

SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN'S
NEW BOOK
See page 45

TOKIO MASSACRE
A WARNING
See page 50

HEADWAY

MAR 1936
B. LIBRARY
OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
5 1083

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

Vol. XVIII. No. 3 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

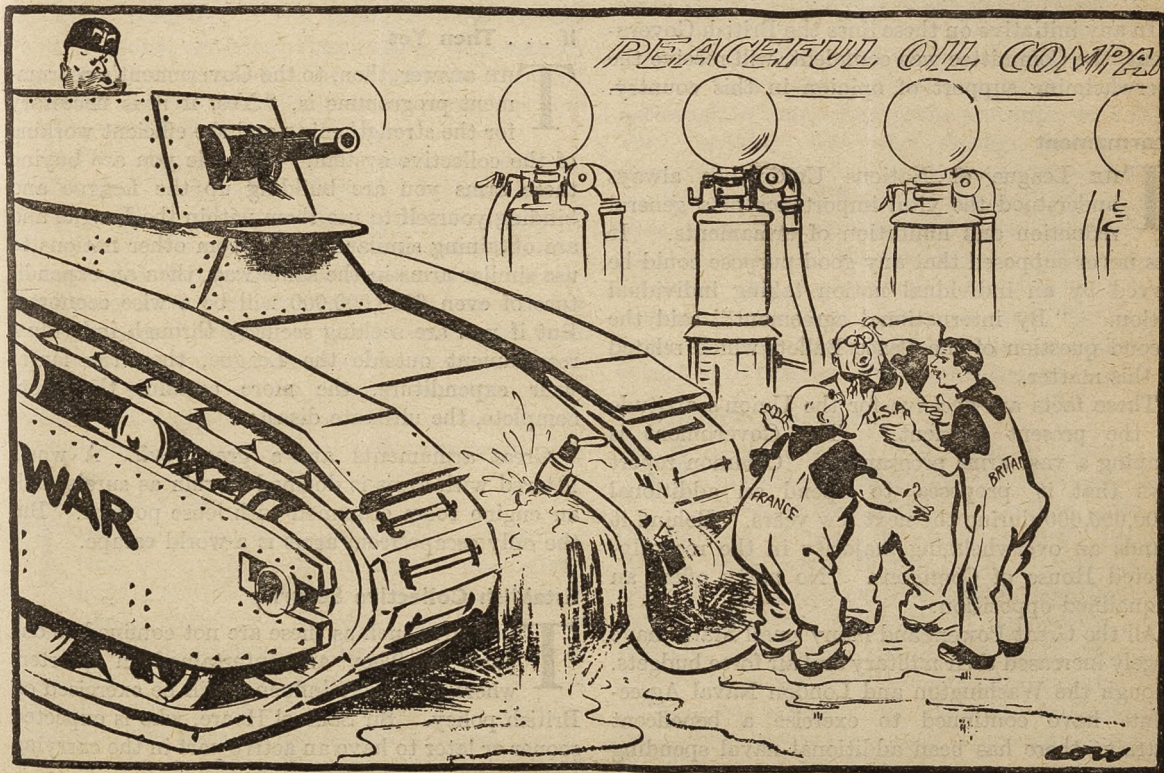
MARCH, 1936

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	42	Tokio Massacre Reveals Japan's Inner Weakness.	
The Demand for Colonies (Editorial)	44	By Stuart Munro	50
Questions League Supporters Must Answer	45	The 90th Council Session. By Norman Bentwich...	52
World Congress of Faiths to Meet in London.		Antidote	53
By Sir F. Younghusband	46	Readers' Views	54
The Assyrians. By Philip Mumford	47	Book Notices	56
Wanted—More Ratifications. By C. A. Macartney	48	Here and There	58

FILLING THE TANK



OIL AND ARGUMENT.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Oil

"THEY can because they think they can," says Virgil in his immortal description of the boat race. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, whether a thing is possible or not depends upon the spirit in which it is attempted. Always there are difficulties. But those difficulties are rarely decisive. When they are looked upon as obstacles over which or round which a way must be found, a way usually is found. No way is found when they are welcomed as excuses for inaction.

On March 2, at Geneva, the League Committee of Eighteen will decide the fate of the proposed embargo on Italy's oil supplies. The principle was accepted as long ago as November 6. What remains to do should be no more than a choice of the means whereby the embargo shall be put into force. The vote on March 2 will tell the world many things. Of those things the most important will be, how far the Members of the League mean their League promises and what value they attach to the League's work.

End The War Quickly

ON February 27 the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union passed a resolution in which it expressed the opinion

that it is of the utmost importance to bring the Abyssinian war to as rapid a conclusion as possible, and that whatever economic sanctions are most effective for that purpose should be imposed, including oil sanctions.

In any initiative on these lines the British Government, the Committee was confident, will receive the overwhelming support of opinion in this country.

Rearmament

THE League of Nations Union has always understood the vital importance of a general reduction and limitation of armaments. It has never supposed that any good purpose could be served by an individual nation taking individual action. "By international agreement" said the second question of the Peace Ballot, which related to this matter.

These facts are decisive for the Union's attitude at the present moment. The Government is shaping a vast arms programme. Common report says that it proposes to spend an additional £300,000,000 during the next few years. Behind it stands an overwhelming majority in the recently-elected House of Commons. No party offers an unqualified opposition.

All the Great Powers and many small States have largely increased their military and air force budgets. Though the Washington and London Naval Agreements have continued to exercise a beneficent restraint there has been additional naval spending

also. Since 1930 the world's yearly budget for arms has gone up from less than £1,000,000,000 to little short of double that amount. Ten years ago such a rise would have been thought an incredible nightmare. To-day the figure, perhaps, understates the position. Germany's rearmament has not yet been fully translated into published figures. What Italy, Japan, and Russia will lay out on arms in 1936 can only be guessed.

The Essential Question

IN such a situation it is clear that the British Government will act. It is very far from clear that it will be wrong in acting. In what way and in what measure it decides to strengthen the nation's defences may be questioned. But the essential question is different. It is: "Arms, what for?"

There can be no assurance of security for any nation standing alone, even though it ruin itself in buying guns and tanks, dreadnoughts and submarines, warplanes and poison gases. Inevitably it would be out-armed, if not by a rival Power, then by a rival alliance. The only hope lies in collective security. The many nations whose interest is peace and who mean peace must band themselves together against the few nations who may be deluded into believing that their interest is war and who mean war. The League of Nations exists to give collective security. What it promises it can perform, provided its Members, and especially its greater and more powerful Members, honour their pledges.

If . . . Then Yes

THE answer, then, to the Government's rearmament programme is, "Yes, if it is necessary for the strengthening and the efficient working of the collective system. If while you are buying these arms you are building up the League and binding yourself to use them within the League and are obtaining similar pledges from other nations to use similar arms in the same way, then an expenditure of even £300,000,000 will be a wise economy. But if you are seeking security through individual rearmament outside the League, then the larger your expenditure, the more certain, the more complete, the ultimate disaster."

Great armaments are a great evil. A world littered with arms is doomed to ruin as surely as is an engine room crammed with loose powder. But the only escape from arms is a world escape.

Establish Collective Security

THOUGHTS such as these are not confined to one party. They are entertained in quarters where a decisive influence will be exercised on British policy. Sir Samuel Hoare, who is expected sooner or later to have an active part in the carrying

out of the rearmament programme, in a letter to the *Times*, on February 10, relating to the Paris Peace Plan" wrote:—

Let not those who supported my action labour under any misapprehension as to my attitude. I stand by the League and every word in my September Speech at the Geneva Assembly. Neither let those who criticised me fall into error of the opposite kind. I, like them, stand for collective security. Between us is no difference of principle. If we have disagreed it is upon the details of method, application, and opportunity.

Fortunately, even this difference is likely to vanish. The re-equipment of our defence forces, if it is swiftly and vigorously undertaken, will remove one of the main causes that necessitated caution on our part and occasioned doubt and hesitation among our associates.

A Britain, a British Commonwealth, and a British Empire, as invulnerable as we can make them, bent upon peace and fully equipped to carry out their obligations for peace, will not only dissipate brooding and justifiable anxiety, but go far to establish upon the rock of reality the collective security of the world.

Whether arms are a necessary instrument or a prelude to disaster depends on the policy they serve.

Nutrition

REFERENCE is made in the leading article in the present number of HEADWAY to the Conference on the "I.L.O. and World Planning," organised by the Industrial Advisory Committee of the L.N.U., and held at the London School of Economics on February 18, 19, and 20.

No session excited a livelier interest or drew a larger audience than the last. Its subject might have been deemed a little apart from the Conference programme. There was never any doubt of its attraction for those who are making a serious study of world planning. The thronged audience was well rewarded with two fascinating addresses by two famous scientists, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins and Sir Daniel Hall, whose paper was read for him by Lady Hall.

They approached their common subject, "Nutrition and Social Policy," on converging lines. Sir Frederick is the highest authority in the world on the new science of food, which has been transformed during the last quarter of a century. Sir Daniel Hall is equally distinguished as a leader of agricultural science. They agreed in their conclusions. Both applauded the decisions of the Assembly in 1935 that the League should undertake a thorough study of the problem in all its aspects, biological, social, agricultural and commercial.

Fresh Food Vital

TIME was when everyone took it for granted that men were well fed if they were given large quantities of food. Upon the years of haphazard ignorance followed the years of simple-minded science. The assumption was made that a workaday chemical analysis of food indicated what food man should eat. To-day, tireless subtle research has taught a deeper lesson. To keep him in full health man requires a dietary

which is varied and, above all, fresh. For health, for work, and for good results without fatigue he must have milk, eggs, meat, vegetables and fruit. Some foodstuffs can be produced in distant countries and carried for many thousands of miles and stored for months or years without grave damage. They are, however, foods of inferior value. What serves man's health best is food produced in the countryside which is easily and quickly accessible from his home.

Here is a truth whose realisation is essential to successful world planning. It offers many and varied practical suggestions. It throws new light upon how natural resources can be turned to the fullest social advantage. By common consent the present age is an age of plenty. Its economic problem is to get the goods which are needed to the people who need them. The science of nutrition utters a timely warning that the problem is not merely the planned distribution of a crude plenty, but the planned distribution of a planned plenty. In helping the governments of the peoples of the world to grasp the full meaning of the difference the League is doing vitally important work.

Labour in America

THE "Labour Conference of American States," which took place last month at Santiago de Chile, was an experiment of more than ordinary interest, and appears to have been crowned with great success. The great majority of the American States sent delegations, many of them with complete tripartite representation of governments, employers and workers. There has probably never in all history been so detailed a discussion of the special labour problems of America. This is almost certain to result in a further development of social legislation in Latin America—already by no means so backward as many Europeans are prone to believe. Very striking was the strong determination shown on all sides not to allow the proceedings to result in any sort of "contracting out" on a regional basis from the universal principles on which the I.L.O.'s work is always based. This should encourage the organisation to proceed with other regional conferences, such as the Far-Eastern Conference, for which Chinese, Japanese, and Indian delegates to Geneva have been asked.

A Soldier's Suggestion

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY THUILLIER, Colonel Commandant, Royal Engineers, is a soldier who knows war as it is. He sees the problem of peace from the soldier's point of view. In a lecture at the Royal United Services Institute, he suggested that nations might maintain national forces, regulated in composition and strength, and engage not to use them except for defence or under mandate from the League. To restrain an aggressor or violator of conventions the nations would place their forces unreservedly at the disposal of the League.



HEADWAY

MARCH

1936

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

THE DEMAND FOR COLONIES

CHANGE is the law of life. Living institutions, not less than living creatures, must obey it. They must be for ever demonstrating afresh their vitality by continuous growth and development to meet the needs of a changing world. For them all, the decisive test is the living test.

To-day the League of Nations is undergoing that test in Abyssinia. It is being called upon to prove, not in word but in deed, not in abstract principle but in practical help, that it can save "the political independence and territorial integrity" of a peace-keeping nation whose land has excited the greed of a war-making nation. Can the League give security? To-morrow, it will have to answer another test. Can the League do justice? Is the world order for which it stands not merely a defence of present interests but also a means of giving to things as they are the shape which the collective judgment of mankind declares they ought to have? The challenge is insistent. Time is running out. To-morrow is nearly here. A League of Nations must guarantee fair play for all nations as an essential condition of its survival.

Fair play includes a place in the sun. The phrase has an evil reputation. Its employment by Imperial Germany in the years before 1914 has left disturbing memories. But two centuries before Germany adopted it, it was current in France. And, rightly understood, it expresses a demand to which justice will always listen. An active, resolute, fertile people shut into a too narrow territory, looking abroad at the vastly wider and sometimes sparsely inhabited lands of others, will never rest content. Their protest will be maintained all the more obstinately if their happily-placed neighbours pursue an exclusive policy. Even though the grievance be exaggerated in its popular statement it will not cease until real satisfaction is given. An orderly world is inevitably an idle dream so long as there is a lasting division, which no collective effort is attempting to redress, into "Haves" and "Have Nots." The "Haves" may be less rich and the "Have Nots" less poor than is alleged. Yet so long as huge and palpable discrepancies exist, and those discrepancies are exploited for selfish advantage, so long will one people be envious and another people be afraid. And the blame will belong as much to those who fear as to those who covet.

Great Britain is rich in colonies. She was early in the field. Her children have the colonising gift. Adventurous, self-reliant, persistent, they are well fitted for the building of new homes, in distant places, under strange skies. The British Empire is the widest commonwealth mankind has known; it covers one quarter of the earth's surface, and within its

borders live one quarter of the earth's inhabitants. For Great Britain, therefore, the problem of fair play in the world is typically the colonial problem. The question to be decided is not: Shall British territories continue British, or shall they be handed over to hungry aspirants to their ownership? If it were the right and inevitable answer would be "No." It is the vastly more difficult one: How can the natural resources of all the world best be used to help the civilised progress of all the peoples in the world? As a necessary condition of such progress crippling inequalities in which discontent finds a permanent excuse for threats of violence must be redressed.

The difficulties are many. The deeper inquiry goes the more formidable they are found to be. During February the Industrial Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union held a three days' conference in London on "World Planning." The National Peace Council had previously studied the same subject by the same method. Its published report contains much which is instructive on colonies and peace. A Union pamphlet, "The Demand for Colonies," which contains a report prepared for the Economic Committee of the Union by Lionel Birch, assembles with a wider sweep the relevant facts of over-population, territorial expansion, and access to raw materials. In a Hogarth Press pamphlet another authority, Leonard Barnes, develops the attack on lines of his own. Here are the informed and competent spokesmen of a score of opinions. And from what their often conflicting voices proclaim there emerges, unmistakably, one general conclusion at least. Colonies must not be thrown to the "Have Nots" as bribes to keep them quiet. A multitude of interests must be examined, judged, and adjusted.

Colonies do not relieve pressure of population. They absorb immigrants only slowly and in small numbers. The annual excess of births over deaths in Germany, Italy, and Japan is many times the number of men and women who could find an opportunity in ten years to remove to new homes overseas under any conceivable redistribution of colonial territories. Colonial territories are not the main sources of raw materials required by industry. Colonial territories do not provide rich and avid markets for the sale of industrial products. The argument that colonies help the trade of the nations which own them because they are inside the same currency system approves by implication an extravagant economic nationalism. Currency obstacles ought to be removed by the adoption throughout the world of sound currencies based on generally accepted principles. Colonies are not countless diplomatic bargains, but places where people live; the first consideration must always be given to the interests of their peoples. An immense amount of close study and hard thinking must be carried through in active partnership by all races and all nations before a wise decision can be reached.

That decision must tell the world not who shall have, but how to use.

Whether the problem will be solved, and solved soon enough for disaster to be prevented, no one can say. So many factors are involved, their relative weight is so doubtful and their interaction so obscure, that to formulate a workable policy is immensely difficult. Happily, while there is cause for anxiety, there is also ground for hope. As has often happened at turning points in world history, the British people have seen the dangers ahead, are devoting serious thought to them, and are preparing to act.

QUESTIONS LEAGUE SUPPORTERS MUST ANSWER

ROGER FORTUNE reviews the brilliant new book of Sir Alfred Zimmern, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford

SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN has written a provoking book. It is provoking in the best sense. From the first to the last of his 500 pages he stimulates his readers to think for themselves. He has the knack of the illuminating aside, which opens up deep and lively vistas.

The points he makes are not entirely novel, but he states them with a vivacity which compels fresh attention. Sir Alfred insists that the League of the Covenant never came to life. Because of the place given to the smaller States, to the changed conditions of international life, to the failure of the United States to accept membership, and to other consequent disappointments, the League which was designed by President Wilson and his associates at the Paris Peace Conference was stillborn. The existing substitute is lamentably inferior. Never less than two Great Powers have been outside. Usually the abstainers have been three. In the early days they were the United States, Germany and Russia; now they are the United States, Germany and Japan. The League's brightest period was when the membership came nearest to the comprehensiveness which its founders intended. Germany joined in the autumn of 1926; the Manchurian crisis led Japan to give notice of withdrawal in February, 1933. Between those dates the League wielded an authority it had never possessed before and has not yet reacquired. Even then it failed to restrain Japan.

The League is not the League assumed in the Covenant; as a consequence, it has failed to serve the original purposes. It has not provided a Concert of the Powers, a territorial guarantee, the Hue and Cry against an aggressor. There remain only mediation, conciliation, inquiry for the settlement of disputes and gas and water internationalism. Here also the League is neither fitted for nor has accomplished the hoped-for work.

Sir Alfred himself does not make the mistake of assuming that what the League is not to-day it can never be, and that what it is it must go on being as long as it survives. But some of those who think they agree with him certainly do. And even Sir Alfred, although he safeguards himself repeatedly, does not wholly escape the danger of suggesting that rest is normal and important and movement abnormal and unimportant. It is a question of emphasis. Readers anxious to put the emphasis in the wrong place, which is a temper all too common in League questions, receive more encouragement than they should have. They are glad to dwell on present failures and generalise them as permanent futility.

The League is not something that exists once for all. Still less is it something that does not exist. It is something that is becoming. What matters most is its capacity for growth—if the League members are determined that it shall grow. Even if the League had been launched in the form which its founders intended, it would have had to prove itself in action. Weaker at its birth than they expected, it has grown more slowly and painfully, with less assurance of long

and vigorous life, than it would have done in happier conditions.

The difference, however, is one rather of degree than of kind. In the Abyssinian dispute the League of to-day is at least attempting to organise the Hue and Cry and to make good the territorial guarantee. Sir Alfred recognises its effort with a passing nod.

The difference between the League as it was designed and the League as it exists leads on to another of Sir Alfred's points. The author does not link the two. Nonetheless, his analysis and narrative allow a connection to be deduced.

There is no such thing as a League policy. The League is an opportunity, a method, an instrument. It helps League members to conduct world affairs peacefully and helpfully. League members remain Sovereign States. The policies they pursue are policies they have chosen for themselves. In the League they learn to know each other's needs, to become friends, and to march in step.

The Disarmament Articles of the Covenant set out a definite League policy in one matter. The League is made responsible for securing its acceptance, and has suffered discredit through its persistent failure. Sir Alfred regrets the divergence. If, instead of being committed to a prescribed line of action, the League had been left free to serve as an instrument and a centre of influence, it might have achieved much more.

Sir Alfred enters also a warning against entrusting the League with governmental and administrative duties for which it is unfitted. Even in its present form the Mandates system has not been an unqualified success. Any wide extension of it might bring disappointing and troublesome results. To-day, many League supporters are acutely conscious of the extreme need for solving without delay the world's colonial problem. They are attracted by various schemes for the placing of all non-governing colonies under League Mandate. They should be reminded of difficulties which are indisputably genuine and to which no adequate attention has yet been given.

Once again, however, it is wise to beware. The League of the 1930's and the League of the 1940's are not identical. The fact of to-day may not be the fact of ten years hence. A more comprehensive League will be capable of fulfilling tasks now rightly judged excessive. So will a still restricted League whose success in action has inspired in its members a fuller and more resolute confidence. Too heavy a load will cause a machine to break down. Whether a load is too heavy or not depends on the machine's strength. No League policy to-day; only opportunity and encouragement to concert the right policy. To-morrow a stronger League may find well within its compass tasks now too formidable to be attempted.

A third criticism which Sir Alfred urges with tireless pertinacity and invincible adroitness is the fundamental discrepancy between League forms and world reality. In the League the smaller States have a prominence to which their strength does not entitle them.

Major questions must be settled by agreement between the Great Powers. Unless the Great Powers agree no settlement is possible. At Geneva, the Great Powers, by taking sides in disputes which are not their business, introduce dangers where no danger need be. In Sir Alfred's view, the Four Power Pact of Rome, where a scheme of regular consultation between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy was outlined, was a stroke of clear-sighted statesmanship. Its only fault was its complete failure. Sir Alfred admits the failure. Perhaps, however, he does not sufficiently insist upon it. It was, in fact, more complete than any disappointment the League has inflicted upon even the most fervent believers in the League idea. To this day the Rome Pact has remained an aspiration without a single practical consequence.

In his desire to gain due recognition for the importance of the Great Powers, and his dislike of fussy, ineffective interference by small States, Sir Alfred tends to lose the firm grasp upon political fact which is his most admirable quality. Actually, the failures of the League are not due to anything done or left undone by the small States. Manchuria provides a crucial instance. There the League was weak because Great Britain

began by being irresolute and ended by being obstructive. The small States, it is true, failed to shoulder the burden which the Great Powers had discarded. But, surely, in such circumstances it would be perverse to find the small States guilty and to discharge the Great Powers without a stain on their character.

On the same topic, Sir Alfred too easily admires politicians who have preferred negotiations between the Great Powers to the usages of the League. Two highly significant lists might be drawn up, one containing the names of such men, for example, as Lord Balfour, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Anthony Eden, who have chosen the League; and the other, a distinguished quartette, who have rejected it more or less completely. The men on the first list have a generous largeness, a neglect of purely personal success, an objective devotion to the task in hand. The others have seen defects in an instrument which their own gifts, though brilliant, did not help them to utilise.

Sir Alfred Zimmern's book does the League great service by forcing all those who read it to think out carefully what the League means.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE RULE OF LAW. 1918-1935, by Sir Alfred Zimmern. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 12s. 6d.)

World Congress of Faiths to Meet in London

BY SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE men of state—the statesmen—are endeavouring through the League of Nations to compose the differences between the nations and preserve peace. But they find, time after time, that they can do nothing unless the nations themselves are actuated by a spirit of goodwill. As long as there is in even a single nation a fractious spirit, an arrogant dominating spirit—or even an aloof, isolationist spirit—the statesmen responsible for guiding the League of Nations find their task impossible. Ultimately all depends upon the spirit.

But the spirit of a nation is the concern of men of the spirit, not of men of the state. Not statesmen but the religious leaders and the leaders of thought, poets and philosophers, are more directly responsible for imbuing nations and individuals with the right spirit. Upon these, then, the statesmen should be able to count. Men of the spirit should be relied upon to create such a spirit in the world that nations would no more think of shooting at each other than members of cultured society would box each other's ears. It simply would not be done.

And to create such a spirit should be no impossible task for men of the spirit. For we have an example every year of its practicability. On December 25 regularly, year after year, men pause in their contentions and animosities and make a deliberate effort to show a spirit of peace and goodwill and joy and gladness. And this Christmas spirit is entered into by Hindus and Muslims as well as Christians; in the war, even the opposing armies shared it.

Every year, too, the sentiment is expressed in leading articles of newspapers that if only this spirit could be kept up throughout the year we should have just what the heart of man so hankers after. To this task of extending the period of good fellowship men of the spirit

have now to bend their energies and so provide the League of Nations with a practical spiritual basis for its work.

Spiritual leaders from all the great religions and leaders of independent religious thought and of philosophy and science are being brought together in a Congress to be held in London in July to deliberate on the problem of how to promote a spirit of World Fellowship in the face of such evils as suspicion, fear, and hatred, which lead to dissension between individuals and war between nations—in the face also of racial animosity, nationalism in excess, class domination, poverty, and ignorance. And as a result of these public discussions and of informal meetings of prominent spiritual leaders from all over the world, it is hoped there will be engendered a true spirit of fellowship which will sweeten intercourse between individuals and between nations, and be a fortifying influence to statesmen in the performance of their exacting duties.

The Congress will be under the Presidency of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and the Chairman of the British National Council is Sir Francis Youngusband. Among the supporters are: Sir Norman Angell, the Rev. Dr. Sidney Berry, the Dean of Canterbury, Sir Walford Davies, Dr. J. S. Haldane, Viscount Halifax, Carl Heath, Sir Shadi Lal, the Rev. Dr. Israel Mattuck, Professor Gilbert Murray, the Rev. Dr. F. W. Norwood, Alfred Noyes, Sir Abdul Qadir, Dr. Maude Royden, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, Dr. Martin Shaw, Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, Dame Sybil Thorndike, the Marquess of Zetland and Sir Alfred Zimmern.

The League of Nations Union and the National Peace Council support the Congress and the B.B.C. have arranged for a broadcast for Sir Francis Youngusband on Sunday, June 21.

Twenty sessions of the Congress will be held in the Large Hall of London University, Gower Street, W.C., and the members will be addressed by eminent scholars representing Confucians, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians. Among the speakers will be philosophers and scientists. The addresses will be printed beforehand so as to be available for members at a small charge. Each principal speech will be followed by a discussion in which members may take part. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Malalasekera (of Ceylon), Professor Emile Marcault, Mr. A. Yusaf Ali, M. Schlumberger, and M. Berdiaeff have already consented to address the Congress, and the Committee is in correspondence with thinkers all over the world.

In addition to the Congress sessions, there will be two public meetings at Queen's Hall, when representative spokesmen of the great world-religions and independent religious thought will speak to the theme of "The Supreme Spiritual Ideal." Public meetings of welcome and farewell will also be held. At these meetings Sir Herbert Samuel, Rabbi Dr. Mattuck, Lord

Allen of Hurtwood, and Mr. Rom Landau have already accepted invitations to speak.

The Bishop of London has given the Congress his blessing, and members will be welcomed at the afternoon service in St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals on Sundays, July 5 and 12.

No effort will be spared to ensure that the speakers at the various sessions and meetings are representative. It is hoped to issue a preliminary programme towards the end of March.

Meantime, leaflets explaining the aims of the Congress are available and help in their distribution will be very much appreciated. The expenses of organisation are unavoidably heavy. Much voluntary work is being done, but the cost of the halls, printing, postage, advertising, and the salaries of the clerical staff have to be met and financial support at this early stage is gratefully accepted.

All information can be obtained from the Organising Secretary, Arthur Jackman, 17, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

THE ASSYRIANS

BY PHILIP MUMFORD, who was an Intelligence Officer in Iraq under the British Mandate

AT long last there is reasonable hope that justice and a tolerable existence lie before the remnant of the Assyrian nation. The credit for a reasonable solution for what appeared for a long period an almost insoluble problem must be given to the League of Nations.

Here is proved, once again, not only the advantages but the necessity of a world-wide international authority—of an organisation which can express in terms of practical activity the conscience of the world, unhampered by the limited and self-centred interests of national States.

It may well be doubted whether the war and its aftermath can produce a more poignant story than the vicissitudes of these unfortunate people from 1915 up to the present time; and it is to be regretted that no equivalent of T. E. Lawrence moved amongst them to record their sufferings and struggles.

Their language—Syriac—is a derivation of the Aramaic spoken in Palestine in Biblical times, in which language they have continued their religious observances to the present day. British connection with them dates from 1886, when the Archbishop of Canterbury sent them a special mission which continued to work amongst them till the outbreak of the Great War, and doubtless was responsible in part for their readiness to become our allies.

The mission found them a small community of Nestorian Christians—possibly a hundred thousand at most—isolated in the Hakkari mountains of Turkey, and possessing the virtues and vices of most primitive highland people. Warlike and arrogant yet simple and hospitable, uneducated but quick-witted, they have since proved themselves capable of great loyalties, for which, unfortunately, they have suffered from independent highlander to demoralised refugee in a sad fall.

Led by their paramount chief and hereditary archbishop, the Mar Shimun (succession goes from uncle

to nephew, as the archbishop must be celibate), their small community declared war upon the Turks on May 10, 1915. They relied upon Russian promises of support. Russian assistance not forthcoming, almost overwhelmed by the forces of Turks and Kurds bent upon their extermination, the entire flock followed the archbishop from their homes and fought their way to Urmia in Persia to join the Russian Imperial Forces.

Fate, however, was still hostile, and 1917, which brought the Russian Revolution, deprived the Assyrians of their ally and left them, once again, stranded amongst their hereditary enemies.

In 1917 the British again enter the picture. Operations from Baghdad extending into North Persia (Persia was neutral!) kept the Assyrian adventure in the military limelight. British forces, already hard pressed, could offer little help. The desperate Assyrians, set upon by Turks, Kurds and Persians, began one of the most ghastly military retreats which history can offer. Men, women, children and flocks, harassed day and night by human enemies, by typhus, cholera, dysentery, by appalling heat (to which, as mountaineers, they were unaccustomed), by starvation and thirst, fought their way to Hamadan and British protection; at least, some seventy thousand started to fight their way, but less than fifty thousand arrived.

From Hamadan they were transported to a rest camp at Baqubah, near Baghdad. They were now some five hundred miles from their homes! The date was 1919. In the circumstances obtaining at the end of the war, the Assyrians could have been repatriated to their own country, which was the one thing they desired. One half-hearted attempt was made and, like most half-hearted efforts, it was a fiasco.

Instead of repatriation, the Assyrians were offered service in a new force called the Iraq Levies, raised and paid for by the Colonial Office and used for the protection of British rule and interests in Iraq. In this force they served till the termination of the British mandate

in Iraq in 1932, well paid, well fed and well treated. Yet it must be stressed that British service was, in effect, a further disaster for them. Their comfortable conditions, and military successes in several campaigns, increased their arrogance and was directly responsible for their unpopularity in the new land of their adoption. The Iraqis feared and hated the competent mercenaries.

The stage was set for the final tragedy. September, 1932, finds Great Britain relinquishing her control over Iraq and making no satisfactory provision for the future or safety of her smallest ally and former soldiers, the Assyrians. Some efforts were made to organise a settlement scheme, but nothing resulted which the Assyrians felt they could accept with reasonable safety for themselves and their families. The inevitable trouble followed and terminated in the slaughter of unarmed Assyrians by the Iraq army in the following August. Twelve years after their leaving the refugee camp at Baqubah another refugee camp had to be formed for them in Mosul. Once more the Assyrians had suffered massacre and were destitute.

WANTED—MORE RATIFICATIONS

By C. A. MACARTNEY, author of the annual "World Labour Problems," in which the International Labour Conference is described by an eye-witness

THE "ratifications chart" of the I.L.O. is compiled, probably, with more care than it is usually read. In recent years especially, the array of black squares, squares with a white streak across them, white double squares, diamonds, plain circles, double circles, A's, R's and Y's, has become so bewildering that few have energy to do more than look at the final figure, showing how many International Labour Conventions each country has ratified.

This is a pity. A mere glance at the totals will not, indeed, give any particularly satisfactory impression of Great Britain's record in the matter of ratifications. Her figure of 19 compares unfavourably enough with the 33, 30 and 29 of the leaders, and even among the more important industrial countries, we are out-distanced, not only by Belgium, but by Fascist Italy. This somewhat humiliating situation is a sad comment on our frequent boast that Britain leads the world in



1. A Refugee

ASSYRIANS:

2. In British Service

tinuity, have proved practical and attractive. The League of Nations is providing £86,666, the French Government £380,000, the Iraq Government £250,000, and the British Government £256,000, leaving £180,000 still to be found by voluntary contributions. The Archbishop of Canterbury is organising a committee to raise this amount.

The rights of man include "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So says the American Declaration of Independence, and there is now good reason to hope that this elementary justice may at last be accorded to the remnants of the Assyrian people, whose greatest folly was a blind faith in Russian and British Governments. But £180,000 is still needed for the completion of the present scheme. Will the British public respond?

social legislation; for if that were really so, we should be able to ratify most Labour Conventions (which seldom go beyond the law and practice of the most advanced countries) without any difficulty whatever.

But poor as the British record is, the degree of its jejunity only becomes fully apparent if, following Einstein, we consider it in relation with the time-dimension. We then find that the British policy towards the I.L.O. (in so far as it can be expressed by ratifications) falls into two distinct periods: an earlier, which is tolerable, and a later, which is almost indecently negative.

In 1921, Britain ratified no less than five Conventions; in 1923, two; in 1926, again five (it is worth mentioning that no Conventions were concluded at Geneva in 1922, 1923 or 1924); in 1927, one; in 1929, two; in 1931, three. From 1931 to 1936, inclusive, our grand total of ratifications has been one. Legisla-

Since then the League has faced the problem of the disposal of the remaining twenty thousand. Long negotiations with Brazil for settlement in that country finally broke down, to be followed by equally abortive plans for their removal to British Guiana.

Last year the French Government offered land in Syria—conditions which, after careful scruti-

tion has recently been introduced to enable this figure to be raised to three; but even if this goes through, it will leave our record lamentable enough, by comparison with what it might have been if we had kept up even our earlier rate of progress. Of the 26 Conventions concluded between 1919 and 1928, we ratified 17, whereas of the 23 concluded since that date, we have so far ratified only two. True, we must allow for a certain "time-lag" in respect of the latest Conventions; but this excuse should not be overworked. A country has a year's grace before it is obliged to lay a Draft Convention before the competent authority; but it is under no obligation to wait even a week.

But perhaps the I.L.O. has been going off the rails? Perhaps the later Conventions are less worthy than the earlier of our approval?

Not so. There are recent Conventions which the British Government has consistently opposed; conspicuous among them those on the "40-Hour Week." But although the Conference has talked about and about this ticklish subject, only two Draft Conventions out of the 49 refer to it. At no time has the Government agreed with everything which the I.L.O. has done. There will always be cases—horrible to say—in which even Great Britain is out-voted. Taken all in all, however, it is safe to say that few, if any, international gatherings indulge less freely in unrestrained idealism than the International Labour Conference. Even apart from the restraining influence of that sober body, the Employers' group, all parties, including the workers, are well aware that the practical effect of any Convention must depend mainly on whether it is acceptable to the great industrial States. Every effort is always made to meet the point of view of the chief Governments, first and foremost the British. There has been no change in this respect in recent years.

In fact, the recent unratified Conventions include many which, when they were adopted, met the august and explicit approval of the authorised Government delegates at Geneva. Perhaps the choicest of all examples is the 1929 Convention on the Marking of Weights on Heavy Packages. The report on this Draft Convention was presented to the Conference by the chairman of its committee, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, who said: "The value and importance for the prevention of accidents of the practice which is embodied in this Draft Convention is generally recognised, and has not, I think, been questioned by any party in the committee over which I presided." He added a caution that its utility would "depend to a very large extent on its being adopted by a large proportion of the States which engage in such (viz., maritime) trade."

The Convention has since been ratified by no less than 32 States—a number exceeded by only one single Convention. It has not been ratified by Britain.

The 1933 Conference adopted six Draft Conventions on Old Age, Widows' and Orphans' and Invalidity Insurance for various kinds of workers. A British Government delegate acted as rapporteur to the Conference for two of these Conventions, and all four British delegates—Government, Employers' and Workers'—voted for all six of them. The Government has neither ratified nor taken any step towards ratifying any one of them.

The 1934 Conference adopted a Draft Convention on

Unemployment Provision. The British Government delegate was chairman of the committee, and told the Conference that the Draft "followed the lines which have been indicated by experience as those best calculated to ensure satisfactory results." He "confidently commended it to the consideration of the Conference for their acceptance." Again, all four British delegates voted for the draft; and again it has not been ratified.

In some ways the situation would be less unsatisfactory if the Government would come out boldly against the I.L.O. The public would then know where it stood. But lip-service is continually paid to the Organisation, and if certain of the proposals mooted at Geneva are opposed, this is always done on the excellent grounds that such proposals are impracticable, or not in accordance with the true interests of the I.L.O. But at home, the work of the I.L.O. is allowed to sink into even deeper obscurity. In early years—1921 and 1923 are examples—long debates on ratification took place in the House of Commons. The I.L.O. was at least treated as a live issue. To-day, if ratification is proposed at all, it is done in the chaste and rarefied atmosphere of the House of Lords, to an audience of a dozen somnolent peers. If the Government decides not to ratify, it issues a White Paper, stating its intention in the fewest possible words. Our legislators receive this as though it were a proclamation by Mussolini, and they the Fascist Grand Council; and all parties appear to regard the matter as being thereby finally settled.

Let us be just to the Government. Governments are by nature—almost by definition—inactive. To stir them into useful activity is the task of public opinion; and public opinion seems to be lethargic over this matter. But need it be so? Before the recent General Election, the L.N.U. circularised all Parliamentary candidates with a questionnaire, which included a question on the I.L.O. A high proportion of the candidates answered expressing their devotion to the principles of the I.L.O. Let them, then, live up to their Election promises. Let them act, and their leaders, without further delay, to return to a policy according better with Britain's traditional ideals.

WORLD REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Edited by
VERNON BARTLETT

A unique periodical that concerns YOU

WORLD REVIEW OF REVIEWS (an amalgamation of World and the Review of Reviews) is the only British review of the Imperial and Foreign Press. It gives you that knowledge of world opinion without which you cannot be a useful supporter of the League.

Vernon Bartlett continues in its columns the calm analysis of events he formerly gave you through the microphone.

Special reduced subscription rate to members of the
League of Nations Union, 12/- per annum, post free.

On Sale at all booksellers: 1/- monthly.

40-42 CHANDOS STREET, LONDON, W.C.2

TOKIO MASSACRE REVEALS

By STUART MUNRO, who

JAPANESE militarism insists upon the impossible. A large section of the army, especially strong amongst the lower senior officers, demands that the country shall both eat its cake and have it.

These men are commonly described as the fervid patriots. That is a manner of speech. They are fanatics, narrow-minded, ignorant of the outer world, blind to the true situation of their own country, eaten up with national vainglory. They have no public policy except passion and no method except violence. They make a cult of an earlier Japan. Even that, however, they misrepresent. They dream of a vast overseas empire, embracing the whole of Eastern and Southern Asia. They have no notion of the means which must be employed to begin to obtain the resources required for such a fabulous conquest.

By profession they are fanatics and soldiers, two occupations which because of British good sense are scarcely ever linked together in the British Service. The future they desire for their country is systematic aggression against her neighbours. They call it defence. When they speak of defence they mean what has been called elsewhere preventive war, which is an attack launched against someone who may some day become an enemy. By family ties most of them belong to rural Japan. They are the sons and brothers of minor country gentry and peasant farmers. This origin persuades them to erect side by side with their military idol a twin idol of the small cultivator.

In this dualism lies the impossibility of their success. They denounce the Westernisation of Japan. They attack everything Europe has contributed to the elevation of Japan into a Great Power. They hate high finance and big industry. They would stamp out civil government and political parties. They would restore, with a difference of which they themselves generally seem to be unaware, the Japan of a hundred years ago. The difference is that the Japan of the 1830's was governed by the Shogun, an hereditary Prime Minister, in complete disregard of the Emperor and dominated by feudal chiefs with private armies of Samurai, with no rights for the common people against the privileged castes, with a countryfolk who were no more than hewers of wood and drawers of water, bound to the land and to their lords.

The Second Restoration, as the promoters direct and indirect of the Tokio massacre call it, would make its first social object at home the preservation of a numerous and prosperous peasantry, owning their holdings, sending their sons into the army and navy, subject to no authority except the Divine Emperor. "Only a naked people under a naked crown."

The fanatical militarist-agrarians do not see that high finance and big industry have an essential part to play in foreign conquest. To-day armies, navies and air forces have an insatiable maw. They are the modern world's hungriest consumers of wealth. To arm them, train them, use them, immense sums are required and vast quantities of most elaborate material. High finance and big industry must first equip the striking force. Afterwards, even with the most successful result, they must exploit the gains—if the bill is ever to be paid. A peasant community may defend its homes; it cannot conduct the intricate business of an aggressive war.

An uneasy consciousness of the fundamental conflict between their two declared objects is one reason for the resort of the Japanese militarists to assassination. But that resort is no recent innovation, nor is it a chance madness. It has profound roots in the Japanese past as well as in the confusions and fears of the Japanese present.

Everyone knows the story of the 47 Ronin, the masterless Samurai, who murdered their lord's enemy as a duty to their dead lord and then committed suicide, and how the little Tokio temple where they are buried is to this day a goal of popular pilgrimage. Less familiar is the fact that for more than 70 years annual celebrations have been held, with official approval, of the murder of the last Japanese Regent. Cabinet Ministers and Princes of the Blood have thought it a duty to be present.

Of the great men who served the Emperor Mutsuhito in his modernisation of Japan, Itagaki, Okuma, Mori, Ito and others narrowly escaped assassination. Okubo, perhaps the ablest of them all, fell a victim to the swords of six Samurai. Dr. McLaren, in his well-known Political History, sets down no more than the plain truth when he writes: "There is something in the taking of the life of a fancied enemy of the country, no matter how highly placed, as a protest against or criticism of his actions, that appeals to the Japanese mind and the nation looks upon such conduct with a leniency that is only to be explained by the defects of the military despotism under which they lived for centuries."

A generation ago it was thought that Japan had outlived the old savage practice. The years since the World War, with their forward policy in China and their strain at home, have brought a hideous recrudescence. Mr. Hara, the Prime Minister who approved the Washington Naval Treaty, was murdered in 1921. In 1930, Mr. Hamaguchi, the Prime Minister who had compelled the Admirals to accept the London Naval Treaty, was killed in his turn. In 1932, a third Prime Minister, Mr. Inukai, was shot by naval officers angered by his very modest efforts to place a restraint upon the military party's adventures in Manchuria.

The trial of the last group of assassins was a most revealing performance. Sympathisers lavished upon them unstinted adulation. Their counsel vaunted their heroic devotion to a patriotic duty. Although they received a long term of imprisonment, they were quickly pardoned by the Emperor, and their release was celebrated with wild enthusiasm. General Araki, Minister of War at the time, delivered public speeches in their praise. Behind them was known to be the powerful, insidious Black Dragon Society, which has marked down for slaughter a long list of eminent Japanese public men who are known to hold moderate views. The society's chief, the aged Mitsuru Toyama, is venerated by his many and powerful partisans. No matter what crime he advocates, the Government is afraid to touch him.

Certainly the latest massacre was not the spontaneous outbreak of a few junior officers and three thousand troops, which the official Japanese version suggests. The plot had been most carefully laid. The conspirators acted in the closest co-ordination in many

JAPAN'S INNER WEAKNESS

spent ten years in the country

places over a very wide area, extending at least 50 miles from Tokio to Atami. Behind them it is not difficult to discern the figures of high officers, whose aim is an autoeratic Emperor, an irresponsible army, systematic aggression, and a fabulous conquest. The fiery speeches of General Asaki, the ambitious projects of the Great Asia Association (whose membership list carries many important names), and the Army Pamphlets scattered broadcast from the War Office are not meaningless.

Last August, Major-General Nagata, Director of the Military Affairs Bureau, was cut down with a sabre in the War Office by one of his subordinates, Lt.-Col. Aizawa. General Nagata was an officer distinguished for his intelligence. He had been alarmed by the indiscipline of the patrioteers and was attempting to confine soldiers to the tasks of soldiering. He had shared the responsibility for the removal to a less dangerous post of General Mazaki, formerly Director-General of Military Education, and a noted firebrand. It is significant that amongst the latest victims is General Watanabe, the succeeding Director-General of Military Education. General Mazaki denounced both General Nagata and General Watanabe.

A handful of junior officers, not inspired from above, without any promise of influential commendation, would not have killed such a man. Nor would they have struck down Admiral Okada, the Prime Minister; and Admiral Viscount Saito, a former Prime Minister, both Naval commanders of splendid record, who had devoted their lives to the fleet and had given many proofs of their entire freedom from petty personal ambition.

An incidental cause no doubt contributed to the massacres. It is an eagerness repeatedly displayed by the military and naval hierarchy to widen the authority of the General Staffs. Under the Japanese Constitution the chiefs of the army and the navy have direct access to the Emperor and are responsible only to him. The Ministers for War and for the Navy, who sit in the Cabinet, must be officers on the active list. Their appointment must have the approval of the General Staffs. They are less colleagues of their fellow-Ministers than Service delegates set to watch them and concerned to see that all matters touching the army and the navy are withheld from the civil government and parliament. How far the autonomy of the Services stretches has never been clearly defined. During the past four years, however, the General Staffs have thought conditions favourable to a bold extension of their control. They have sought to dictate the arms budget and foreign policy.

The present spending of Japan on the army and navy shows what has been the result of such domination. In 1931 approximately one-

fifth of the budget was devoted to the Services. In 1936 about half the budget goes to this purpose. The confessed amount is three times what it was, and very large additional outlays are omitted on the excuse that they are capital expenditure.

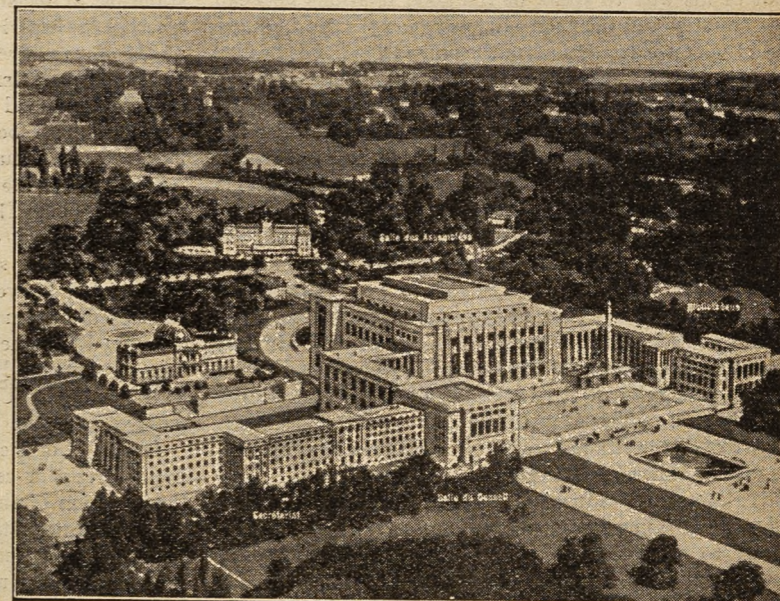
In these circumstances the charge published by the assassins that the Cabinet was being criminally negligent in not strengthening the country's defences, and was exercising a short-sighted and dangerous economy, must be either insincere or ignorant.

Mr. Takahashi, the most eminent of Japanese financiers, who was one of the Ministers attacked, did not oppose a forward policy in Asia. But he reckoned the cost and tried to prevent that cost plunging Japan into ruin.

Nothing in the conduct of the aggressive militarists proves more conclusively their essential recklessness than their contemptuous refusal to give the least thought to ways and means.

Japan is riven by internal conflicts. It is a small country, only one-fifth of whose surface is fertile. Its 75,000,000 inhabitants have trebled within the last 75 years. They are crowded together on the fertile land in a density of 2,500 to the square mile, or four times the figure for England. Two-thirds of the people live in towns and villages of less than 10,000 inhabitants and in the countryside. One-half of the workers are cultivators. The average size of their farms is less than three acres, whose owners have to support life on £13 a year for each four persons. Japan presents to the world at large an appearance of great strength. But behind the appearances are deep-striking cleavages, going right down to the foundations.

Because the Japanese militarists, who are so recklessly violent, are also aware of the underlying weakness, Japan's neighbours have cause for alarm.



The League Secretariat Is Moving Into The League's New Home.

THE 90TH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE

THE regular meeting of the Council of the League, which took place at Geneva from the 20th to 24th Feb., was remarkable in several ways. There were four principal matters on the long agenda of thirty items: the Italy-Abyssinia dispute; the Free City of Dantzic; the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay, and the question of international assistance to refugees.

The session was notable for the tributes that were paid at the opening meeting to Mr. Arthur Henderson, and for the special meeting in memory of King George, at which each of the fourteen members uttered his tribute. The fact that Mr. Eden and the British Delegation remained for the week and took full part in all the work of the Council marked still more impressively, perhaps, than the memorial sitting the sense of the world society. Another feature of the meeting was the way in which Mr. Bruce, representative of Australia, presided, combining dignity in the ceremonial utterances with firmness and clearness in controversial questions.

The Abyssinian question, if uppermost in the minds of the delegates and the public, was not the most prominent feature in the public sittings. Decent burial was given to the Hoare-Laval peace proposals. And the Committee of Eighteen pursued further the question of sanctions. It requested the President of the Co-ordination Committee to convene the committee of experts as soon as possible, and to invite it to examine replies received from Governments on various sanctions approved by the Co-ordination Committee.

The most controversial issue was Dantzic, which is a standing dish seldom absent from the programme of the Council. The troubles to-day are no longer between Germans and Poles—indeed, the Polish member went out of his way to speak of the good relations between his country and the City—but between the Nazi Senate and the non-Nazi sections of the population. Mr. Lester, the High Commissioner, reported on the grave position caused by the constant effort of the Senate to disregard the spirit of the Constitution which is guaranteed by the League. The Council at its meeting in September had received a report of a committee of jurists upon petitions from sections of the population complaining of the infringements of the Constitution, and had recommended the Senate to take measures to remedy various legal enactments which were adjudged to be violations of the Constitution. The Senate were directed to bring the legislation of the Free City into conformity with the Constitution, and to ensure in future observance of the principles of the Constitution in the application of all laws. The Council referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion in certain amendments of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure of Dantzic; and, particularly, whether an amendment which empowered the Dantzic Court to convict a person for an unspecified offence "which merits punishment according to the fundamental idea of penal law in accordance with popular

BY
Professor NORMAN BENTWICH
formerly Attorney-General of Palestine,
who writes on
ABYSSINIA URUGUAY
DANTZIG REFUGEES

good sense" was valid. The Permanent Court of International Justice rendered its advisory opinion in December, holding that the discretion given to the Court was not in accordance with the fundamental principles of justice or the Constitution.

The Senate had in fact not acted on the recommendations of the Council or the Court of International Justice, and relied on the decision of the Dantzic Supreme Court, which upheld the legislation. The immediate issue before the Council was whether its previous resolution should be enforced; and the larger issue in the background was whether the Government of the Free City would act in the spirit of the Constitution.

The prospects at first were not peaceful. The President of the Senate of Dantzic delivered an oration in German in which he followed the French maxim, "*L'audace et encore l'audace.*" Right and justice were on the side of the Government, and they were entitled to prefer the judgment of their own Court to the opinion of the International Court at the Hague. The firmness of Mr. Eden, strengthened by the support of all the members of the Council, prevailed, however, in the end.

In the report which he laid before the Council Mr. Eden was able to announce that the Senate would rectify the legislation which it had hitherto failed to correct, would give effect to the advice of the Hague Court, would institute an appeal to a Court from any threatened suspension of the press, and would govern in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution. He asserted emphatically the right of the Council as the guarantor of the Constitution to intervene in any case where it considers there has been a breach, notwithstanding a decision of any organ of the Free City, whether judicial, legislative, or executive. The President of the Senate declared that the Dantzic Government would be good in the future, and departed in a more conciliatory mood than when he arrived.

The dispute between the Soviet Government and Uruguay was brought before the Council by M. Litvinoff—who adds to the vivacity and humour of the meetings—under Article 11 (2) of the Covenant of the League. The Government of Uruguay passed a Decree at the end of December suspending diplomatic relations which had existed between Uruguay and the U.S.S.R. since 1926 on the ground that the Soviet envoy had been concerned in fomenting civil disturbances in the neighbouring state of Brazil. The Soviet Minister in Monte Video and the Uruguayan Minister in Moscow were required to leave.

Article 11 of the Covenant, which declares it to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends, seemed a heavy hammer to crush the little diplomatic quarrel.

But M. Litvinoff made out a strong case against the rupture of relations without the production of any evidence of improper conduct. There was a wordy warfare between him and the representative of Uruguay, who claimed that the matter was, by international law, solely within the domestic jurisdiction. In the end three members of the Council were appointed to examine the dispute and seek a means of conciliation.

The resolution submitted to the Council declared that, "whereas the representative of Uruguay refused to give proofs, on the ground that the question was one of internal law, and whereas the representative of the U.S.S.R. stated that he was satisfied by that refusal, and was prepared to leave the question to the judgment of international public opinion, and that course was accepted by the other party," the Council expressed the hope that the interruption of diplomatic relations would be temporary, and that the two countries would take a favourable opportunity of renewing those relations.

The problems of refugees, like the problems of Dantzic, are tending to become a hardy quarterly at meetings of the Council. And this meeting was not willing to grapple boldly with the problems. It had before it the report of the Experts Committee appointed at the last Assembly, and also the letter of resignation of Mr. James McDonald, the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany. The report recommended temporary

measures to carry on the work till the next Assembly; and though not unanimously, a subsequent organisation for the Nansen and the German refugees after the Assembly.

The Council decided at once to deal only with the proposals for the temporary measures; and did not accept all the recommendations of the Experts Committee even thereon. It appointed a temporary head of the Nansen office, and empowered him to deal with the internal reorganisation and put forward measures for the constructive liquidation. As regards the German refugees, it adopted a recommendation to appoint a League High Commissioner till the Assembly, with two main functions (a) to convene an intergovernmental conference which shall lay down a system of legal protection for the German refugees; and (b) to negotiate with Governments about the immigration and employment of refugees. On the other hand, it cut out the function of facilitating the emigration of refugees from Germany and the negotiations about the transfer of their capital; and it restricted the scope of the intergovernmental conference to the refugees from Germany.

It was understood that the High Commissioner will be an Englishman, and it is left to the Chairman of the Council to appoint him. Lastly, the Council expressly referred to the next Assembly the larger and more permanent problems of the refugees.

POISON :

"If there were more people holding—and expressing—the views of Sir Roger Keyes, M.P., the activities of the League of Nations Union might be curbed and we should not see such an organisation having the power to dictate to the Cabinet as it undoubtedly did in the recent 'Peace' terms crisis.—*The Patriot.*

ANTIDOTE :

Apparently, whilst admitting that those who hold Sir Roger's views are in the minority, the editor of "*The Patriot*" is anxious that the minority should "have the power to dictate to the Cabinet!"

* * *

POISON :

"Very much is expected of Mr. Eden. Will he have the courage to disregard temporary abuse and the mischievously-engineered uproar of the League of Nations Union? His position is one of extraordinary responsibility, not only to Great Britain but to Europe."—Leading article in the *Daily Mail.*

ANTIDOTE :

Evidently the writer cherishes the delusion that Mr. Eden, in his position of "extraordinary responsibility" ought to be guided solely by articles in the "*Daily Mail.*"

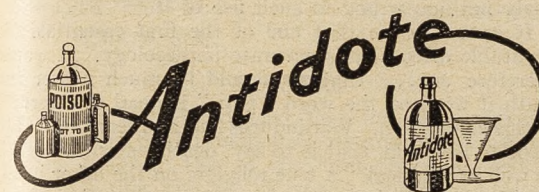
* * *

POISON :

"A plain declaration that an oil embargo forms no part of the British programme would do immense good. It would go far to remove that haunting danger of war of which Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval spoke last month. Signor Mussolini has intimated that if an oil embargo is imposed, it will be regarded by him as an hostile act."—Leading article in the *Daily Mail.*

ANTIDOTE :

As Mussolini also regarded it as a hostile act when the Abyssinians retired over twenty miles into their own territory, the editor of the "*Daily Mail*" must be singularly open to impression.
C.C.T.



POISON :

"I am not a fire-eating Sanctionist. I do not believe in the possibility or expediency of the brutal application of that Article Sixteen of the League Covenant . . . and it is quite clear that it is impossible to apply a sanction of so delicate a nature as that concerning oil without the adherence of the United States. . . . Europe alone cannot shoulder such a weighty responsibility."—M. EDOUARD HERRIOT, in the *Evening Standard.*

ANTIDOTE :

If France were invaded, would M. Herriot still hold the same opinions? Or would he clamour for Sanctions to be imposed against the invader—with or without U.S.A. help?

* * *

POISON :

"Dantzic means nothing at all to this country. . . . By no stretch of the imagination does it or can it affect us. . . . Why must Mr. Eden be the one to do the 'sharp' talking, to incur new enmities and provide new occasions for strife? It seems that we cannot stir hand or foot in the League without doing just that."—Leading article in the *Evening News.*

ANTIDOTE :

It needs no "stretch of the imagination" to realise the energy with which the writer of the above would, if the Dantzic dispute had not been steered to a peaceful settlement, have shrieked that the League had failed yet again, and that Britain must, therefore, cut herself away from it.

READERS' VIEWS

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

SANCTIONS

SIR,—I am puzzled to know why "Christian Pacifist" thinks that "the imposition of sanctions can in no way be reconciled with the law of love to all men." As Lord Cecil has reminded us, sanctions are not proposed as a punishment but as a means of stopping war. Is this not to be reconciled with the law of love?

I do differ with some of my fellow pacifists—and I believe with Lord Cecil himself—on the exact nature of the sanctions that are and are not justifiable, and I do not believe that military sanctions are so. It is, however, one thing to condemn murdering the murderer (or, in international language, making war upon a war-maker) and quite another to lend, or rather to sell, him a knife at considerable profit to ourselves. Does "Christian Pacifist" really mean that he is prepared to go on selling to Italy the means by which she makes war, and does he find that this can be reconciled with the law of love?

To sell petrol (to take one instance only) to Italy is exactly as justifiable as to sell a knife to a murderer.

The argument that to do even this would be to provoke war should be met with the counter-argument of passive resistance. The idea that Italy—unable to overcome the resistance of one small and almost unarmed nation—could nevertheless proceed to make war against the whole world is grotesque. Nor if she tried, for instance, to begin by bombing Malta, would she by this means provide herself with a single gallon of petrol. Certainly we take a risk, but is "Christian Pacifist" not prepared to take risks? If we had, in a moment of madness on the part of Italy, to endure some bombing, should we be enduring more than the Abyssinians have had to endure all these months, simply because we were too "Christian" to refuse the petrol needed for Italy's bombing aeroplanes?

Sevenoaks, Kent. A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

SIR,—I can hardly agree with "Christian Pacifist" that "the imposition of sanctions can in no way be reconciled with the law of love to all men." Economic and financial sanctions should be regarded, not as reprisals for aggression, but as a means of preventing or at least impeding further aggression and bloodshed. What cannot be reconciled with any law of Christ is helping the aggressor by supplying him with money and the tools he needs in order to carry out his criminal intentions successfully.

Sir Norman Angell, in a letter to the *Times*, sums up the position thus:—"A nation decides to do something which, over its own signature, it has recognised as criminal. It comes to its neighbours, and asks them to supply the tools necessary for this act, instruments without which the criminal purpose cannot be carried out. For neighbours to agree to make the crime possible by supplying the indispensable tools makes them, of course, accessories to it, parties to it."

Thus there are only two courses open to both members of the League and States outside the League—(1) the immediate severance of trade and financial relations; (2) aiding and abetting the law-breaking State. Should there be any hesitation on the part of Christians as to which course to follow?

156, Tulse Hill, S.W.2. HELEN GATEHOUSE.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

SIR,—I was greatly surprised to see in February's HEADWAY a letter from a member of the L.N.U. advancing the views of the non-resistance group of

self-styled Christian Pacifists. With the contents of that letter I am not concerned beyond making a protest against the use of the phrase "Christian Pacifists," with its monstrous innuendo that we who would not leave the weak at the mercy of the bully are either un-Christian or anti-Pacifist, and probably both.

What struck me as so disconcerting was the fact that membership of the Union is apparently open to those who are opposed to the League of Nations and its Covenant. Surely, if these people have not the decency to resign from an organisation to whose principles they are opposed, some machinery should be devised for purging our ranks of these anti-League elements. If this ludicrous state of affairs continues we shall have Mr. Lansbury and Lord Ponsonby, to say nothing of My Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook, applying for membership of the L.N.U.!

Pembridge Square, W.2. ERIC WALKER.

FORCE OR FEAR?

SIR,—I was very pleased to see "Christian Pacifist's" letter in your issue for February, for I feel that this attitude to war is one that merits far more serious attention than it seems to get nowadays. But why entitle the letter "Do Not Use Force"? I am well aware that it is a common idea that "Christian Pacifists" are opposed to the use of force, but surely it is a very inaccurate one. If I build a house or cut a slice of bread I must use physical force, but there is obviously nothing wrong in such use of it.

It seems to me that one of the first essentials for profitable discussion is accurate phraseology. I would therefore suggest that we should be much nearer the truth if we used the word "fear" instead of "force" in this connection. War induces fear and fear inevitably leads to isolation, that is to say, death—spiritual death as well as physical. A true religion, on the other hand, works through love, resulting in communion, both between men and with God, that is to say, life "more abundantly." Hence, surely the fundamental opposition between war and Christianity. And for this reason the discerning Christian must always be opposed to anything that uses fear in order to reach after power, whether it be known as war or sanctions or punishment, or clever business activity, or by any other name.

Blewbury, Berks. LANGFORD JONES.

AN INTERNATIONAL "PUNCH"

SIR,—Fascists are not the only people who, collectively, seem to be utterly devoid of a sense of humour, but the latest Italian note of protest to Egypt about sanctions, just published, provides confirmation, if such be needed, of the truth of some remarks I have just been reading in Dr. Edmond Privat's study, "Interpopola Konduto":—

"One element facilitates life in a community, that is, the ability to laugh even at oneself. The English call it a *sense of humour*. Among individuals, laughableness prevents exaggerated vanity. But the religion of nationalism does not know such a limitation. The sanctity of the deified nation makes it impossible for its members to laugh at it, should the occasion arise. And mocking from abroad offends more than it instructs. Thus a nation can with impunity permit itself such boastings as would drown any individual under a wave of general gaiety."

Had there been an international *Punch*, many wars might have been nipped in the bud.

Port Said, Egypt. A. FRIEND.

REPLY TO SIR ROGER KEYES

SIR,—Our late most wise and peace-loving King, in stating that "nothing is more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations," commended the cause to all the citizens of his Empire.

Our present King has also described it as "the greatest Crusade of all—the Crusade for World Peace."

He is right, and because it is a Crusade we (according to Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes, M.P.), the "mised and misguided" champions of its cause, realise that we shall be up against the foes of ignorance and opposition, as have been the champions of every great cause throughout history.

Lord Cecil has already and most ably dealt with this attack on the Union.

But we would be interested to learn by what means the advocates of "Biggest and Best Armaments for our Country" will prevent the other nations from taking the obvious course of forming alliances against us?

We members of the League of Nations Union, on the other hand, believe that the only way to "keep the peace of the world" is not by force of arms (which have failed all too often in the past) but by a way never yet tried—by means of the driving force of public opinion for peace.

It is for this that we strive, and shall keep on striving. The people of Great Britain and of the world are indeed choosing this day whom they will serve.

One last word. It was not, as Sir Roger Keyes erroneously states, five but eleven million who signed the Peace Ballot, and the voice of these eleven million should have been loud enough to reach him above the roar of the cannon with which he is so evidently and unhappily deafened.

M. ROSE-SIMPSON.

Williton, Som.

POSTERS

SIR,—It is acknowledged that the firm support of an educated public opinion is essential for the success of the League. One of the most effective means of achieving this, the use of posters, has been neglected up to now by most of the branches of the L.N.U.

A hundred new posters are included in the 1936 programme of the National Safety First Association. The brewers expend a vast sum on poster advertisement. At the last Election the political parties made good use of posters.

Headquarters tell me that although other L.N.U. publications pay their way, yet they have never managed to publish posters except at a loss, because only a comparatively few branches display them.

May I appeal to those branches who do not yet display a poster to help in a poster campaign, and so strengthen the League by impressing the value of its work on the minds of the general public.

"News cases," for the display of League literature and interesting articles and cartoons from HEADWAY, are of real value.

Free sites can often be obtained quite easily.

Sale, Cheshire. L. BOLT.

WELSH CHILDREN'S MESSAGE

SIR,—For some years now you have kindly allowed me in your issue for the month of March to call attention to the annual Message from the Children of Wales to the Children of the Whole World.

It will be broadcast on May 18 next, "Goodwill Day," and for the fifteenth year in succession by the principal broadcast systems of various countries in all the five continents.

In Great Britain the B.B.C. arranges, in the "Children's Hour" from the West Region, a special programme

built around the Message. The B.B.C. also includes the text on May 18 in the First News Bulletin and in the various transmissions on that day from its Empire Station.

Last year many hundreds of replies to the Message were received from schools in some forty-five countries. Amongst the outstanding events in the story of the Message for 1935 was the acceptance by H.R.H. the Duchess of York of copies for the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Margaret Rose.

Each year the theme of the Message changes. In 1936 it is concerned, in the phrase of Dr. L. P. Jacks, with "Man as a creative being, that is—a conqueror of the impossible."

The following is the English text of the Message for 1936:—

"Boys and girls of all the world, we, the boys and girls of Wales, greet you across land and sea.

"We greet you, on this Goodwill Day, in the name of the explorers, the navigators, the pioneers of the centuries who went out into the unknown and who, for us, pushed back the boundaries of knowledge. On ocean after ocean, in continent after continent, they laid bare the secrets, accepting hardship and danger because they were determined to find and never to yield. We rejoice in them all, those who conquered and those who are conquering the impossible.

Shall we in the same high spirit join in the noblest quest of all, the quest of peace among all peoples? And shall we to-day pledge ourselves afresh to this greatest adventure of all mankind?

"By our friendship and by our courage we, too, will conquer."

A 20-page illustrated booklet on the 1936 Message, containing the text in several languages, will be sent on application.—I am, etc.,

GWILYM DAVIES,
Vice-President, Welsh Council of the
League of Nations Union.

10, Museum Place, Cardiff,

COLONIES

SIR,—Surely Mr. Dickinson's article on "Colonies," in the February issue, with the sub-title "Possession or Non-possession of Colonies has Nothing to do with a People's Poverty or Wealth," looks very like special pleading? He says that "Britain and Holland enjoy the highest standard of living among European countries." They are both large colony-owning countries, he admits. He goes on to say that Denmark, Norway and Sweden are in the same category while owning none.

But surely Norway and Sweden have large resources of timber (Sweden of iron ore as well) and are at the same time very thinly populated!

And surely Germany's prosperity after being deprived of all her colonies in 1919 was due to the vast amount of money America lent her more than to almost any other factor?

Taking a broad view, surely we can say that a country like ourselves with free access to enormous supplies of cocoa in Nigeria (e.g.) must be better off as a nation man for man than one which is obliged to purchase it in the open market? We, for our part, can exchange bicycles, gramophones and clothes, etc., made in England for the raw cocoa, while the foreigner must pay "cash" for it in the market. It seems to me that if materials cheaply acquired come into the possession of any country it must eventually benefit even the poorest in that country and not only the merchants, unless, of course, Government allows extortionate profits or permits those profits to be spent abroad.

Bankside, Burgess Hill, R. L. GRANT.
Sussex.

BOOK NOTICES

The Money Mystery: An Explanation for Beginners.

By Sir Norman Angell. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

Sir Norman Angell for many years has devoted abilities not easily matched in the present or any other age to a single great task. With a persistence equally rare, he has laboured to convince the ordinary man that men can master their surroundings if they choose, that unless they choose, their surroundings will master them, that world-development is making the need of success always more imperative and the penalty of failure always more disastrous.

War is not inevitable. If men provide themselves with the right institutions and work them in the right way they can have peace. Neither is poverty inevitable. Men can control economic circumstances just as they can control international circumstances.

In his latest book Sir Norman demonstrates that society is so dependent upon sound monetary policy for its smooth working that continued and widespread ignorance of the subject has become a grave public danger. By easy stages, such as any intelligent reader can follow, he builds up his argument till he establishes "certain elementary truths which ought to be in the possession of every instructed citizen who by his vote takes part in the management of society."

His own statement of conclusions could not be improved upon. The reader will best understand their importance from their quotation.

"Amongst those truths," writes Sir Norman, are these:—

(1) While even experts do not yet know how to remedy all the defects of our monetary and banking systems, they are agreed that certain policies which the public sometimes insist upon ought not to be followed. If the public had been more familiar with the conclusions upon which all experts are agreed, some of the worst phases of our economic sicknesses would have been avoided, and the whole problem be more manageable.

(2) The apparently obvious and easiest remedies for money defects, those to which men have turned most readily in the past—and still turn—with the firm conviction that they will afford a cure, such remedies as the indiscriminate multiplication of the money unit, do not cure, but have usually brought about disasters worse than the evils they were meant to remedy.

(3) And while the public flies so readily to remedies that cannot cure because it has not grasped the rudimentary truths, it refuses, for the same reason, to apply remedies or preventions which would be of immense help and upon which equally all competent economists are agreed.

(4) It is certain that the cure for our worst and most characteristic economic troubles cannot be purely monetary, as there enter into the problem important factors that are not monetary at all; political instability

human psychology expressing itself in such things as a nationalism that cares nothing or little about material welfare, and is determined to indulge its passions be the material cost what it may; undue optimism of producers and entrepreneurs resulting in over-production of specific products, from wheat to silk stockings; dislocations caused by invention (water-power and the internal-combustion engine replacing coal) and labour-saving machinery often rendering ancient crafts obsolete; rapid changes of fashion, and a multitude of other forces which the monetary factor hardly affects. The inability of some monetary reformers to distinguish between what is indispensable and what is all-sufficient adds, at times, to the difficulties of understanding.

(5) Thus, while monetary reform of itself cannot cure some of the worst of our economic evils, bad monetary policy can certainly at times cause them (e.g., over-expansion of credit in certain circumstances may start a boom which later will involve a slump), in the same way that though cleanliness and good sanitation will not cure a case of bubonic plague, the continued absence of cleanliness and sanitation will in the end cause an epidemic of that pestilence. To know that certain rules of economic health must be observed will help us to avoid economic pestilence.

To furnish an aid in recognising those primary rules of economic health has been the purpose of these pages.

The Citizen Faces War. By ROBERT and BARBARA DONINGTON. (Victor Gollancz. 7s. 6d.)

Sir Norman Angell in an introduction commends this remarkable book to the public because "the effort throughout has been, not to intensify emotion, but to clarify understanding." The authors are young people of the post-war generation. In the tormented years between 1914 and 1918 they were too young to be called upon to make personal decision—whether they should serve their country's cause in arms, or whether they should declare that war being accursed they must not take part in any war. What they have to say, therefore, carries an authority to which immense respect is paid in these times, namely the authority of youth.

But fashion is not their only or their best claim to be heard. They have lived intimately with the pacifists of the generation before their own and know what was the attitude taken up by the conscientious objectors of twenty years ago and what were the motives which inspired that resistance. They give a detailed account of the No-Conscription Fellowship, of the Military Service Tribunals, and of what happened to conscientious objectors at the tribunal hearings and afterwards in the army or in prison. It is less objective than they themselves imagine; it does, however, reveal a constant desire to be fair. Impartial or not, it makes interesting reading.

PICTURE POSTCARDS

Countries of the League

Set of Twelve in Colours

Price 1/6 a dozen

From the Union's Book Shop

Learn—FRENCH—GERMAN SPANISH—ITALIAN

by Correspondence Instruction in
HALF THE USUAL TIME
by the
NEW PELMAN METHOD

Supplemented by Special Gramophone Records

THE problem of learning a Foreign Language in half the usual time has at last been solved. The new Pelman method is enabling thousands of men and women to learn French, German, Italian and Spanish without any of the usual drudgery. By the new Pelman method you learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish, and Italian in Italian. English is not used at all. Yet the method is so simple that even a child can follow it.

FREE FOREIGN TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIPS

Free Travel Scholarships are open to Pelman Language Students above the age of 18. The Scholarships are divided into four classes of competitors: (1) Manual Workers; (2) Professional Men and Women; (3) Manufacturers and Traders; and (4) Clerks and all engaged in clerical duties. No payment of any kind will be required beyond the usual fees for the Course. Apply without delay for free booklet stating which language—French—Spanish—German—Italian—you wish to learn, to

THE PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE

114, Languages House, Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1

PELMAN (OVERSEAS) INSTITUTES:
PARIS: 80 Boulevard Haussmann. NEW YORK: 271 North Avenue, New Rochelle. MELBOURNE: 396 Flinders Lane. JOHANNESBURG: P.O. Box 4928. DURBAN: Natal Bank Chambers (P.O. Box 1489). CALCUTTA: 102 Clive Street. DELHI: 10 Alipore Road. AMSTERDAM: Damrak 68.

FOR PEACE DRAMATIC SOCIETIES

JUST RELEASED:

"MOLOCH"

By WINIFRED CARTER, 2/9 post free.

1 set. 4 males, 4 females.

VIDE PRESS: "The play has humour as well as pathos, light as well as shade, and in writing it the author has given a valuable contribution to the cause of peace."

GENEROUS TERMS. Apply:

YE KING'S STONE PRESS,
20a, Lower Teddington Road, Kingston-on-Thames.

Be a Master of English

Good English is the one asset that you must have if you are to make anything of your life. Have you ever realised that friend and employer alike are influenced by the way you speak and write? If you fumble for words or make grammatical slips, you are constantly giving an unfavourable impression of yourself. Learn to express yourself clearly and forcefully, avoid embarrassing errors, write interesting letters, develop conversational power, and become a more effective personality. Practical tuition by post.

Write NOW for our interesting prospectus—

FREE THE REGENT INSTITUTE
(Dept. 374C), Regent House,
Palace Gate, London, W.8

One inference to which it has led one reader would perhaps surprise the authors. They dislike Nazi Germany. Yet their story of what happened to British pacifism in wartime suggests, and all the more strongly because unconsciously, that Nazi intimidation is not a unique German wickedness, but the kind of cruelty to which a whole nation under the sway of mass emotion and hag-ridden by mass fears, naturally resorts. Some British newspapers and politicians, some Military Service Tribunals, some officers and non-commissioned officers in the British Army, treated some conscientious objectors in a manner not very different from that in which their German counterparts during the past few years have treated Jews and Communists. In Germany, it may be said, the excuse has been weaker and the extremity less desperate. That is true. Nevertheless there is a measure of similarity which opens out wide vistas of thought.

All the instincts of the authors are towards an unqualified pacifism with no place in it for the use of armed force. They are, however, not only young, but also open-minded, and their careful, candid survey of the world as it exists leads them to this frank conclusion:—

While bandits are about, men not only carry blunderbusses, they also mistrust mutual proposals and treat every stranger as an enemy. Truly, all roads lead back to the problem of collective peace.

If it has got to come to fighting for the world's heritage of peace and order, better now, perhaps, with all the odds behind the forces of mankind, than wait for some more confused and even field of battle. It is the hardest choice the peace men can ever have to face. Is this system of collective peace, that they have set themselves to build, worth it? If the worst comes to the worst, worth fighting for? We have, in these chapters, tried very scrupulously to discover any workable alternative. We have not found one that could stand up to an honest scrutiny.

Europa Echo. (Schulerstrasse 7/29, Vienna I Price 25 groschen.)

This Viennese weekly, which calls itself a "paper for international understanding," has much in common with HEADWAY in its outlook and ideals. We find in it a sympathetic review of our own activities and, in addition, a number of remarkably well-informed articles on international politics. If the friends of peace in Austria see the chief danger points from a slightly different angle from ourselves, this enhances, rather than detracts from, the usefulness to British readers of the publication, which we warmly commend to our readers. The paper is published in German.

OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

Survey of Tourist Traffic Considered as an International Economic Survey. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.B.1.) 47 pages. Price 1s. 6d.

A statement of the reasons which led the Economic Committee of the League of Nations to summon a Special Committee of Experts to consider what should be done to revive the international tourist traffic, with a summary of this committee's discussions.

Minutes of the Second Session, October 31, 1935, to November 6. (Special Supplement No. 146 to the "Official Journal.") 83 pages. Price 3s. 6d.

Dispute between Ethiopia and Italy: (Co-ordination of Measures under Article 16 of the Covenant).—Co-ordination Committee, Committee of Eighteen and Sub-Committees.

League of Nations Questions.

(Pamphlets published by the Information Section).

No. 1.—The Saar Plebiscite. 41 pages. Price 6d.

No. 3.—The Economic Interdependence of States. 33 pages. Price 6d.

No. 4.—Nutrition Considered in Relation to Public Health and to Economic Conditions. 24 pages. Price 6d.

No. 5.—The Settlement of the Assyrians. A Work of humanity and appeasement. 46 pages. Price 6d.

HERE AND THERE

Special mention in this month's "News Sheet" goes to the Reading Branch and Youth Group.

Branches which may be hesitating with regard to the National Canvass may be encouraged to proceed by the initial results of the Canvass at Troon in Ayrshire. Prior to the start of the Canvass, the total membership stood at 60; to-day the Branch includes 335 members, and the secretary is confident that the 400 mark will have been passed before these words are in the hands of our readers. It would be interesting to know how many branches can surpass the preliminary achievements of Troon. Each and every individual reader of HEADWAY will surely realise that the National Canvass can only achieve the meed of success hoped from it if each and every member of the Union determines to do his or her utmost to help personally. The only possible fear of failure is that too many individuals who themselves are keen supporters of the Union may rely on others to do all that is necessary. If everybody took that attitude, then nothing would be done, and we feel that the fine start made at Troon should serve to induce all of us to help to rob Troon of the thought that that Branch is unique in its efforts.

The hon. secretary of the Weston-super-Mare Branch, for instance, advises us that even before the Canvass was properly organised in the outlying parts of the district, one worker informed her that he had started working unofficially, and had secured 120 new members in a fortnight.

At the Easter House Party, to be held by the London Youth Groups at Hillcote, Beachy Head, Eastbourne, the principal speakers will be Lord Allen of Hurtwood and Mr. Geoffrey Mander, M.P. Viscount Cecil has also promised to visit the Conference if he is in England at the time. Full details can be obtained from the London Youth Groups' Regional Council, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

An advertisement in February HEADWAY stated in error that the General Council of the Union will be in July. The meeting will be from June 19th to June 24th.

The activities that used to be centred at the Chelsea Peace Shop have now been transferred to 342, King's Road, which is now known as the Chelsea Peace Room. The room will be used as the Branch Headquarters for lectures, and office and administration work. The goodwill of the bookselling side has been handed over to the former honorary manager of that part of the Shop's activities, as a mark of our appreciation for what he did, and he is continuing in the same premises, which are now called the Flaxman Book Shop, on his own account, the Chelsea Peace Room being only a few doors away. When the Chelsea Peace Room had its first public meeting, the Room, which holds seventy people, was full. Captain Green, as the president of the Branch, was in the chair, and Lady Gladstone spoke.

The splendid personal service to the Union tendered by Miss Maud Randle (of Leicester) merits public recognition. Miss Randle, not contented with obtaining 40 new members through conversation during the past twelve months, recently utilised her talents as a pianist of repute to give a recital at the Edward Wood Hall, Leicester, on behalf of the funds of the local Branch. The hall was practically full, the programmes contained enrolment forms, and on the backs of the programmes was printed part of the King's Message to the Union when he was Prince of Wales. The total amount of the proceeds has not yet been disclosed, but in the meantime we feel that many other talented supporters may feel impelled to follow Miss Randle's splendid lead, for which the Union is truly grateful.

The Norwegian Nansen Stamps, described and illustrated in the February issue of HEADWAY are now on sale at the Union's Book Shop. The prices of the 10-ore stamps are 4d. for 10, 5d. for 15, 6d. for 20, or 7d. for 30. There should be a ready market for this method of supporting excellent humanitarian work at small cost.

OVERSEAS NOTES

His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H., Governor-General of Canada, has accepted the invitation of the League of Nations Society in Canada to become its patron.

U.S.A.

The field work of the League of Nations Association is being steadily extended and strengthened. During the past year a regional office was opened in the South at Denver, Colorado. In addition, Mr. E. J. Unruh, of the Indian Council on International Relations, has been placed in a supervisory capacity for the five North Central States.

Recently, the Detroit Branch of the Association has been re-

organised and strengthened. Miss Evelyn Pollock has been elected Secretary, and the Branch is going ahead with a vigorous programme to increase its membership.

On the Pacific Coast, the Association has four active branches—in Washington, Oregon, Northern and Southern California. Because of the distance from the National Office, the need was felt for a regional supervisor to co-ordinate the work. Lieutenant-Commander Stewart P. Bryant has accepted this position, and has enthusiastically started the work of strengthening the Association's activities on the Pacific Coast. Commander Bryant has for many years been interested in international affairs, and is convinced that the League of Nations holds the greatest hope for world peace.

We regret to report the death from heart failure of Mr. George Wickersham, which occurred in New York on January 25, 1936. Mr. Wickersham, who was in his 78th year, was Honorary President of the American League of Nations Association, with which he was prominently associated from its inauguration thirteen years ago. It is impossible to over-estimate Mr. Wickersham's contribution to the cause of the League of Nations in the United States. His statesmanlike advice on all important matters of policy and his nation-wide prestige gave corresponding strength to the work of the Association.

Proposed New World Court Judge

Professor Manley O. Hudson has recently been nominated by the American Group to succeed Frank B. Kellogg as Judge on the World Court. This, according to general practice, virtually assures Dr. Hudson's election at the time of the League Assembly next autumn.

The American Group also nominated Professor Viktor Bruns, of Germany, for the place on the World Court Bench left vacant by the death last August of Walter Schuecking, also of German nationality.

Judge Kellogg resigned last September because his health was not such as to make advisable the frequent trips across the Atlantic required by service on the Court. He had been Judge at The Hague for five years.

BROADCASTING NOTES

The talk on "The Conquest of the Air" on March 17 will deal with Great Britain's place in the world aviation, the speaker being Brigadier-General P. R. C. Groves. Among the questions which this talk raises will be how much progress Great Britain has made in civil aviation compared with other countries. The talk on March 24 by J. A. Chamier will deal with the significance of air power, how far civil aircraft can be converted into war machines, the protection of trade routes, the problem of air-raid precautions, and similar matters which are of immediate importance. Mr. Raymond Swing's talks will be again heard weekly.

WELSH NOTES

Unforeseen circumstances have made it necessary to change the dates originally arranged for the Welsh Council's Annual Conference. The conference will be held this year at Barry on Friday and Saturday, June 12 and 13.

The Welsh Council is carrying out a membership campaign, the aim being to enrol 100,000 new members of the Union. A large number of areas are already busy with their canvass, and North Cardiganshire shows one of the best results so far. Between the annual conference in June, 1935, and December 31, the Aberystwyth branch enrolled 947 new members. Other centres in the North Cardiganshire area, following this excellent lead, brought during the same period the total of new members enrolled in the area up to 1,388. Numerous other centres have organised their campaign with the greatest thoroughness, and it is hoped that there will be many more record results to be reported in the near future.

One hundred candidates from 24 county and secondary schools in Wales and Monmouthshire, which have Junior branches of the Union, were entered for the examination, under the Welsh Council's 1936 Geneva Scholarships Scheme, which was held on January 25. For the Council's National Essay Competition, held on January 20, 133 central and elementary schools had entered candidates.

The proceeds of Daffodil Days form a most important part of the Welsh Council's income and an effort is being made to organise Daffodil Days this year in every town, village and parish throughout the Principality.

EASTER SCHOOL

The 1936 Easter School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs, organised by the Education Committee of the

CADBURYS

MILK CHOCOLATE

2^{oz.} 2^{d.}

League of Nations Union, will be held at Bristol from April 9 to April 14.

The syllabus includes a survey of Britain's place in World Affairs during the reign of the late King, lectures on the foremost events of the past twelve months (including of course, the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute, the Arms Inquiry, the Naval Disarmament Conference, etc., etc.), problems to be faced such as the development of the Collective System, the distribution of raw materials, and the possibilities of extension of the Mandates System.

In addition to the lectures and a class for speakers, an excellent opportunity will be afforded to explore not only the fine city, but also to enjoy attractive excursions to such spots of beauty and historical interest as the Cheddar Gorge, Wells, Glastonbury and Bath.

The fee for the lecture course and five days' accommodation is three and a-half guineas. The fee for lectures without accommodation is one guinea, a reduced fee of half-a-guinea being available for members of the Union in the Bristol area.

Registrations, accompanied by a deposit of ten shillings, should be sent as soon as possible to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Council's Vote

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

For 1935:—

Armley, Bloxham, Barcombe, Bournville, Budleigh Salterton, Broadstone, Barlaston, Frampton, Frodsham, Guisborough, Grays, Grange-over-Sands, Hull, Mexham, Mardingstone, Keynsham, Kempsey, Salem C.C., Leeds; Mottisfont (1934), Northam, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Oxford Federation, Pudsey, Rottingdean, Rugby, Romsey, Stratford-on-Avon, Small Heath, Stockton-on-Tees, Shanklin, St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Wrabness.

For 1936:—

Gledholt Methodist, Huddersfield.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

Life Members: £25.

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

MYSTERIES of MIND & PERSONALITY

It is the Mind that Maketh Good or Ill, That Maketh Wretch or Happy, Rich or Poor—Spenser

"In the shaping of man in His own image, the Creator endowed him with the gift of a divinely creative mind. The Mind," states Mr. Shelley Castle, "can also be the doctor as well as the architect and builder of one's life and greater achievements."

In his thrillingly challenging book, "The Great Discovery," as in his other works, Mr. Shelley Castle helps his readers to understand how to utilise their powers for health, success and happiness in life. Numbers of men and women have already gained remarkable personal profit by reading "The Great Discovery." Some ideas of readers' wholehearted appreciation may be gained from these extracts from typical letters:—

Miss F. H., of Birmingham, writes: "I would like to say in perfect truth that 'The Great Discovery' was of tremendous help to me. I have read it again and again, and feel it is worth its weight in gold."

Mr. R. N. (Antrim) writes: "I have thoroughly digested 'The Great Discovery' you sent me. It is the most amazing piece of work I have ever read."



Photo by Howard Coster

Write for Free copy of "The Great Discovery"

Encouraged by these appreciations, Mr. Shelley Castle has decided to distribute another edition of 5,000 complimentary copies of "The Great Discovery," thus our readers may write for a copy which will be sent to them post paid by the Author.

This book will prove particularly interesting and useful to all who are desirous of overcoming any such personal handicaps as Depression, Nervousness, Lack of Self-confidence, Brain-fag, sleeplessness or restless sleep, unaccountable spells of apathy, and mental inertia often accompanied by baseless fears of self and others, with their perplexing and energy-paralysing effects. It reveals the proved, practicable ways and means of reordering the mental processes and infusing the mind with new confidence in self and the future. This valuable information awaits all who apply for a complimentary copy of "The Great Discovery," addressing the Author himself, Mr. Shelley Castle (Suite 262A.), Castle House, Jackson's Lane, London, N.6.

A GOOD STORY

What makes a good story? It must have a living interest and a human touch. It must be crisply told in language that is clear and simple. Various other elements may be desired—pathos, heroism, beauty, wonder. Beyond this, to be the best of stories it should point to and suggest nobility of character.

There is one Book which fulfils all these requirements—it is the Bible.

At Home the Bible Society supplies the Bible to Schools and Churches at the cheapest possible prices, usually under cost.

Abroad the Bible Society has supplied some part of the same Book of the best stories in over 700 languages. That the world may read its greatest good story, will you help?

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by The Secretaries,

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

FREE LESSONS

for

New Writers

What YOU Can Write About

By MICHAEL GORING

It is well known among journalists that very many people who have never considered the possibility of writing for the Press could contribute articles and short stories were they taught how to find material to write about, how to construct, and how to select their markets.

The Regent Institute has proved this. Hundreds of people in all walks of life who have awakened to the fact that they possess literary aptitude have put themselves in the hands of the Institute, and within a few months—often, indeed, from the start of the Course—sold articles and stories at good prices.

Everyone can draw interesting subjects from his own experience once he has learnt how to look at things journalistically. Consider the variety in this list of titles of articles contributed to the Press:

Queer Ways of Earning a Living; Nature's Medicine Chest; My Strangest Experience; Character in Houses; The Ideal Kitchen; His First Term.

One type of article in constant demand is nothing more than a novel point of view on a familiar or a topical subject. Here is a representative list of titles:

The Best Hour of the Day; Have Inventions Made Life Happier? That First Job; Simple Weather Prophecy; Do Holidays Bore You? How to Choose a Present.

The Regent Institute offers practical correspondence tuition in article and story writing. Send for the interesting booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer" (free and post paid), and learn how the Institute has enabled hundreds of men and women to write for the Press. Many of them started to sell their work while still taking the Course.

A Remarkable Offer to Readers of "Headway"

Readers who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school.

Applications should be addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219K), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

If you have a little natural aptitude for literary work, you can be trained to earn a substantial second income in your leisure hours.

Over 1,000 publications need the work of outside contributors. The supply of brightly written articles and stories does not keep pace with the demand.

The range of publications is so extremely varied that almost anyone who has literary ability and has learnt technique can find a niche for himself, whatever be his educational attainments or his experience of life.

Solid proof of the substantial opportunities that await the amateur writer is afforded by the many success reports received by the Regent Institute. A few extracts:

"My published articles for last year alone numbered well over 200. I am never at a loss for a subject, your valuable tuition having taught me how to 'dig out' material and, what is more, how to treat it. All along my earnings have been truly gratifying—far in excess, indeed, of my wildest dreams."
(From a Clerk)

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

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

Earning While Learning

Swift Success of Regent Students

Hundreds of Regent students have earned money by the pen during tuition; some of them have recouped the fee many times over while taking the Course.

One student earned over £100 while learning; another sold 121 MSS.; and many others have become regular contributors to the Press before reaching the end of the Course.

The following letters are typical of many:

"I am continuing to have articles published in the . . . (a monthly). The editor has now asked me to do the children's page each month."

"Since I started your Course I have earned £20."

"Altogether I have had over 90 stories and articles accepted."

"The Regent Institute has an enviable record of unbroken success," wrote the editor of a well-known weekly. "Their pupils have met with amazing success," said another editor in advising new writers to seek the aid of the Institute.

Write to-day for a free copy of the Institute's prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer," together with a specimen lesson of the Postal Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing. Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet and the specimen lesson.

THE REGENT INSTITUTE

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

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

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

(b) A free copy of your prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer," with full particulars of your postal tuition.

Name.....
(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address.....