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# HEADWAY

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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### CONTENTS

|  | PAGE |  | PAGE |
|--|------|--|------|
| MATTERS OF MOMENT .. .. .                    | 121  | HOW TO TELL THE STORY. (Editorial) ..    | 131  |
| DISARMAMENT .. .. .                          | 124  | CAMPERS' COMRADESHIP. By Hugh Shayler .. | 132  |
| AT LAUSANNE .. .. .                          | 125  | FILMS TO SEE .. .. .                     | 133  |
| ADVERTISING PEACE. By Gervas Huxley ..       | 126  | WHAT THE LEAGUE COSTS .. .. .            | 134  |
| FILMS ACROSS THE SEA .. .. .                 | 127  | JAPAN AND CHINA .. .. .                  | 135  |
| GODSHILL .. .. .                             | 128  | THE LEAGUE AIR FORCE .. .. .             | 136  |
| YOUTH AND WAR. By the Headmaster of Rugby .. | 129  | HOW TO HELP CHINA .. .. .                | 137  |
| FROM ARMS TO PEACE. By H. G. Wanklyn ..      | 130  | BOOKS WORTH READING .. .. .              | 138  |
|  |      | READERS' VIEWS .. .. .                   | 139  |

### Matters of Moment

#### America and the World

IN view of the possibility—which seems about an even chance—that Mr. Hoover may be re-elected President of the United States, considerable importance attaches to the programme (or, as the Americans call it, the platform) drafted by the Republican Convention which met at Chicago in the middle of June. Two points in particular are of interest here. "We favour," say the Republicans, "the enactment by Congress of a measure that will authorise our Government to call or participate in an international conference in case of any threat of non-fulfilment of Article II of the Treaty of Paris." [This article binds signatories to settle disputes arising between them by pacific means only.] They also declare that "America should join its influence and gain a voice in this (World Court) institution." The value of these declarations is increased by the fact that the Democrats will pretty certainly be prepared not only to endorse them but to go a little further.

#### Economy, True and False

POINTED questions to the Government on the cost of various League organisations continue. The latest interrogator is Lord Lovat, who asked in the House of Lords on June 15 how many officials of the International Labour Office, drew

salaries of £1,500 or over, what the I.L.O. pensions scheme cost Great Britain and so forth. The reply given by Lord Rochester for the Government was to the effect that there were seven officials with salaries of not less than £1,500, being 1.7 of the total staff; the cost of the pensions scheme to Great Britain for 1932 was about £3,400 out of £54,000 contributed to the cost of the Labour Office as a whole. The Government spokesman added very properly that—

"it would be false economy to impair the efficiency of the League and the I.L.O. which is an integral part of the League. So far from there being, as was sometimes represented, a steady tendency for the expense to increase, its financial history showed a surprising stability when account was taken of the inevitable growth in demands made on the I.L.O., whose budget was one of the most carefully scrutinised budgets of the world."

These are useful truths to impress upon their lordships' House.

#### Hits at the League

IN the same connection a word of comment seems to be called for regarding the treatment the League sometimes receives in the wireless press services available on British liners. The following, for example, was published on a Blue Star liner on June 13:—

"Geneva. Despite the economic crisis the League

of Nations' palace, estimated to cost 35,000,000 gold francs, is making rapid progress and is expected to be finished in September, 1934."

This is a curious item to appear under wireless press news, for it might have been sent by the most leisurely post in the world and still have been perfectly appropriate any time this year. The suggestion that the League was spending extravagantly "despite the economic crisis" may have been quite unintentional, but at any rate it had the effect on some at least of its readers of an innuendo. With regard to the figure quoted, the last Assembly of the League of Nations, which alone can authorise expenditure on the new buildings, laid it down definitely that the cost must not exceed the approved estimate of 23,633,150 gold francs. There may be some excess before the building is finished—there almost always is in such cases—but for such a figure as 35,000,000 gold francs there is no warrant at all.

#### Why Staffs Expand

ASSIDUOUS questioners have been eliciting from various Ministers statistics about the increase of staff in the Departments under their charge in recent years. They thus brought to light the fact that the Admiralty staff has increased since 1914 from 829 to 1,366 (clerical staff); that of the Board of Trade from 2,502 to 3,930; and so forth. That is a perfectly reasonable process of expansion. As one of the questioned Ministers observed pertinently, you cannot expect a Department to go on doing more work with the same staff. But there is not one rule for British Government Departments and another for the League of Nations. The League's work has been expanding ever since the League started in 1920, as result of unanimous decisions of the Council and Assembly in which the British Government, of course, concurred. The critics who object to the expansion of the League's staff should connect cause and effect, and if they must attack anything, attack the cause.

#### Balance: Four Centimes

FOR adjustment of expenditure to income there can, by the way, be few people to touch "The Under-Secretary-General in charge of Internal Administration," whose entertainment allowance is equal in English money to £500. According to the audited accounts of the League in 1931 this official had voted to him for entertainment 12,610 Swiss francs. His actual expenditure was 12,609 francs and 96 centimes, leaving a neat little balance on the right side of 4 centimes, or in English money, twopence. What admirable restraint must the Marquis Paulucci del Calboli have exerted to checking himself at the critical moment from the profligacy of offering one of his guests another *glace pralinée* and so ending up 6 centimes on the wrong side instead of 4 on the right. Mr. Micawber has reminded us for all time of the difference that makes.

#### Progress in Liberia

WHAT was termed "the Liberian scandal" was referred to in last month's HEADWAY in language which has provoked some protest in Liberian circles, but cannot be considered too strong in view of all the circumstances. Since the paragraph in question appeared the situation has developed a little in the right direction, Dr. Melville Mackenzie, who was for some time secretary of the Health Section of the League Secretariat, having been despatched to Liberia on behalf of the League to watch the relations between the Government and the Kru tribesmen and advise the Government generally on its tasks so far as opportunity offers. Dr. Mackenzie has had considerable experience in different parts of the world. He went to Bolivia on behalf of the League to help in the organisation of a national health service there and has also investigated cholera and plague in Greece. Meanwhile, we have to record with very great regret the death of Dr. Cuthbert Christy, who was a member of the committee of investigation which studied the situation in Liberia on behalf of the League early last year.

#### The League and the Mines

THE League of Nations toils on manfully trying to persuade nations to do together what they insist on doing separately. Take coal. A convention has at last been signed whereby the coal-producing nations of Europe agree to establish by law a 7¼-hour day, or what by Continental reckoning is equivalent to a 7¼-hour day in this country. But a convention is not binding till it is ratified, and no single nation will ratify an agreement restricting hours till all the others are ready to do the same, which all the others are not ready to do in this case. Consequently the Mines Bill now before Parliament in this country provides for a 7½-hour day till the Geneva Convention becomes effective. That concerns the workers mainly. Then comes the question of sales. Cut-throat competition for dwindling markets is beggaring everyone, and the Economic Committee of the League has been trying to bring some order into the chaos. Here one of the difficulties has been that the industry in Great Britain is not sufficiently organised to speak with a single voice, or enter into agreements binding coal-producers as a whole. That fortunately is put right now through the creation of the Central Council of Coal-Owners, but not much progress towards international agreement has been reached yet.

#### The Traffic in Arms

WHILE the League of Nations has not yet succeeded in getting a convention adopted for the control of the international traffic in arms it continues to publish all the information available on the subject in an annual volume of statistics. The "Statistical Year Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition" for 1930 has just

been issued and shows that in the six years 1925-30 arms and ammunition to the value of £67,000,000 were exported from 35 different countries, Great Britain being responsible for a third of the amount—that is to say a good deal more than any other country. In 1930, the last year for which figures are available, Great Britain supplied 30.8 per cent. of the total exports, France coming next with 12.9 per cent., and the United States following with 11.7 per cent. More than half our exports went to our own Dominions and Colonies, but even apart from that we remained the largest exporters. Arms export from Great Britain is carefully controlled by licence, and so long as nations maintain armies and navies, some of them will need to buy part of their munitions from overseas. But an international treaty defining strictly the conditions on which arms may be exported from any country is badly needed. Figures for 1931 are not yet available, but returns obtained from another source show that in the five months to the end of April, 1932, war material to the value of £172,098 was exported from this country to Japan, and to the value of £46,845 to China. The principal items in each case were machine-guns and cartridges.

#### Parliament and Minorities

NOT much is ever heard of the minority question at Westminster, but a useful little debate in the House of Lords was initiated by Lord Noel Buxton a week or two ago. Speaking with strict moderation Lord Noel Buxton dwelt particularly on the hardships suffered by the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia, and discussing the general question of League procedure he suggested that failing the institution of a permanent minority commission, which was the best solution, a committee of experts should be appointed to help the minorities committees of the League. Lord Dickinson mentioned that last year 204 petitions were received at Geneva, but only 73 of these came before committees, and Lord Cecil dwelt on the importance of getting principles for dealing with minorities established by the British plan of gradually building up a common law and procedure on the subject. Lord Hailsham, answering for the Government, was studiously non-committal, though he promised that attention should be given to Lord Noel Buxton's proposal for an expert committee.

#### The Latest Court Decision

IT is rather unfortunate that the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice should have divided 6-5 on the question of the Free Zones in dispute between France and Switzerland, but such differences of opinion are common enough in all tribunals. The House of Lords, the highest Court of Appeal in this country, frequently divides 3-2. The Zones question itself, though complicated, is of special interest in that it directly concerns Geneva, a region familiar to many readers of this journal. The position, very briefly, was that by a

settlement of 1815-16, while the French political frontier was extended to within a mile or two of Geneva, the Customs frontier was fixed some distance further back, so that Geneva had free intercourse with a considerable hinterland—the Free Zones—without any tariff barriers intervening. In 1923 France moved the Customs frontier up to the political frontier. Switzerland protested and France consented to go before the Permanent Court, which has now ruled in Switzerland's favour on the main issue, leaving certain subsidiary points to be settled by negotiation.

#### Buying Babies

THE statement in an article in last month's HEADWAY that the farmers of China have been selling one or two of their children in order to get money to keep the rest alive, receives striking confirmation in a letter recently received from Sir John Hope Simpson, who was appointed Flood Relief Commissioner by the Chinese Government on the recommendation of the League of Nations. Speaking of North Anhwei, Sir John writes that "we are actually buying hundreds of children in order to prevent their being sold into slavery. We keep the children and when conditions improve shall make them over again to their parents." The HEADWAY article appears to have brought in several hundred pounds for the Flood Relief Fund, which means that HEADWAY readers must, without their knowledge, have been buying babies on an extensive scale with a view to making a present of them to their parents in a few weeks' time.

#### A League Loan Committee

AS was shown in HEADWAY a month ago four-fifths of the criticisms of the loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations is pernicious nonsense. Of the various nations that have borrowed with the League's help from 1922 onwards one only, Greece, has so far defaulted—to the extent of saying that though she has the money needed, as arranged by the League, in her national currency, she cannot convert it into pounds to pay English bondholders, francs to pay French and Swiss, and so on. Bulgaria has also given warning that she can at present convert into foreign currencies only half the amount due. But since the reputation of the League is in some degree involved, and it is important that subscribers to League loans should have their interests placed in the best possible hands, the Governor of the Bank of England has appointed a small committee, including among its members Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sir Arthur Salter and Sir Otto Niemeyer to fulfil this function. It would be hard to think of names that would create greater confidence. The immediate affect of the announcement of the Committee's appointment was to send up the quotations of practically all the loans concerned by a couple of points.

## Disarmament

### President Hoover's New Challenge

THE Disarmament Conference for the last month or so has been like a flickering fire, which dies sometimes so low that its embers seem to have no life left in them, but which is capable all the same of blazing up again suddenly under suitable treatment.

It blazed up suddenly and dramatically on June 22, when Mr. Hugh Gibson launched on the Conference in the name of President Hoover a programme of disarmament going beyond anything that had so far been proposed, except by the Russians—beyond even Signor Grandi's comprehensive plan for the abolition of all the aggressive weapons which were forbidden to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.

What Mr. Hoover wants is, in brief:

**Reduction of the armaments of the world by approximately one-third, this to be achieved by—**

- (1) Abolition of tanks, chemical warfare, and heavy artillery;
- (2) Abolition of bombing planes and prohibition of bombing from the air;
- (3) Reduction of one-third in the strength of land armies over and above a reasonable defence minimum proportionate to the forces allowed to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles;
- (4) Reduction of one-third in the number and total tonnage of battleships and of submarines, no submarine to be over 1,200 tons;
- (5) Reduction of number and tonnage of aircraft-carriers, cruisers, and destroyers.

In the speech in which he announced these proposals, Mr. Gibson explained that the principle underlying them was the Kellogg Pact, whereby all nations undertook never to use armed force as an instrument of national policy. The effect of the adoption of the Hoover proposals would be to make attack increasingly difficult but to leave each nation with full provision for defence.

The American proposals were welcomed with open arms by Signor Grandi, who, it was understood, had Signor Mussolini's authority for accepting them as they stood without any reservation. The French, on the other hand, were extremely lukewarm, raising the usual problem of security, and asking, through the mouth of M. Paul-Boncour, their principal delegate, what action America would take if some nation used the defensive forces allocated to it in order to attack a neighbour in violation of the Kellogg Pact.

Sir John Simon described Mr. Gibson's statement as "deeply interesting and profoundly important," and he rather astonishingly met America's public challenge by urging that the private conversations in progress at Geneva between three Powers—Great Britain, France and America—should be resumed. He said little about the detailed proposals, but described them on the naval side as "hardly adequate," on the ground that Great Britain had proposed to abolish submarines altogether and, failing that, to limit the individual size to 250 tons. In regard to battleships he did not accept Mr. Hoover's proposals of a reduction by one-third, but advanced instead the idea of limiting the size of future ships to 25,000 tons instead of the present 35,000 tons. There is little doubt that a 25,000-ton ship laid down in 1935 would be more powerful than any 35,000-ton ship at

present afloat, and, in any case, Sir John Simon's proposal assumes the continued existence of capital ships, while the Hoover proposal points clearly (by reducing the Washington figures of 20:18:10 to 10:10:6) to their gradual abolition.

The American proposals were warmly welcomed by the British and American press and strongly condemned by that of France and Japan. The position when this issue of HEADWAY went to press was that the General Commission of the Conference stood adjourned in order to allow the private conversations for which Sir John Simon pressed to continue. The fact that these conversations were confined to Great Britain, the United States and France had the usual effect of causing discontent on the part of other Powers.

### The Rôle of the Press

There is no subject which needs fuller investigation or on which it is more difficult to obtain accurate information than the propaganda activities of firms engaged in the armaments industry. This is a case in which it is easy to make random charges, which, if they cannot be substantiated, tend to do more harm to their authors than to their objects. At the same time, the League covenant did not refer for nothing to the "grave objection" to which the private manufacture of armaments is open, and where authentic information on this subject is available it ought clearly to be made public. An article under the heading "Secret Assassins" appeared in the *Nation and New Statesman* on June 18, from which the following extracts are worth quoting:—

"[Lord Cecil may have wondered] why Shearer, who sued the U.S.A. armament firms for £255,655 owing to him for secret propaganda in the Press and elsewhere directed against the Naval Conference of 1927, had been seen in Geneva during the present conference."

"Schneider-Creusot, the foremost French munitions firm controls the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia and has ramifications also in Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia."

"It would not be surprising if Schneider-Creusot thought it worth while to invest a little money in propaganda against the Disarmament Conference, nor ought we to be surprised to find that a violent Press campaign against the whole Disarmament Conference has been led by the *Temps* and the *Journal des Débats* when we learn that these papers were acquired on the eve of the Conference by the *Comité des Forges*, the organ which represents all the leading French steel and armament firms and including, of course, the firm of Schneider-Creusot."

From the form in which reference to Schneider-Creusot investing money in propaganda against the Disarmament Conference is couched it would not appear that actual evidence on the subject is available. The *Journal des Débats* had been in the hands of the *Comité des Forges* a considerable time before the Conference opened, but the *Temps* was, as stated, acquired practically on the eve of it.

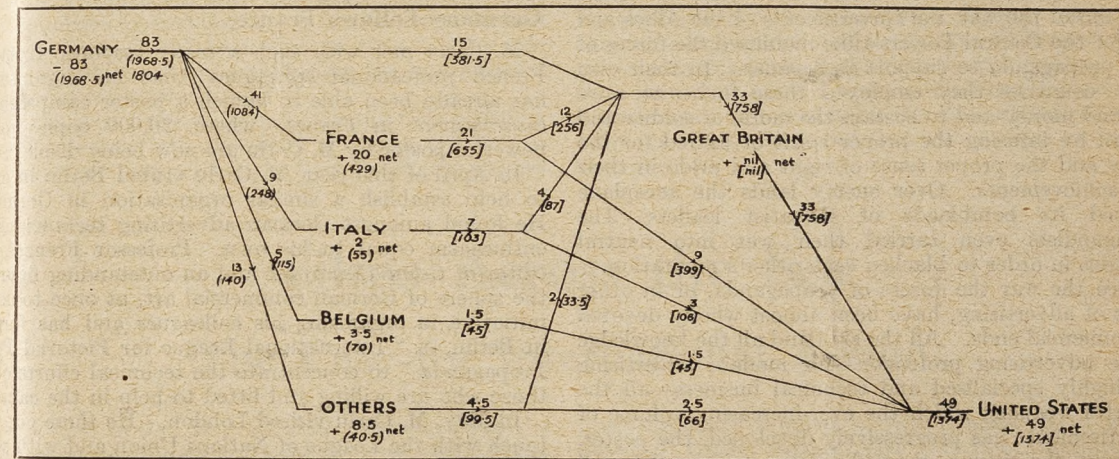
## At Lausanne

### Some Salient Facts and Figures

THE Lausanne Conference is sitting as these lines are being written. There is every prospect that it will still be sitting when this issue of "HEADWAY" appears. What it will have accomplished by that time is altogether uncertain. It may have accomplished a great deal. It may not even have attempted a great deal for of its three separate tasks one or two, or even all three, may possibly be adjourned for an interval yet. Those three tasks are briefly: (1) a settlement of reparations; (2) a settlement of what is known as the Danubian question, i.e., the precarious economic and financial condition of the States of Central Europe; and (3) consideration of the various difficulties, monetary, industrial and so forth, responsible for the present world depression. The third of these problems will probably be adjourned till the coming World Confer-

entially to remit a part or the whole of it, or unless the debtors decide to default. As a matter of fact, most of the debts have been considerably reduced. Great Britain is paying America almost in full and it is costing her (or, rather, it had cost her, down to the date of the Hoover moratorium) £33,000,000 a year. If no change is made that amount will be very considerably increased from now on, as it would have risen in any case in 1933 to £38,000,000, and that was at the old rate of exchange. Owing to the depreciation of the £ the £38,000,000 will become over £50,000,000—a tremendous drain on the national budget. America reduced the debts of France and Italy very substantially when she made a final settlement with them after the war and Great Britain treated them with equal leniency. As a result, France was receiving last year in reparations

A REPARATIONS CHART.



The unbracketed figures show the normal reparations or war-debt payments from country to country for the year before the Hoover Moratorium.

Figures in brackets show the present value of the total annuities at 4 1/2%.

ence, in which America will take a hand. In any case, the main problem is reparations, and linked with reparations in everyone's mind, though formally separated from it on the Lausanne agenda—indeed banished from the Lausanne agenda altogether—is the problem of inter-allied debts.

The facts about reparations were stated in an article by Miss Fawcett in last month's "HEADWAY," and the essential figures are given in the diagram on this page. Germany, under the arrangement known as the Young Plan, ought to be paying about £85,000,000 this year, rather more than half of that going to France, rather less than a quarter to this country, and the rest being divided between Italy and several smaller European States. Germany, of course, is at present paying nothing, owing to the Hoover moratorium, and everyone is agreed that she will not be able to pay anything at the best for some years to come.

The debt question is not quite so well understood. During the war, Great Britain and various other European States borrowed heavily from America. France and various other European States borrowed from Great Britain, various small States borrowed on a modest scale from France. That money has in due course to be repaid unless the creditors choose volun-

about £20,000,000 a year more than she had to pay to America and Britain in settlement of debt. We ourselves come out level so far as current accounts are concerned, for the simple reason that we undertook in 1922 (by the Balfour Note) not to demand more from Germany (in the form of reparations) and our various allied debtors (in settlement of debt) than we needed for making debt payments to America. In actual fact, we were already £200,000,000 out of pocket before this arrangement was made, and it means, of course, in addition, that we get nothing from Germany to make good war damage, because it is all passed on to America in debt payments.

That is the general situation the Lausanne Conference has had before it. The British policy announced there, as it had been announced in the House of Commons already, was the complete cancellation of reparation payments and, if possible, all debt payments too. This however, depends, of course, on the United States as the chief creditor, and there is no prospect of any arrangement being reached with the American Government till after the Presidential election in November at the earliest.

One final point must be made clear in this connection. The money that is owed to the United States is owed

by this country and her former allies, not to American investors but to the American Government, which in turn owes it to investors. What happened was that after America came into the war her Government gave the allied countries huge credits for the purchase of commodities they needed, such as flour and meat and cotton, guns and ammunition, locomotives and tractors. To pay the American manufacturers and merchants who supplied these goods the American Government raised large loans which were subscribed by American investors. These loans, of course, stand, and interest has to be paid to the stock-holders by the American

Government just in the same way as the British Government pays interest to the holders of war loan.

If, therefore, Great Britain and the other Allied countries stop paying their debts to America, the American Government will still have to go on paying interest to the Americans who subscribed to the loans. Cancellation cannot be carried to the extent of depriving the individual stockholder of his rights. The failure of the Allied Governments to pay, therefore, would simply mean that the burden was shifted to the American Government, not that it was wiped out altogether. In justice to America that ought to be remembered.

## Advertising Peace

### Poster Artists' Remarkable Crusade

By GERVAS HUXLEY

(Mr. Huxley is Director of the Empire Marketing Board's highly successful Advertising)

**D**URING the war the Governments of the Allies and of the Central Powers alike mobilised the forces of propaganda to support their cause. In their own home countries they employed these forces to raise men and money and to sustain the moral of soldier and civilian by infusing the proper spirit of hatred for the enemy and the proper sense of right and pride in their own achievements. Over enemy lands the aeroplane dropped its bombloads of defeatist leaflets. The propagandists even carried their war into neutral countries in order to blacken each other's reputation.

Since the war the forces of propaganda, or in other words of advertising, have been almost wholly devoted to commercial ends. All the skill and all the knowledge of the advertising profession—for modern advertising is a highly specialised and technical business—all the powerful weapons which the ever-increasing volume of advertisements has progressively developed, the poster, the press, the cinema, the radio, have been used to sell the wares of manufacturers or the services of railways, shipping companies, insurance companies and banks.

#### Beer, but not Peace

It must have occurred to many people to question why these forces should not be used in the service of the great ideals of mankind as well as for commercial profit. Why, for instance, if the advertiser could excite the desires and needs of men and women for an article of commerce, the same art should not be applied to convert them to the highest economic end—the idea of peace? And yet, demonstrable as is the power of modern publicity, all the efforts of the various organisations for promoting peace have not hitherto had behind them the advertising force that is expended on the sale of a single brand of cigarette or beer.

It was these thoughts that recently inspired one of the foremost poster artists in France, M. Jean Carlu, to create an organisation of French advertising artists and experts for the promotion of peace. This organisation, called "l'Office de Propagande Graphique pour la Paix," with M. Carlu as its first president, has been spontaneously formed by advertising technicians themselves to study the best methods of projecting peace, to place their expert services at the disposal of any bodies engaged in peace propaganda, to carry out propaganda themselves and to try to secure the establishment of similar associations of advertising technicians in all civilised countries.

#### Germany Follows France

M. Carlu met with such a ready response from his French professional colleagues that his organisation has already been able to launch a poster campaign for disarmament in France, where 20,000 copies of a powerful poster by M. Carlu are now being displayed.

In April of this year, M. Carlu visited Berlin in order to help establish a similar organisation in Germany. He found amongst German advertising technicians an enthusiasm equal to his own. Professor Frenzel, the editor of *Gebrauchsgraphik* and an outstanding figure in the sphere of German commercial art, at once took the initiative in organising his colleagues and has formed in Berlin an "International League for Pictorial Peace Propaganda" to concentrate the technical efforts of all those who are willing and fitted to help in the cause.

In May, M. Carlu visited London. He there got into touch with the League of Nations Union and with some of the leading artists and technical men in English poster advertising. The response of the English technicians to M. Carlu's appeal was no less enthusiastic than that of their French and German colleagues. Those with whom he came in contact at once promised to give all the help that their special gifts or knowledge could afford.

As a result, a new Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union has been formed, with a small group of artists and poster technicians among its members, in order to give expert advice and help to the League in organising a new poster campaign to project the cause of Peace and Disarmament.

#### Sites for Posters

In considering the most practical and effective methods of carrying out such a campaign, the Committee felt that the League of Nations Union, with its 3,000 branches all over the country, had a great opportunity of establishing its own poster sites somewhat on the lines so successfully adopted by the Empire Marketing Board. Apart from the fact that a continuing poster campaign on the commercial hoardings would involve an expense for which no funds were available, the commercial hoardings would not provide so suitable a medium for the particular kind of "idea-advertising" that is to be undertaken as "solus" sites such as those possessed by the Empire Marketing Board. On such sites can be displayed poster of high artistic merit and general educational appeal, which would be liable to be

lost on the commercial hoardings, where the competition of neighbouring posters forces the employment of some bold commercial design or reiterated phrase that will do its work by merely catching the eye. There must exist in every place where a branch of the League of Nations Union has been established excellent sites, belonging to members or obtainable free by goodwill, on which could be erected small poster frames. There need be no fear that such frames or the posters thereon would offend the amenities of the neighbourhood or disfigure any site. On the contrary, their orderly and artistic appearance should prove an attraction.

#### A Searching Appeal

The Committee have therefore recommended, and the Union Executive approved, a scheme whereby such poster frames should be sold for a modest sum to any branch that will co-operate by undertaking to erect and maintain the frame and to display the monthly changes of posters that will be supplied by the League of Nations Union for a small annual charge.

The frame will probably be some 5 feet high and 8 feet long, to hold 3 different posters. An eminent architect is giving his services for its design and it will allow for co-operation with the peace propaganda of other countries by enabling, say, a French and a German poster to be displayed from time to time side by side with a British one, thus emphasising the international character of the appeal.

It is the job of the technicians on the Committee to try and translate into the terms of the most effective pictorial advertising, and of the best design, the themes

## Films Across the Sea

### The Case for International Action

**A**N article in the May issue of HEADWAY on the general question of "How to Put the League Across" ended with half a column on the cinema and the use that might be made of that medium if some great producer would really set himself to portraying on the screen the ideas and ideals for which the League of Nations stands.

And now there comes to hand a document of high importance, the report of a Commission on Educational and Cultural Films which has been discussing the cinema from every angle for the past two years and more. The title given to the report is "The Film in National Life," but everything that is national in one aspect is international in another, and even if it were not, the facts adduced regarding the appeal the film makes to the million would be enough to justify the treatment of what may be termed the problem of the film on an international scale. Take one or two figures this report cites. There are over 60,000 cinemas in the world, more than half (and by far the more important half) wired for sound production, and every day close on 20,000,000 attend them. The film, in a word, has become a world influence of astonishing potency.

#### For Good or Ill

Is it an influence for good or ill? If for ill how can it be made good? If for good how can it be made better? Every country needs to consider that problem for itself (this is the real problem of the film), but all countries need to discuss it together as well, for when films pass from country to country as they do to-day a problem like this oversteps all national frontiers. The

suggested by the experience of the League of Nations Union as those best able to make the strongest appeal and the deepest impression on the public mind. The technicians must ensure that, from the outset, the highest standards of quality and distinction are set, and six of our leading poster-artists have already generously undertaken to give their services free for the design of the first series of posters to start the campaign.

The manner of presentation must command the respect not only of those who are likely to be receptive to the message, but even more of those who will be difficult to convince. The technicians must also see that the posters are good advertising. Their message must be positive and not negative. It is no use merely to depict the horrors of war. Disarmament must be given a constructive, active appeal. The idea must be impressed on the public's mind that peace is the basis of a world loyalty transcending and supplementing national patriotism and that peace is the essence of that constructive world co-operation which alone can heal the wounds left by the war.

The English poster-artists and experts are, at any rate, anxious and ready to give of their best in this cause. They will make no unworthy response to the action of their French and German colleagues. How far their efforts will succeed, now depends on how far the individual branches of the League of Nations Union take up the scheme and establish the poster sites. They have it in their power to create a national campaign on a scale that will command the real attention of the public in this country and that will serve as an inspiration abroad.

great exchange familiar to this country is, of course, between Great Britain and America; because, for obvious reasons of language, a sound film made in Elstree is as intelligible to Americans as a film made in Hollywood is to Englishmen. But, of course, there are other exchanges as well, as is shown by the popularity achieved in this country by French films like "Le Million" and "Sous les Toits de Paris," and "À Nous la Liberté"; German, like "Kameradschaft," "Mädchen in Uniform," "Metropolis," and the new "M"; and Russian, like "The Blue Express," "The End of St. Petersburg," and others.

#### Helping the Best Pictures

If this is to continue, as it is fortunately pretty certain it will, international action on three or four lines is needed. First of all, in this, as in all matters, it is worth while finding out how other countries do things so as to learn from them how to do things better ourselves. Secondly, it is desirable that, if possible, some standard of taste should be set in each country, so that countries importing films may import the best and not the worst. It is quite true that this is primarily a commercial affair, and what is, in fact, likely to be imported is a film that will tickle the public palate rather than one that will cultivate the public taste, but little by little it may be made easier in various ways (perhaps by differentiated customs duties) to import good films than bad ones. And, lastly, knowledge on all these points must be centralised, so that everyone can know at once where to get it.

This last point may be taken first, because in this

field, at any rate, the League of Nations is actually at work. An International Institute of Cinematography exists under its auspices at Rome (because a building and funds were placed at the League's disposal for the purpose by the Italian Government). Apart from forming a Draft Convention on Educational Films, as to which a word more in a moment, the Institute is preparing an international catalogue of educational films and in its monthly review, printed in five languages, is disseminating information about every kind of advance and experiment along lines that are other than purely commercial. It is the international information-centre on films.

The Draft Convention the Rome Institute is sponsoring is an interesting attempt to secure some commercial advantage for the best films. In practically every country, including Great Britain, there is a tariff on imported films, usually a substantial one. If *bona fide* educational films were admitted free they would cost the renter less than the ordinary taxed film and he would have so much more incentive to show them. The Draft Convention, framed with that end in view, has been actually drawn up by the League of Nations Economic Committee, so that there is no doubt about its being watertight on the technical side. Some thirty nations, including Great Britain, have accepted it as a suitable basis for discussion at an international conference at which it can be finally adopted.

#### Wanted: A Film Institute

But the efficient working of an international convention depends on the efficient working of some national authority in each country, for if educational films are to be freed from duty there must be some competent body qualified to say whether a film is educational or not. In some countries such bodies exist. Italy has a film institute, run by the Government. Germany has two, at Berlin and Munich. No films may be shown in schools without its imprimatur. France controls the cinema through its Ministry of Instruction and Fine Arts. In Japan the Department of Education produces films of an educational character. In Great Britain there is practically no official initiative at all, though the Empire Marketing Board has produced one or two films (such as "Drifters," a picture of the herring industry) quite successfully. Officialism and the spontaneity of the cinema may not seem to go well together, but a British Film Institute, like those existing in Germany and Italy, need not be purely, or even predominantly, official. A semi-independent body organised on the lines of the B.B.C. (i.e., with its board of governors appointed by the Government but rarely interfered with by the Government) could act with complete freedom from anything like red tape. And there is quite enough practical experience in film-making in this country by this time that could be put at the disposal of such a body.

#### Typically English

A British Film Institute would have at least two main duties—among many others. It would certify certain films as educational for purposes of the Draft Convention mentioned above (a clear definition of what "educational" means for this purpose is contained in the Draft Convention). But it would also, it may be hoped, do what it could to foster the production of specifically British films. It may be a little difficult to say what a specifically British film is or should be, but this at least may be agreed, that it should portray typical English life and preferably some of the best sides of typical English life. Canada, not unnaturally, is largely under the domination of the American film, and any picture of the workings of justice (as, for

example, in "The Trial of Mary Dugan") is sure to represent American judicial practice, not British—which is a pity. Tariff arrangements that would let approved British films, if not all British films, into every British Dominion and colony duty free, would have a very real and direct effect on Commonwealth relationships. What we desire Australia and Canada and South Africa and, above all, India to know of Great Britain is Great Britain as it is, not Great Britain as interpreted by Hollywood.

Finally, Film Institutes might (in the same order of ideas) certify certain films, not strictly educational, as giving an accurate and instructive picture of life in the country they come from. It is only a minority of the population of any country that can travel. The rest must learn of the world outside them through books and pictures, and best of all, of course, through moving pictures. And we want to see America not as the scene of crook dramas or mining camp affrays but as decent Americans would desire us to see their country. Let us have a list of American films approved by a responsible American film institute. And so everywhere. This is no case for a black list of banned films but of a white list of recommended films. If, through national and international action we could get that, international relations would be sensibly improved thereby.

## Godshill

AMONG its possessions the League of Nations Union now counts a fine camping ground of some seven acres at Godshill, Hampshire, generously presented to it by Mr. and Mrs. Charman, of Godshill. The donors' intention is that the ground be used for camps or camp conferences which either include items of international interest in their programme, or overseas or foreign visitors in their personnel.

This is a most timely gift, especially in view of the growth of our Youth Groups and Junior Branches, of which there are now more than a thousand, and is in keeping with the new interest in out-of-doors activities.

Godshill village is situated near Fordingbridge on the north-western slopes of the New Forest. The camp itself is nearby, and being 320 feet above sea level, commands an extensive view towards the Avon valley, over tumbling hills crowned with tall trees, and golden with gorse on all their lower slopes.

#### Unspoiled Nature

Apart from its great beauty the countryside is full of interest. Nightingales sing from its copses, herons fish in its streams. The village is unspoiled, as yet, by hoarding horrors or petrol pumps, and is well placed as a centre for exploration for anyone with an interest in England's past. Weaving and pottery-making still go on, while nearby the remains of one of the great New Forest Potteries of the Romans witness to the continuity of man's work through the ages. Here, too, is the Forest School, pioneer in educational experiment, while next to it a backwoodsmen's camp enables many unemployed men to lead a strenuous outdoor life.

The site itself has just been cleared for camping by a party of Mill Hill boys and awaits further development and use. A stream at the hill foot could easily be deepened and dammed to form a swimming pool, and a surface well and warden's hut have still to be constructed.

For this and other improvements a sum of £200 is needed, and contributions are invited from any who feel that the positive virtues of peace are best learned where peace abides.

## Youth and War

### Presentation of the League in Schools

By the HEADMASTER OF RUGBY (Mr. P. H. B. LYON)

WHAT should be the attitude of those who try to interest youth in the League of Nations?

It is work that needs to be done carefully and with a certain amount of knowledge; above all, with sincerity and enthusiasm. There is no one quicker to prick a bubble than a schoolboy, and if he sees you are spinning out words about a subject in which you do not believe, his attitude will be one of complete scepticism.

We have to do two definite things in spreading a knowledge of the League of Nations. A boy has so much opportunity of picking up what is not true that we must do our best to give him what is true. And we want to enlist in this cause the finest qualities of the young men of the country. Looking back on past history as we used to learn it in school and as we teach it, we can realise that it is quite natural that a boy should gather from history the impression that war and heroes of war have played a great part in the formation of nations; and it would be misleading and unwise to try and conceal that fact as some people have recently advised teachers to do. Wars have played a great part in the deciding of history, and such books as "Deeds Which Won the Empire" tell of men who are the natural heroes for a boy whose immediate hero-worship is for the experts on the football ground.

#### The Glamour of War.

Yet there is a great danger in that appeal, and war becomes to a boy, unless we are careful, something full of glamour and a challenge to his manliness; and when we come to consult recent history I think the attempt to decry the fighter, especially in some of the literature dealing with the last war, has had a most unfortunate effect.

We are quite right to make clear the horrors of modern war, but the natural reaction of a boy to such a story would be "These are dreadful things, but if I have to endure them for my country I will; my father has had to face them, and so will I." To attempt to frighten the boy from war is an unworthy aim and an unsuccessful aim.

What line should we take then if we are sincere believers in the League of Nations? We have truth on our side. We can say this view of war belongs to a world which is rapidly passing away. War in the old days did perhaps call out the finest in every man. It makes a demand on our endurance to-day, but in the olden days war had something more of physical prowess, of vigour, of glamour about it. War has now become a matter of bombs and of sitting still in trenches and being shot at by people many miles away. War, as the boy reads about it in history, is as much altered as we have from the cave man in his cave; and we want to make clear the difference. Again, we want to introduce the idea, "What is all this for?" Let him read that extraordinary passage in Carlyle about 30 men who were carefully transferred from two different countries to a third in order to shoot each others' brains out. It is a magnificent answer to the war-maker, one which no one has ever answered. The question we have to put is "What is it all for?"

What we want to drive home is not the horror of war, but the futility of war. War can finally decide nothing. It cannot decide who is right or wrong, nor can it ensure victory for the right. It cannot even make those who win it better off.

You have only to look round to see that the Great War gave neither power nor prosperity to the victor. That is surely obvious if anything is. By that way you can bring him to look for some road to getting out of this muddle, and the only road to-day is the League of Nations. We must tell him what the League of Nations is, showing him how different it is from what certain newspapers say it is and that it is not what one newspaper called it when it thought it was failing—"a collection of polyglot nonentities."

#### Facts About the League.

I think that once we begin to show him what the League of Nations is doing, his imagination is bound to be captured—what it is doing all over the world for justice as between man and man, class and class, nation and nation; for fair hours for labour, for suppression of the opium trade and the white slave traffic; for civilisation, for improving all conditions of life around us by its day-by-day unadvertised work. That is the background we should try to create for its more sensational activities, those concerned with war and peace.

Finally, the League of Nations stands for security. We are often told that any move towards disarmament is going to put us at the mercy of robbers and adventurers. The truth is that our only security lies in international determination to protect right against wrong. The chief argument against armaments is simply that to-day they are of no use.

#### How Can Youth Help?

How can youth help the League? We want a boy's best qualities; first, his spirit of adventure. Boys lament that adventure is going out of the world, and that a world of universal peace would be deadly dull. We can very well point to those adventures which are greater than war, and show how nations who once wasted their strength in fighting each other are combining to fight against disease, poverty, insecurity, unemployment, which are the common enemies of man. Tell a boy what missionaries have to go through in Africa and India, or about the work of men in the slums of a big city. There is adventure in that to satisfy the most ardent enthusiast.

Then we want his patriotism. We shall never get it in its enlightened form if it is based on hatred, and on dislike of the foreigner. And so a good deal of our work must be to teach about other countries, getting a sympathetic insight into their peculiarities, so that a boy can come to realise that we have little peculiarities ourselves. And let him learn that patriotism is hoping and working for your country to take a high place among the leaders of civilisation; it is the desire to make your country a happier place, not the longing for empire and conquest and supremacy.

Then we want his idealism; and we need paint no exaggerated picture of the League, but simply tell him what the League actually is, to show him that it is an ideal worth living for and worth fighting for all his life. I am certain youth would, if it knew the facts, support the League however much it were travestied and abused in the least useful newspapers. As a teacher, I feel that is what my job is. I feel one of the greatest works we have to do is to try and give that view of the future of the world.

## From Arms to Peace

### How an Unemployment Problem was Solved

By H. G. WANKLYN

ONE of the most difficult problems arising out of disarmament is the fate of the factories which used to thrive on the manufacture of arms and military equipment. What is to be done for those firms, whose existence depends on the demand for armaments, and whose factories give employment to hundreds of thousands of men and women?

The problem has been faced with fair success by the largest iron and steel firm in Hungary, the Manfred Weiss Metal Works. These factories were built at Csepel, a suburb of Budapest, some years before the war, by Baron Manfred Weiss, one of the most prominent personalities of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

From 1914-1918, his firm was known as one of the most important for the manufacture of arms, producing a daily average of three million bullets and twenty thousand shells. In addition to this all kinds of military equipment, like steel helmets, water bottles, and cooking stoves, was turned out. At one period during the war, when the demand for munitions became quite

abnormal, as many as thirty thousand people were employed there, though the usual number was ten thousand.

In 1919 came the Rumanian invasion of Hungary, during which the Manfred Weiss Works suffered severely. The invading army succeeded in removing no less than two thousand railway trucks of copper, iron and munitions, leaving the factories almost depleted.

To begin all over again under these conditions was a most depressing task, but thanks to the energy and foresight of the late owner, the business was started again on completely fresh lines. Such machinery as remained was altered to meet new needs, and a great deal of fresh machinery was installed in the old buildings, providing altogether work for ten thousand hands. The Metal Works to-day look more like a town than a single factory. Csepel is an island in the Danube, so that it is possible to take full advantage of the river as a means of transport. The buildings spread over a huge area, with streets running the length and breadth of it, crowded with lorries and the bicycles of the overseers, hurrying from workshop to workshop. It

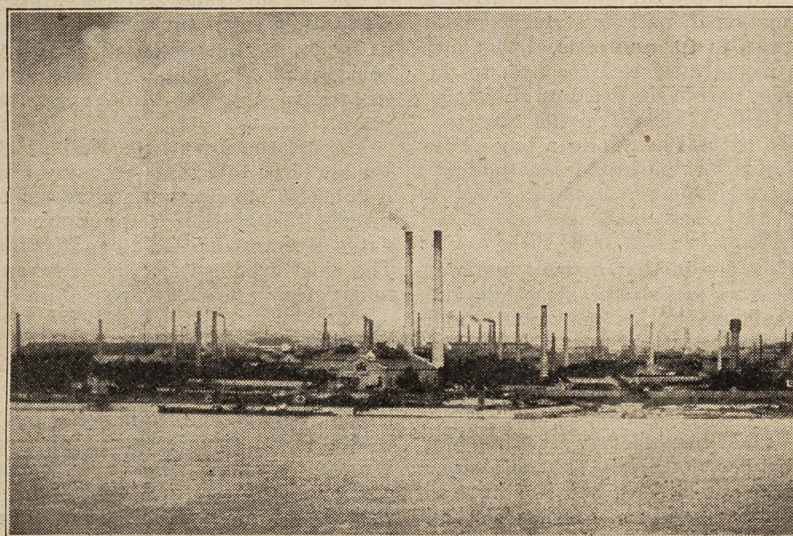
takes two or three days to see the whole factory, but even a few hours there suffice to show something of the enormous variety of goods manufactured and the ingenuity which adapted the old works to the needs of a disarmed country. Aeroplanes, motors, push bicycles, baths, geysers, gas-cookers, enamel cooking pots and mugs are only a few of the large number of different kinds of hardware produced. The firm seem well satisfied with the transformation of the factory and say that even in only moderately good times they can reckon on much better business in providing for society at peace than they could have done if it had been possible to preserve the works as an armament factory.

Unfortunately these are not even moderately good times, and the tariff war especially has hit the Manfred Weiss factory very hard, so that the workshops are only producing at two-thirds of their capacity. It is noticeable though, that in spite of decreased profits, the social services of the factory have not lessened in any way. The Metal Works have a private hospital where

the families of the employees receive board and treatment free of charge, and which has the services of the best surgeons of Budapest. There are three crèches where the women hands can leave their children during working hours, and where the babies can be fed, amused, doctored or instructed according to their needs.

Food and medical treatment here are also available for the children of workers discharged on account of hard times, if the families are seriously in need of help. The eight-hour shifts are arranged as a rule before and after two o'clock in the afternoon, so that the women can have half the day at home. The whole factory has the appearance of offering the best possible conditions to the worker, and of facing courageously the difficulties and demands of the times.

The post-war political situation practically compelled the Manfred Weiss firm to adapt an armament factory to other uses. Perhaps, in spite of some empty workshops to-day, they are better off than the armament firms of the victorious Powers, which were not forced by such desperate necessity to keep pace with the times.



The Manfred Weiss Works at Budapest.



### How to Tell the Story

NOTHING is more important to-day than to make people who are dead to the significance of the League of Nations alive to it. How is that to be done? In what aspect first is the League to be presented to them? How should we tackle our next-door neighbour if he confessed himself blankly ignorant and unconcerned about the League and we set ourselves the task of making him concerned about it? There is by no means an obvious answer to the question. No one method will fit all cases, and it is clearly worth while thinking what method will suit the particular case under treatment best. If the man in question happens to be a doctor the League's health work is likely to make a better opening than its attempts to create an international code of law. If he is a banker it may be wiser to start with finance than with opium. Not that these specialised approaches are necessarily the best at all. The real argument for the League is the League as a whole. How, it may well be asked, could the world do without it? The world, it may be replied, did quite well without it for a good many thousand years. Quite well? There has rarely, if ever in history, been a period when the world as a whole was entitled to be complacent about itself. Its divisions, its suspicions, its hostilities, its wars, make a dark and depressing record. The League of Nations does at any rate represent a considered attempt by practical men to turn the world into something better than that.

Here, then, is a beginning. Is the endeavour "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security" worth making? If we are told it is not, if we find we have encountered one of the dwindling but persistent band of isolationists convinced that any contact with the foreigner means contamination, or at any rate the risk of being involved in disputes with which we have no concern, then it may be necessary to confess failure frankly, for when two men's ideals are hopelessly opposed they may be unable even to find common ground for argument. But that will not be a common experience. The average man does not need convincing that peace is better than war, provided it is peace with honour, or that co-operation on fair and equal terms, without surreptitious snatching of advantage on either side, is better than cut-throat competition, or even than the isolation that keeps fifty nations pursuing separate parallel paths of effort and research, without ever sharing the knowledge and experience each of them has acquired. The average man admits all that. What he needs is to be shown that the League of Nations is, or at any rate has in it the promise of being, an effective instrument for the co-ordination of these several and separate endeavours.

Can he be shown that? Is it in fact the case? It would be easy to demonstrate that within the limitations the shortness of its history imposes the League is effecting precisely the co-ordination needed. Take, simply as a serviceable example, its health work—the malaria commission moving from country to country and continent to continent, learning here and reaching there, gathering knowledge for the common good as they travelled and dispensing it for the common good as need arose and occasion offered; or the sleeping-sickness commission concentrating in a single laboratory all the experience half a dozen European nations with African colonies could contribute; or the central organisation at Geneva sending out its experts as required to advise individual countries—Greece, Bolivia, Turkey, China—in the problems facing them in the health field in their national life. Or take again the combined campaign the League has organised and is organising against evils like slavery and opium and the white slave traffic. International action in all those spheres is essential if anything is to be achieved. No one is likely to dispute that, and the claim that the League deserves support because of what it is doing against these scourges will usually be admitted once it is demonstrated that the League is working on practical lines and with reasonable prospect of success.

With reasonable prospect of success, for no one will demand that the League should already, after twelve years, have attained its goal. That would be folly. What does need to be shown is that the methods being pursued are practical and businesslike, that systematic organisation is yielding better results than the pitiful contacts and conclaves that constituted what international effort there was before the League of Nations came into being. And that can be shown. It can be shown, with appropriate and convincing examples in regard to finance, to economics, in the spheres of activity already mentioned, in Labour problems (through the I.L.O.), in the growth of international law and reliance on impartial international justice (through the Permanent Court of International Justice). It can be shown, with little elaboration of argument, that the only hope for the creation of conditions in which the genius of each individual nation can develop unfettered is the institution of an international forum, where nations' differences can be discussed and settled by better means than war, where common effort against common evils can be organised, where standards can be set by the more progressive and the more experienced States for the emulation of the less advanced. The world to-day can hardly be imagined without an organised world-instrument, utilised frequently enough by several States still not formally associated with it, at its centre. Anyone with merely a cursory knowledge of what the League has done can make a convincing case for supporting and strengthening it—till it finally and irretrievably fails. And of such failure there is to-day no sign. But the world is full still of people with not even an elementary knowledge of what the League has done and is doing. It lies outside their sphere, and what misinformation they do possess comes in all likelihood from the mis-statements or misrepresentations of the anti-League Press. The only way to meet that is the old way of driving out evil with good, of confronting fiction with fact. That must be done wisely and with not too aggressive a zeal. The best service to render the League is to tell its story and tell it soberly.

## Campers' Comradeship International Contacts Under Canvas

By HUGH SHAYLER

CAMPS are traditionally associated with the arts of war, and the "tented field" has more often been the scene of international rivalries than of friendships. The rapid growth of camping as a pastime in recent years, however, has led to the formation, first of national, and now of international organisations for its development and encouragement. At Whitsun a Rally of Campers from several European countries was held at Saxenheim in Holland, under the auspices of the Nederlandsche Toeristen Kampeer Club, at which many links of good fellowship were forged between

Englishman possesses. An enquiry as to the reason for this versatility elicited the reply that all the secondary schools teach English and that practically everyone goes to a secondary school because it is free and compulsory. The French and Belgians, of course, spoke in French, but there was always a Dutch linguist at hand capable of interpreting French into English and *vice versa*.

The hospitality of our Dutch hosts showed itself at the frontier, where guides had been awaiting our arrival all day to escort our little band of 19 English visitors



The Camp Fire at Saxenheim.

those who share in common the love of Nature and the Open Air life. Of the 488 campers who took part the majority were naturally members of the two Dutch Camping Clubs, but there were representative contingents from Belgium, France, and Great Britain.

This gathering of hundreds of tents of all sizes and colours made a picturesque sight beneath the pine trees of the park at Saxenheim, not far from the shores of the Zuider Zee. Here on the nights of Whit Saturday and Sunday were lit two gigantic camp-fires, around which men, women, and children of many races mingled in that spirit of happy freedom which characterises the outdoor movement. Language difficulties do not arise in Holland, where everyone seems to speak English fluently. Indeed the Dutch campers astonished their English confrères by singing our own camp songs with a far better knowledge of the words than the average

(subsequently increased to 23) across country to the camp site. A hearty welcome and a good supper greeted us at the site and tents were hurriedly pitched by the light of motor lamps before proceeding to the camp fire. Here the President of the premier Dutch club, Dr. Jordan, whose welcome to the foreign contingents was given fluently in four languages, paid a special tribute to the pioneer work of the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland in the development of light-weight camping, in which the Nederlandsche Toeristen Kampeer Club was the first to follow on the Continent of Europe. It was in fact the twentieth birthday of the Dutch club which we met to celebrate.

The chief business of the Sunday was the International Conference, at which the International Federation of Camping Clubs was formed. The keynote of this gathering was struck by the message which the British

delegates brought from their President, Lord Baden-Powell in which he said:

"I am delighted to learn that there is a possibility of the Camping Clubs of the different nations joining hands in an International Union. This is a most healthy sign amongst a healthy class of people who recognise no difference of class, creed, or country under God's open sky. In the junior branch of the Open Air Brotherhood, namely, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, we have already formed such a general union, and have found it a most successful development, with far-reaching effects of goodwill and comradeship which in the future should prevent all danger of wars. So I earnestly wish success to your venture."

The aims and objects of the proposed Federation were then discussed, and agreement readily reached on all essential points. Indeed the conference might well be the envy of larger and more imposing gatherings in the smoothness with which it worked. Briefly stated, the idea behind the Federation is to record and exchange information, and to provide facilities for campers to visit one another's countries and to take part in tours arranged by other clubs. Something has already been done on these lines, as Danish campers have joined in British tours to Spain, whilst Dutch campers have accompanied British campers to Germany and Austria.

For the first year the secretarial work is to be undertaken by the British club and next year's International Rally and Conference is to be held in England. In addition to the five nations directly represented, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, and Italy, promises of support were received from Clubs in six other countries, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Spain, and Sweden, so that the Federation starts off with a fairly comprehensive membership in Western and Central Europe. The German, Austrian, and Czech Clubs are, however, confined to river campers, who travel from site to site by canoe. One of the Federation's first tasks is to be the compilation of an international list of camp sites, in which, to overcome the language difficulty the chief characteristics of each site will be shewn by means of symbols. Thus, a wheel will indicate that the site is accessible to motors and an engine that it is near a railway station.

After the conference, the foreign delegates were taken for a motor drive through the neighbouring country, which is not unlike our own pine-clad sandy heaths around Farnborough and Camberley. The evening saw an even bigger camp-fire ringed round by a circle of red lanterns hung from the trees. Here the Dutch campers not only rendered songs in several languages, but gave a special folk dance composed for their Club, and a burlesque of a film play. The Whit Monday was occupied with a series of sports and competitions, and then those who were able to extend their stay for a few more days went on to enjoy the beauties of other camp sites at Huizen and Amsterdam.

The British delegates returned well satisfied with the success of their efforts to bring into existence an international federation, whose usefulness and sphere of activity will surely expand in time until a network of camp sites available to all nationalities covers most of the civilised world and thus forms a new link of good fellowship and better understanding between the nations. There is no surer way of getting to know our neighbours than by actually living amongst them, not in the large cosmopolitan hotels, but in their own fields and forests.

(Mr. Shayler is President of the International Conference of Camping Clubs. For fuller information Headway readers should apply to Mr. Lawrence M. Wulko, c/o The Camping Club, 2/3, Greville Street, Holborn, E.C.1.)

## Films to See

"War is Hell"

FILMS dealing with war and its causes have fallen so far into three main types. The first, of which "Kameradschaft" is a good example, deals with war indirectly and by implication. The second type (e.g., "All Quiet," "The Dawn Patrol") gives a straightforward statement of conditions in a modern battle and leave us very largely to draw our own conclusions. The third type depends for its effect upon contrast. The ordinary every-day life of certain characters in peace time is shown with some emphasis on that life's beauty, cheerfulness and utility, following this up with war scenes in which the same characters participate. "Tell England" did this to some degree, but "War is Hell" is so far easily the best film in this class.

From the first calm shots of sea and sunrise and the awakening of the busy towns of Europe for a new day's work to the final symbolic battering down of the entangled and entrapping wire of a universal battle front, Fried elaborates his theme with a remorseless and admirable precision.

This is no catalogue of horrors, such as its title suggests, but a record of five quite ordinary lives shattered by war and finally united by circumstances in a common resistance to its ghastly futility. One of the most attractive features of the film is its fine photography, which in places almost interferes with the continuity of the film, and, particularly in the early parts, slows down its tempo. A satisfactory fault, however, from which more films could suffer with advantage.

"War is Hell" is showing at the Cameo Cinema in Charing Cross Road, W.C.2 prior to its general release. It is likely to remain on the programme until the end of the second week in July.

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"The World War" for Moscow

The League of Nations Union sometimes projects its influence surprisingly far. Its well-known film, "The World War and After," is about to be shown in Moscow (of all places). The way that comes about is that Signor Féo, Director the League of Nations Film Institute at Rome is going to Russia, partly to study Russian films, whose technique is as good as any country in the world can command, and partly to show Russia what other countries are doing. In his repertory he was anxious to take a good example of an educational, or, as the Russians—past masters themselves of propaganda—would call it, a propaganda, film and was advised that "The World War and After" must certainly not be omitted among films in that category. So to Moscow the L.N.U.'s product is going.

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Short Films.

Those who are interested in economic processes should look out for the appearance in their area of Andrew Buchanan's "Ideal Cinémagazine," in which the problem of presenting various industries through the camera's eye is solved most satisfactorily. Buchanan is carrying on the "presentation of England," while other people are still talking about it. "Ideal Films" are to be congratulated on this venture.

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"Kameradschaft" has been generally released. All local cinemas should be urged to show it.

## What the League Costs

### Baseless Allegations and Solid Facts

PERIODICALLY someone or other in this country attacks the League of Nations on the ground of expense. Usually the criticism springs from dislike of the League rather than from dislike of extravagance, but the result of constant suggestion is that even those generally sympathetic towards Geneva begin to feel a kind of uneasy suspicion that there must be something wrong.

Is there? Is the League extravagant? Ought its expenses somehow to be reduced? The general answer is that if the expenses can be reduced without diminishing the League's activity and value the case for reduction is conclusive. These are days when every economy that can reasonably be made should be made.

But before any final opinion is reached about that the whole situation needs to be temperately surveyed. Does the League cost too much? It is next to impossible to answer that question because there is nothing in the world it can be compared with. It is the only international organisation of its kind, and there are no precedents to follow. The League's expenses consist in the main in the salaries of its officials. Then there is the cost of the various buildings (interest or rent), travelling, printing and publishing and certain other items.

#### The Cost of Bilingualism

There is a special reason why salaries should bulk particularly large. The fact that the League has two official languages and that everything spoken or printed in one of them has to be translated into the other necessitates a staff of interpreters and translators who would otherwise not be required. As to the scale of salaries one obvious difficulty arises. Unless a reasonable standard is observed a competent man will soon be tempted away from Geneva by better offers. That, in fact, has often happened and is still happening to-day. But what is a reasonable standard? That varies according to the country from which an individual official comes. A salary of 20,000 Swiss francs may seem very low for an Englishman and very high for an Austrian. That leads to one pretty obvious conclusion. You cannot offer an Englishman at Geneva less than he would get in his own civil service at home, or you will find no good Englishmen accepting League posts at all. But you cannot pay one League official more than another simply on the ground of his nationality, and consequently if English civil service salaries are the high-water mark they must form the standard for League salaries generally. That was in fact decided years ago by a committee on which the British Treasury, sternest of all economists, was represented.

#### Expensive Exile

That is not quite all. League officials, unlike British civil servants, but like British Ambassadors and their staffs and members of the Indian Civil Service, are compelled to live permanently away from their native country. That involves them in a number of extra expenses, which need not be entered into here, and some allowance has to be made for this in fixing salaries.

Judged by any ordinary British standard the League salaries can in no sense be condemned as unduly high. The Secretary-General, the highest international official in the world, gets £6,500 in salary and allowances. (The British Ambassador at Paris gets £14,450, the

British Ambassador at Washington £15,500. The Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation gets £6,000 salary.) Other League salaries are on a similar scale.

The League's fund is subscribed by the various nations belonging to the League, and they and they alone decide how it shall be spent. It goes on activities which they themselves, sitting in the Assembly, initiated—the work of a Disarmament Commission, an Opium Commission, an Economic Committee, a Financial Committee, a Health Organisation, and so on. If anyone thinks the League is taking too much work on itself, that is simply because the nations composing it have decided that it should. The Secretary-General and his staff can start nothing themselves. They can only do what the national delegates tell them to.

#### Rigorous Scrutineers

The total expenses each year represent the Budget figure finally approved by the Assembly in the preceding September. There is no national budget in the world that has to pass through so rigorous an ordeal as the League's accounts. Early in each year each department of the League (Health, Transit, Opium, etc.) makes an estimate of the money it will need in the following year. Those estimates are then combed through by an internal Secretariat Committee under Sir Eric Drummond. Then they go to a standing body known as the Supervisory Committee, which, like the previous committee, tries to make cuts where it can. Then the Budget is sent to all the Governments to study. Then, in September, it goes before the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, which argues it out in public item by item. Finally, the Assembly itself adopts it, possibly with some further revision, still. It is obvious that no room is left for extravagance after that process is completed.

#### Some Actual Figures

The money the Assembly voted for 1931 was 31,637,501 francs, or £1,265,500. That covers the League itself, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice. 1931 is the fairest year to take as example, because the budget for 1932 was swollen by an abnormal item of 3,500,000 francs for the cost of the Disarmament Conference, and in 1931 none of the subsequent complications due to the fall of the £ arise. The figure for 1933 will be a little lower in the Swiss francs in which it is drawn up, but rather more in £s, owing to the depreciation of our currency. That, of course, has nothing to do with the League. The 1933 figure in depreciated pounds should be about £1,686,600, of which Great Britain's share will be approximately 10 per cent., say £177,000. (The amount in the present disarmament year is £182,000.)

The highest sum this country ever paid in any year down to and including 1931 was £135,777. A couple of heavy guns without mountings cost (according to the chief American delegate to the Disarmament Conference) £180,000. The annual upkeep of a capital ship, of which we have fifteen, is over £450,000. Four hours of fighting in the latter part of the Great War cost this country more than its annual contribution to the League. Its annual armaments budget for 1932 is £109,346,000. You can leave the £109,000,000, and the odd figures will pay the country's League contribution for the same year twice over.

## "LETTERS TO JOHN BULL AND OTHERS"

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Thousands of members of the League of Nations Union all over the country are familiar with this little book, which has done so much to awaken interest in the vital question of an International Police Force.

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#### THE FIRST PRIZE FOR THE COMPETITION WILL BE A TRIP TO GENEVA TO VISIT THE 1932 ASSEMBLY.

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1. Only entries received prior to July 31st, 1932, will be considered.
2. 'Tabloids' must consist of quotations containing not more than ten consecutive words taken from "Letters to John Bull and Others" by Robert, the Peeler.
3. Write your three selected 'Tabloids' on a sheet of plain paper, numbering them '1,' '2,' '3,' in order of merit, and append your name and address in block capitals.
4. No correspondence in connection with the competition can be entered into.
5. The decision of the judges will be final.
6. The names of the winning competitors will be published in "Headway."
7. Proof of posting of entries cannot be accepted as proof of delivery.

As to arrears, there are often a few States in default, but, with one exception, all small ones whose contributions are financially unimportant. The League regularly ends its year with from 90 to 95 per cent. of its subscriptions paid up, and with sufficient balance on the right side (thanks to rigid economy in administration) to avoid a deficit. The exception is China, which, owing to the financial difficulties due to her disturbed political condition has fallen badly behindhand with her contributions. But in 1930 she funded her arrears (of over £300,000) undertaking to pay them off in twenty years by annual instalments. The 1931 instalment was duly paid. It may quite well be that this year, owing to the unprecedented financial stringency, the default will be more serious than before. That will have to be faced when the Assembly meets.

### Japan and China

THE storm in China has quieted down. At Shanghai the Japanese troops have been withdrawn (apart from a small force of Marines), and normal conditions prevail, but the blackened ruins of what was once Chapei remain to bear silent witness to what happened at Shanghai in February. The League Assembly's resolution of April 30 contemplated the calling of a Round Table Conference at Shanghai, as soon as the withdrawal of Japanese troops had been completed, to consider the general situation, but no steps have been taken to convene it yet; and the Chinese are by no means enthusiastic about it, preferring on the whole to let well alone.

Much more important is the situation in Manchuria, which is now called Manchukuo, and is, as the *North China Daily News* put it, a puppet State with all the strings pulled by the Japanese. Japan appears to be aiming at the creation in Manchuria of a situation which it will be difficult for the League (or anyone else) to disturb. But the situation is, in fact, extremely unsettled and the new State is in serious financial straits. It has not been recognised by any outside Power, and none is likely to recognise it at present except Japan. Much the most serious development is the seizure of the Customs dues at various Manchurian ports in the name of the new Manchukuo Government with the connivance of the Japanese. The maritime customs have for years been China's main source of a reliable revenue, and the interest of most of her foreign loans is secured in them. She depends, that is to say, on the income from customs dues to pay the interest on the loans. The Manchurian customs represent 15 per cent. of those of the whole of China and, consequently, the loss to the Nanking Government is severe. On the other hand, it is natural, of course, that the Manchukuo Government, since it has broken away from China, should feel that it can reasonably use for its own purposes customs levied at its own ports. Foreign communities in China who have a direct interest in the revenues which pay the interest on the loans are protesting against the Manchukuo action and Japan's part in it, and Mr. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Finance Minister, has lodged an emphatic protest with the Lytton Commission.

The next move, apart from a special meeting of the League Assembly which can hardly be in a position to take any definite action, lies with that Commission. Lord Lytton and his colleagues were at Peking in the latter part of June collecting final evidence there and hoped to get their report in the hands of the League Council, which appointed them, in time for the whole matter to be considered by the Assembly in September. There is every prospect at the moment, therefore, that the Chinese situation will be the most important item on the Assembly agenda.



## A League Air Force

### Some Reasons for Scepticism About It

ANYTHING like the evolution of an International Air Force is bound to run up against so many obstacles in any case and take so long in advancing from the purely theoretical stage to something approaching a practical proposition that any discussion of it by responsible speakers or writers is all to the good. In all these questions the pendulum has to swing to and fro for years. One man puts up a plan. Another exposes all the objections to it. A third answers the objections, and a fourth pulls the answers to pieces. Gradually, bit by bit, what is shown to be manifestly bad in the plan is dropped off, what is good is slowly expanded and developed, and in the end, simply as result of intelligent discussion and argument, something worth having emerges.

#### War in 1938

That is eminently true of the book Dr. J. M. Spaight, well known already as the author of "Air Power and the Cities," has just written under the title of "An International Air Force,"\* a subject discussed incidentally in the May issue of "HEADWAY." The book is a little like a detective story in one respect, for it is not till the last chapter that you discover what the author's considered view is. He begins with a highly interesting sketch of the war between Colossia and Urbania in August, 1938, when the former suddenly demanded a cession of territory and mobilised its forces against its neighbour. This was a breach of the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact, and the League intervened, and the nature and effect of its intervention is described. Acting under a system worked out and adopted in 1935, the members of the Council flew to Geneva the day the Colossian ultimatum was launched, decided by a majority vote (this is a very questionable leap of the imagination) that Colossia was the aggressor, and instructed the Commander-in-Chief of the International Air Force to mobilise its several contingents (squadrons from the national forces, earmarked for the League's use) immediately.

#### The League's Machines Triumph

All at once took up their respective stations, within immediate striking distance of Colossia. They then moved on the offending State, the Colossian fighters trying vainly to bar the war at the frontier. The bridges over which the Colossian troops were to move to invade Urbania were bombed from the air and destroyed, and the Colossian armies thereby immobilised, and the Colossian fortifications and aerodromes were persistently attacked. The Colossian Government, however, refused the League's demand for a cessation of hostilities, demobilisation, and an indemnity to cover the League's expenditure. A League ultimatum was thereupon despatched, giving full particulars of the vital centres in Colossia that would be attacked at the end of 24 hours (leaving full time for the evacuation of inhabitants) failing compliance with the League's demands. A few hours afterwards leaflets embodying the terms of the ultimatum were dropped over various parts of the country. The Colossian Cabinet resisted no longer. "The new system had justified itself. It had won a resounding triumph at its first trial. The international air force had proved itself an effective international fire-brigade. It had

smothered at the outbreak a fire which might well have been fanned into a world-wide conflagration comparable to that of 1914-1918."

So much for the Colossia-Urbania affair. But only a dream, as Dr. Spaight points out, and what is more, he is careful to add, an impossible dream. For Dr. Spaight is not among the believers in a League Air Force, in spite of the title of his book. He does not believe in it for constitutional reasons, for every democracy insists in keeping a tight hold over the national armed forces, and their use for international purposes could not, Dr. Spaight suggests, be pledged in advance, since the national Parliament might decline to vote the necessary credits. (But if a limited force had been placed at the disposal of the League by treaty the Parliament would be unlikely to dishonour the treaty.) He does not believe in it for practical reasons. Nearly all progress in design and efficiency is due to competition between private manufacturers. With a single international air force all the benefit of that would be lost. (But if there were no national military aircraft the League force would not need this constant advance in efficiency. And so far as engine design is concerned, the growth of civil aviation would provide abundant scope for development.)

#### The Way Forward

But Dr. Spaight does believe that the multiplication of regional pacts like Locarno point the way in the right direction. If under Locarno Germany attacked France, Great Britain and Italy would be bound by treaty to come to France's aid. They would come first with their air forces, and here would be international air co-operation at work, even though on only a limited scale, as result of a restricted political commitment. The more States the political commitment embraced the wider (and possibly the more difficult) would the air co-operation be. There might be the nucleus of a larger movement still.

Dr. Spaight has no belief in the internationalisation of civil aviation though he does not examine the question very exhaustively and his objections do not seem decisive. Out of the whole argument what emerges? Something more than a mere flat rejection of the whole idea of an international air force. Dr. Spaight still believes that slowly, ultimately it will come, in the form first of national contingents operating together as result of local pacts on the model of Locarno. But that means assuming the survival of national military air forces. There are still authorities of some note who hope for the abolition of such forces and believe in its possibility.

The leaflet recently published by the League of Nations Union on the Union and the Services is doing useful work in various quarters. The headmaster of a large public school, for example, writes: "I am finding this pamphlet extremely useful in removing the misunderstanding in the minds of boys and parents in regard to the relationship between the League of Nations Union and the O.T.C. We have a small but extremely keen branch of the O.T.C. in this school. We also have a keen branch of the League of Nations Union. Any opposition between the two would obviously seem unwarranted to anyone who had studied the pamphlet in question."

\* G. & P. Den. 5/-

#### HOW TO HELP CHINA

The Capital Question of China. By Lionel Curtis. (Macmillan. 10s. 6d.)

Few questions in the world are quite as important as the question of what happens to China. For China contains almost a quarter of the world's population, and its 400 millions are infinitely patient and infinitely industrious. China, moreover, is enormously rich in natural resources. If her full capacities were developed she would command a purchasing power that would set the looms of Lancashire and the lathes of Sheffield humming to fulfil her orders. If, on the other hand, she laid herself out, as she still may, to copy western nations and make herself great by arms she might become the greatest military menace in the world of to-morrow.

It obviously will not do, therefore, to say that what happens to China is China's own affair. It is that, of course, but it is very much more than that. We have to ask, consequently, what this country might help China to become and what the League of Nations might help her to become. The first of those questions is the subject of Mr. Lionel Curtis's book, and in connection with which he makes two complaints and two suggestions. The first complaint is that though the capital of China was moved to Nanking in 1928 the British Legation has never been moved there yet. That means that the British Minister is very largely out of touch with the Government to which he is accredited, and in no position to give the members of that Government the kind of friendly advice and suggestion for which daily contact with them would provide the opportunity. It also means that Great Britain is publicly advertising its disbelief in the stability of the new régime (though it has long since officially recognised it) by delaying the move to Nanking till it is sure the Government installed at Nanking will stand. There could be no better way to make it totter.

The second complaint is that Great Britain has never yet sent to China Ministers who could do for her anything like what Dwight Morrow did as American Ambassador to Mexico three or four years ago, or what Walter Page did as American Ambassador to this country in the early years of the war, or, in a rather different sphere, what Cromer did for Egypt or Milner for South Africa (not that either a Cromer or a Milner would do for China). The suggestions, of course, are that in both these matters Great Britain should reverse her practice.

That is all admirable, and Mr. Curtis's advice ought unquestionably to be followed. But at the end of his book he touches another subject. The League of Nations, of course, can do a great deal for China, and Mr. Curtis is properly impressed by a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Patrick Young, for many years manager of the Kailan Mining Administration. Mr. Young sets out briefly what kind of help China needs and then lays it down that "the League of Nations is the only suitable instrument through which such help can be offered to China," going on to explain convincingly why—the main reason, of course, being that advisers recommended by the League are pretty certain to be men with no axe to grind and China has suffered badly in the past from people who ground axes at her expense.

Impressed with Mr. Young's arguments Mr. Curtis prints them in an appendix, observing that he has no doubt Mr. Young is right, but that a series of reports from a British ambassador of the right type would be a necessary basis for action all the same. With such a blend of opinions a most valuable and important work is rounded off.

H. W. H.

#### STANDARDS (IV)

On great days of national observance a display of flags and bunting is commonly made. At once the sentiments of loyalty are aroused. The standard speaks of the past, the heroism of those who have gone before, the ideal for which the nation stands.

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## Books Worth Reading

### THE LEAGUE FOR SCHOOLS

**The Dawn of World Order.** By Dr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Maxwell Garnett. (Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Nowell Smith, formerly headmaster of Sherborne, was asked by a committee of the Headmasters' Conference to write a book on the League of Nations suitable for use by masters and senior boys in Public Schools. He began single-handed and then called Dr. Maxwell Garnett into partnership, the resultant volume being consequently of dual authorship.

The aim must be borne in mind in considering the scheme decided on. The first 43 pages of the book, mainly by Dr. Nowell Smith, deal with "The Reasons for Studying International Relations" and "The Founding of the League," the second 45, mainly by Dr. Garnett, with "The Aims and Membership of the League" and "The Organisation and Work of the League," which means that rather much of a limited space is given to introductory matter and rather little to facts about the League. Dr. Garnett's part of the work is largely an amplification of his well-known booklet "Organising Peace," which has already obtained a deservedly wide circulation. It sketches succinctly the main features in the League's structure, and illustrates particular branches of its activity by short descriptions of such episodes as the Franco-British litigation before the Permanent Court in 1922, the financial reconstruction of Austria in the same year and the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute in 1925.

One difficulty about any work of this sort is obvious. Events develop so swiftly that nothing but a periodical publication could keep pace with them. The Disarmament Conference, for example, has to be discussed here while it is still in progress and its issue uncertain, but it will presumably have definitely succeeded or failed by the time the book has been in circulation a month or two. That, however, can be adjusted in another edition.

### THE MANCHURIAN PERIL

**The World's Danger-Zone.** By Sherwood Eddy. (Farrar & Rinehart. One dollar.)

The danger zone is Manchuria, and Dr. Sherwood Eddy was actually in Mukden when it was seized by the Japanese on the night of September 18 last year. His first-hand evidence proves incontrovertibly that the whole movement had been planned out by the Japanese in every detail long before ("Telegraph poles, cut and tarred, had been ready for weeks to extend the Japanese lines of communication in the great advance.") He believes that Manchuria can never be kept down by Japan, whether it is nominally ruled by an artificial Manchurian Government or not. As to co-operation at Geneva, Dr. Eddy (himself in America) writes that the Government of Great Britain, "a former ally of Japan, has been unwilling to sustain the position of America in calling Japan to account and demanding that she fulfil her obligations under the Washington Nine-Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris," and he ends by quoting a document too little known in this country, a series of resolutions adopted by the Federal Council of Churches in America, which affirm, among other things, that if all other measures for restoring peace fail, and other States should by concerted action declare one of the two parties to have violated its obligations, "the United States, as a last resort, should declare an embargo on trade with that nation." A book quite essential to students of the Manchurian question.

### WAR AND STARVATION

**Blockade.** By Anna Eisenmenger. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)

A blockade such as the Central Powers underwent from 1914 onwards has two effects. It prevents food and other commodities from getting in and it prevents truth from getting out. Even now few people in this country have any conception of what the civil population in Germany and Austria suffered from semi-starvation—as an incident of war—just as this country might have suffered—as an incident of war—if the submarine blockade had been a little more successful. Frau Eisenmenger's book consists simply of extracts from the diary of a blockaded family of good position (the father was a physician to the Imperial family) which began by being a household of six—father, mother, three sons, and a daughter (who married a soldier), the latter four all skilled musicians. Before the end father and daughter are dead, one son missing, one blinded, one certified insane as result of a head wound, and the son-in-law, after losing both legs, shot by the lunatic son. That is not blockade, that is just war and its incidentals. But the story of blockade—the pathos and tragedy of the attempt to nourish dying men and women on starvation rations—is told too with astonishing simplicity and vividness. War has many aspects. This one is presented by the writer in an appeal to women to unite against all war.

**Problems of Peace, Sixth Series.** (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

These lectures delivered year by year at the Geneva Institute of International Relations are so good that it is almost impossible to pick up the volume containing them and not read it from start to finish. Prof. Zimmern (on "Europe and the World Community"), Prof. Laski, and Dr. Sherwood Eddy (on "Russia and the World Community") are among the contributors to the present series, which consists of the lectures delivered at Geneva in August, 1931. That is some little time ago now, but where necessary and possible the lectures have been brought up to date before publication in book form. As they stand, they constitute a singularly valuable survey of world problems.

**The Causes of War.** (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

Reports of conferences are not always inspiring reading, but when a volume consisting of such a report possesses so definite a unity as this particular one all the criticisms fall to the ground. Most people would go a considerable distance to hear Sir Arthur Salter on "The Economic Causes of War," or Sir J. Arthur Thomson on "Science and War," or Professor Zimmern on "The Cultural Causes of War" (when, if ever, is a race of superior culture entitled to force its will on a lower race with the best intentions, e.g., for the suppression of slavery?). Here these three authorities and seven or eight others (including M. André Siegfried and Professor Maurice Bonn) can be studied at leisure. There is none of them that is not well worth studying.

**The New World-Order.** Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. (Milford. 8s. 6d.)

Every year, or most years, Mr. Marvin arranges what he calls a unity history school at home or abroad. In this volume are collected lectures delivered at Stockholm last year, with one or two given at Danzig in 1929. They range from "The Universe" and "The Atom" to "International Finance." As a whole they are suggestive and stimulating, and anyone wise enough to read them will fill many gaps in his knowledge.

## Readers' Views

### DOES WAR EVER PAY?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Mr. Bridge in the first instance based his case for "a just war" on history, and exhorted the supporters of the League of Nations Union to study history more closely. I think that historians, who in this branch at least make up a large proportion of the members of the L.N.U., should take up his challenge and look at the facts of history. Speaking as a student of the subject, I am certain that the more closely one studies the facts, the greater becomes the doubt whether any "great wrong" has ever been "abolished" by war, and whether any war has ever been "necessary," in the sense of being the only possible means to achieve the desirable result. To take a few of the wars in connection with which the appeal to right and justice, freedom and religious liberty was most widely and persuasively preached at the time, it would be difficult to show what good in the end resulted from the Crusades, the wars of religion in France, the Thirty Years War, the Revolutionary Wars or the Crimean War. The saying that "war never pays" in the moral sense is true even of the wars associated with the names of Lincoln and Garibaldi. Only omniscience could say that there was no other way of abolishing slavery and establishing federal supremacy than the ghastly internecine struggle which left a bogey of thirty years' corruption and bitterness, and no other way of uniting Italy than the bloodshed which sickened the soul of Napoleon III. and ultimately landed Garibaldi in Victor Emmanuel's prison.

It is not because war is cruel, but because it is futile that the historian must deplore the attempt to discredit those who seek another tribunal before which mankind may vindicate justice and liberty. Mr. Bridge is confusing means with ends when he says "Justice and liberty matter more than peace." The doctor does not tell us that health matters more than scientific treatment. The methods once used to save life and restore health are repudiated by the medical science of to-day; we know how many lives and how much health was destroyed by them. It is as logical to sing the praises of medieval medicine (which undoubtedly evolved noble qualities of endurance before the days of anaesthetics) and refuse to discuss more modern methods, as to say that war must be the right means to use because the end aimed at is justice. So some Jesuits justified political assassination.

There is one thing the historian ought firmly to assert as his contribution to the study of the problem; that human nature has changed immensely in the 50,000 years or so of which we have record, and at an accelerating pace. What seemed necessary to our fathers need no longer even seem necessary to us. We are on the way to finding it as preposterous to use war as a means for securing justice and liberty as to use the thumbscrew and the stake as a means of securing right belief. It is for the historian to back up the statesman by asserting and reasserting that man is a teachable animal.—Yours faithfully,

HELEN M. CAM.

Girton College, Cambridge.

### NEW LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

**Report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee.** (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1932 II.A.12.) 83 pages 2s. 6d. net.

A critical survey of the working of the Gold Standard since the war. The most up-to-date analysis of the problem on gold (prices, gold reserves and their distribution, economy of gold).

**The Coal Problem.** (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1932 II.B.4.) 55 pages. 1s. 6d.

Gives the results of a consultation of a large number of coal experts summoned by the League of Nations in January, 1932.

Both obtainable from Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, League of Nations Publication Department, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.

### MR. BARNES AND M. THOMAS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—In your little sketch of the life of the late Albert Thomas (current issue, page 112) I find the following:—

"M. Thomas next emerged into prominence at the Peace Conference, where he worked harder than anyone in the drafting of the labour clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, his British *vis-a-vis* on that occasion being Mr. George Barnes."

This is an interesting illustration of how history is made when great men die—common enough in the casual newspaper press but passing strange when found in HEADWAY. As a matter of fact I never heard of M. Thomas at the Peace Conference and I never saw him till the year following after he had been duly installed as Director of the I.L.O.

It may be as well to correct the misstatement ere it pass, as other statements have passed, into general acceptance.

May I add here my little tribute to the memory of M. Thomas? I was privy to the proposal to appoint him as Director of the I.L.O., I am sure now that it proved to be a good appointment, for he amply justified the confidence in his vision, his vigour and resourcefulness. His death is a great loss to the cause of international labour legislation, which has been treated so scurvily by the Nationalistic Governments of the world.

Of his activities during the war, and before, it would be presumptuous on my part to say anything.—Yours sincerely,

GEO. N. BARNES.

### WAR GUILT CONTROVERSY

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Dr. Harold Temperley asks: "Is it not quite clear that Article 231 is a mere reproduction of this?" this being: "No contributions, no punitive damages... compensation... for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air."

Article 231 includes:

"Germany accepts responsibility... for causing all the LOSS and damage to which the Allies and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected AS A CONSEQUENCE OF WAR."

And Dr. Temperley concludes: "do not pronounce at all before taking expert advice." Although not an expert my advice is that Article 231 is much broader than the first statement as it includes *consequential damages* and losses instead of simple damages to a restricted class, i.e., civilians. S. M. UDALE, Attorney-at-Law.

893, Lothrop Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

[Dr. Temperley's point was that the word "aggression" means the same thing in both cases. The extent of the damage was not in question.—ED., HEADWAY.]

### HOW THE LABOUR CONFERENCE WORKS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—The account of the sixteenth session of the International Labour Conference in your June issue contains an error which calls for correction since the misstatement has not only a particular but a general application. The writer of the summary states, in regard to the discussion on the age of admission of children to non-industrial occupations, that the British delegate "abstained from voting in favour of the convention on its first reading (the second reading will take place next year)..." No convention was drawn up at the committee in question nor can a convention be proposed at a first year's discussion; all that is before the committee, and subsequently the full Conference, is a decision as to the main points which shall be included in a questionnaire drawn up by the office, and sent to the Governments. On the replies received the draft of a convention is submitted by the Office for discussion by next year's Conference. Your contributor's use of the term "first and second reading" suggests confusion with a procedure tried seven years ago and abandoned in favour of "double discussion"—the procedure outlined above.—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully.

E. HINTON SMITH.

37, Route de Malagnou, Geneva.

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The World Crisis  
 threatens our Homes, our Country, our Empire, our Civilisation.

Join the League of Nations Union (15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.), and

help the Union to  
 the Government to  
 the League to

avert catastrophe

"The work of the Voluntary Societies like our own League of Nations Union has proved indispensable. Without their work it would have been scarcely possible to bring about in nation after nation the necessary change in the national outlook."

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, October 30, 1930.

"Every man and woman of goodwill must wish success to those who labour to help the League of Nations forward—those, in short, of this League of Nations Union who, in accordance with its Royal Charter, prepare dull or doubting opinion for each progressive step."

The Prime Minister, October 30, 1930.

The Union

(independent of party politics)

prepared public opinion to support

A formal declaration by the Government that the League is the keystone of its foreign policy, the Government's representatives abroad being so informed (1922).

A statement by the Government that it is an avowed part of British policy to extend the membership of the League so as to include as soon as possible the United States, Germany and Russia (1922).

The regular policy that the Government should be represented at all important meetings of the Council by the Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary, and at meetings of the Assembly by a Minister of the Crown (1922).

Ratification of the Optional Clause (1924 onward).

Consideration of the acceptance of the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (1930).

A declaration by each Member of the League that the League should refuse to recognise any situation or agreement brought about by means contrary to the Covenant or the Pact of Paris. (February 11, 1932.)

The Government

(whatever its party politics)

took the next "progressive step" and

Said that the Government based its whole policy on the League. (Sir Austen Chamberlain, September 10, 1927).

Informed the Government's representatives abroad (1924).

Supported the entry of Germany into the League in September (1926).

Adopted this policy, which has been its practice (since 1924).

Ratified the Optional Clause (February 5, 1930).

Ratified the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (May 21, 1931).

Joined with the other Members of the League in saying that it was incumbent on Members of the League to follow this course (March 11, 1932).

In December you probably resolved, in response to our President's appeal, either to double your subscription or to raise it to a sovereign or a crown, as well as to get a friend to join the Union. Don't forget that good intention.

### At Headquarters

#### Disarmament

THE lack of progress at the Disarmament Conference and the intensity of the international crisis have naturally absorbed a great deal of the attention of the Executive Committee and of Headquarters during June. On June 3rd a letter written on behalf of the Committee by Sir Austen Chamberlain and others appeared in *The Times*, urging the Government to take the lead both at Geneva and at Lausanne, and in particular to press for the elimination of those armaments which are designed to facilitate sudden attack, and which are "for the most part identical with the weapons prohibited to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles." This letter has had no small influence in Parliamentary circles, and has been greatly appreciated by the Foreign Secretary.

#### The Paris Congress

As its contribution to the international move for disarmament the Executive tabled a vigorous resolution for the Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies about to be held in Paris. The Federation's drafting committee has now accepted the main lines of the Union's proposals, though there is likely to be some difference of opinion with the French Society concerning the list of weapons that should be given up. There is, however, reason to believe that the Congress will have powerful influence on public opinion in Paris and in Europe as a whole, in favour of the policy which the Federation and the Union have in the last year brought within the reach of attainment.

Opinions are divided in the Executive upon the question of whether there should be state control of the manufacture of arms, but was unanimous in accepting a proposal by Sir Austen Chamberlain's sub-committee that the Traffic in Arms Convention of 1925 should be incorporated in the general Disarmament Treaty, thus making it effective.

#### More Constructive Suggestions

A long study of the difficulties and comparative failure of the Council of the League in dealing with the Sino-Japanese dispute has led the Executive Committee to the conclusion that the League would be far better equipped to prevent war if the Convention which has already been drawn up to "Improve the Means of Preventing War" were signed and ratified. It is consequently urging the British Government to give a good example by signing and ratifying this Treaty before the next Assembly, by which time the Far Eastern dispute will once more come before the League in an acute form. Foreign League of Nations Societies are being asked to take similar action.

As to the Lausanne Conference, it was felt that the Union could best contribute to its success by re-asserting the principles laid down in the first article of its own Statement upon International Policy on "Financial and Economic Co-operation." Consequently a resolution has been submitted to the Paris Congress urging among other things "the discontinuance of the self-contradictory policy which involves the annual payment of large sums by debtor to creditor countries, while at the same time it puts obstacles in the way of the free movement of goods."

### The Union's Staff Speakers:—No. 3

#### Mrs. M. E. Downer

Mrs. M. E. Downer, the only woman staff speaker of the Union, though really Irish, was born in London, Canada, a town on the banks of the river Thames, which, as a small replica of the Metropolis, possesses its own St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster.



Mrs. M. E. Downer.

Coming nearer to the present day, Mrs. Downer during the War was in the Aircraft Production Department of the Ministry of Munitions. Her particular job in the Ministry was to impart to the technical staff by word of mouth the rudiments of the flying machine and to ground her pupils in its general parts.

Having reached the dizzy height of Woman Staff Officer, she left the Ministry to join the staff of the Save the Children Fund. There she spent four years organising in the London district.

The ideals of international co-operation and international peace which are enshrined in the League of Nations proved too strong for her. In 1926 she made her *début* at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, where, to start with, she was attached to the staff of the Appeals Section.

After eighteen months she found that more and more her time was taken up in speaking, till now she does, and has time for, nothing else, and is with the Public Meetings Department. Such is the demand for a well-informed woman speaker.

In the course of her travels she has undertaken many duties outside her ordinary work, such as judging bulls and home-made wine at Women's Institute meetings, acting as consultant to headmasters on Model Assemblies, and once even going so far as to take charge of a school for the whole of one afternoon. Truly a most versatile person is our Mrs. Downer!

#### Visits to Geneva

This year is recognised to be the most critical in world history since the end of the War. For this reason, those who are studying world affairs and who are engaged in the task of educating public opinion in support of the League of Nations will find a visit to Geneva of special interest and value. The Union is arranging a number of opportunities of this kind. There will be first of all the Fourth Junior Summer School for boys and girls from the upper forms of public and secondary schools which will be held in Geneva from July 29 to August 8. The Headmaster of Rugby will act as Warden of the Boys' Hostel. The Geneva Institute of International Relations will be held this year from August 14 to 20, the fees being from 11 to 14 guineas, according to the class of travel and accommodation required. Of special interest to Youth Groups will be the Camp Conference at Geneva from August 13 to 23, for young people who have left school, the fee being £10 for ten days. For teachers a special lecture conference is being held on the subject of The Schools and World Citizenship. Last of all, for those who wish to attend meetings of the League Assembly itself during September conducted parties will leave London on September 3 and 10. Full particulars of all these arrangements can be had on application to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## Notes and News

#### A Peerage for Mr. David Davies

Members of the Union have learned with great satisfaction that H.M. the King has been pleased to confer the honour of a Peerage upon Mr. David Davies, in recognition of his public services. Mr. David Davies, who is one of the Union's trustees and also a Vice-President, has been a member of the Executive Committee since the inception of the Union. Indeed, he was one of the prime movers in the formation of the Union and has been one of its most generous benefactors. Mr. David Davies was also the founder and first President of the Welsh Council and has been the Chairman of its Executive Committee since the Council was formed.

#### Speakers, Please Note!

A letter from the Secretary of one of our Branches contained the following passage which we think is worth publishing for the benefit of local speakers:

"I feel that most of your speakers, however excellent, do fail in not appealing sufficiently for new members. At the end of an address they generally say they hope all present who are not members will join the branch, etc., etc., but Mr. ——— makes a strong and even impassioned appeal for new members so that anyone except the few dotards who were present at our village-green meetings, must have been forced to join the branch. That is the sort of help we branch secretaries need from your speakers."

#### Geneva Visits

In common with other branches who have tried the experiment the Withington (Manchester) branch believes in the value of sending people to Geneva. The Branch Annual Report says that it is impossible to overestimate the value of the work of the students after their return, addressing meetings and schools and organising study groups. Indeed the branch has spent its income of £144 from its 440 members to admirable advantage. There have been eight regular monthly meetings on subjects of current interest; there have been seven monthly Sunday Evening addresses to the Young People's Group of a local association. Fifteen schools have been spoken to during the winter by various members of the branch. Last but not least three prizes were offered for a Poster Competition held through the Manchester School of Art. The winning poster was so excellent that the Education Committee of the Union has recommended that it should be published.

#### News from Barcelona

As the outcome of an address on the League of Nations an Anglo-Spanish society is to be formed at Barcelona to enable the young people of both nations to understand one another and so to promote one of the great objects of the League of Nations. Americans, English and Spanish in large numbers attended the meeting, which was addressed by the British Chaplain, the Rev. C. H. W. Grimes.

#### Counterblast

Hyde Park is now being used by the Union both to counteract the effects of the attacks of the Yellow Press, and to make the work of the League known. When the weather is fine a meeting is held every Sunday morning up by Marble Arch. Mr. Claxton Turner, ex-journalist and veteran heckler-handler holds forth on international affairs in general and the errors of the latest attacks on the League. Some London branches might like to make up parties and go there both to enjoy "all the fun of the fair" and to support Mr. Claxton Turner in his efforts.

#### A Suggestion to Youth Groups

In London many Youth Group members have been addressing open air meetings as one means of helping the adult Branch. The same thing is probably taking place in many other parts of the country. It should always be remembered that for open air meetings three things are essential. Firstly some kind of platform; secondly, a keen chairman; and lastly but not leastly, a dozen local supporters to form the nucleus of a crowd and so give the meeting a good send-off.

#### Students' Conference

The Sixth Annual Conference of British and Dominion Students will be held at Geneva from September 2-12. The objects of the Conference are firstly to bring together at Geneva students from all parts of the Empire; secondly, to consider the relations between Great Britain and the other Dominions and some of the problems of foreign policy. Lastly, to examine the work of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organisation. Commissions this year will be formed to study in detail the problem of India, the

#### FIGHTING ANTI-LEAGUE CAMPAIGN

The Press campaign of mis-statement and disparagement against the League continues, but it has certainly created a demand for fresh and more vigorous publicity activity in defence of the principles of the League. Two new publicity developments of Headquarters require special notice. The first is the publication of International Truth Broadsheets: the first two of these, "Which do you Follow? The 'Yellow Press' or the Nation's Leaders," and "Fourpence a Year," which deals with the ridiculous exaggeration of expenditure on the League, have sold like wildfire. The second is the formation of an expert poster committee on which Mr. Huxley of the Empire Marketing Board and publicity experts of the Underground Railways and other great firms, and several of the leading British poster designers have agreed to serve. The committee's first main proposal adopted by the Executive Committee is that standard frames for posters should be produced and offered to branches who will be asked to secure fixed sites for them. It is intended to send fresh supplies of posters for display on these stands so that they can be changed month by month.

possibility of political and economic regional groupings and the constitutional relations of the Dominions. A great many further details are contained in the leaflet obtainable from the British Universities' League of Nations Society, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

#### Has Your Branch Tried This?

One Branch secretary has written to tell us that his Branch has found that advertising in the Railway Booking Hall is an excellent way of obtaining publicity for the League, as most people in the district use the station at some time or other. A frame has been fixed in the Booking Hall, for which the Branch pays one guinea a year. The Branch is able to place any printed or typewritten or illustrated matter in it and it is able to change the matter as often as desired. As our correspondent says, this is an excellent way of replying to attacks on the League in the "Yellow" press.

### Shorter Notices

From July 29 to August 12, the sixth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship will be held at Nice. Particulars can be obtained from the secretary, 11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

"The Better Way" has been acted at a branch meeting at West Clandon. It was followed by an address.

The Northern Friends' Peace Board has published at 3d. each Mr. F. W. Parrott's well-known playlets: *Humanity Delivered*, *How the Cake was Shared*, and *Recalling the Years*. The secretary of the Board, Mr. Robert S. Long, will be pleased to answer enquiries or supply copies. His address is Spring Bank, Rawdon, Leeds.

St. Margaret's School, Welwyn, by organising a special sale of work, has raised £15 for Headquarters. We acknowledge its receipt with grateful thanks.

*Working for Peace* is the title of a new 3d. booklet just issued by the London Regional Federation. It gives a number of reports by boys and girls on the work of the Junior Branches.

Lord Dickinson was elected Chairman of the London Regional Federation at its annual meeting in April. Lady Layton, the retiring President, urged all branches to show to the Government that they stand for a full L.N.U. policy.

The Disarmament play "Banish the Bogie" has now been published and copies may be obtained for 1s. from the Northamptonshire Federal Council Offices, Barclay's Bank Chambers, Northampton.

Further annual reports have been received from: West Mersea, Essex; Evesham; Eastwood, Notts.; St. John's Wood; Rotherfield and District.

### Forthcoming Broadcasts

10.45 a.m., Thursdays: "Children of Yesterday and To-day."  
9.20 p.m., Thursdays: "The Way of the World," by Mr. Vernon Bartlett.  
9.20 p.m., Fridays: "Here and Now," by Mr. Gerald Barry.

### Council's Vote

1931.

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1931:—

Gilsland, Jesmond, Newcastle, New Earswick, Sevenoaks.

1932.

Abthorpe, Aston Tirrold, Brislington, Biddulph, Bozeat, Blisworth, Berkhamsted, Girlington Cong. Church, Bradford, Broughton Astley, Boars Hill, Blagdon, Bristol, W. D. & H. O. Wills No. 4, Baildon, Chorley Wood, Coldstream, Corfe Mullen, Cumnor, Chipperfield, Crowthorne, Cromer, Cobham, Crick, Delabole, Dawlish, Eton, Eye Edge, Goxhill, Gobowen, Great Ayton, Great Bookham, Hawkhurst, Hebden, Hilton, Harpenden, Haslemere, King's Lynn, Long Clawson, Lelant, Ludlow, Littleport, Mortimer, Martham, Mirfield, Nafferton, Oxted, Ottery St. Mary, Oxford, Port Isaac, Pickering, Perranporth, Paulton, Pitsford, Rawdon, Raunds, Rainham, Ryton, Reigate, Rugby, Shipley, Steeple Aston, Stoke Ferry, Shipley, Sandwich, Sherston, St. Columb, Snape, Stoney Stratford, Sowood, Thirsk, Topsham, Uley, West Clandon, Whitechurch Salop, Wychwood, Westbury-on-Trym, West Moors, Worplesdon, Watton.

### Welsh Notes

As a result of the Examination held in January last under the Welsh Council's Geneva Scholarships Scheme for County and Secondary Schools which have Junior Branches, the following successful candidates have been awarded Geneva Scholarships to enable them to visit Geneva this autumn:

Barrie N. Davies of the Barry County School for Boys.

Harold Davies of the Wrexham County School for Boys.

Montague P. Solomon of the Newport (Mon.) High School for Boys.

The Welsh Council has also inaugurated a Geneva Exhibitions Scheme by which certain selected Branch Secretaries or Workers are awarded small grants towards enabling them to pay a visit to Geneva. The successful candidates this year are:

Mr. L. C. Betty of the Aberkenfig Branch.

Mr. Charles Duckworth of the Buckley Branch.

Miss Olwen E. Richards of the Penarth Branch and late of the Ferndale District Committee.

The authorities of Coleg Harlech are this year again organising an "International Affairs Week" at the College, July 9-16.

Amongst the most successful events during the month of June were—the Annual Garden Fête organised by the Monmouth Branch on June 2, and the Festival of Youth arranged by the Mountain Ash District Committee.

An effort is being made to organise this year again a Welsh Party to visit Geneva in August. All information about the proposed party may be obtained from the Welsh Council Headquarters at 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

A party of six students from Coleg Clwyd intend spending the month of August visiting Branches in the rural areas of North Wales and addressing meetings.

### THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT AND THE WELSH CHILDREN'S ANNUAL MESSAGE.

The following is a copy of a telegram from the Constituent Cortes at Madrid to the speaker of the House of Commons:

"The Constituent Cortes in session held this day have resolved to address to you this telegram, requesting that you will convey to the children of the country of Wales the cordial congratulations which the children and Parliament of Spain send to them for the courtesy and goodwill which they display in addressing to their comrades of the whole world the request that they will earnestly champion peace between nations.

TESTEIRO,

President of the Constituent Cortes."

### Membership

#### RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

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|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Foundation Members | ... £1 or more.              |
| Registered Members | ... 3s. 6d. or 5s.* or more. |
| Ordinary Members   | ... 1s. or more.             |

Foundation Members receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

\*NOTE.—Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year. A 5s. subscription contributes 1s. 3d. a year directly for national work, as against only 1½d. from a 3s. 6d. subscription.

Those who are able and willing to help the Funds of the Union are begged, if possible, to become Foundation Members.

Corporate Membership, for churches, societies, guilds, clubs, and industrial organisations, HEADWAY and pamphlets, £1 (not applicable to Wales and Monmouthshire).

Applications for membership should be made to a Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: P'recnat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

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