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MATTERS OF MOMENT

BEFORE the opening of the Disarmament Conference on Monday, October 16, strong efforts are being made in many countries to arouse public opinion to the seriousness of the situation. The Union, for example, has put forward a highly valuable Six-Point Disarmament Programme based on the international programme formulated by the Geneva Committee. The full text will be found on page 181 of the present issue. We have heard of a large number of local efforts for making these Six Points known. A National Demonstration for the same purpose is being organised to take place at the Queen's Hall on Friday, October 13. It is hoped that the Archbishop of Canterbury will take the chair and that among the speakers will be Sir Norman Angell, and others representing the religious denominations. A great International Meeting at Geneva is being organised to take place on Sunday, October 15. M. Motta, the Foreign Minister of Switzerland will be in the chair. As happened at the opening of the Disarmament Conference in February, 1932, speakers from a large number of different countries will be able to show the Conference delegates not only the strength of opinion in League-minded circles, but also the strength of ordinary

national opinion and its demand for drastic measures of disarmament.

Our Far Eastern Obligations

THE Union's latest statement of policy on the Far East goes considerably further than any of its predecessors. It suggests that when the aid of the League is again invoked by China the British Government should have a definite policy. In the initial stages at least that policy should consist of the withdrawal of Ambassadors from Tokyo and, in co-operation with America, the exercise of concerted economic pressure on Japan by a general refusal to accept imports from her. The moment for the application of this policy may not be so very far off. The latest news from the Far East shows that the Japanese have stirred up trouble in Inner Mongolia by the subterranean methods which they have exploited so often before. Troops are on the move and the process of mopping up still more Chinese territory seems to be in active preparation. Unless this tendency is checked by the Japanese General Staff, there is every chance that China will utilise the Assembly meeting at the end of this month to ask what further steps

members of the League are prepared to take to implement their resolution passed at the special Assembly last February.

Air Bombing

SEVERAL events in the last few weeks have shown the wisdom of the Union's policy demanding the total abolition of military and naval aircraft. The French Government staged a miniature air attack at Toulon. The Italians did the same at Genoa, the Japanese, in an even more realistic fashion (for several casualties occurred), raided Tokyo. The German Government, using civil planes, carried out mock air attacks at various Rhineland towns. One disturbing factor in all the mock attacks was that it was assumed that gas bombs would be used and first-aid was given both for gas poisoning as well as for surgical injuries. These things should serve as a reminder to the British public that when the Disarmament Conference reassembles on October 16, special efforts should be made to get rid of military and naval aviation and to devise as watertight a scheme as possible for the internationalisation of civil aviation.

Broken Pledges

IRAQ has given us cause for bitter disappointment, nor can the British Government and its Minister in Baghdad be absolved from serious responsibility. One of the conditions of Iraq's admission to the League of Nations was that it should deal fairly with the Assyrian community. The resolution adopted by the Council, on the recommendation of the Permanent Mandates Commission, on December 15, 1932, said that though the Assyrian demand for autonomy could not be accepted, nevertheless, it was noted with satisfaction that the Iraqi Government intended to get a foreign expert to assist it in the settlement of all landless inhabitants of Iraq (including the Assyrians) and for the carrying out of a scheme for the settlement of the Assyrians. Nothing at all was done and Mar Shimun, their patriarch, being detained a virtual prisoner in Baghdad, a few more than usually hot-headed Assyrians took the law into their own hands. The Iraqi Government's methods of dealing with the situation can only be described as disgraceful. The regular army was not used, but under the command of Sidqi Beg, a notorious anti-Assyrian, bands of irregulars, mostly Kurds, many of whom were at feud with the Assyrians, were let loose and, of course, wholesale massacre ensued. Our business, acting through or on behalf of the League of Nations, is to see that the Iraqi Government effectively observes the treaty which it voluntarily signed. This should be the more easy as the Patriarch Mar Shimun, has addressed a Minority petition to the League and the Iraqi Government has sent to the same quarter two communications defending its actions.

Britain's Assembly Delegates

IT is now certain that the Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, will be able to lead the British delegation to the 14th Assembly. The other full delegates are Mr. Ormsby Gore, the First Commissioner of Works, a well-known League of Nations supporter, and Mr. Hore Belisha, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The substitute delegates are Mr. Hacking, Under-Secretary for Home Affairs; Miss Horsburgh, M.P.; and Sir William Malkin, the legal officer of the Foreign Office, who has been a member of an Assembly delegation on several previous occasions. Lord Cecil was asked to be a member of the delegation, but declined the invitation so that his hands might be left free in the matter of disarmament.

A Loss to the Assembly

WITH the death of Señor Agüero y Bethancourt, the Cuban delegate to every important League meeting, yet another of Geneva's well-known figures has passed on. The opening of the Assembly on the 25th will seem somehow less picturesque without the smiling corpulency of Señor Agüero on the rostrum to announce the results of the ballots on the President and Vice-Presidents. Nor will the Committee on the Verification of Credentials seem quite the same without his services as *rapporteur*. One by one the elder statesmen are going to their rest and their places are being filled from the ranks of their juniors, who are carrying on as well as their elders could have wished.

I.L.O.'s Wide Choice

THE 64th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which begins on October 23, will have to make a selection of the one or two new questions to be placed on the Agenda of the 1934 International Labour Conference. The list of possible subjects includes Freedom of Association; Holidays with Pay; Unemployment Among Young Persons; Methods and Conditions of Recruiting Native Labour; Living-in Conditions for Workers; Regulation of the Opening and Closing of Shops; and Employment of Children in the Cinema Industry. For the first time the Governing Body will have the advantage of considered opinions from the overseas countries, since the list was got out in sufficient time for it to be sent round to all States Members of the Organisation and for their considered replies to be received at Geneva.

Council's August Meeting

THIS year the Council has held one of its rare meetings during the month of August. The famous Salle des Glaces presented an unfamiliar appearance, for with the exception of the President, Señor Najera of Mexico, Señor de Madariaga and Mr. Koo, none of the senior statesmen were present. The Press desks were almost empty, but the public gallery was crowded with visitors to Geneva,

including one of the Union's Summer Schools. The throngs of eager tourists led more than one of the old hands who were present to remark that a method of easing the League's present monetary difficulties lay close at hand: a small charge for admission might have gone far to make up the cost of the dozen torpedoes which the British Government were so eager to lop off the League Budget last year.

South America

THE purpose of the August Council meeting was to revise the plans for the settlement of the Bolivian-Paraguayan dispute over the Gran Chaco. The League had appointed a Committee of Investigation which was on the point of setting sail when both disputants suddenly showed surprising unanimity in preferring that the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Peru should be invited to take the place of the League Commission in an endeavour to settle their dispute. The Council accepted this suggestion, but if the A.B.C.P. Commission, as it is known for short, fails to settle the matter, the League reserves to itself the right to despatch a Commission from Geneva as was originally intended.

The Pacifist Controversy

TWO important points stand out amid the arguments put forward by all shades of opinion in the controversy in the *Daily Telegraph* aroused by Mr. Beverley Nichols' book, "Cry Havoc!" The majority of those who advocate the piling up of armaments in the hope of achieving Security urge the admitted fact that Britain is fifth in the armament competition as justification for their zeal in this regard, oblivious of the fact that, even if we were to make a national effort in order to increase our output at any financial cost, the certain similar response by the other nations concerned could only leave us still far from Security, though much nearer to Bankruptcy. Another interesting aspect lies in the way in which Pacifism is frequently cited as unpatriotic, in spite of the fact that the condition to which this nation has been reduced as a result of the incidence of the Great War should surely be recognised as positive evidence that support of the League's solitary efforts to obviate future wars constitute the highest form of Patriotism and has been repeatedly urged by our King and the Prince of Wales.

The Tenholt Case

THE kidnapping of the Lutz family from their home at Homburg in the Saar by the Nazi Commissioner Tenholt might have developed into a nasty business. The immediate result of the kidnapping was that the President of the Saar Governing Commission protested to the German Government and at the same time got into communication with the Secretary-General of the League, and so with all the States Members of the Council.

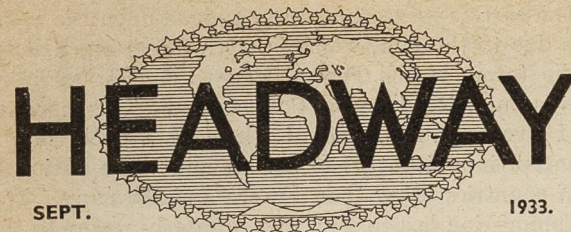
The early appearance of the League upon the scene is due to the fact, which is often forgotten, that by the terms of the Peace Treaty the Saar territory is administered by a Commission. This consists of five members, one of whom is French, one a native inhabitant of the Saar, and three nationals of countries other than France and Germany. The Commission has to send in a quarterly report to the Council, whose decisions regarding the territory, curiously enough, are taken by a majority vote. In 1935 a plebiscite will be held to decide whether the regime established by the Peace Treaty is to be maintained, whether the territory is to become French or whether it is to revert to Germany. In our opinion there is little doubt that one of the reasons which induced the German Government to climb down so quickly and to release its prisoners, as well as to disclaim any responsibility for the actions of its subordinates, was the unexpected publicity and importance given to the incident owing to the Saar territory being under the League of Nations.

At the Hague

THE Franco-Greek Lighthouses case will be heard by the World Court early in 1934. The suit, it will be remembered, was instituted by the filing of a special agreement between the French and Greek Governments on May 23 last. The question is whether a contract concluded in April, 1913, between a French firm and the Ottoman Government for the care of lighthouses was regularly concluded. Since much territory has changed hands the Greek Government wants to know whether it is bound by the terms of the contract to pay the company for the upkeep of the lighthouses situated in ex-Turkish territory. In another case the Court dismissed by eight votes to four the German request for interim measures of protection for the German Minority in Pomerania and Pomerelia.

World Rules of the Road

THE League's Road Traffic Committee has adopted a number of resolutions relating to the desirability of additional signals at level crossings, light traffic control signals, the placing of signals and the signs to be made by officials directing traffic and the drivers of motor vehicles. It was agreed that the only lighting systems which should be taken into consideration for traffic control at cross roads were the two at present in use, namely, the single and the three-colour systems, but the same system should be applied throughout each individual country. Further recommendations were that street refuge lights should be orange and not red or green; that in view of the prevalence of the saloon type of car, road signals should be placed at a lower height; all vehicles, further, should adopt a "stop" signal at the rear of the vehicle to indicate braking.



My World and My Country

IN place of the sea serpents which formerly trailed their coils through the columns of our newspapers during the silly season, many pages of two leading British journals have been occupied this August with important problems of peace. In the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* controversy has raged, not about products of disordered imaginations, but over the very real problems recently raised in an acute form by a resolution of the League of Nations Union at Edinburgh and by Mr. Beverley Nichols in his brilliant book about war. The essential issue has been the same in both cases: My country or my world, which should come first?

In the *Manchester Guardian* "A Believer in World Order" has insisted that the fundamental obligation of every citizen of a State Member of the League is to put loyalty to the League (on the issue of peace) before the duty to fight for King and Country. Those on the other side did not deny this obligation, but refused with Lord Cecil at Edinburgh to believe that this country would, under any circumstances, engage in a war which the League (unanimously except for this country) had resolved was contrary to the Covenant. And some who could not go quite so far as to assume that Great Britain would never do what Japan has done with the approval of a very vocal, if not otherwise considerable, section of British opinion, nevertheless supported the avoidance of this issue in the Edinburgh resolution. They believed that it is more useful to discover and to tell people how to act so as to prevent the disaster of our Government resorting to illegal war, than how they should behave if, partly because of their own apathy, the disaster actually occurs; since it would matter very little what individuals did then. But there are many people upon whom such considerations of expediency exert far less driving power than abstract ideas, however far removed from practical politics.

The practical politician is naturally averse from enunciating general principles which are liable to be misunderstood, misapplied or misrepresented. Yet there is some danger that refusal to avow a principle may look like lack of principle; and, to some of those who have written to the *Manchester Guardian* about the Union's resolution, the Union does appear to be dodging the issue. Let us then state plainly that a large number of supporters of the Union's resolution would put loyalty to God before loyalty to King and Country. Between loyalty to God and loyalty to Country many would put loyalty to Man, and interpret this as meaning loyalty to the League of Nations as the entity most nearly representative of all mankind.

It may well be that most members of the Union would accept this hierarchy of loyalties. But it does not necessarily follow that the Union should formally adopt

this position. Members join the Union for the purpose of collective action to attain certain defined objects. They remain free to think as they like, except where to think or to feel in a certain way is evidently necessary for the attainment of the objects of the Union. One of those objects is "to advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will . . . maintain international order." Is this object likely to be attained by persons who deny that loyalty to the world organisation must come before loyalty to a nation which for the moment is bent upon disturbing international order in defiance of the world? If not, the Union might reasonably decide that its members, and all whom they can influence, ought to put loyalty to the League before national patriotism.

The acceptance of this principle would, however, have to be subject to two explanatory notes. In the first place, just as it is possible (however difficult) to conceive that Great Britain might engage in a war which the other States Members of the League declare to be illegal, so we can (in theory, at least) imagine circumstances in which a State would be justified, or even bound, to disobey the ruling of all the other Members of the League; perhaps because loyalty to Man comes second to loyalty to God. The other point to be noted is that by making national patriotism subordinate to World Loyalty we demand not less but more patriotism. Love of country at its best and strongest strives hard to make that country give most to the world, not get most from it. Since the nations have become as interdependent as now they are, to serve the interests of the community of nations is the only sure way to promote the interests of any one of them.

We differ fundamentally from Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Cry Havoc!* only in that he regards patriotism as "the generic name of all these poisonous germs which cause war." But, later on, he speaks of this "exclusive" love of country. In fact, Mr. Nichols mistakenly supposes that the sentiment of patriotism can only take the form of national selfishness, narrowly conceived. After pointing out, very rightly, that patriotism is not an instinct, Mr. Nichols maintains that "a man has no right to be proud of something which he has not done." Obviously, however, a man may feel emotions—fear, for example, or love, or pride—apart altogether from any question of "rights." And who will deny that a man's sentiment for his wife or for his home or for his country may very properly include feelings of love and pride, as well as of gratitude, without involving hatred or contempt for the wife or home or country of his neighbour? Just as his sentiment for his home may reinforce his sentiment for his country, so his patriotism may strengthen his world loyalty.

Mr. Nichols has shown that he is quick to learn. His bright mind may therefore be trusted soon to find its way through the science of the sentiments to the true distinction between a noble patriotism and a narrow selfish nationalism. Some day, too, the soldiers—and the O.T.C.s—whom now Mr. Nichols hates as emblems of war, may appear to him and to others as the defenders of world order instead of as the instruments of national policy; in which case, however, the change will have to be objective as well as subjective! Meanwhile, we welcome a book of outstanding merit, and salute it as a most valuable contribution to the literature of Peace.

The Challenge of Hitlerism

By

Dr. ERNST DEISSMANN

Dr. Deissmann is the Director of the Anglo-German Academic Bureau in London. We asked him to write an article describing the reasons for the revolution in Germany, and outlining the aims of the new regime.

WHAT is happening in Germany is not a revolution made "from above" in the sense of a mere change of political power, but a revolution "from within," manifesting the coming into existence of new ideas, of a new outlook, of new standards and values which have gradually but irresistibly developed among the younger generation of Germany.

Amongst the most violent opponents of "Hitlerism"—as they see it in this country—are many of the most ardent admirers of the spirit and achievements of the German "Youth Movement." Yet it is this very Youth Movement, this revolt of the younger generation against the materialism and rationalism of our modern life, that has laid the spiritual foundations of the Hitler movement. Unfortunately, however, very few of the foreign critics of Hitlerism take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the true spirit manifesting itself in the masses of Hitler's most enthusiastic followers. They are too busy reporting sensational "incidents," local "outrages" and lamentations about the fate of individuals who have suffered in the general upheaval.

Real Fellowship

But why refuse to draw attention to what really matters? Why not tell of a new generation in which "class feeling" of any sort has disappeared, which aims hard at and successfully achieves a true fellowship of common service between student, working man and aristocrat; a generation which has voluntarily accepted the idea of service to the community and is resolutely turning away from the ideal of material wealth and personal property, from selfishness and indolence? Are not these spiritual forces in the movement, this new social and ethical attitude of a whole generation worth mentioning? Is not the revival of religious interest, the longing for a new and actually living church, worth consideration? And cannot even the outside world appreciate what it means for a great country which has lost the war and has been driven into a hopeless state of party antagonism, to be relieved at last from the miserable spectacle of party bargaining and dishonest compromise, to be well on the road to accomplishing a national unity which for other nations has long been an accepted fact?

It is a great mistake to regard Hitlerism as a reactionary movement, and those who believe that Germany is "putting the clock back to 1914" are under a hopeless misconception. They take the display of the "militarist spirit" in Germany as the revival of what they call "Prussian Militarism" and all that they associate with this phrase. But the revival of the soldierly virtues of discipline, subordination, physical endurance and comradeship, to which Germany has owed so much in the course of her history, has nothing to do with an aggressive militarism that makes for war. This can be clearly seen in Hitler's famous speech in the Reichstag or in the sudden improvement of the relations between Danzig and Poland as a result of the conciliatory policy of the new Nazi regime. In view of the tremendous armaments which other nations are maintaining in spite of 14 years' "disarmament," it seems rather hypocritical to cry out about the march-

ing columns of young unarmed men in Germany or to get nervous because some general who is still cherishing pre-war ideas makes an "alarming" speech. Those who take the trouble to find out what young Nazi leaders think about the future of Europe, will be surprised to discover new and constructive ideas of international co-operation taking shape. Nobody who sees the results of the Treaties of 1919 will blame them for holding the view that a true European peace has yet to be reached.

The Jewish Question

Lastly, one word about the Jewish question, the stumbling block for many who might otherwise be inclined to give Hitlerism a chance. I do not wish to minimise the importance and complexity of this problem when I say that the striking predominance given in the English Press to this aspect of Hitlerism does seem to be quite out of proportion.

The Jewish problem as it exists in Germany in consequence of the tremendous influx of Jews from the East and of the predominance of Jewish influence in many vital branches of national life, is one peculiar to Germany. It cannot therefore be easily compared with the Jewish question in other countries. I know that even with all due allowance for these peculiar German difficulties, most people in this country find it hard, if not almost impossible, to reconcile themselves to the anti-Semitic drive in Germany. Nobody will deny that the anti-Jewish policy of the new Germany inflicts very great hardships and spiritual sufferings on many individuals whose services to the community are beyond reproach. But there is a different aspect to the question. Those who merely read of the passionate anti-Semitic utterances which are sometimes reported from excited mass meetings, will fail to see the real issue, which is one of historic and religious importance.

The Real Challenge

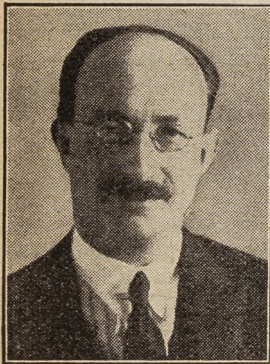
By challenging the two international forces, International High Finance and Marxism (International Socialism and Bolshevism), which have developed along with modern industrialisation, Hitlerism is challenging the Jews as the strongest spiritual and material exponents of these forces. This implies, at the same time, a challenge to the idea of the assimilation of the Jews, which has been attempted since their emancipation became an historic fact. It is well known that opposition to the idea of Jewish assimilation is by no means confined to anti-Semitic movements, but is shared from a different aspect, by many of the best elements among the Jewish race. Those who read the excellent brochure of G. Kittel, Professor of Theology at Tübingen (Kittel, "Die Judenfrage," Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1933, R.M. 1.20), will not fail to be impressed by the weight of argument that he puts forward in justification of the underlying ideas of the Nazi policy towards the Jews, and by his striking religious aspect of the problem.

It may be worth while trying to get a different aspect of the essential underlying forces of the Hitler movement, for its real challenge has so far been practically ignored in this country.

The League and Chinese Co-operation

By E. V. FRANCIS

CHINA is proverbial for its paradoxes; and its dispute with Japan has produced yet another. For, in spite of the disappointment experienced by the Chinese people in regard to the collective attempts to bring the Manchurian dispute to a satisfactory end, a plan of technical co-operation between the Government of Nanking and the competent sections of the League has been developed in the fields of public health, transit, finance and public instruction. The continued determination of the Chinese Government under the energetic leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. T. V. Soong to proceed along those lines, together with the recent appointment of Dr. Rajchman, director of the Health Section of the League, as



Dr. Rajchman

liaison officer between the League and the Chinese Government, constitutes one of the most reassuring sidelights on policy in the Far East.

In the winter of 1932 the Health Committee of the League dispatched a mission to the Far East to investigate the prevention and transmission of epidemic diseases. Public opinion in China, however, was somewhat suspicious of the Western origins of the League; and at the same time all eyes were fixed on the Russian experiment, which appeared to offer ready-made solutions to problems analogous to those experienced in China itself. Notwithstanding this initial disadvantage, the merits of technical co-operation with the League gradually came to be recognised, and efforts were renewed on both sides to explore new fields of possible collaboration.

In May, 1931, the Chinese Government informed the League that it had set up the Chinese National Economic Council for the purpose of formulating a three-year plan of social and economic reform, and the technical organisations of the League were thereupon invited to participate in an advisory capacity in the various activities of the Council.

A Call to Youth to Help Us

THE failure (so far) of the London Conference to provide the world with leadership, or even with a policy, in regard to money and to trade, is the last and most unmistakable sign that our social system is drifting—drifting towards final ruin. The responsible and eminent economists who had to prepare the work of the Conference warned the Governments beforehand of the certain and terrible consequences of failure; and they added that "these developments, if they occur, will be the result, not of an inevitable natural law, but of the failure of human will and intelligence to devise

Since the official inception of technical collaboration, the Health Organisation has rendered sound service in the organisation of quarantine stations and hospitals, while engineers sent out by the Transit Organisation have been constantly consulted regarding land reclamation, flood control, plans for the North China river system, and harbour improvements in the area of Greater Shanghai. The Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, for its part, sent out in 1931 a small group of experts—a Frenchman, a German, a Pole and an Englishman—to give advice and to report on the problems of education in China.

Chinese Public Opinion

At times public opinion in China has been divided on the question of technical collaboration by reason of natural suspicion of organisations, even collective ones, originating from the West. The Chinese public has also been inclined to look askance at the League because of its inability to find a satisfactory solution for the pressing political problems which bulk so largely in the Far Eastern situation. However, the visits to China of M. Avenol in 1928, and of Dr. Rajchman, Sir Arthur Salter and Mr. Haas in 1929, helped considerably to bring about an understanding of the various ways in which the machinery of the League could provide valuable advice and technical assistance in dealing with problems which, if less dominant than those arising out of China's foreign relationships, were and still are of great importance.

It is fortunate for the world at large that the relations between China and the League should continue to rest on firm foundations at a time when the solution of the Far Eastern crisis is still hanging fire. For the withdrawal of Japan, the only powerful extra-European Power which belonged to the League, has greatly increased the relative importance of China in the political constellation of the League. The British Dominions are too closely connected with the fortunes of the British Empire to represent independently other continents; while the Latin-American countries are almost entirely absorbed by the special problems of their own continent where the pulse of international life is at present far from vigorous. The result is that China is one of the most important extra-European Powers which now belong to the League.

the necessary guarantees of political and economic international order. The responsibility of Governments is clear and inescapable."

But the Governments of the several parts of the world insisted upon retaining too much of their separate and incongruous purposes; so that the world as a whole still lacks a common purpose and direction. It just drifts aimlessly amid the gathering storm. The failure of human will and intelligence is, for the moment, complete.

And yet the statesmen are, for the most part, well

able to appreciate the true position. Their intellects acknowledge that national selfishness, narrowly conceived, will serve their countries' interests far less well than international agreement and united action. They understand that international co-operation is only possible, and that peace and security are only attainable, at the cost of some sacrifice of national sovereignty. But knowledge and understanding, without the urge of emotional feeling, may make little difference to behaviour. In the emotional background of the minds of many elder statesmen there lurk the old pre-League sentiments associated with narrow nationalism: "my country right or wrong." Perhaps as little boys, or as young men, they dreamed of the glorious days to come, when they would be Cabinet Ministers, ruling a Great Power, absolutely sovereign, free and independent. Now that independence has become a memory since interdependence has become the reality, they find it hard to face the fact that their dreams will never quite come true. And since most of their fellow-countrymen continue to applaud acts of independence and to condemn acceptance of interdependence—well, it is natural to love the praise of men, and statesmen, in particular, are impotent without it.

If, then, the political leaders of this and other countries are to become joint leaders of the world, they need a new motive, with as much driving power as their old sentiments and ambitions. This new motive must come from Youth; or, at least, from those whose minds are young enough to feel that their own country is best served by seeking first the interests of the whole world of which their country is but a part. Put the whole before the part; aim at creating the Kingdom of God on earth; and remember that, as Professor Whitehead has recently said, creation is the victory of persuasion over force. That is the urge which the old men need. If it comes to them from a large enough number of their fellow-countrymen, they will act on it; for they know no reason to suppose that there is any other hopeful policy.

"As fear recedes, reason will return"

The PROSPERITY OUTLOOK

By J. BRUCE BULLOCK

WAS the World Economic Conference a failure, and if so, was its failure a catastrophe? Nearly everyone would say yes to the first, and almost as many would deny the second. Yet, when the Conference met, political leaders spoke anxiously of dire consequences if it did not succeed; the Press echoed their concern and failure was classed with those other menacing political ghosts which impotent statesmanship seeks to exorcise with the adjective "unthinkable."

The most important reason for the unexpected equanimity with which the public watched the delegates disperse was that, in the first excitement of recognising what they believed to be signs of trade revival, they thought that the programme of the Conference had become unimportant. The ordinary working of the trade cycle seemed to have started an upward trend. "Natural" recuperative forces were at work again. Better employment figures, increased traffics, larger consumption of power and of the products of "key" industries, a rise in prices and more optimistic and steadier share and commodity markets were taken to

be the outward signs of the inward change, but Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his closing address, rightly said:—

"If anyone believes that those signs indicate that the Conference need proceed no further to remove obstacles, he is very much mistaken. . . . There may be some advances in prosperity, but they cannot be on such a scale nor as well founded as are required to remove from the world the distress with which it is now afflicted."

And so we call to Youth to come over and help us. We want you, during this autumn and winter, to share in the adventure of persuading so many new members to join the Union that the Union will be strong enough to convince the British Government that it can safely go all out for international co-operation through the League of Nations. First, join the Union yourselves; then persuade your personal friends to do the same; and then offer to the secretary of your local Branch—or to the Secretary of the Union—your help, and your friends' help, in a house-to-house canvass throughout your neighbourhood. Experience has shown that about one person in every four visited in his or her home is ready to join the Union. The Head Office will supply, free of charge, leaflets (such as "A Vital Question") and booklets (such as "Organising Peace") for canvassers to leave at houses where any of the occupants, over sixteen years of age, need further persuasion before they join the Union.

Already some of the newly formed Youth Groups have done fine service in this field. But all records must be broken during this autumn and winter if the League system is to recover from its worst set-back, and if the League is to accomplish the two most difficult tasks it has yet been called upon to face: the protection of China against the aggression of her powerful neighbour; and the all-round reduction and limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

J. C. M. G.

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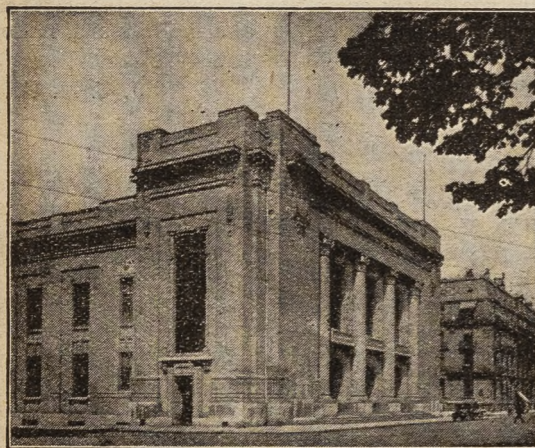
"If anyone believes that those signs indicate that the Conference need proceed no further to remove obstacles, he is very much mistaken. . . . There may be some advances in prosperity, but they cannot be on such a scale nor as well founded as are required to remove from the world the distress with which it is now afflicted."

The better conditions in trade and industry have been most marked in the United States and Great Britain, but already in the middle of August there are signs in both countries of a check. It is safe to predict that before very long public opinion will be looking as anxiously and expectantly to a resumption of the attempt to organise concerted economic action, as it looked forward during last winter to the first meeting of the Conference itself.

In what guise the attempt will be made it is impossible to foretell. Technically, the Conference stands adjourned, and the Bureau is charged with the duty of calling it together again when conditions become more favourable to agreement. (For the

majority of the delegates that means when the United States is ready to discuss stabilisation of the exchange values of currencies.) This responsibility the Bureau delegated to a smaller Executive Committee. The initiative, in fact, lies very largely with the British Prime Minister as President.

The breakdown of the Conference has been followed by a reversion to forms of economic self-defence, the futility and harmfulness of which were exposed by the Experts who drafted the Agenda and denounced by the leading delegates in their speeches. Yet Germany has nearly doubled the duties on imported cotton yarns, alleging "dumping" against Lancashire. Poland continues to negotiate bilateral commercial treaties; but behind the negotiations lies the threat of a general tariff, promulgated last year to take effect next October, which will impose prohibitive rates on manufactured goods from those countries which have not bought more favourable terms by concessions to Polish exports. Her spokesman says the new tariff will come into force "whatever happens" about the Economic Conference! On the eve of the meeting of Wheat Experts in London on August 21 to put the finishing touches to one of the much vaunted schemes for restricting supplies, Holland issued a decree providing for a government monopoly of imports of grain, while the United States Secretary for Agriculture, announced that the Administration would give the Conference three days to produce agreement, failing which it would call off participation by the U.S.A. and arrange for the United States' wheat surplus to be "dumped" abroad. German foreign exchange regulations were tightened up. Roumania declared a transfer moratorium on the service of all her foreign debt, the National Union of Manufacturers



The Bâtiment Electoral where the Assembly will meet

THIS is the day of small things. The Assembly, which is unusually short and slight, is true to type. Indeed, it mainly records stagnation.

The humanitarian activities, however, come out well. The Nansen Office is still steadily helping refugees; and here it should be noted that there is a new and delicate refugee problem—that of the liberals, pacifists and Jews who have fled from Hitlerite Germany.

The Convention for the Limitation of Manufacture of Drugs is in force, and its central body has to be appointed. If the Assembly votes the necessary money the Permanent Slavery Commission will be set up. But will the supplies be voted?

The 1934 Budget

The estimated budget (£1,223,500) is reduced by £111,600 (at par) or over 8 per cent, and in the 4th

called upon the British Government to denounce the Tariff Truce, while the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*, with a fine fiscal braggadocio, were urging the country forward to tariff wars on all fronts.

Nevertheless, these manifestations are superficial and, if the new optimism about trade be well founded, the way of economic co-operation should become easier. As fear recedes, reason will return. And there is another factor favourable to a renewal of negotiations for an economic armistice—the attempt to organise autarchy is meeting with more difficulties than its advocates had reckoned.

Sabotage of the international system was easy; reconstruction on the basis of economic nationalism is much less easy. It looked a simple task to undermine the structure of international trade, but as you shift the top soil you find the foundations go down deep into the rocks. They could be blasted with dynamite, but at that point you probably decide to think again.

Even Mr. De Valera would seem to have begun to doubt whether the produce of Ireland is best reserved "for ourselves alone."

Fortunately the work of the League's Economic and Financial Organisation will go on as usual, quietly and efficiently. The Secretariat of the Conference is not dispersed; it has merely left South Kensington and gone home to Geneva. The study of the problems before the Conference will continue, both internationally at Geneva and nationally in the relevant sections of a score and more of civil services. Unnoticed by the noisy critics of a hostile Press, forces are being marshalled for the new campaign. (A more detailed survey can be found in "RECOVERY" for August 11th, price 3d.—Ed.)

THOUGHTS ON THINGS

By
FREDA WHITE

Commission, no doubt, the States Members will attack the Budget in ways which, while they achieve insignificant savings, will yet damage the efficiency of the League and prevent its healthy growth. Nothing rejoices the enemies of the Covenant more than the spectacle of Great Britain haggling pennies off the cost, for instance, of the publications by which the League ensures its primary purposes of open diplomacy and the support of public opinion for peace.

It is interesting to realise how the Health and Transit Sections continue to render help to States willing to learn from League experts. This sort of work is not enlarged, but it is hardly diminished. For altruists and technical experts are more alike than one would think; they are obstinate folk trained to regard emergency as a call to action. A broken dyke, to them, means an attempt to mend it.

ESTONIA & THE LEAGUE

By AINO KALLAS

(Mme. Kallas is the wife of the Estonian Minister in London)

THE attitude of Estonia towards the League of Nations is the characteristic and the only natural attitude of all small nations.

The mentality and the outlook of a small nation must by the nature of things considerably differ from the mentality of a great and mighty nation.

It is an important fact from the point of view of friendly co-operation with other nations that Estonia and all the other Baltic States are for the most part purely national States. Thanks to her clearly defined ethnographical frontiers, Estonia does not suffer from the usual difficulties which often have their origin in frontiers and nationality questions.



The Estonian-Russian Frontier

The population of Estonia is extraordinarily homogeneous, due to the fact that the Estonians, that ancient race which came to the country about 2,000 years ago, form nearly 90 per cent. of the total population. The existing minorities were given full cultural autonomy by the Estonian Parliament in 1925. This step was highly appreciated by the League of Nations, and the Estonian law is regarded as an ideal for corresponding laws in other countries.

Children of Mars

The foreign policy of these young and small States is and must remain fundamentally peace-loving. Estonia, together with her nearest neighbours, was born in the War, bearing, so to say, the trade mark "Made in the Great War." In spite of this warlike birth under the star of Mars, these small States between Eastern and Western Europe are supporters of peace from the very instinct of self-preservation. They know that a new war might wipe them off the world's map.

We know the great difficulties that the League has gone through of late, but we recognise that in the present troubled state of the world the League of Nations is more indispensable than ever. It holds high the great Western idea of the parliamentary system, being itself, as it were, a Parliament of Nations.

Estonia sees in the League of Nations the stronghold for the Peace of the World, for the rights of the small individuals among the nations, for true and sound internationalism in the sense of mutual good will and understanding.

Politicians have a different system. They see the wall bulge and the water seeping through; whereupon, they flee shrieking for safety, leaving the fields and villages of their people to the inundation of the wasting sea. Nor is that stricture too harsh, if the world to-day is fairly viewed. For the floods are out, swamping humanity under the tide of nationalism.

The League States have done nothing to check invasion and massacre in the Far East. Hatred and intolerance, the inspiring doctrines of the German revolution, are infecting some of the people in all neighbour countries. The timid parsimony of the European Powers has wrecked what America left of the Economic Conference.

The World Wants Hard Thinking

Nothing, at this crisis, is so necessary or so rare as hard thinking. Supporters of the League should force themselves to distinguish those aspects of human life which are the affair of the individual, of the family, the region, the State and the world. Each of us in his own person is a part of all these, and we all suffer when the methods proper to one aspect are applied to another.

At present, the control over individual life and international relations alike rests with national governments, and it is a power which is constantly misused. A Balkan State punishes a woman of a minority race for singing a lullaby in her own tongue; it interferes with individual liberty and creates a rebel. Whitehall designs concrete boot-boxes for the new Courts of Edinburgh; it meddles with a regional culture and rouses Scottish nationalism. Every scared Government in Europe restricts trade as far as possible within its own frontiers; it is destroying the movement of the commonwealth of the world, and inside the tariff walls the peoples starve.

There are plenty of matters which are co-terminous with, and should be managed by the "Sovereign State"; and plenty more which must be so controlled as a step towards international regulation.

It is astonishing but true that there still exist men who believe that trade, production, armaments, peace and war are matters which each State can arrange regardless of all others. You can tell these fetish-worshippers by the hypnotised tone in which they utter incantations, such as "national isolation" and "planned national economy." They detest the League, of course, and hope to destroy it.

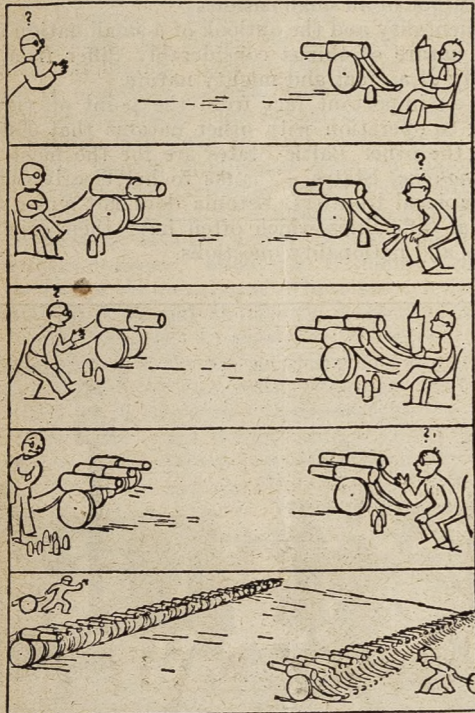
Then there are the timorous, broken-spirited by the failures and inadequacies of the international system. They see the Powers fail in loyalty to the Covenant; they see security crumbling and they run like rats. Many of these, forgetful of the post-war map, advocate secret diplomacy and the control of the world by a junta of "Great Powers." Others delude themselves with vain repetitions that everything is quite all right, that the Covenant was never meant to apply to China, and that in fact it is not a contract to keep the peace at all.

People of sense will not fall into these frenzies. It was easy to back the League when things went well. It is difficult now, when the Covenant has been attacked and betrayed, and when the current of international life runs dwindled and slow. The significance of the Assembly is that it is the meeting-place of the men who have the knowledge of how dangerous conditions are, and who have the brains to work out the plans for international action where national competition is fatal.

The League is weaker than it was ten years ago in its hopeful start. It cannot possibly regain the confidence of the world at one stage or two. But the 14th Assembly, we must hope, will make at least some small commencement of a rebuilding.

ARGUMENT BY POSTER

Sir Norman Angell's Prize Some for "Headway" Readers



THE League of Nations Union, like other agencies of peace, has set itself the problem of altering those ideas which produce war; of exposing the fallacies out of which those ideas arise.

Nations have pursued, with the idea of promoting their security or welfare, a certain line of policy which places all in very great danger and destroys welfare everywhere. Plainly, therefore, the ideas which produce that policy are false ideas, defeating the purpose which prompted them. The problem is to show to the ordinary man where that fallacy lies.

One may doubt whether that is quite clearly realised by all who attempt to promote the cause of peace by pictorial means. Very often, for instance, it is assumed that to produce in the minds of the spectator a sense of the horror of war will of itself achieve our aim. Now, surely, that idea is marked by two fallacies: War has arisen far more often from the measures taken to avoid it than it has from any desire for war on the part of any considerable number.

Bogus Insurance

The motive which perpetuates armaments is the desire to be defended. "We will not jeopardise our national defence," says each nation, "and in order to prevent our warlike neighbours from going to war, we will be stronger than they are. Our strength is the safest insurance for peace." The other side, of course, says exactly the same thing, and the outcome sooner or later is inevitable war. The situation which thus produces war may well have arisen out of a real desire on both sides to avoid it. To preach, therefore, in such cases merely the horrors of war would do nothing to prevent war, to prevent, that is, the impasse which made war inevitable.

Shortly after the outbreak of the world war there was a movement in the United States greatly to increase American armaments, and the Big Armament party placarded much of Eastern America with pictures of bombs being dropped on American cities. The great slogan of their campaign was "Peace Through Power," the general argument of the pictures running: "If you want to prevent being the victims of this sort of thing, arm more heavily."

Yet I have seen almost exactly similar pictures being used as part of the disarmament campaign. But plainly, if the public, whose emotions are aroused by pictures of poison gas bombs dropping on their homes, have not shed their minds of the unilateral fallacy which believes that individual arming can make defence effective, then the mere heightening of the emotional dislike of war will not of itself prevent the creation of situations which provoke war.

In other words, I suggest that effective peace propaganda by poster must convey the right argument, as against the wrong argument, as well as excite the emotions about the horrors of war.

Public opinion has, on the whole, got beyond the stage where it is necessary any longer to create a will to peace. We have reached the stage at which we must now make clear to the multitudes in what manner their genuine will to peace is defeated, frustrated. Particularly must we make clear that the main cause of that defeat is the sincere but entirely fallacious conviction that national defence can perfectly well be achieved by each arming himself against the other.

A Common Fallacy Exposed

This is a day of experts and of specialisation. And, of course, if we want a job done well it is common sense to go to the man who has spent his life studying it. But it is necessary to be quite sure at the outset what the job is, so that we do not go to expert B for job A.

"Although I have been to the very tip-top men on the subject," said the editor of an educational publication not long since, "I have been quite unable to

get a clear statement of the nature of the monetary problem." He was asked, "To whom did you go?" and in reply gave names famous in the world of monetary research. Whereupon a friend retorted: "You went to the wrong experts. You wanted experts in explanation, and you went to experts in currency."

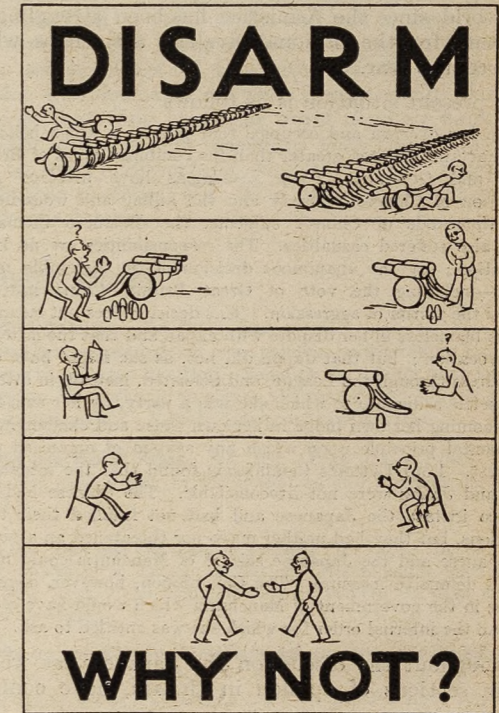
Which is the appropriate specialist in the case of posters? More than once in the last twenty years I have heard a whole Committee agreeing that, if it was a question of producing posters for propaganda purposes, the appropriate expert is the artist; and leave it at that.

Now an artist, very rightly, is concerned first and last with good pictorial art; and a good artist, horrified with the artistic monstrosities which occupy most of our hoardings, would doubtless regard an invitation to present pictorially the case for peace as a glorious opportunity for improving the artistic taste of the British public.

Art versus Argument

It is a perfectly legitimate and laudable purpose. But it is not, and should not be, the main objective in presenting pictorially the case for disarmament or for peace. Speaking strictly as an internationalist or a pacifist, I don't care two hoots about the pictorial tastes of the British public. I am concerned with exploding certain fallacies in the minds of that public which make for war. If, in presenting pictorially the right argument, the artist who violates artistic canons can get the idea across more effectively than the artist who, while as an artist is far superior, fails to carry the necessary argument, it is the first that must be chosen. It is the superior effectiveness of the argument which must determine the choice, and the appropriate expert for that decision is not the artistic expert.

Of course, it is better that an idea should be conveyed in such a way as not to offend the taste of the person that you are addressing, and it is also true, of course, that an attractive picture, well executed, predisposes the spectator to consider the idea which it attempts to convey. But if the right idea is not con-



veyed, pictorial excellence, however great, is of no avail for this particular purpose.

In this job three functions at least are involved: (a) We have to decide first of all what basic wrong idea it is that has led the world astray in this matter; how it is that the desire for security has resulted in the defeat of general security; (b) How the fallacy may be exposed pictorially; (c) Pictorial technique in exposing it.

Let us note certain cases in which the thing has been done effectively. A year or two ago there appeared in a Swiss paper a cartoon which is reproduced on page 178. It represents the almost perfect exposure pictorially of the fundamental fallacy of defence by isolated national armament. It is purely pictorial. There is not one word on the picture, yet the argument is instantaneously brought home and cannot possibly be mistaken. This picture showed what comes of armament competition. The Friends' Peace Committee employed the same pictorial idea for showing what comes of disarming. The two constitute an almost perfect illustration of the way to apply the pictorial method to the kind of argument on which the case for disarmament rests.

It is that type of pictorial propaganda which the League of Nations Union needs mainly to employ. In order to interest draughtsmen, amateur as well as professional, budding cartoonists, young talent, in this phase of the Union's work, a prize of £20 is being offered for the best cartoon, or best series of three cartoons, which can illuminate any of the angles of argument by poster herewith suggested. N. A.

NOTE.—This prize will be assigned early in the New Year, the judges to be announced later.—EDITOR.

ANGLES OF ARGUMENT

By national armaments (as opposed to international arrangements) the defence or security of one party must mean the insecurity of the other, or others.

Adequate defence under the old system of national arming means being stronger than any likely rival, and must thus involve asking others to occupy a position we refuse to occupy.

"Defence" under the old method meant arming the litigant of arming the law.

Under that system armies were not police; police forces are for the purpose of arresting each other.

Some apologists for war describe it as "the struggle for bread" or "the struggle for our due share of the earth's resources. Yet every nation is busy trying by tariffs to keep out the goods of other nations.

The problem of maintaining conditions of peace and prosperity is as to that of keeping the traffic clear and safe on the highways. That means rules. To attempt to prevent collisions and accidents without rules but by urging each to have a bigger car than any he is likely to collide with, must inevitably prolong chaos.

Because it is "natural" for people to drive as the mood takes them is not an argument for having no rules. It is an argument for having rules. Human nature is quarrelsome. That is why a League of Nations is necessary: fundamentally the only reason.

The cost of the League bears the same relation to the total cost of the League and that it is an "extravagance."

The cost of the League bears the same relation to the total cost of the League and that it is an "extravagance."

The Far East and the League System

THE action of Japan in relation to China constitutes a grave menace to the League system which the world since the Armistice has been struggling to substitute for the national rivalries and chaos which produced the war.

The present situation is as follows :

Japan has overrun and occupied four provinces which belong to China, covering an area greater than the combined areas of Britain, France and Germany. These operations have involved great destruction of Chinese property and the killing and wounding of many thousands of Chinese subjects, the Japanese themselves having also suffered casualties. The responsibilities are no longer in question; by the unanimous decision of the Assembly of the League—including the vote of Great Britain—China has been declared the victim of aggression. This decision does not mean that China is blameless in her dispute with Japan and that the latter had no provocation; but that Japan did not, as she might have done, seek redress through the League, and persisted, instead, in attempting to settle a dispute to which she was a party, by her own force, thus becoming her own judge in her own cause and challenging the fundamental principle upon which any system of organised peace must rest. Lord Lytton's Commission found that the interests of China and Japan were not irreconcilable. The Chinese had done much to irritate the Japanese and had not fulfilled their treaty obligations, but they had neither made nor threatened an attack on the Japanese and the Japanese seizure of Manchuria could not be called a defensive measure. The Commission, however, suggested changes in the government of Manchuria which would have secured to Japan the internal order for which she was entitled to ask.

Throughout the discussion the Japanese, as well as certain sections of opinion in Britain, have confused the issue.

The Vital Question

The question as it concerns the world is not whether Japan has received provocation from China, but whether Japan is justified in settling the whole issue by her own force and defying League intervention. Lord Lytton has himself again and again insisted upon this distortion of the point at issue. He says of the Japanese attitude :

Throughout the discussions which have taken place at Geneva, the arguments used by the representatives of Japan have been irrelevant to the issue which was under discussion. The Japanese speeches have all dwelt upon the chaotic condition of China, upon the provocative nature of the anti-foreign propaganda of the Chinese Government, or of the faults of the Chinese administration in Manchuria; but beyond the bare assertion that everything that Japan has said is true and everything that Japan has done is right, there has been no attempt to answer the charge that whatever the grievances of Japan might have been they did not justify the occupation by force of Chinese territory. That is why the efforts to arrive at an agreed basis for the starting point of the negotiations were doomed to failure from the outset. The parties were never discussing the same issue.

Japan persists in her claim to be arbiter in her own quarrel and remains in occupation of the Chinese provinces in defiance of the unanimous decision of the League.

Lord Lytton's Commission stated in its report :

The interests of peace are the same the world over. Any loss of confidence in the application of the principles of the Covenant and of the Pact of Paris in any part of the world diminishes the value and efficacy of those principles everywhere.

Failure to effect a settlement of the Far Eastern dispute and acquiescence in a situation which has been brought about by force would undoubtedly be a weakening of the Covenant and would have grave consequences in

Statement of Policy* adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, July 27, 1933

Europe where the difficulties of the League would be greatly increased. The situation in the Far East has already reacted unfavourably on the Disarmament Conference.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that, when the aid of the League is again invoked by China, the League should take action to bring to an end the present position in the Far East, and that the British Government should support such action and be prepared with a definite policy for that emergency.

Policy Points

It is therefore suggested that the League of Nations Union should, on all its platforms and in its publications, insist upon :

- (1) The moral obligation of every State Member of the League to preserve Chinese territory against external aggression; and
- (2) The grave consequences of allowing Japanese troops to remain in occupation of Chinese territory.

It is of great importance that the Members of the League should make clear to Japan the seriousness with which they view the situation. For this purpose they should be prepared to *withdraw the chiefs of their diplomatic missions from Tokyo and to exert concerted economic pressure by such a measure as the general refusal to accept imports from Japan*. The need for American co-operation in collective action on these lines would be essential to its success.

In the meantime efforts should be continued to secure agreement between the parties on the lines of the Lytton Report. We should also do everything we can to assist international co-operation in Chinese reconstruction.

*NOTE.—Obtainable in leaflet form from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. No. 350. Price, 1/6 per 100.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

WE have often been asked to give the names of the members of the Union's Executive Committee. In the list that follows, first are given the members elected by the postal ballot, and secondly those who have been co-opted to serve for the present year :—

Chairman: Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Litt.
 Vice-Chairman: Major the Rt. Hon. J. W. Hills, M.P.
 Vice-Admiral J. D. Allen, C.B.; Sir Norman Angell; P. J. Noel Baker, Esq.; F. M. Burris, Esq.; Major Anthony Buxton, D.S.O.; L. J. Cadbury, Esq.; Rt. Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P.; Miss K. D. Courtney; Rt. Hon. the Lord Davies; Rt. Hon. the Lord Dickinson; Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G.; Miss Megan Lloyd George, M.P.; The Viscountess Gladstone; Sir John Harris; Sir Arthur Haworth, Bt.; Lady Henschel; Lt.-Com. the Hon. J. M. Kenworthy; Lady Layton; Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen; the Lady Parmoor; Rt. Hon. Lord Eustace Percy, M.P.; Mrs. Walter Runciman; Councillor H. F. Shaw; J. C. Smuts, Esq.; L. M. Wynch, Esq.; Major Lawrence Wright, T.D.; Professor A. E. Zimmern, M.A.
 Vyvyan Adams, Esq., M.P.; Colonel David Carnegie, C.B.E., F.R.S.; the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester; Mrs. E. Dugdale, H. H. Elvin, Esq.; Dr. G. P. Gooch; Captain L. H. Green, M.A.; Lady Hall; Dr. C. W. Kimmins, M.A.; G. le M. Mander, Esq., M.P.; T. M. McGiff, Esq.; Sir Walter Napier, D.C.L.; Sir John Power, Bt., M.P.; Rt. Hon. the Lord Rhayader; John Sherborne, Esq.; Rennie Smith, Esq., B.Sc.; H. S. Syrett, Esq., C.B.E., LL.B.; The Hon. Mrs. Wilson-Fox, C.B.E.; Herbert Worsley, Esq.

A Disarmament Programme

THE Union believes that agreement on the following *Six Point Disarmament Programme* would mean the complete success of the Disarmament Conference at an early date after its re-assembly on October 16 :—

- (1) Abolition by every country within a limited period of all weapons (including military aeroplanes) forbidden to Germany.
- (2) No re-armament by any country.
- (3) Increase of security by re-affirmation of the principle of the strength of all for the defence of each.
- (4) Limitation of expenditure on armaments.
- (5) Effective international supervision of (a) existing armaments; (b) manufacture of and trade in arms; and (c) civil aviation.
- (6) Economic sanctions against any State failing to carry out its obligation to reduce or limit armaments.

NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Revision and the Covenant of the League of Nations. No. 353. Price 3d.

A reprint of an article in the June number of "The Round Table," having as an Appendix an essay by Dr. Maxwell Garnett on the way in which Article 19 of the Covenant might be expected to work. In view of the signature of the Four Power Pact and the large amount of discussion on Treaty Revision in all parts of the world, this is a very timely pamphlet.

World Labour Problems, 1933. No. 354. Price 4d.

Part I gives a general survey of the work of the I.L.O., whilst the second half of the present pamphlet goes more into detail as to the results of the 17th International Labour Conference which took place in Geneva this June.

New Leaflets

Driving Power. No. 349. 15s. a 1,000.

A revised edition in more attractive type of an old favourite. A membership form is attached, and it can be used as a leaflet to be put round at public meetings.

OFFICIAL LEAGUE AND I.L.O. PUBLICATIONS

I.L.O. Year Book, 1932. Cloth, 15s.; paper, 10s. 6d.

An invaluable *vade mecum* to the work of the International Labour Office. If the Director's Report to the Conference can be called an essay on world conditions the Year Book is the documentary material upon which the opinions expressed by the Director are based. It should find a place on the shelves of all Reference Libraries.

International Labour Directory. 1933 Edition of Part 6. Co-operative Organisations. 2s. 6d.

Containing a complete list of 1,044 Co-operative Organisations in 53 countries, their permanent addresses, the names of their officers and membership figures, figures relating to their activities, and a general summary of statistics.

Report of the Work of the League since the 13th Session of the Assembly. Fcap., 122 pages. 4s.

Always one of the League's most interesting and important documents, this particular report is packed with activities of the League during the past year.

Apart from the current activities, the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments was in session for the greater part of the year; the Sino-Japanese dispute was dealt with by a Special Session of the Assembly; and the Council met frequently to consider disputes between Columbia and Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, and the United Kingdom and Persia.

Financial Position of Hungary in the Second Quarter of 1933. 7th Quarterly Report. Fcap., 22 pages. 9d.

This document deals with the balancing of the Hungarian State Budget for the year ending June 30, 1933, and the steady rise in the Economic Situation consequent on the slight increase in foreign trade, shown by several comparative tables.

It is hoped that branches all over the country will pass resolutions based on this Six Point Programme. These resolutions should be sent to the Headquarters of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

They will be presented to the National meeting at the Queen's Hall on October 13, and will be sent to Geneva in time for the International meeting on October 15. The whole object of the International meeting is to make the delegates to the Disarmament Conference realise that they have the world at their back in any drastic disarmament measures that they may accept. It is highly important, therefore, that through the branches of the L.N.U. this country should make its opinions known.

A Vital Question. No. 351. 15s. a 1,000.

Another revised edition of a popular leaflet telling Some of the Things the League has Done, Some of the Things that the League is Doing. It works up to asking the reader to "Join us and make the League safe." A first class propaganda leaflet.

Youth and World Peace. No. 352. Price 15s. a 1,000.

A four-page leaflet on the formation and organisation of Youth Groups.

The Far East and the League System. No. 350. 1s. 6d. a 100.

A statement of League of Nations' Union policy with regard to the Far East. The complete text is printed on page 180 of this month's issue.

Books on the League of Nations for Children and Teachers, 1933. No. 0904d. Gratis.

A list of books suitable for children and teachers, any of which may be purchased through the Union's Book Room or borrowed from the Library.

Monetary and Economic Conference. Reports Approved by the Conference on July 27, 1933, and Resolutions adopted by the Bureau and Executive Committee. Fcap., 47 pages. 1933. II. Spec. 4. 1s. 6d.

This Official Report of the recent Economic Conference is divided into 4 parts :—

(1) Report of the Bureau, giving a résumé of the general proceedings of the Conference, and the consideration of a date for the resumption of its work.

(2) Annex. 1.—Report of the Monetary and Financial Commission.

(3) Annex. 3.—Report of the Economic Commission. Here are various reports on Commercial Policy, Tariff Policy, the Co-ordination of the Production and Marketing of Dairy Products, Sugar, Coffee, Coal, etc., etc.

(4) Resolutions of the Bureau and Executive Committee.

Armaments Year-Book, 9th Year : 1933. Octavo. 1048 pages. Paper. 1933. IX. 5. 20/-

Giving the most complete and authoritative general and statistical information regarding the armaments and national defence expenditure of 64 countries.

Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs.

(1) **Summary of Annual Reports of Governments on this Traffic for 1931.** Fcap., 95 pages. 1933. XI. 2. 4s.

In this document each country's production, consumption, imports and exports of this infamous trade are dealt with, accompanied by clear synoptic statistical tables.

(2) **Report to the Council on the Work of the 16th Session.** (May 15 to 31, 1933.) Fcap., 61 pages. 1933. XI. 1. 2s.

BOOK NOTICES

The Challenge of Europe. By Sherwood Eddy. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 10s. 6d.)

No student of matters of international moment can fail to profit from this valuable addition to the analyses of world problems. Without betraying any personal leanings in any national direction, the author has put into eminently readable form close analytical studies of and comparisons between the Nazis of Germany and the Communists of Russia; the Fascism of Italy and the Imperialism of Britain; together with studies of the Minor European States, and including also a very definite statement of the American outlook on Europe. His ideas have been founded on the experiences garnered by many years of intensive travel and intimate personal acquaintance. It would be impossible to cover even a bare outline of the wealth of material compressed into these 300 pages. An asset which, in our opinion, is in itself sufficient to justify the cost of the book is that afforded by the vivid and obviously accurate outlines of the true characters and personalities of all the important trustees of the world's welfare in the various nations. Writing of the Polish Corridor, Dr. Eddy admits that both Germany and Poland have strong historic claims to this bone of contention. He rightly points out, however, that if the Germans were permitted to regain the Corridor, no abatement of the unrest in Europe could result therefrom, any more than mere retention by Poland could solve the problem. "In either case," he says on page 38, "an absolute exclusive nationalism will mean war, but a co-operative internationalism will mean peace for the world."

Another illuminating phrase in connection with the Germans of to-day is afforded by his remark that "the German psychological failure to understand other people is only exceeded by that of the Japanese."

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR

War, Sadism and Pacifism. By Edward Glover, M.D. (George Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.)

The author of these three essays is Director of Scientific Research at the London Institute of Psycho-Analysis. Dr. Glover deals with the sex-psychology of War in a way that is intensely interesting to the lay mind, even while he goes deeply into the scientific aspect. He contends that Pacifism as we know it to-day is itself a manifestation of the same psychology as that which begets Wars and that it is in no sense an antidote. He claims the real necessity is for a race of men who are mentally adapted to Peace, and that the Pacifism which is based on thought-resistance to war-making motives cannot suffice. He epitomises his contentions in one excellent phrase: "War has to be quenched in the soul before it can be eradicated from the world." Dr. Glover traces out the development of that War spirit from childhood, showing how the Sadistic and Masochistic tendencies are fostered even in the nursery. This little book cannot fail to stimulate deep consideration of this important aspect of the War problem.

FROM COLONIES TO COMMONWEALTH

Days of Empire. By F. W. Tickner, D.Lit., B.Sc. (University of London Press. 3s.)

This, the fourth book of the new "Headway Histories," Senior Series, with many maps and pictures, tells the story of the Colonial enterprises of Great Britain and traces the evolution of the present British Commonwealth. Mr. Tickner is not afraid to say we have made mistakes in the past. He stoutly defends the idea of Commonwealth co-operation to-day.

The limits of 250 pages (apart from illustrations) impose a rigorous selection of material, and some of the problems of Empire must necessarily be over-simplified in the process. It is, for example, unfortunate that there is no reference to the existence of the native States in the sections on the present problem of India.

"No one who has studied the history of our Commonwealth," says Mr. Tickner, "can doubt the great part it can play in promoting peace and progress in all parts of the world." It is therefore a matter for regret that the author has not had space to tell us about the great part the Commonwealth has already played in shaping the constitution and subsequent practice of the League of Nations.

C. W. J.

The Socialisation of Banking. By Oscar Sachse. With a Foreword by Sir Stafford Cripps, K.C., M.P. (Macmillan. 1933. 137 pages. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Sachse, in this brief outline of monetary and economic reform, tilts a not very redoubtable lance at the banking system, which is, of course, the very core of the capitalist regime. Had the present system only to contend with assaults of this kind it could rest assured of a lengthy and tolerably stable existence in this country at least, if only for want of an alternative programme of reform which had any semblance of being convincing. Few would deny that many of the proposals which the author puts forward, such as a National Investment Board and a centralised control of credit, are excellent in themselves. But, unfortunately, he invalidates the case for their introduction by connecting them up with catch-penny currency reforms which suggest a dangerous over-simplification of our present monetary difficulties. For example, one of his proposals which stresses the necessity for doing away with gold, silver, etc., for currency purposes and for using cheques for all commercial transactions, completely glosses over the principal problem of finding a suitable basis on which to fix the volume of circulating media. And there are many other questions of equal importance which are either half answered or entirely ignored.

E. V. F.

Monetary Policy and the Depression. (Oxford Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.)

Published shortly before the Economic Conference met, this volume is the work of a group of distinguished authorities. The various suggestions put forward for the alleviation of the present state of affairs and the better ordering of the world's monetary system are described and discussed. The book can emphatically be recommended to anyone (even laymen) who desires to understand the monetary discussions at the present World Conference. The responsibility for its preparation rests with the Royal Institute of International Affairs whose research efforts into international problems of all kinds are of the utmost value.

Reprints of Lord Howard of Penrith's article in the recent number of "Service," entitled "Sanctions, Confidence, Disarmament, Recovery," are available from the Union's Headquarters at 2d. each, post free.

USE THE UNION'S BOOK SHOP!

The Union's own book shop at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, supplies not only the Union's own publications and official League and International Labour Office documents, but also any other published book.

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Write or call to-day.

Overseas Branches: PARIS, 35, Rue Boissy d'Anglas. NEW YORK, 271, North Avenue, New Rochelle. MELBOURNE, 396, Flinders Lane. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI, 10, Ahipora Road, AMSTERDAM, Leliegracht 30

The Prevention of War. By Kathleen E. Innes. (Friends' Peace Committee. 2s. 6d.)

A commendably logical examination of the measures immediately available for the Prevention of War, in which the Problems attendant on Disarmament, Sanctions, International Police Force, etc., are fully explained. The authoress has included an especially vivid chapter on the Manchurian Crisis, in the course of which, instead of inveighing against either side, she has concentrated on the lessons afforded by that upheaval. Her grasp of the facts may be assessed from the fact that, although this chapter was in the press before the Lytton report was promulgated, it has not been found necessary to modify her opinions in any way.

Ten Years of International Jurisdiction. (Allen & Unwin. 6s. 9d. cloth; 4s. 9d. paper.)

In the middle of February, this year, the Permanent Court of International Justice completed ten years of existence. Here is the Court's own account of its stewardship which deals not only with the actual cases brought before it, but also with its organisation and jurisdiction.

International Conferences. By J. W. Parkes. (International Student Service. 2s. 6d.)

The Reverend J. W. Parkes has had vast experience in the organisation of unofficial International Conferences. He has now set forth his experience brightly and deliciously. No amateur should attempt to sail the stormy seas of organising an international conference without consulting this little book.

Air Power and War Rights. By J. M. Spaight. (Longmans Green & Co. 25s.)

A legalistic study attempting to lay down a generally accepted code of practice in aerial warfare. All Union members who are attempting to reach firm and logical conclusions with regard to air warfare should at least be cognisant of the existence of this book. It is not such dull reading as might be expected.

Democracy, Debts and Disarmament. By Walton Newbold, M.A. (Methuen & Co. 8s. 6d.)

The author cannot divest himself of his political opinions, hence a somewhat biased book adducing facts to prove that the capitalistic system is rightly on the verge of catastrophe, since politics have proved even too strong for the wiles of the international financier.

The Spirit of France. By Herr Paul Cohen-Portheim. (Duckworth. 8s. 6d.)

Herr Cohen-Portheim, who has lately died, was a charming cosmopolitan German Jew. In this book he makes a strong plea for a European civilisation based on a synthesis of nationalisms. Like many another, the author feels that Paris is the intellectual centre of the world and, therefore, it is from France that the new movement will develop. Whilst the spirit in which this book was written continues to exist, there is still hope for a Europe in which temporarily, as we hope, the Hydra of blatant nationalism rears its many heads.

All Quiet on the Western Front. By E. M. Remarque. (G. P. Putnam's Sons. 2s. 6d. net.)

This half-crown edition of Remarque's famous book brings it within the reach of everybody.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Cry Havoc! By Beverley Nichols. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.) See Editorial for comment.

The Schools and International Understanding. By Spencer Stoker. (Oxford University Press. 13s. 6d. net.)

Out of the Deep: Letters from Soviet Timber Camps with an Introduction by Hugh Walpole and a note on the authenticity by Sir Bernard Pares. (Geoffrey Bles. 2s. 6d.)

Summary of the Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. (Published by the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. cloth; 5s. paper.)

Inflation. By Irving Fisher. (Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.)

The British Anti-Slavery Movement. By R. Coupland, C.I.E., M.A. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 2d. 6s.)

Wrecking Activities at Power Stations in the Soviet Union. Verbatim Report of the Moscow Trial. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

NOTES AND NEWS

The **Chelmsford** Branch entered a decorated lorry in the local Hospital Carnival illustrating the obstacles to world peace and prosperity. The world suspended over "chaos" was being held down by characters representing "Greed and Avarice," "Jingoism," "Trade Barriers," "Private Armaments Manufacture," "Fear and Suspicion" and "War," while by means of a blue and white cord "The League" was endeavouring to lift the world out of chaos, the end of the cord being held out to the public by a little girl in the attitude of calling for their assistance. Bold lettering on each side stated "The Nations Desire Peace, but they Pursue Policies which Prevent It." On the front "The League of Nations Needs You Behind It," and on the back "Pull Your Weight for Peace and Prosperity," "The Coming Generation Expects Your Help." A touch of humour was added by the inclusion of Strube's "little man" watching the struggle between the opposing forces.

Visitors advocating Peace from six different nations were among the guests at a garden party organised at the Garden House by the **Brighton and Hove** Branch. A Dutchman, a German lady (who has become American by marriage) and a Frenchwoman were among the speakers.

Even showery weather was unable to mar the success of a garden fete organised by the **Harrogate** Branch. In addition to sound speeches, the comprehensive list of attractions included a keenly-contested water-polo match in the open-air swimming bath. Besides drawing many people who might not otherwise have been induced to attend, the general interest aroused by the match obtained an unusual amount of press publicity, both descriptive and photographic.

By the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Raffety, a garden meeting, to which invitations were issued to Rickmansworth, Northwood, Uxbridge and Ruislip had been organised by the **Harefield** Branch. Captain L. H. Green was the principal speaker, and the innovation of extending the meeting to so many other branches instead of confining it to the local branch resulted in an unusually large gathering.

By dint of attractive parades and pageantry, the **Bournemouth** Branches succeeded in attracting an audience of well over 1,000 people to its most recent function, over sixty of whom enrolled as new members. It becomes daily more evident that there is no dearth of new members for the Union, provided that steps are taken to bring the unconverted into touch with our principles instead of merely concentrating on the thankless task of preaching again and again to the converted.

Between 500 and 600 people attended a garden fete at Eberston Hall, organised by the **Scarborough and District** Council. Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P., spoke strongly on the subject of Police Bombing, and Brig.-General Sir Edward Whitley categorically denied the accusation that the Disarmament Conference has failed.

A striking leaflet, illustrating the appalling cost of War as compared with the trifling expenditure on Peace work, has been prepared by the **Chiswick** Branch. Some 10,000 copies have been distributed among the actual taxpayers of Chiswick and Brentford, and we learn that good results in the way of increased membership have already commenced to accrue.

The **City of London** Branch has just organised an initial campaign for 1,000 members. Fortnightly services were held last year in most of the City Churches, and it is hoped to have monthly addresses by the leaders of Commerce this winter. A policy of rationalisation is being carried out in the City area by the fusion of small branches and the resuscitation of as many as possible. The former City Temple, Tower Hill, Bishopsgate Chapel Branches are now maintained by the same organisation, and a sub-branch has been formed in the General Post Office.

Lord Wakefield, Sir Percy Mackinnon, Bishop Paget, Mr. J. Stuart-Jones and Mr. G. W. Reynolds are among those to whom the branch is indebted for recent active interest. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress were good enough to receive a party of Austrian schoolgirls at the Mansion House and personally conducted them through the historic halls. The party was entertained at the Guildhall by the City Branch, the Chairman (Mr. Herbert S. Syrett, C.B.E., LL.B., C.C.), the hon. secretary (Major Lawrence Wright, T.D.), and Mrs. Syrett and Mrs. Wright also being present.

Mrs. Downer and Mr. Gillinder from Union Headquarters were the principal speakers at the **Cheshire** Week-end Conferences held at the Cathedral Parlour, Chester, at the end of last month. In opening

the Conference, the Dean of Chester aptly called attention to the fact that the ideas which occupy the minds of people who adhere to War-Mentality are as medieval as the room in which the Conference was being held!

Speaking at the summer meeting of the **Wigton** Branch, Mr. Chance (Chairman of the East Cumberland District) laid stress on "the hundred and one odd jobs excellently performed by the League" and gave his large audience a sound resume of the various excellent and concrete answers which are applicable to the vague accusations that the League "has not done anything."

At a Garden meeting organised by the **Verwood** Branch, Miss Digby, the County Secretary for Dorset, gave a most informative resume of the principal speeches delivered at Edinburgh Conference, bringing home to those who could not afford the time to travel to Scotland an excellent substitute for personal attendance at the Conference.

The Branches at **Headley, Greystott, Churt** and **Hindhead** decided at a special meeting held at Beacon Hill to amalgamate in a Branch to be known in future as the **Hindhead and District** Branch.

The **Bethnal Green** Branch have now arranged a display of literature for inspection and sale at their "Bookshop," which is situated at 203a, Bethnal Green Road, E.2.

The **Loughborough** Branch reports a busy year and a satisfactory one, for 35 new members have been obtained, in spite of all difficulties.

"Death and Destruction," typified by a black car in which rode a skeleton, followed by a car depicting "Peace and Plenty," were arresting items furnished by the Youth Group of the **Yeovil** Branch at the Carnival Revels. The latter car carried off the second prize for decorated cars.

The Rev. Professor E. C. Waterhouse, D.D., delivered an impressive address to over 2,000 people who were convened in the Steyne Gardens by the **Worthing** Branch. As a result of this fine effort, which was broadcast on to the Front, 68 new members were enrolled, he collection realising £10.

On Saturday afternoon, September 30, the **London Regional Federation** is holding its Annual United Service in St. Martin-in-the-Fields. The preacher on this occasion will be the Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D., Canon of Westminster, and the Lesson will be read by the Rev. Albert Belden, B.D., of Whitefields Tabernacle. The Whitefield's Choral Society will lead the singing, and the Musical Director, Mr. Spencer Shaw, L.R.A.M., A.R.C.O., will give an organ recital from 2.30 to 3 p.m. Free tickets of admission may be had from the L.R.F. Office, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

From October 21 to 23 the Autumn Conference of the **London Speakers' Group** will be held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts. Dr. G. P. Gooch will speak on the Sunday afternoon on "The Revision of Treaties." Further details from L.R.F., 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

We are asked to inform our readers that orders are being sought for a special production of "Rainbow Peace Cloths," the proceeds of which will be devoted to furtherance of industrial and relief work amongst the **Armenian refugees**, who are literally starving. Full details and price lists can be obtained from Moto Edith Roberts, c/o Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

A party of 30 European student-members of the International Friendship League have been spending three weeks in **Reading**. These young people, between the ages of 16 and 18, representative of the youth of France, Germany, Holland and Belgium, have been residing at the Blue Coat School. Their very excellent motto is "Build Friendships Instead of Warships."

Forthcoming Broadcasts

The B.B.C. autumn "talks" programme includes many items of interest to international students, the most essentially attractive being Vernon Bartlett's Thursday broadcasts on topical matters, and those from Commander Stephen King-Hall on "Economics in a Changing World" on Mondays. These two experts will also take a hand, sometimes personally and sometimes by bringing other speakers along, in the schools' series, "What's the News?" on Tuesday afternoons. Another interesting innovation will be the broadcasting of talks on topical foreign matters by Vernon Bartlett at 11 o'clock on Thursday mornings. Fuller details of other international talks will be found in the "Radio Times."

Hunts. County Membership Campaign

THE Hunts. District Council of the League of Nations Union held a most successful County Membership Campaign during the period July 1 to 16, as the result of which over 500 new members were obtained.

The county was divided into five centres. Each local committee at these centres was visited by members of the District Council Campaign Sub-Committee and plans outlined. The branches received the campaign favourably and agreed to bear local printing expenses and afford hospitality to the speakers, whilst the District Council defrayed the printing of posters and fees of speakers. As a result, 26 meetings were arranged, including Sunday demonstrations in afternoon and evening at four towns. Captain J. Flint, B.A., LL.B., was the principal speaker throughout the whole period, and after five days he was joined by Mr. Michael Barkway (the retiring President of the Cambridge Union and British Universities League of Nations Society), whose pitiless logic of the case for Disarmament and his appeals to the younger generation made him a virile force.

Other results include the re-affiliation of at least two women's institutes as corporate associate members and a new branch which will affiliate to the Beds. Regional Council. The workers in the branches have been revived—the clergy in the districts came out soundly on the side of Peace and by means of a good press the campaign was well publicised. It meant an enormous amount of work, but the results amply rewarded the time spent, and all the branches in the county are anticipating strenuous winter activity. Last year, Cromwell's Shire held premier position amongst the counties for percentage increase of membership and was fifth in order of membership. The campaign result should secure it second place, unless following Hunts' example, other counties get up and doing.—W.P.A.

Overseas Notes

The Women's League of Nations Association (Toronto) has carried on an active campaign for the control of armament manufacture by publishing 60,000 copies of two pamphlets, "Salesmen of Death" and "Enemies of Peace." It secured the co-operation of the League of Nations Society (Toronto Branch) for a wide distribution of these pamphlets and for an appeal to the Churches, National Societies, and Members of Parliament in all the British Dominions. The League of Nations Union in South Africa responded to the appeal by promising to co-operate in the campaign.

Many of the Peace societies in the United States bought the pamphlets and used them for a similar campaign. Besides these pamphlets the Canadian Association published 34,000 leaflets and bulletins, plays, and other material for programmes; sent speakers to 135 meetings, held 10 public meetings, and four lecture courses were organised and four study courses. It is anxious to get in touch with women's organisations in Britain and the Dominions.

Canada.

The Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations opened on August 14 at the Banff Springs Hotel. At the first formal meeting Sir Robert Falconer, President of the Royal Society of Canada, gave a brief outline of the leading features of Canadian individuality and outlook. Mr. Jerome Greene, Chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations, responded.

The Conference has divided itself into four round-table groups, each with about 35 members, and with respectively United States, Japanese, British and Canadian chairmen.

Australia.

At the first Inter-State Conference of the Australian League of Nations Union various resolutions were passed dealing, among other things, with Australian membership of the Council of the League, Broadcasting, Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Delegates to Geneva, Junior Branches, Membership of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, etc.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Sir Littleton Groome; Vice-President, Sir W. Harrison Moore; Treasurer, Mr. H. Brookes; General Secretary, Mr. Raymond Watt.

U.S.A.

Mr. Hilton Howell Railey, of New York, has been chosen national director of the League of Nations' Association, succeeding Mr. Philip C. Nash, who has resigned to become president of the University of the City of Toledo.

Will any member who would like to exchange correspondence with an Italian gentleman (middle-aged) who is a commercial correspondent, and who lives in Puglia, please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1?

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1932:—
Beverley, Loughborough.

For 1933:—

Aston Tirrold, Boscombe Cong. Church, Bromyard, Beaulieu, Bradford (Heaton Baptist, Horton Lane, and Sandy Lane), Baldock, Bristol (Wills' No. 4 Factory), Cranleigh, Chester, Cranbrook, Chapel St. Leonard, Clipston, Droitwich, Draycott (Somerset), Elstead, Esholt, Frome, Glastonbury, Great Ayton, Great Horton, Grasmere, Gateshead, Hayling Island, Hessele, Horsforth, Huddersfield, Gledholt Methodist, Hardingstone, Herne Bay, Maldon, Mangotsfield, Mottisfort, Mirfield, Mytholmroyd, Newcastle (Staffs.), Normanton, Ockley, Perranporth, Petersfield, Pickering, Portishead, Sedburgh Town, St. Neots, Seaham Harbour, Shildon, Swanage, Stainforth, Sowood, Silsden, Sedburgh, Todmorden, Verwood, West Moors, Withyham, Yeadon.

WELSH NOTES

The Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union was represented again this year on the grounds of the Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Aberystwyth. A large number of people visited the stall and parties of school children were particularly interested in the exhibits.

During the Royal Welsh National Eisteddfod Week at Wrexham the President of the Welsh Council welcomed the guests in Welsh, English and French, and made an appeal for the solidarity of all in the cause of World Peace. Each guest received a souvenir copy of the Children's Wireless Message. Speeches were made on behalf of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, U.S.A., and by nationals on behalf of China, Belgium, Holland and France.

The display of Children's Disarmament Posters in the Welsh Council Pavilion on the Eisteddfod grounds was much admired, and the dolls, letters and albums which came in response to the Children's Wireless Message aroused particular interest.

Legacies for The Union

Many supporters of the Union who find it impossible in these strenuous days to do more for the cause than is covered by their annual subscriptions may, however, consider the possibility of "remembering" the Union and the work that it does when making their wills or adding codicils to wills already made.

A simple form of bequest which may be incorporated either in a will or a codicil is given below:

"I give and bequeath to the Treasurer for the time being of the League of Nations Union (incorporated under Royal Charter), whose offices are situated at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, the sum of £ : : duty free."

Membership

RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY or one of the subsidiary journals of the Union monthly by post.

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

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

Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year.

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

Applications for membership should be made to a Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6151.

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

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

Free Lessons for New Writers

Why New Writers Are Wanted

By a Former Page Editor
of a Leading Daily
Newspaper

How wide and varied is the scope for the new writer can only be fully appreciated by those who keep in close touch with the literary market.

Thousands of articles and short stories are wanted in the course of a month by the popular newspapers and magazines alone. Most of these articles and stories are written by outside contributors living in all parts of the country, for it is not necessary to reside in London to achieve success as a spare-time journalist.

The dearth of good work is often embarrassing to editors. They need fresh, well-written contributions and cannot rely on a few tried writers for all their requirements. They conscientiously wade through dull, shoddy work not because they have a sentimental feeling for the unknown free-lance, but because they are so eager to secure a "find."

Writers who can supply what is wanted have little difficulty in selling their MSS.

WHAT STUDENTS SAY "A New Interest in Life"

The Regent Institute is constantly receiving letters from students expressing their delight at the sheer interest of the lessons and the clear method of tuition. The following are typical:—

"I am very sorry my Course has come to an end, and if I did not have another acceptance, I should not say my time has been wasted. On the contrary, it has broadened my outlook and taught me to study the finer things of life."

"It (the Course) gives one a new interest in life and things."

"I do not reckon the mere placing of articles or the acquisition of guineas—however welcome the latter may be—as the sole benefit I received from your Course. In almost all my work I find myself the better for having put myself under your tuition; and for this I am grateful."

Remarkable Offer to Readers of "Headway"

WORLD - FAMOUS POSTAL COURSE

Recommended by Editors

Readers of HEADWAY who have literary ambitions should write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school. Applications should be addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219K), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

The practical value of the tuition given by the Institute has been endorsed by the editors of many leading journals. "The Regent Institute has an enviable record of unbroken success," wrote the editor of a well-known weekly. "Their pupils have met with amazing success," said another editor in advising new writers to seek the aid of the Institute.

The great field of opportunity for new writers is described in the following article by a successful author and journalist.

You may not know that over 1,000 papers and magazines in Great Britain rely upon the work of non-staff writers, and that the supply of well-written articles and stories falls far short of requirements. Some free-lances (as outside contributors are aptly called) are certainly "professional" in that they devote all their time to literary work, but the great majority are people who write for the Press in their spare time. Excellent prices are paid for good work.

Does this interest you? Even if you have never before contemplated the idea of writing for the Press you should consider the possibility now, for there is a way by which the drudgery and waiting usually attached to the first "breaking into print" can be eliminated. First of all ask yourself, "Have

I a spark of literary ability?" For aptitude is essential. If you can write an entertaining letter you probably have literary ability; if you are observant and reflective, if you are interested in men and affairs, you most certainly have something to write about.

But between you and a steady sale of your MSS. lies technique—the knowledge of what to write about, how to shape your MSS. and how to market them. You must have that knowledge to succeed as a writer.

You can gain it without arduous study. The method employed by the Regent Institute, the well-known school of literary tuition, is so practical that often the complete novice sells to the Press the exercise of the first lesson that he submits for criticism. The instruction is in the hands of competent authors and journalists who know the craft of authorship from A to Z.

Writing for Profit

A Second Income
in Spare Time

STRIKING LETTERS

Because of the high rates of payment given and the continual demand for articles and stories from outside contributors, writing can be made the most profitable of hobbies. Proof of the substantial opportunities that await the amateur writer is afforded by the many success reports received by the Regent Institute. A few extracts:—

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