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HEADWAY

826

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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PROFITS IN ARMS



American Trafficker: "Let's supply both sides and share the swag!"
European ditto: "Sure!!"

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Very Much Alive

THE fifteenth Assembly shows the League very much alive. That is the one supremely important fact. During the past three weeks at Geneva there have been many anxious moments, and not a few awkward, and some absurd. But active humanity, busy with important matters, is always exposed to such troublesome experiences. The sole guarantee against their intrusion is death. And the fifteenth Assembly proves the League anything but dead. Its noisy enemies who are shouting out exactly that charge more noisily than ever before are again mistaken. The League has blundered here and failed there. No one in the Assembly denies it. But blunders and failures only throw into higher relief the vital need of the world for the League. The League must survive and must work because there is no human alternative. Irresistible and irrepressible forces have made civilised life a collective adventure. That collective adventure must be collectively controlled. At Geneva new resolves are astir. The delegates feel they are busy with actual affairs to some practical effect. What they say and do counts. Expectations may be subdued, but confidence is strengthened. The League is not merely alive; it is awake.

Russia Is In

RUSSIA is a member and has a permanent seat on the Council. In the League she has both duties and rights. One of her duties is to keep the promises she makes in adhering to the Covenant. Practical good sense shies at the assumption paraded in several quarters that, of course, she will be false to her word and betray her fellow members. To announce evil before there is even the first sign of its happening is the surest way to provoke it. The helpful attitude takes the honesty of Russia's intentions for granted until her misconduct disproves it. And justice can scarcely do other. Russia was invited to join. In common decency the nations who invited her must give her a fair chance. And a second reason argues on the same side. Russia's record during the past ten years of fidelity to her international obligations is not discreditable. What she has promised she has performed with scruples not less alert than her neighbours'. The debts and dues she has disowned have been mainly those of the Tsardom. Her first right in the League is to be

judged on her deeds as a member, not on the dislike of her enemies.

Grounds for Hope

LEAGUE experience affords ground for hope. In the Disarmament Conference, Russia has not chosen a wrecker's part. She has put forward several constructive proposals; and she has discussed the proposals of other nations in a temper very far from obstructive. Even violent prejudice cannot allege that she is in any way to blame for the failure of the Conference to produce definite results. At the World Economic Conference in London last year, despite the most delicate situation in which she was placed, her conduct was equally correct. As a member, with a permanent seat in the Council, active in all League affairs, her course should not be less conciliatory; she will have an added inducement to be friends and an increased interest in the League's success.

First Happy Result

RUSSIA'S entry would seem to have had one happy result already. The Russo-Japanese tension in the Far East is noticeably relaxed. War is no longer threatened in the near future. Instead, terms have been arranged in Tokio, between Japan and Russia, for the sale to the independent State of Manchukuo of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is Russia's line through Manchuria. Other causes of quarrel, angrily emphasised only a month ago, are forgotten. Russia is safer in the League; and, because of her safety, world peace is more secure.

Council Elections

THE elections to the Council are excellent. Spain has fully earned the continuance of her tenure. It is a tribute paid with acclamation to the country and to the statesmen who have represented her at Geneva. The Spaniards have consistently shown themselves good Europeans, good citizens of the world; Señor de Madariaga has done the League brilliant service, and several of his colleagues and predecessors have contributed to the solution of many difficult problems both wisdom and courage. Turkey is a recruit with fascinating possibilities. All Dictators are indispensable. But his country truly could not do without Mustafa Kemal. He has modernised Turkey, and, despite his abolition of the Caliphate,

has restored her to the leadership of Islam. Turkey's membership of the Council gives Moslems their due voice in the League. It is a step towards genuine universalisation whose consequences may be decisive in a time of crisis. Chile also is welcome, having a tradition of virile independence which expresses itself in candid words and resolute deeds. China's loss is regrettable. The Far East, a perpetually disturbed area, is a source of uneasiness throughout the world. But whenever Chinese affairs are in question she will still appear at the Council table; and a few years hence she will be re-elected.

Lord Beaverbrook, Little Englander

LORD BEAVERBROOK, alarmed by what he imagines the dangerous mysteries of the League, has turned on his large corps of professional canvassers to sell isolation to the public. Going from door to door, they are attempting to repeat the successes on which the mammoth circulation of the *Daily Express* is built. And, just as the prospective reader, promised all the news of the day, finds himself confronting dubiously a high-pitched, endless record of Lord Beaverbrook's assorted, pet policies, so is the householder, who has responded amiably to the insidious request to sign here and make sure of peace, left wondering exactly what he has approved. "Are you in favour of Great Britain isolating herself from all foreign entanglements, treaties, and understandings, and refusing to engage her armed forces—Navy, Army, and Air Forces—in any way unless our territory or that of our Dominions and Possessions is menaced?" That is the rigmarole on the *Daily Express* coupon. What does it mean? Nothing!

What Is "Menaced"?

LORD BEAVERBROOK'S key word, which is "menaced," is so introduced and placed as to imply unqualified disapproval of any use of Britain's armed forces, except to repel invasion, actual or threatened. But that cannot be the intention, for it would condemn not only Britain's part in the world war, but also her action in every major struggle in her history since the days of Queen Elizabeth. The wars of Marlborough and Chatham and Wellington and Nelson were none of them fought on British soil; in none of them did Britain fight to prevent invasion. Even the utmost fury of Lord Beaverbrook's "Little Englandism" must stop short of such extravagant denunciation of the men and the policies which have built up and preserved the Empire. What he wishes his readers to say about "foreign entanglements, treaties, and understandings" is equally obscure. Treaties there must be always and everywhere between human communities; the least civilised tribes cannot avoid them. Does Lord Beaverbrook, then, suggest that we must on no account have any friends until we find ourselves in desperate trouble?

In desperate trouble we should soon find ourselves if we have no friends. Every way, his question is absurd.

If You Say "Yes"

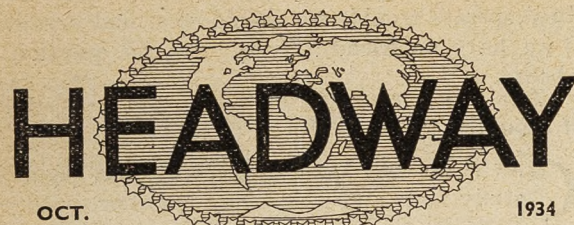
CAN it be that Lord Beaverbrook has begun to study facts and is reaching out after subtilty? Perhaps the interpretation is too flattering. Yet none other as nearly meets the case. "Foreign entanglements, treaties, and understandings" are exclusive, aggressive alliances; their opposite is the collective system, expounded in the Covenant and developed through the League. "Menaced" means the real endangering of Britain or the Empire, which must result from war on a large scale in any part of the world. Thoughtfully read, Lord Beaverbrook's confused formula repeats the five plain questions of the Peace Ballot. Whoever says "Yes" to Lord Beaverbrook, being aware of what he is saying and its many implications, can with entire consistency go on to say "Yes" six times in the Peace Ballot. Indeed, logically he cannot do anything else.

Now To Work

THE National Declaration receives an ever-swelling volume of sympathy and support. Its success will be overwhelming if the chorus of approval can be translated into the active service of going from door to door, leaving the ballot papers, explaining the questions, obtaining signatures. The work will be tiresome; it will bring many disappointments; it will make heavy demands on the characteristic British quality of "sticking it." Some houses may have to be visited half a dozen times. But the results will be amply worth while, and they will go on accumulating. The declared will for peace of millions of British people must make its influence always more strongly felt. On that influence the best friends of peace in many countries base their soundest hopes. They are watching the Declaration with tense interest, because they believe it means little less to the world than it does for Britain.

An Appeal to Youth

THE hard work of the Declaration is specially suited to the strength and enthusiasm of youth; and to youth the call should make a quite special appeal. The vision of a world organised for peace, inviting to every high endeavour, beckons to the young. Theirs the labour; and theirs the reward. If it fails, theirs the loss. Should war come again, youth must be engulfed in that hideous disaster. Even if it does not endanger their lives, it must ruin their ambitions and wreck their ideals. The National Declaration offers them a chance to do something which will help to avert from their own generation, in other countries as well as at home, the evil fate which they have darkest reason to dread.



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THE FACTS ARE NOW ON RECORD.

FOR two weeks, day by day, the American Senatorial Inquiry into the Arms Traffic has held the gaze of the world with the successive scenes of an ironic comedy. The world has looked on amused, astonished, angry. The further performance is postponed. Already the amusement is dead. It was too bitter to last. The anger is alive. The astonishment, sincere as it is, is not justified.

The world ought not to be astonished by the evidence given at Washington. That is not a reason for treating the affair as a futile political manoeuvre. It is a reason for attaching to it the utmost importance. What the documents and witnesses are now disclosing to the Senatorial Committee was known long ago. And even if similar facts had not been recorded many times, the probability would still have been obvious of such malpractices in existing political, economic, and technical conditions. Employing vast resources, the arms trade must work for a world market. It obtains its orders through the goodwill of official persons. It flourishes when suspicion and fear seem to be leading straight to war. The correct reaction to the American evidence is not surprise at a sudden, startling novelty; it is acceptance of a conclusion which open and final proof has at length established quite beyond the possibility of serious challenge.

Perhaps the objection may be made that the Inquiry is not yet at an end. And the other objection that some of the testimony is on the face of it untrue. Of course, Senator Nye and his colleagues cannot begin to consider their report until the hearings are over. Before that, to censure individuals, either private citizens or public officials, for anything they have done or omitted to do would be wickedly unfair. But the breathless, tragic interest of the world is not at all in the misbehaviour or innocence of any person. Nor though some supposed facts presented to the committee are only fantastic rumour or irresponsible hypothesis, is the argument crippled. Indeed, the habit of arms traffic agents, revealed in admittedly genuine letters read to the committee, of viewing life as a mercenary ramp, and the world as a jungle inhabited by beasts of prey not less cunning than cruel, supplies another reason for drastic reform. The vital points are:— (1) The frequent use of bribes to secure arms orders; (2) the dependence of the arms trade on enmity between nations, and its constant temptation, in consequence, to excite such enmity; and (3) the discord of the trade's temper, procedure, and purposes in a world sincerely and effectually organising for peace. In com-

parison with the others, the first has little importance. The second and third are vital. The Washington evidence, with persons, places and times complete, shows the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit forcing evil into rampant growth.

Bribes given to secure orders are a chapter in the case against the arms trade. That is not because the corrupting of public officials to betray their trust is a harmless peccadillo. But because, unhappily, in many countries officials are dishonest, with the connivance, almost the encouragement, of the State. They are paid miserably, and must take tips to live. The dividing line between a tip and a bribe is not easy to draw when the recipient holds a position of trust and has the power to grant valuable favours. In pleading that he is the victim of a local custom, highly expensive to himself, which he would ignore if he could, the arms trader is not inventing an excuse. He is stating a fact. But even upon the common practice of bribery the influence of the arms traffic is pernicious. The sums involved are large. The need to be served is never exactly defined; often it can be obscured behind pretendedly patriotic excuses. So far so bad. Worse may follow. A dishonest official who has burdened his country with superfluous armaments against a momentary and largely fictitious danger has a strong inducement to trick out that danger in every scrap he can impart to it of substance and continuance.

The deliberate creation of enmity between nations is the serious menace in the bribery which is a normal business method of the arms trade in many countries. Profits obtained by corrupting servants of the State are tainted money. But a world disinclined towards scruples which might restrain its enterprise contains in many occupations many men eager to pocket dirtier gains. A much darker wickedness sets people against people, stirs up mob passion, and for the sake of a fabulous order exposes millions of human beings to the risk of war. The Senatorial Committee has still to study in detail the attempts and achievements of systematic mischief-making. It will come to that crucial part of its task when it resumes its inquiry. Hitherto it has thrown light on the subject by chance and in passing. But now and again the illumination has been brilliant.

Arms traders are seen persuaded that war is the providential condition of mankind and that the lapse and error of peace will not long continue. Intent on doing their bit to endow the world with bigger and better wars, they hasten from one prospective hostile camp to the other, resolved that both shall be fairly and expensively equipped with all the latest and most devastating weapons. They rank belligerent patriotism the highest of the virtues; they praise it and put their trust in it. In their business transactions and interests and alliances they are citizens of the world; the sweep of their practical internationalism submits to no limits. The picture is unjust to many of them. Of many others it is a self-portrait, painted to the life, in their letters and their words at the Senatorial Inquiry. They are not peculiarly bad men, nor peculiarly dull men. What is wrong and stupid is their trade, conducted uncontrolled, for private profit. Under its pressure they are quite without sense of the world as it must become—if the ironic comedy of words at Washington is not to prove an idle prelude to unrelieved tragedy on a vaster stage.

Armed Force, Common Sense and the League

By CAPTAIN PHILIP S. MUMFORD

(Member Executive Committee Essex Federal Council, Minorities Committee, Iraq Committee and Sub-Committee on Aviation at Headquarters)

MR. FISHER, in his reply to my article upon the Air Menace, objects to the use of armed force by the League of Nations.

The League, he states, was instituted to secure settlement of international disputes by discussion instead of by arms. He accuses those who desire to transfer national air forces to the League of Nations as police, of subordinating the new conception (discussion) to the old (force of arms).

For the benefit of those who may be disposed to agree with this point of view I quote the following extracts from the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article XVI:—

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenant . . . it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League. . . . It shall be the duty of the Council in such cases to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval and air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League."

It seems, therefore, that the accusation that we, who press for an international air force, are introducing the idea of the use of armed force to implement League policies can hardly stand. It is the pacifists and not ourselves who wish to alter a principle—that of eliminating the use of armed force.

The League stands by the principle of collective security, and if the League is to be a reality its system of collective security must be made a reality.

Those who would exclude the use of force by the League are nullifying Article XVI, and by nullifying this article they destroy the one hope for which the people of Europe will support the League—the hope of security. Hence the failure of the Disarmament Conference.

According to Mr. Fisher, we who press for an international air force are impatient. He states that it should be our high privilege as members of the Union to

consecrate ourselves to the work of peacefully persuading men and peoples to behave peaceably and thus peace will be eventually enthroned.

Yes, Mr. Fisher is quite right—we are impatient; peace eventually is not good enough for us. We want a policy that will bring peace measurably nearer without further delay. We are concerned with present dangers rather than with dreams that may evolve eventually. We wish to save the children already born and running about the streets to-day. To save them from the next war towards which we are now drifting owing to the folly of the Imperialists, assisted (perhaps unconsciously) by the orthodox pacifists who will tolerate no remedy that necessitates the smallest adjustment to their theories.

Patriotism, said Nurse Cavell, is not enough—neither is pacifism. Europe is looking to Great Britain, as she has looked for generations, for practical wisdom, for a lead towards a saner and safer world. Shall we offer her vague dreams about posterity?

Some force is necessary in the world of our generation; shall it be the force of the policeman keeping the law, a law voluntarily self-imposed as in civil life, or the force of the soldier fighting to decide a quarrel?

The League of Nations Union can give a lead towards immediate security for all by deciding to make the collective system a reality. It can show the world that the British people are prepared to surrender the right to be the judges in their own disputes and that they are ready to surrender their air force to be replaced by an International Air Police Force.

There is no short cut to peace, says Mr. Fisher. Is this the spirit of the Union, a pioneer organisation existing to fight Europe's greatest scourge?

Patience and caution are necessary qualities; the faith to abandon them at the critical moment is still more necessary. Let the Union come forward now with a bold lead to save the present generation. Let us fix our eyes upon the twentieth rather than the fortieth century.

Bristol Rolls Up Its Sleeves

By GODFREY E. TURTON

THE opening shots have been fired. Luton and Nottingham have already given their votes for the League of Nations and the principle of international disarmament. Now all over the country local committees are at work on preparations for the nationwide campaign. At this stage they are still mainly concerned with questions of organisation, whose results will be apparent in the coming weeks when the army of workers sets out with slogging persistency to canvass householders from door to door, and newspapers, street-banners, posters, even rumour and conversation, are pressed into the service of advertising the cause of Peace. The preliminary work is less spectacular but no less important, for upon its foundation depends the success of the rest. It is both interesting and instructive to see how these foundations are being laid.

Bristol—manufacturing town, residential centre, and seaport—will serve well as an example.

The campaign in Bristol has many features which mark it out for prominence. This was one of the towns in which an earlier ballot was held, organised by a newspaper—a ballot, the tendency of whose questions was not in sympathy with the League of Nations, but which numbers of the citizens of Bristol answered in accordance with League principles, thanks largely to the educative activities of the local League of Nations Union.

In Bristol the League of Nations Union has always been an active force. Bristol was the first town to send a civic deputation to interview its Members of Parliament in the House of Commons on behalf of reduction of armaments at the beginning of the

Disarmament Conference. It was also the first to send a letter to the *Times*, over the signature of its Lord Mayor, to call attention to the same problem. In the coming national campaign Bristol is determined to live up to its reputation; 40 per cent. of the population voted at the last municipal election: it is hoped that that number will not only be reached but exceeded on an issue which all must realise lies between Peace and War.

The first step was to summon a general meeting on July 19 under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. Fifty-four local organisations, representing every shade of opinion, were invited to attend, of whom forty-two accepted and sent delegates; in addition, there were nine of the city aldermen and councillors and many influential citizens, making in all a gathering of over a hundred. The Bishop of Bristol moved a resolution in support of the National Declaration that was carried unanimously. The meeting then appointed a provisional committee, whose duty it will be to add members to their number with the object of making it as representative as possible, so as finally to constitute a General Representative Committee to organise and administer the campaign.

The most salient characteristic of these measures is the effort to attain general co-operation and the success which has attended it. This is true both in the religious and political sphere. The Church of England, and all the Free Churches, have rallied in support and promised to help not only by the loan of their halls, but by sermons preached from their pulpits, and it is hoped that the Roman Catholics, who have still to make their decision, will not let themselves be outdone in zeal. Politically, the five Bristol seats are divided—one to the Labour Party, one to the Liberals, and three to the Conservatives. Both Labour and Liberals stand firmly for the ballot. Proof of Conservative goodwill is the presence on the provisional committee of Mr. John Inskip, leader of the Conservative Party in Bristol, and brother

of the Attorney-General. Lastly, all three of the daily papers in Bristol have given their support—including the *Evening World*, which belongs to Lord Rothermere's newspaper group.

In Bristol, as indeed may be advisable all over the country, it has been decided to postpone active operations till the Municipal Elections are over at the beginning of November, so as not to confuse the electors with two simultaneous but unconnected campaigns. October will, therefore, be a month of organisation and preparations. But as soon as the campaign opens, two guiding principles are to govern it.

The first is not to spoil the vessel for "a ha'p'orth of tar." Even the invitations sent out for the general meeting were printed in gilt embossed lettering with the civic arms. Bristol believes in the proverb: "If a thing is worth doing at all it is worth doing well."

The second principle is not to drag out the campaign, but to put every effort into a brisk fiery effort, work it up to a crescendo, then strike while the iron is hot. For a space of a fortnight to three weeks workers will be seen everywhere, the town will be gay with banners, advertisements and posters; not a man, woman or child in Bristol will have an excuse to be ignorant that a National Declaration is being held on behalf of the League of Nations. Then, before interest can flag, the vote will be taken.

May the workers be rewarded by an overwhelming success! It is not going to be plain sailing, even at Bristol. There are undertakings in the town whose interests, in some ways, conflict with the purposes of the ballot. Filton Aerodrome lies on the outskirts, where the "Bristol Fighters" are made; there is an affiliated branch of Imperial Chemicals, Ltd., and a large civilian air port. But at such a moment selfish interests must yield not only to national but to international expediency. Bristol has a great reputation to keep up. The result of the National Declaration is going to confirm it.

Training for World Citizenship

The League of Nations Pioneers' Camps at Godshill

By IVOR H. POPHAM

THE Pioneer Camps originated in a suggestion that something should be done in England to provide for some of the many pioneers who are unable to go with the Junior Summer School to Geneva. This was the genesis of the first Pioneers' Camp, held at Godshill, Hants, in 1933.

The word "Pioneer" implies adventurous creative effort in out-of-door surroundings, so that it was natural that the first attempt to establish a focus for Youth's enthusiasm for the League should take the form of a camp. It was found that the majority of the pioneers had not previously learnt to camp, so that the story of the scheme now being tried over is largely the development of an experimental programme for teaching practical working knowledge of the League and of Camp craft alike.

The Pioneer Camps are a living memorial to the great League Pioneer Fridtjof Nansen, and recapitulate in their programme many points from his own early out-of-door training, to which he attributed much of his success in after-life. An attempt is also made to draw out in those who come to them such qualities as self-reliance, leadership and a desire to understand the view points of other countries

Camping, woodcraft, and direct contact with nature have a deep influence in creating character predisposed towards sanity and mutual understanding—national as well as international. The spirit of adventure in the young needs satisfaction and should be directed towards constructive peace as a substitute for the romantic legend of war. At Godshill we seek to build up a form of comradeship in work and play which shall not have any warlike implications whatsoever.

The Pioneer Camps are thus not "Holiday Camps" intended simply to give their members a good time, but a definite attempt to train for future leadership in our movement, and to create supporters for the League of Nations, and for a world at peace, who will lead opinion among the rising generation.

After some preliminary experiment in 1933, the 1934 Camp was organised as seven small self-governing unit camps, each under its own leadership and with its own tents and kitchen arrangements. There were 120 boys and girls aged 13-16½ years and these were divided evenly among six of the unit camps, the seventh being reserved for adults. The whole camp was governed by a camp council consisting of the leaders of the unit camps, together with the general staff.



An Important Corner of the Camp.

The camp staff was selected for its ability to explain foreign affairs and the part played therein by the League of Nations; also the games, songs and dances of our own

and other countries and camping technique. Leaders from Austria, Finland, France and Germany were included.

The daily routine began with a morning assembly. At this a carefully prepared programme of talks and discussions on the League and foreign affairs was followed. The assembly also served as a general business meeting for all the campers.

After assembly, each camp was free to run its own programme or to take part in one of the activities arranged centrally, such as visits to the "Berengaria" and Southampton Docks, Salisbury and Stonehenge. Swimming, sports, athletic sports and combined games were also organised. Each unit camp had one of the foreign leaders attached to it for games, dancing or singing. Every three days a big camp fire was held, at which the various dances and songs learnt from the foreign leaders were performed. To one of these members of the local branch and of the public were invited and about 250 people were present.

Cooking and camp duties were carried out on a rota and left the majority of the campers free at all times for other activities. There were two free days on which the pioneers went exactly where they pleased. Many used the opportunity to explore the New Forest, in which our very beautiful camp fire is situated.

The camp was filmed by "Universal News," and so gained some useful publicity and much fun.

Among future developments under discussion is a training camp for leaders and assistant leaders in order that staff for several Regional camps may be trained. At the present time there is a shortage of people combining teaching experience, knowledge of camp craft and keenness in the Union's objectives. Many possess two of these qualities, but few have all three.

Everyone who has come into direct contact with the Godshill Camps has been much impressed by their possibilities. At no time has Youth had more leisure and a greater desire for adventure than to-day. Few of the organisations which promise a use for one and an outlet for the other are as sure to produce fit citizens for an international community as are the Godshill Camps of the League of Nations Pioneers.

THE ARMS INDUSTRY

By COLONEL CARNEGIE

WE have been reading the reports of the American investigation into the Arms Industry. The revelations which it has brought forth only add greater weight to the facts already published in the Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission as far back as 1921, and the collection of evidence contained in such books as the "Secret International," "Patriotism, Ltd.," and "The Bloody Traffic."

By this time the world is fully aware of the root cause of war: the uncontrolled manufacture, sale, and boosting of armaments.

The attempts to provide a cure have been many.

The Geneva Draft Articles

The Geneva Draft Articles of June 27 take us no further towards an adequate control of the industry.

The Articles contain provisions for linking national supervision with an international authority, a step which is all to the good. But it does not prohibit the private manufacture of arms. It makes no provision whatever to prevent the evils of this business, which have aroused and alarmed the public conscience of the world.

The evils, such as the fomentation of war scares, the bribery of Government officials, the control of the Press

and other means to secure orders at inflated prices, are not considered. It makes no attempt to excuse or condemn the motive of private profit which is at the back of this business; a perfectly legitimate motive in ordinary business, but which endangers the peace of the world when allowed to exist in the arms industry.

This motive cannot be eliminated without a comprehensive control of the industry being imposed. It is merely playing with the question to suggest, as is done in Article D, that a licence to manufacture will remove the dangers. A licence only gives to the manufacturer a Government backing which will in no way prevent the corrupt measures used in soliciting orders.

Article D

Article D contains the main part of the Convention. There are other Articles dealing with the supply of information and with measures for supervision, etc.

Article D reads as follows:

"The High Contracting parties undertake not to permit in the territories subject to their jurisdiction the manufacture and trade in arms unless the manufacturers have obtained a licence to manufacture issued by the Government."

"The High Contracting parties undertake in the same way not to permit in the territories subject to their jurisdiction the export and import of arms and implements of war without an export or import licence issued by the Government."

That is to say, the Convention attempts to control manufacture and traffic.

Articles 8 and 23 of the Covenant of the League

It is difficult to find any reason for trying to combine under Article D the control of the manufacture of arms and also the traffic in arms. The framers of the Covenant of the League separated the two subjects: The manufacture being referred to in Article 8 and the traffic in Article 23. Further control of the traffic has been dealt with exhaustively in the 1925 Convention, and it seems a farce to dismiss in half an article measures for the control of traffic which took the representatives of 44 nations six weeks to frame for the 1925 Convention.

It is essential to keep the subjects of manufacture and traffic entirely separate. Traffic concerns all the nations of the world, manufacture only a few. Also the evils of manufacture are quite different and distinct from those of traffic.

Control of Traffic

The obvious duty of the Governments of the nations is to put in force the 1925 Convention for the traffic in arms. Nine years have elapsed and insufficient unconditional ratifications have been made to set it in operation. There has been no will to do so. As a result, we have the melancholy spectacle of a powerless League of Nations to punish Japan by collective action for her breach of the Covenant. Those upon whom lay the duty of imposing punishment were themselves guilty of supplying arms for her to use in attacking China.

Great Britain Must Control the Traffic.

The way seems perfectly clear. Ratify the 1925 Convention and incorporate in it the provisions of the 1934 Convention which relate to the traffic in arms. The British Government has already done so conditionally. Let the conditions be removed. Ratification will remove the suspicion that the Government has any other interest at heart than the protection of the nation from the dangers arising out of the arms industry.

Control of Manufacture

The 1934 Articles fail also to control the manufacture of arms. It is a strange thing that the most obvious form of control has been ignored; the control by a Public Authority. We ask why, and looking over the

last 14 years we find our answer: Sabotage! We cannot lightly dismiss the Shearer Incident from our minds. Into every Convention there creeps the private interest.

The problem of control can be solved. The two reports, No. 347 of 1933 and No. 359 of 1934, issued by the League of Nations' Union show measures which are not only practical but easy of application.

The Reports show how a Public Authority similar in construction to the Central Electricity Board and other administrative bodies can be established free from the domination of the war interests in the country.

This Authority would take over the entire responsibility for the purchase and sale of arms. The manufacture of arms would be under its direct control. No completed arm would be made by private manufacture. Government factories would be responsible for the final assembly of all component parts of arms. The private manufacturer would be confined to the supply of such raw or semi-manufactured materials as might be required to aid the completion of arms under national ownership and control.

We are constantly being told that the need for control is all bogey; that it will endanger the peace of the world. Such nonsense originates in armaments firms, where the preparation for butchery means bread and butter.

If there is a state of affairs in society which is a curse, it is this uncontrolled armament manufacture and traffic. The evils of the Slave Trade and the Drug Traffic pale into insignificance beside it.

What are we going to do about it? Who shall investigate? Who shall control?

Meanwhile a new armaments race has started; 42 new air squadrons, £50,000,000 on taxation.

Are we going to pour any more money into armament firms? Are we going to be bluffed any longer by the "war talk" which is only salesman's patter?

"Be prepared for rain," says the dealer in mackintoshes.

"Be prepared for war," says the arms manufacturer. We cannot avoid rain, but we can avoid war. Wars are made possible only by the presence of adequate supplies of arms.

The cry of every sane Englishman must be "control." The arms industry can be so controlled that the solicitation of orders by private firms will be made impossible. A central board for buying and selling, a division of manufacture between Government and private factories at the discretion of the Board, and full publicity of all transactions: These are the things that we must work for without rest.

Labour Office at Basle, which was replaced by the present office in 1920 under Part XIII of the Treaty.

Representatives of the United States did pioneer work on the Commission in Paris which drew up this section of the Treaty, Samuel Gompers, the veteran labour leader of remarkable personality, being one of them. The first session of the International Labour Conference was held in Washington in 1919, and Mr. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour, was its president. But the United States then decided against any ties with the League, and included the I.L.O. in this decision. Still it collaborated in a variety of committees; there has always been a branch office in Washington, and friendly relations have been steadily maintained.

Even, however, if we do welcome the United States as someone more than a stranger to the counsels of the

I.L.O., there is no doubt of the beneficial possibilities of her membership. This was foreseen by the delegates to the last Conference in June, when the invitation to join was adopted enthusiastically by all present.

If the present situation in the United States is considered, it will be seen at once that the progress of the New Deal, as it is familiarly called, will bring a fresh point of view and an experimental attitude towards many of the social problems with which the I.L.O. is dealing. The geographical position has freed its people from the fear of invasion; its youth, as a nation, makes for freedom from the restraining influences of age-old traditions; its rich natural resources are the basis of a high standard of living; and all its ideas are in favour of the untried experiment and the promising but unknown trail.

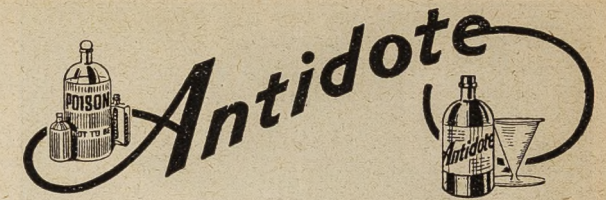
Not even the boldest would say with exact prophesy where the New Deal is likely to lead. It is a great expedition into unknown territory, but using as its compass similar objectives to those already being pursued by the I.L.O. Both desire higher and more permanent standards of social justice. Both wish to regulate hours, increase leisure, and remove unfair competition. Both are attempting it through co-operation of the employer, the worker, and the community. It is obvious, therefore, that the United States has a great contribution to bring to the I.L.O. The older countries will have something to learn from the younger country which, in its turn, will find that a certain amount it thought original has already been tested by the former's experience.

There are also some practical points of day-to-day life in the I.L.O. which the United States will affect. First of all there is the famous argument against ratifications of Convention. "What is the use of any industrial country tying its hands by ratifying a Convention and enforcing rules for labour conditions when one of the greatest of them all is outside the I.L.O., and therefore under no obligation whatever?" That is a cry which has gone up with monotonous regularity since the Treaty was signed, and now this particular gramophone record is useless. Those who found such an excuse a safe refuge from any action will find themselves uncomfortably exposed.

The progressive employers in the United States are likely to assert themselves when the matter of a delegation to the annual International Labour Conference has to be considered and will add a great deal of practical help to the adoption of workable solutions which need the co-operation of employers and workers for complete success. The accession of workers from the United States will be of great value at a time when Europe is struggling in many directions to preserve democratic institutions.

Even as this article appears, Mr. Butler is crossing the Atlantic to be present at the annual congress of the American Federation of Labour at San Francisco, to be present not only as a friendly visitor but as their servant in the person of the Director of the I.L.O. to which they now belong. The moral effect of such a visit is worthy of emphasis, for Mr. Butler goes in the capacity in which he would visit every other workers' organisation in the world.

It is pleasant to think that no more will one be asked why the United States is outside, and provide some ingenious but not over-satisfactory answer. It is pleasant to think that, at any rate until Germany's notice expires, one will be able to say that the influence of the I.L.O. is worldwide—for Russia's acceptance of membership of the League implies automatic membership of the I.L.O. And it is pleasantest of all to think that the machinery of the I.L.O. has stood the strain of fifteen difficult years, and that the ideals which gave it birth are being followed with renewed vitality.



POISON:

"Russia has only come into the League because she is hoping to use its machinery to protect herself from Japan. France is only buttressing up the League because she hopes to use its machinery to protect herself against Germany. All that is left to do now is to see that Britain withdraws from this dangerous tangle of old hates and new plots."—Leading article in the *Sunday Express*.

ANTIDOTE:

If Russia and France have both realised that, whilst individual national preparations for war are hopeless, the system of pooled security offered by the League is their best chance of national survival, it would obviously be suicidal for Britain to "withdraw" from that one hope of security, in favour of adherence to the policy which the Great War proved was as productive of security as is the Great Wall of China to-day.

POISON:

"War is like a motor car. It is no use clucking and fluttering in its path like an aggrieved hen. The intelligent system is to recognise the impending danger and keep off the road."—VISCOUNT CASTLEROSSE.

ANTIDOTE:

If the gossip were a little more "intelligent" he would realise, as we do, that motor cars are sometimes so badly driven that they run right on to the pavement and kill pedestrians. That is why the League advocates the entire abolition of that form of "dangerous driving" which men call war.

POISON:

"The right policy for Great Britain is to keep aloof from international controversies, but while doing so to ensure the safety of her own people. This can only be done by making our defences adequate in the air and on the sea. The man whose house is as nearly as possible burglar-proof is not an alarmist. Neither is he throwing down a challenge to anybody."—Leading article in the *News of the World*.

ANTIDOTE:

Recent air manoeuvres over London, Paris and Brussels have proved beyond argument that there is no such thing as "adequate defences." Also, whilst it is true that burglar-alarm, bolts and bars do not constitute "a challenge to anybody," lethal weapons which can be used for offence or defence are quite a different matter. The same applies to armaments.

POISON:

"We armaments manufacturers are no more indispensable in wars than anyone else. The boot-maker who makes boots for the troops is helping the war as much as the makers of guns. I do not think that, in the happy future, differences between nations will be settled by the use of a football match, nor do I hope it. . . . I think it would be a great strain on the spectators."—Interview with CAPTAIN BALL, whose name has been mentioned in the U.S.A. Arms Inquiry, as published in the *Sunday Express*.

ANTIDOTE:

When one nation buys a million pairs of army boots in times of Peace no other nation regards it as a challenge or a personal threat, as is the case when armaments are bought. As for the strain of regarding a football match, Captain Ball's words would almost suggest that a harassed crowd returning from a Cup Tie on a Saturday afternoon would positively welcome an enemy air-raid as a refreshing pick-me-up!

G. C. T.



M. Sandler, President of the Assembly.

THE Assembly is alive. For two years it has lain in a trance that looked like death. In truth, it has been stifled. But now the Great Powers, who have played the part of Othello in this drama, seem to have recalled that the murderer destroyed himself at last, and have lifted the pillow from Desdemona's mouth.

This is not to say that the Assembly is exhilarated, or even hopeful. There is none of the old confidence that power will be used with responsibility, and danger met with statesmanship. The absence of Germany, while it frees Geneva from the unease and hysteria which the Nazis brought with them, is none the less deplorable. Without Germany the major policies of the League cannot be fulfilled. Manchuria, that wound in the Covenant, still bleeds unstaunched; and the delegates speak often of it. Every problem on which they are actually engaged bristles with difficulties. Yet they are facing the difficulties honestly, with a sort of dour courage.

M. Benes, when he opened the Assembly, set its tone in a characteristic speech, packed with sense. He listed the recent failures of the League, many and grave, like Disarmament and the Far East; and set against them its fewer successes, such as the dispute between Colombia and Peru, and the Saar. But, he said, if the danger of war hangs over us, we have, more than ever before, means to prevent it. The responsibility for a war falls on the men who are responsible in their respective countries. The world has passed the time of enthusiastic reconstruction after a great war, and the period of lassitude which follows. Then comes recovery of the defeated, discontent and confusion, and the nations now entering that third phase must use the League to surmount its dangers.

The Assembly has at least one signal success to its credit, which is also a danger averted. Russia is a member State, pledged to keep the Covenant, and safeguarded by the Covenant. She gives as much as she gets; for League membership must, in effect, signalise the formal renunciation of efforts to foment world revolution; while the League is far stronger for the presence of so great a nation.

M. Motta eloquently urged that the Russian system is anti-democratic and opposed to Western religious and economic concepts. That is true. But his criteria would bar the whole of Asia, and all the European and

THE TIDE TURNS!

By FREDA WHITE

American dictatorships. After all, as M. Barthou said, the primary purpose of the League is to keep the peace, and it must prefer a Russia bound by Covenant vows, to a Russia outcast from and turned against Europe, who would be dangerous indeed.

The Russian entry was sadly bungled. The Soviet Union, with that morbid sensibility which seems to result from national isolation, demanded a unanimous invitation from the League. There was known to be much more than the requisite two-thirds majority of States needed to vote her admission, if she applied in the normal way. But unanimity was impossible; Switzerland, Holland and Portugal were determined to vote against her entry; and in the end did so; and some eight Catholic States abstained. So the matter became involved in an interminable secret negotiation over procedure, only interrupted by Mr. de Valera, who made quite a reasonable speech in the Assembly, asking for publicity and the usual method of admission. At last thirty States invited Russia; and the Council offered her a permanent seat. She replied saying she would accept the Covenant.

The Political Committee held a dramatic debate, in which M. Motta opposed the admission of a State which persecuted religion with that fine eloquence of his, so moving to the Assembly, and M. Barthou reasoned the case for entry on grounds of political expediency. The next day, on September 18, at six o'clock, the Assembly met to admit the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. A storm was brewing, and it was stiflingly hot in the packed hall. M. Sandler, the Swedish President, asked the delegates to vote audibly, but in vain; "Oui," "Non," and "Je m'abstiens" were guessed rather than heard; only a loud cheerful cry of "Yes" burst from the Aga Khan. While the credentials of the Russian delegates were being recited, the official in charge of them lost his head, led them in in a surreptitious manner, and installed them next to Yugoslavia. So when M. Sandler invited them to take their seats they were already there. Then it was all over, save for the floodlights upon M. Litvinoff's globular form at the rostrum. His speech was sensible, like all his speeches, and like them all, far too long; when it was over his audience, faint and exhausted, trickled out to streets lined with gendarmerie.

The opening week raised two first-class problems which are still unsolved. The Chancellor and Foreign Minister of Austria both spoke; the one to justify the present Fascist régime in Austria, the other to appeal to the League for measures to ensure Austrian independence. No further word has been spoken, so far; but it is rumoured that the fate of Austria lies with her Danubian neighbours. If some sort of economic understanding could be come to, Austria might yet survive; if not, she can but exchange her present subservience to Italy for the untender mercies of Nazi Germany.

Poland caused the other crisis. Colonel Beck, her Foreign Minister, told a silent Assembly that Poland, who had proposed that obligations to respect minority rights, should be made universal, would until that was the case refuse to fulfil her obligations towards the League. Sir John Simon and M. Barthou, the next day, protested that a unilateral denunciation of a Treaty which Poland had signed with the Principal Allies was impossible; and Baron Aloisi, for Italy, made a mild

remonstrance. But this Polish move is fraught with very serious possibilities which will become clearer when the Political Committee discusses Minorities.

Poland has withdrawn her proposal of a general minorities treaty. She stands, however, by her repudiation of her own promises.

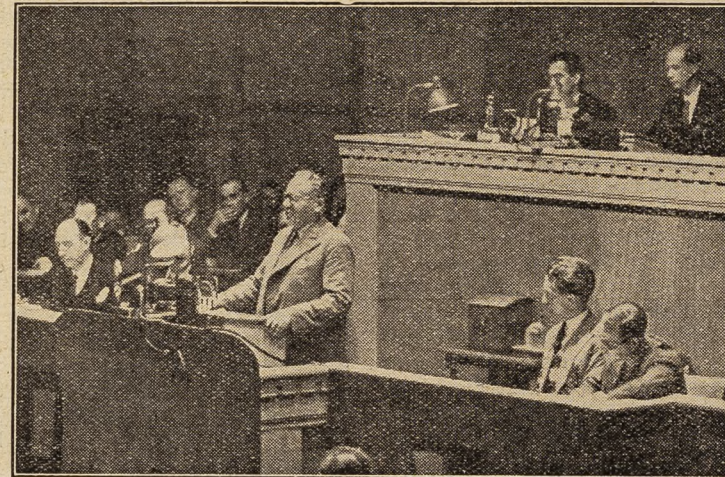
The most difficult task before the Assembly is the settlement of the war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Both States have pled their cause. Both say they accept peaceful settlement by the League. But Bolivia, which is still in occupation of a large part of the Chaco, is set upon an Assembly decision under Article XV, for that would be a politician's decision, and would probably give her part of the territory she has got. Paraguay wants arbitration or a Hague Court settlement, for a legal method would be to her advantage, since her legal claims to the Chaco are the stronger. The Committee debate on September 19 ranged round two points. Mr. Skelton, for Great Britain, made an excellent speech, saying that the League must make peace, and urging the two or three States still making reserves on the arms embargo to join it. Italy is the sole important exception; she has devised a fresh pretext, of a legalistic kind, to cheat the spirit of the Covenant and to enrich her munitions merchants at the expense of peace. Otherwise, many of the smaller States appealed to the belligerents to cease hostilities, and to make peace for their own sakes and for the sake of the world. The Assembly

will probably propose an armistice, and some form of impartial settlement. It can succeed, if Italy consents to co-operate in the arms embargo; if it fails, the damage to the League will be almost irreparable.

The other business of the Assembly is still unsettled. The delegates have awakened, fifteen years too late, to the fate of Russian refugee women in Manchuria and the Treaty Ports of China; a report of the Nansen Office shocked them into awareness of the tragedy about which they must have known for long. But since help means spending money, it is unlikely that the Governments will get beyond sentiment. Even Britain seems satisfied with the degree of parsimony now practised by the League; a surplus is promised on a much reduced budget.

There is no lack of interest, and even of excitement. Neither, unfortunately, is there any revival of leadership among the Great Powers, which alone can animate the collective system. Disarmament is postponed, it seems, for ever. The Eastern Pact hangs fire. Britain

is still negative, France opportunist, Italy destructive. That description does not apply to all their policies, or all their men; Britain is active about Bolivia and Paraguay, for instance, and Mr. Eden, were he responsible for his country's policy, would probably inspire it with his own sincere ability. But the League is still vesting mainly in men from the smaller Powers; and it is to their determination that the vitality of the Assembly is due.



M. Litvinoff delivering his maiden speech to the Assembly.

THE NEW GERMANY A Cyclist's Impressions

By HENRY COMPTON

THE outward manifestations of the new Germany must strike the most casual tourist. He finds the walls of Customs houses decorated with coloured charts depicting the losses suffered by Germany at Versailles.

I wished, however, to see something more of the third Reich. Accordingly, I cycled across Germany and visited some of the German Youth Hostels on my way. To the tourist Germany is still a land of hearty friendliness, where the English traveller finds a warm welcome. Youth Hostels confirm this impression. They are interesting as a link between the old Germany and the new.

The old Germany had learnt to tighten its belt. It no longer wore dress suits at the opera, but it still had opera. Its young folk continued to wander through the Fatherland, but they made a virtue of roughing it.

In Hitler's Germany I met hundreds of "Wander-vögel," cycling or walking, their sleeping bags and aluminium pans strapped on their backs and their alert faces tanned by sun and rain. All over Germany

they can find in the Youth Hostels a bed and a cooking stove for sixpence a night or less.

Naturally, the hostels have been caught up into the organisation of the new Germany. Some are run by the Hitler Youth. All display the Führer's portrait in a place of honour. All are helping to create a knowledge of and pride in the new Germany. They are a part of the vast system of national self-study and self-appreciation.

The wanderers love to show their Fatherland to an English comrade. I quickly made friends with one of them, and we spent a strenuous day pushing our bicycles over the rolling hills of the Eifel. The *naveté* of my companion's faith in Germany was so complete as to be inoffensive. Whether we were viewing the abbey at Steinfeld, the old gateways of Münster-eifel, or the vineyards of the Ahr valley, he was certain that we had "nothing like that in England." Germany was for him one of the unquestioned certainties of life, like the rising of the sun.

An appeal for self-sacrifice finds a quick response

from such youth, bred in an atmosphere in which tightening your belt is a virtue and a knowledge of the Fatherland an object of education. My friend pointed with pride to a gang of young men whom we met on the way to their compulsory labour service. He would gladly have joined them. He did not perceive any resemblance to a gang of convicts.

Germany is inured to hardship. The new Germany seems likely, therefore, to rally to Hitler's call to make sacrifices in order to lay the bogey of unemployment.

At Coblenz I visited the floating exhibition of German wares. Hitler was thus quoted at the head of the catalogue: "Germans, do not imagine that the problem of creating work can be solved in the heavens. You must co-operate in solving it."

"Create work!" The same cry greeted me from the hoardings. I picked up a newspaper and was urged to drink German wine and eat German fruit so that German peasants might once more find secure employment.

The Germans' preoccupation with economic problems was obviously in line with the inward direction of German thinking. Germany's gaze is turned upon herself. Even the Saar, the object of so much propaganda, seems to appear to Germans primarily as part of the problem of internal unity.

It would be misleading, however, to think of Germany as merely introspective. She struck me as essentially a mobilised nation—but many of the enemies against whom her mobilisation is directed are enemies within the gates. The democratic "betrayal," the economic crisis, Communism, Jewish influences—these figure in conversation just as much as the Versailles system.

The new Germany, thus mobilised for sacrifice and co-operation, and National Socialism, are not necessarily synonymous. Hitlerism is not merely mobilisation, but regimentation as well. One does not have to dig deep below the surface to suspect that there are many, eager for a national renaissance, who object to being regimented under the swastika banner. The present régime is a concrete expression, with a ready emotional appeal, of the new hope, but it is not the only conceivable expression, and, if it fails, the devotion to the new Germany must remain—to be mobilised, perhaps, in yet another form.

MUSSOLINI AND WAR

By An OXFORD LIBERAL

THERE is room for all in the League. It is a League of Nations—not a League of Democracies. We ourselves in England may prefer democratic government, but our preference has nothing to do with our fellow-members. The strength of the League lies in its inner diversity. It is no homogeneous herd of a single species. Bolshevik Russia is as welcome as Republican France. Parliamentary representatives sit side by side with those from Fascist Italy. Each nation must choose the government that suits it best. All the League demands is that they keep the law of its Covenant.

It is indeed essential to the League that its members should live under administrations that suit them. A nation in revolt, torn by civil war, is too unstable to be of use for international co-operation. We ourselves might not like to be subject to Fascism or Bolshevism; conversely, the Italians would be uncomfortable under English institutions. Parliamentary government was tried and failed in Italy. When Mussolini came to power

The Englishman who finds himself alone with a German is often asked: "What do they think of Hitler in England?" Sometimes the question is asked with confidence, but as often as not it is asked with an air of misgiving. With such questioners one has to change the conversation hastily if a third party appears.

This kind of furtive discussion makes the German atmosphere oppressive to an Englishman. Many Germans must feel equally oppressed, but the new conditions have come as a release, and not as a tyranny, to many others, and to many young people in particular, for whom life formerly held little hope.

"Please tell English people the truth about the new Germany," a young enthusiast said to me. But I am bound to relate the truth as I saw it, and I found few Germans who were as interested in other countries as they wished the English to be in Germany. One young Nazi informed me, axiomatically, that the Germans did not like the French; and when I entered a Youth Hostel without saying "Heil, Hitler!" the group at the door whispered: "Ah, a Frenchman!"

The young people whom I met seemed to have their attention so concentrated upon their own land that their view of other nations was distorted. It was clear that the conception of Germany downtrodden by the wicked Allies could grow in their minds out of all proportion to the truth.

Youth, mobilised to build the new Germany, may build it, then, in a world of youthful delusions. The architects who have drawn up the plan are fostering these delusions with propaganda. Yet there is much that is admirable in the aspirations of German youth. They deserve the sympathy of other nations. English people cannot approve of the methods and some of the principles of Hitlerism, it is true, but they can appreciate the idealistic urge of youth within and without the Nazi ranks. If only young Germany felt that its merits were appreciated in England, some of its self-centredness would be broken down; it would take a first step towards a better appreciation of European realities.

A sense of fellowship with other countries might go far to save German youth from the blind self-contemplation of National Socialism. What country could supply this fellowship better than England?

the country was in upheaval, torn between conflicting factions, while the constitutional government sat helpless and ineffective in Rome. Mussolini restored order and recreated the national spirit, without which no nation can make its contribution to internationalism. It is an old story how train services have been improved, hotels controlled and prices fixed for tourists. These are the first impressions a foreigner brings back from a tour. But tourism is only one of the industries of Italy. The keener-eyed visitor sees the conditions of the Italians themselves; sanitation in place of filth; health instead of disease; new factories, new railways, new public works everywhere—and, behind them, the Italian people waking to a new renaissance.

But is this renaissance genuine? Are the Italians really so united in loyalty to Fascism? Do they cry "Viva Mussolini!" out of enthusiasm or because they fear reprisals if they remain silent? According to the anti-Fascist exiles, Italy is a nation of slaves toiling unwillingly beneath the yoke of a cruel tyranny. I

have met anti-Fascists in Italy itself; they are by no means all exiled. Nor are they in constant danger, meeting clandestinely, whispering secretly in corners. One such whom I knew used to talk to me openly in his café. He always referred to Mussolini as "Mr. Smith," but the context made it clear enough whom he intended. Yet never, to my knowledge, was he molested by the police, any more than one would be if one grumbled in England against the Government. Even his complaints about taxes or regulations that irked him. If these are the only objections to the Fascist régime, Mussolini can rely securely on his undoubted achievements. The Italians are not a submissive people like the Germans, a nation easy to regiment. Their history is a long succession of feuds and rebellions. If they obey Mussolini, it is not because they are coerced, but because he appeals to their enthusiasm, the exuberant imagination that is part of their nature.

Yet it may be said that this very enthusiasm is dangerous, easy to direct towards a selfishly national end. Mussolini, since he came to power, has made several speeches which ring with an ominous note in foreign ears. But is Mussolini as bellicose as he sounds? One must translate his speeches not only out of the Italian but out of the climate and temperament in which they were uttered. War is more hazardous to a Dictator than to any other form of Government; unless he achieves an outstanding success his prestige is lost for good.

LESSONS LEARNT AT GENEVA

Passages from recent speeches by the President of the Disarmament Conference:

Civilisation must destroy war or war will destroy civilisation. The deliberate, far-sighted planning of universal peace has hardly begun, though the machinery of the League of Nations exists to make such planning possible. Nations usually endeavour to justify their military preparations and alliances as necessary measures of self-defence, but all armaments are defensive in the eyes of those who believe that the only sure guarantee of peace is to be prepared for war.

To make peace secure we must not only sign treaties renouncing the right to resort to war, we must abolish the national equipment and institutions that make war and the private interests that live by war. We must destroy the narrow loyalties that make men ready for war and replace them by a living and a creative faith in the constructive possibilities of world peace.

* * * * *

No nation can successfully contrive to isolate itself from the effects of all that happens in the rest of the world. However much a nation may wish to live entirely unto itself alone, it is doomed to fail in the attempt. The complicated mechanism of modern society embraces the entire world, and any dislocation of its parts affects every nation in some degree.

When the dislocation takes the form of war no one can foresee all the issues that will be raised, what human right will be violated, and what nation will eventually be involved.

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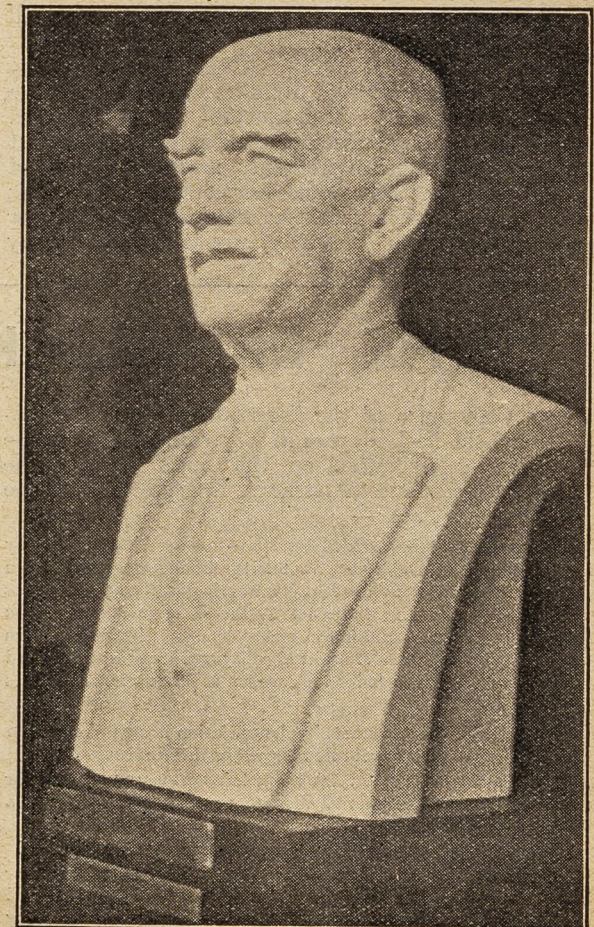
There is no effective alternative to a sound policy of international friendship and co-operation. If nations divide into armed groups and arouse jealousy, suspicion, and distrust, disaster will come sooner rather than later.

Peace is a positive and not a negative condition in the life of nations, and it can no longer be accepted that war is a normal and indispensable part of modern civilisation.

Material achievements are a hostage in the hands of Fortune; the man who has something to lose will not lightly risk it in a quarrel. But the Italians like to be excited, and war is an exciting word. Speeches and martial displays that would plunge a northern nation into militarism only act as a fillip on the pleasure-loving southern Italians, a stimulus to shake them from their indolence. The word "war" to Mussolini is often merely a highly-coloured synonym for "work."

Fascism appears to suit the Italian temperament, just as Bolshevism has adapted itself to the Russian. All that matters to the outside world is that they should be loyal members of the League. At times there has been a coolness towards the League in Rome, and unauthorised rumours have spread that Italy was preparing to secede from it. Nothing could be less true or more harmful than such tales. The best of human organisations can never rest wholly free from friction. What is wonderful is that, in these first experimental decades of the League, the nations have trodden so little on each other's toes. Mussolini's occasional differences with Geneva have arisen not from lack but from excess of zeal. He has been over-impulsive to hasten international co-operation, and when the League machinery has seemed to him too slow has embarked on short cuts of his own to achieve by private understanding what he has despaired of ever attaining by general agreement. But Mussolini is a realist; he has shown patience in internal affairs, and he will learn to do the same in foreign.

This fine bust of Mr. Arthur Henderson, which is the work of the leading sculptor in Hungary, Sigismund Kisfauldy Stroble, has been presented by Mr. O. Legrady, a Hungarian, to adorn the now almost completed Palace of Peace at Geneva.



BOOK NOTICES

Peace With Honour: An Inquiry into the War Convention. By A. A. Milne. (Methuen & Co.)

The true humorist does not exaggerate. He looks at the common concerns of common men in the common light of every day. But he sees them with uncommon clarity. Mr. Milne compels his readers to notice things they have been accustomed to pass with unseeing eyes. Here are a few of his glimpses. He may not always convince. But he shocks into thought.

* * * * *

"There was a short silence, and then she said:

"You mean you are *against* war?"

"Yes."

"Not too pacifist, I hope," she smiled."

* * * * *

"I think that war is the ultimate expression of man's wickedness and man's silliness. There are times when I think that its childish silliness is even more heart-breaking than its wickedness."

* * * * *

"In the summer of 1914 an Austrian archduke was killed at Serajevo, under, it was said, Servian auspices. Austria's honour, since she was a bigger country than Servia, demanded that she should seek what is called satisfaction. Servia agreed to make certain of the obeisances and motions of humility suggested to her, but rejected certain others. Complete satisfaction being necessary to the honour of Austria, no course was left to her but the forcing of these other obeisances upon the smaller country. The force applied led directly to the killing of ten million men who were not archdukes, and, directly or indirectly, to the deaths of uncounted thousands of women and children. Even so, however, the object remained unachieved. The further obeisances were not made, and four years later Austria was still incompletely satisfied. . . ."

* * * * *

"The customary way of deciding which player in a golf-match shall drive first at the first tee is by tossing. Two novices, who had never heard of this custom, might decide it by the more humanly natural method of fighting. This method would have its disadvantages; for though one of them might be victorious, yet the loser (certainly) and both (probably) would be disabled by

injuries from proceeding any further with the game. After some days' interval for recovery, they would try again, and again they would get no farther than the first tee. It might occur to them, after some years of this, that it ought not to be beyond human ingenuity to think of some solution of their difficulty; some method whereby, having met on the first tee to play golf, they could actually play golf. They consult a friend, who expounds to them the great principle of tossing.

"The two novices consider this suggestion with care, turning it this way and that in their minds. And then one of them says profoundly:

"Tossing is no good. Because the player who had lost the toss couldn't be depended upon to accept the verdict peaceably."

"To which the only possible answer would be: 'Well, which *do* you want? A fight or a golf match?'"

* * * * *

"By 1918 we had defeated Germany. As far as one country can ever be at the mercy of other countries, she was in that lowly position—and we might almost say that, from that day until this, Europe has been terrified of the defeated Germany.

After a struggle which cost thousands of millions of pounds and over ten million lives, the nation which (as we say) started the war, the nation which was completely defeated in the war, is the nation which, once again, is the chief danger to peace. If war means, not peace, but merely another war, what is the object of it? It has been suggested, quite seriously, that France would be justified now in declaring a 'defensive war' against Germany. To what purpose, if, within a few years, she had to declare another defensive war? And if, in this series of defensive wars, she were to make one unsuccessful war, then presumably it would be Germany's turn, as the victor, to start a series of defensive wars."

The Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition. Just published by the League of Nations. (Allen & Unwin. 12s.)

Shows Great Britain to be the largest exporter of war material. During the five years, 1928-32, which this volume covers, arms and ammunition to the value of

(Continued on page 195.)

THE BRIAND-KELLOGG PACT

THE Conference of the International Law Association held in Budapest in September adopted the following resolution on the Paris Pact, to be known as the Budapest Articles of Interpretation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact:—

Whereas the Pact is a multilateral law-making Treaty whereby each of the high contracting parties makes binding agreements with each other and all of the other high-contracting parties, and whereas by their participation in the Pact 63 States have abolished the conception of war as a legitimate means of exercising pressure on another State in the pursuit of national policy and have also renounced any recourse to armed force for the solution of international disputes or conflicts:—

- 1.—A signatory State cannot, by denunciation or non-observance of the Pact, release itself from its obligations thereunder.
- 2.—A signatory State which threatens to resort to armed force for the solution of an international dispute or conflict is guilty of a violation of the Pact.
- 3.—A signatory State which aids a violating State thereby itself violates the Pact.
- 4.—In the event of a violation of the Pact by a resort to armed force or war by one signatory State against another, any signatory

State, not being a party to the original dispute, may, without thereby committing a breach of the Pact or of any rule of international law, do all or any of the following things:—

- (a) Refuse to admit the exercise by the State violating the Pact of belligerent rights, such as visit and search of blockade, etc.;
- (b) Decline to observe towards the State violating the Pact the duties prescribed by international law, apart from the Pact, for a neutral in relation to a belligerent;
- (c) Supply the State attacked with financial or material assistance, including munitions of war;
- (d) Assist with armed forces the State attacked.

5.—The signatory States are not entitled to recognise as acquired *de jure* any territorial or other advantages acquired *de facto* by means of a violation of the Pact.

6.—A violating State is liable to pay compensation for all damage caused by violation of the Pact to any signatory State or to its nationals.

7.—The Pact does not affect such humanitarian obligations as are contained in general treaties, such as The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906, and 1929, and the International Convention relating to the treatment of Prisoners of War, 1929.

over £51,000,000 (at par) were exported from some 39 countries and colonies, practically one-third of this total coming from Great Britain. In 1932 Great Britain supplied 29.9 per cent. of the total exports of £6,973,798 (at par), the next largest exporters being France (27.7 per cent.), Sweden (11.0 per cent.), the United States (8.7 per cent.), and Holland (5.8 per cent.). It should be pointed out, however, that more than one-third of the exports from Great Britain go to the British Dominions and Colonies; for the remainder her principal customers in 1932 were Spain, Japan, Holland, Poland and Portuguese East Africa. This Year-Book contains information, drawn from official sources, in respect of 60 countries and 59 colonies.

Official Publications

World Economic Survey, 1933-34. Third Year. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. II.A.16.) 360 pages. Price, in wrappers, 6s.; bound in cloth, 7s. 6d. [Just Out.]

Not a revised edition of the preceding volumes; but a completely new work covering the events of the past year and carrying the story up to the end of July, 1934, with detailed analyses of the main aspects of economic and financial developments. A discussion is also included of the effects of the depression upon population movements, changes in consumption, the control of production and the regulation of international trade.

Report on the Work of the League Since the Fourteenth Session of the Assembly. Part I. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. 3 (I), 108 pages. 4s. Part II. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. 3 (II), 79 pages. 2s. 6d.)

Annex to the Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat to the Fifteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934.V.1.) 125 pages. 5s.

Committees of the League of Nations. Report by the Secretary-General drawn up in pursuance of the Council's decision of January 17, 1934. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. 4.) 105 pages and two tables inset. 4s.

An extraordinarily interesting report on the origin, methods and composition of 44 League Commissions competent to deal with matters as various as Traffic in Drugs, the Saar, Leprosy, Mandates, Intellectual Co-operation, the Cinema, Disinterested Technical Aid to China. The keynote is "service." The net result—the creation of a great international instrument of united effort—is a unique contribution to post-war history.

Report to the Council on the Work of the Forty-First Session of the Economic Committee (July 17-29, 1934). C.353.M.165. 1934. II.13. Geneva, August 16, 1934.

While Governments remain obdurate in mutually defeating nationalist economic policies, the action of the League's economic organisation is necessarily circumscribed—exploratory and preparatory at most. This document would not be worth reading, therefore, for the report of the Committee's work; but it contains, as an appendix, a most interesting and valuable note, prepared by the secretariat, relating to the development of commercial policy since the economic depression. It gives a summarised account of the increases of customs protection, of quantitative restrictions on imports and of measures of exchange control. There is also a useful study of the attitudes of the principal States and groups of States to the most-favoured-nation clause, and a survey of new commercial agreements, including the trade agreements recently negotiated by this country.

New Union Publications

- No. 371. **Economic Sanctions.** Price 2d.
No. 372. **World Labour Problems.** Price 4d.
No. 092. **The League of Nations Painting Book for Children.** Price 1s.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

IMPERIALISTS AND PEACE

SIR,—The Imperialist, like the Nationalist, is a great danger to world peace, for he bases his actions not on reason but on high-sounding phrases which stir up deep emotion, but which, when examined, are usually found to have little or no meaning.

Mr. Frank Fisher, staunch Imperialist that he is, considers that "the British Empire is the greatest bulwark of world peace that exists." I have seen the same view expressed from time to time by other Conservatives, but always unaccompanied by any reasons. Mr. Fisher himself characterises it as "an article of faith." (It seems hard to reconcile with the apprehensions of the designs of foreign powers which caused tension between England and Germany long before the outbreak of war. These fears are still being repeated from time to time, even by Cabinet Ministers, as an excuse for re-armament.)

There are, actually, strong grounds for the contrary view, namely, that the British Empire is a great handicap to the organisation of world peace.

1. Great Britain rejected the Geneva Protocol mainly on the ground that it might lead to the break-up of the British Empire. (See "Peace in Our Time," by Sir A. Chamberlain.)

2. Considerations of Empire safety require Great Britain to reserve "special interests" in such countries as Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, and Afghanistan. These "special interests" were the subject of reservations (partaking of the nature of a British "Monroe Doctrine") to our acceptance of the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

3. Taking this doctrine of "special interests" as a precedent, Japan, though a member of the League, claimed the right to a free hand in the Far East. Great Britain, also a member of the League, refused to have anything to do with this "remote conflict" (to quote the Foreign Secretary). As is well known, the prestige of the League was greatly damaged by this failure to restrain the aggressor.

It will be seen, therefore, that whenever a systematic scheme of collective defence has been put forward, British Imperialist policy has obstructed it.

Is it possible, indeed, to be a loyal supporter of the League of Nations Union and remain a staunch Imperialist?

W. A. P. FISHER.

A CRITIC CRITICISED

SIR,—The criticism of Sir Norman Angell's book, "The Menace to our National Defence," by Major-General Fuller ("Britain's Security," in HEADWAY for August), is hardly worthy of the book.

After reading this book, one is impressed with its clear thinking and masterly and thorough analysis of the problems surrounding defence and attack, and it is with some astonishment that one reads Major-General Fuller's suggestions that "the author would appear . . . to have accepted evidence without much examination"; to have overlooked a supreme fact; to have missed psychological points. Such suggestions inevitably convey the impression that the book is not closely reasoned, when the opposite is most emphatically the case.

Much of Major-General Fuller's criticism is irrelevant. At the outset he objects that the author has overlooked "the supreme fact—that war is at heart a psychological and not a logical problem." But a country goes to war because it fears that its security is imperilled; the problem to be solved is how to ensure

security without resorting to war, and it is beside the point to consider whether the fears which have led to war have a logical or a psychological basis.

Again, it is objected that the meaning of peace is not defined, although the first chapter of the book is devoted to showing that defence, and not peace, is the first concern of all great nations, and states (p. 15) that "the first and last purpose of these pages is to decide how defence may be best achieved."

Major-General Fuller maintains that wars "are necessary so long as social and international diseases exist." But the establishment of national law has not had to await the development of a perfect society—not even of a society free from discontent—and already there are on record a number of cases of international disputes which have been settled after submission to the Court of International Justice. In his book, Sir Norman Angell establishes that war results essentially because in a dispute between nations each insists on being judge of its own and hence of the other's "rights." The greater part of "The Menace to our National Defence" is devoted to developing this thesis, which is succinctly expressed in Chapter XIII, "The Ultimate Error": "We follow the policy of arming the litigants instead of arming the law."

In referring to Chapter IX, "Air Retaliation as Defence," it is claimed that an important point has been overlooked: namely, that "retaliation . . . cannot establish peace, but only an armistice of undying hatred." The critic has himself missed the point at issue; in discussing air armaments, the author's object is surely to show not only their futility as a means of defence against attack, but also the futility of being able to retaliate. He concludes (Chapter X) that there is practically universal agreement among experts "that the defensive power of the air arm rests entirely upon the deterrent effect of threatened retaliation," and later shows that such threats must themselves be ineffective so long as the present state of affairs exists, in which nations settle their disputes by force, and not by reference to a common law.

Major-General Fuller's final criticism of importance is his contention that the author does not realise that "the nations of Europe have . . . the dawning consciousness of a common predicament." The object of the whole book, however, is to stimulate that "dawning consciousness of a common predicament" and to demonstrate that its solution lies in the principle of collective action, which places national power behind an international law. Major-General Fuller certainly recognises the value of "The Menace to our National Defence" as a support of the principle of such collective action, and his most favourable comment is in his last words: "Read this book."

C. CAIGER SMITH.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—When Germany is as sure as your Guildford correspondent is that the League is prepared to allow her full equality with other nations, and, in particular, in the matter of armaments, then, I have no doubt, they would be glad to be members of the League. Germany can contribute much to the peace system of the world, but undoubtedly believes that her armed forces have a right to take more part in the building up of the collective system than her ex-enemies would like.—Yours faithfully,

RICHARD COOKE.

A PLEA FOR THE PACIFISTS

SIR,—It is time somebody protested against the use of the word "Pacifist" to mean one who, under all circumstances, refuses to fight. The original meaning of the word was "a peacemaker," and many of the world's greatest peacemakers have also, on occasion, made war. Even in its most modern sense, the word should embrace all members of the L.N.U.

Some of us believe that war settles nothing, yet feel that circumstances are conceivable under which armed resistance might be temporarily necessary before the "settlement" of a dispute by the proper authority could be put under weigh. We heartily respect those who disagree, but respectfully refuse to lose the title of "Pacifists."

I am assured by a French friend that members of French "pacifist" societies are not all pledged never to bear arms. Some would agree with your correspondent, Mr. Ellis, while others would help to repel an armed invasion of their country. All work for peace, and are called "Pacifists." Let the L.N.U. give a lead in preventing the narrowing of the meaning of the fine word.

G. W. SCOTT BLAIR.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE L.N.U.

SIR,—The main purpose of the educational work of the L.N.U. in furthering the organisation of World Peace has been authoritatively stated to be that of securing "the maximum driving power of expressed public opinion." Unfortunately, however, that main purpose has been frustrated by our Union's rule making eligibility for membership depend, mainly, on the payment of a subscription.

This condition, of course, effectually debar from membership many of those who, though in full sympathy with the Union's work, hold strongly that the payment of a subscription should not be obligatory for supporting any great moral or spiritual cause. Moreover, many sympathisers cannot afford to pay the minimum subscription of one shilling a year, and, though to such of these as are unemployed a recent temporary concession now admits them to membership on their making an initial payment of threepence, not many collectors will care to sacrifice their self-respect by asking these needy sympathisers for any payment whatever. We do not forget that organisation usually needs funds, but it is surely most undesirable that we should appear to be more interested in acquiring funds than in securing the expression of public opinion in support of our cause. With all the goodwill in the world, therefore, it is impossible to regard this concession as worthy of the dignity and prestige of the L.N.U.

The complete success of our cause, as early as possible, should be the paramount consideration. Clearly, therefore, we are only retarding that success by denying membership to those sympathisers who are unable, or unwilling, to pay a subscription. Why should they not be enrolled as "associate members" if they are willing "to signify, annually in writing, their general agreement with the Union's aims"? There seems no good reason against doing so, for, obviously, they would then form a reservoir of potential paying members from which losses in the other classes of members could be made good, and, more important still, the Union's membership would then more adequately represent public opinion than it has ever yet done.

S. MARRABLE.

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HERE AND THERE

Encouraged by the outstanding success of last year's efforts, the **Chelsea Peace Shop** is determined to leave no stone unturned to enhance its efforts during the forthcoming few months. In order to drive home its efforts to the utmost possible, however, and at the same time to restrict expenses as far as possible, a great deal more personal assistance is earnestly needed. The secretary has asked us, therefore, to appeal to any of our readers who may be willing to give a helping hand to get into touch with the Chelsea Book Shop and volunteer to that end. The address, of course, is 326, King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.3—the telephone number being "Flaxman 6572." We feel confident that there will be a generous response to this appeal.

The Hon. Secretary of the **Erith** Branch tells us that there has been quite a good response to our paragraph inviting suggestions for Prize Slogans for the Armistice Calendar that is being published by that Branch. There is still time for further submissions and we are asked to state that the prize will be One Guinea. The selling price of the calendars will be one shilling each. Orders for large quantities will enable other branches to obtain discounts and so help their funds as well.

An excellent point was made by the Rev. J. F. Winter, Rector of **Daventry**, at the Rally held there last month by the British Legion. In the course of an excellent sermon on peace, he said: "Everybody knows what the power of the League of Nations is in the world to-day, compared with what it ought to be. Statesmen of every type and description have been meeting together ever since the war came to an end—but it is not the politicians who make a nation—it is the rank and file." These words should act as an incentive to every individual citizen to ensure that his or her personal vote is duly recorded in the National Declaration for Peace, in order that politicians may be left in no doubt as to the will of the people whom they must represent.

Many Branches continue to add to the excellent work in the way of propaganda achieved by decorated League of Nations lorries entered in local Carnivals and other processions. The **Aldeburgh** Branch has carried off a well-deserved Second Prize for an international tableau, depicting various national costumes, and surmounted by a telling League slogan. The **Whitstable and Tankerton** Branch scored a parallel success with a tableau, the theme of which was "The Old Way—War! The New Way—Law!" The Old Way was conveyed by a man with a model machine-gun (cleverly contrived out of wood) and other weapons, crouching behind sandbags, his head being bandaged as for a wound. The New Way, of course, was presented by judge, counsel and two litigating nations in Court. Both of these Branches merit hearty congratulations on their enterprise, which might with advantage be copied in many other localities. It should always be remembered that such entries appeal also to vast numbers of spectators who are not already converted and in whose minds the League idea is thus implanted.

The **I.L.O. Lantern Lecture** has now been revised and brought right up to date. Branches can hire it at the usual fee of 5s., plus carriage both ways. This eminently important section of the League's activities is not so well appreciated as it should be, and this lantern lecture is well calculated to bring about the necessary education in the aspects with which it deals.

On Tuesday, October 23, the **Archbishop of York** will give the first of a series of addresses, in the arrangement of which the **City of London** Branch has co-operated with the Rector, at St. Mary Woolnoth Church, Lombard Street, E.C., commencing at 5.30 p.m. The speakers on ensuing Wednesdays at the same hour will be as follows:

November 7.—**Sir Norman Angell** on "The League and National Defence."

November 21.—**Mr. Philip Noel Baker** on "Aviation—The Invention that Took the Wrong Turning!"

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December 5.—**Lord Allen of Hurtwood** on "Can Britain Feel Safe under a Collective Peace System?"

December 19.—**The Dean of St. Paul's** (Dr. W. R. Matthews) on "Christianity and War."

Bank Station on the Underground has an exit almost at the door of this Church.

WELSH NOTES

A series of large Demonstrations and Public Meetings has been planned by the Campaign Committee of the Welsh Council. Every district in the Principality will be covered, the campaign opening early in October.

A special Sub-Committee of the Welsh Council is busily occupied with detailed plans for the carrying out of the "National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments" in Wales and Monmouthshire. Area Committees will be meeting in the near future to ensure that the whole of the ground is covered thoroughly. The Welsh Baptist Union, at its recent annual meetings at Swansea, urged all the Churches to give their assistance in carrying out the plan, and the North Wales and South Wales Associations of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, at their recent meetings, also urged their Churches to give their help in their respective localities.

OVERSEAS NOTES

U.S.A. Referendum in Massachusetts.

A state-wide cross-section referendum is in course of preparation on the question of America's entry into the League of Nations. The membership card of this "Peace Action Campaign" contains the following statement for signature: "I believe in United States co-operation in world organisation; in reduction of armaments by international agreement; and I will support men and measures that make for permanent peace. I enrol in the League for Peace Action. No Dues."

History Teaching in New Zealand.

The **Christchurch** Branch of the New Zealand League of Nations Union hopes shortly to place in every primary school in the district, and eventually in the Province, the League of Nations History Book. All the head masters of the primary schools have consented to its use and arrangements are well in hand for the supply of at least 1,000 of these text books within the next few months. As soon as the scheme is established, an attempt will be made to get the other Branches in the Dominion to follow suit.

Activity in Ireland.

Although National Committees of the Women's Disarmament Committee in many countries decided to disband, the Dublin Branch decided to keep together and work as far as opportunity allowed for the ideal of international peace.

The following account of the activities of this committee is taken from the July number of "Concord," the magazine of the League of Nations Society of Ireland:—

"Our work has consisted of: (a) Co-operating with peace organisations in other countries, by correspondence, by exchange of visits, by sending delegates wherever possible to meetings and conferences; (b) Holding public meetings on subjects connected with the League of Nations' work and Disarmament. Meetings in Dublin have been addressed by M. Erickson, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Corbett Fisher, Captain Neville Roberts, and others; (c) Giving lectures and addresses to schools and colleges, clubs and associations, wherever permission can be obtained. Up to date, 40 schools and colleges have been addressed. Pupils are encouraged to write essays on the subject of the lecture, a small prize being offered by the teacher or by the Committee for the best essay.

In December, 1933, the Disarmament Committee accepted an invitation to become a sub-committee of the League of Nations Society of Ireland, so as to avoid duplication of work of a very similar nature, and we appreciate the help which our co-operation with that body has given us."

Changes in South Africa.

The Fifth Council Meeting of the South African League of Nations Union was held at Pretoria on July 28, 1934.

The Chairman informed the meeting of the resignation of Dr. Gie as Secretary-General of the South African League of Nations Union owing to his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin. A vote of thanks was passed in respect of services rendered during his

term of office. It was proposed and carried that the new Secretary for Education, Professor M. C. Botha, be asked to accept the post thus made vacant.

Dr. Gey van Pittius and Miss Magniac were appointed South African Delegates to the XIXth Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in 1935.

Grateful for Headway.

A letter of thanks has been received from the head master of the **Gastgewerbe und Hotelfachschule, Marienbad**, for the copies of HEADWAY kindly sent to the school by members of the Union during the past year. The pupils have been very much interested in the paper and hope that they may continue to receive copies during the next twelve months.

BROADCASTING NOTES

We have now received from the B.B.C. details of the October Talks, which comprise much that will keenly interest our readers. Foremost among these items will undoubtedly be the series on "The Causes of War," which will be given on Friday evenings at 10 p.m. The speakers on this subject will include people who have studied the matter from almost every conceivable point of view, such as nationalism, diplomatic commitments, pressure of population, trade rivalry, the private sale of armaments, lack of preparation and fear of aggression. When we add that these speakers will comprise such diverse students of their subject as Lord Beaverbrook, Sir Josiah Stamp, G. D. H. Cole, Professor J. S. Haldane, Aldous Huxley, Major C. H. Douglas and Sir Norman Angell, we feel certain that our readers will make a point of taking the fullest possible advantage of these opportunities to listen to all sides of this all-important question.

Another appealing series will be a series of talks on "American Points of View," which will be radiated in the Regional programmes on Sunday evenings between 9 and 9.30. Among the distinguished people who have been invited to contribute to this series are: The American Secretary of Labour, Senator Borah, the author of the Young Plan for Germany; Sidney Hillman, Willa Cather, and President Lowell.

During the autumn Monsieur E. M. Stéphan will commence a new two-year course in French, and Herr Max Kroemer will start his second year of German instruction. Full details of the exercises and texts with reference to these courses can be obtained for a few pence each from the Publication Department of the B.B.C.

An eight-page talks programme is also now ready, and will be gladly furnished free to any listeners who send their name and address or a request postcard to the B.B.C. Publication Department.

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142, High Holborn LONDON, W.C.1

GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

Good news from abroad is scarce at the present time. There is so much unrest in all parts of the world, so much strain in international affairs, so many unsolved political and economic problems that the news of the day makes discouraging reading.

But there is good news from abroad if we know where to look for it. The Bible Society has a story to tell of fine achievement on behalf of the Kingdom of God during the past twelve months—a shining record of all that is being done through the dissemination of the Scriptures to bring men and women and young people to a knowledge of Jesus Christ.

This is the first of a series of advertisements which will set forth some of the outstanding events of the year, and which will describe the amazing results of the translation of the Scriptures into many tongues, the undoubted blessing of the wider circulation of God's word in many lands, the wonderful power of the Gospel over many individual lives.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

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

Effective English

No. 2

October, 1934

For Ambitious
Men and Women

What Good English Means to You

By a WELL-KNOWN AUTHOR

YOUR English can be the greatest weapon you have, but if defective it can, like a faulty rifle, do you serious injury. You may not know that promotion in business is being held up by your slips in English, or that you are handicapped socially. You can discover such a trouble only by looking at results.

What effect has your phraseology on other people? If you fail to convince; if you use such phrases as, "You know what I mean," "I mean to say;" if you cannot make your meaning clear; if you stumble over words; if your arguments seem weak and pointless—if you in any way fail to do your thoughts justice, then your English is faulty.

Words are the vehicle of thought. A good vocabulary and an easy, forceful presentation in good English enable you to convey your ideas in logical sequence and attractive form.

Next to the ability to think, the ability to express oneself convincingly is the most valuable tool one can have in one's

equipment. Out of every ten people who rise from perhaps humble beginnings to fame, nine do so because they have equipped themselves with effective English.

If you are properly ambitious your aim should be to make your English error-proof, instantly effective and impressive. Then your employer, your friends, your clients or customers and your casual acquaintances will respond to your resulting personality as you wish them to do. *Good English is the key to SUCCESS.*

* * *

In its ten lessons in Effective English, a spare-time Course which, because of its fascination, seems more like a delightful hobby than a scientific study system, the Regent Institute provides a remedy for the troubles outlined in this article. If you lack the ability to express yourself effectively and are handicapped socially or in business as a result, here at a moderate cost is the means of supplying your deficiency.

Success through Mastery of English

What Students Say

"IMMENSE BENEFIT"

The many letters on file at the Regent Institute testify to the substantial benefits obtained by students who have taken the Postal Course in Effective English. A few extracts:

"I feel I must write to tell you of the immense benefit I have derived from the Course. My power of expression has greatly improved. Before taking the Course I was always shy and felt uncomfortable in the company of others. Now I am perfectly at ease in any company."

"The Course has made me more mentally alert. My regret is that I did not take up such a Course years ago."

"The Course has had a decided effect upon my ability to speak in public, and considerably increased my powers of expression."

"Your Course has been a wonderful help to me, and I am pleased to say I have prospered by it."

"In sending in my last two lessons of your wonderful Course I wish to thank you very sincerely for the benefit I have derived from it. Not only has it improved my literary taste, but it has also given me greater confidence both in my work and socially."

A FREE BOOKLET "Word Mastery"

Write to-day for a free copy of "Word Mastery," an interesting booklet which explains the importance of good English and describes the unique advantages offered by the Regent Postal Course in Effective English.

Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (3d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 374A), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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

Please send me, free of charge, and without any obligation on my part:

- A copy of your booklet, "Word Mastery," describing your Postal Course in Effective English and Personal Efficiency.
- Particulars of the moderate fee and the convenient terms of payment.

Name
(BLOCK LETTERS)
Address

Can You Write an Effective Letter?

By HUBERT FRANCIS

THE importance of good letter-writing in business cannot be over-estimated. Stereotyped phrasing is fatal.

The letter that wins clients and customers is the letter that compels attention, describes vividly and is discreetly persuasive and presented in attractive form.

Whether you are an employer or an employee, your success in business is determined to a large extent by your method of saying what you have to say

in letter form. You can be made or marred by what you write.

If you cannot convey yourself to your friend, your client, your employer, or your customer, you are doing yourself a grave injustice and prejudicing your correspondent against you.

Letter-writing and writing in general play such a big part in modern life that whatever your ambition be, you cannot afford to neglect to make yourself proficient in the art.

The Social Value of Good English

By ANNE RICHMOND

TO talk well is one of the greatest — I am inclined to believe that it is the greatest — of social accomplishments.

Unlike most of the accomplishments that set a man or woman above the crowd and are dependent on talent, it is within the reach of everyone who will take the trouble to acquire it. The first step is to start to master one's language—not an onerous task when one goes about it in the right way.

Nothing is more embarrassing than to feel that you are likely to make blunders when you are talking, and not be able to guard against them. You become self-conscious and hesitate in your speech; although you long for companionship, you dread to meet people.

Good English is an open sesame to some of life's most coveted treasures—friendship, perfect understanding and sympathy.