

THE AVIATION
CONFERENCE

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IN MEMEL

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HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE



Dragon to St. George: "Isn't the West enough for you? Must you come interfering in the East also?"

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Stresa and Geneva

AT Stresa and at Geneva something was done to clear the air, first by the Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and later by the representatives of all the Council members of the League. So much at least was gained; and, perhaps, another advantage. In a delicate situation there seemed, for a while, a real danger that decisions might be taken which would block the way to an improvement. That mistake was avoided. Germany's neighbours put their trust in the League; they believe the only sure hope of world peace is the League; they would welcome Germany's return to the League.

Germany's Real Interest

GERMANY'S return has not become more likely. It is best described as inevitable in the end, but improbable at the present moment. The obstacle is in Berlin. Germany left Geneva because, in fact, full equality was not granted her. She feels she has a leading part to play in the world; she refuses to renounce her future. To-day, German references to the League are still occasionally resentful, occasionally contemptuous. But sooner or later the motive which took Germany out will bring her in again. Ostracism, even self-imposed, does not help a nation to exercise an effectual leadership. When the world decides in council what course it shall steer, a nation which holds aloof from the discussion must either lose touch or bring up the rear, the last laggard of the fleet. German opinion is deeply impressed by the eagerness of the League for the renewal of German membership. It does not yet appreciate that the chief beneficiary of renewal would be Germany herself.

No Bribe Offered

NEITHER at Stresa nor at Geneva was any bribe offered to buy Germany back into the League. That was wise. Neither was Germany rebuffed. The German claim to effect a one-sided change in a treaty without consultation with the other parties to the agreement had to be rejected. Faith must be kept. Not only the League as it now exists, but also any civilised world order would be impossible if accepted obligations could

be discarded arbitrarily, out of hand. But the insistence on fulfilment was not given an exclusive application. It was made general: all treaty pledges must be honoured. That, too, was wise. One of the commonest criticisms of the League, not less damaging than unfair, is the accusation that it is merely an elaborate device for enforcing the terms of the Versailles settlement. When a Council meeting was called to consider Germany's breach of the disarmament clauses, the critics at once exclaimed: "The League in its true colours—the policeman of Versailles." The proof is timely that the League does not assert the intangibility of one special treaty. It requires respect for all treaties.

The Council Vote

HOW firmly convinced are the members of the Council that a disregard of treaty obligations strikes at the roots of the League, and of world peace, was evidenced by the voting at Geneva. Notoriously, several Governments disliked the calling of the special meeting. They refused to take the lead. They would not allow their representatives to assume the normal duties of rapporteur and prepare an agreed form of words. For various reasons, and with various degrees of intensity, Poland, Spain, Argentina, Chile, and Turkey wished to be spectators rather than actors. Yet in the debate they found the challenge too plain for them to evade it, either in speech or vote. They stood by the principle, "faith must be kept." Only Denmark, whose League loyalty is beyond reproach, abstained, and that on doubts concerning wider policy, which did not question the sanctity of treaties. In Germany the competence of the League Council is vigorously disputed. There are signs, however, that the united voice of a dozen nations, separately anxious to be on the best of terms with Germany, has provoked some self-questioning.

Memel Warning

LITHUANIA is a small country, two-thirds the size of Scotland, with only half Scotland's population. The Lithuanians are facing with Scots' courage a dubious future. But they are not showing Scots' caution. They must have unimpeded use of Memel, their only possible port, if

they are to keep their independence. Yet in Memel, a German town by origin and history and present character, they are behaving with a reckless and selfish disregard of their own duties and other people's rights which threatens to lose them the world's sympathy. Although they accepted over ten years ago a Memel Convention, sanctioned by the League after a careful inquiry on the spot, and designed to do substantial justice to all local interests, they are still refusing to fulfil their bond. The League's attention has been called to Memel repeatedly; the Council has discussed the situation a dozen times. Patience, however, has failed to win any response. To-day Memel is living under arbitrary alien rule. Great Britain, France, and Italy, to whom, with Japan, Germany surrendered the territory at the end of the war, have addressed a strong protest to Lithuania. Lithuania is reminded that respect for her security will shrink unless she tolerates the liberties of Memel. Possibly a new task awaits the League. It may be invited to undertake in Memel the same guardianship of fair dealing which was entrusted to it fifteen years ago in the Saar and Danzig.

Danzig Election

IN Danzig, the status of a Free City, under the protection of the League, with a High Commissioner appointed by the League, is not felt to be intolerable. A general election of the local Diët has not given the two-thirds majority required for a change of the constitution. The population is German; the Nazis, who are in control, thought the moment opportune to appeal for a mandate, which would authorise them to destroy Danzig's existing democratic institutions. With doubtful propriety, German Ministers joined in a furious campaign. General Goering and Dr. Goebbels visited the city and addressed meetings. The opposition was subjected to relentless, systematic pressure; in some instances physical violence was used. But, in defiance of every forecast, the minority stood firm. Freedom of speech, and of the Press, and of the vote might have revealed the apparent minority a real majority. Certainly, the League's services are valued in Danzig. The most urgent demands of personal safety were not strong enough to compel two-thirds of the people to consent to their loss.

7,000,000 Answers

APRIL ends with 7,000,000 votes counted in the Peace Ballot. Whether the full total exceeds, or touches, or falls short of 10,000,000 depends on the calendar. If the time still left permits the whole of Great Britain to be covered thoroughly at least 10,000,000 is certain. The measure of success attained will be made known at a public meeting in the Albert Hall on June 27. The occasion and the list of speakers are an assurance of an historic conclusion to a unique chapter in British history.

Every party and class and church has had a share in winning the success; all will be represented in the audience drawn from every part of the country. The ballot has changed the balance of factors in world affairs; it has put a new weight behind Britain's drive for peace.

Easter School

THE Easter School of the L.N.U., held this year again at Oxford, has been an outstanding success. The numbers attending were larger than ever before, and there were more young people noticeable. Amongst the lecturers were Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Alec Wilson. Oxford, the "towery city and branchy between towers," was looking its loveliest in full array of cherry blossom under long hours of sun and short stormy showers.

The programme started with a review of contemporary political and economic thought—the problems of modern democracy, Fascism, Communism, and the New Deal in America. Next came the facts of international relations to-day, and discussions of Britain's policy—both of what it is and what it should be. One of these was a vigorous, racy and most amusing debate between Mr. Wightwick, an isolationist, who is working with Lord Beaverbrook, and Mr. Alec Wilson, as spokesman for the League. Finally, there were four stimulating lectures on the future of the League system, on the use of arms in enforcing peace, machinery for peaceful change, and economic co-operation.

As an experiment, two members of the School issued a daily newspaper which gave full reports of the lectures as well as a certain amount of idle chatter about Oxford. Copies of the five issues can be obtained post free from Headquarters at 1s. a set.

The Air Problem

THE two days' Conference on the Problems of the Air, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on April 3 and 4, exactly answered its purpose. It is described elsewhere in the present issue of HEADWAY; it is reported at length in a pamphlet about to be published by the Union. Two additional comments are offered here. The crowded audience, keenly interested and well-informed, was obviously intent upon the truth. It responded at once to argument drawn direct from personal experience. Captain Philip Mumford scored a triumph with his graphic little picture of air operations against Kurdish rebels in Irak, to prove that war, once it has begun, cannot be bowdlerised. The technical difficulties which most impressed were those outlined by Captain Balfour, of the Staff work required in time of peace to guarantee effective action in time of war and of supplying human reserves and material replacements on active service.



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EUROPE MEANS TO USE THE LEAGUE

FOR the moment the statesmen of Europe have ceased their journeyings across the Continent. The pause gives the nations an opportunity to assess the results of the recent consultations. What has been accomplished? What has still to be done?

A first glance brings disappointment. Germany is not back in the League. Disarmament seems no nearer. The peace-keeping nations are not more strongly bound to mutual defence against a peace-breaking nation. Some spectators, hasty and superficial, have concluded that the League has failed, again and finally. "It won't work," they say; "and now the Powers have stopped trying to make it work." The League, they argue, survives merely to provide a veneer of idealism for ugly facts. Real decisions used to be taken at Geneva; now Geneva registered decisions taken elsewhere on other than League principles. They mistake the case. They despair much too easily of the collective system. In their eagerness to throw up the sponge they miss the important things. A second glance brings reassurance. A steady survey of the world scene as it is to-day most significantly reveals not that the League is failing, but that the League is necessary.

The much advertised failures of the League prove nothing. They suggest the exact opposite of what the League's enemies suppose. They show the League occupied with important, urgent, difficult tasks. The League is not busied with trifles. It does not refuse to handle great matters. What is more, the matters with which it concerns itself on the demand, here of this nation and there of that, are such as have already defeated other methods of treatment. The agencies of a generation ago, confronting the problems of 1935, shrink from an attempt to devise a solution. They make way for the League. In so doing, they demonstrate the need for the League. They confess their inability to provide an alternative.

In the round of consultations and conferences which reached its momentary conclusion at Stresa and Geneva on April 14 and 17 there were many contradictions. But on one point there was unanimity. No one suggested any means other than the League of doing the world's work. Not even Hitler. Some nations are outside the League. They have reasons for their refusal to join, which seem good to them. They are the only judges. This, however, is so plain as to extort comment. Germany represents her abstention as possibly tem-

porary. The United States, in practice, very substantially modifies her theoretical aloofness. Japan has cut herself off from the vitalising stream of world affairs, with effects already harmful to her national life. All three, as a consequence of their non-membership, fill a feebler rôle in the world than that for which they are equipped. A nation cannot send itself to Coventry without retreating into a corner. And even Germany and the United States and Japan do not say the League ought to be abolished, or something else put in its place. So far as they are definite in their criticism they adopt the attitude of the League's individual critics. They wish to rechristen it. At Rome, London, Berlin, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Stresa, Geneva, no one challenged the League. Everyone took it for granted, as a necessary part of the existing world order.

In the meetings of the past four months, indeed, the recognition of the world's need for the League, so far from being enfeebled, has been given added emphasis. In that also most of the statesmen were nearly of one mind. The doctrine is a commonplace. In a world committed by the apparatus and the habits of its daily life to a multitude of international contacts world order must be organised if world anarchy is to be escaped. But to admit a truth is not to act on it. In the past, governments have often forgotten their theoretical assent when a crisis has occurred requiring its translation into political fact. The European diplomacy of 1935 offers many targets for attack. Confused, short-sighted, irresolute: by turns it has been all those. Yet it has possessed in increasing measure a redeeming merit. The world, it is coming to admit, not only needs a League but also needs to use the League it has. The League will preserve world peace if the members of the League will honour their pledges. There is the thread which traces a path through many tangled negotiations. With the caution their duty to their people requires them to exercise the governments of the peace-keeping nations explore the collective system. What contribution, they ask, must they make to the common defence? And with what force and how promptly will their neighbours come to their support?

The regional pacts now under discussion in many quarters are means to make real for all threatened nations the security to which the Covenant entitles them. Of course there are dangers. No policy is free from all risk of being twisted askew to serve wrong purposes. Behind the name "pact" an alliance may lurk. But the risk can be averted by bringing the pact strictly and loyally within the League system. Both the risk and how it must be met are well understood. The delay of France and Russia over their proposed two-party treaty of armed assistance against an aggressor is one among several signs. In Paris and in Moscow Ministers are scrutinising afresh the suggested terms to make doubly sure that nothing is sanctioned which conflicts with the Covenant. The most solid ground of hope afforded by Stresa and Geneva and their recent forerunners is the general resolve there expressed to be loyal to the League.

Peace is the common interest. The preservation of peace calls for common effort, towards which every nation has its special contribution to make. Such contributions are sure in proportion as the need for the League is realised—and the necessities of the League system.

STORM OVER MEMEL

By GODFREY TURTON

OF all the danger-spots that create uneasiness in Europe, one of the most threatening is Memel—the easternmost prong of the old German Empire, severed from Germany by the Peace Treaty, and now ceded to Lithuania. The concentration of military forces in East Prussia, the German Press campaign against Lithuania, and Germany's reluctance to participate in guarantees on that frontier, all tend to confirm the rumour that Memel is intended to follow the Saar back into the Nazi fold, whether the means used be peaceful or warlike (the former might lead to the latter). On March 25 last an especially critical stage was reached when, after a trial that had lasted since December 14, four Germans were condemned to death, and the remainder of the 123 prisoners to varying terms of imprisonment on charges of plotting to restore Memel to Germany, and (as far as the four condemned to death were concerned) of murdering an accomplice whom they suspected of betraying them.

This trial may be regarded as the latest instalment up to date of a historical process, first set in motion by the return of the Crusaders from the Crusades. The unemployed knights, no longer needed for the Holy Land, created such a problem in 13th century Germany that a new crusade had to be discovered for them. At that time, the only nation that remained pagan in Europe was the Lithuanian, a primitive race akin to no one but the Letts, and speaking a language whose closest parallel is with Sanskrit; accordingly, the Order of Teutonic Knights was founded, whose purpose was to spread Christianity up the Baltic coast. The knights were well armed, the Lithuanians disunited and defenceless. Soon the nearest of the Lithuanian tribes had been utterly exterminated (the Prussians—their name was later adopted by the invaders) and, of the rest, those who survived were duly Christianised.

But the invaders remained, building themselves castles from which they could command the countryside and collecting especially into little communities along the coast, which soon developed into trading stations. These communities were the origin of the Hanseatic towns—Danzig, Memel and Riga. All, to this day, have a predominantly German population. Where the Germans failed to obtain political control (as at Riga), their influence did not spread inland. But Memel in 1422 was incorporated into Prussia, and in 1870 into the German Reich. Memelland (Memel and its hinterland), which Germany

lost in 1918, has an area of roughly 1,600 square miles. The census taken in 1925 showed that, of its population, more than half were Germans; the others were Lithuanians and "Memellanders." The "Memellanders," although of Lithuanian origin, had become so Germanised through the centuries that they were indistinguishable from Germans. Perhaps the best analogy is the Anglo-Scottish colony in Ulster. The present Ulstermen are invaders, who drove out the indigenous Irish. The Lithuanian claim to Memelland is in many respects comparable with Mr. de Valera's to Ulster.

On October 9, 1920, the Polish general, Zeligowski, posing as a private filibuster, seized and occupied Vilna, the Lithuanian capital; his action, though officially repudiated, was tacitly condoned by the Polish Government, and Vilna has remained a part of Poland ever since. At that time, Memelland, although severed from Germany, had not yet been allotted to any other State; the question of its independence was indeed under discussion. But the Poles had taught the Lithuanians a lesson. On January 9, 1923, the Lithuanians, in their turn, undertook a filibustering expedition; Memel was occupied (the French garrison, representing the Allies, had been instructed to offer no resistance), and on February 16 of the same year the Conference of Ambassadors legalised the accomplished fact.

Lithuania, in effect, had obtained Memel in exchange for Vilna, but on certain conditions. The Statute of Memel, to which she put her signature, provided (*inter alia*) that Memelland should enjoy an autonomous, representative régime, under a Governor appointed by the Lithuanian Government (a sort of "Dominion status"), and that all nationalities, races and creeds should have equal treatment. It is admitted, even by the Lithuanians, that this arrangement was never put satisfactorily into action. On the one hand, the Germans (the vast majority of the population) were openly intriguing for a return to Germany. On the other, the Lithuanians, jealous of their only access to the sea, and (possibly) rendered desperate by the general insecurity of their country among its giant

neighbours, did all they could to "Lithuanise" the territory; Lithuanian became more and more the official language, and the language for instruction in the schools, although it was unintelligible to most of the inhabitants.

The climax came on December 17, 1931, when Herr Boettcher, President of the Memel Directory (Prime Minister, one might say,



The Main Street of Memel.

of Memelland), visited Berlin, and entered into unauthorised negotiations with the German Government. The Lithuanian Governor replied by demanding his resignation and, when the Diet refused to nominate any one in his stead, appointed a successor himself, in whom the Diet passed a vote of no confidence. The Governor then dissolved the Diet, and new elections were held under strong Lithuanian influence, so that only two out of 29 deputies in the new Diet represent the old German parties. Germany appealed against this action to the League of Nations, and, on April 11, 1932, the matter was brought before the International Court at the Hague, which decided that the Governor had power to remove the President of the Directory but not its other

members, and that the dissolution of the Diet was illegal. Despite this decision, the new illegal Diet, strongly pro-Lithuanian, continues to govern Memelland.

These are the circumstances which led up to the alleged pro-German plot, for which the 123 prisoners have been condemned in Kovno. Undoubtedly, Lithuania has the right to punish her own subjects found guilty of sedition; yet, at the same time, it might be well for the peace of the world if she gave them less cause to be seditious. Memel is not only Lithuania's sole port, but it provides a buffer of safety between the zones of Germany and Russia. Even a buffer, however, must be administered with due regard to the rights of its inhabitants.

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

By P. W. MARTIN, of the I.L.O.

ECONOMIC planning from an international point of view consists at present in a process of watchful waiting. This, be it said, is very different from doing nothing. Watchfulness in this connection entails understanding and following closely the infinitely varied forms of Government intervention in some thirty or forty different countries. Waiting implies waiting with an object in view. That object is possible action towards the reconstruction of an international economic system. In essence, the task that those concerned with international economic planning have before them is to distinguish which forms of national action may possibly serve as a basis for world action. A rapid survey of the field as it at present appears will help to give this statement meaning.

At the two extremes of economic planning are, on the one hand, the Soviet system of State management; on the other, the economic interventionism of a number of countries to which the term "planning," even in its broadest interpretation, is barely applicable. Between these two there are a large number of experimental intermediate measures being talked about and tried.

The most obvious of these is what might be called the "cartel" type of planning. Whether on their own initiative, or on the encouragement or compulsion of the State, individual producers are coming together to organise their respective industries. Certain aspects of the corporations in Italy and the industrial codes in the United States are of this type. The law on the Organic Construction of German Economy, the Control of Principal Industries Act in Japan, the Enabling Bills providing for the collective organisation of producers which have been under discussion or are coming up for examination in France, in the Netherlands and in Great Britain, are aiming in the same direction. In half a dozen other countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Austria and Yugoslavia, plans for the co-ordination of producers' activities are in process of application.

Industrial organisation of this description takes a wide variety of forms, but typically it aims at the regulation of production with the object of preventing prices from being forced down to unremunerative levels. In other words, when the demand for a particular product is failing to keep pace with the supply

of that product, instead of permitting competition between individual producers to drive down prices—possibly to the point where the great majority in the industry will be on the brink of bankruptcy—it is proposed to adjust production to the rate of consumption so as to keep a price which the producers regard as reasonable. There are many other aspects of the "cartel" type of planning besides this; but regulation of production in place of unrestricted competition is the essential feature. Manifestly there is much to be said in favour of such a system and much to be said against it. What is important here is to note not so much the controversial aspects of the matter as the fact that measures of this type are being considered and adopted in a large number of countries.

A second form of national economic planning assumes the shape of an expansionist monetary policy. A country, in co-operation with its central bank, takes steps to put a larger volume of money (credit as well as currency) into circulation. The plentifulness of money thus brought about tends to raise the price of securities and, as a consequence, to lower the rate of interest. This in turn helps to reduce costs and encourages new enterprise. Furthermore, the Government may elect to borrow part of the additional funds so made available, and by using them for public works and similar purposes places this "new money" in the hands of people who will use it to buy goods. In this way the total money demand for goods may be deliberately increased, thereby tending to level up consumption to the country's capacity to produce.

Here, again, there is much to be said for and against such measures; but, as before, the essential point for present purposes is that a number of countries have moved in this direction during recent years. Sweden and Japan are the two nations with outstandingly successful records of recovery attributable largely to a monetary policy of this type. Germany, Great Britain, and the United States have all adopted variations on the expansionist theme with varying success. Even the countries belonging to the Gold Bloc, such as France, have of late made tentative excursions in this direction.

These, then, are two forms of national economic planning: the organisation of producers with the object of levelling production down to consumption;

and expansionist monetary policies aiming at levelling consumption up to production. There are other types of "intermediate" planning being tried, but none of such importance as these two. The question which the international economic planner has to resolve is whether either or both of these types of measures may possibly serve as a basis for reconstructing a world economic system.

At present the situation is far too nebulous for any positive conclusions to emerge. Nevertheless, there is some hope to be seen in both of these fields—particularly that of expansionist technique. If it be supposed that a number of countries were taking all possible measures to reinforce and sustain effective demand upon their home markets, it is to be expected that they would not be so unwilling to receive goods from abroad as they must be so long as effective demand is not being sustained. Conceivably there may be here a basis for a system of freer international trade than at present exists. Again, if the various countries are all taking measures to keep up demand, and so prevent disastrous declines in the price level such as occurred during the period 1929-32, it is possible that they

might arrive at a basis for a system of more stable exchange rates than has been the case during the last three years.

Patently the major industrial countries of the world are still very far from the point where they could reach an agreement to base a system of freer trade and of more stable exchange rates upon an agreed policy of sustaining effective demand. The prospect, however, is not altogether without hope. Under the stress of severe depression the evolution of opinion proceeds much more rapidly than anyone would have anticipated. Within the space of only a few years, a large part of the world has been led to abandon the deflationary "solution" of industrial depression in favour of expansionist methods. It is by no means impossible that the new outlook which has thus rapidly developed will not stop short within the confines of a narrow nationalist vision but, once the obvious advantages of world agreement to sustain effective demand are adequately understood, will extend into the international field. It is then that international economic planning will be called upon to change from watchful waiting to positive action.

14 BIRMINGHAM SCHOOLS SHOW THE WORLD

By W. R. SWALE

WHEN Mr. J. B. Priestley's "English Journey" brought him unwillingly to Birmingham, his first impressions formed a somewhat dyspeptic mixture of chocolate, interminable tram rides, and a local passion for whist. Had Mr. Priestley visited Birmingham Town Hall during its two days' tenancy by the League of Nations Union, what a vastly different picture might have resulted!

I should begin by explaining that the Town Hall on those two days was the scene of an International Exhibition of unique interest to members of the League of Nations Union. Its organisers were the Birmingham Junior Council, an association of League of Nations Union branches in twenty-one local grammar and secondary schools, formed some ten years ago to co-ordinate and stimulate common interest in the many aspects of the League's activities. From small beginnings, the Junior Council has reached a position of considerable importance in inter-school affairs, and its annual meetings—held, from motives of economy, in a commodious but rather out-of-the-way church institute—have been notable functions. This year, for the first time, we have appeared fully in the public eye.

The idea of an international display originated with the boys of King Edward's School, Five Ways, whose branch of the L.N.U. has played a leading part in the work of the Junior Council since its inception. Last Easter a European exhibition was held at the school, at which almost every nation was represented. In addition, the boys gave lantern lectures, plays in French and German, demonstrations of poison gas manufacture, and a striking exhibition of war relics and photographs. As a result of this very successful pioneer effort, it was decided, with considerable trepidation, to attempt a universal exhibition on a larger scale, and the Town Hall was obtained for one day.

Fourteen schools at once agreed to take part, each responsible for a nation or group of nations. Thus, while France, Germany, Russia each occupied the attention of a school, the whole of South America was entrusted to one branch, the Balkans to another, and

so on. Early discussions on general plans were marked by somewhat pessimistic caution, but it became immediately obvious that the idea appealed strongly to the branch members, and by Christmas most schools had an effective scheme in being. Geography, history, art and handicraft teachers were drawn in to advise, direct and organise, and small study-groups were formed to collect facts and statistics, plan display schemes, and build models. Most of the girls taking part began work on national costumes with the help of parents and friends. In the meantime, the sale of 2d. tickets, aided by excellent advance notices in the local Press, had been so rapid that the Town Hall was booked for a second day.

By the beginning of the Easter term work was in full swing, and reports of branch organisers showed that boys and girls were taking up the idea with enthusiasm. Each branch was allowed the fullest freedom of treatment within the limited ground space available. The aim of the whole exhibition had been broadly stated as seeking to spread a spirit of international understanding in two ways—by depicting the life, scenery, customs and resources of the countries of the world, and by showing the measure of each country's contribution to the sum of human culture. Thus it was less the Germany of Hitler and the Saar that we saw, than of Beethoven and the Rhine. Raphael and Galileo, it was felt, had left a deeper mark on Italian culture than Mussolini. Political considerations were, as far as possible, excluded from the exhibition for obvious reasons, although this was not altogether possible in the stall devoted to the New Russia.

With all the preliminary preparation finished at the schools, work began at the Town Hall early on Monday morning, and by midday the exhibition was more or less in being, thanks to the heroic work of some scores of enthusiastic amateur carpenters, artists, sign-painters and general odd-job men and women. From the outset, the spirit of international co-operation was much in evidence; France might be seen lending

drawing-pins to Germany without thought of reparations, while the sight of an Italian helping an Abyssinian beauty with her make-up occasioned little comment.

As soon as the doors were opened at four o'clock, both halls of the exhibition were packed with sight-seers, and remained so until the closing hour. In the meantime, troops of girls in national costume were performing folk-dances of many nations in the basement hall; school choirs gave characteristic folk songs, and boys and girls delivered a series of most interesting lantern lectures on the beauties of their respective countries. So popular did this variety performance prove with the audience that, although seats were available for nearly five hundred, many hundreds of visitors were unable to gain admission to any of the four and a half hours' programme.

Great as was the attendance on Monday, that of Tuesday exceeded all expectations. By six o'clock, when the Lord Mayor of Birmingham and our President, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, paid an official visit, standing room on the floors was only just comfortable, and every seat in the building was occupied.

Why the Rural Worker is Indifferent

By JOHN BROWN

LAST summer I was addressing a meeting on behalf of the Union in a little Cambridgeshire town. After the crowd had dispersed, I had a talk with some of the workers who had been listening. They were interested in the League, but they could not quite make up their minds to join the Union. I sensed some unspoken doubts, and asked them what was the difficulty. The atmosphere of the meetings was not congenial, apparently. They never felt quite at home with the vicar and the colonel and their wives, and the other local notables. The workers felt "out of it" a little, they said.

I have learnt that their problem was typical, and believe that until a solution is found it will keep thousands of workers scattered through rural Britain outside the Union.

In Oxfordshire, a young farm labourer told me that he never went to the "peace meetings" because they were "not for working men." My experiences in the north confirmed the impression made by these and similar incidents, and there is no doubt in my mind that the atmosphere of most rural branches is too formal, too "middle class," to attract the farm labourers and other manual workers.

In many cases the men who "run" the villages and small towns are the chief officials of the Union branches. Retired army officers, clergymen, business men, or postmasters, their work on various bodies has accustomed them to public speaking, and it is little wonder that many workers feel "out of it" when entering such an atmosphere.

The workers feel somehow that they are being "talked down to," and a conscious, or subconscious, resentment develops, which expresses itself in a boycott of the meetings. In this way many good men are lost to the movement. They concentrate on the local adult education classes or the political parties, in which they are treated in a very different way, and their comments, however halting, are invited and encouraged.

Then the political parties have colourful slogans and exciting meetings. There are leaders to follow or to abuse, stormy struggles, banners, and symbols—points of importance to a man who has completed an arduous day's toil and needs some emotional stimulus.

By this time the doors had been closed, and wide queues extended right round the Town Hall. No such scenes had been witnessed since the Peace Congress meeting last summer, and only the heroic exertions of a large body of schoolboy stewards kept the crowds under control.

What were outstanding impressions? First, perhaps, the mass of solid hard work undertaken by the boys and girls of all the schools during months of preparation, and in the Town Hall itself the cheerful good fellowship and perfect discipline. Then the interest aroused both in schools and among the general public who flocked to the exhibition—an interest concerned as much with ideals as with the actual presentation. The delightful dancing and singing. The ingenuity of the many models and the charm of the daintily costumed girl stewards. The appealing homeliness of bacon and eggs from Denmark facing the flamboyant challenge of the great swastika over the German exhibits. All these will remain in the memory, with one outstanding fact: the Junior Council has become a Birmingham institution, and Birmingham boys and girls will see to it that it does not look back.

Boredom is a constant problem for the young fellows in the villages. Films and dances are rare, and there are few other attractions. The village inn is losing its hold in most counties, and the various social organisations have little appeal. The first movement with colour and life and discipline will win them, just as National Socialism magnetised the German peasants.

I have seen groups of men standing outside church halls in Cambridgeshire villages when interesting lectures were being given on foreign affairs. Their attitude was one of unreasonable opposition, which they would not be coaxed out of in five minutes. Yet they were friendly enough when approached. This matter of approach is, I am convinced, of the greatest importance.

A personal canvass is by far the best way of awakening interest, and is a weighty factor in securing the goodwill of the womenfolk. When possible, the best times of the day for finding people at home should be noted, and an exhaustive series of house-to-house calls made. No door should be missed, even that of the local incorrigible. Imaginary slights may do a great deal of damage; business must be carried through. Canvassing often starts off on a wave of enthusiasm, which quickly evaporates, leaving the job half—perhaps only a quarter—finished.

Branch organisation itself raises other questions. It is not enough to have working men on the committee. They should always be represented among the officials, even if this may at first appear a sacrifice of efficiency.

The atmosphere of the branch meetings should be much more informal. Present officials are well-intentioned, but even the manner of speaking of some is a bar to a free and easy discussion. They seem to imagine themselves perpetually in front of a microphone, forgetting that while each syllable may deserve its due weight, a subtle unease may be stirring in the people sitting opposite.

At the trade union or political party meeting, hard words are freely exchanged; there are endless controversies; finest of all, there is a chance to take sides. The workers feel that they are among real human beings. Chairmen of Union branches are frequently

disinclined to allow discussion of controversial matters, which is a great mistake. Nothing is so likely to break down the barriers between classes as vital sword-crossings.

Speakers should remember that the ideas of the average rural worker about foreign countries may differ a great deal from theirs. Tens of thousands of workers turn first of all to the sporting pages and the lighter features when they buy a newspaper. They are interested in crime reports. Adventure and violence contrast greatly with the drabness of ordinary life. Photographs are studied. But so far as the rest of the news is concerned, headlines and sub-titles are enough. Politics, finance, foreign affairs, and leading articles? Trial of that stuff before has shown it insufferably tedious.

The rural worker thinks of nations under the old history-book labels. France is a solid, indivisible unit, with one people and one policy. But the middle-class reader of the literary weeklies and the newspaper "leaders" pictures France as an empire run by a group of politicians under MM. Flandin and Laval,

operating a policy, which may be changed, as the Government may be changed, at short notice. He can conceive another sort of France, with La Rocque at the head of a Croix de Feu Ministry, or even a Soviet France under Cachin. In fact, *his* France is plastic, very different from the worker's France.

Officials of country branches seem to me to be sometimes lacking in respect for their worker members. They should reflect that a man is not necessarily inarticulate or dull because he has little to say at meetings. If they heard the same man in his favourite bar-room afterwards they would probably be surprised!

Another point worth considering is that there are few working-class women in our country towns and villages who are not loyal supporters of the League, as is shown by the Ballot results. That they are not already linked with the Union can only mean that the right approach has not been made. Or, what is more likely, the wrong approach *has*. For just as the workers are sensitive to "atmosphere," so have their wives good noses for detecting patronising airs.

Is the Union Policy too Technical?

By COMMANDER A. G. OLLIVER, R.N.

HEADWAY is to be congratulated on welcoming criticism of Union peace policy by its members. We have but one objective, though many plans for its achievement.

Should we not try to educate the nation up to the views of the centre of our Union opinion? And, instead of forcing extreme views down everybody's throat, give these views thorough and impartial investigation in the light of their real possibility and the attitude of other nations to them. These investigations, and Union pamphlets and resolutions on them, should not be one-sided propaganda for untried theories, but a sane quest for facts showing both sides of the question, the real difficulties to be overcome, and the repercussions that may be caused. Continual liaison should be kept with the Government, so that its knowledge can be used and its difficulties respected. The Union can never know as much as the Government, nor is the Union responsible for the results of a false step.

But, instead of central opinion, do not our extremists decide Union policy? Are not some of our pamphlets, and the outlook of some of the Executive, based on one-sided, impracticable obsessions? And not on what they ought to be, a determination to seek after the truth, and then to proclaim all sides of it, for the education of our nation and the world!

Examples are easy to find. In the Union pamphlet, "Traffic In Arms": "The armament firms have but one interest, that the demand for material of war should be as great as possible. . . . A distant conflict is satisfactory; but best of all is a war in which their own country is engaged." Possibly true of some, in the past, but untrue to-day of every British firm. The same pamphlet on Japan's occupation of Manchuria: "Manchuria reduced from a prosperous region of trade to a desolate anarchy." Is this really true?

In an article in HEADWAY, December, 1933, "The End of a Myth," a member of our Executive, by a suppression of most of the truth, tried to prove that Britain had in no way disarmed.

Again, we have been told that all the ballot questions come from the Covenant. Is this true of the question about the abolition of the private manufacture of arms? I can only find, in the Covenant,

that the practice is open to grave objections, and that the Council should advise how the evil effects can be prevented. Why should abolition, which is not mentioned in the Covenant, and not regulation, also, have been included in the ballot? If one's neighbour's dog has bitten one, surely one can be satisfied, at first, by effective muzzling or chaining up before requiring extermination.

These unnecessary inaccuracies and one-sidedness make one doubt whether their authors, however well meaning, have sufficiently balanced judgment to guide or decide our policy.

"Don't speak to the man at the wheel!" Does not our Union sometimes even jog his elbow when he is going round a dangerous corner? Was this not done by the recent Union resolution criticising the Government's Defence White Paper? The central opinion of the Union welcomes Collective Security, as far as it is at present practicable; but thinks it dangerous and dishonourable for our Government to pledge itself to commitments beyond its power to fulfil. It believes in Locarno. Union speakers have explained this practical step in mutual Collective Security as making the odds against the aggressor of 3½ to 1. The new proposed air pact, provided we have parity in the air with Germany and France, again makes it 3½ to 1 against an air aggressor. But if we had remained weak the odds would be far less. Yet when action is taken to increase these wholesome odds, our Union, forgetting the tribute paid by this White Paper to the League ideal, lets out a howl before the details of the defence estimates were even published!

If the British Government is to influence the world it must have the nation behind it. To bring party politics into the peace issue does untold harm.

We are well up the ladder of progress. If we attempt to reach the top in one rash jump there is risk of us falling almost to the bottom. Let our centre opinion, which believes in consolidating our gains, and in step-by-step progress, govern our policy. In educating the nation, let us put aside one-sided obsessions, seek solely after the truth in all matters, face all the facts, and publish both sides of all questions, and never, blinded by sentiment, rashly plunge in the dark.

L. N. U. CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT: CONTROL OF CIVIL

THE two days' conference on Aviation, arranged by the Union and held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on April 3 and 4, was an unusual success. It fulfilled the purpose for which it had been designed. Each speaker brought his expert contribution to the argument, avoiding any use of platform oratory and giving his time to a reasoned statement of the points he considered crucial. The audience was interested. Occasionally it applauded, but much more often it paid the speeches the higher compliment of following them with close attention. On both the Wednesday and the Thursday, from 2.30 to 7 o'clock, with a brief interval for tea, several hundred men and women followed step by step a development of the air problem, at once systematic and various. No evidence could have demonstrated more conclusively their desire to arrive at the truth than the equal hearing they gave to the case with which they agreed and the case from which they dissented.

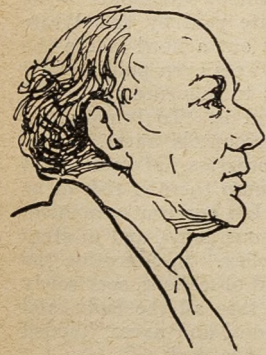
The last speaker from the platform, Professor C. K. Webster, summing up the impression made on his own mind, twitted the advocates of an international air force with the diversity of their views. One man, one plan, he hinted. He was right in his facts. But surely they were open to a different conclusion from his own. Some at least of the audience were inclined to retort that if the many difficulties in the way appeared to careful inquirers to be conquerable by several means, then to accept them as fatal betrayed merely a weakness of will. Obstacles which cannot be surmounted are obstacles for whose defeat no one can suggest even a single plausible plan. Indeed, perhaps the major result of the conference was the virtual unanimity on the part of a dozen highly qualified speakers, chosen for their contrasted experience and opinions, that (1) disarmament in the air, (2) international control or internationalisation of civil aircraft, and (3) an international air force, are all possible, provided the political will to achieve them exists.

Lord Cecil insisted on this truth from the Chair at the first session and it was emphasised repeatedly each day. One of Mr. Vyvyan Adams' best hits was his quotation of Senor de Madariaga's barbed epigram: "Technical difficulties are only political difficulties in uniform." Mr. Jonathan Griffin was equally happy in the illustration he chose. "Of course," he said, "the difficulties are great, but the difficulties are immense of raising taxation, yet it is done." Later, the most unqualified assertion to which Professor Mitrany committed himself was that technical difficulties had never prevented the

creation of any institution when the will to create it existed. And Air-Commodore Fellowes also lent his support. In his candid preliminary confessions, he described the discussion of an international air force as academic, not because he thought the task of recruiting, maintaining, commanding, and operating such a force specially formidable, but because he believed the peoples of the world were neither ready now nor likely to be ready in the near future to give it their approval. Even Professor Webster, though he put the technical difficulties very high, did not go so far as to declare them prohibitive. It was Sir Philip Sassoon who seemed most daunted by them; and he refrained from distinguishing between technical and political difficulties. Unfortunately Sir Philip was called away by his official duties before he could hear and answer the question of Commander Ross, who inquired whether it was not the absence of political resolution rather than any technical impossibility which stood in the way of complete air disarmament.

On another matter the speakers were not less near a common opinion. It was a matter not less fundamental than the political nature of the more intractable difficulties in the way of any comprehensive scheme of disarmament and security in the air. Almost with one voice they denounced unlimited national sovereignty.

Mr. Moelwyn Hughes was, perhaps, the most emphatic, but his judgment was confirmed with almost equal vigour. Speaking as an international lawyer, Mr. Hughes said experience had long been convincing him always more strongly that for the sake of the world's peace national sovereignty must be modified. Although it was a relatively modern conception, it was so deeply ingrained in present modes of thought that it could not be rooted out by direct attack. But its flank might be turned. He believed the maintenance and use of an international air force would outflank it and throw it on the defensive to humanity's great gain. The internationalisation of flying, he admitted, confronted the lawyers with several knotty problems, but they could all be answered. The command of the body to whom control would be entrusted, the legal standing of aerodromes and air fleets, and the allegiance of the staff, were all matters for debate in which no guidance could be obtained from any exact precedent. Helpful analogies, however, were available. He was specially interesting in his views on the personal status of the members of an international air service. They should, he argued, be not only inter-



Viscount Cecil



Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P.



Mr. Jonathan Griffin



Prof. C. K. Webster



Brig.-Gen. Spears, M.P.



Air-Commodore Fellowes



Lt.-Col. Moore-Brabazon, M.P.



Dr. Gooch

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AIR AVIATION: AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE

nationalised but denationalised. They must be freed from allegiance to an individual country. Then, he was convinced, they would develop a world loyalty of the utmost value in the performance of their particular tasks, and scarcely less precious as a model for future developments of the world system.

Professor Mitrany, the Rumanian authority on political science, who holds a distinguished academic position in the United States, agreed in substance with Mr. Moelwyn Hughes. His chief interest lay, however, in the changes required in the League Covenant if an international air force is to be established and employed. Any such force, he was satisfied ought to be a true international force, homogeneous and permanent, subject to an international command and paid for out of international funds. He thought national contingents assembled for a special limited purpose inadequate. The risk must not be run of a dissentient nation saying: "We do not approve of this decision; we will not co-operate in that action" and thereupon withdrawing their contingent. He acknowledged the success of the international military force in the Saar, but because of the special local circumstances he was persuaded it did not afford a decisive example for the keeping of world peace by world arms. The Covenant, as it stood, did not provide for an international force.

The Council required further powers, and to permit of such powers being brought into play with the necessary promptitude and vigour, the rule of unanimity would have to be amended. A majority decision of the Council should suffice. The unanimity now required was one of the reasons for the League's failures. Another was the non-membership of several nations, particularly the United States. There was no whole-hearted acceptance of the League idea, no sufficient will to operate the League machinery. Unless a stronger League spirit could be aroused the creation of an international air force, Professor Mitrany was afraid, would increase rather than diminish the disinclination of non-member nations to join and would induce member nations to cling still more tenaciously to the unanimity rule. The assertion of unlimited national sovereignty would be more obstructive than before. He concluded with a striking phrase: the authority of the League could not be enhanced simply by placing a heavy weapon in a weak arm. Later, in answer to a question, he developed his illustration. It would be fatal for the League, he said, if, holding a

heavy weapon in a strong arm, it was prevented in an hour of crisis from using it.

The technical experts dealt with what they themselves considered the lesser difficulties. Air-Commodore Fellowes, while disbelieving on political grounds in the likelihood of an international air force, found no insurmountable obstacle in his professional survey. He believed a world air force could be raised, equipped, trained and employed on the highest level of efficiency. He expressed the highest admiration for the American service, and remarked that it was composed of members of all the European nations, which did not in the least militate against its devotion. In his refusal to be daunted by the technical difficulties, he was supported by Brigadier-General Spears and Mr. Vyvyan Adams, though they differed in their answer to the questions put by Professor Manning, who asked: Was an international air force intended (1) to parry air attack by an aggressor, or (2) to inflict on an aggressor more damage than he caused, or (3) to guarantee that an aggressor should be decisively defeated in the war which he had provoked? General Spears thought the use of an international air force should be a police service of watching and warning. Behind the national police stood the forces of the nation, to be brought into play if a threat to order was so obstinate that the police could not restrain it. Few threats grew beyond police control. In the same way in world affairs, very seldom would an air force, representative of all the peace-keeping nations, be defied by a nation inclined to break the peace. Air-Commodore Fellowes was inclined towards a stronger international air force with wider functions. Mr. Vyvyan Adams, while desiring an international air police to assure respect for disarmament in the air, would use it also as part of the armed forces behind the collective system. They looked towards a League Cabinet or Executive Committee of the Council empowered to act at once.

One member at least of the audience, committed to neither side, who listened closely throughout two days, prepared to follow the argument wherever it led, came away convinced: first, that the technical obstacles are not insurmountable; and, secondly, that world political conditions very different from the present must be created. Also, perhaps, inclined to suspect that, after such political changes, in an international order committed to thorough-going co-operation, an international air police force might be found no great matter.

RESTORING PROSPERITY No. 1

HOW THE LEAGUE HAS TRIED
TO HELP WORLD TRADE

By J. B. BULLOCK

OBSTACLES to world prosperity are not yielding to unco-ordinated national efforts. For four years governments have concentrated upon the economic problem. In a large number of countries impressive national plans for revival have been put in force. But visible recovery is small and precarious.

It is true that since 1933 forces of expansion have seemed to be at work again within the economic system. Wherever they have been manifest—in decreased unemployment here or larger exports there, in greater production in this place or a more favourable arrangement with defaulting debtors in another—they have been heralded in public pronouncements as signs of deliverance. But now the suspicion grows that these recuperative forces are being allowed to exhaust themselves against the resistance of obstructive policies. It is a grim possibility that the present recovery phase may be followed, not by prosperity, but by recession and another period of depression.

The economic crisis has left a trail of revolutions, uprisings, strikes and disorders, in every quarter of the globe. These events have caused heavy loss of life and much suffering; they have increased political insecurity, and weakened business confidence. But, should the hopes of recovery so carefully fostered by governments for the last year or more be doomed to disappointment, the long-tried patience of whole populations may fail, and the resulting social and political upheavals might be on a scale to endanger civilisation.

Recovery, then, must be salvaged. But how? It has been said over and over again in recent years on Union platforms and in Union publications that the difficulties in the way of a revival of prosperity will not be overcome without concerted economic action organised through the League of Nations. Many people, no doubt, have discounted this opinion as partial, pedantic, and perhaps, even bigoted. Surely it is now justified in experience?

Concerted economic action means a policy of economic neighbourliness. It means that nations should consult together and, as far as possible, act together in economic matters of common concern, and that each country should give consideration to the effects upon other countries of its economic policies. Such co-operation demands preparation. Information must be collected and studied. The bases of economic policy must be fixed by authoritative discussion and agreement. Finally, detailed recommendations have to be worked out for submission to governments. The history of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League is a record of growing experience and increasing efficiency in the discharge of just those functions.

The Organisation was conceived in the period of severe economic dislocation which followed the war. While still in embryo, it gathered the facts and figures which helped the League's Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920 to reach its conclusions. When we survey to-day the confusion in which the economic relations of Europe and the world are plunged, there is a crumb of hope to be found in remembering that States in extremity did accept, however grudgingly, the advice of the Brussels Conference, and by that means were enabled to achieve stability out of budgetary and monetary disorder.

But it was the World Economic Conference of 1927 which proved the League's capacity for economic leadership. The Conference, "responsible though not official, expert but not academic" (in M. Theunis' well-known phrase), adopted an unanimous Report* after three weeks' discussion and careful study of the very full information on every aspect of the world's economic troubles, collected and collated by the Economic Organisation. The Recommendations as a whole stand unchallenged. Their keystone was the declaration that "the maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are framed and executed."

Looking at the problems of agriculture, industry and commerce, together, the Conference saw clearly that "it would be vain to hope that one could enjoy lasting prosperity independently of the others." It was natural, therefore, that, while devoting attention to such questions as rationalisation and the reduction of costs in industry and credit facilities and co-operation in agriculture, the main emphasis in the Report was laid upon the conditions of commerce, the link between the other two—for, as the Conference noted, the exchange of agricultural against industrial products represents the very basis of commerce and world trade.

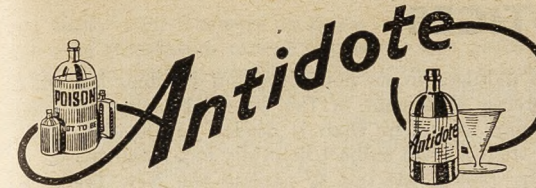
There is an impression in some quarters that, with regard to commerce, the Conference advocated an Utopian policy of Free Trade; so it may be well to recall that it did nothing of the kind. The evidence before the Conference left no doubt that every nation's trade was being seriously interfered with by the barriers established by other nations, and that the resulting situation was "highly detrimental to the general welfare." Accordingly, the Conference declared in favour of greater liberty of trading. In particular, it sought to simplify the Customs régime, to secure the abolition of import and export prohibitions and quotas, and to obtain greater stability of tariffs and the consolidation of duties by commercial treaties of reasonable duration, based on a model agreement, at least in respect of the interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause. On the levels of tariffs, the Conference made its famous pronouncement that "the time has come to put an end to the increase of tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." Like the Ottawa Conference at a later date, the delegates at Geneva aimed at the removal of excessive tariffs; and they proposed more than one form of negotiation which governments might follow to that end.

In this instance the nations used the League machinery, and used it successfully, to produce from their combined resources of knowledge and wisdom a programme of reform, which was sound, moderate and practical. The next step was to apply it in friendly collaboration. The President of the Conference, M. Theunis, observed in his closing address:—

"I cannot but believe that resolutions unanimously voted by a membership so widely representative both in qualifications and in nationality must profoundly influence the future economic policy of the world."

The sequel, which must await a subsequent article, was not to justify M. Theunis' hopes.

* Except for the formal adverse vote of the U.S.S.R.



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ADDRESS.....

POISON:

"To boost League of Nations 'Peace' Ballot, a leaflet is being broadcast which contains an open letter, signatories to which are 61 distinguished physicians and surgeons, members of London hospital staffs. It is unusual to find medical men of such standing engaging in political propaganda."—*Daily Express* article.

ANTIDOTE:

Apart from the fact that the Ballot is not political propaganda at all, evidently Lord Beaverbrook has not realised that surgeons and members of hospital staffs had a far closer acquaintance with war as it really was, than had newspaper proprietors whose personal contact with actual warfare was negligible.

* * *

POISON

"Give no subscriptions to the League of Nations Union, which seeks to make every war a world war. If you have paid hitherto, cancel your subscription now."—*Daily Express* leading article.

ANTIDOTE:

If every nation knows in advance that any invasion will be opposed by the entire world, there will be no invasion. Lord Beaverbrook evidently prefers that local warfare should be left undampened and that the resultant scare headlines should be permitted to develop without interference.

* * *

POISON:

"In the hour of our need, we shall secure the guarantees of peace under the Isolation policy. See the immense guarantees of Splendid Isolation. Our resources for war are far greater than those of the Germans . . . and there is nothing to prevent us increasing our strength if we decide that the needs of the moment demand it. . . . *From Isolation flows all the splendid possibilities of association with the United States. They are certain to find themselves in a common danger with us should troubles increase and multiply.*"—Article by Lord Beaverbrook in the *Sunday Express*, entitled "No More War."

ANTIDOTE:

The italicised portion of Lord Beaverbrook's own article amply exposes the utter emptiness of the suggested "Isolation."

* * *

POISON:

"Another way by which war can be averted is for the nations which want peace to be strong enough not only to defend themselves against their bellicose neighbours, but to play the policeman when the neighbours start quarrelling among themselves. Britain, by building a powerful air fleet and building it NOW, can not only make herself secure, but can do more to ensure peace in Europe for the next fifty years than a dozen Leagues of Nations."—Leading article in the *Sunday Dispatch*.

ANTIDOTE:

But just as Lord Rothermere invariably declines to attribute recognition of that policy to any other nation that elects to "build a powerful air fleet"—preferring always to hold up such a policy as a personal threat to Britain—so may the Gutter Press of neighbouring nations safely be relied upon to misunderstand Britain's motives similarly, in the event of our being so foolish as to permit ourselves to be guided by Lord Rothermere. C.C.T.

BOOK NOTICES

The Causes of the World War : An Historical Summary.
By Camille Bloch. (George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Professor Camille Bloch's story of the fatal weeks before August, 1914, is an excellent example of French scholarship, clear and compact. It is, perhaps, a little old fashioned. Its findings would not be accepted by German historians; many neutral authorities would insist on qualifying some of them. But it does strive to tell the truth, and its dating of events is minutely careful. As a consequence, it throws into just relief several matters not hitherto given their true value. Russia's general mobilisation, for instance, has often been named as the decisive turning-point in the feverish diplomacy of those last July days, when the final efforts to preserve peace were thwarted and a course set beyond control towards hostilities. M. Bloch records that Russian general mobilisation did not mean inescapable war; also that the disastrous effects, of which Russia's action is said to have been the cause, happened too early to have been produced in the way alleged. The word mobilisation plays a mischievous part in the controversy over war responsibilities. It applies indiscriminately to very different things and by hiding the real contrasts between the military systems of different countries encourages the unwary to draw erroneous conclusions. The order to mobilise started the wheels of the Russian Army revolving in one way at one pace; the order with the same name started the quite other wheels of the German Army revolving in another way at another pace. What is important to know is not the name but the fact behind. The fact does not justify the recent fashion of throwing nearly all the blame for the war upon Russia. M. Bloch, with his precise recital, redresses the balance.

Everything M. Bloch says is interesting. But his book is less instructive in its treatment of its declared subject than in the conclusions it forces, outside the author's intention, upon the attentive reader. No country was wholly in the right, no country was wholly in the wrong in 1914. One could justify most of its actions, a second could find excuses, a third could at least offer an explanation. The world had drifted gradually into an entanglement, escape from which at the last moment overtaxed the available resources of statesmanship. The way out in 1914 should have been prepared in 1900. For to-day the lesson is obvious. It is never too soon to begin building a world order in which the next war has no place. A sentence, with a special aptness for 1935 of which its speaker 21 years ago cannot have dreamed, is quoted by M. Bloch from M. Biennu-Martin, French Minister for Foreign Affairs *ad interim* in July, 1914: "the best way of avoiding a general war is to avoid a local war."

President Roosevelt's Experiments. By S. H. Bailey. (The Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.)

Mr. Bailey's pamphlet is an excellent example of a type of political exposition which the Hogarth Press is bringing into a deservedly wide popularity. A writer

who indulges in no flourishes, but confines himself to a precise statement of the essential facts, and offers no more comment than is needed to elucidate them, can treat a great subject helpfully in a small space.

Mr. Bailey sets out to explain the New Deal. He shows what was the situation in America when President Roosevelt came into office, what support is behind the Presidential policies, and what are the objects at which those policies are aimed.

The President leads a huge but motley army. Some parts of it are eager to go far and fast, some of them much dislike taking more than a step or two at the slowest pace. Only a marvellous adroitness in the arts of management keeps the various divisions even in sight of one another. Mr. Roosevelt's chief weapon is not his constitutional authority, but his intimate personal appeal to the vast mass of his fellow countrymen and countrywomen. In a community which is always ready to try and find out, he is the master experimentalist. He is prepared to attempt almost everything once, and to discard it when it fails.

But while the President's method is flexible and tentative, he holds consistently, if not to a developed scheme of ideas, at least to a broad conception of the national good. Social control, in his view, must be extended over the economic life of America. The powers of the State must be used to give greater security to the ordinary citizen, and to procure a more even distribution of wealth. The New Deal falls broadly into three parts—relief, recovery and reform. Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in affording to the multitude of unemployed—at one moment perhaps as many as twenty millions all told—at least the bare necessities of life. He has brought about some measure of recovery, though its extent and its continuance are most difficult to assess. What shape his reforms will take ultimately is beyond prediction. Certainly the economic structure of America is changed beyond all chance of return. The old cut-throat anarchy has gone; a new era has opened, based on social obligations enforced by the collective will. What comes into existence will perhaps be very different from anything the President has imagined. But it will be the outcome of his actions, and it will be penetrated through and through with qualities due to its parentage.

Mr. Bailey makes the difficulties in the President's way real, thus enlisting strong sympathy for him in his gallant adventure. Perhaps the neatest characterisation of Mr. Roosevelt in the pamphlet, which is remarkable for its neatness of thought and workmanship from first page to last, is the saying quoted from a Middle West farmer: "I guess he plays by ear."

That We Might Live. By Alan Thomas. (George Harrap & Co. 7s. 6d.)

From time to time voices are raised in protest against the revival of war memories. Often the speakers adopt a superior tone. They let it be understood that they are wiser and better than their fellows, whose follies they enjoy censoring. "We must look forward," they say,

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DOCUMENTS ON THE TRAFFIC IN ARMS

Comprising
everything of importance from the famous
report of 1921 to the British amendments
to the American Draft Articles in March,
1935

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS

"not back. Our business is peace." True. Yet on what solid foundation except experience can peace be built? And the war, whether we like it or not, is one of the most terrific experiences of mankind. It altered the conditions of human existence. To-day, and to-morrow, and all succeeding days, must be different because of the war. What we need to do is not to forget the war but to learn from it. Weakness both of intellect and of character is betrayed by the anxiety to hide it away.

THE PEACE BALLOT

A PUBLIC MEETING in the ROYAL ALBERT HALL
to ANNOUNCE the

FINAL RESULTS JUNE 27th at 8 p.m.

CHAIRMAN: VISCOUNT CECIL

SPEAKERS:

The Archbishop of Canterbury The Earl of Home
Mrs. Corbett Ashby Mr. Walter Citrine Mrs. Pavitt

Application for Tickets should be made, as early as possible, to the Secretary, National Declaration Committee, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Prices from 1s. to 10s. 6d.; delegates' tickets at special prices; a limited number of free seats. No seats reserved after 7.50 p.m.

Captain Alan Thomas's new novel helps the reader to understand many things about the war and its sequel. That help comes from the author's two-fold equipment of knowledge and skill. He has a story to tell and the gift of story-telling. Quietly he depicts a little group of brother officers at the front, with deft touches bringing each of them to life, an individual character. As quietly he shows them again, half-a-lifetime on, in 1931. He does not rail; he carefully abstains from weighting the scales. But with the passage of the years they have all become only more inescapably victims of the war. War is a physical horror; it is a moral tragedy. It distorts the social order; it disables men from finding a place for themselves in the new order whose construction it has made a task of endless toil and many disappointments. Captain Thomas's epilogue casts back to stage a Brigadier praising the spirit of the trenches. He has an alert and generous mind. But the gift of prophecy is denied him. He does not foresee the after-war world, described by Captain Thomas with poignant restraint, in which, as a direct consequence of the war, the spirit of the trenches is denied a fair chance.

The Problem of the Air. (L.N.U., 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. (d.)

The report of the two days' conference held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Aviation as an International Problem at the invitation of the League of Nations Union, April 3 and 4.

Professor Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore.

Many readers have written to inquire where they can obtain copies of the letters exchanged between Professor Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore, from which extracts were printed in April HEADWAY. They will be interested to know that the two letters are published in "East and West," a handsome booklet of 68 pages (2/6), by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, as No. 4 of its "International Series of Open Letters." Copies may be obtained from the L.N.U., 15 Grosvenor Crescent.

Official League Publications

Inquiry into Clearing Agreements. (C.153, M.S3. 1935.II.B.) (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1935.II.B.6. About 180 pages. 4s.)

This document contains the results of the inquiry carried out by the Special Committee appointed by the League Council in pursuance of the Resolution adopted by the 1934 Assembly.

Commercial Banks, 1929-1934. (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1935.II.A.2. About 300 pages. 10s.)

Summarises the banking position of some forty-five countries and contains new chapters describing the credit systems of Danzig, Japan, Turkey and the U.S.S.R.

The pleasures of Foreign Travel and Literature may be enjoyed when you have learnt, by the new Pelman method, to understand the language of the country.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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READERS' VIEWS

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

ARE WE TOO TECHNICAL?

SIR,—What are these "principles" on which we are being asked to concentrate?

That peace is better than war? Agreed surely by practically everyone. That the League of Nations is the best way of attaining peace? Again, the Union's existence seems superfluous since nearly every M.P. and apparently the great majority of the population give at least verbal assent to this. The League is, in fact, only one of many possible instruments of peace, and is no more a "principle" than is disarmament, to whose inclusion in the ballot Mr. Whitaker's supporters object.

Are our objects as stated in the Charter the "principles" referred to? But these include advocating the "full development" of the League of Nations, and how can one advocate development without indicating the kind of development desired? It is possible, for instance, for the League to develop into world government by the Great Powers; are we to remain silent on a proposal that seems to us a move in that direction? Something in the League's constitution or in the relations of its member States may seem to prevent full development as defined in the Charter; must we not form and express an opinion as to the changing of such conditions?

As a matter of fact, even question 1 of the ballot cannot be answered without some knowledge of the League's aims, methods and achievements—that is, of technicalities.

Of course, there must come a point where the layman gets out of his depth; in everything from governing the world to cooking a dinner something must be left to the experts. But even those of us who cannot boil an egg properly seldom order merely "a good dinner," leave it to the cook and refrain from criticism afterwards. If we do, we have no right to complain when the cook serves up our pet aversion at twice the price we wished to pay.

If the experts are to be kept "on tap, not on top," the non-experts must see to the turning of the tap.

ENID LAKEMAN.

Tunbridge Wells.

A BRIGHTER "HEADWAY"

SIR,—I have read with interest the article in the current number of HEADWAY entitled "The Workers and the Union," giving some of the reasons why the L.N.U. does not make a great appeal to the manual workers. The writer suggests the adoption of a new technique in publicity to that end.

As, with few exceptions, the daily Press does not give an adequate or impartial account of League activities and possibilities for further development, the new technique should surely make it one of its aims to give the public more information on the subject.

I am well aware that HEADWAY has thoughtful, interesting notes and articles, but not, I venture to think, of a kind to make a ready appeal to those not already converted to League principles. It would be of great value in trying to extend its usefulness if, to give a concrete instance, something as clear, vivid, and stimulating as the Foreign Supplement in *Time and Tide*, by Sir Norman Angell, could be published in HEADWAY.

Then, with hope of success, L.N.U. members could press a copy into the hands of the many "Doubting Thomas's" of the collective system. They might also ask their newsagents to stock it, and present copies to their local public library.

In short, not a more able but a more popular HEADWAY

might do wonders in getting the principles for which it stands across to a wider public.

London, N.W.8.

J. E. MONTGOMERY.

MUSINGS ON THE AIR PACT

SIR,—I, too, have been musing on the Air Pact. If I understand the proposal it means that each nation within the pact will solemnly agree to go to the assistance of another nation within the pact if that second nation be unprovokedly attacked by a third member of the pact. And to this they will solemnly set their hands and seals.

Would it not have been less trouble, Mr. Editor, if all the nations in the pact had solemnly promised never to make an unprovoked attack upon any member of the pact? If the nations cannot be trusted to keep such a promise, how can we trust them to keep any other promise? It seems so simple to me, but I am not a great foreign secretary. I am only—

"SIMPLE SIMON."

LIGHT OR DARKNESS

SIR,—Humanity has in the aeroplane a new toy, which we may use as we choose.

To-day our world-representatives fly in aeroplanes for mutual counsel to Geneva.

Very good; but in those very aeroplanes are perfect arrangements for bomb-dropping; and elsewhere the bombs are being prepared; is this good?

In less obvious parts of the world, victims of the past wars with whom we have unfulfilled promises, are going hungry, themselves and their children. How difficult it is to live for long just on bread; and they are short even of that!

To-day we seek security, but righteousness and justice are a surer security than material force.

Instead of spending money on armaments let us spend it on saving these refugees, to whom we are morally indebted, from starvation.

Let our aeroplanes drop bread, not bombs!

Môro EDITH ROBERTS.

C/o Nansen International Office
for Refugees, Geneva.

PS.—In order to pay the flour bill for our hungry refugees, I am seeking to sell out two hundred Housing shares. Is there a holder of Armament shares who would give up a destructive investment to receive dividends instead from housing, and thus free my capital to carry on with a little longer, while we wait for England to "found Peace upon Justice?"

M. E. R.

GERMAN CLAIMS TO COLONIES

SIR,—Lord Olivier, in his letter in your April issue, suggests that I regard as "palpable fudge" the fact that mandates are not recognised by the Covenant as assets of emolument . . . and the rest of it about sacred trust for the native peoples.

I think he has misunderstood my position. I fully recognise the importance of considering the well-being of the native population, but feel that, as you say in "News and Comment," some means must be found of combining fair dealing towards Germany with fair dealing towards native Africa, and Herr Hitler is reported to have said to Sir John Simon that Germany would not participate in the League of Nations as a country of inferior right, and alleged by way of example that she was in a position of inferiority if she had no colonies.

GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

(7) THE BIBLE IN SPAIN

Ever since George Borrow wrote his famous book, "The Bible in Spain," the work of the Bible Society in that country has had a fascination for many people, and it is good to be able to report that the circulation of the Scriptures in Spain has mightily increased since Borrow's day.

Last year no fewer than 208,000 copies of Holy Writ were circulated in Spain, and the interest taken in the work of the Society is real and deep. Only a few weeks ago a Deputation from the London Bible House visited Spain on behalf of the Society, and at a largely attended meeting of evangelical Christians in Madrid a vote of thanks and appreciation for all that had been done was passed with great enthusiasm.

Spain is going through troublous times, and its people need all the guidance and comfort that God's Word can most surely supply. The present situation, therefore, calls for renewed efforts to place the Scriptures in the homes of the Spanish people.

Will you help in this great and urgent work?

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries,

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

THE LEAGUE IN OUR TIME

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD

Illustrated. 3s. 6d. net.

This is the best handbook that I have read upon the League of Nations. It is clever, honest and sensible.

—HAROLD NICOLSON in the *Daily Telegraph*.

—BASIL BLACKWELL, OXFORD.

W.T.A. HOLIDAYS

A splendid Programme of Holidays of every kind, at Home, at Sea and Abroad, is now available. Consult the W.T.A. before deciding your holiday this year.

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What I would suggest is that the League of Nations be asked to go into all aspects of the question and decide whether it would or would not be in the interests of peace without detriment to the interests of the native population to transfer the mandate for some territory (to be settled between the British Government and the League of Nations) to Germany.

This, in my humble opinion, would tend to remove the feeling that Germany was regarded as being in an inferior position, and would so do much for mutual understanding and goodwill.

Wareham.

H. W. KELSALL.

END THE SOUTH AMERICAN WAR!

SIR,—I have a suggestion to make for stopping the war in Bolivia.

Let our Government persuade some firm like Vickers-Armstrong to set up large works in Bolivia, and then (on condition they cease fighting) undertake to place a part of their new armament orders with the Bolivian works.

They will thus please everybody, and enforce the principle that armaments make for peace, as they so often tell us.

Burford.

B. S. BOULTER.

AMERICA AND THE I.L.O.

WE are extremely sorry that a phrase in our note last month seemed to some readers to imply a doubt of the accuracy of the statements of fact made by Mr. Burge on behalf of the I.L.O., in criticism of an article by our Geneva correspondent. No such idea, of course, was in our minds when we said that "on the major points" of the controversy our Correspondent "had an answer"; nor do we think that the phrase naturally bears such a meaning. The main difference was about the impression made on American opinion by the various difficulties raised, directly or indirectly, by the entry of two great industrial powers into the International Labour Organisation. And on this main issue it would certainly seem that our Correspondent's impressions erred on the side of gloom. Nothing could be more cordial and unhesitating than the response of America to the claims of her new position. Government, employers and workers were all represented at the April meeting of the Governing Body; the Government by Mr. Richardson Saunders, Assistant to the Secretary for Labour; the Employers by Mr. Henry S. Dennison, President of the Dennison Manufacturing Co. and a member of the National Labour Board, nominated by the United States Chamber of Commerce; the Workers by Mr. David Dubinsky of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour.

The U.S. Department of Labour will also have a permanent representative at Geneva in Mr. W. G. Rice, while, most significant of all, no less vigorous a personality than Mr. Winant has accepted the post of Assistant Director of the I.L.O. Evidently America means to pull her weight, a result on which both the I.L.O. and the world in general may be congratulated.

His answer would merely have cleared himself from the charge of repeating idle gossip.

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

HERE AND THERE

Special Mention in this month's "News Sheet" is awarded to Mr. Goodall, of the **Huthwaite** Branch.

The **Maidstone** Branch has succeeded in enrolling 488 new members during the past year, with the result that, in spite of an unusual number of losses by removals, death and other causes, the total membership of the Branch has been increased by 277 over the preceding year's figures.

The **Hucknall** Branch has evolved a productive idea for increasing membership, by inserting weekly in their local paper a short quotation for remark bearing on the League's work, leading up to an appeal to readers to join the Branch. The annual cost of such an inch advertisement is £2 12s., which is included in the Branch balance-sheet among the literature items.

The **North of Scotland District Council** obtained a valuable concession from the management of Poole's Cinema, Aberdeen, where the film "Forgotten Men" was filling the programme. Twice a day leading citizens were permitted to address the audiences (averaging well over 2,000 on each occasion) via the theatre microphone. Other branches might well contrive to gain a similar privilege.

It was announced at the annual meeting of the **Silsden** Branch that the membership thereof, already very satisfactory, has been more than doubled during the past year.

It is worthy of note that when the **Beckenham** Conservative Discussion Circle recently held a debate on Lord Beaverbrook's policy of "Splendid Isolation," the motion that "Great Britain should withdraw herself from European affairs and devote herself to the needs of the Empire" was, in the words of the local Press, "overwhelmingly defeated."

At a public debate, organised by the **Brighton** Branch at the Royal Pavilion recently, the motion for the use of economic sanctions, backed up if necessary by force, in accordance with Questions 5A and 5B of the National Referendum, was carried by a large majority.

The second annual gathering of the parents of **Peace Babies** held in the Crosby Congregational Church Hall was a very interesting event. There are now 124 babies registered in connection with the local branch, which shows a disposition on the part of the parents to seek by all possible means prevention of a similar holocaust as 1914-1918.

The **London Regional Federation** is offering at 22s. per 1,000 a special leaflet for distribution to cinema patrons who have seen the film "Thunder in the Air." Although the leaflet bears the same title as the film, it is equally suitable for general distribution. The film is being rapidly booked up, and will be exhibited in several parts of the country during the next few months. This leaflet is strongly recommended to all who desire to follow up the excellent appeal of the film itself among the hitherto unconverted.

Owing to the steady increase of membership, the former joint branch for **Clapham and Battersea** has now been able to divide the area, a separate branch functioning in each district from now onwards.

SOUTH AFRICA

According to its annual report, the **Cape Town** League of Nations Union membership in August, 1934, was 261. Among the activities of the branch for the past year were addresses given to schools and societies, as well as addresses by Dr. Kullman, Director of the Educational Information Centre, League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva. A lunch club was started and proved a great success. Essay competitions were organised, the subjects being "Cry Havoc" and "Why is There a War Atmosphere in Europe?" Study Circles have been discontinued, but their importance is realised, and it is hoped to restart them during the coming year. At the annual meeting resolutions on the control of private armaments manufacture were passed and sent to the Minister for External Affairs.

The annual report of the **Pretoria** Branch of the South African League of Nations Union states that activities have been greatly curtailed owing to lack of funds. Study Circles have, however, been active, and several of them have held monthly meetings. Speakers were sent to schools to launch the Junior League Annual Essay, Speech and Poster competition, and some progress was made in this direction, a larger number of schools sending in entries than in previous years. An effort has also been made to secure the co-operation of the churches. The Union has been addressed three times during the past year by Dr. Kullman, Director of the Educational Information Centre, League of Nations Secretariat,

Geneva. The Council has resolved to invite Mr. C. Ch. van der Mandere, Secretary-General of the Netherlands League of Nations Society, to visit South Africa during the coming year.

U.S.A.

We record with great regret the death of Dr. Earle B. Babcock, director since 1925 of the European Centre in Paris of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The forces making for international understanding have suffered a severe loss by his going.

The "Digest" College Poll on Peace.—Some 300,000 ballots on the following questions have been sent out by the "Literary Digest" to 118 colleges in the United States. Of these, 112,607 were returned:—

- (1) Can the United States stay out of another war?
 - (2) Would you fight if this country were invaded?
 - (3) Would you fight if this country were the invader?
 - (4) Do you believe the policy of a navy and air force second to none can keep America out of another war?
 - (5) Do you advocate government control of munitions manufacture?
 - (6) Do you advocate universal conscription in time of war?
 - (7) Should the United States enter the League of Nations?
- Questions 1, 2, 5 and 7 had an affirmative majority; the others a negative.

A poll of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, was taken to serve as a test vote among Canadian undergraduates. Majorities voted as they had in the American colleges, except that on the question: "Should Canada remain a member of the League of Nations?" a majority of over 97 per cent. answered "Yes."

Commenting on these ballots, the monthly magazine of the National Council for the Prevention of War, "Peace Action," for March says: "The returns are significant, not only because they show the present trend of thought on the war question in the colleges, but also because they reveal that war department appointees teach isolationist doctrines. In colleges and universities where military training is compulsory and prominent, with a few exceptions which are readily explained, the vote runs heavily against the League of Nations. The exceptions are in institutions where strong courses on international relations are given which have tempered or revised the verdict."

HOLLAND

A Commission of Inquiry has been at work in Holland since 1931 examining books used for the teaching of history in schools, its object being to encourage the teaching of the aims and the work of the League of Nations, the I.L.O., and the World Court. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. J. Termeulen, head of the Netherlands Committee for Intellectual Co-operation.

The methods of the Commission have been:—

- (1) To collect copies of all schoolbooks on the history of the Netherlands;
- (2) to find out how they deal with the League of Nations and other peace organisations;
- (3) to examine the manner in which they deal with the questions of peace and war;
- (4) to establish contact with writers and publishers of school history books with a view to improving the tone of schoolbooks;
- (5) to furnish information regarding schoolbooks in use in the Netherlands, both at home and abroad;
- (6) to co-operate with international congresses concerned with the teaching of history.

Assistance has been given by the Minister for Education, as well as by school inspectors and publishing firms.

Such books as are not considered suitable have not been publicly condemned, but their publishers have been communicated with and the faults pointed out and a list of alternative literature has been sent.

All history books published during the years 1931-33 have been examined by the Commission, which has published a survey of them.

BROADCASTING NOTES

On May 2, R. W. Seton Watson, F.B.A., Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London, will talk on the making of the Post-War Danubian Map, and on May 9, George Glasgow, of the "Contemporary Review," discusses Local Colour, with D. J. Hall, A. C. Lyall, and V. D. Barker. On May 16, A. C. Macartney, of League of Nations Union headquarters, will talk on "The Nature of Present Minority Problems," while on the 23rd a discussion on religion and its effects upon social, political and economic life will take place between A. C. Macartney and D. Mitrany, Professor of Political Science in the Institute for Advanced

Study, Princeton, New Jersey, and George Glasgow. On May 30, Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B., will speak on the Economic Legacy of the Peace Treaties and Subsequent Developments. Sir Arthur, among other things, is a member of the Economic Advisory Council, and the author of many books on the economic problems of the present age.

Another series which should be particularly interesting is that primarily intended for sixth forms at school, to be heard on Tuesdays at 3.35 p.m. This month the following distinguished speakers will be heard: On May 7, Leonard Woolley, with news of his latest excavations at Ur of the Chaldees; on May 14, T. Powys Greenwood, on "The Present State of Affairs in Germany"; on the 21st, Professor James Ritchie discusses "Some Unsolved Problems of Natural History," and on the 28th, Dr. Margaret Miller will talk about the present state of things in Russia.

The May dates for Sir Frederick Whyte's talks on Foreign Affairs are the 6th and 20th, while Mr. F. A. Voigt will be heard on the 13th and 27th. The Tuesday talks on Economic Affairs will be continued weekly during the month, with the exception of May 28, on which date Mr. H. A. Hodson, Editor of the "Round Table," will talk on "News From the Empire."

Welsh Notes

Addressing a large audience at the Cory Hall, Cardiff, on April 11, Lord Cecil made reference to the good progress which has so far been made in Wales and Monmouthshire with the Peace Ballot, and appealed to all to go forward with the work with greater zeal than ever.

Wales has now passed the half-million mark in the Peace Ballot. A most strenuous effort is now being made to reach the one million mark for Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Davies addressed the Annual Assembly of the Council of Evangelical Free Churches of England and Wales at Llandrindod Wells on April 9.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh Council is to be held at Rhyd in North Wales on Friday and Saturday, June 14 and 15, and there are prospects of a large gathering of branch representatives from all parts of the Principality. Lord Allen of Hurtwood has promised to address the Conference.

Readers of HEADWAY are again reminded that the 14th annual World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales will be broadcast on Goodwill Day, May 18.

UNION MEMBERSHIP Terms of Subscriptions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Registered Members: 5s. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)
* 3s.-6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

Life Members: £25.

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

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£ 250
A YEAR
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Think of it! Not a salary necessitating daily work at the Office, Factory or Shop, but a private income to be paid to you every year as long as you live.

And while you are qualifying for it—to begin, say, when you reach age 60—you have the satisfaction of knowing that if you do not live to that age there will be a monthly income to meet your family's everyday requirements and to educate your children. Should your death be caused by an accident, your family would, in addition, receive £3,130.

If, in consequence of illness or accident, you become totally incapacitated, no further saving deposits need be made. Yet your pension or the monthly income for your family would be paid just as if you had continued making the deposits.

Every year you save for your comfort in later years you will secure a reduction in your income tax—a big consideration in itself.

It is a wonderful plan which can be obtained for any amount, large or small, by regular annual savings.

It will bring independence and comfort to you and yours.

An enquiry will bring you, without obligation, exact details suitable to your own requirements.

To H. O. LEACH (General Manager),
SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA
(Incorporated in Canada in 1865 as a Limited Company),
99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar
Square, London, S.W.1

Please send me—without obligation on my part—full particulars of your Pension-Protection Plan.

NAME

(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

ADDRESS

.....

EXACT DATE OF BIRTH

OCCUPATION

Headway, May, 1935

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The Council of the League of Nations at an extraordinary session at Geneva on April 17 passed, without a dissenting vote, the following resolution:—

The Council considering :

(1) That the scrupulous respect of all treaty obligations was a fundamental principle of international life and an essential condition of the maintenance of peace ;

(2) That it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty or modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the other contracting parties ;

(3) That the promulgation of the military law of March 16, 1935, by the German Government conflicts with the above principles ;

(4) That by this unilateral action the German Government confers upon itself no rights ;

(5) That this unilateral action by introducing a new disturbing element into the international situation must necessarily appear to be a threat to European security ;

Considering on the other hand :

(6) That the British Government and the French Government, with the approval of the Italian Government, communicated to the German Government, as early as February 3, 1935, a plan for a general settlement to be freely negotiated for the organisation of security in Europe, and for a general limitation of armaments in a system of equality of rights, while ensuring the active co-operation of Germany in the League of Nations ;

(7) And that the unilateral action of Germany, above referred to, was not only inconsistent with this plan, but was taken at a time when negotiations were actually being pursued ;

I.

Declares that Germany has failed in the duty which lies upon all the members of the international community to respect the undertakings which they have contracted, and condemns any unilateral repudiation of international obligations.

II.

Invites the Governments which took the initiative in the plan of February 3, 1935, or which gave their approval to it, to continue the negotiations so initiated, and in particular to frame the conclusion, within the framework of the League of Nations, of the agreements

which may appear necessary to attain the object defined in this plan, due account being taken of the obligations of the Covenant, with a view to assuring the maintenance of peace.

III.

Considering that the unilateral repudiation of international obligations may endanger the very existence of the League of Nations as an organisation for maintaining peace and promoting security—

Decides :

That such repudiation, without prejudice to the application of measures already provided in international agreements, should, in the event of its having relation to undertakings concerning the security of peoples, and maintenance of peace in Europe, call into play all appropriate measures on the part of members of the League and within the framework of the Covenant ;

Requests a committee composed of:—

UNITED KINGDOM,	POLAND,
CANADA,	PORTUGAL,
FRANCE,	SPAIN,
HUNGARY,	TURKEY,
ITALY,	SOVIET RUSSIA,
	NETHERLANDS,

to propose, for this purpose, measures to render the Covenant more effective in the organisation of collective security, and to define in particular the economic and financial measures which might be applied should, in the future, a State, whether a member of the League of Nations or not, endanger peace by unilateral repudiation of its international obligations.

The nations who voted for the resolution were:—

ARGENTINA,	CHILE,
AUSTRALIA,	FRANCE,
UNITED KINGDOM,	MEXICO,
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,	PORTUGAL,
ITALY,	TURKEY and
POLAND,	SOVIET RUSSIA.
SPAIN,	

DENMARK alone abstained.

The Danish delegate said he approved of the constructive portion of the resolution but deprecated the condemnation of past violations, because it would hinder the task of reconciliation.

On April 20 Germany delivered to the members of the Council a protest which says :

The German Government contest the right of the Governments which as members of the League Council took the decision of April 17 to set themselves up as judges of Germany.

It sees in the League Council's decision an attempt at

a new special treatment as regards Germany, and consequently rejects it most resolutely.

It reserves the right shortly to make known its attitude regarding the different questions touched on in the decision.