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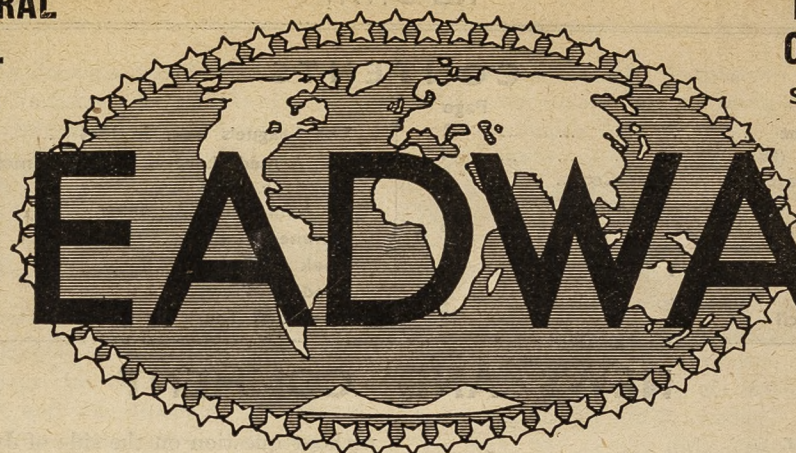
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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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THE GUARDIAN OF THE WORLD'S PEACE



Sixty nations have trusted her with the international scales. Will they trust her with the international sword?

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Happy New Year

HEADWAY wishes its readers a Happy New Year sincerely—and confidently. The events of the last few weeks have revived some fading hopes. All friends of peace can look forward gladly with a renewed assurance that the objects can be achieved for which they work, that the purposes can be fulfilled to serve which the Union and the League itself exist. Their work is as necessary as ever. Indeed, the League's latest successes are an imperative summons to further effort. But such effort has now become far easier than it was, for no longer is it pursued in defiance of disappointment. It is encouraged by a reasonable expectation of a reward. The nations, realising that they must have a League, are making increased use of the League, in the way in which the League was intended to be used. The League's friends could hope for nothing better.

Foundations Strengthened

THE resolute acceptance by British Ministers of League responsibility in the Saar, which at a stroke has given a genuinely international solution to an international problem, is specially welcome to the immense volume of public opinion for which the League of Nations Union speaks. The Union has long contended that any force employed in the Saar to maintain order ought to be international, and not national, in its composition as well as in its purpose. A deputation recently put the Union's view before Sir John Simon. A similar view was put before the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Laval, by a deputation from the French League of Nations Association.

The courage and foresight of Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden have already been brilliantly justified by their sequel. The Saar in its Franco-German aspect has shrunk from a menace overhanging all Europe to a friendly local adjustment, and the foundations of world peace have been solidly strengthened at a most opportune moment.

No Room For Sides

THE success of the Council in dealing with the Jugo-Slavian—Hungarian dispute due to the Marseilles murders has been equally valuable and equally instructive. The French Foreign Minister first declared that France ranged herself

without question on the side of Jugo-Slavia; Italy was ready to reply by lining up with Hungary. That is the way to war. It has led to war in the past. The Council, inspired by Mr. Eden's candid impartiality, showed that in the League there is no room for sides. The League's business is to bring to bear collective influence in order that disputes between nations shall be settled by peaceful negotiation. At Geneva France and Italy were quickly persuaded to perceive and act upon the truth. In a Leagueless world there would have been no means to prevent the old diplomatic game of playing for the gang being pursued to perdition.

The King's Speech

THE quickening of interest in the League, and the rising determination to turn the opportunities it offers to practical account, are recorded in the two quotations which follow.

On November 21, 1933, the King's Speech, at the opening of the new Session of Parliament, announced that Ministers were determined

"... to uphold the work of international co-operation by collective action through the machinery of the League of Nations."

A year later, on November 20, 1934, the King's Speech, in its corresponding passage, said:

The maintenance of world peace does not cease to give my Government the most anxious concern. They will continue to make the support and extension of the authority of the League of Nations a cardinal point in their policy. They earnestly trust that the general work of the Disarmament Conference may be actively resumed in a political atmosphere more favourable to the attainment of definite results. In the meantime, strenuous efforts will be made to secure international agreement on such matters as are capable of separate treatment.

In the second passage may be heard a more confident ring than in the first—the confidence which comes from a clear-eyed sight of a difficult task and a firm will to press on with its performance.

Nobel Peace Prizes

THE Union has another occasion for pride in the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prizes for 1933 and 1934 to Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Arthur Henderson; Sir Norman is a member of the Executive Committee and chairman of the Editorial Committee; Mr. Henderson is a Vice-

President. Mr. Henderson's refusal to despair of the Disarmament Conference has deserved well of the world. To praise the brave and brilliant work for peace at which Sir Norman has laboured for thirty years would be an impertinence. His unselfish courage is not less wonderful than his intellectual power. In the best sense of the words, he is a soldier and a rationalist.

The General Council

THE General Council of the Union, at its half-yearly meetings in the Conway Hall on December 13 and 14, deserved well of the cause. Its proceedings were informed throughout by a wholehearted devotion to the Union and the League, and a true and quick sense of values. From beginning to end it consistently placed first things first. The chief debate is noticed elsewhere in this number of HEADWAY.

Other moments merit more than a passing mention. There was Professor Gilbert Murray's warning against the great, universal Sophist, always present with whispers of prejudice to excite passion and provoke violence, and only to be defeated by a ceaseless crusade of education. There was his protest against an acceptance of economic nationalism, when the League and peace require the multiplication of all kinds of friendly and fruitful contacts and ties between countries. There was Mr. Noel Baker's pithy sentence, that he wanted not to move frontiers, but to make them unimportant. There was Miss K. Courtney's neat summary of the draft articles proposed by the United States for a Convention on the Arms Trade—definition and classification, governmental responsibility, publicity, international supervision. There was the vote of thanks to Lord Cecil for his splendid, untiring services. There was the presentation of the bronze bust of Professor Murray, and the reply, a little masterpiece of felicitous expression, with its happy, unexpected couplet from Pope.

Mr. Simon Explains

THE League is a world-wide institution, performing similar services throughout the world. But inevitably its work is seen in a different perspective, from different angles, in different countries. For British believers in the collective system there is always a lively interest in the point of view of other countries, especially of other countries within the British Empire.

A most instructive picture is painted in a speech delivered by Mr. J. Simon, the son of Sir John Simon, at a Colombo meeting last October, when a decision was taken to form a local branch of the L.N.U. Mr. Simon found the great achievement of the League in the fact that "it has made international co-operation possible, and has so encouraged it that it has become almost a habit."

"Many people," he said, "seem to think that the principal aim of the League is to pass universal

laws, to over-ride the distinctions which separate nation from nation and to bring the whole world under a common allegiance: to establish, in fact, a world state. Among those who hold this view it is not surprising to find a number of critics. 'Why,' they ask, 'should our country submit to the dictation of a pack of foreigners at Geneva?' And if this was, indeed, what the League of Nations stood for, I, personally, would sympathise with them. But actually the League does not aim at this uniformity at all. What it sets out to do is to control the development of nations so that one does not adversely affect another."

In Asia, one of the difficulties standing in the way of the League has been a common suspicion that it seeks to standardise mankind on a machine-made European pattern. Asiatics of various races and religions, rightly proud of their own cultures, intensely dislike such a prospect. Mr. Simon, with persuasive authority, gives the answer for which they are waiting and to which they are entitled.

Work The Machine

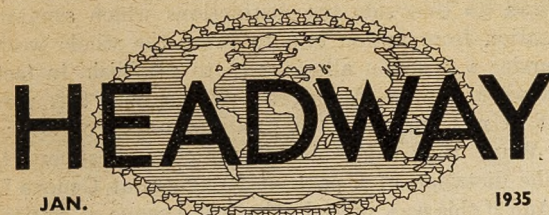
ON Manchuria, which necessarily bulks large in all Asiatic thought upon the League, Mr. Simon had some pregnant words to say. "Before you condemn the League as futile," he told his audience, "remember that it is only a piece of machinery. It has its imperfections, which experience, and particularly the experience of failure, may help to remedy. But at all times this piece of machinery will only work in so far as it is made to work. It is for the statesmen who go to Geneva, for the Governments who send them there, above all, for the great public opinion behind those Governments, to see that the machinery of the League is used to its fullest extent, that its deliberations are carried on in a real spirit of peace and understanding."

The League cannot fail to hold the allegiance of the British people, overseas as well as at home, so long as it can command, in time of need, in all parts of the Empire, the informed and vigorous advocacy of such men as Mr. Simon.

France Follows Suit

EFFECTS of the Peace Ballot are not confined to Britain. They are appearing abroad also. In many countries the plan has been warmly praised. Now it is receiving the higher compliment of imitation.

The referendum will start immediately after the Saar plebiscite has been taken, and it will be organised by the French Association for the League of Nations and by the Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants, which includes 950,000 members. The questions will be simple and precise, and the French people will be asked to give their opinion on the League of Nations, to demand that it should be strengthened, and that it should be given the means to enforce its decisions.



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BRIGHT SKY AHEAD

1935 OPENS bright in promise: and its promise is peace. Not only peace during its own short period, but lasting peace built on the firm foundation of the world's resolve to possess peace and enjoy it. Foresight and effort can preserve international order against all attack. Signs multiply of a growing realisation that collective defence is the common interest. The nations who are building a new world order will protect their work. The gloom of January, 1934, is being dispelled.

The current of affairs has taken a happier direction. What is more, the changed course remains constant and the pace accelerates. The latest events arouse the strongest hopes. Twelve months ago the failure to curb Japanese aggression in Manchuria prompted dark forebodings. Germany's notice of withdrawal from the League provoked other fears. The long-drawn-out Disarmament Conference had not produced any definite result. Was the system set up by the Covenant, buttressed by the Locarno Treaties and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and operated at Geneva through twelve critical years not without success, about to collapse? The threat was serious. As winter deepened the danger appeared to draw closer. To-day a backward glance shows those old anxieties only the shadow of a dream. The League has not been degraded to an ineffectual debating assembly. It has provided the impulse and the occasion for decisive acts of high policy. It is giving assurance of bolder developments still to come.

The Saar has supplied one test. From that test the League emerges with enhanced credit. At mid-summer the prospect was black. The Governing Commission which ruled the territory in the name of the League seemed to be losing control. It had insufficient force at its command. The few police were doubtfully loyal. Other officials were notoriously submissive to external influences. German Ministers exhausted themselves in violent eloquence on the essential Germanism of the Saar and the injustice of the League regime. Mr. Knox and his colleagues were denounced as tyrants. German elements inside and outside the Saar were recklessly set on stirring up trouble. France felt that her position forbade her to evade trouble stirred up by Germany. According to the Peace Treaty the future of the Saar must be decided after 15 years by an uncoerced vote of its inhabitants. An uncoerced popular vote began to look unattainable. The trend was rapidly towards a Franco-German conflict. At the right moment the League intervened. A Committee of Three obtained acceptance for a plebiscite on January 13, 1935, in conditions which would protect the voting against disorder and the voters against later reprisals. The

Governing Commission was assured of the means to maintain public order. December saw the League's task completed with equal success. The Committee of Three secured a full agreement between France and Germany, covering even the financial terms for the retrocession by France to Germany of the Saar coal mines. Most important of all, the Members of the League, to avert the last possibility of a breach of the peace, decided to station in the territory during the critical weeks a composite military force. Neither France nor Germany were to send a contingent. Great Britain has taken the lead; Britain, Italy, Sweden and Holland have supplied troops, under British command. Here is a courageous stroke of international statesmanship in defence of world peace which marks a turning point in history. It is a triumph alike for the League which afforded the opportunity and for the British Cabinet which dared to sanction it.

The Jugo-Slavian—Hungarian clash over the Marseilles murders has provided a second test. A fury of charge and counter-charge had obscured the facts. But some points are not disputable. Central Europe is tense with suspicion and fear. Domestic discontent has found at least semi-official sympathy abroad. Excuse for war is at hand, if war were desired. A direct exchange of notes between Belgrade and Budapest, with explicit or implied support for the one party or the other from allied or associated capitals must have produced a situation as explosive as 1914. First, an entanglement of issues—present grievances, old rivalries, national prejudices; next, disaster. The existence of the League averted war; the action of the League has preserved peace. Jugo-Slavia and Hungary were obliged to submit their case to the Council, and were constrained to state it in terms of reason and not of passion. Otherwise it would not appeal to an impartial tribunal. The Council, though not a Court but an institution for the discovery of terms of peaceful settlement, insisted on keeping to the point. Thus, dangerous irrelevant matters were excluded. States not directly involved were not called upon to stand by their friends; they were not put in a situation in which they were little concerned for the rights and wrongs of the case. The League success lies part in what it did, part in what it prevented others doing. In 1914 two great groups of Powers, each held together by alliances or less formal understandings, confronted one another in attitudes of at least implicit hostility. No member of either group could admit without thought for its impact on the interests or ambitions of its associates the force of a contention advanced from the opposite group. In the proceedings of the League the over-riding, common title of all nations to peace and security can never be ignored. It dominates the decision.

Once again Britain has cause for congratulation. Mr. Eden has received the world's praise for his firmness and tact. Charged by the Council with the task of bringing the parties together, he impressed both with his sympathetic insight, his even-handed justice. The highest tribute to his success is that, even on second thoughts, both Jugo-Slavia and Hungary are still pleased with the settlement, each of them believing that it concedes what was essential in their claims. His highest achievement is a new proof that the League, when resolute use is made of it, can save the world from war.

1935 opens bright in promise, because of what has been accomplished during the second half of 1934.

A NEW YEAR MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION

WHEN we of the League of Nations Union decided some months ago to ask our fellow-countrymen for a National Declaration in favour of the League and Disarmament we were chiefly moved by the European drift towards the conditions which produced the world catastrophe of 1914. To-day the situation has improved. The Chaco problem has been vigorously tackled, the tension about the Saar has been greatly relaxed, the controversy between Hungary and Jugo-Slavia has been soothed, if not as yet settled. All this has been the work of the League of Nations. Once again, after a long eclipse, it has shown itself as an efficient machine for assuaging international disputes and promoting international co-operation provided it is used with courage and candour. We rejoice that in this revival our country has resumed its proper position at the head of the movement for international peace.

Would it be rash to claim that the Peace Ballot has been a factor in bringing about the new situation? One thing is clear, it has done no harm. Further, it is incontestably true that the evidence already furnished by the meetings and the first results of the voting show the great popularity of a League policy for peace. Must this not have made easier the task of our representative at Geneva? It has certainly been a revelation to me to find how profound is the determination of our people on these points. And I believe that all who have been working for the Declaration have had the same experience as myself. No doubt other

observers have come to a similar conclusion and, it may be, have conveyed it to our rulers. If so, they must realise that in a strong League policy they have the people behind them. Nor are the beneficial effects of the ballot confined to our own country. Our experiment is being carefully watched abroad. If it results in an emphatic declaration for the League and Disarmament, and especially if the answers to Question 5 show that we are ready to take our part in preventing and suppressing international aggression, it will do very much to increase confidence and tranquillity abroad. So attractive is the idea of a National Declaration to our Continental friends that proposals to imitate us have already been put forward in France, and I know that in at least one other country a similar proposition is being considered.

May I, then, say to all who have been labouring in this great cause with such splendid devotion and self-sacrifice, your labour is not in vain? Surely, if it be true, as I am confident it is, that the ballot can materially contribute towards the ending of the hideous tragedy of war, we shall not grudge the effort it has cost us, or mind the abuse and misrepresentation to which we have been exposed. Our task is far from complete. We need not hundreds of thousands, but millions of votes. Still, well begun is half done, and if we keep at it, as I am sure we shall, we may look back in future years to this Christmas as a great turning point in the struggle to secure for the world a righteous and lasting peace.

CECIL.

THE DOCUMENTS IN THE CASE

By FRED A WHITE

THE Foreign Secretary on November 22 announced a new policy on arms traffic. During the debate on the Address, he promised an inquiry into the possibility of a State monopoly of manufacture, the working of the present system of export licences, and the elimination of abuses. He also spoke favourably of the American proposals for control. HEADWAY readers may find a use for a summary of the main League reports on the arms industry.

First comes the famous 1921 Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission. It has three parts. It lists, not as conclusions but as matters of public belief, six charges against private armaments firms. These are, that they have stimulated the arms race by war propaganda, by bribery of officials, by false reports of military programmes, by control of the Press, by international rings, and by international trusts. Next some members suggested difficulties in abolishing private manufacture. Nationalisation might affect the domestic industrial system, make it difficult for non-purchasing States to buy, complicate the laws of neutrality, tend towards establishment of manufacture in non-producing countries, impede reduction after a war, involve firms whose main products are civilian, demand a definition of war industries, and require more expensive State enterprises. Lastly, the Report quotes suggestions for control; import and export licences for trade and manufacture, to be published

at the League, registration of armaments shares, publication of accounts of firms and of lists of shareholders, prohibition of persons interested in arms from owning or influencing newspapers, and patent restrictions.

The 1925 Convention deals with export trade. It has four principles. Export is to be to governments only. It is to be licensed by the exporting government. Statistics of export are to be published by the governments. No arms are to be sent to prohibited zones in Africa and Arabia. The necessary fourteen ratifications have been received, but the Convention is not yet in force because Britain and others make their ratifications depend on those of the remaining producing States. The importing States never will ratify it, because it would publish all their armaments, while leaving those bought for themselves by the producing countries unknown.

Two attempts to draft a convention on manufacture in 1928 and 1929 were so feeble that they failed of acceptance. The problem was sent to the Disarmament Conference. There one group of States led by France, urged strict control of manufacture, and another, under Britain and the United States, wanted the 1929 scheme. France, Denmark, Poland, and Spain formally proposed nationalisation in 1933, but the other party refused it. France then tabled an amendment to the British draft treaty on disarmament. This would

provide a complete international control of the industry, for orders for arms are to go through the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, the governments are to see that no arms are manufactured save those allowed by the Disarmament Treaty, and manufactures, both State and private, are to be published.

The British plan of 1934 took no notice of this plan. In 1934 the United States changed their policy, and joined the strict control group. The "draft articles" of last July were moved by them. They are similar to the French plan, but weaker. The governments are made responsible for limitation and publicity, the Disarmament Commission for supervision. They cover trade and manufacture, and apply to both private and State enterprises.

This scheme is reproduced in the American draft treaty of November, 1934. This can be signed apart from a general treaty of disarmament; it does not limit the kind or number of arms to be made. The governments are to be responsible for all arms produced in their territories, and are to publish all orders for manufacture and export, sending details of orders and execution to Geneva. The Disarmament Commission is to supervise this publicity, inspecting each country regularly, and making special investigations if complaints are raised. Orders are to be reported to the Disarmament Conference within thirty days of their visiting the factory. The essential points in this treaty are the equal publicity given to internal and foreign trade, to State or private manufacture, and the establishment of the Disarmament Commission with very extensive powers. The proposal is to be discussed in January, 1935.

It is the custom of our Ministers to say (as, indeed,

Ministers of less favoured lands say too) that we have been striving for an arms trade agreement with might and main. It depends on what sort of agreement they mean. British policy has actually been as follows. We took a leading part up to the 1925 Convention, which would publish exports, but not home stocks, and safeguard large areas of our Empire from the sale of arms to subject peoples. From then till July, 1934, we were less active; we refused nationalisation, evaded answering a League questionnaire of 1932, omitted any mention of arms manufacture from our 1933 and 1934 drafts. The defection of the United States in July, 1934, left us in company with Germany, Italy and Japan on the side of less control. On November 8, the Government refused to state its policy, but on the 20th Mr. Eden welcomed the American proposals at Geneva. It may be hoped that Britain will support and strengthen them in January.

Three threads run through League discussions. They are national control of the arms industry, with international publicity and supervision. These are embodied in the American draft. An increasing minority of governments want outright nationalisation; the United States are moving in that direction. A separate aspect is the embargo of the export of arms to States violating the Covenant. Here, Britain is the experimenter, beginning with the extraordinary embargo on both guilty Japan and innocent China. We proposed the embargo against Bolivia and Paraguay of 1935, and Sir John Simon, on November 22nd, hinted that Britain will propose the embargo as a regular means of action against violators of international law.

THE SAAR

By ELIZABETH MONROE

JANUARY 13, 1935, is upon us; its imminence is reflected in the Saar-mindedness of the world Press, busily, and thankfully, reporting the vast improvement in the plebiscite outlook which marks the last few weeks.

Two, perhaps three, months ago fear of trouble was deep and well-founded. The Reich Government, with only itself to thank, had by its onslaught on Socialists, Communists, and the Church in Germany antagonised many good Germans in the Saar. The local Nazi party, thinly disguised as a new organisation called the *Deutsche Front*, was being revealed by Mr. Knox, who showed it spying on its adversaries, intimidating them with threats of "after 1935," and maintaining contact with the secret police—the dreaded *Gestapo*—in Germany. The League Governing Commission had proved the impossibility of administration through hopelessly biased officials, and had resorted to recruiting foreign police, so incensing the Nazi authorities and Nazi Press. Worse, talk of a Nazi *putsch* had driven M. Barthou into reminding the League Council that if the Governing Commission were to call in an emergency on foreign troops France would not shirk her duty.

The turn of the tide came in the first days of November; it dates from the moment of a French Press report that troops stationed at Metz and Nancy had received their provisional marching orders; one paper even hazarded that a "handful of Tommies" might join them. This rumour awakened an all-round determination to clear the air without delay. The

Nazis issued an order forbidding uniforms within twenty-five miles of the frontier for a month round the plebiscite date; Ambassadorial conversations took place in Paris and London, where assurances were given of a will to avoid "incidents"; last, but not least, French and German experts accepted the League's invitation to meet in Rome and to discuss a direct agreement on post-plebiscite plans, which, if made in advance, would simplify the issues facing the voters and would shorten any awkward transition period.

The Rome conversations went slowly but well, ably handled by Baron Aloisi, the Italian chairman of the Council Sub-Committee of Three for the Saar. Sensibly, to avoid damaging rumours, no details of the day-to-day advances and setbacks were published, and the far-reaching agreement finally reached on December 3 burst upon the world as a welcome surprise.

The change of regime which faces the Saar presents radical complications only in the event of a transfer to Germany. If this happened the anti-Nazis feared reprisals, and the French that they would never receive the gold payment for the Saar mines which Germany promised in the Treaty of Versailles. The Rome agreement, therefore, concentrates on the hypothesis of a return to Germany, not because the negotiators thought this the most likely solution (no doubt they did, as do most people, though being a League body, they could not say so), but because it must be so much less simply straightforward than a transfer to France or continuation of the League regime.

Should the Saar pass to Germany, then the two interested Governments agree on a lump sum payment by Germany of 900,000,000 French francs for the French-owned mines. The next point is, where the money is to come from, Germany being in notorious difficulties with her foreign debts owing to shortage of gold and foreign exchange. The arrangement reached is as follows: Germany is to call in the French francs now circulating in the Saar, replacing them with marks as she does so; she is then to hand back the notes to France. This means more than the mere passing back of so many crates of paper over the frontier, since in doing so Germany releases the gold held in France as a backing to the notes in question; thus, in fact, she pays in gold.

Germany is, in addition, to pay France for five years the dues on some Saar mines which are leased to French companies because the actual mouths of the shafts are in Lorraine, paying in coal which France could obtain for herself by burrowing from her side. And—here is the safeguard for the French Treasury—if in five years the 900,000,000 francs has not been paid in full, France can continue to extract coal from under the Saar till the debt is liquidated.

The other important point settled in Rome is the fate of the anti-Nazi minority. Briefly, the German Government has agreed to refrain for one year from any pressure or discrimination on account of race, religion or views, and during that year the League's Supreme Plebiscite Tribunal will provide a court of appeal to which any Saar inhabitant may turn. Once the year is up, there is nothing to prevent the imposition of *Gleichschaltung*—the assimilation to Nazidom in thought and habit which Herr Hitler has practised in Germany.

These definitions and commitments make the consequences of his vote much plainer to the Saar voter. If he is a convinced Nazi, or a member of a pro-*status quo* organisation, his course has from the outset been



Mr. EDEN

clear. If he is a waverer, the agreement is bound to help him with the considerations he has to weigh. But whichever way he votes, one thing is certain: he must face less prosperity than under the present régime.

If he chooses Germany, he courts increased unemployment, higher taxation, many compulsory levies on his wages, and dearer food; if the *status quo*, he must realise that the advantages which he has till now enjoyed as the pampered child of both sides cannot go on.

Germany, for instance, would cut off the policy of assistance she has hitherto practised if he were

so foolish as to forgo his chance of reunion with the Fatherland.

The tension is eased and the plebiscite air miraculously cleared by all these explanations and solutions. Capping them comes the unexpected offer to police the plebiscite with an international military force, wisely introduced by Mr. Eden at a psychological moment when both French and Germans were in the mood to accept it. The prospects of trouble at the polls thus dwindle to nothing.

Credit should be given where it is due: To Baron Aloisi as a negotiator; to Mr. Eden for his tact; to the two governments directly concerned for the good sense they have shown; lastly, to the League Council for proving that Geneva methods are fitted to solve the most complex problem and to avert a threatened crisis.

The League's task is not yet over, however. It has to allocate the territory after the vote, and may be faced with a problem if the result is fifty-fifty, or if islands of territory vote for the *status quo*. Its longer-term responsibility is to see to the execution of the undertakings given; it may have its work cut out if it is called upon to deal with a broken promise to inhabitants who, once back in Germany's bosom, will be looked upon by Berlin as no fit subjects for meddling from abroad.

The Permanent Court at The Hague

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

THE Permanent Court of International Justice had an unusually quiet year. Two complicated cases of interest to lawyers, rather than laymen, came up for judgment. One was a dispute between the French and Greek Governments over the validity of concessions granted to a French firm by the Ottoman Empire last century, and several times renewed, for the management and maintenance of the system of lights on Turkish coasts in the Mediterranean, Dardanelles and Black Sea. Some of these areas were detached from Turkey by Greece after the Balkan Wars, and concessions connected with them were, later, dealt with by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty. In 1929, the Greek Government wished to take over full management of all lighthouses here. The Court decided

by ten votes to two that the concession to the French firm remained valid. The second dispute, still *sub judice*, concerned a claim by the British Government against the Belgian for damages alleged to be caused by river transport regulations to the business of a British subject, Mr. Oscar Chinn, in the Belgian Congo.

The amended Court Statute still lacks the ratification of Brazil, Abyssinia and Peru before it can come into force; the United States have in any case waived objections to its so doing. In the meantime, the onus of working the new Statute, which provides among other changes that there are to be fifteen Judges and no Deputy Judges, and that they may accept no outside work, remains with the Court, which has also been busy during the year on a draft text for revised Court

rules, based on the reports of four commissions. The Protocol for the accession of the United States to the Court still requires nine ratifications before it can come into force.

A quiet period such as this lends itself to a review of the twelve years' work of the Court. Lord Blanesburgh has said that the task of real statesmen is that of "finally substituting in inter-State relations the rule of law for the rule of force." How far has the first World Court moved towards this goal?

Let us take the debit side first. In one respect many people have been disappointed. For States have not yet been willing to give up their "sovereignty," and compress their acute and important differences into legal formulae and lay them before the Court for decision. None of the cases for judgment have been of outstanding importance. No case has threatened to be a *casus belli*. Lawyers have delighted in the many disputes between Germany and Poland revolving round difficult constructions of Treaty provisions, or territorial problems such as the dispute between Denmark and Norway over East Greenland, or the Free Zones case between France and Switzerland. But neither Press nor politicians could work up much enthusiasm over them. Then it is objected that the prestige of the Court has suffered from the inferior calibre of some of the judges elected in 1930, on the grounds of nationality rather than outstanding ability. There has been criticism on the score of the length of time occupied by some cases, of unfortunate delays, previous to 1930, owing to the absence of judges. Nor does the use of two languages or more expedite matters. Two final complaints have been that judges trained in different legal systems agree with difficulty, and on one occasion at least, in the Austrian "Anschluss" case, politics rather than law seem to have influenced decisions.

Now for the credit side. In the event, the jurisdiction of the Court to give non-binding advisory

opinions has proved of the highest importance in post-war affairs. It has enabled the Foreign Offices to take legal advice in the settlement of a whole number of problems directly handled by them. These twenty-five advisory opinions, concerning, for example, the Tunis nationality dispute between France and Great Britain, boundary questions between Albania and Jugo-Slavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Iraq (where war was actually threatened), delicate post-war situations arising between Danzig and Poland, or in connection with the Austro-German Customs regime, have touched matters more electric and vital by far than those entrusted for judgment. They are the Court's big contribution to peace, a contribution, however, which it cannot make by itself, but only on the invitation of the League's organisations. If the Council, which, as Mr. Eden declared in the recent session dealing with the Jugoslav-Hungarian dispute, is not a Court of Justice, would remember more automatically that there is a Permanent Court close at hand fully equipped to deal with legal issues (and what political problem has not such?), the machinery for peaceful settlement could certainly be made even more effective.

Another surprise has been the astonishing development of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. The "Optional Clause," which binds parties to send their legal disputes to the Court, is now in force between forty-two States. The list, it may be noted, includes Italy and Abyssinia, but neither Japan nor China. Moreover, there are some 500 instruments (two recent ones refer to disputes arising from the Saar plebiscite, and to the final settlement of the Chaco quarrel) which enable the Court to give decisions on a whole mass of disputes and vexed questions, which before the War would have caused bad feeling.

The law, indeed, of pacific settlement in 1934 is generations in advance of that prevalent two decades ago. The Court Statute's provision that a decision



The Agent of the British Government addressing the Court in the Oscar Chinn Case

had no binding power except between the parties and in regard to their particular case, has not in the least hindered general confidence in the cumulating law contained in its jurisprudence. In the fifty or so judgments and opinions there has been a steady, regular development of legal principles, which, if continued for half a century, will have given international law a new context.

Perhaps greatest of all is the psychological value of the Permanent Court. We cannot exaggerate the importance of its immediate accessibility. There is no longer a need to create a special Court in an hour of crisis, just when in nine cases out of ten it is impossible to do so. We may remember the cheerful observation of Mr. Wemmick: "Hullo, here's a church; let's get married." That has a precise counterpart in international affairs to-day, when people are saying: "Hullo, here's a Permanent Court at the Hague; hadn't we better find out what the Judges think of our dispute?"

On balance, there is no question that the Court has achieved a solid prestige in twelve years. Its judgment has not once been ignored. "It stands to-day," writes Prof. Stanley O. Hudson, "beside the Council of the League of Nations, as the centre of a new system of pacific settlement, so firmly embedded in the world's treaty law that its disappearance would involve a revolution in international affairs."

SOME SUPPORTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GIVE ANSWERS TO THE BALLOT PAPER

WHY NOT THE FOLLOWING ?

1.—YES.

See the King's Speech of November 20, 1934 :—

"The maintenance of world peace does not cease to give my Government the most anxious concern. They will continue to make the support and extension of the authority of the League of Nations a cardinal point in their policy."

2.—YES.

The same speech goes on :—

"My Government earnestly trust that the general work of the Disarmament Conference may be actively resumed in a political atmosphere more favourable to the attainment of definite results. In the meantime, strenuous efforts will be made to secure international agreement on such matters as are capable of separate treatment."

3.—YES.

In March, 1933, the Government proposed to the Disarmament Conference that :—

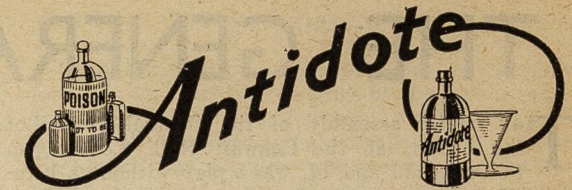
"The Permanent Disarmament Commission should devote itself at once to working out 'the best possible scheme providing for . . . the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, which must be dependent on the effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes.'"

4.—The Government, as Sir John Simon explained in the House of Commons on November 22, 1934, recognises the dangers attendant on this trade, whether nationalised or left in private hands; it thinks them best dealt with by international control, but is also holding an inquiry into the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation.

5 (a) and (b).—YES, WHERE PRACTICABLE.

Such action is obligatory under the Covenant, and, as Mr. Baldwin said at the Unionist Party Conference at Birmingham on October 6, 1933: "What Great Britain has signed she will adhere to."

But it is always understood that such obligations are subject to conditions; there might be circumstances where an attempt at coercion would lead only to a difficult and perhaps inconclusive war. In such a case, no responsible statesman would advocate it.



POISON :

"At the St. George's By-election of 1931 . . . Sir Ernest Petter was defeated. His defeat was engineered by Professor Gilbert Murray, who used the Westminster Branch of the League of Nations Union for his purpose. . . . Professor Murray told his followers that Sir Ernest Petter was not a man of Peace, and Mr. Duff Cooper became the candidate of Professor Murray and the League of Nations Union." —*Evening Standard* (November 28).

ANTIDOTE :

This in spite of the fact that Lord Beaverbrook had been announcing the death of the League and the Union for years prior to 1931. Marvellous how seductive some of those corpses can be!

* * *

POISON :

"The League of Nations is a new-fangled notion, a danger to Britain, it means placing ourselves at the mercy of the world, the old system of preparing for war in order to maintain peace is best," etc., etc.—*The Die-hard*, almost every day of the year.

ANTIDOTE :

"I am a Tory. I do not care for these new-fangled things!" —LORD FITZALAN, at the Queen's Hall Tory Conference, when requested to speak into the microphone.

* * *

POISON :

"A man finds himself, as the reward of his own imprudence, in a tight corner. To himself and to all onlookers it appears that his destruction can be averted only by a miracle. Then the miracle occurs. By luck, and not by judgment, he escapes with a whole skin. . . . Great Britain has been in a very tight corner indeed, and has got out of it more by luck than by judgment. During the quarrel between Jugo-Slavia and Hungary the peace of Europe hung by a hair. Had that hair snapped, this country would have been involved in the ensuing war. It did not snap. A form of words was found. The tension has relaxed . . . etc., etc.,—Leading article in the *Evening Standard*."

ANTIDOTE :

If that hair had snapped, the same writer would have exulted in the "failure of the League." As it did not snap, he merely claims the achievement of the League as an argument in favour of Lord Beaverbrook's prehistoric Isolation policy!

* * *

POISON :

Every section of the anti-League Press has fulminated with regard to the Prime Minister's dissociation of the Ballot posters with the National Government, in almost every case pretending to regard the use of the word "National" in connection with the Referendum as an "impudent attempt to make people believe that the Government is sponsoring the Ballot."

ANTIDOTE :

As there seems no anxiety lest the Government be regarded as accepting personal responsibility for the Grand National Steeplechase, National Cash Registers or the National Debt, it is obvious that this is merely another angle from which to attempt to obstruct the Ballot.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

THE winter assembly of the General Council of the Union, at the Conway Hall, London, on December 13 and 14, was a play without a hero. Or, rather, it was performed in the hero's absence, but with an always lively and increasing awareness of how supremely important was his implicit role. He was a collective person, being no other than the rank and file membership of the Union throughout the country.

The most contentious proposal which fell to be discussed was the establishment of an International Air Force, controlled by the League, manned by volunteers from various countries, paid out of international funds, and available primarily for the prevention of and resistance to air aggression attempted by the civilian machines of any country. The debate, conducted on both sides with admirable temper and a careful avoidance of purely controversial points, soon revealed profound differences of opinion.

On one side, the majority of the Executive, and, seemingly, a substantial majority of the Council, felt that the air menace must be dispelled if civilisation is to be saved. Military and naval aircraft must be abolished. To make such abolition effectual, civil aviation must be brought under international control. International control cannot be effectual unless it is fortified by an International Air Police.

A minority in the Executive, and a minority, also, it would seem, in the Council, were opposed to the arming of the League. In their view, to create an armed League force, and thereby transform the League into a potential belligerent, would be to abandon the Covenant. They objected on principle. They also saw grave practical difficulties. How, they asked, was an International Air Force to be brought into action? By a unanimous vote of the League Council? Or by a vote unanimous except for the parties directly concerned in any dispute? Or by a mere majority? A majority, they contended, would not command the requisite respect and acceptance. On the other hand, unanimity in either of its forms, qualified or unqualified, could not be counted upon to operate promptly enough. No nation would feel it safe to abandon its air defences, when the substitute offered by the League might not act at once in a moment of desperate crisis.

With the first sentences of Lord Allen, who moved the resolution, the speaking attained a high level, on which it continued almost throughout the debate. On both sides there was

a constant readiness to recognise the conviction with which the opposite view was held, and a resolve to persuade, if that were at all possible, by the methods of reason, meeting cogent argument with cogent argument and striving to reach the heart of the matter.

Lord Allen was specially effective in his demonstration that the air danger was insistent and immediate. Here, he contended, is no chance issue raised by irresponsible enthusiasts. The air armaments race has begun. The time for decisive counter measures is now. He pointed out how damaging to world welfare was the long postponement of any attempt to settle reparations on lines which from the first were known to be right. A similar lack of courageous promptitude in the matter of the air would have even more direful consequences. An International Air Force was a practical and logical development of the Covenant. The scheme proposed was the abolition by the consent of all nations of the most destructive of all weapons, which was also the weapon most exclusively aggressive in its use, and a joint preparation to employ, for the common purpose of preventing treacherous air attack, international force in the only way in which such force could be effectual.

In support of Lord Allen, Mr. Philip Noel Baker brought out in bold relief the essential fact that an International Air Force is part of a scheme of disarmament. This is sometimes overlooked. Objection is raised to the birth of another air armada, and fearsome pictures are drawn of aerial warfare, still more confused and devastating through the intervention of the League's squadrons. The abolition of military and naval aircraft and the establishment of an International Air Force are inseparably linked. The chief purpose of the international force is to prevent the illegitimate use for war purposes of civil aircraft by any country after national military and naval aircraft have been abolished.

Sir Austen Chamberlain impressed the Council no less deeply than his opponents. He drew cheers with his emphatic declaration of his belief in the League and his full acceptance of the collective system. He was listened to with the closest attention when he argued against equipping the League with arms and its transformation from a conciliator and arbitrator into a belligerent. The League of Nations has a great place in the world and vital functions to perform. To change it into a super-State would be to unfit



Alfred Huttenbach with the bronze head of Professor Gilbert Murray, which was presented at the General Council. It now stands outside the Library at Union Headquarters

it for those functions and to destroy it. He objected on principle; he also protested that immense practical obstacles had been virtually ignored. The League system is ill-fitted to the prompt and assured use of force, as soon as a crisis arises, which alone can give any nation a sense of security.

Major the Rt. Hon. J. W. Hills stressed the inexactitude of the police analogy. An international air force could not be a true international police force until an international government had been established. He also insisted on the crucial importance of Anglo-American relations, and warned the Council against an impatient resort to force. Force, he declared with brevity, breeds force.

Lord Eustace Percy did not carry the Council with him in his exaltation of the right to kill, rightfully inherent in a national State, but never to be conceded to an international Parliamentary body, deciding by a majority. He was more persuasive when he asserted the power of the League in its present form, and the adequacy of the Covenant as it stands, to do the world the service for which the League was designed, if only the State members will give it a fair chance.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams scorned the plea of inexpediency put forward to excuse inactivity. The challenge of the facts was clear and urgent. An ignominious refusal must incur discredit and disaster.

The Council listened with a closeness and admiration which the speeches from the platform deserved. But it did not listen uncritically. As the debate went on it revealed itself wide awake to the air menace and the vital importance of prompt counter-measure, but still more intensely alive to the supreme value of the League and to the need to preserve the Union, undivided, unweakened, as the League's best advocate with public opinion both at home and abroad.

The President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee unmistakably spoke the collective mind. Professor Gilbert Murray struck the note for which the delegates were waiting when he dwelt on the still incalculable possibilities of the work which the Union is doing. It is helping to build a new world order. Only the outlines of that order can yet be seen. If present insistence on what is by comparison a secondary matter

should split the Union the damage would be incalculable also.

Dr. Murray's story of the clergyman, in trouble with his superiors over the wearing of some garment, who answered: "If I must, I won't; if I needn't, I don't mind," won the success of a perfectly-timed illustration. He himself was not clear whether to arm the League would strengthen it or weaken it. The Union ought to think long and carefully before it committed all its members formally to the one opinion or the other.

Lord Cecil also had his audience with him in his insistence on the imperative need, in the highest interest of Great Britain and the world, to maintain the Union front unbroken. With him and Professor Murray, the Council held, or so it seemed, that military and naval aircraft must be abolished, that as a corollary of such abolition civil aviation must be internationally controlled, that if the nations would agree on the promise of an international air force, then the creation of such a force must be accepted, since it would be a small price to pay for a giant stride towards general disarmament. Lord Cecil drew assenting cheers when he remarked that he had noted obscurities and misunderstandings on both sides of the argument.

The appropriate hero was introduced appropriately from the floor of the hall. Mr. Clift, of Manchester, was the deftest of comperes. Respectfully he told the platform that a split in the Executive Committee would be a misfortune, and all his hearers that a split in the Council would be worse. But a split in the Union membership throughout the country would be a tragedy. He pleaded, not for a weak refusal to decide, but for the wise delay which might avert disaster. The branches must have adequate time to consider and discuss a most intricate and difficult question. Six months was not too long to allow them to make up their minds; six months at least was their plain right.

The Council agreed. The tone of the debate, its responsibility and moderation, the desire to persuade the rank and file by valid reasons, the frank acceptance that the final decision must rest with the members as a whole showed how essentially democratic is the Union, and afforded an admirable example of democracy at work.

THE LEAGUE'S YEAR IN 1934

1934 WAS a far more encouraging year for the League than its predecessor. It was marked, indeed, by storms enough; but the atmosphere of steady depression had gone. There were considerable bright intervals, particularly towards the close, and the year ended amid unmistakable signs of a revived confidence in League methods, due largely to the patent ill-success of various experiments in other directions.

Japan, indeed, continued her solitary way, without other encouragement than she could draw from Salvador's recognition of "Manchukuo," and a visit to that country from the Federation of British Industries. In the Naval Conversations which took place regarding the renewal of the Washington Treaties, she made demands which neither Great Britain nor the U.S.A. could accept. The Japanese threat, however, drew Great Britain and the U.S.A. closer together, and brought about a remarkable transformation in the attitude of the U.S.S.R. to the League, which she joined at the Assembly, Afghanistan and Ecuador following in her wake. An equally important development in another field was the decision of the U.S.A., announced at the International Labour Conference, to

join the I.L.O. Thus the year closed with a considerable accession of strength for the League, while the I.L.O. will henceforward cover virtually the whole population of the world, except Germany.

In Europe, Germany remained the chief storm-centre, with secondary but still deep depressions in South-Eastern Europe. The year began with a remarkable step towards peace taken outside the League, when Poland and Germany concluded a ten-years' Pact of Non-Aggression. This was followed by a partial retreat by Poland from the collective system, with all its implications, as evinced by an unfortunate declaration made at the Assembly by her Foreign Minister refusing to co-operate with the League in executing her Minorities Treaty. Both Poland and Germany refused to join the elaborate plan for an "Eastern Locarno," which France was anxious to conclude. The outcome was, however, a closer rapprochement between France and the U.S.S.R., fortified by Russia's entry into the League, while Poland was left in a more equivocal position than she herself had, perhaps, realised.

Germany needed one friendly neighbour. Her policy in South-Eastern Europe had proved unfor-

fortunate. Italy's hold over Austria proved unexpectedly strong, if it led to most unhappy results in the brutal repression of a Social Democratic rising in Austria, brutally provoked. A Nazi "putsch" occurred in July, the Austrian Chancellor being murdered; but the coup failed, and Germany drew back in face of Italy's threat to march into Austria. After this, Germany's attitude towards Austria grew much more conciliatory, while France and Italy drew closer together. This was a case in which no appeal to the League was made; no one could pretend, however, that the results of the experiment were encouraging.

In disarmament, too, Germany's position remained the central problem. The old deadlock subsisted throughout the year, Germany demanding practical equality and some re-arming for herself, France asking for more security, Britain (supported by Italy), attempting to compromise. Meanwhile, Germany was openly re-arming. In view of this, France insisted that the Disarmament Conference should re-open in May.

The main problem still remained unsolved, but progress was made on several minor, though still important, points, and in November it was decided that an attempt should be made in January, 1935, to bring forward protocols for immediate signature on budgetary publicity, the creation of a Permanent Commission, and regulation of the manufacture of and trade in arms. The last-named subject occupied increasing interest, which was stimulated by piquant revelations in the U.S.A. Unluckily, many States found it necessary to increase their armaments, especially in the air. The year was not a good one for disarmament, but the improved political atmosphere at the end of the year made it possible to hope for better things in 1935.

This improvement was noticeable in two major political disputes, and was largely due, in each case, to the decided attitude of the British Government. The first of these disputes arose over the Saar, on which Herr Hitler, faithful to his policy of taking one thing at a time, concentrated all his artillery. The plebiscite is due in 1935, and the Council has fixed the day for January 13. The Nazis attempted to ensure a campaign of vilification, terrorisation and intimidation,

directed against the Governing Commission and the presumed opposition. A Nazi "putsch" was feared, with a possible counter-move by France; but the League stood firm, Great Britain and other countries sent troops to ensure fair voting, and the danger seemed averted. Meanwhile, a Committee under the Italian, Baron Aloisi, negotiated agreement between France and Germany on the re-purchase of the mines and other outstanding points.

The second danger-point lay further East. King Alexander of Yugoslavia, with the French Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, were assassinated at Marseilles on October 9. Yugoslavia accused Hungary of having sheltered and encouraged the conspirators, and brought the matter before the League. Hungary protested her innocence, and declared that the accusations against her were an attempt to discredit her legitimate campaign for Treaty revision. The settlement reached at Geneva on December 11 was fair to both parties, and the whole story afforded a remarkable contrast to the tale (which had begun in so dreadfully similar a fashion) of the Serajevo murder of 1914.

The League's handling of the war in progress between two of its members—Bolivia and Paraguay—was less courageous; but when Bolivia at last appealed under Article XV, a special Assembly drew up a firm and sensible report and showed signs of at last losing patience with the two belligerents. A most encouraging step was the agreement between all States concerned to stop the export of arms and munitions to both combatants.

These exciting events overshadowed the League's minor activities, but the I.L.O. had a remarkably successful year. Besides admitting the U.S.A. as a member, it concluded an important Convention on Unemployment Insurance, besides other work. No agreement could be reached on the "Forty-Hour Week," but a fresh attempt, on a modified basis, is to be made next year. Of the League's humanitarian activities, those of the Health Organisation were perhaps the most prominent. The Economic work is still paralysed by the failure of the 1933 Conference, but here, too, several countries are showing signs of a shy desire to return to the path of co-operation, the leaving of which led them in recent years into such dismal bogs.

An Armed League and Common Sense

By John M. Fisher

IN HEADWAY, of September, I demurred to Captain Mumford's picture of a League which fails and his assumption that an international air force would cure this failing. My demur was made in the name of a large number of members of the Union. It was based on numerous difficulties which Captain Mumford's proposal presented to us, including these:—

(1) The proposal to set up this force is an impracticable one. For, as its advocates, themselves, urge, the League's members fall short of the standard of co-operation which alone would make it practicable, in our submission. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that an international air force would be instituted with general consent and employed with general approval; and

(2) if it were possible to organise this force now, its mere existence would excite the fear of those nations which already regard the League with distrust or reserve. They would hasten to form alliances against it. So, this arming of the League would make it simply another of the great military Powers of the world, and thus add one more to the serious risks of war.

Captain Mumford's rejoinder to these submissions, in

HEADWAY of October, is a series of assumptions. He assumes, for example:—

(1) That the proposal to establish an international air force now is practicable;

(2) that "Mr. Fisher objects to the use of armed force by the League of Nations";

(3) corollary of (2)—that one who interprets this plea for international police as subordination of the pacific to the warlike at Geneva, is a Pacifist who alters Article 16 of the Covenant;

(4) that an international air force would be "the force of a policeman keeping the law . . . as in civil life"; and

(5) that the typical and real difficulties we find in this proposal may be ignored.

Let us consider these assumptions. (1) and (5): Captain Mumford makes no attempt to meet the difficulties presented to us by his assumption that his proposal is practicable. (2) and (3): Captain Mumford offers no warrant for his assumption that I object to the use of force by the League. Actually, those in whose name I demurred to his proposal have not

objected to the use of force by the League. We have objected only to a premature proposal to arm the League. This proposal to make the League an armed power in its infancy seems to us not only premature but also mischievous. It diverts attention, energy and faith from the primary, if unsensational, work of friends of the League and of our Union.

Captain Mumford quotes Article 16 of the Covenant against us. We perceive that the armed force contemplated in Article 16 is not a permanent force. It is one to be extemporised to deal with an actual emergency. "In such case" the League is empowered to exercise military sanctions, with forces to be contributed for the purpose by member States. This is quite different from the permanent force to deal with emergencies that may arise. Indeed, the only permanent military organisation at Geneva which is contemplated in the Covenant is the permanent and purely advisory Military Commission of Article 9. Thus, instead of altering one Article of the Covenant, as Captain Mumford complains, we are really observing the spirit of the whole instrument. (As Captain Mumford so firmly pins his label of "Pacifist" upon me, perhaps I should as firmly unpin it. But I should add that I welcomed most warmly the tribute paid to some

pacifists by Dean Inge in his recent broadcast. To me, the austere beauty and simple dignity of Lady Mary Murray's plea for pacifism at Bournemouth is a very fragrant memory of that Council.)

Assumption (4): Captain Mumford presents his international air force as "the force of a policeman keeping the law . . . as in civil life." Now, in civil life, law and the policeman depend upon public opinion. Indeed, the policeman of Captain Mumford's analogy does not appear upon his beat until he is representative of a comprehensive code of law which commands general assent. The comparison made by Captain Mumford, then, is a comparison between

(1) The long-established law, in a settled state, supported by a strong public opinion, and

(2) the tentative law of a fluctuating international confederation, which is evolving from the conflict of nationalism and internationalism at Geneva, and still awaits the endorsement of public opinion in significant areas of the world.

Clearly, the analogy thus drawn is so forced as to be false. The whole case of Lord Davies, Lord Allen and Captain Mumford rests upon this false analogy. And Captain Mumford labels this case "common sense"!

SIR JOHN SIMON EXPLAINS

Not Opposed to the Peace Ballot

Sir John Simon has sent the following letter to the Hon. Secretary of the Gildersome Branch of the League of Nations Union with reference to the National Peace Ballot:—

House of Commons, December 11, 1934.

DEAR MR. BROOKSBANK,—Thank you for your letter informing me of the resolution passed by the Gildersome branch of the League of Nations Union with reference to the National Peace Ballot. I am very glad to have it.

As there has been a good deal of misrepresentation about my own attitude to the ballot, and as so many people tend to form their opinions not from a speech that is made but from what certain newspapers say about the speech, I may perhaps add that anyone who reads my speeches in the House of Commons on November 8 and November 22 will see that I have never expressed myself as opposed to the ballot. What I had to say about it was with reference to question No. 4 (which deals with the transfer to the State of the manufacture of arms), and what I said was that this question is a most complicated one, and it was not fair to expect people to answer with a simple "Yes" or "No," without putting before them the considerations for and against. This is still my view, and I may add that it seems to me a very great pity to represent it as though it raised a peace or war issue.

Everybody in this country is deeply devoted to peace, but the best way in which the Government can show its devotion is by working for it, as the Government has been doing most strenuously during the last three years. Some of this work can be seen in the efforts of the British Government, extending over two years, in arranging an international embargo on arms to Bolivia and Paraguay. The initiative in this was taken by this country, and it was due to our continuous pressure that success was ultimately achieved, for twenty-eight arms-exporting countries have now agreed to impose the embargo. Then there are the results which we have done so much to secure both in the Saar and in the dispute between Yugo-Slavia and Hungary. That kind of work goes on all the time, but naturally the public does not always appreciate to the full what is done for it must be done quietly.

Yours sincerely, (Signed) JOHN SIMON.

SUMMER PLANS

ALL the heavy work involved in the National Declaration has not been permitted to stand in the way of the Union's arrangements for Summer Schools, Camps and Travel in 1935, as the following brief preliminary extracts from the New Year's programme will show:

At the Easter School, which will be held at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from April 18 to 23, such widely-diversified subjects as Fascism, Communism, Roosevelt's Economic Experiments, German Re-arming, Britain's Defences, and many others of equal importance will be fully discussed.

The annual visit to Geneva is being organised to leave London on Saturday, June 8, and the Summer School at Geneva will take place from August 1 to 11.

The 1935 session of the Geneva Institute of International Relations will be held from August 18 to 24, the main purpose of the course this year being to examine the attempt to establish an International Public Order.

Younger supporters of the League will be glad to know that the New Forest Peace Camps at Godshill will be features of the 1935 programme. A Youth Camp is being organised for Whitsun, and there will be two camps, lasting a fortnight each, during August, the first being for boys and girls between 13½ and 15 years, and the other for those between 14½ and 16.

** An innovation which should arouse enormous interest is a proposed visit to the United States of America, arrangements for which are already in negotiation between the L.N.U. and the American League of Nations Association. The time suggested is between Easter and Whitsun, and it is intended that the tour should include visits to New York, Philadelphia and Washington. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this tour will enable those who avail themselves of it to see far more of America at infinitely less cost than could possibly be achieved in any other circumstances, but the practicability or otherwise of the visit must depend entirely on the degree of support accorded to it. A similar visit to Russia in the summer is also under consideration.

Further particulars of any or all of these announcements will gladly be furnished on application to the Secretary of the Union.

BOOK NOTICES

A Short History of International Affairs, 1920 to 1934.
By G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Gathorne-Hardy has a tale to tell which will depress some hearers. It will seem to them a series of disappointed hopes. But there is another way of regarding it. The disappointments are real enough. They are not necessarily proof conclusive of failure. Rather are they evidence of how much more worth while than appears on the surface have been the gains. When obstacles are many and difficult, to surmount some of them is substantial progress. And an assurance that further success can be won.

Fifteen years ago all the world underestimated the complexity of international relations. The world had undergone the shattering experience of the world war. Everywhere it was assumed that everyone had learnt the same lesson. The truth was less simple. The war had taught some nations one thing, other nations another. Nations who had secured a place in the sun cherished thoughts different from those of nations which had been exiled in the shadow. Organised peace, international co-operation, security, disarmament, collective defence were in common use. At first, what different meanings they had on different lips was not obvious.

The early expectations, therefore, of a swift and sure building up of a new world order were not justified. They were at variance with the facts. To exaggerate, however, is not to misunderstand completely. On the constructive side the Versailles settlement was wisely drawn. It was designed on the right lines for the right purposes. Partial results, often long postponed, attained in the end after laborious effort, can have greater value than a sudden, dramatic rush to the final objective. What decides is how firmly the gain made in each advance is consolidated.

Intelligently followed, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's tale leaves his hearers strengthened in their resolve, not shaken. They see the vital inter-connection of every side of their task more clearly than before. Because the need for an ordered and peaceful world presents itself to different nations in different lights and under different degrees of urgency, the steady expansion of the League's many helpful activities is fundamentally important. They alone can bring home to one League member in one way and to another in another, the facts that an organic world is possible and that the alternative is chaos.

Great Britain, the greatest of World Powers, is of all Powers the most sensitive to world influences; she is widest awake to the utility of the League. As the pressure of world events has forced them out of their contrasted forms of isolation, Russia and the United States have drawn nearer to the League. Leaders of civilisation as they are, the Scandinavian countries maintain a multitude of world contacts. They also are consistent supporters of the League. Other cases in point might be quoted. The inference is plain. The growth of the League system depends on the generalisa-

tion of the world sense already possessed by its more active members.

The World Court, the International Labour Organisation, the health work of the League, the League's attack upon the drug traffic and other social evils, its help in repairing the disasters of flood and famine and economic crisis are unostentatiously spreading such a sense. They are a pledge that the day will dawn when a conscious international solidarity will create a system of collective defence, linked with a drastic reduction of national armaments. In League affairs, as in others, the longest way round may prove the shortest way home. Which does not prove that immense advantages—including vastly increased security—will not be obtained by quickening the pace to the utmost.

Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's book ought to be read by all the friends, and all the enemies of the League. It is invaluable for the fact it sets out in illuminating array, and for the reflections it suggests.

A History of the Great War, 1914-1918. By C. R. M. F. Cruttwell. (Oxford University Press. 15s.)

Here is a book for which the English-speaking world has been waiting. A comprehensive, clear, critical account in a single volume of the war was needed. Mr. Cruttwell has supplied the want. And at the right moment. Had he written earlier he could not have utilised with complete mastery the official versions of the various campaigns. Nor, perhaps, have attained his union of fair-dealing with deep emotion. Had he delayed longer he must have sacrificed in some measure the warmth of actuality which pervades his work from first page to the last.

Mr. Cruttwell has had personal experience of warfare. Both negatively and positively it is a great help to a military historian. It prevents his romanticising soldiers and sailors. Or, perhaps, decrying them as dunderheads. It teaches him the supreme importance of supplies, and transport, and big battalions.

When Anatole France, in "La Rotisserie de la Reine Pedauque," made his Captain disclose as the inner secret of soldiering the knowledge of how to steal chickens the jest had a core of truth. Mr. Cruttwell's heroes—Marshal Petain, and Lord Allenby, and Sir Stanley Maude were professionals; they had no need to go to a novelist in order to learn that an army marches and fights on its stomach. Mr. Cruttwell has grasped the same truth elsewhere than in his study. Consequently he has upon it and other truths of the same kind a firm hold, which never relaxes. That grasp gives his work an honest, unambiguous outline, a convincing impress of reality.

Whoever takes Mr. Cruttwell as a guide and follows him faithfully to the last of his 800 pages will obtain a view of the world at strife both more detailed and better-proportioned than can be drawn from any other volume. And on the way he will make instructive acquaintance with many sound judgments and some that are highly arguable. Mr. Cruttwell is severe on the British Admirals who failed to destroy the *Goeben* and her Consort

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on their way to Constantinople in the first days of the war. He is sharp with Lord Jellicoe and Lord Beatty at Jutland. He makes, too, slight allowance for the difficulties of Generals and Staffs in the West, fighting an unprecedented campaign with hurriedly and partially-trained troops. But he estimates at its true value the idea which inspired the Gallipoli landings; and he recognises as the decisive factor in the whole struggle the British command of the sea, placing, as it did, the resources of the world at the disposal of the Allies.

Above all, Mr. Cruttwell exhibits the unique character of modern war. He shows nations facing one another, completely mobilised. The distinction between combatants and civilians has become unreal. Victory is a sequel to exhaustion. Attack succeeds only when defence no longer has the reserves required to localise an enemy success. War retains its old name but has so swollen its scale as to change its nature. It is a parasite that has developed giantism. Civilisation must root out war, or war will destroy civilisation.

Experiment in Autobiography, Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (since 1866). By H. G. Wells. (Victor Gollancz. 2 vols. 10s. 6d. each.)

Mr. Wells does not mean that he has a very ordinary brain. He has held not a few strange opinions. But never one so absurd as that. There is this much seriousness in his title, however. He has always had the gift of seeing and showing the individual in full, lively, picturesque detail as a concrete illustration of the general rule. He retains his gift unimpaired. He uses his own life for his accustomed purpose with all his old vivacity. On the first page of his second volume, he writes: "If you do not want to explore an egoism you should not read autobiography. If I did not take an immense interest in life, through the medium of myself, I should not have embarked upon this analysis of memories and records." Those two sentences could not be bettered. But Mr. Wells has done such vital service to his contemporaries and his juniors by stimulating and guiding them in the adventure of thinking about and understanding their times, that not to add to his own comment a word of grateful appreciation is impossible. He has never written more fascinatingly, never told a more convincing story. He shows the Victorian confusion, saved from chaos only by its rigidity, passing in difficult and often distressful stages into a still unachieved rational order.

When Mr. Wells was a child men did not imagine that society was capable of self-control. Mr. Wells has consistently believed that it is. Now, on the verge of old age, he sees men beginning to impose a chosen shape upon their collective affairs. It is his gospel of creation by foresight that has made him one of the master builders of the new ordered world.

Official League Publications

International Trade Statistics, 1933. 350 pp. Geneva, 1934. Price 10s.

Contains statistics for the most recent available and preceding years of the trade of sixty-five territories in considerable detail, including analyses of the trade of each territory with the principal other countries, and of its imports and exports by principal commodities.

Nationality of Women—Report of the Secretary-General on the information obtained, etc. Addendum 1 to Part I. 1934. V.4.
Dispute Between Bolivia and Paraguay. Observations of the Paraguayan Government on the Chaco Commission's Report, 1934. VII.6

New Union Publications

- No. 269. **Traffic in Arms.** (New Edition.) 3d.
No. 155. **Human Welfare.** (New Edition.) 3d.
No. 376. **Economic Causes of War.** By Professor Zimmern. 2d.
No. 114. **Teachers and World Peace.** (New Edition.) 6d.

READERS' VIEWS

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

ARMS MAY BE NECESSARY

SIR,—May I be allowed to reply to the "challenge" of Mr. H. S. Moore, and to the comments of Mr. H. F. T. Fisher published in HEADWAY?

I said that "some of us believe that circumstances are conceivable under which armed resistance might be temporarily necessary before the settlement of a dispute by the proper authority could be put under weigh." Mr. Moore challenges me "to suggest, say, three sets of such circumstances." I feel disposed to restrict myself to one such hypothetical instance, partly because your readers can easily evolve others for themselves, and partly because I am fearful of taking too much of your space.

Here is a hypothetical case in which "some of us would feel that a temporary use of force would be justified." (I am still loath to believe that there are members of the L.N.U. who think that disputes can be settled by war, and therefore claim that, in the terms of the Oxford Dictionary, we are all "pacifists.")

Ruritania is under the control of a dictator, who, in order to ensure the solidarity of his countrymen to his own party, has been spreading a story, in his carefully censored Press, that the neighbouring State of Alaunia is rapidly preparing to attack his country. The Alaunians are a peaceful people, but feeling on the frontier is running high, when a Ruritanian general, anxious to acquire popularity, seeks to avenge an alleged slight to the Ruritanian flag by a "putsch" into Alaunian territory. The Alaunians immediately notify the League of the situation, appealing for action under Articles XI and/or XV, and assuring the Council that no Alaunian soldier has crossed, or will cross, the Ruritanian frontier; but during the hours that elapse before the Council can meet, they make armed resistance to the invaders. The Council meets, the Ruritarians are immediately called upon to withdraw their forces, and the dispute is settled in what we pacifists believe the only "possible" and "desirable" way—by peaceful means.

Now I maintain that although Mr. Moore and many others too, whose opinions we all respect, would doubtless feel that the Alaunians were wrong to offer any resistance to the destruction of their lives and property, "some of us" feel that such action might be "temporarily necessary," and ask only that, in accordance with the Oxford Dictionary's definition of pacifism, we may yet be allowed that title; and that those who hold Mr. Moore's view should respect our opinions, as we unreservedly respect theirs.

G. W. SCOTT BLAIR.

THE BALLOT QUESTIONS

SIR,—I note from your correspondent, Mr. Wright Miller, in your December issue, that all the questions in the Ballot Paper can be answered only in the affirmative by all sane and reasonable persons.

I knew, of course, that there was an odd spot of insanity knocking about the world; but I now have it on the above very good authority that I myself am touched by this insanity, having answered Question 5 (b) in the negative.

As the result of having spent a little time counting Ballot Paper returns, I am somewhat heartened to find that there are others—some 15 to 20 per cent. of those who answered the Ballot Paper—as well as myself, who, from the point of view of Mr. Wright Miller, are insane and unreasonable, through believing

that war is fratricide and un-Christian, and through believing that ideas, especially Christian ideas and ethics, are stronger and more powerful than the sword.

I am thrilled to think that this body of "insane" opinion has only to grow a little, spread a little, cohere a little, and become a little more articulate and determined—or should I say "fanatical"?—for war between civilised nations to become a matter of past history, a closed chapter, looked upon somewhat askantly: did human beings, did so-called Christians, behave like that to each other? Possibly posterity will consider civilisation as having started from that date.

G. R. M. HERFORD.

WHICH AM I TO BELIEVE?

SIR,—On page 224 of the December number of HEADWAY I read: "The Peace Ballot is already placing on unchallengeable record the virtually unanimous stand of the British people for peace."

In the *Times* of December 4, I read in a letter signed by Prof. Gilbert Murray: "We have confined our inquiry to 'a search for the machinery best suited to preserve and ensure peace.' There is no question of asking the voter if he is in favour of peace."

So the Chairman of the League of Nations Union says one thing, and the organ of the League of Nations Union says the opposite. Which am I to believe?

G. F. BRIDGE.

[NOTE.—Our correspondent has found a mare's nest. Both statements are true; there is no contradiction. The voter is not asked in the ballot if he is in favour of peace; he is asked if he approves certain machinery to preserve and ensure peace. But if he approves such machinery, he records beyond question his stand for peace and active, practical steps to preserve it.—ED.]

REALITY AT LAST

SIR,—I can assure you that no one regretted more than I did the breakdown of the policy of collective guarantee of security in the Manchukuo issue, for that policy was neither more nor less than the essence of the Covenant scheme so far as the latter stood for the prevention of war, and I have been one of its most aggressive advocates since the beginning of 1921.

I am sure, however, that it is all to the good that Mr. Baldwin's speech has led to the admission that the present Government recognises the *de facto* impracticability of that part of the League programme, and I do not believe that any conceivable British Government at the present juncture would attempt to lead us into war in pursuance of a Covenant obligation unless it were at the same time convinced that it was to the direct interest of this country and its safety to go to war.

Why not admit, too, that no British Government would consent to apply an armed blockade at the behest of the Council of the League until it was shown how the U.S.A. was going to take it? Is not this obviously true, too? And is it not, therefore, time to end the century-long dispute with the U.S.A. over the traditional claim of Great Britain to use the naval blockade as an instrument of war?

I submit that there is no need for wringing of hands because someone has had the courage to acknowledge the truth of the situation. Now we know where we are, we know what we have to build.

F. TALBOT.

PEACE IN THE AIR

SIR,—I have been much impressed by the arguments in favour of disarmament, coupled with a plan for an International Police Force, under the control of the League of Nations. However, the efficacy of disarmament in the air appears to depend on the control of *civil aviation*. The plan I have heard suggested, that all civil aviation should be handed over to an international corporation run on commercial lines, seems to be one which no Sovereign State is likely to accept.

For instance, would Great Britain be willing to let such a corporation have the monopoly and control of all flying in India? Or would our P.M.G. be willing to submit schemes for our *internal air mail* to their ruling; and if he wished, let us say, to give the Orkneys or Scilly Isles an air mail, would he accept their decision that "it was not a paying proposition"?

Has anyone suggested as an alternative a scheme on some such lines as the following?—

(a) national "military" disarmament for all countries who are members of the League of Nations;

(b) coupled with a reasonably strong and very efficient "League Military Air Police Force";

(c) plus a very large "Civil Reserve," for which each member nation would maintain their quota. Such planes to be piloted by ex-pilots of L.M.A.P. Force, who would also be on the "reserve," and have had their training with the regular force.

This would give the League an overwhelming "civil reserve," which could not be matched by any potential "enemies." The reserve should have an annual period of training with the L.M.A.P.F.

Another advantage would be that the reserve would be widely scattered, in their national aerodromes—an important point in view of possible enemy bombing.

For the same reason, would it not be an advantage for the L.M.A.P.F. to be stationed at several headquarters?

Further, they should frequently *patrol over the countries* of the League members, so that their nationals would become accustomed to the supervision and protection of the "Force" and learn to regard it as their own, and take a pride in their national "Reserve," which should always accompany the "Regulars" on the patrols and manoeuvres when over their own countries.

M. E.

INTERNATIONAL POLICE

SIR,—In reply to Mr. W. L. Roseveare's letter in your November issue, may I say that I agree with Mr. Ellis, and do not believe in an International Police Force.

I justify my belief as follows: Our National Police Force uses force against the suspect, but an International Police Force would, in attacking a country, be punishing the whole country and not just the few guilty who were responsible for the aggression.

JOAN A. ADAMSON.

OUR CARTOONS

SIR,—The cartoon in last month's HEADWAY picturing Cain and Abel recalls the remark made by an eminent Victorian (Douglas Jerrold, I believe) who confounded a friend who tried to convince him that, "after all, all men are brothers," by the assurance, bluntly expressed: "Yes, we are all Cains and Abels."

So long as we believe this to be the case, there must be war.

B. P. W. F.

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GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

(3) THE BIBLE IN INDIA

India has been much in the news during the last few years, and it is possible that her political and social problems may turn our attention from those spiritual problems which in the long run are the most important of all.

What is the response of India to the Christian Gospel? The Bible Society can supply evidence to show that the people of India are turning with eagerness to the study of the Scriptures. During the past year more than 1,100,000 copies of Holy Writ were circulated through this Society in all parts of India—an increase over the previous year.

With what result? While it is impossible to follow each copy sold and its influence upon the reader, there is abundant proof that the seed sown often falls into good ground. "The Bible has been the means of bringing in many for baptism this year, and continues to be a big factor in our whole work," writes a missionary—a testimony typical of many others.

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HERE AND THERE

SPECIAL MENTION in "News Sheet," this month, is awarded to the Accrington Branch for a very telling item of propaganda for the National Referendum in that locality which must have aroused the interest and enthusiasm of many who are not yet members of the branch. The local Ballot organiser, Mr. T. Rankine, Mr. and Mrs. Tomlinson, Mr. and Mrs. Brotherton, Councillor W. Haines and the Deputy-Mayor, Councillor R. I. Constantine, formed themselves into a sandwich-board procession for over two hours on a recent Saturday afternoon, advocating Peace and Disarmament. Quite a number of Ballot papers were thus distributed. An enterprising piece of propaganda which reflects great credit on the organisers and on those public-spirited people who took part.

As the outcome of a special informal meeting to discuss the Ballot at **Austwick**, it was decided to form a new Branch there.

A representative town's meeting, addressed by Mr. Frederick Wheleh, has resulted in the formation of a healthy new Branch at **Chester-le-Street**.

As a result of their house-to-house canvass during the summer, the **Wilmslow** Branch has enrolled an additional 276 members, thereby practically doubling the Branch.

The inhabitants of **Buckden** have long held the opinion that a Branch should be formed, and at an enthusiastic meeting addressed by Admiral Allen the necessary preliminary steps were taken, an excellent initial membership roll being obtained.

At a conference of teachers from the Keighley, Skipton and Settle areas, in Skipton, a discussion on "Teachers and World Peace" was opened by Mr. F. W. Parrott, Headmaster of Kirkby Stephen School, the author of several Peace plays.

He stated that although many people declare that the future peace of the world is in the keeping of the schools, there is a line of demarcation between what a teacher may do as a citizen and what he ought to do as a teacher. Within the classroom he must not be a propagandist. Even so there is much legitimate activity in which the teacher may engage, particularly regarding teaching concerning the League of Nations.

Mrs. Kirk, Headmistress of Keighley Girls' Grammar School, spoke, and a discussion followed.

The Annual Conference on **Social and Economic Planning** will be held at the London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych, from February 19 to 21. Among the principal speakers will be the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, of "The Economist," Lady Astor, the U.S.S.R. Ambassador, Sir Arnold Wilson, Sir Arthur Salter, and many other eminent authorities.

We have pleasure in recommending to any Branch that may be seeking a dramatic and historically interesting Peace Pageant, Mr. Harold Hare's "**Ordeal By Battle**," which was produced with outstanding success at the Co-operative Hall, Letchworth, last October. The scenes portrayed are The Surrender of Calais, The Treaty of Troyes, The Peace of Tilsit, The Surrender at Sedan, and the Armistice in the Forest of Compiègne. Great care has been taken in regard to historical accuracy, the dialogue is strong, and the pageant aptly illustrates the futility of ordeal by battle. Mr. Hare's address is at 123, Wilbury Road, Letchworth, and all inquiries for production rights should be addressed to him.

At the annual January conference at University College, London, of the associations of education authorities and teachers, Professor Gilbert Murray will speak on the urgent need to promote teaching in international co-operation in the schools of all countries. The session at the Conference of the Education Committee of the Union will be devoted to this subject. The day will be Wednesday, and the time of Professor Murray's address 10.30 a.m.

When the temporary committee appointed by the Hoylake and West Kirby Council of Parents and Teachers for Peace Education held its first meeting an enthusiastic and businesslike spirit prevailed. The committee agreed to recommend that the council should be composed of all parents, teachers, child welfare workers and others interested in Peace Education who wished to join; that there should be no entrance fee or subscription (at any rate, for the first year or so), but that membership of the League of Nations Union should be considered desirable, though in no way compulsory; and that close co-operation with the League of Nations Union be maintained by this autonomous council. The annually elected committee should be representative of the organisations at present represented on the temporary committee, with power to co-opt members of other organisations whose help would be valuable and who may be willing to serve.

It was decided that the council should meet publicly at least once a year to review and discuss the whole question of Peace Education in the district, and that a panel of speakers specially suited for addressing Sunday scholars and juvenile audiences should be created.

A Library of books and publications bearing on international relations, philosophy, history and other subjects will be established and maintained by the council; essay competitions will be organised; "Model Assemblies," debates, plays and pageants will endeavour to interest and thrill the young with the new view of the world in which they live.

Above all, the **District Junior Branch of the League of Nations Union** will be resuscitated and conducted by the council, with the particular object of providing for children who leave school at fourteen years of age and are not yet eligible to join the Youth Group of the League of Nations Union.

The committee have undertaken a tremendous task, but a vital one.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Those who desire to exchange letters with people in foreign countries will be interested to know of the **Cosmopolitan Correspondence Club**. For an annual subscription of 6s. members of the club receive, among other things, a correspondence code which enables them to write to any country without knowing any foreign language. The representative for Great Britain is Mr. Ernest W. Barnes, 6, Vernon Terrace, Brighton, Sussex, to whom application for membership should be made. Letters addressed to Mr. Barnes, asking for further information, should be accompanied by a 1½d. stamp.

It is with great regret that we announce the death of **Dr. Wilhelm Medinger**, President of the Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund und Völkerverständigung in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia.

Dr. Medinger was also a Vice-President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and was a regular attendant at its meetings. He will be greatly missed there, as well as by his many friends in England.

Massachusetts Referendum Favours League.—On November 6 a total of 217,421 Massachusetts voters answered the question: Should the United States join the League of Nations? 62 per cent. replied "Yes."

According to the *League of Nations Chronicle* the results of the referendum "strongly support the belief that the League of Nations has ceased to be a political issue in the United States."

U.S.A.

The National Office of the American League of Nations Association contributes the following information to its monthly magazine, *League of Nations Chronicle*:—

The Signature Campaign.

There are many evidences that support for the signature campaign has increased with the beginning of the autumn work. Both among organisations and individuals there is a definite feeling that this is the right time to urge our Government to state the terms under which it would become a member of the League of Nations. Our whole programme seems to be moving towards its climax.

The first point in the four-point programme adopted in October by the National Peace Conference for recommendation to the twenty-five member organisations reads: "Statement by the United States Government of the terms on which it would be willing to join the League of Nations." In addition to this action by the National Peace Conference, an appeal from Mr. Fosdick has been sent to about 50 organisations emphasising the particular need at this time for joint action in support of the signature campaign.

In order to give even greater expression and co-ordination to the strength of the League movement, the National Office is forming a national committee for the signature campaign.

In addition to numbers, the distribution of signatures is most interesting, especially in the Southern States. In response to a letter sent out during the summer to Church groups in the South, we are receiving many hundreds of signatures and great interest from innumerable rural communities and small towns.

In analysing the returns, it is also of interest to report that by means of the signature campaign we are discovering support for international co-operation among large numbers of key people in each State. When the campaign is completed, and the report presented to the Government, it will be possible with the systematic knowledge we have secured in each State to mobilise public opinion behind the next step in the organisation of the world community.

BROADCASTING NOTES

The most important series of talks in January will be the controversial series on the Joint Select Committee on India, which begins on January 1. The series will be opened for the Government by the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, and will be closed by the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P. H.M. Opposition will be represented by Major C. R. Attlee, M.P., and Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. Major Attlee, who will speak on Friday, January 4, at 10 p.m., was a member of the Simon Commission, and Mr. Lansbury—although he has had no official contact with India—will be speaking as Leader of the Labour Party. The Liberal Parliamentary Party will be represented by Mr. Isaac Foot, M.P., who was a member of the Round Table Conference and also of the Joint Select Committee. On January 8, Sir George Schuster will speak on the financial aspect of the case. Sir George has been Finance Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy since 1928, and only retired last year. The Conservative Opposition to the White Paper policy will be represented by the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.; and the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran. Mr. Churchill has been a member of several Cabinets which have been confronted with the Indian problem, including the Coalition Cabinet in which Mr. Edwin Montague sat at the time of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms. Lord Lloyd was Governor of Bombay from 1918 to 1923. The Rev. C. F. Andrews will be spokesman of the Congress Party, and the woman's point of view will be put by Lady Layton.

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their quotas for 1933:—
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For 1934:—

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