

**THE FIRST MILLION
VOTES**

See page 26

**THE SAAR
PLEBISCITE**

See pages 24 and 30

HEADWAY

MAR 1936

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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Louis Raemaekers

The Spirit of the League to M. Litvinov : " Russia is welcome. She will, I am sure, remember that the League means not only security, but justice in place of violence "

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Courage Wins

Two statesmen of very different character have made the Saar Plebiscite a topic of pronouncements which will long be remembered. Herr Hitler, as soon as he had received a report of the overwhelming German majority, said:—

"This is a decisive step towards the reconciliation of those who twenty years ago were pushed into an awful war. After your return, Germany will raise no territorial claims with France. Yet, though our determination is to get equality and security for Germany, we shall not draw back from bringing about the solidarity of the nations.

"I believe that we thus express our recognition also to those Powers who, together with France and ourselves, have loyally carried through this plebiscite. Our wish is that this German culmination of such an unfortunate wrong may contribute to lead to a higher pacification of European mankind."

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, three days later at Birmingham, drew a closely similar inference from the same event:

"What is happening in the Saar, and what has happened in the Saar, is a precedent which points clearly the direction in which we have to go in order some day to establish firmly and permanently the maintenance of international peace. It would be false and foolish economy to shirk expenditure which is necessary if we are to prevent the recurrence of war."

When Britain decided to shoulder her full responsibility in the Saar, two protests were raised: first, that she would find herself involved in war; and secondly, that, short of war, the German resentment at her action would provoke a dangerous tension, fatal to all hopes of a better understanding between the European Powers and fatal also to a return of Germany to the League. The event and the considered verdicts of Herr Hitler and Mr. Chamberlain show that courage has achieved exactly the opposite result.

The League Helps

THERE has been fighting on the Italo-Abyssinian frontier with heavy loss of life. So much is certain. Who is to blame is by no means clear. Probably there is blame on both sides, but its precise division is a matter for long and careful inquiry.

A passionate dislike of the Fascist regime and a profound distrust of Mussolini do not justify the assumption by excited participants in the present unfortunate controversy that, of course, a Great Power is brutally trampling in the dust the rights of a primitive people. The news of an Abyssinian

raid into French Somaliland and the destruction in the subsequent fighting of a small French force, suggests that Italy may have something to urge in her defence.

The League's purpose should be to bring about the cessation of hostilities, and to put the dispute in the way of peaceful settlement. That happy issue, the deferment of the question by the Council, pending the result of direct Italo-Abyssinian conversations, promises to obtain. The League may appear at first glance to be playing an inconspicuous and useless role. It has not, however, lacked influence on the course of events. Because she does not wish her relations with Abyssinia to become the object of long and complicated and unforeseeable transactions at Geneva, Italy has adopted during the past month a much less intimidatory attitude than she might have done. Had there been no League, Signor Mussolini would not have tried to conciliate Abyssinia and to explain the friendliness of his intentions. He would have insisted on Abyssinia's bowing to his will. Always the League makes for the replacement of violence by law.

One Million

THE Peace Ballot has obtained its first million answers. Since the papers have been collected from only a small part of the country, this is a sure promise of a great success. At the lowest estimate, the final count will be several millions.

Other evidence is not less encouraging than the numbers. Everywhere multitudes of men and women have given serious thought to the vital world questions of our day. Thousands of Ballot workers report that they are finding a lively and instructed interest even in the most unexpected quarters. Answers are not being set down at random, in prejudice, or in complaisance. Millions of the British people are driving through to form opinions of their own, by a rational effort which will prevent easy forgetfulness.

Proof of how seriously the Ballot is regarded is shown in the graph which is published elsewhere in the present issue of HEADWAY. After the first fifty thousand answers had been counted, an order of popular preference appeared. That order has continued unchanged to the half million. At no point did the lines of the graph cross. It is still the same at the million. Here is no accident, but a deliberate expression of reasoned views.

22,152 More Members

1934 was a most difficult year. The Union met its full share of the difficulties; and for the Union the twelve months were a specially severe testing time because the irreconcilable enemies of the League, encouraged by the recent League failures, exerted themselves to the utmost to strike a fatal blow at what they well know is the strongest support of the League in Great Britain. First the Union, and then the League, was their calculation. If they could smash the one, they believed, they would be more than half-way to smashing the other. Other critics, not so extreme, and actuated by no such ill-will, also raised a hostile chorus. On the Right, the Union was accused of going too far and too fast; on the Left it was scorned for not going either far enough or fast enough.

Yet 1934 ended with the paid-up membership increased from 373,912 at the close of 1933, to 396,064. This net addition of 22,152 is the answer, less of the Union than of the nation, to the massed assault. It means that at a crisis many men and women who previously had not thought the Union or the League in any way their personal business, saw that they must do what they could to strengthen the Union because a strong Union is an essential condition of a strong League. A strong League is essential to the peace and prosperity, the security, even the survival, of Britain.

Is Union Policy Wrong?

NO true friend of the Union will deny that it is open to criticism, or that an intelligent constructive criticism is one of the most powerful aids it can receive for the efficient performance of its proper work. The kind of criticism which is rightly ignored is that which is deliberately designed to thwart its efforts and sap its strength; the other kind is exemplified in an article published elsewhere in the present number of HEADWAY. The writer, Mr. Arnold Whitaker, who has done the Union excellent service during many years, now doubts the wisdom of its later policy. He outlines, forcibly yet moderately, the case which, though it may not be convincing, certainly merits the most careful consideration. He contends that the Union's true business is with principles, not with technical proposals. HEADWAY will be glad to hear what its readers have to say, either in approval of Mr. Whitaker's argument or in dissent from it.

Conference on Planning

ONE of the events of the early months of the year is the Annual Conference arranged by the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union. It excites interest not only among members of the L.N.U., but throughout the much wider circle of those who take a serious interest in the major economic issues of the time.

For 1935 a programme has been prepared which

promises a success even more pronounced than those achieved in the past. Three days, February 19, 20 and the 21, will be devoted at the London School of Economics to a discussion of Social and Economic Planning. One session will be devoted to the United States; another to Russia; and a third to planning in its international aspects. National planning in Great Britain will occupy two sessions, and the Social implications of national planning one.

Amongst the speakers will be Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, former Minister of Labour, M. Maiski, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., Lord Passfield, Mrs. Barbara Wootton, Sir Arnold Wilson, Lady Denman, Sir Arthur Salter, and other eminent authorities on their different subjects.

Mary Henson

MARY HENSON died in Geneva on December 14. Through all the pain, her gallant spirit never flinched. To the friends and colleagues, whom respect and affection engendered during long collaboration in the British League of Nations Union and the International Federation of L.N. Societies led constantly to her bedside, she confided till her latest hours her hope to return to the task to which she had consecrated all her happy healing gifts.

Before joining the L.N.U. staff at Headquarters, Miss Henson was for several years employed by the Birmingham District Council to lecture in the schools in and around Birmingham and to organise Junior Branches. Her work was so successful that in March, 1930, she was appointed by the Executive Committee as a second Travelling Secretary for the Universities and Colleges for the special purpose of maintaining and extending the Union's work in the Teachers' Training Colleges. Although she had constantly to struggle against illness, her spirit never failed, and her visits to the Colleges were always eagerly awaited by both staff and students. Her lectures and her more informal talks with the students brought fresh inspiration and suggested new lines on which they might study international questions and the methods of teaching of international relations in the schools. Each summer, Miss Henson took to Geneva a large group of Training College students to follow one or other of the summer schools on international affairs. She will be well remembered by all who have taken part in conferences and meetings of the British Universities League of Nations Society, on whose Executive Committee she represented for some years the Training College Branches. It was largely owing to Miss Henson's work that the British Government was able to report to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in 1931 that "... in 72 Training Colleges, scattered through England and Wales, organised opportunities are now given to students to become acquainted with the aims and organisation of the League of Nations."



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

THE LEAGUE SHOWS THE WAY

THE Saar is more than a subject of congratulation for the friends of the League. It is also an object-lesson. Indeed, it is several object-lessons in one. It is an example of what the League method can achieve when it is honestly and courageously worked; it exhibits the true relation of the League to the peace treaties; it exposes the anti-League tactics of the more sensational Press and the less thoughtful politicians.

Critics of the League have long made it their parrot-cry whenever the League has averted a clash between nations that there was no crisis. From their invariable assumption that the League can never do anything they proceed always to the same conclusion, that if the League has seemed to succeed there can have been nothing much for anyone to do. They deride the dangers whose drive towards disaster has been halted by the League. Not only is a miss as good as a mile; they ignore the miss and insist on the mile. Had the League existed in the summer of 1914 to save world peace, they would have seen no significance in Sarajevo. Such a line of argument has a superficial plausibility. Busy men and women are more impressed by what happens than by what is prevented from happening. But in the matter of the Saar the League critics have over-reached themselves. They have attempted to play the ancient game of "Heads I win; tails you lose." First they said the Saar threatened to involve the Continent and Great Britain in war and the League was to blame. Later, they refused the League all credit for averting what they branded as a fictitious peril. The truth is, there had been a real peril, though the League had played no part in creating it, and the peril has now been removed by no other means than a resort to the League system.

While betraying the feebleness of their own case the critics have served a second good purpose. They have brought into prominence the true relation of the League to the peace treaties.

For several years past a frequent absurdity has been the allegation that the League is responsible for the terms dictated at Versailles. The charge is the exact opposite of the truth. Nevertheless it has been repeated again and again. The Covenant was the first part of the peace treaties and until the first treaty came into force the League could have no existence. In three different but all definite ways the League is linked with the peace treaties, and in those three ways only. For tactical reasons the statesmen who fathered the League wrote the Covenant into the treaties. They knew that

if it were submitted for separate acceptance some nations who wanted the treaties very badly but had little early enthusiasm for the League would hesitate, perhaps refuse. That tie has ceased to be important.

The League is the guardian of world order. It is the champion of peaceful methods in the adjustment of international rivalries. It is far from insisting that the existing state of affairs cannot be altered. Indeed, from its earliest days it has proclaimed the inevitability of change in world affairs. M. Clemenceau was the last man who could be accused of weakness in insisting to the last letter on his country's claims. Yet M. Clemenceau, praising the League system, called it a continuous creation. The League stands by the peace treaties only on clearly delimited ground. Those treaties, ratified by all the nations who are parties to them, belong to the public law of the world. Therefore their amendment ought to be by negotiation and consent; they should not be wilfully torn up, with no better excuse for such high-handed action than a threat of violence. The League would defend in the same degree and for the same purpose any other established international order.

For the existence of the Saar difficulty the League was not in any way to blame. It did, however, exert prospectively an influence in making that difficulty less intractable and less dangerous than it would have been in the absence of a promised Covenant. In the conditions of 1919 French Ministers would have persisted in taking possession of the Saar coal mines. No argument would have persuaded them not to demand a surrender of German pits in compensation for the French pits destroyed by the German armies. French Ministers would also have required a political separation from Germany of the surrendered pits. Without the League the peace treaty would have made the Saar a new Alsace-Lorraine. The old Alsace-Lorraine was a cancer in Franco-German relations which could not be cut out. The League provided in the Saar the means whereby the French demand could be satisfied without the infliction of a permanent injustice on Germany. The Saar has thrown into prominence the contrast between the old rigid Leagueless system, which could scarcely be changed except by war, and the new flexible League system, which is peacefully adaptable to vital needs.

Peace was preserved and justice was done in the Saar by the League's conduct of the plebiscite. The League system was seen at its best in preparing for the vote and protecting, as far as was possible in the circumstances of the case, the electoral minority against immediate intimidation or future reprisals. The League succeeded because the League members honestly shouldered their obligations. They were not in the least concerned to obtain one verdict rather than another from the electorate. Their sole duty was to see that the people of the Saar were allowed to choose their own political future. In many quarters the prediction was current that the task could not be accomplished; in others a proposal that the attempt should be indefinitely postponed or abandoned. The sending of an international military force was denounced as a provocation. In the event the friendly presence of the international force produced the desired result. Without violence, at the almost unanimous wish of its people, the Saar has gone back where it has always belonged. The world has seen the method of peace at work with complete success. Thanks to the League!

ARE WE TOO TECHNICAL?

By ARNOLD WHITAKER

CONTROVERSIES about the Union have revived again, perhaps in a more severe form than before. Charges of party bias are being made, not merely by a few Diehards, but by people who are strong supporters of the League.

The retort that Conservatives are themselves responsible by their non-co-operation is obvious, but does not lead to a remedy; it is still less helpful when it is coupled, as in some quarters it sometimes is, with suggestions that Conservatives lack sincerity in their desire for Peace. Such hints not only estrange those against whom they are designed; they have an even worse effect in that they distort the outlook of those who make them. Aspersions of all sorts should be carefully avoided by all friends of a Union which exists to promote mutual understanding, an aim which will never be achieved where there is any readiness to impute unworthy motives. The lack of support from Conservatives may be due merely to their inherent caution in adopting new projects. That is a factor we should always keep in mind.

It is not to plead for Conservatives, however, that this article is written. The purpose is to indicate that certain tendencies have developed which are mistaken in themselves, and are liable to repel people of one temperamental type. My own experience may be instructive. I was one of the early members of the Union, have travelled thousands of miles at my own expense to learn about the League, have addressed scores of meetings, and have been instrumental in persuading some hundreds of people to join the Union. But I have felt increasingly uncomfortable in it myself, though more persuaded than ever as to the value of the League, and have at last resigned the secretaryship of a branch in which I have held office for some fourteen years. If I, with my strong predisposition to the Union, am being driven out, it is not remarkable that others are not being attracted in. But I do not wish to make the most of my objections. Instead, I would find how the case of people like myself could be met without demanding undue sacrifice from those who think otherwise. Perhaps I am showing deep-seated conservatism in thus seeking to minimise the change in established institutions. But it is of some importance to point out that I am not a Conservative in politics.

It seems to me that much could be done by avoiding propaganda on behalf of particular schemes which are still controversial and which are essentially technical. Let it be clear this does not exclude controversial questions once the underlying facts are fully understood. Nor does it exclude technicalities. There are many technical activities of clearly established value, such as health services, which might be made the subject of more propaganda than they have yet received. It does not preclude the Union from insisting, for instance, that people shall not be exposed to risk of death by abuses in the armaments trade. That is a matter of principle. But it does imply, and is intended to imply, that the Union is not rendering the best service in attempting to decide whether control or nationalisation is the better line of approach.

It must be admitted that this is asking a lot of some of the members. Let them look, however, beyond the detail to the cause. Does it matter to them which method is followed so long as the result is achieved?

Does it *not* matter to them that insistence on particular methods is driving into opposite camps people who are united in aim? Perhaps it is too much to expect that men with strong opinions shall desist from pressing them, but the leaders of a united movement might be well advised to refrain from stimulating their activity, at least until it is clearly proved that the method they urge is the best. Such a stage is far from being reached regarding, for instance, armaments manufacture, some important aspects of which do not appear to have been even considered. It is a subject on which the best informed are least at liberty to speak.

I have been to some trouble to find from friends how far they agree that technical controversies should be avoided. It has been interesting to note how sharply they are divided into two classes. The one regards it as too obvious to need discussion, the other retorts that it involves an intolerable degree of trusting to the experts. The line of demarcation is roughly the same as that between Left and Right in politics. There is here an indication of how a vicious spiral may be produced. The small number of Conservatives in the Union in its early days left its activities mainly in the hands of those who readily commit themselves on technical matters. Over-indulgence in such interests has acted as a deterrent. In reflecting on this we should remember that the Union seeks to secure a general acceptance of the League, not to get a small number as far as possible in advance of it.

A lesson may be learnt from another sphere of public work. It would be a bad day for hospitals if the committees which exist to support them took on themselves to urge one method of treatment against another. They win their amazing success by keeping before the public mind that the hospitals are the best means whereby medical skill can be applied to human welfare.

Those who contend that to refrain from technicalities would mean trusting the expert, are making a gross over-statement. It means merely trusting the expert *in his own sphere*. The general public is left with the power of deciding to what purpose the expert shall apply himself. Again, an analogy may help. Most people could not design a motor car, but they could, and did, create a demand for cheaper motoring. The experts met it so quickly that we have already almost forgotten the extent of their accomplishment. Yet it was only a short time ago that the sight of a "baby" car aroused excited comment. When greater speed was asked for, they gave it with results all too well known.

There are several reasons why the Union should seek, not to supplant the expert but to direct him.

For one thing, if it remains a propagandist body it cannot act as expert adviser also. The two roles can be played for a short time. But in the long run a habit of mind will be formed either adapted to one only or unfit for either.

Secondly, few members possess the knowledge to do the expert's work. As a whole, for instance, the Union is not equipped to discuss the technical side of chemical warfare. Current ideas as to what is being prepared for the future are obviously unreliable. The information which most readily leaks out is precisely that which has least practical value. It is equally clearly a subject on which great harm can be done by nothing more than a lack of discretion. Thus, one of the worst

effects is panic. To speak too much of its terrors is to aid its foul purpose.

There is an aspect of chemical warfare to which the Union can properly devote itself. Can it not be discovered why the possibility of it is so disturbing? Figures do not support the theory that it is more destructive to life than other forms of war. Whatever statistics may say, however, instinct rebels against it. Perhaps the reason is most easily detected in the spreading of gas by aeroplanes. In the older forms of war the field of operations moved gradually. There was some warning of an advance, some opportunity to remove those who are not required for defence. But attacks from the air give no such chance. Indeed, they may achieve their results mainly by terrorising the women and children. If the Union could make the cowardliness of a gas attack fully realised, it might create a greater deterrent than any Convention could apply.

Concentration on technicalities distracts attention from principles; and these are the real business of the

Union. It has spent a lot of energy on a matter which in the end is one of deciding whether makers of armaments shall be paid by dividends or salaries; it has said comparatively little of late about the greater question of building up an order in which armaments will not need to be used.

There is danger of forgetting that the greatest arm is not material, but spiritual. The ministry of the League is to make friends. A simple illustration from daily life will show the change of outlook this implies.

Let a statement with which we do not agree be made by one we have no regard for, and the instinct at once is to demonstrate its error. But if the same statement be made by a friend we at once begin to look for the possible truth in it. That is the attitude which the League has to encourage. The Union might do more to show how it is succeeding. The same spirit should be promoted between its supporters. Differences of opinion are bound to exist; let them not be given greater prominence than the things held in common.

THE FIRST MILLION VOTES

By WALTER ASHLEY

THE first million! Less than a week ago, the total "votes" so far received in the first "wave" of the Peace Ballot were 150,000 short of that figure. To-day (January 24), with new returns just in from Barnstaple and Exeter, it is over it.

Of the million, more than 93 per cent. are votes for the League, for disarmament, for the abolition of the private manufacture of arms, and for collective security by economic and non-military measures; 87 per cent. of them are also votes for the abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement; and 70 per cent. are also votes for collective security by, if necessary, military measures.

The complete figures, with the percentages, are as follows:—

Question.	Total.	"Yes."	Per Cent.	"No."	Per Cent.
1 (The League) ..	1,005,092	973,965	96.9	31,127	3.1
2 (Disarmament) ..	995,804	929,941	93.4	65,863	6.6
3 (Abolition of naval and military aircraft) ..	983,898	856,726	87.1	127,172	12.9
4 (Abolition of private manufacture of arms) ..	979,045	919,228	93.9	59,817	6.1
5 (a) (Collective security by non-military measures)	933,786	880,186	94.3	53,600	5.7
5 (b) (Collective security by, if necessary, military measures) ..	760,437	534,082	70.2	226,355	29.8

A million "votes" is a good round figure. It is but a foretaste, however, of what is to come. It covers the first 152 returns; but the greater part of these early returns have come from small towns or villages.

Only one major city—Bristol—is represented; not more than 20 towns of any size; only 13 complete constituencies out of 600. Returns from all the other large cities—Leeds and Edinburgh (where the Ballot is already in progress), Manchester and Birmingham (where it takes place during February), and all the others—and from most large town and most country constituencies have still to come.

The main "drive" of the Ballot is, in fact, only now beginning.

It has sometimes been suggested that the whole Ballot should have been carried through in a single day (like a General Election), or at most a week. No one realises better than those responsible the many advantages of such a course. It is clearly, for example, far easier to sustain the interest of the public and the press through a short intense campaign than through a campaign spread over six or seven months.

The whole basis of the Ballot, moreover, is that it should be directed, centrally, by a committee—The National Declaration Committee—representing some 40 important national organisations; and, locally, by similar committees equally, or as nearly as possible equally, representative of all parties and interests. Such committees cannot be set up in a day; cannot, when set up, be summoned without adequate notice; cannot remain in permanent session. A Ballot organised on such a comprehensive basis must inevitably take time.

The comparatively long extent of the Ballot has, on the other hand, many advantages. One of its main purposes, for example, is educational—to educate the public in the nature, the record, and the purposes of the League; to make the man-in-the-street understand, often for the first time, what the League has already accomplished and what, with his support, it can now accomplish.

Again, it has been suggested that no one can rightly answer the six questions without careful consideration of the pros and cons. in regard to each of them. Everyone, however, has now had some months to do this, to collect whatever information, to ask whatever questions, to read whatever books or newspapers he likes.

Meanwhile, the majorities of "Yes" answers to all the questions so far received, classified and announced, have been, week after week, quite overwhelming. The graph published herewith only shows the percentages for the first half-million; but the similar weekly figures for the second half-million have been no less striking. *Indeed, during the last fortnight, all six percentages have gone up.*

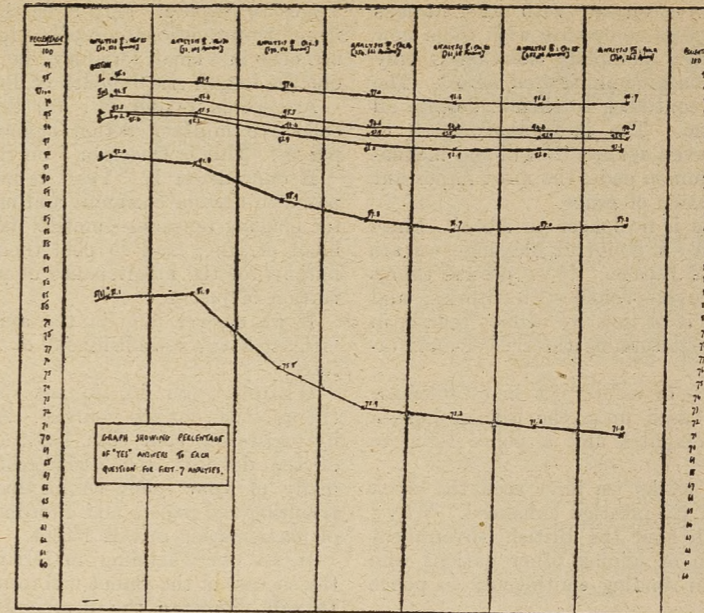
There are several remarkable things about these weekly percentages. One is that the percentages for four of the questions have all the way through and for the other two questions during the last six weeks have remained so stable. The percentages for the full million are, indeed, almost exactly the same as those for the first quarter million.

Another even more interesting thing is that none of the lines on the graph have crossed each other—this is shown on the half-million graph and is equally true of the whole million.

In other words, the relation of each question to the others has remained

nearly constant, in respect not only of order of "popularity" but of relative popularity.

What of the percentages in relation to the electorate?



The above graph analyses the first half million answers received in the Peace Ballot. It shows that the order of popular preference for the questions has been consistently maintained.

momentum engendered by that start can be driven home to its utmost limits now mainly depends.

Now for the second—and irresistible—wave!

INTERNATIONAL POLICE

By LORD DAVIES

WHAT is foreign policy? It is the conduct of our relationships with the peoples of other countries, but there is nothing very mysterious about it. This conduct should be based upon principles. In the Peace Ballot now being taken, we are not asked to express our opinions upon any concrete plan, or to discuss technical details. That is the province of the Government and the Foreign Office. But we are invited to support or reject certain principles (contained in the questionnaire) as the fundamental basis of our relationships with other nations. This is a duty which the electors have a right to exercise in every democratic community.

It is clear that if anything goes wrong with these relationships we may be involved in war; and war, as we know to our cost, means that we shall all suffer. Its evil consequences will not be confined to those who have muddled us into it, for everyone will be unpleasantly affected.

It will come as a complete surprise. Armies and navies will probably be useless to ward off the blow. They will no longer, as in the past, serve as screens between the civilian population and the forces of the enemy. Like a bolt from the blue, these forces will descend from the sky, raining showers of high explosive, incendiary and gas bombs.

Conscientious objectors will be at a discount, because there will not be time to enlist and recruiting offices will not be able to function. There will be no chance to fight, as we shall all be targets.

Where are the gas-masks? Where is the nearest bomb-proof shelter? Where can I get a mouthful of

food? Unimaginable panic! Railways blocked, docks out of business, collieries idle, hospitals overflowing, rioting and looting. A general exodus from the towns to the country. Food supplies cut off; starvation inexorably, steadily approaching. An island with its ports sealed. Hordes of hungry men, women and children roaming the countryside. General and creeping paralysis. Hell let loose—the end of our civilisation. That is what the next war means, and the sooner we understand it the better.

It is no use thinking in terms of the last war: the next will be as different as the Great War was from any which preceded it, only a thousand times more so. Therefore, let us face it like men and not bury our heads, ostrich-like, in the sand. The cowards are those who will not use their imagination, and who refuse to draw deductions from known facts.

If we must all perish miserably, let us at least do so with our eyes open; let us not be caught like a set of fools who could not even be bothered to think out these things for themselves; who relied implicitly upon their leaders and politicians, knowing all the time that in the past Foreign Ministers and diplomats, Press barons and War experts have landed us in one mess after another. Therefore, we must think this matter out for ourselves, because it is of vital importance to us and our children.

That is what the Ballot is intended to do. We are asked to put on our thinking caps and to answer these questions ourselves. True, it is an innovation, because for the first time in history it seeks to disentangle foreign from domestic issues.

We were compelled to co-operate with other nations to win the last war; let us co-operate with them now to prevent the next one. Complete isolation is only possible in a desert or on an uninhabited island. The world has shrunk, and continues to shrink, despite all efforts towards isolation. The inexorable march of science forces mankind even against its will and inclinations to combine for common ends, the most important of which is the preservation of peace.

Besides, Great Britain is no longer an island. Since the conquest of the air—a doubtful blessing—we are now strategically part of Europe. If we possess things which other nations covet—colonies, territories, and trade—whether we like it or not, we cannot remain in complete isolation without running the risk of molestation and robbery.

Clearly our only hope of safety lies in establishing the collective system, based upon the rule of law—a tribunal to settle all disputes and a police force to maintain order.

Within the last few weeks we have seen the stock of the League rise and its prestige enhanced. Why? Because at the eleventh hour the British Government announced its intention of joining other nations who had no axes to grind in sending contingents to police the Saar.

This single act alone, proclaiming the solidarity of the League and our adherence to the collective system, has done more to prevent war than all the conferences and debates at Geneva during the last ten years.

It paved the way for a settlement of the Hungarian-

Yugoslav dispute. May it be the forerunner of a permanent international air police force to maintain peace, not only in a small territory like the Saar, but throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Are we in favour of: (a) Economic pressure; (b) collective military action against a disturber of the peace? This is Question 5 on the Ballot paper.

If our answer is "Yes," it means that we are prepared to use our economic and military resources solely for policing purposes—mutual defence and the enforcement of law; and to pool them with those of other nations for the maintenance of peace and the administration of justice.

If we answer 5 (b) in the affirmative, we may add "through the establishment of an international police force."

Whatever you do, do not shirk the issue. Think the question out for yourself. And last, but not least, by registering your vote, let it show your appreciation of the devoted and disinterested services which so many of your fellow-countrymen are giving by distributing the papers and affording you the opportunity of participating in this Ballot.

If an overwhelming majority of electors respond, the success of the Ballot will form a valuable precedent. It will vindicate the democratic system and it will strengthen the hands of every Government in the discussions and decisions at Geneva.

It will give a lead to other nations whose peoples are equally desirous of peace. It will be a landmark in the history of this country and of Europe, and it will be another step towards the federation of the world.

THE I.L.O.: 1934

By Our Geneva Correspondent

THAT the past year has been one of the most important in the history of the I.L.O. must be admitted even by the most confirmed grumbler at "the way things are going in the world."

First of all, there is the increase of membership to the imposing number of sixty-two, the United States and Russia being among those joining in 1934. Most of those who have spoken on the I.L.O. in the past would agree that when they have been explaining the value of international regulation of labour they have always been faced by an astute questioner who would ask how internationalism was attainable in the absence of two of the greatest industrial countries. Again, the map of the world, though showing a fine stretch of I.L.O. territory in its centre, was marred by two large blank patches, East and West. The past year has seen both these regions added.

Russia, by its membership of the League, automatically assumed membership of the International Labour Organisation, though the extent of her co-operation at the outset remains uncertain. The United States of America, as has already been fully recorded in an earlier issue of HEADWAY, accepted the unanimous invitation of the International Labour Conference in June and, according to Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the International Labour Office, who visited that country towards the end of the year, is taking a lively interest in the responsibilities she has thereby undertaken. Of course, the accession of two such important members raises a certain number of domestic problems over membership of the Governing Body and the like, but there is already a spirit of

goodwill regarding their solution which promises that the result will leave no heart-burnings.

Undoubtedly the most important subject before the I.L.O. in 1934 was the reduction of hours of work, a question which, in two short years, had changed from the dream of the advanced visionary to a practical issue of first-rate urgency and importance. The Press of the whole world testified to the interest taken in the Geneva discussions and, although some of the arguments used, both by the supporters of an international forty-hour week and by the opponents, were mere repetitions of those urged at the preparatory conference on the subject in January, 1933, there was a feeling of reality about the whole proceedings which was missing eighteen months before.

Although hopes had run rather high that a start would be made in such international regulation, it was not an overwhelming surprise to those, at any rate, who knew the chronic objection of any Government to taking a step which it considers "a leap in the dark," when a quorum was not obtained for the vital first clause of the proposed Draft Convention. This meant that the whole thing automatically fell to the ground, and it is not too much to say that, directly afterwards, the members of the Conference were somewhat uneasy at what seemed the finality of their action. A compromise was, however, reached by the adoption of a resolution to put the question of the reduction of hours on the agenda of the 1935 Conference with a view to the adoption of Draft Conventions.

A further step was taken by the Governing Body in September, when it instructed the Office to draw up

the draft of a single Convention providing for the reduction of hours in all establishments. If and when this general Convention has been agreed, the Conference will consider the industries to be included and the methods of application for each of them. It is likely, of course, that the Conference will need a number of annual sessions before completing its task, and the Governing Body has made this clear by deciding to discuss, at its January meeting, the industries which the Conference will consider first.

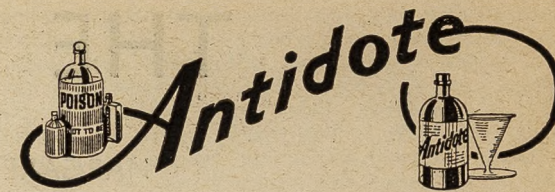
Mention of the Governing Body recalls the change of its size at its last meeting. In the Versailles Treaty, its numbers were fixed at twenty-four, twelve Government representatives and six each from the employers and workers. As early as 1922, it was realised that this constitution did not give enough representation to countries outside Europe, and the Conference adopted an amendment to Article 393 of the Treaty, changing the number to thirty-two, in the proportion of sixteen, eight, eight. The Governing Body Room in the new building was constructed accordingly, but amendments to the Treaty need a large number of ratifications and, although there was no opposition whatever to the change, the formalities were not finally completed until the spring.

Reduction of hours held the limelight at the Conference. The rest of the valuable work done in June in Geneva must not be forgotten. A Draft Convention was adopted on unemployment insurance, after singularly detailed and laborious work by the committee appointed by the Conference to study its terms. This decision is noteworthy, not only because, even a few years ago, the acceptance of such a principle was a debatable point nationally, not to go as far as internationally, but also because it added another stone to the structure of international regulations for the insurance of the worker, earlier Conferences having already dealt with health, old age, invalidity and widows' and orphans', and accident insurance.

The Conference also adopted revisions of Conventions dealing with the employment of women at night and the compensation of workers for occupational diseases, in the latter case adding silicosis and other diseases to those mentioned in the earlier Convention. A Draft Convention was also adopted regulating hours of work in automatic sheet-glass factories, and a recommendation indicating a number of general principles, which practice shows to be best calculated to promote a satisfactory organisation of unemployment insurance and assistance.

The ratification of Conventions during the year has brought the total very near the 650 mark. One ratification of particular interest to ourselves is that of Great Britain of the Convention on the protection of dockers against accidents. This was first adopted in 1929, but, despite the care taken in its many details, for it is an extremely long and intricate document, small flaws and loopholes were found by various countries, and it was thought necessary to revise it in 1933. It might now be described as a model of such a Convention, and the regulations at all British ports have been adapted in accordance with its provisions.

There is no space to give an account of the day-to-day activities of the I.L.O., which have followed their normal course during the year. Many inquiries and studies have been made, information has been collected and tabulated, and a variety of questions answered on industrial conditions. The usual periodical publications have appeared, and a number of special reports, the most important of the latter being one on "Social and Economic Reconstruction in the United States," which contains most valuable information on the history and development of the "New Deal."



POISON:

"The League of Nations Union puts in six months' work on its Blood Ballot, claims that 540,262 people answered the questions. The *Daily Express*, in August, put in one month's canvass, asked 689,301 people if they were in favour of refusing to go to war in any quarrel which did not menace our own territory."—*Daily Express*, January 5.

ANTIDOTE:

Evidently Lord Beaverbrook has still not realised that the League of Nations has never at any time suggested that individual citizens of this or any other country should hold themselves in readiness to "go to war" at the behest of the League. Those who voted in the "Daily Express" canvass, being readers of that journal, could not reasonably be expected to understand the situation properly either.

POISON:

"We have to remember that the League of Nations is representative of all nations, and they are chiefly concerned with the furtherance of their own affairs. They do not become archangels because they go to Geneva. Britain is the only real member of the League. I give Britain most of the credit for the settlement of the Saar and the Jugo-Slavian-Hungarian problem."—SIR PATRICK FORD, M.P., speaking at Edinburgh on January 15.

ANTIDOTE:

Sir Patrick omitted to point out the important fact that the British delegates could not possibly have helped to reach the settlements in question but for the existence of the League.

POISON:

"It was a mistake to send British troops to the Saar. It will be a reckless proceeding to make that adventure the excuse for further and even more perilous expeditions. We do not keep our defence forces to fight in the quarrels of foreign Powers. There is only one thing to be said about the Saar—fetch the troops home."—*Daily Express* Leader, January 19.

ANTIDOTE:

Apart from the undeniable fact that the presence of the neutral troops was the one influence that obviated "fighting in the quarrels of foreign Powers," the above argument does not accord well with the same critic's other argument that the Peace of the World should be left entirely in the hands of the British Navy, which is generally described as "the police force of the world" whenever additions to our armaments are advocated.

POISON:

"I do not care two hoots whether I am hit by a British or by a foreign-made shell."—Commander MARSDEN, M.P., opposing a motion against the Arms Traffic.

ANTIDOTE:

The gallant commander has evidently omitted to realise that the task of protecting his fellow countrymen is rather more important than expression of his personal broadmindedness on the subject of the origin of the missiles. C.C.T.

THE SAAR

By

MARGARET LAMBERT

GERMANY has a majority of 90 per cent. in the Saar plebiscite. This verdict will scarcely be a surprise to anyone familiar with the Saar Territory, for almost every open-minded observer who had spent some time there came to the conclusion that racial considerations were far and away the most important to the ordinary Saarlander. The people are German through and through, and German they wish to remain irrespective of political or economic circumstances. It would be idle to deny that this natural patriotism received a considerable artificial stimulus. Fifteen years of intensive German propaganda was bound to make some impression. But it is difficult to believe that the absence of these inducements could have made much difference to the result.

Many of the more transient observers of the Saar plebiscite, both in the territory and at a distance, were deceived by the fervour of the opposition into believing it to be much stronger numerically than it actually was. Even in National Socialist circles surprisingly pessimistic estimates about the size of the Saar minority were circulating. Since also a dictatorship like the present German Government inevitably arouses strong emotions, many people who dislike the Hitler regime hoped to see a considerable number of Saarlanders vote against their country as a protest about its government. The falsification of their hopes leads them to suspect that the plebiscite has not been held fairly and that the voters have been subjected to intimidation. This opinion really rests on a confusion of politics with national feeling. If we consider the care which the League has bestowed on the Saar plebiscite, the establishment of a carefully-chosen neutral plebiscite commission, the introduction of neutral police officers, and, finally, of an international military force to preserve order, it is difficult to think of any further measures which could have been taken to reassure the inhabitants. The point is important, because in its early years the League's reputation for impartiality in plebiscites did not stand very high. There can be no doubt that the scrupulously fair conduct of the Saar plebiscite has done much to redeem that reputation.

Misleading forecasts of the size of the Saar minority have equally led to the opinion that the result is a triumph for National Socialism. But this view is just as biased as the other, for it is extremely probable that, had the Saar plebiscite been held under any other German Government that has been in power since 1920, the vote for the status quo would have been just as infinitesimal as the vote for France is to-day. It is scarcely paying the German dictatorship a compliment to say that it has only succeeded in alienating some 10 per cent. of patriotic



Major-General Brand, the British O.C. Saar international force.

Germans. The wisest attitude to adopt is to accept the Saar plebiscite as a proof that the Saar is German and not to try to read any other meaning into it.

The size of the German majority has made the League's task in deciding on the future of the Saar much easier. The extremely difficult question of a possible division of the territory does not arise, and the Council has wisely decided to return the Saar to Germany as soon as possible. The interim period is bound to be difficult especially for the Governing Commission, who will probably find that respect for their authority so soon to be ended has diminished. Still, with a force of international troops at their disposal, there can be little question of their ability to maintain order and protect any inhabitants from recrimination and reprisals.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to assume that the plebiscite verdict represents the end of the Saar problem. Although, thanks to the devoted labours of the League's Committee of Three, a wide measure of agreement between France and Germany was reached beforehand, these agreements have to be put into practice. It is no simple matter to effect the transfer of the Saar to Germany smoothly; there is the change from French to German currency, payment for the mines and for other commercial debts, together with the need to negotiate a reasonable Franco-German customs agreement, so that the Saar may not be entirely deprived of the advantages it has hitherto enjoyed in having access to the home markets of two great countries. These difficulties are none of them insurmountable, but, if a satisfactory settlement is to be found, patience and goodwill will be required both from France and Germany.

Whether the right spirit will prevail depends to a considerable extent on the treatment of the minority in the Saar when Germany takes over. Their future is perhaps the most difficult of all the questions arising out of the Saar plebiscite, and the French government has declared its intention of raising the matter in the League Council. The German government has already given the most far-reaching guarantees to protect the minority, but, when we remember that to a great number of Saarlanders these people are traitors who have betrayed their fatherland, it is clear that, with the best will in the world, the National Socialist leaders are going to have difficulty in restraining their followers. That the minority themselves have little confidence in the guarantees is shown by the number of refugees trying to cross the French frontier. The determination of some of the opposition leaders to stand their ground and continue the struggle complicates matters still further, for the National Socialist creed forbids the toleration of political opponents. The most obvious course would be for the minority to leave the Saar, but where are they

to go? Lorraine presents a district very similar to the Saar and where the same language is spoken, but there is already serious unemployment there. Indeed, France has already accepted more German refugees than she can absorb. If the Council of the League can devise a satisfactory solution, this will be a triumph indeed.

Looking at the difficulties which still confront the League, there is a very natural tendency to forget what it has already achieved in the Saar question. The problem of the plebiscite has been extremely well solved from the point of view of the League. What might have proved a serious European crisis has now passed off quite peacefully, predominantly owing to the activities of the League's Committee of Three. But there is

another aspect of the League's connection with the Saar to which insufficient attention is paid. For fifteen years a Commission representing the League of Nations has ruled this little district, and, except at the very beginning, has ruled it extremely well. Perhaps at no time during these fifteen years could a Saarlander have migrated to Germany and found himself materially better off. In part, of course, this is due to fortuitous economic circumstances, but a great deal is due to wise stewardship by the League's representatives. Propaganda in view of the plebiscite has hitherto obscured this solid achievement. But now that the battle is won, it is perhaps not too much to hope that even the Germans will recognise the debt they owe to the League's government in ensuring a just settlement.

AUSTRIA: The Problem of a People

By WINIFRED TAFFS

ALL countries to-day need an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation if their difficulties are to be solved without giving rise to more serious problems still. For Austria the choice is between constructive peace and suicide. That senseless catastrophe we call war would bring her face to face with ruin, and threaten the very existence of her culture. Yet no country in Europe has been more unhappily rent by strife and wounded by discord than Austria during the tragic year that has just drawn to a close. It is a paradox, but a paradox that was inevitable. Can it be explained, and are there any signs that the New Year holds hopes for a happier future?

There is no need to remind readers of HEADWAY that the Austrian people have suffered cruelly since 1918. If ever the futile wickedness of war was demonstrated it is in the recent history of this lovely land of majestic mountains and silver rivers, whose people are so attractive that they win the hearts of all by their irresistible charm. As a result of war, they found themselves citizens of a tiny republic faced with problems that would tax the resources of a mighty empire. The Austrian Empire had presented a problem before the war; war had proved no solution—for Austria. Unlike other defeated nations, few of the people visualised a reconstruction of the empire in its old form. While the Austrians were distressed economically, politically and spiritually, they did not know where to seek salvation. Their circumstances were so unprecedented that their very efforts to find a way out brought Austrian into sharp conflict with Austrian. To-day their sufferings and difficulties are less realised and understood than perhaps at any time since the Armistice.

The Socialists believed the solution lay in improving the material condition of the "worker." Even their opponents can only admire the welfare and housing experiments that will be for many years to come an example to the civilised world. Thirty thousand children have experienced the blessings of the Children's Reception Institute of Vienna alone, and the municipal houses, built without raising loans, are a striking testimony to the faith of the Vienna Socialist Council. Nevertheless, the very brilliance of their achievements on behalf of the working classes only accentuated the misery of others, for whom the Socialists had scant sympathy as members of the "possessing classes," but who had lives to live as well as they, and had suffered at least as much.

Many of these, including a large part of the virile young manhood of Austria, left cold by the Socialist programme, but bitterly resenting the state of their Fatherland, and longing for wider opportunities, were hypnotised by the glamour of the Nazi creed. They believed that union with Hitler's Germany was the open door to the golden age. All too easily they were persuaded that the responsibility for their plight was to be found among the Jews, the Marxists, and the official classes. Both Nazis and Socialists at their best were animated by high ideals, and both wanted a better world—for those who thought as they did.

Neither party held the reins of power. It is not for us to criticise lightly the policy of a government faced with the task that confronted Dr. Dollfuss when Hitler succeeded to unlimited power in Berlin. The exuberance of the Nazis in Vienna was beyond all reason, and Habicht's unscrupulous propaganda from Munich wrought much evil. But no friend of Austria can contemplate unmoved the tragedy of a situation in which many upright men were driven into the Nazi camp by the measures and methods which the Dollfuss government felt constrained to adopt. It was not possible to abrogate the constitution and establish a Fascist model without bitterly antagonising all those who were still brooding over the wounds so recently inflicted in S. Tyrol, and without alienating entirely all those Socialists to whom the new corporate, authoritarian, and clerical constitution was anathema. And so followed the horror of last February, which unnerved the unhappy Austrian people far more than has been realised abroad. Many were filled with nameless terror as they thought upon the fratricidal strife, and contrasted it with the unity (before the events of June 30 shattered this dream too) which they believed animated their brothers across the border. Panic born of the repression before and after February led to bitterness, and embittered people do strange things.

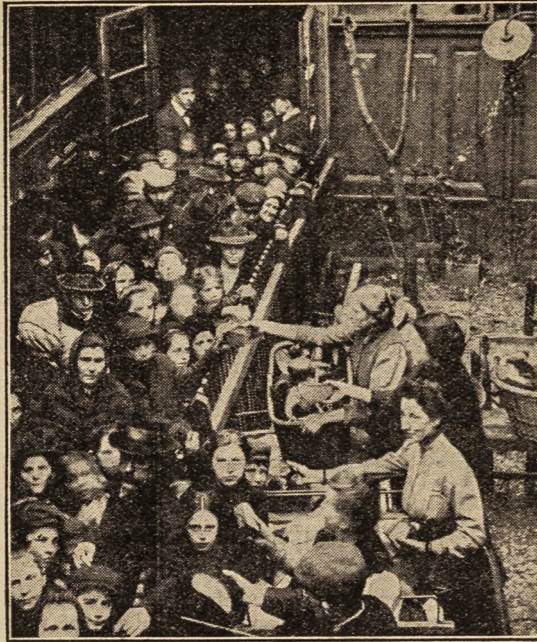
All legal means of expression being proscribed, the forbidden swastika appeared mysteriously in the most unexpected places, and bomb outrages, carefully planned to avoid loss of life, were perpetrated all over the country to advertise the subterranean existence of the Nazi party. The answer of the government was to make "hostages" responsible for the misdeeds of their colleagues, a policy only calculated to alienate still further a people whose sympathies were torn this way and that and who were utterly bewildered at the spectacle of the unthinkable strife

between Austria and Germany. By July, the evil fruit was ripe.

Now all Europe was in alarm. There can be no lasting international peace while the nations that compose the international society are themselves misunderstood and unhappy. The fiasco of the *putsch*, and even more the cruel pathos of the Chancellor's death, created an entirely different situation. Nothing has been quite the same since. The naive dream of the young Nazis of a glorious revenge and of freedom from Italian influence has faded in the cold light of reality. The Government, under Schnuschnigg, has emerged during the past few months rather stronger than it was under Dolfuss. But the tragedy is by no means played out. Austria is still divided against

Austria because the little country is yet faced with two problems beyond its power at present to solve.

These two problems must be solved some day—either by war, which will be suicide, or in an atmosphere of reconciliation, which will mean the dawn of a brighter era. They are the future government of Austria and her relations with Germany. An uneasy peace imposed from without and above provides none



Distributing bread to the poor of Vienna

of the conditions that are necessary if Austria is to live and not merely exist.

We may rejoice that Italy and France are agreed upon their Austrian policy. Their policy, however, must be rooted in the welfare of the Austrian people if it is to lead to lasting peace. In Austria itself something far more than pacts and agreements are necessary if the unthinkable disaster of war is to be avoided. But what? That is indeed a difficult question to answer. It is easy to say from the liberty and freedom of an English home that the solution is to be found in courage and toleration. Such a sentiment must sound trite to a government struggling with opposition from without and within, and merely silly to those whose minds are set upon a very different solution. Yet, if

the New Year broadcast of the Chancellor is followed up by deeds of reconciliation, and if the nerves of the harassed people can be restored by a gradual return to more normal conditions of political freedom and of relief from all religious pressure, better conditions for the solution of Austria's problems will be created. Austria needs a peace of goodwill, and those who believe in such peace must work for it as fervently as ever others work for different ends.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY

IN the year 1926 Dame Edith Lyttelton, on behalf of the British Delegation at the Assembly of the League, proposed a resolution accepting

the fundamental importance of familiarising young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations, and of training the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.

This magnificent undertaking, constituting something like a revolution in educational ideas, was accepted unanimously. In due course a special sub-committee of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation was formed for the purpose of carrying it into effect. I was chairman, and had for my secretary an extremely able member of the British Board of Education. Some eleven nations were represented on the sub-committee. The differences between their systems of education and their national outlooks were considerable, but there was no mistaking their united interest in the same great purpose.

I cannot here detail the progress of the work from year to year. In Great Britain practically the whole teaching profession has rallied to this new crusade, forming a force all the more powerful because it is based on free personal choice, not on official pressure. In France, the chief Associations of Elementary Teachers has passed unanimous resolutions supporting the same

policy, and even refusing to use schoolbooks which seemed to encourage the spirit of war. Nowhere was the work better understood or more thoroughly supported than in Prussia under the educational direction of the late Dr. Becker. But the fact is that everywhere throughout the world a new spirit seemed to be stirring, making for the better, more objective writing of history and the better understanding of foreign nations. Then came the various nationalist movements, beginning perhaps with the Fascist march on Rome and culminating in the Hitler revolution.

This produces a new situation, a definite rejection of the League's educational policy and a very grave danger to the future of the world. It is quite impossible for the League, still more impossible for this country, to allow its whole great enterprise for the safety of the next generation to be overthrown without raising a hand to save it. But how can it be saved?

It seems clear that at present no direct frontal attack on education in Germany and similar countries would be successful. The first necessity is to stop the infection from spreading. It will be a great thing if we can induce those nations which are still sane on these matters to stand together for objective truth and international understanding; and their standing together will give them a sense of security.

To come to details: I think something may be learnt from the analogy of the tours of the Public Health officers, who visit one another's countries, studying the various systems, and then pool their experience. There might well be a small travelling committee of educationists, drawn from the countries where League education has been most vigorously pursued. They would study the actual methods followed in certain countries, would pool their experience, and would then be ready to visit, or send one of their number to visit, the education authorities in any country which cared to invite them. I am confident that the invitation would come, but it would be a mistake to force advice, however wise, on any nation that did not ask for it. The Committee of Intellectual Co-operation has at present two officers who could do this work admirably—if they were free, and if the committee had the funds to pay their journeys, and if they could be reinforced by one or two others. The cost would be from one to two thousand pounds a year.

How, then, is the money to be provided? I venture to hope, in the first place, and in large part, by a grant from the British Government to the C.I.C. My reasons are as follows:—

1. The C.I.C. was set up on the joint proposal of the French and British Governments. The French Government contributes to the work of Intellectual Co-operation about £30,000 a year and an Institute; Great Britain contributes nothing; Italy nearly £3,000 a year, as well as an Institute; Belgium, a Museums Office and its expenses; Spain about £600; Poland, a sum varying from £500 to £1,400; and various other countries similar or smaller amounts. At one time Germany offered to contribute £4,000 if Great Britain would do the same.

2. Not only did the British Government join the French in proposing the creation of the committee, but for the last seven or eight years the British member, the present writer, has been regularly and unanimously elected president, which makes the absence of a British contribution more noticeable. I should perhaps add that I have never had any difference of opinion with the British Government, so I am sure no personal difficulties enter in. But unpleasant situations certainly occur; for example, when I have had to criticise the extremely low salaries paid to some of the staff of the Institute, and my colleagues have politely refrained from remarking that if England paid a contribution the salaries might be raised. Or, when English representatives invited to a certain conference could not provide their travelling expenses, and the Italian Government kindly consented to do so. Such situations do not raise the British prestige in intellectual matters.

3. Coming to the particular subject of League education, it is a matter of direct and vital importance to the future peace of the world. The most severely "practical" Englishman who hates the name of "Intellectual Co-operation" and somewhat disapproves of the human intellect altogether, can nevertheless see the practical importance of League education and the danger (as a professor from the east of Europe has expressed it to me) of leaving the youth of Europe to be brought up to be "mad dogs." The Dominion representatives have all shown a keen interest in this part of the League's work. One, I remember, described it as absolutely the most vital item in the whole League programme. The movement was started by a British resolution in the Assembly. Its various modifications and improvements have been largely due to British initiatives. The international committee charged with its execution has an English chairman. The work

itself has been perhaps at its very best in British schools.

The movement is now in danger of failing. It is hardly too much to say that it actually is failing. It can be saved by British initiative, and I do not see how it can be saved without. If Italy can afford £3,000 a year for Intellectual Co-operation, I think Great Britain might afford at least £2,000.

FORGOTTEN EXILES

THE League of Nations Union has received a very pressing appeal from the Nansen International Office for Refugees. Out of 1,000,000 unfortunate exiles, who for years have been dependent in a greater or less degree upon this office, and through it upon the League of Nations, not less than 149,000 are now out of work as a result of the economic crisis, and a further 54,900, including invalids and children, are quite incapable of earning their living. These unfortunate people are for the most part Russians or Armenians, but they include 2,000 Assyrians who have taken refuge in Syria. The plight of the bulk of the Assyrians in Iraq, pending their proposed transference to another country, is well known.

"These many thousands of refugees," states the Nansen Office, "are enduring the most serious privations, and, in the absence of warm clothing, are already suffering cruelly from the rigours of the winter. Every effort is imperative, without further loss of time, to come to the assistance of these people. An urgent appeal is addressed to all those able and willing to alleviate human suffering to assist the Nansen Office in its task of endeavouring to provide at least a part of the clothing, underclothing and footwear of which the refugees are in such urgent need."

The Save the Children Fund and the Armenian Lord Mayor's Fund are co-operating with the Union in an endeavour to secure a generous response to this appeal. The Save the Children Fund have kindly undertaken the cost of sorting, packing and despatching all gifts received. All sound clothing, whether new or secondhand, boots, shoes, and material for making clothing will be welcomed. They should be addressed to the League of Nations Union Refugee Appeal, c/o Davies, Turner & Co., Ltd., Gatliff Wharf, Ebury Bridge Street, London, S.W.1. The Nansen Office will make the necessary arrangements for exemptions from custom duties, and the main centres to which parcels will be despatched are Paris; Beyrouth and Baghdad, for Armenians and Assyrians in Syria and Iraq.

TRAVEL, CAMPS AND SUMMER SCHOOLS

THE preliminary programme for 1935 may be obtained from Headquarters. This gives dates and some other information about the Geneva parties, including the visit to the International Labour Conference in June and in August the Junior Summer School for boys and girls, the Geneva Institute of International Relations, and the Youth Groups Conference. In September the usual visits to the Assembly. A visit to Russia during the summer is also provisionally arranged, and details of this will be available shortly.

BOOK NOTICES

"Challenge to Death." With a Foreword by Viscount Cecil. (Constable. 5s. net.)

This book, to which sixteen distinguished writers have contributed, defies summary treatment. The best that a reviewer could hope to achieve would be to give some account of its purpose and method. But even that can hardly be done in this case, for the team consists of a number of persons of marked and differing individuality, to each of whom perfect freedom of expression has been accorded. Lord Cecil finds their unity in the recognition by all of them that war would be a disaster to the world and the British Empire, and in their anxiety to avert such a catastrophe. Perhaps it is not improper to suggest that a sentence from the closing chapter by Miss Storm Jameson gives the really dominant keynote to the whole series. "It is," she writes, "the privilege, the right and the duty of Great Britain and the Dominions, the most powerful, as it is the most democratic, group of Great Powers within the League, to ensure the peace of the world."

Philip Noel Baker seeks to prove that it is for lack of British leadership that the Disarmament Conference has so far failed to secure practical results, and in two later chapters appeals for British leadership in setting up an International Air Police Force. Vernon Bartlett harps on the same string when he insists on Great Britain accepting the responsibility that goes with power by throwing her weight on the side of the League of Nations and the hope it offers of Peace as against the isolationist practice which leads with certainty to War.

But it is giving quite a false impression of this book to emphasise the controversies it raises. It has obviously been planned and written with the idea that the British spirit is one of Internationalism. The tone and colour of the whole is therefore given by including such contributors of imagination and foresight as Edmund Blunden, Vera Brittain, Julian Huxley, J. B. Priestley, Rebecca West, etc.

A Better League of Nations. By F. N. Keen, LL.B. (Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

The reform of the League is engaging the close attention of its friends and foes alike. Mr. Keen is more than a friend. He was an active worker during the War for the creation of a league of nations. As one of the founders of the original League of Nations Society, he helped to draw up the constitution of the League of Nations Union in 1918, and remained a member of its Executive till 1928. Because of these associations, his blue-prints for a better League are all the more valuable.

The kernel of Mr. Keen's book is a draft of a revised Covenant of the League. This consists of 30 short Articles, about the total length of the present Covenant, and appears as an Appendix. In the preceding chapters, the author outlines some of the weaknesses of the League to-day and, after laying down the principles which should govern any change, he devotes the bulk of his

argument to elucidating the revisions brought into his own draft Covenant. As might be expected, these include the setting up of an Equity Tribunal and a Commission for International Legislation, and a considerable alteration in the present practice of voting by unanimity.

The chapter on the compulsory settlement of disputes and the proposals for giving a multiple vote to the bigger nations at meetings of the Assembly are worthy of special study.

But the book has two serious limitations. First, it gives the impression that the reform of the League is largely a matter of legalities. Doubtless the writer was fully aware that, by rigidly confining his subject matter to the re-drafting of the League's constitution, he was only dealing with one aspect of League reform. But, in that case, surely the title should have been: "A Better Covenant"? Young men, in particular, who are looking for a development of the League's economic and functional machinery will not find much

guidance in Mr. Keen's little treatise; and some of the most important issues which will need to be handled at Geneva during the next ten years will certainly be economic ones. Secondly, the book has little to say as to how a "better" League is to be brought about. Those who have sat through some of the tortuous and inconclusive discussions of the various Commissions at Geneva which have attempted to bring the Covenant into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, will want to ask what form of procedure Mr.

Keen has in mind for effecting the far more drastic changes which he proposes? May we not hope for yet a further work from Mr. Keen's pen—as handy in size and as readable for the layman as the present book—treating of the wider aspects of a "better" League?

Balances of Payments, 1933. Including an Analysis of Capital Movements up to September, 1934. (Published by the League's Economic Intelligence Service, Geneva, 1934. 188 pp. 6s.)

Accounts for 34 countries for the latest year available (usually 1933), side by side with those for preceding years. A summary statement and report discusses some characteristics of multilateral trading, and the effects of its increasing reduction relative to bilateral exchange.

"The world's productive forces are intact or improved, but with the partial destruction of the system which once mobilised these forces in the transfer of amounts due to creditor countries or in the triangular exchange of certain products against others or services, numerous countries have difficulties in finding the means of acquiring the foreign products they need and markets in which their own products may be sold. . . ." Thus "the disorganisation of the system of multilateral trade goes far to explain the contradiction apparent in the existence of financial distress side by side with a plentiful supply of goods. . . ."

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With all the Latest Developments

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Post Time

is

Adventure Time!

By Anita Richmond

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"

"It's time the postman came."

"But—"

"Ah, there he is!" Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned, she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.

"It's quite an adventure nowadays!" she exclaimed.

"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"

"My pen name. This letter's from an editor and—"

She tore open the envelope. "Yes, there's a cheque! Ten beautiful guineas!"

"For heaven's sake explain, Norah! Don't be so tantalising."

Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live authoress, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it." She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really, it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."

"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"

"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."

"And you joined?"

"Eventually I did. I doubted my ability to write; but the Course people were so friendly and helpful in their letters that I plucked up courage and enrolled."

"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.

"I didn't till I learnt more about this one. My dear, you wouldn't believe the trouble they take. I hadn't the foggiest notion how I should even start an article before I joined, yet two months afterwards the Director of Studies wrote and said that my last exercise would be up to standard if I revised it in a certain way, and he gave me a list of papers to send it to."

"Well?"

"The first paper bought it. I got two guineas. Since then I've sold nearly everything I've written."

"It's perfectly wonderful, Norah. I wish I could do it, but then, writers are born, not—"

"Rubbish! It's a matter of training. If you can write a good letter you can learn to write 'copy' for the papers—I'll tell you what I'll do, Marjorie, I'll write and get the Institute's new prospectus for you."

"The Institute?"

"The Regent Institute, Palace Gate."

"But I couldn't afford the fee, Norah."

"It's really quite reasonable, and you can pay it in instalments. You might get it back in no time. I did within five months. Do let me get that prospectus for you."

"I'll think about it."

"Take my advice, Marjorie, and act now. I wish I hadn't waited so long. I'd have earned pounds more."

"All right, Norah." Marjorie rose to her feet. She was quite enthusiastic by this time. "Let's send for it now, dear."

Striking parallels to the case of Norah are to be found in the records of the Regent Institute. Some students have earned the fee many times over while taking the postal tuition in Journalism and Short Story Writing. One woman pupil reported that she had earned £100 while learning.

Cut out and post the following coupon NOW, or write a simple request for the booklet, addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219C), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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The Treaty of Versailles and After. By Lord Riddell, Professor C. K. Webster, Professor Denis Saurat, Baron Werner von Rheinbaben, Senatore Gorges Davanzati, Mrs. M. Tappin Hollond, the Marquess of Reading, Sir Norman Angell. (Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

Many readers will remember the series of broadcast talks now published in book form and will be glad to place them on their shelves. Others will be able to make a true guess at their quality from the list of authors. Here is an admirable popular handbook to the intended settlement of 1919 and to the position which has been reached to-day after 15 years' spasmodic efforts, sometimes to apply it, and sometimes to modify it. The League pops in and out of the argument continually. Some of the contributors are testily critical of the record and even the intentions of the League. But, not noticing the fact themselves, as they pursue their argument, they permit a hopeful conclusion to emerge. The League has had serious failures. Nevertheless the League has become gradually the focus of international affairs. From a pious aspiration it has developed into a workaday necessity.

Here is the suggestion, it is no more, of the answer to the doubt in the pregnant passage with which Sir Norman Angell brings the book to its thought-provoking close: "I do not know," he says, "whether the League is to survive, but something similar to its underlying principle must guide Western nations if civilization is not to collapse. . . . If you ask me whether men can make war to stop, I am of the very definite opinion—they can. Whether they will or not I cannot say. . . . The shouting of panic, and the exploitation of prejudice, may be too much for those creating some sort of order. Very well, that will be the end of the story, the end of civilization. Our business is to prevent that inglorious conclusion if we can."

A unique feature of the book is the juxtaposition of moderate, reasoned, authoritative statements of the different views taken by different countries of the major international problems. Each country has its own standpoint and sees things in the light of its own special interests. That the League system should grow slowly is not surprising. The wonder is that it should grow at all. Only the drive of world development could produce such a result.

Systematic Study of the Regime of Communications of Importance to the Working of the League of Nations at Times of Emergency. (League of Nations: Communications and Transit Organisation. pp. 101. Geneva, 1934.)

The Communications and Transit Organisation has published a comprehensive guide to the facilities available at times of emergency for communications from or to the seat of the League by rail, by road, by air, by wireless, by telegraph and by telephone, as a result of the studies undertaken since 1925 and the negotiations with various Governments. For example, you have only to turn to page 90 to discover the regulations to be observed by a motor-car on League emergency business desiring to pass into or across German territory, or to page 32 to learn the attitude of the Danish Government to aircraft flying over Danish territory on a like mission.

Official League Publications

Financial Position of Austria in the Fourth Quarter of 1934.

Thirteenth Quarterly Report. By M. Rost van Tonningen, the Representative of the League of Nations in Austria. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. II.A.25.) 24 pages. 1s.

Financial Position of Hungary in the Fourth Quarter of 1934.

Thirteenth Quarterly Report. By Mr. Royall Tyler, the Representative in Hungary of the Financial Committee. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1934. II.A.24.) 16 pages. 9d.

Essential Facts About the League of Nations. Fourth Edition (revised). 292 pages and 7 pages with half-tone illustrations. 1s.

READERS' VIEWS

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

DEFENCE OR PREVENTION

SIR,—Mr. G. R. M. Herford, in his letter in the January issue of HEADWAY, confuses the idea of an International Police Force for the prevention of war with the present idea of national armies ostensibly maintained for purposes of defence. The two things are as wide as the poles asunder. An International Police Force is nothing more nor less than a Civil Police Force on an extended scale; wide enough and powerful enough to make it inconceivable for any nation to attack another, with such an all-powerful police force to prevent it.

We maintain national armies and navies to defend ourselves, yet have no security, and live in daily fear of war. We maintain civil police to abolish the necessity of defending ourselves. Without a civil police we should be driven to defend ourselves, either by arms or whatever bludgeons were handy. But, even with the best organised police force we have occasional burglaries or murderous attacks by unreasonable or insane persons; presumably in such cases Mr. Herford would stand by with passive indifference, and refuse to call for the aid of the police, even though the murderer may be attacking his own mother.

This is a perfectly logical attitude to take up for anyone who absolutely refuses to adopt any rational means of preventing crime or war, but I maintain that such an attitude is neither sane nor reasonable. And I am delighted to find how many of my fellow human beings hold the same opinion. There is no need to wait for unanimity, or for the entrance or return of those outside the League, although desirable.

The members of the League of Nations are already sufficiently numerous to establish an all-powerful International Police Force to put an end to war for ever, if the peoples of the different nations will only have the courage to send only those delegates to the League who will carry out their wishes. WRIGHT MILLER.

KICKS AND HA'PENCE

SIR,—This National Declaration—

Lord Cecil made it clear to us at Bournemouth in June that this was his own particular baby, and that all he asked for from the Council of the League of Nations Union was their blessing on his progeny and their undertaking to assist, in conjunction with a number of other bodies, to wean it.

LOOKING AHEAD!

AN EASTER SCHOOL AT OXFORD.

Should Great Britain follow a policy of "Glorious Isolation" or accept greater responsibilities in building up a world co-operative system?

Is such a system of world co-operation possible?

What are the conditions of success?

These are some of the problems to be examined at the 1935 School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs.

THE SYLLABUS INCLUDES Lectures on the Present Situation:

Fascism, Communism, Roosevelt's Economic Experiments, the Rearmament of Germany, Britain's Defences, Italian Colonial Ambitions, French Foreign Policy, the Struggle for Power in the Balkans, Japanese Expansion and Naval Policies in the Pacific, etc., and a

TRAINING COURSE FOR SPEAKERS

ST. HUGH'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, APRIL 18-23
Fees for Lectures, board and accommodation approximately 3½ Guineas.

Full particulars from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

We enthusiastically applauded this infant of his and noted with admiration the way it lay happily quiescent in his arms. Of course, we would do our bit and help him, with others, to nourish and develop this youngster.

What has happened? Slowly but surely, unconsciously almost, this infant prodigy has slipped from the loving arms of its parent to the lap of the L.N.U., where it now lies anything but happily, tossing restlessly, a prey to the megrims and every other kind of infantile ailment and disorder—and demanding the whole time and unremitting care and attention of its foster parent.

Where are all these other bodies that were to be the living embodiment of that collective system that all League lovers are so anxious about? Do they help feed it, rock it to sleep, clothe it, educate it? My own experience is that for the most part they have been conspicuous by their absence.

Sir, there is no escaping the fact—the L.N.U. holds the baby!

Whatever ha'pence the L.N.U. may one day collect, in the event of the Ballot being the success its progenitor anticipates, the "kicks" meanwhile are already abounding—not aimed, be it said, at those "other bodies," nor at the National Declaration Committee, but expressly and almost universally at the L.N.U.

A few days ago, at the Conway Hall, Lord Cecil told us that the Ballot was doing much to advertise the L.N.U. and to bring an increase to its membership and support. My own experience has been that it has alienated a considerable body of powerful and thoughtful opinion throughout the country. As an ordinary working member in the field, concerned for the good name and reputation of the Union, I feel constrained to ask: Is it right that the L.N.U. should shoulder the burden of responsibility for this movement that has called forth such antagonism, when it merely entered the lists in support of its revered president, who made it clear at the outset that it was his personal baby, as opposed to that of the President of L.N.U.? Could not some statement be issued to clarify the situation, placing on record the Union's entire absence of responsibility for the conception and birth of this infant and its strictly limited responsibility, in conjunction with others, for its rearing?

Only by some such measure, in my humble judgment, will there be avoided a great falling off of support for the Union throughout the country, and I refer not so much to actual numbers as to those powerful elements in public life that can do so much to help it, and without whose support the League of Nations Union can hardly fulfil the high destiny expected of it.

ERIC W. E. FELLOWES,
Captain R.N. (retired).

PEACE IN THE AIR

SIR,—I do not know what "plan" is in the mind of M. E., when he writes that in his opinion no Sovereign State is likely to accept internationalisation of all civil aviation. He seems to take the most extreme case and argue from it that internationalisation must be rejected.

If M. E. has a chance of reading the Report of the Executive's Sub-committee on Aviation in the Agenda of the December Council he will see, on p. 16, that in 1933, "the majority of the members (of the Air Commission of the Disarmament Conference) decided that . . . internationalisation would be necessary." But

that their ideas did not cover all the world seems clear from the further words in the Report: "The U.S.A., the Argentine, Canada and Japan submitted a joint declaration, stating that they would submit their civil aviation to drastic measures of regulation and international supervision (which they specified), if the European countries decided on internationalisation or comprehensive control among themselves."

I suggest to M. E. that the subject be considered on the lines of: (1) Internationalisation in Europe of inter-State lines; (2) Agreement with and among countries outside Europe (including India, which he specially names), on the lines of the proposals of the U.S.A., etc., mentioned above; (3) Control of national air lines in Europe not crossing frontiers, and of private machines which may cross frontiers, up to, but no further than, the point of ensuring that the machines cannot be used for purposes of war. Such a plan would overcome his difficulty about our P.-M.-G.

As regards M. E.'s positive proposals, I wonder why, in suggesting the internationalisation of military aviation, he proposes that reserves should be in national hands? If Air Police are to be entrusted with the job of keeping peace they should surely not be subject to the risk of attack supported by reserves disloyal to the Police.

Also his proposal that Air Police should "patrol over the countries" might give colour to Joan A. Adamson's nightmare of "an International Police Force . . . attacking a country." Let them patrol frontiers only, so that peoples may come to regard them as barriers on frontiers, not for aggression, but for the legitimate police duty of stopping armed violation of frontiers. I think that if Joan A. Adamson will study the subject she will find the latter function is what the protagonists of Air Police claim, not "attacking a country"!

I believe that M. E. will be interested in a new "Research Publication" of the New Commonwealth, "Suggestions for the Organisation of an European Air Force." HUGH LEADER.

LEAGUE AIR FORCE

SIR,—The questions of a League Air Force, or of military measures being taken, in certain circumstances, by League members, are causing much thought and discussion; yet once these questions are examined in the light of absolutely fundamental principles the answer is quite clear. War is evil. For the League, or any nation to indulge in war is to use an evil instrument. The League will only succeed if it keeps itself entirely clear from evil; once it places itself, even with the best intentions, among the evildoers it will be enormously weakened, if not doomed.

I know that, on the grounds of expediency, and for the purpose of trying to reduce the sufferings of innocent people to a minimum, a very strong case can be made out for armed League action, but there is no escaping that fundamental fact—war, by whomever waged, is evil. H. APPELYARD.

FLYING ARSENALS

SIR,—Your December issue has just reached me. Mr. Perraton is right. It is the men directly responsible for war who should be arrested and brought to book. In July, 1914, they were the rulers of Austria, who ordered invasion. If at that time the security of Austria had been guaranteed by an international force, she would not have needed even a machine gun of her own, and the arrests could have been made. As it was, ten millions were killed and no arrests made. As it is, Mr. Perraton and others, by preventing the creation of an international force, enable nations to claim "flying arsenals" and other delights as essential to the "preservation of peace, and make such arrests even more impossible. W. L. ROSEVEARE.

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For a saving out of income representing a weekly deposit of 11/10 (after allowing for the Government's present rate of contribution by means of a rebate of Income Tax), a young man during the period when EARNING POWER is greatest can make certain of receiving an income during the years of RETIREMENT, and provide an immediate sum of money available for FAMILY PROTECTION.

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Deposits will cease at age 55 (the age taken in this example) and then the assured may draw £1,550 with which to do so many things hitherto only dreamed of. On the other hand, if a

private income for life is preferred, the sum may be left with the company to provide an income guaranteed for life of £120 a year. This is absolutely guaranteed.

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Headway, Feb. 1935

HERE AND THERE

Special Mention in "News Sheet" this month is awarded to the **Warwickshire and Birmingham** Federal Council for its initiative in persuading the principal artistes in the popular pantomime at the Prince of Wales' Theatre to be present at the Ball organised on behalf of the Union at the West End Dance Hall. Miss Cora Goffin, the principal boy in the pantomime, agreed to present the prizes, with the result that the generous preliminary publicity given in the Birmingham Press brought to the dance an unusual number of members of the general public who had not previously taken any noticeable interest in the League. Many new members were thus obtained.

A certain amount of misunderstanding seems to have been aroused in some quarters with regard to a phrase in last month's **Special Mention**. Needless to say, voting papers for the Ball were **not** distributed broadcast to the general public! Full advantage, however, was taken of the opportunity afforded by that procession organised by the **Accrington** Branch for canvassing, in addition to the distribution of propaganda literature to the general public and the delivery of voting papers to houses on the route. The interest aroused by the procession greatly facilitated the work involved in finding voters at "home" as the pageant passed.

The house-to-house canvass carried out by the **Chipstead** Branch has been most successful and thorough, the result being that the previous membership of over 700 has been practically doubled. This Branch now boasts of a membership of 1,400 among a population of about 10,000.

Members of the **Chelmsford** Branch recently presented the play, "Banish the Bogey," at the Public Hall, Wickford, with the result that the **Wickford** Branch, which had been allowed to lapse, was resuscitated.

After an enthusiastic and well-attended meeting at the Town Hall, **Guiseley**, a new branch was successfully inaugurated with a strong provisional committee. This valuable contribution to the welfare of the Cause of Peace was largely due to the fine assistance given by officials of the existing branches at **Headingley, Otley and Yeadon**.

Among the groups of carol-singers which operated in **Worthing** over Christmas, a party of some two dozen members of the recently formed Youth Group was an outstanding success. Their efforts provided the funds for a Christmas Party for the men in Gifford House.

The **Bath** Youth Group also organised a carol-party which was able to collect £15, half of which was sent to the Chief Constable as a contribution to the poor children's Christmas Treat organised by the Bath City Police. The other half of the sum collected was sent to the Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital. Both at Worthing and at Bath, the press was very generous in expressions of appreciation of these efforts.

A new Branch has been inaugurated at **Banbridge** (North Ireland) as the result of a meeting addressed by Mr. Walton Starkey.

We regret that an error crept into our announcement of the result of the recent canvass of the **Wilmslow** and District Branch last month. The total increase was, as we stated, 276 new members, but as the membership is now 1,273, the canvass did not "double the membership." On the other hand, such a big addition to the already large membership was an even greater achievement than our notice made it appear. Apologies to all concerned.

A Rally of Junior Members of the Union will take place in the Great Hall of University College (entrance in Gordon Street, W.C.1) at 6 p.m. on Tuesday, February 26. Sir Norman Angell will preside over this Rally, during which the presentation of prizes and certificates to winners in the recent L.R.F. Essay Competition, and also of the Sherman Memorial Award to the Junior Branch with the best record for work during 1934, will be made.

A Youth Groups' "Valentine" Dance (tickets 2s. 6d.) will be held at the Bush House Restaurant, Aldwych, on February 14, from 8 p.m. till 11. The L.R.F. desires us to announce that since particulars of this dance were circulated, Miss Kathleen Stammers, the well-known tennis player, has very kindly promised to attend and to present the shields to the winners of the 1934 Youth Groups' Tennis Tournament.

The February Monday evening lectures organised by the Religious and Ethics Committee at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (near Holborn Station), will comprise Mrs. E. Dugdale, on "The Future of the Jews," on the 4th; Mr. H. J. Blackham, on "Fronts of International Solidarity," on the 11th; and Professor B. Malinowski, on "The Future of Racial Antagonism," on the 18th. Each lecture will commence at 8.30 p.m., admission being free.

OVERSEAS NOTES

CEYLON.

Important Meeting addressed by Sir John Simon's Son.—Mr. W. Stanley Anderson, Secretary of the League of Nations Society for Ceylon, in a letter dated November 6, 1934, to the Overseas Secretary of the League of Nations Union, says:—

This society has recently organised two good public meetings. One was in the general health resort of the island, in the central hill country, where we mustered 80-90. The other was in Colombo, the Capital, where we addressed 150-200. In each case, we had a very representative platform—Buddhist, Hindu, Mahomedan, Anglican, Catholic, Methodist—and passed a general resolution of faith in the League as an instrument of co-operation and peace, and of support of Government League policy. As a result of the Colombo meeting a new branch of our society was formed, which I think will do good propaganda work. We were fortunate in finding for this meeting an excellent speaker and advocate of the League in the person of Mr. John Simon, son of Sir John, who will be a great asset for the Colombo Branch. While the ultra-nationalists of Ceylon still demur at supporting the League, there are a large number of people of all races and religions who support it, and we get very representative platforms quite easily; the press is also wholly favourable, so that the success of the society is quite proportionate to the amount of energy we can put into the work. We are addressing the schools and colleges and using the newspapers for purposes of propaganda. Just now we have a series of short informative articles about the co-operative activities of the League appearing in the leading paper, to give our members the material for addresses, sermons, etc. We are not doing any study group work; I hope that this will be going very shortly. Our membership is 100.

IRELAND.

Admiral addresses Meeting in Dublin.—Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, C.M.G., member of the Executive Committee of the British League of Nations Union, addressed a meeting organised by the League of Nations Society of Ireland in Dublin, on November 29, 1934. The meeting was presided over by Dr. J. T. Wigham, of Trinity College, Dublin, and those present included the Provost of Trinity and Mr. W. O'Conor Brady, Hon. Secretary of the League of Nations Society of Ireland.

URUGUAY.

Wishing to unite and create bonds of friendship with brothers of the whole world, a commission has been formed from the Boys' Division of the Young Men's Christian Association of Montevideo with the sole idea of uniting Uruguayan boys and young men with those of other countries of the world. This Commission has been called the Organising and Directing Commission of Brotherhood, Love and Peace among the Boys of the World.

This association is organising an exhibition, with the idea of showing Uruguayan boys the customs, products, etc., of the different countries of the world.

Anyone who is interested in the scheme is asked to send exhibits, such as materials or anything made by the people of any country; music and folk-songs; descriptions of customs, national games; national literature; coins; postage stamps, etc.

Any further information may be obtained from Senor Mario Nin, Gran Crusada de Buen Voluntad, Paz y Amor; Asociacion Cristiana de Jovenes; Colonia 1065, Montevideo, Uruguay, South America.

FRANCE.

A French Peace Ballot.—A meeting was summoned by M. Justin Godart (former Minister and President of the French League of Nations Society) at the end of December to consider the questions to be placed before the French people in the forthcoming Peace Ballot.

COPENHAGEN.

International Universities League of Nations Federation.—The XIth Congress of the International Universities' League of Nations Federation met in Copenhagen from December 27-31, 1934, and was attended by representatives of groups from ten different countries, as well as from the following societies: Bureau d'Etudes Internationales; Fédération Internationale des Associations des Anciens Combattants; Jeuns Forestiers Danois. Mr. E. P. Wallis-Jones (Great Britain) was elected President of the Society in the place of M. Jean Dupuy (France).

The subjects before the Congress for consideration were (a) Unemployment among young people; and (b) What changes, if any, in the form and work of the League of Nations are necessary to make it effective in preserving world peace and assuring international justice?

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1933:—Ongar.

For 1934:—

Armsley, Ampthill, Almondsbury, Bovey Tracey, Billericay, Bristol Post Office, Brixham, Burgess Hill, Bishopston, Bristol (St. Mark's), Barton Hill, Budleigh Salterton, Blyth, Birmingham (Stratford Road), Bedminster Parish Church, Bozeat, Bloxham, Burnham-on-Crouch, Bletchingley, Birmingham City, Consett, Canterbury, Cheltenham, Cowes, Cumnor, Cambridge (Melborne Congregational Church), Cambridge, Cromer, Corfe Mullen, Cosely, Crawley, Dudley, Darlington, Dunstable, East Grinstead, Eridge, Edenhall, Eye, Grays, Gateshead, Grange-over-Sands, Gomersal, Great Yarmouth, Goldington, Haywards Heath, Hall Green, Horley, Hemel Hempstead, Hornchurch, Higham Ferrers, Harborne, Haydon Bridge, Hockley, Hadleigh, Inkberrow, Ipswich, Jarrow, Kempsey, Little Bromwich, Leeds (Salem Congregational Church), Littleton, Launceston, Leeds (Trinity Methodist Church), Lavenham, Letchworth, Liverpool District, Liskeard, Leiston, Marlborough, Margate, Moretonhampstead, Moseley, Niton, Newick, Newton Abbot, Ottery St. Mary, Painswick, Porlock, Petworth, Rayleigh, Romsey, Roade, Rickmansworth, Sunderland, Street, Smethwick, Saltley, Solihull, Selly Oak, South Shields, Swanscombe, Skipton, Southwold, Spratton, Sidmouth, Titchmarsh, Tunbridge Wells, Torquay, Thaxted, Woodford Thrapston, Withyham, Watford, Wanford, Water Orton, Wooburn and Bourne End, Witton, Wendover, Yelvertoft.

WELSH NOTES

The following resolution has been submitted at 25 centres to crowded audiences during the recent campaign of public meetings organised by the Welsh Council:—

"That, in order to establish the reign of law, this public meeting considers that the League should be provided with permanent machinery for the pacific settlement of all international disputes and the maintenance of international law and order. They would, therefore, urge that, in consonance with the spirit of Article XIX of the Covenant, a tribunal in equity should be constituted empowered to revise treaties and to settle all international disputes outside the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and that an international police force should be established to uphold the decisions of the League, to achieve national disarmament, and to maintain the peace and security of the world."

In the majority of cases the resolution was carried unanimously (in two instances by audiences numbering over a thousand, while in other cases it was carried by a large majority).

The following is the text of a letter recently received by the President of the Welsh Council, Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., from the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Wales:—

"I write this letter to you, because you are the President of the Welsh League of Nations Union for the current year, expressing my gratification at the steps which the League of Nations Union is taking throughout the country to elicit the general opinion of our people, both men and women, about the great question of Disarmament. The members of the League of Nations Union are, I believe, at one in desiring a concurrent reduction of the armaments of every country throughout the world, so that ultimately the forces of each country may be lowered to what is required for police purposes. What we wish to discover is whether the bulk of the population is behind us in that desire, and in our efforts. I am glad your Union is taking up the matter of a Peace Ballot with energy."

George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

International
Narcotics Control

By L. E. S. EISENLOHR. 10s. 6d

An interesting account of the opium and dangerous drugs traffic, showing what steps have been taken to control it and the difficulties that have been, and still must be, overcome.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscriptions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

Life Members: £25.

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

GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

(4) THE BIBLE IN SOUTH-
EASTERN EUROPE

Events of recent days have turned the thoughts of our people to South-Eastern Europe, especially to Yugoslavia and to Greece.

The Bible Society began its work in Greece in 1808 with a grant of £1,300 for the translation of the New Testament into Modern Greek, and ten years later a beginning was made in Serbia with a translation of a portion of Scripture into the everyday speech of the people.

What is the position to-day? Last year the Bible Society circulated 55,000 copies of Holy Writ in Greece, and 34,000 copies in Yugoslavia, while the total circulation for South-Eastern Europe amounted to 171,000. Thus it will be seen that the knowledge of Jesus Christ as revealed in Holy Scripture is growing from more to more in that part of the world.

The Bible Society carries on similar work in most lands throughout the earth, and your help is earnestly asked for in this world-wide task.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

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

Effective English

No. 2

February, 1935

For Ambitious
Men and Women

What Good English Means to You

By a WELL-KNOWN AUTHOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

Success through Mastery of English

What Students Say

"IMMENSE BENEFIT"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Can You Write an Effective Letter?

By HUBERT FRANCIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Social Value of Good English

By ANNE RICHMOND

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

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

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

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

A FREE BOOKLET "Word Mastery"

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

Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 374A), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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

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