powers in the League," in their different ways, each with an abundance of illuminating detail, deliver the same message. The League must justify itself by proving an effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace; it must be a going concern, not a talking-shop. Incidentally, Professor Zimmern raises a timely protest against the current superstition that Democracy is failing. A world survey, he retorts,

shows that it is the Democratic nations who are making a success of world affairs.

Every page in the book brings its contribution to the general argument. The world needs a League which performs all the duties entrusted to it. Nowhere is the demonstration more cogent than in the lecture of Señor Alvarez del Vayo, Chairman of the League Commission of Inquiry to the Chaco. Its topic, possessing the liveliest interest, is handled with the highest authority. Señor Alvarez del Vayo insists on the folly of the resort to arms. "My subject," he says, "is one of the most senseless wars of history." And later, "It was, at least in my own case, more of an intellectual reaction than a moral one. I found simply stupid a war that, even from the military point of view, offered no clear issue whatever."

War devours not only men's wealth and men's lives, but also men's minds. A brief survey on the spot was sufficient to convince the League's representatives that neither belligerent in the Chaco could defeat the other. Victory was as far beyond the reach of Paraguay as it was of Bolivia. The Cabinets and the High Commands of both countries, however, wilfully and enthusiastically shut their eyes to plain facts. They insisted on believing what they wished. They counted confidently their unhatched chickens, and refused to be persuaded that only their curses were coming home to roost. In the World War in all combatant countries there were

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politicians and soldiers who thought in exactly that way, for whom the capture of a thousand yards of trench at the cost of a thousand lives meant the imminent collapse of the enemy. And to-day in Africa and Europe the same calculations of easy victory are being built on not less deceptive foundations.

War never fails to hold out promises which it always fails to fulfil. And the more hollow and worthless its prospects the more irresistibly does its madness rage through the populations which it victimises, with some skilled help from interests who find their profit in the public disaster. Says Señor Alvarez del Vayo:

"The number of the expounders, historians, geographers, and jurists who have given birth to and find their livelihood in the Chaco dispute is legion. For both adversaries the world is being slowly reduced to the Chaco plane. In Asuncion and La Paz people talk and write about little else. The Chaco dispute is the inevitable subject of the editorial in every morning paper and the subject of familiar conversation before going to bed. It is the 'good morning' and the 'good night' during the whole year."

With the help of the League Paraguay and Bolivia have now stopped fighting in the Chaco and have come to terms which were suggested before the war began. They are free to resume the serious and fruitful tasks of civilisation—with tragically reduced human and material resources.

Official League Publications

Enquiry on National Public Works. Addendum. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. VIII.3.) 226 pages. 8s. net.

Since the publication of the first volume on national public works, the Secretariat has received replies from the Governments of Chile, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Poland and Sweden, and also supplementary replies from the Governments of the Union of South Africa, Australia, Denmark and France. These replies are included in the addendum to the document "Enquiry on National Public Works." As in the case of the first volume, the information received from the Governments is reproduced in full in the addendum, except for certain details of minor importance and certain information of a purely local character.

Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.—Permanent Committee on Road Traffic: Report on the Committee's Ninth Session, held at Geneva from June 17 to 21, 1935. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. VIII.4.) 57 pages (rotaprint). 1s. 6d. net.

Permanent Mandates Commission.—Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Session, held at Geneva from June 3 to 18, 1935, including the Report of the Commission to the Council. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. VI.A.1.) 252 pages. 10s. net.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

LORD OLIVIER AND THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES

SIR.—Mrs. Elizabeth Yandell asks me "in all earnestness" to say whether, "if British statesmen should ever base on a concern for African races . . . a refusal to entertain the question"—of a transfer to Germany of mandates now held by Great Britain—"their sincerity would not be called in question?"

I have no doubt that it would be. But Capt. Philip Mumford, in the article which immediately follows Mrs. Yandell's letter to you, quite adequately indicates the reasons for the opinion I hold that such a proposal would nevertheless be preposterous.

I note that Mrs. Yandell implicitly admits that she is herself one of those who, as I put it, "look on African peoples and their possessions as a species of international currency, to be swapped about according to the interests and convenience of European Powers," and that she believes those who hold the opinion expressed by Capt. Mumford and myself, either now to be hypocrites or to have held contrary views in the past.

Neither of these inferences appear to me to be inescapable. They exhibit the weakness known to logicians as "the Undistributed Middle." But in any case I do not think they need greatly affect your readers' judgment of the direct force of Capt. Mumford's arguments, or of that of those I propounded in my first letter to you on this subject.

Three other correspondents do me the honour to refer to my observations. May I reply—

To Mr. Pitter. Paragraph 1: I don't.

To Mr. Pratt. Paragraph 1: I don't. Paragraph 2: I don't follow. Paragraph 3: I concur.

To Mr. Dickin. Paragraph 2: The "trustees" themselves adopted that designation, and must be held to have accepted its implications. As trustees, they are responsible to the League, whose instrument of control is its Mandates Commission, which is a live body. Paragraph 3: There is no direct appeal. Complaints are referred to the mandatory for report to the Mandates Commission. No constituted arrangements exist for dispossessing a mandatory of his trust, or for the inhabitants of a mandated territory dispensing with their trustee.

OLIVIER.

Old Hall, Ramsden, Charlbury.

CINEMA AND EDUCATION

SIR.—I have read your comments on "Education For Life" in the "News and Comment" of HEADWAY with great interest.

Does the Union Education Committee give consideration to films and their effect on the minds of the young? At the present time there is an insidious, but definite, reaction evident in film stories towards the glories of war.

Only last night I went to see "The Lives of a Bengal Lancer"—a remarkably well-acted film, full of thrilling fighting, impossible rescues and even more impossible heroism—decorated with spirited horses, flying pennons, and smart uniforms, D.S.O.s and V.C.s, and full of overflowing with the highfalutin sentiment and false honour embodied in "battles won on Eton's playing fields," "the glory of the Empire," "the honour of the regiment," and all that fine and stirring empty noise of the brazen trumpets and big drums of the usual mock heroics by which our youngsters are deluded

into the belief that war is a noble sacrifice and a fine adventure—as if it could ever be anything but low and brutal to kill our fellow men.

I have felt always that to train the young into the way of right thought was the only way by which world peace could ever become a possibility. By training in right thought I do not mean any form of propaganda teaching—that is only on the same footing as this film of which I have written, and must be avoided at all costs. I mean something much more durable and real than any one-sided view of one of life's problems. I mean the simple "undogmatised" teaching of Christ; no balderdash of emotional religious ceremonies and creeds; just the pure beauty of truth and of the capacity to face truth and to live it, and the two commandments which Christ said included all law:

First, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind."

Second, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Learning these things, and all they mean, as if they were, as they most surely are, among the ordinary and essential facts of life, the minds of the young would be able to judge more truly the real values and invidious and emotion stirring propaganda would pass them by unharmed.

K. C. LENTHALL.

11, Park Road, Buxton,

LEAGUE MUST NOT FAIL

SIR.—For years I have been an ardent supporter of the League of Nations. I have given what I can afford out of a slender income to help the funds of the League of Nations Union, have spoken on behalf of the League in debates, and have been ever ready to take up the cudgels on its behalf in private conversations in my endeavours to overcome some of the ill-will which is so skilfully engineered against it by a large and influential section of the Press. I was also one of the voluntary workers who canvassed a district in the Peace Ballot, and got, I should think, a response of almost 90 per cent.

Perhaps, therefore, I may be permitted a little space in your paper, at this time, to appeal to the League not to let down those eleven million and more Britons who voted for peace, to say nothing of the millions of other nationals who are just as anxious for the maintenance of peace but have not yet been given an opportunity of expressing their desire for peace.

The Italo-Abyssinian dispute is the most serious problem with which the world has yet been faced since 1914.

The League's humiliating failure to put a stop to hostilities in Manchuria dealt a blow to its prestige, from which it certainly has not recovered.

What a pity that even that bitter experience has not taught the League the lessons it must learn! Indeed, I fear that if the League fails to prevent war from breaking out between Italy and Abyssinia, then the League will fail to survive the blow.

In the past the League has been very prone to attribute its failures to the lack of support which it gets from the people of the nations that are members of it, but, in view of the support which the Peace Ballot has shown it still to command, despite the Manchurian debacle, can it now make that an excuse?

One is tempted, indeed, to ask if it be not the case that it is the League which has let down its loyal and patient supporters?

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"I have recently returned from Spain, where I have been doing Consular work. With only the knowledge of Spanish gained from your Course I was able within a month to tackle any sort of correspondence and conversation." (S.C. 279.)

"In three months I have already learnt more Italian than I should have learnt in many years of study in the usual way. What astonishes me is that one can learn so well without using a single word of English." (I.M. 124.)

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Of course, the reply will be that governments have let down the League. Probably they have. But is that not positive proof that the League must be more powerful than the Governments of the States that compose it?

That, to my mind, is not the least important of the lessons which the League should have learnt from the Manchurian fiasco.

China implored the League to settle the Sino-Japanese quarrel by arbitration. But Japan rejected the League's proposal to settle by arbitration and resigned from the League, which did not dare to employ the economic boycott against Japan. It had not the power to enforce general observance of such an economic boycott, which could only succeed if backed up by military and naval power sufficient to guarantee ports and frontiers being impervious to foreign trade.

In other words, if the League is to succeed in the maintenance of peace and the establishment of the reign of law and order among nations—the main purposes for which it was formed—it must develop along the lines of a super-State, having at its command an international police force, consisting mainly of speedy aircraft, ready and able to make the will of the League effectual by force where all other means have failed.

Without such force its position is apt, in practice, to resemble that of a detective department which has unlimited means of tracking down a suspected criminal, but having found him, has no police force at its service to arrest and bring him to justice.

Whatever measures may be necessary to prevent war in Abyssinia, even to the closing of the Suez Canal, these measures the League must take!

The League cannot afford another failure like its failure in Manchuria.

With sincere hopes for the League's success in the biggest problem it has had to face,

D. Y. EWING HUNTER, B.L.

Helensburgh, Scotland.

FOLLOW THE SAAR

SIR.—Whatever objections there may be, theoretical or practical, to the establishment of a League army for general international police purposes, the experience of the Saar has shown that these objections lose their weight in the case of a force enrolled *ad hoc* to deal with a particular emergency. Might not the solution of the Abyssinian problem be found in the despatch of such a force to maintain order on the borders of Abyssinia, and in especial to suppress slave-raiding?

If the account of the state of things there given in Sir John Harris's "A Century of Emancipation" (1933) still holds good, it would seem that the Italians, in common with the other neighbours of Abyssinia, have a real grievance, however unjustifiable may be the means they propose to take to secure redress; and if the nominal ruler of Abyssinia is unable to impose order on his turbulent subjects the task is surely a proper one for the League to undertake. No doubt the bogey of expense would be raised, and no doubt the expense would be considerable; but it should be very much less than that of a war between Italy and Abyssinia—and in the long run Italy and Abyssinia might not be the only countries to whom such a war would prove costly. In any case, when millions are spent on far less worthy objects, should the consideration of expense be allowed to stand in the way of purging the world of such a foul abomination as slave-raiding, with its hideous attendant cruelties?

MORTON ALDIS.

Auckland, N.Z.

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"Colporteur Bellarmino read the Word in a house which threatened to fall on him as he sat on an old wooden box, but the leaning poles held out, and the colporteur returned with a duck in exchange for a New Testament.

"A man in rags visited our launch, with a load of oranges for sale. Some verses from St. Matthew were read to him, and he exchanged one hundred oranges for a New Testament.

"Indians of the Apalai tribe met us—happy, smiling folks, but with no written language and not understanding Portuguese—no possibility of leaving with them the Message of Heavenly Joy. What a tragedy!"

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HERE AND THERE

The Cove Branch can now boast of a membership of 221 out of a population of 2,000. During the past year this Branch has held several successful sideshows in order to arouse interest in League work, of which the most productive was a specially made League "Aunt Sally." Mrs. Connell, of 148, Marrowbrook Lane, Cove, Hants., will be delighted to furnish details of these sideshows to any Branch contemplating similar efforts, and would lend the "Aunt Sally" if desired to do so.

The North-West Region held its Fourth Annual Youth Group Conference at Blackpool recently, all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire being represented. Among the 86 delegates were representatives of 19 Youth Groups and 7 Branches. Lord Allen of Hurtwood was the principal speaker, the use of arms corporately for law rather than anarchically for disorder being the keynote of his address.

The League of Nations Union Garden Party, held at Cambridge during the vacation, was even more successful than usual this year, largely thanks to the co-operation of the Rotary Club, who invited foreign students from the Summer School. In response to the "Roll-call of Nations Represented," 29 national representatives stood forward and received a hearty welcome.

An excellent lorry display was entered by the Woolacombe Branch at the Jubilee Day Carnival, and attracted a great deal of interest. The tableau was attended by nearly 50 children representing Member States of the League, and leaflets dealing with the work of the League were distributed.

Nearly 2,000 people of all ages made an enthusiastic audience when Mr. Vernon Bartlett addressed a demonstration organised by the Stockport Youth Group. Over 20,000 leaflets and circulars were distributed from house to house, and in spite of the expense involved, the Secretary of the Peace Adventurers tells us that the membership and funds of the Branch were considerably extended—also the membership! In Peace work, as in other fields of efforts, it pays to advertise.

When the well-known Peace play, "These Things Shall Be," was presented for the first time in South Africa at Cape Town by the Y.M.C.A. Dramatic Society in conjunction with the League of Nations Union, the Governor-General and General Smuts were both present. The performance was an outstanding success.

The debate at Streatham between the Rev. E. Porter Goff and the Rev. B. C. Hopson was organised by Mrs. Gladys Stevens, of the Streatham Branch, with the assistance of the Branch Committee.

Mr. H. B. Butler and Mr. J. G. Winant, the Director and Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, were the speakers at an International Labour Conference which was held by the Notts Federal Council of the Union. Over 250 delegates attended from 127 organisations. The Trade Union delegates included representatives of local miners, railwaymen, transport workers, engineers, agricultural workers, general and municipal workers, painters, decorators, bakers and confectioners, woodworkers, lacemakers, postal workers, leather workers, blacksmiths, distributive workers, builders, printers, cigar makers, and many others.

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One of the first successful educational films in this country was the Union's film, "The World War and After," which was described by the late Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education as "the most popular educational film in Great Britain." Nearly a million boys and girls saw exhibitions arranged by the Local Education Authorities and Branches of the Union.

Cut down to two reels and incorporating new pictorial and diagrammatic material, it has now been remade to illustrate the origins and first ten years of the League's history. Mr. C. W. A. Scott, winner of the London to Melbourne air race, acts as commentator for a sound version (standard size), of which it is hoped to have 16 mm. editions, both sound and silent.

The film will be released for distribution in the autumn. Branches should book it as soon as possible.

A course of 24 lectures on International Problems will be given at Morley College by Miss M. Sheepshanks during the coming winter. The lectures will take place on Fridays from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m., starting on September 27. The fee, including college entrance fee, is 10s. The subjects will include Insecurity and the Fear of War; Aviation; Treaties of Mutual Assistance; New Wards of Conquest; the Unrest in Central Europe; Soviet Russia, etc., etc. In addition, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe will give three lectures on the United States To-day, on Tuesdays, at 8 p.m., beginning on October 1, the fee for this course being 2s. 6d. Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary of Morley College, 61, Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.1.

OVERSEAS NOTES

AUSTRALIA.

The public meeting organised by the Australian League of Nations Union and addressed by Dr. Norwood on "War and the Way to Peace" was most successful. Over 100 other meetings were held during the year, addressed chiefly by the President and Secretary of the Branch. The Union has extended its work into a number of country districts in Victoria. Besides establishing five new branches and reinvigorating another, a great many contracts have been made with other districts and the way paved for further extension. The provision of weekly articles on League and kindred subjects has now become an established service provided gratis by the Union for a large number of papers and magazines, and there has been a much larger demand both for the Union's free literature and for books and pamphlets for sale. The number of members in Victoria now amounts to 1,036.

TASMANIA.

The Hobart Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union held its annual general meeting on May 13. Several new members joined as a result of this meeting. The Branch is continuing its weekly broadcast talks. Among those who have already addressed the "Unseen audience" are Mr. W. F. D. Butler, President of the Branch; Professor A. B. Taylor, Chairman of the Branch; Hon. W. A. Woods, General Secretary of the Branch; and the Bishop of Tasmania, who dealt at length with the Peace Ballot recently held in Great Britain.

IRAN.

In June, 1934, on the invitation of M. Fahimi (now Governor-General of East Azerbaidjan), supporters of the idea of an Iranian League of Nations Society met together and decided to form an Iranian League of Nations Society with headquarters in Teheran. The Secretary-General of the Society has been received by the Minister of Education, who promised to take steps towards the realisation of aims put before him by the society dealing with the education of children in the ideals of the League of Nations. At its last meeting the Council decided to arrange special lectures for students, which will be given at the Ecole Normale Supérieure by Dr. Matine Dastary, whom the Minister of Education has nominated to the chair which has been instituted at the Faculté de Droit for closer study of the League.

Miss Karen Jeppe, a Dane, who was for some years (1922—1927) a League of Nations Commissioner for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East, died in July at Aleppo, Syria. She had worked among the Armenians for more than 30 years. During the time she worked under the auspices of the League she rescued some 2,000 Armenian women and children, who since the war had been living in slavery among Turks, Arabs and Kurds. She trained them and did not lose sight of them till they were able to stand alone. She helped the Armenians in many other ways also. Her death will mean an immense loss to the cause to which she dedicated her life.

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Exact Date of Birth.....
Headway, September

The League Assembly.—Speakers, Branch officers and others concerned with the work of the Union are urged to apply for the printed leaflet that describes the arrangements that are being made for visits to Geneva in September during the sessions of the League Assembly, which opens this year on September 9. Members of these groups will have the opportunity of attending the sessions of the Assembly and its commissions and of taking part in a programme of lectures, visits and excursions. Arrangements will be made for a tour of the new League building which will be completed this year. Conducted groups leave London on September 7 and 14, each to spend a week in Geneva.

WELSH NOTES

During the week of the National Eisteddfod at Caernarvon in August, the Welsh Council stall on the Eisteddfod ground was the centre of much activity and was visited by a large number of interested friends from many countries. On the Thursday afternoon a reception and tea were given to the visitors from Overseas on behalf of the Welsh L.N.U., at which representatives from Queensland, Palestine, South Africa, U.S.A., New Zealand, Argentine, Patagonia, France, Holland, Switzerland, West Indies, Norway and the Channel Islands responded to the welcome, in addition to a large number of young people from the International Friendship League Camp.

Council's Vote

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

Midsomer Norton, Shrewsbury, Stockton-on-Tees, Weybridge (completed in January), Woodhouse Eaves.

For 1935:—

Amble, Bedminster, Bembridge, Berkhamsted, Bourton-on-the-Water, Bradford-on-Avon, Bridlington, Coltishall, Crewkerne, Desborough, Dudley, Dursley, Duston, Eakring, Eston, Fleet, Hadleigh, Hayling Island, Hebdon Bridge, Hereford, High Wycombe, Holm Lane, Bradford, Ledbury, Linby, Long Clawson, Market Drayton, Middleton-on-Teesdale, Midsomer Norton, Mirfield, Mortimer, Mundesley, Nettlebed, Niton, Oakworth, Pickering, Plumpton, Raunds, Retford, Roydon, Rubery, Rye, Sandown, Scotby, Sedburgh, Sedge Fen, Sheringham, Stainforth, Stapleford, Sturmer, Thatcham, Tunstall, West Wight, Weybridge, Whittington, Wills No. 4, Withyham, Wooburn and Bourne End, Woodbridge, Woodford (Northants), Worle, Yeading.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscriptions

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

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

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

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

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to a local Branch, District or County Secretary; or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegraphic address: Frenat, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6161.

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

Registered Members: 5s. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)

* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

Life Members: £25.

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

The Writer's World

No. 19

September, 1935

For New Writers

Writing for Profit

The Great Demand for Articles and Stories

By MICHAEL GORING

THERE is an enormous demand for articles and short stories. Newspapers rely to a large extent on outside—that is, free-lance—contributors for literary articles, and articles and stories for periodicals and magazines are supplied almost entirely by non-staff writers.

Hundreds of editors constantly require the work of free-lances, and provided a person can learn to write interestingly and in the conventional form, he will have little difficulty in disposing of his MSS. As much as three guineas can be gained for an article of a few hundred words and up to twenty guineas for a 5,000-word story.

The type of contribution in particular demand is that which deals with the problems, the humours and the humanness of everyday life; and that is why many of the printed contributions are the work, not of professional writers, but of people in offices, workshops, rectories, schools—and, not least, the home.

But a person who attempts, without training, to produce contributions for the Press is working in the dark. Editors will return his work with formal regrets which tell him nothing that will put him right. The subject matter of an article may be wrong; its form may be faulty or the plot of a story may lack the "twist" that will make all the difference to it—but the untrained writer, in all probability, will never know, and eventually he gives up in disgust, not realising that between him and success was but a brief training.

* * * * *

The Regent Institute offers you that training with the personal guarantee of the Director of Studies that you will be as carefully coached as though you were the Institute's only student. **If you are uncertain whether you possess sufficient literary aptitude to make success possible, submit a short MS., and you will be given a frank and expert opinion.**

What YOU Can Write About

THE keynote of all newspaper contributions is novelty. There are comparatively few new subjects, but there are many variations on the same themes.

Any intelligent person is capable of striking a new note. It is that new note, that variation on familiar themes, that literary editors want—in fact, one type of "magazine" article is nothing more than a novel point of view upon a familiar or topical subject.

But there is another kind of article—that which deals with unfamiliar aspects of, or gives interesting facts about, a particular business, profession or experience. They are usually signed "By a Lawyer," "By a Hostess," "By a Teacher," "By a Gardener," "By a Philatelist," etc. It is quite possible for one person to be hostess, gardener, philatelist, and a dozen other things, so that the writer's scope is not limited.

Ideas for articles are endless.

But the free-lance needs something more; he needs to know the technique of article writing. It is not difficult to acquire. Anybody who takes the trouble to do so and can learn how to treat subjects in an entertaining style has a wonderful chance to add to his income—and in a way that is not only really fascinating but which broadens his outlook and interests amazingly.

The Regent Institute is a school of journalism whose primary aim is to turn out writers who can sell their work, but it also welcomes those who desire to learn the craft of writing because of its cultural value or those who want a delightful hobby.

Send for the Institute's free booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer." It will show you of what the literary Courses consist and how it is possible to make an absorbing hobby both cultural and remunerative.

**"I Have Sold
3,094
MSS."**

—A Spare-time
Writer

THE rewards of spare-time writing can be very substantial. Proof is to be found in the thousands of success reports received from students of the Regent Institute—the well-known correspondence school. Most of these successes were achieved by people who had no previous experience of writing for the Press. One student, who, after failing to get his work accepted by editors, took a course some years ago, reports progress as follows:

Working as a spare-time writer only, I have been consistently successful with articles and stories—in fact, I have sold 594 MSS. by pure free-lancing, and over 2,500 under contract to a group of newspapers for which I write regularly. Nowadays I write under contract alone—although still as an independent writer—and dispose of some 300 MSS. annually.

Many students have reported three-figure earnings and the sale of hundreds of MSS. Students' work has appeared in more than 1,000 journals, including every daily newspaper of importance. The united qualifications of the instructional staff are so varied that every need of the student can be met.

A few further extracts from students' letters are given below:

Now Makes £20 a Month

"I manage to make about £20 a month on the average, and this doesn't count a book I've just translated."

Contributed to 65 Publications

"I have very little time at my disposal. In spite of this I have managed to contribute to sixty-five different publications and sold in all 193 stories and articles."

"The Best Investment I Ever Made"

"I have always been glad that I took your Course, and consider it the best investment I ever made. . . . I have made over £200, which isn't bad considering the time I have given to writing."

Writes for Leading Reviews

"I am getting along quite nicely in my journalistic career, and am now a regular contributor to the *Empire Review* and the *Crown Colonist*. The *Contemporary Review* has an article which the editor states they hope to publish shortly. I also recently had an article in the *National Review*."

"From Success to Greater Success"

"Since finishing your Course I have stepped from success to greater success, until now I am turning out articles with such regularity that I am never idle. My published articles for last year alone numbered well over 200."

Free Lessons for New Writers

An Interesting Offer to Readers

Post the Coupon To-day

Readers of HEADWAY who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence School. Applications should be addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219H), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

THE records of the Regent Institute (which has a world-wide reputation for training free-lance journalists) contain scores of cases of almost immediate success won by students who had never written a line for publication before they enrolled.

Earning while Learning

Some students earn the fee many times over during tuition. The following letter, for instance, speaks for itself:

"I am enclosing Lesson 10, which completes the Course in Journalism. I have been MOST satisfied by all that I have been taught, and I am quite convinced that no postal tuition could possibly have been more thorough or more instructive than yours has been. . . . To date I have had 121 articles and paragraphs accepted."

Send for FREE LESSON and 24-Page Booklet

By posting the coupon you will have the opportunity of reading the first lesson of a Course that has enabled hundreds of men and women to increase their income by writing in their leisure hours.

THE REGENT INSTITUTE

(Dept. 219H),
Regent House, Palace Gate,
London, W.8.

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

- A free specimen lesson of the Postal Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing.
- A free copy of your prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer," with full particulars of your postal tuition.

Name.....
BLOCK LETTERS.

Address.....