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# HEADWAY

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE military truce imposed by Japan on China in no way alters the obligations of States Members of the League of Nations, though we fear that there is little doubt that the nations will try to wriggle out of their responsibilities, using the cessation of hostilities as an excuse. This is foreshadowed by the circular letter with reference to the non-recognition of Manchukuo which, on June 2, the Negotiation Committee decided should be sent to Members of the League; and by the fact that its Sub-Committee on an Arms Embargo seems to be entirely dormant. As was made clear at the Montreux Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the time seems to have come for public discussion and collective action to restore to China her sovereign rights over all her territories and immediately to prohibit imports from Japan.

### The Four Power Pact

IT is not always wise to look a gift-horse in the mouth. The worst feature of the Four Power Pact which was initialled at Rome on June 7, is that it is cast in such general terms that widely divergent interpretations can be placed upon it. In seeking to satisfy everybody it has resolved itself into a somewhat shapeless compromise. On the other hand the sentiments which it contains

are admirable in the extreme. There is no going behind the League's back. The most difficult Articles of the Covenant (10, 16, 19) are to form the subject of discussions between Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy. If the Disarmament Conference does not meet with 100 per cent. success, the Four Powers are to work out a further common policy, as they will do also on economic affairs. All of this is excellent if there is a genuine spirit of co-operation between the High Contracting Parties. Concerted action between the four great European Powers can, as Signor Mussolini pointed out in his speech to the Senate, guarantee peace not only for the ten years during which the Pact is in force, but for longer if, as is likely, the Pact is not denounced after eight years by any one of them.

### Jews in Silesia

WITH the exception of Japan during several phases of the Manchurian dispute, no country, we are told, has ever received at a public meeting of the Council such a complete and crushing condemnation as did Germany during the discussion of Franz Bernheim's petition in regard to the Jewish Minority in Upper Silesia. One by one, led by Mr. Lester, the rapporteur, the members of the Council joined in a chorus of violent dis-



approbation of Germany's behaviour towards the Jews. To quote our correspondent *in extenso*: "As a matter of fact there could hardly be a more barefaced piece of hypocrisy in recent diplomatic history than the German action in promising fair treatment for the Jews in Silesia and, on rebuke, explaining the situation away by saying that the German laws were applied by accident in Silesia, thereby confessing that the Jews *are* being persecuted, but the only place where the world can do anything about it is in Silesia. Unfair laws will continue to be applied elsewhere in Germany whatever the League may do."

#### Leticia and the Chaco

AN American, a Brazilian, a Spaniard and a member of the Legal Section of the Secretariat, have been appointed by the Council as the Administrative Commission of the Letician territory. Travelling by sea and by special long distance aeroplanes provided by the Colombian Government, they will reach Leticia in record time, and once there will have to take charge and maintain order, on behalf of the Colombian Government. The Commission will also have a Colombian gunboat at its disposal. Thus, thanks to the League, happily ends another war. The news from the Chaco is not so good. On June 5 the Paraguayans claimed a decisive victory. On the 7th the Foreign Minister of Paraguay addressed a Note to Geneva expressing willingness to suspend hostilities and to accept an enquiry by the League into the responsibility for the conflict. Bolivia is still haggling over terms and playing for time. The sooner the League makes up its mind to get a report on the rights and wrongs of the business the sooner will peace be restored.

#### At the World Court

THE latest case to be submitted to the Court is a dispute which has arisen between the French and Greek Governments. The question at issue is whether a contract, made in 1913 between a French coast lighting company and the Ottoman Government, was regularly concluded and whether it is effective as regards the Greek Government insofar as it concerns lighthouses situated in territories allocated to that Government after the Balkan wars or subsequently. The case will not be ready for hearing for a few months and, therefore, the 27th Session of the Court which began on May 8, has been cancelled owing to the withdrawal of the two cases on the list, namely, the Czechoslovak Government's appeal from judgments of the Hungaro-Czechoslovak Mixed Arbitral Tribunal and the second Danish-Norwegian Greenland case, which fell to the ground because, two days after the pronouncement of the Court's verdict on Eastern Greenland, the Norwegian Government repealed the occupation and annulled all provisions for its administration. On May 26th the German Minister

at The Hague confirmed his Government's intention to submit to the Court a dispute with Poland concerning the application of Polish agrarian reform to the German minority.

#### Moral Disarmament

HAVING entered a monastery, M. Perrier felt himself obliged to resign from the Chairmanship of the Sub-Committee on Moral Disarmament. During the last few weeks, meetings of the Sub-Committee have been resumed and Mrs. Corbett Ashby has been elected its Chairman. In place of the long and detailed draft articles for inclusion in the Disarmament Convention, to which reference was made in last September's HEADWAY, it has been decided to adopt the Anglo-American proposals to prepare a very short general statement of principles leaving it to the individual countries to work out their own methods of application.

#### A Gift for the New League Offices

JUST before the opening of one of the sessions of the Council at the end of May, Sir John Simon presented a copy of Mr. de Laszlo's portrait of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood to be added to the portraits of eminent statesmen who have participated in the work of the League which will be housed in the new League building. Sir Eric Drummond received the portrait on the League's behalf, and many striking tributes were paid to Lord Cecil's work for peace. For example, Sir John Simon said that Lord Cecil who was also president of the League of Nations Union *which had done so much to popularise the League*, might be reckoned among the first distinguished servants of the League who had helped to convince the public that all nations were united in their interests and must co-operate. The original portrait is eventually to be offered to the National Portrait Gallery and an account of the unveiling ceremony is to be found in the January HEADWAY.

#### Labour Laws for Backward Peoples

A NOTE in a recent number of *Industrial and Labour Information*, the weekly periodical of the International Labour Office, calls attention to the fact that during the last six months there has been a steady and increasingly rapid extension of the benefits of International Labour Conventions to the inhabitants of colonies, protectorates and other dependent areas. The Forced Labour Convention of 1930, for instance, has been ratified by Holland and Japan; within the Empire Bills to give effect to certain other Conventions have been published in Northern Rhodesia, British Guiana, British Honduras, Gambia, Kenya, Jamaica, Nigeria, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the Falkland Islands; in French Indo-China and French Morocco action has been taken on the Conventions dealing

with the night work for women, minimum age and equality of treatment for foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents. The note in which this news is contained closes with the words: "The record of progress reported in the brief space of about six months furnishes striking evidence of the universality of the International Labour Organisation and of the value of its activities not only to the workers of highly industrialised countries but also to dependent peoples in all parts of the world."

#### A "Dope" Black List

THE Opium Committee's latest Report contains a passage protesting against the unfortunate impression that might be caused should the economy ramp render impossible the publication of a black list of the names of the traffickers. The committee regards this as among the most effective measures which could be taken to put down the illicit trade. Another decision of the committee, now that the Limitation of Manufacture Convention comes into force on July 9, is the holding of a World Conference to consider the possibility of limiting and controlling the cultivation of the opium poppy and the cultivation and harvesting of the coca leaf. We hope to publish a full account of the meetings next month.

#### The State and Economic Life

AT the end of May there met in London the Sixth Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations. This Conference, which is part of the Intellectual Co-operation organisation of the League, is adopting a very interesting new technique. The business of Intellectual Co-operation, it may be said, is to build bridges between the world of thought and the world of practical realities. Such institutions as the Royal Institute of International Affairs which can give deep consideration to international problems, now meet once a year and pool the knowledge gained by the intensive study of some specific subject during the previous twelve months. At Milan in 1932 a start was made on the consideration of the intervention of the State in economic affairs. This year the discussions were carried a stage further. More than usual importance attached to the meetings in view of the imminent assembly of the Economic Conference.

#### The Factory Act Centenary

A CHORUS of praise has greeted the Union's idea of presenting to Signor de Michelis, the President of the International Labour Conference, an illuminated address calling attention to the fact that this year is the centenary of the great Factory Act of 1833. The Union's address has been hung in the I.L.O., and copies have been distributed to the delegates of the Conference. It has also been reprinted in the daily minutes of the Conference.

Readers may be interested to know that copies may be obtained free from the Union's Bookshop.

#### Acknowledgments

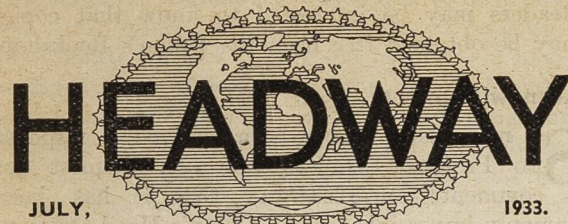
SO many letters have been received in response to Professor Gilbert Murray's request for comments on HEADWAY, that it has been humanly impossible for the Union's Head Office to acknowledge them. We therefore ask our correspondents to take the wish for the deed! On the whole it seems that HEADWAY meets with general approval, though there are those who would like us to have a sporting supplement occasionally, or to be less specific or to be more specific in our accounts of League activities, and a very few would like to see the paper cease circulation altogether. *Quot homines, tot sententiae!*

#### STOP PRESS

#### Sir Austen Chamberlain and "Police Bombing"

ONE of the most interesting developments of the present Parliament is the position which Sir Austen Chamberlain has re-won for himself as the spokesman of the general opinion of the country upon foreign affairs. This gives a particular importance to the attitude which he has taken up on the much-debated reservation contained in Article 34 of the British Draft Disarmament Convention, concerning the retention of bombing from the air "for police purposes in outlying districts." We cannot improve upon the case he made for the abandonment of this reservation at the General Council of the League of Nations' Union at Edinburgh on June 21. Pleading with a delegate to withdraw an amendment in favour of that reservation, he said:—"I believe that if we could keep this force so geographically limited, it would be an advantage and not a disadvantage to humanity. What I want to submit is that we are engaged in a general international disarmament treaty, that we *do* want to prohibit air bombing generally, and that what you really cannot justify on particular geographical circumstances of our own is the retention of a weapon which you propose to forbid to everybody else. They have one reply to which I have been unable to find any answer. If we agree, then you become the sole possessors of this weapon. It is true that you make an engagement that you will use it only for this particular purpose, but would you feel perfectly secure if some nation in which you felt *you* had not perfect confidence gave the same pledge and reserved the same weapons? If one nation reserves them all nations will reserve them. It is, therefore, at a sacrifice, as I think, in the special circumstances of our Empire, at a cost which may have to be paid in blood as well as in treasure by our people, that I urge that in view of the greater issues at stake we should not risk Disarmament on a point of this character."





## LONDON AND GENEVA

THE world has come to London. But it cannot forget Geneva. Nothing would contribute so much to the success of the London Conference as the restoration of confidence that would result from the prospect of a large measure of disarmament in the near future. And nothing would do half so much to that end as a new feeling of security arising from a bold statement by the British Government that it has done with base fear and was ready to take concerted action with the United States and Members of the League to restore the sovereignty of China over all her territories.

Meanwhile the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference is to reassemble in Geneva on July 3. Its task will be to complete the Disarmament Treaty, which, if all goes well, will be ready for signature when the Assembly meets in September. If all goes well—but that implies a certain amount of willingness on the part of several nations to sacrifice their special points of view in order to attain general agreement.

Great Britain's power and prestige at Geneva are still great. That makes it all the more essential for us to abandon our *non possumus* attitude on certain points. One of these is the question of the retention of the right to use bombing planes for police purposes in certain parts of the world.

Our technical advisers aver that the British people will never surrender this right. They are wrong. The speeches made in the General Council of the League of Nations Union show quite clearly that there is a very large volume of instructed opinion in this country which would be quite willing to forgo not only the use of bombs but the retention of military and naval aircraft altogether. And we ourselves, though mindful of the arguments on the other side, are nevertheless certain that the only possible course for this country is to forgo the bombing of backward races, and genuinely to consider plans for the abolition of national air forces and for the international supervision of civil aviation.

But this is only one special instance of a general case. Aircraft come under the category of weapons forbidden by treaty to certain States. And all these forbidden weapons must be forbidden all round. On that League opinion throughout the world is agreed. At Budapest in 1931, at Paris in 1932, and at Montreux in 1933, the Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies was unanimous in maintaining that the solution of the limitation of national armaments lies in the world scaling down to the ex-enemy limits within a definite period.

We do not say that this should be done all at once. That would not be impossible, but it would cause unnecessary hardship. Germany, we know, will not re-arm if she has a definite guarantee that the rest of the world will abolish the weapons of attack within a

reasonable time. She has suggested five years, but the precise period is no doubt a matter for negotiation.

If this proposition is accepted, there remains the question of security, including international control and the definition of aggression. To the French these subjects are of paramount importance.

In the first place, the Members of the League, in framing the Disarmament Convention, ought solemnly to reaffirm their attachment to those Articles of the Covenant which provide for mutual assistance against aggression. Now that the Government of the United States has declared its willingness to consult with the League in the event of aggression and to renounce its rights of neutrality when it agrees on the designation of the aggressor, the chief reason for the United Kingdom's fears of Article 16 has disappeared: the British Government need no longer be afraid that, by keeping faith with the Members of the League, it runs the risk of conflict with the United States.

The control of the application of a Disarmament Convention can be achieved by creating a Commission composed if not entirely, at least to some extent, of independent persons. The Commission should be enabled to travel and to conduct periodic investigations in any country they may so desire. Immunity should be granted to any individual who in good faith lays information. How far this will go to meet French opinion is evident from M. Daladier's remark: "Control is Security." But it is desirable to go a step further and to provide in the Convention that the High Contracting Parties will treat as an aggressor any country which the Commission reports, and the Council agrees, is re-arming. Such a provision will be all the more effective if the League of Nations Societies can persuade the Governments to accept their unanimous opinion, expressed at the Montreux Congress in June, that "members of the League ought to be able, in cases of aggression, to prohibit without delay all imports coming from the aggressor country."

We know that the average Briton dislikes any rigid formula. He prefers to assume that this country will always do the right thing when the time comes. Other nations, however, with different trainings and different outlooks, prefer more precision. Hence the British attitude towards the definition of aggression as proposed by the Russian delegation (and towards even so mild a proposal as President Roosevelt's "invasion" test) is an obstacle to the success of the Conference. As such it must be modified, however right it intrinsically is and however wise it would be for all the world to adopt it.

Had the economic machinery, proposed at Montreux, been available for bringing swift pressure to bear on the aggressor, the course of the Sino-Japanese dispute would certainly have been profoundly modified. Even now it is not too late. The Japanese are desperately afraid of the economic weapon. The fact that a military truce has been imposed upon China by the Japanese General Staff in no wise alters the obligations of States Members of the League under the Assembly resolution of last February. The hour has come when, acting in conjunction with the United States of America, the Members of the League should refuse to accept imports from Japan until such time as Japanese forces are withdrawn to that part of Manchuria which by treaty they are entitled to occupy.

## The Final Round?

# DISARMAMENT

By DAVID WOODWARD

ON June 1, the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference adjourned until July 3, fixing the next meeting of the Bureau for June 27.

During the adjournment, which coincides with the intense period of diplomatic activity due to the opening of the World Economic Conference in London, it is intended that, by means of private negotiations between the representatives of the leading governments, an effort should be made to smooth out existing differences before the critical second reading of the Draft Convention is begun on July 3.

The first reading concluded with no particular display of a willingness to compromise on the part of any of the delegations, and resulted in very little having been accomplished of definite value in the work of drawing up the First World Disarmament Treaty. Between the end of this stage and the beginning of the next—a period of less than a month—the harassed statesmen of the world will have to solve nearly all the questions which it has not been possible for the Conference to settle during the sixteen months of its existence.

The first series of conversations to this end, begun in Paris just after the final adjournment, seems to have been unsuccessful, and it is probable that if the next series is to produce any tangible result it will have to be prolonged far beyond the limit set them by the ever optimistic President of the Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson.

Nor is this to be wondered at when it is realised that almost every question which has impeded the progress of disarmament since the end of the war still remains unsettled.

### Standardisation of Armies

What progress has been made is represented by the grant, last December, of Equality of Rights to Germany, the decision—announced last month—of the United States to consult with the League Powers in the event of the threat of a breach of peace, and the withdrawal by Germany of her objections to the system proposed for the standardisation of Continental European armies.

Even here, however, there are flies in the ointment, for the recent action of the United States Congress in deciding against President Roosevelt's request for power to declare a unilateral arms embargo against an aggressor State, has reminded the world in general (and France in particular) that the appellation of every American executive is liable to sudden upset, even at the hands of a Congress of the same political complexion as that of the President.

In addition, Germany's acceptance of a time limit of five years during which the standardisation process is to be carried out is still very doubtful.

At the meeting of the Bureau held just before the recess, Mr. Henderson presented to it a list of the problems which had still to be solved by the forthcoming negotiations, before the second reading could profitably be begun.

As regards security, the British revised draft for consultation procedure has, as yet, met with no formal amendments, but the European security pact is still in a very amorphous state. Negotiations have been proceeding with a view to the setting up of a standard definition of the aggressor.

All questions relating to effectives, save the broad lines of the standardisation of Continental European armies, are still open. These include numerical limitation for European and extra-European forces, the procedure to be adopted for the carrying out of standardisation, and the vexed problems of pre-military and non-official military training.

In this latter connection, the Effectives Committee adopted on June 13 a report of its technical committee recommending, in guarded terms, the abolition of the latter, and the placing of the former under the control of the Permanent Disarmament Commission.

### Limitation of Material

Proposals are before the Conference for the numerical limitation of guns and tanks, and for the complete abolition of the latter. If this step is not taken, then an effort will be made to restrict their maximum weight.

The Japanese delegation has repeated, in even more violent language, its demand for a stronger navy in proportion to those of the United States and Great Britain, but it is not expected that this issue will become serious until the Naval Conference of 1935. On the other hand, the vital negotiations between France and Italy are not progressing well, and, until they have succeeded, it will be impossible for the rest of the world to reduce its fleets.

Negotiations are in progress between the British and a group of the smaller naval Powers, who object to the stand still imposed on their construction between now and 1935.

The Spanish proposal for the total abolition of military and naval aviation is still before the Conference, but a question in this field of still more immediate importance is whether or not States shall retain under certain circumstances the right to drop bombs from the air.

### Bombing for Police Purposes

A dozen States, among whom are Great Britain and Japan, are still opposed to the prohibition, Britain wishing to retain bombing for police purposes, while Japan wants to use it in any circumstances.

However, it is likely that if agreement is reached on effectives and material Great Britain will not stand in the way of the wishes of the great majority of the Conference. This would probably be the greatest concession in the purely disarmament field that Great Britain could possibly make, and it is not likely to be forthcoming unless the other great Powers show an equal willingness to contribute something really definite.

It will not, however, prove nearly as easy to secure a change in the standpoint of the Japanese and other delegations in this matter.

Even a brief summary, such as this, of all that remains to be done suffices to show how long drawn out is likely to be the period before the Treaty is completed. A great weight of evidence is now on the side of those who forecast the date of the signing of the Treaty as some time between Christmas and the spring of 1934. But, surveying the difficulties, it is evident that even a partial agreement by that time will represent immense progress and a great augury of better days for a wiser world.



## Some Impressions of the Montreux Conference

By CAPTAIN L. H. GREEN

MANY people still regard an international conference as something in the nature of a picnic, and when they hear of such a conference being held at Montreux conviction is added to the belief.

Personally, I have never spent so strenuous a Whit-sun. We began work at 9.30 a.m. on Whit Sunday, and on each of the succeeding three days, and work went on till 8 or 8.30 p.m., with an interval for lunch, and informal meetings and discussions frequently continued until midnight.

The work is done by means of five Commissions to which the various resolutions are sent, and when a Commission completes its job the resolutions agreed are presented to Plenary Congress by the rapporteur.

There were five Commissions: (1) Internal Questions; (2) Education Questions; (3) National Minority Questions; (4) I.L.O. Economic and Social Questions; (5) Political and Juridical Questions. The Commission which had the most resolutions was the I.L.O. and Economic Commission, which headed the list with fifteen.

The delegates were sent by the League of Nations Societies from twenty-five different countries, including the United States of America and South Africa, as well as by various international organisations.

### The Jewish Persecutions

There was more than one strong resolution denouncing the recent persecutions in Germany and the problem before the Conference was how to prevent our detestation of the treatment meted out to Jews, pacifists and trade unionists from being expressed in such a way as to make it impossible for the German delegation to continue its membership of the Conference. We felt that, whilst it was necessary to say what we thought in no uncertain terms, it was equally necessary to try and keep the German Society within the membership of the Federation for the sake of future co-operation when the present madness is a thing of the past.

It was remarkable to find how little the Germans realised the feelings which their recent actions have aroused throughout the civilised world. They agreed ingenuously that certain regrettable incidents had occurred. "But then, of course," said they, "we have undergone a revolution, and in times of revolution regrettable incidents always occur." When we pointed out to them that persecutions directed against a particular race and against people with strong international sympathies were more than regrettable incidents, they said: "Oh, but pacifists in Germany are not people concerned with propaganda for peace, but are Communists, and Western Europe ought to be grateful to Germany for having put up an effective barrier against the menace of Communism which would otherwise have swept across Germany to other countries." What is one to do with people who think like that, except to take every opportunity of meeting them in international conferences and showing them what the rest of the world really thinks?

Ultimately, after the delegations had expressed their views at the sittings of the Commission, it was left to Lord Cecil, as President of the Conference, to write a letter to the German delegation, which was read to Plenary Congress and upon which further discussion was not allowed.

There is not sufficient space to deal with all the other important resolutions which were passed. The Educa-

tion Commission agreed upon the necessity of convening a world conference on training in world citizenship as soon as possible, made detailed suggestions upon moral disarmament and the teaching of "international civics," urged a critical examination by national societies of text-books at present in use and advocated the setting up of a temporary committee of the League and the I.L.O. to examine the practicability of an international auxiliary language.

### Education and Moral Disarmament

The most important resolutions of the I.L.O. Commission were concerned with the necessity of national societies urging upon their respective Governments the need for ratifying the Conventions arrived at by the I.L.O. and of giving wider publicity to the reports of the League on the subject of the traffic in women and children and of child welfare, of studying methods of rationalisation as affecting industry and Commerce, and of devising methods for the reduction of unemployment with all possible speed.

Congress was so seized with the importance of the World Monetary and Economic Conference that it urged a meeting in October of the appropriate Commission of the Federation to study the results arrived at by that Conference with a view to urging necessary study and action on the part of national societies.

Of the Juridical and Political questions the most important were resolutions on the Sino-Japanese conflict and on Disarmament and Security, which included the question of the manufacture and traffic in arms.

On Thursday a large body of delegates accompanied Lord Cecil to Geneva and supported him when he presented the Disarmament Resolution to Mr. Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference. The delegation then proceeded to the International Labour Conference where the resolutions concerned with the I.L.O. were presented to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Conference, and to Mr. Butler, the Director of the Office.

### Disarmament Difficulties

Mr. Henderson, referring to the regret expressed by Congress at the slow progress of the Disarmament negotiations, reminded the delegates of the difficulties and referred to the number of Governments which, in many countries, have succeeded each other since the Conference began seventeen months ago. He expressed his confidence in the ultimate success of the Conference and said that it was the force of public opinion that had kept the Conference going and had made it impossible for any Government to stand before the world and assume responsibility for its breakdown.

This brief account of some of the main features of the Conference cannot be closed without a reference to a matter which will be of particular interest to members of the British League of Nations Union. A framed and illuminated address was presented on behalf of the Executive to the International Labour Office recording the fact that it is just one hundred years since the first Factory Act was passed in Great Britain.

The Union, says the Address, uses this centenary to affirm publicly its faith "in the value and efficacy of the International Labour Organisation set up in 1919 by the Peace Treaties" as a concrete experiment in international co-operation which has already justified the faith and courage of its founders.

## The Challenge of Slavery

By

SIR JOHN HARRIS

THE year of 1933-34 is something more than a celebration year of the work of emancipating the slaves: it is a challenge to every believer in League work, because the League has undertaken to finish the uncompleted task begun more than 800 years ago. Upon British members of the League of Nations Union falls a special measure of responsibility, because throughout the last eight centuries it has always been British voices which have led the way, and the present time is no exception.

Lord Cecil has pointed out that every progressive step taken within the last 10 years has been taken under the leadership of a British subject. The first British denunciation was made in 1102 in Westminster, when in vigorous language St. Anselm forbade Christians taking any part in the buying and selling of people; but the evil practice persisted and grew. In the early part of the nineteenth century the number of slaves probably reached its highest figure and could not have been less than 10,000,000.

### A Hundred Years Ago

The two historic turning points in the struggle for emancipation were the British decision of 1833 to commence *National* abolition, and the League decision 100 years later to commence *world* abolition.

It is, of course, true that the British decision of 1833 only effected the release of 700,000 slaves, and that 20 years later the known number of slaves still held in bondage in Christian countries alone exceeded 6,597,000. But the British decision started a movement which gathered momentum throughout the nineteenth century and swept finally throughout the world leading other nations to follow the example, and was in due course the ultimate cause of the historic decision by the League.

The mere recapitulation of events leading up to the League decision is, in itself, a romance, whilst each act of emancipation would make a book of absorbing interest.

First came the British decision of 1833 to set free 700,000 slaves in 1834, then followed the emancipation of 4,000,000 in the U.S.A., then more than 1,000,000 in Brazil and Cuba in 1884-88, then the abolition of the trade in East Africa and Zanzibar.

### Enter the League

The next event was the League resolution of 1922, and immediately a series of emancipations began. The whole of the slaves in Tanganyika were set free at the close of the war. In 1926-30, 57,000 slaves were set free in Nepal, 8,000 in Burma and 215,000 in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

The emancipations which have taken place since the foundation of the League of Nations exceed 400,000 slaves. But the greater task remains. True the League is pledged to accomplish that task, but the rate at which

it will be carried out depends almost entirely upon those of us who believe in League principles.

Slavery is a very ugly thing from whatever standpoint it is viewed. It must spell at all times and in all places mass degradation and demoralisation. Its barbarous cruelties are as notorious as they are inevitable. Its claim over the souls and bodies of its victims is the foundation stone of this criminal institution—for it must never be forgotten that the real enemy to be destroyed is the claim to a property right in the person of the slave. The League of Nations early recognised this fundamental fact of Slavery—and did so officially for the first time in the 800 years' effort for Emancipation. One of the most extraordinary features in the movement is that for centuries the belief prevailed that if only Slave-Trading could be abolished, Slave-Owning would automatically disappear. The Duke of Wellington always, and at one time even Wilberforce, took this view.

### A Formidable Task

Let there be no mistake. The League of Nations is confronted with a formidable task. Our own task 100 years ago required 40 years of persistent effort and sacrifice on the part of hundreds of people in Great Britain. In many respects, the task before the League of Nations is much greater than the one before the British Parliament a century ago. The systems of slave owning are deeply rooted in the customs of the countries in which they

obtain. Some are interwoven with the economic and religious life of the communities; others are part of the social customs; others again are systems which satisfy domestic requirements. We shall be met with the same old excuses in defence of slave owning. We shall be told that Slavery is not so black as it is painted. But however much truth there may be in this contention, it is equally true that present-day Slavery gathers to itself all the infamies which have always attended man-stealing and man-selling. So long as there is a market there will be agencies for procuring the slaves.

### Some Examples

We are told that thousands of persons in China live upon the practice of buying and selling children. Different methods of supplying the market are adopted in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. The worst form is, of course, that of slave raiding. Only last November Lord Hailsham described in the House of Lords one such raid, during which villages were destroyed, many people murdered, and nearly 100 persons, including 50 children, carried away captive. Lord Allenby has told us something of the extent of these raids, for he says of certain of them:

"Rape is part of the women's share of the misery. Their children have been taken from them, their men folk mutilated, and their villages plundered by the troops of a so-called friendly State.



A Slave Gang in Africa

(Reproduced from an illustrated paper of the middle of the last century)



It is now established by evidence which no longer leaves doubt in the mind of any impartial investigator that the practice of breeding slaves for the market is adopted in certain parts of Abyssinia and Arabia.

The array of testimony as to this evil institution of Slavery is growing into a formidable indictment. Cabinet Ministers, famous generals, military officers, doctors, missionaries and travellers, traders and merchants, Governors and Consuls have all reported upon this sordid institution. There it is, resting upon suffering and affliction, claiming that its victims are its property, and following up its crime by breaking every law of the decalogue, thereby generating hatred, malice, theft, outrage, cruelty, and murder.

Slavery is a crime without one single redeeming feature, just a sordid claim for the right to satisfy appetite, or to profit by another's degradation and affliction.

An opportunity is now presented to this generation which would have gladdened the heart of William Wilberforce, and in all probability the very joy of it would have saved Fowell Buxton from his early death.

That opportunity has now been created under the

leadership of the League of Nations, and officially inscribed upon its programme is the determination to bring about "the total suppression of Slavery in all its forms" throughout the world. This agreement has secured the adherence of the United States of America, and the League now proposes to appoint seven expert persons to watch over the working out of the 1925 League Convention.

#### An Appeal to Conscience

But it is fully recognised that, important though this International Convention is in the history of Abolition, and however valuable may be the permanent Commission of experts which form this International Machinery, without an International Conscience the international machine will fail to accomplish at an early date the task before it.

Here, then, is an opportunity in which members of the League of Nations Union can help, by creating that public knowledge and that public conscience which is vital to securing the liberty of the slaves, and the abolition of the slave trade.

## AUSTRIA TO-DAY FASCISM OR—?

By C. F. MELVILLE



Dr. Dollfuss

Mr. Melville was at one time the diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" and later of the Starmer Group of Newspapers. He has made a special study of the problems of Central and South-Eastern Europe.



Dr. Benes

THERE is a popular notion in this country that Austria is a sort of glorified musical comedy, but it certainly is not so at the moment. The menace of civil war broods over the erstwhile gay city, and international intrigue treads stealthily through the baroque corridors of the chancelleries. Vienna may now be added to the ever-growing list of Europe's danger-spots.

Once upon a time, Imperial Austria, on the one hand, and Imperial Russia on the other, intrigued and counter-intrigued for the mastery of the Balkans. Now Austria herself, no longer Imperial, is the ground upon which the new imperialism of Fascist Germany and Fascist Italy are contending for the mastery.

Hitlerist Germany, in pursuit of Herr Hitler's dream of a great *Dritte Reich*, or Third German Empire, to include all the peoples of Germanic origin in Europe, is endeavouring to promote a Nazi coup in Austria (which will bring about a *de facto* Anschluss or Austro-German Union), as a preliminary to the formal incorporation of Austria in the Reich when the propitious moment presents itself. Herr Hitler waits impatiently for the moment when he can send a Nazi Commissioner to govern Austria as a "Land" of the Reich, even as he has already done in the case of Bavaria.

In the meantime, as a preliminary move, German Nazis have been infiltrated into Austria, to act as leaders of the local Austrian Nazi Party, and these operations are being organised from Munich. A certain

measure of success has attached to this manoeuvre, particularly in the Tyrol and in Styria, where the local population, discontented with their economic lot, have given heed to a considerable extent to the propaganda from over the Austro-German frontier. Already the Styrian section of the Heimwehr (the semi-Fascist organisation of another kind, which supports the Christian-Social Government of Chancellor Dollfuss, and is opposed to the *Anschluss*) has transferred its allegiance to the Nazis.

On the other side is Fascist Italy, pursuing a policy of diplomatic *combinazione*. This consists, in the main, of supporting Germany, Austria and Hungary against France and the Little Entente, at the same time trying to prevent Germany from swallowing Austria. Signor Mussolini will not permit the *Anschluss*, because that would mean a greater Germany on the Brenner, a German threat to the *Alte Adige* (one time Lower Tyrol) and the menace of a new German policy of *drang nach osten* in the direction of the Trentino and Trieste. On the other hand, he continues to obstruct the creation of a Danubian Confederation such as would create an economic interlocking between Austria, Hungary and the States of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia). So Italian diplomacy aims at keeping Austria in a state of precarious independence, under the ægis of Rome.

In the background there are a number of fantastic Italian schemes—officially disavowed at the Palazzo

Venetia, for restoration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, including a plan for the disintegration of Yugoslavia by detaching Croatia and Slovenia and Dalmatia from that country and adding the first named two provinces to the projected new Austro-Hungarian unit and incorporating the last-named province in Italy. Italy has espoused treaty revision for others, but refuses to take her own medicine. That is to say, while advocating the dismemberment of Yugoslavia in the interests of herself and her Hungarian ally, she has no intention of handing back the Germans of the Alto Adige to Germany or Austria, or the Slovenes of Istria and the Julian Alps to Yugoslavia.

#### Mussolini's Support

Signor Mussolini, of course, has gone very far in his backing of Hitlerist Germany, as the original project for the Four Power Pact, with which he dazzled Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in Rome, goes to show. He is, moreover, a personal friend of Captain Goehring, Herr Hitler's most violent lieutenant, and with whom he has constant conversations on the long-distance telephone. But the Nazis threat to Austria—culminating in the "Frank" incident—when Dr. Frank, a Nazi Minister in Bavaria, threatened Austria with invasion, and later visited Vienna along with other German Nazis notables in the teeth of the objections of the Austrian Government—which gave the Duce food for thought.

Herr Dollfuss, with the physical support of the Heimwehr, the moral support of the Vatican and the diplomatic backing of Italy, is trying to carry on the policy of the late Mgr. Seipel, whose claims at Geneva for the right of the Germans and Austrians to unite were always qualified by reservations about the preservation of Austrian traditions. Mgr. Seipel used to say: "The interests of Austria go down the Danube, not up it." And again, "The *Anschluss* is a thing constantly to demand but never to have." And now to-day, Herr Dollfuss, upon whose shoulders the mantle of Seipel has fallen, declares that Austria can render greater services to Germanism by remaining outside the German Reich; that her special mission is to act as a bridge between the peoples of the West and the East; that Austria must maintain her rôle as a "Kulturträger."

In all this, Herr Dollfuss is speaking in the time-hallowed traditions of the *Ballplatz*. The Germanism of Vienna, in his conception, as in that of his late master, Mgr. Seipel, differs from the Germanism of Berlin. M. Henri Beraud, the distinguished French writer, in a memoir on Mgr. Seipel, put this Austrian view very well in the form of question and answer about Seipel. He asked "Est-il un allemand? Non! Est-il un Germain? Oui!"

Theoretically, the Austrian Clericals are not opposed to union with the German Reich, although in actual fact they do not want it. Their official point of view

is that Austria has the right to decide what kind of Reich she would be willing to join; and upon what terms! Although the idea of joining a Hitlerist Reich is, of course, anathema to them, they prefer profoundly the idea of Austria as a "second German State," as Herr Dollfuss himself has put it. This is a conception difficult to define to the English mind.

The Little Entente States, not unnaturally, regard both the *Anschluss* idea and the Austrian "Kulturträger" idea (with Italian diplomatic schemes in the background) with a certain suspicion. On the other hand, the experiment of keeping Austria alive in her present form, by means of loans on the London and Paris markets, has proved a costly and, in the long run, a disastrous policy, both for the pockets of the international bankers and for the *morale* of Austria herself.

#### A Possible Solution

Personally, I think there is another way out—apart from these three alternatives of the *Anschluss*, the Italian scheme for restoring the Hapsburg Monarchy on a smaller scale, and the maintenance of an independent Austria by means of artificial financial respiration—and that it is to be found in the idea of a Danubian Confederation put forward by M. Benes, the Czecho-

slovak Foreign Minister, which in the course of time might prove to be the basis of that wider European federation conceived by the late M. Briand. The germs of such an idea were in the discussions which took place in the course of the abortive Danubian Conference in London—but the scheme was crushed at the time because the Germans accused the French of trying to establish a French hegemony in the Danube, the French feared a resurrection of the German scheme for a *Mittel-Europa*, and the Italians, while backing the Germans up to a point to circumvent the French,

in the long run refused to agree to any scheme other than their own, which consisted of individual arrangements between Italy and the various Danubian States. Yet something along the lines of the Benes scheme will have to be considered in connection with the World Economic Conference in London.

Competent observers are of the opinion that there will be a trial of strength between the Dollfuss Government—which is now a virtual Dictatorship—and the Austrian Nazis (supported by Hitlerist Germany). Such a trial of strength might take the form of a Nazi revolution and an ensuing civil war in which *Heimwehr* and *Sturmtruppen* would come to grips, which might in time create great international complications.

Thus, grandiose political dreams are being dreamed amidst the economic ruins, while disaster threatens. One can only hope that at the gathering of statesmen and experts in London for the World Economic Conference a real effort will be made to solve the Austrian problem in the best interests of Austria and her neighbours and of Europe generally.







M. de Michelis  
(President of the Conference)

## The International Labour Conference

By OUR SPECIAL GENEVA CORRESPONDENT

At the time of writing, the International Labour Conference has got well into its stride, though it is yet too early to foretell what will emerge in the way either of Conventions actually adopted or of programmes provisionally planned.

The close proximity of its opening, on June 8, and that of the Monetary and Economic Conference, on the 12th, had led some to expect that the International Labour Conference in 1933 would be lacking in interest and animation. That is far from being the case; the connection between the two Conferences is more than one of date, and each has gained already from the other. It was not a mere accident that President Roosevelt's "Peace Plan" alluded to the International Labour Organisation: for the first time in history the United States Government is officially represented at the Conference, and its large and distinguished delegation (which includes a representative of the American Federation of Labour) is something more than a mere observer.

The connection between the two Conferences is close. Two years ago the International Labour Conference adopted a Resolution asking the League to convene just such a Monetary and Economic Conference: the whole work of the International Labour Office, every effort to promote social progress in an age of unlimited material wealth, was held in check by the paralysis of the world's economic system. The International Labour Office was invited in due course to send representatives to the Economic Conference, and one of the first acts of the International Labour Conference this year was to adopt a Resolution to be presented by those delegates.

The Resolution strongly emphasises the urgent need for action and suggests five main objects to be aimed at. It was adopted in Geneva on June 10, and on the 13th Sir Atul Chatterjee presented it to the Economic Conference.

It is worthy of note that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's presidential address alluded to the International Labour Office and its share in the solution of the world's difficulties, and M. Daladier made a still more specific allusion to an item on the Agenda at Geneva—namely, the 40-hour week.

### Increased Interest in I.L.O.

Meanwhile no fewer than 49 States are represented at Geneva (the highest that has ever previously been represented at the International Labour Conference being 51), and of these no fewer than 35 have "complete delegations" (viz., the proper complement of employers and workers as well as of Governments). The President is M. de Michelis, the Italian Government's delegate, who for many years has played a leading rôle in the International Labour Office. He it was, indeed, who formally put forward the proposal for the study of the reduction of hours as a possible means of reducing unemployment.

At the outset the "40-hour week" rather filled the stage at Geneva. There was a general debate as to

whether a Convention should be adopted this year or whether there should be a "first discussion" with a view to a Convention next year, or whether the whole idea should be abandoned. The second solution was chosen: a Committee of the Conference will set to work to draw up a Questionnaire, upon the Governments' replies to which the decision as to whether effective action is taken in 1934 will mainly depend. The debate at Geneva was interesting, but contained little in the way of fresh arguments or data. The British Government favoured the reference of the subject to a Committee, but made it clear that it was itself in no way committed as to any future policy.

### Protests Against Delegates

There is the usual protest against the credentials of the Italian Workers' delegate, but this year the protest is understood to be brief, almost to the point of formality: it is a very different matter so far as the German Workers' delegate is concerned. There is very strong feeling amongst the Workers against Dr. Ley; they claim that a man appointed by the Government to take charge of the Trade Union Movement cannot claim to represent the Trade Unions. (An interjection in debate is said to have observed that a gaoler is not the proper person to represent the prisoners!) For his part Dr. Ley seems to have added to his own difficulties; at all events he is alleged to have given a Press interview in which he sneered at certain Latin-American countries. Of course it is not always easy for the spectator to know the rights and wrongs of these affairs. Statements appeared in the Press that the British Government had been canvassing others to adopt a relatively favourable attitude towards the German worker—and the British Government promptly denied that there was any truth in the statement.

The Workers' Group refused to appoint Dr. Ley to any committee, whereupon he appealed to the Selection (or General Purposes) Committee, which has power in such cases to add to the committees: the Italian Worker made a similar appeal but a more modest one. The appeals were granted, and though the public are not admitted to the Selection Committee it is generally understood that the Italian and German Workers were upheld by the Employers' Group, together with the German, Italian and Japanese Governments, against the united Workers' Group—the other Governments abstaining. It is difficult to understand quite why the British Employer should be so anxious to placate the present German Government and to annoy the Trade Unions, including the British.

The Conference is now going into committee to discuss the details of its heavy agenda; political tension, it is to be hoped, will be relaxed. And, finally, this brief account of the introductory stages would be incomplete without a reference to the presentation to the President of a Memorial, in which the League of Nations Union celebrated the centenary of the Factory Act of 1833 by affirming its satisfaction at the work accomplished already through the I.L.O. and its faith in its efficacy.

## ALTERING TREATIES . . .

How Article 19 might work out in practice

By MAJOR ANTHONY BUXTON, D.S.O. (Late of the League Secretariat)

ALL Governments probably have qualms about some Article of the League Covenant which they have signed. In our own case, the gills of a British delegate or official turn blue at the mere mention of the figure 16. On a Frenchman the same effect is produced by the figure 19.

Article 19 of the Covenant does not, in fact, sound to most people very alarming, for it talks only of advice concerning treaties which have become inapplicable and says nothing about what is to happen if the advice is not taken. Its actual text is as follows:—

### ARTICLE 19.

"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of International conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

Article 19 (like Article 16) has never yet been used and what will happen when the day comes for its use is therefore a matter of pure conjecture. But though it has never been used, it has once been officially invoked.

### China and Treaty Revision

In 1929 China asked the Assembly to set up a Committee to examine the means of giving effect to this Article, since she complained that certain treaties between her and other states were inconsistent with present conditions. The Assembly (unfortunately, perhaps) fought shy of the whole business on that occasion and suggested that China's request had not been drawn up in appropriate terms. So Article 19 was pigeon-holed for the time being.

Recent events in Europe, and in particular Signor Mussolini's proposal of the Four Power Pact have again brought Treaty revision into the foreground, even though its prominence has been deleted from the final version of the Pact.

Nevertheless, quite apart from the Four Power Pact and from Article 19, there have already been some revisions of the Treaty of Versailles and it is difficult to conceive a Treaty that will stand good for all time, without revision to meet developments in a changing world. Article 19 will, it is hoped, ensure that in the future Treaty revisions shall be made peacefully and with good results.

### An Analogy

A horse dealer at Cambridge who let out hirelings to undergraduates used to describe every horse as follows: "A rare old sort, sir—jumps and gallops on." It was not often a true description of a Cambridge hireling's performances, nor is it likely to be a true description of the Geneva Assembly's method of negotiating the revision ditch. A stretched-out neck, a terrific snort, a tremble on the brink, a laborious heave and thank Heavens we are over, with only one leg in the ditch, will probably be nearer the mark. Neither the Assembly nor any large international body is in the least likely to do anything rash or hasty in the matter of revision.

If and when the Assembly is called upon to give its advice about a Treaty, it is safe to predict that it will scratch its head for a long time before it says anything at all, and that what it does eventually say will be extremely cautious and as non-committal as possible. No doubt it will ask somebody else, probably a commission, to study the particular treaty and advise what revision, if any, is required, and quite rightly, for a Commission of strong individuals free from Government influence are more likely to give sound advice than anyone else; moreover, Government delegates at the Assembly, even the delegates of the countries particularly interested, may find it difficult to ignore that advice, when it has been made public, and been allowed to sink in.

### Possible Working

It is devoutly to be hoped that Article 19 will first be tested on a case that has not reached the acute stage, best of all on a case in which both countries concerned agree on the need of some revision, but not on its extent and nature. Such hopes are seldom realised in international politics and the first test is much more likely to come on some case which has already raised national feelings to fever pitch, and where one country demands immediate and violent change, while the other refuses to budge an inch. It may be that one of the countries, probably the one that does not want revision, will use its "friendly right" on the familiar ground of Article 11 in the hope of getting the question diverted from what it feels are the unknown dangers of Article 19.

When the formal demand is made there is sure to be a lot of fluttering in the dovecotes, whispers of unknown dangers and long strings of legal arguments to prove that Article 19 was not the one that was meant.

Even now there are signs that the horror of the thing is not so great as it was a few years ago. It is not considered quite so improper to talk about it in 1933 as it was in 1923, and one day the countries which now feel the greatest reluctance to mention it may find that it is just as useful a safety valve for them as for anyone else. No one, least of all the supporters of the League, should blame them for insisting that any treaty revision must be done by the methods laid down in the Covenant and not by Big Fours, Fives, or Big Anythings.

### The Importance of Personality

Success or failure, when the test comes, will depend mainly on the personalities of the delegates of the countries concerned in the case, and on the personalities of the Rapporteur or Commission who are asked to do the spadework. League decisions in the past have depended to an alarming extent on the main figures engaged; so I suppose it will always be, with treaty revision or with anything else.

At the moment, with the Disarmament Conference unfinished and the Economic Conference just beginning, statesmen's hands seem too full to grapple with revision of Treaties, but one day it may well become as normal and familiar a part of the League's work as traffic in opium or cases of aggression.



## THE RECOVERY

THE world's Grand Assize has opened, after a year of delays.

In his opening speech His Majesty the King paid a notable tribute to the League's ideals and work, in the course of which he pointed to the growing realisation of the interdependence of nations and called upon the delegates "to harness this new consciousness of common interests to the service of mankind."

Among the representatives of the sixty-six nations at South Kensington there are ten Prime Ministers, twenty-one Foreign Ministers, and sixteen Ministers of Finance. Surely out of their collective wisdom will come some hopeful response.

The interest of the Conference proceedings was in partial eclipse while the question of the June payment to the United States was outstanding. The delegates watched intently the approach to Mr. MacDonald's "awkward hurdle," and were relieved when it was cleared successfully, if somewhat breathlessly.

The general debate lasted for three days, during which the representatives of thirty-three countries expressed their different points of view. General Smuts, who is one of the three delegates who were also at the Peace Conference, made an early and effective intervention. Recalling his courageous repudiation of the spirit of the Peace Treaties, he said:

Once more I am filled with fear for the future. I am filled with fear for the future if this Conference fails . . . a fear for the future of our European system and of civilisation itself. . . . If we meet, not for action, but for leisurely debate, if there is much more delay at this Conference, nobody knows what the irresistible march of events may not produce.

### The British Policy

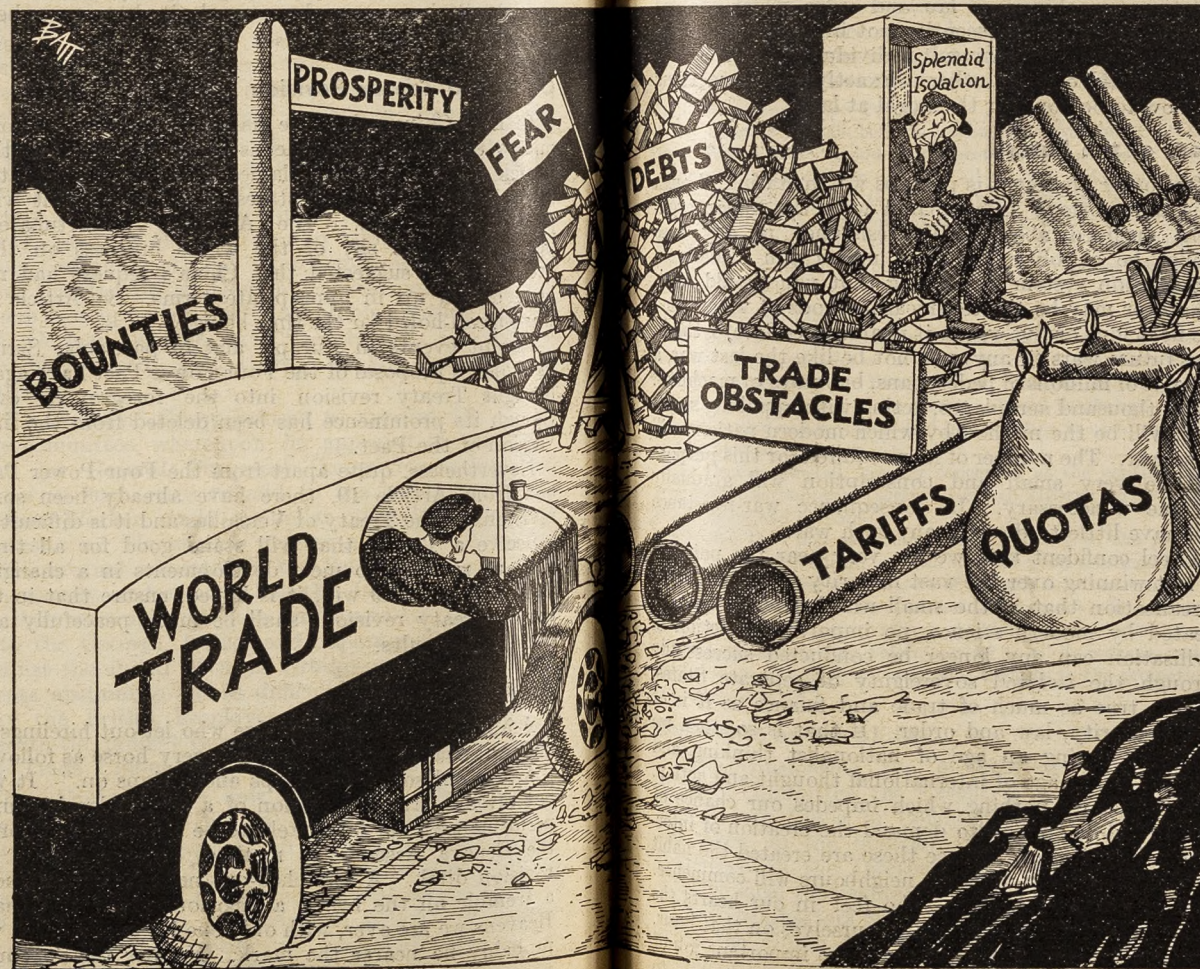
Mr. Chamberlain stated British policy on the third day. His speech was certainly the most businesslike and constructive of the debate. He emphasised that, although war debts were not included in the formal agenda of the Conference, a final settlement was essential before any other measures which might be adopted could be effective, and suggested certain reforms.

These included the abrogation of exchange controls, the resumption of international lending, the co-ordination of production and marketing, the removal of prohibitions and the reduction of excessive tariffs. He made it clear that the British Government, while accepting the restoration of an international gold standard as the ultimate goal, must continue to insist upon conditions. The Chancellor subscribed, however, to the opinion, which may be said already to have gained general acceptance in the Conference, that a solution of the problem of fluctuating exchanges must be sought first in an experimental stabilisation of the dollar, the pound and the franc. If the United States, Great Britain and France could reach agreement upon an arrangement of this kind and succeed in working it over a period, other currencies could be gradually "hooked on," and stabilisation *de facto* could be made *de jure* at the proper time in each case by linking up with gold at a parity justified by experience. While the Chancellor was speaking at South Kensington, the practical and technical aspects of temporary stabilisation were being examined by officials of the Treasuries and central banks of the three countries in Threadneedle Street, and it may be that before this issue of HEADWAY is in the hands of its readers

the terms of a triangular understanding on currency will have been announced. If so, it will assist the Conference greatly.

### Tariffs

On the important subject of tariff policy, Mr. Chamberlain spoke in favour of a cessation of increases and a reduction of excessive tariffs. In elucidation of the distinction between excessive tariffs and tariffs which are not excessive, he proclaimed the doctrine, ratified at Ottawa, that "the protective element in any Customs tariff should not exceed what is necessary to place the efficient domestic producers in a position to compete with producers abroad." This not very precise definition could be shown to imply the cancellation of the whole benefit of the exchange of goods and services between peoples, but in the present state of the world it may be welcomed just so long as it is used to reduce tariffs. Mr. Chamberlain indicated that the British Government believes that reduction can be achieved best by means of bilateral negotiations, though it does not exclude other means. Perhaps the point in this part of the Chancellor's speech, which will cause most disappointment to those who hope that the Conference will inaugurate a downward movement in tariffs, was his statement that the British Government



CLEAR ROAD!

## CONFERENCE OPENS

would find it difficult to agree to any formula allowing derogations from most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of regional or group agreements (falling short of full Customs unions) except those based on historical associations such as are already generally recognised.

This runs counter to the recent development of expert opinion, as expressed through the Economic Committee of the League and the International Chamber of Commerce. Finally, Mr. Chamberlain pronounced in favour of the regulation of supplies, and condemned subsidies, particularly in regard to shipping.

### The American Angle

Mr. Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State, devoted most of his speech to an attack upon the fiscal theories against which he has fought long and valiantly at home; though, when he came to practical reforms, his ideas differed very little from Mr. Chamberlain's on the characteristics of a "reasonable" tariff. It is significant, however, of the problem which the constitution of the United States sets the world, that the Conference feels the necessity of looking elsewhere for final guidance on American policy. The sincerity of America's accredited representative and his determination to help towards a reduction of tariffs, are beyond question, but the delegates must take account

of the tariff-raising powers bestowed on the President by Congress. Mr. Hull promised that the American delegation would put forward concrete suggestions on all the main items of the agenda.

The opinion expressed by the British, and supported by the United States, Canada and others, that action by the central banks to raise prices is necessary, was vigorously opposed by Italy and Poland; and although M. Daladier refrained from an explicit declaration, it is clear that France views this proposal without enthusiasm and even with misgiving. These countries mistrust what they describe as "artificial measures."

Three other incidents call for mention: the German Foreign Minister proclaiming with magnificent sangfroid that "the German Government can justly claim to have made its full contribution to the re-establishment of confidence"; M. Litvinoff quietly offering, on behalf of Soviet Russia, to relieve the rest of the world of its embarrassing surplus stocks—on suitable credit terms; and the Chinese Finance Minister, Mr. T. V. Soong, reminding the Conference that, if the standard of living in China were raised as his Government desired, his country would provide the greatest of all markets for the world—"so great as to be a decisive factor in a new era of prosperity"—and pointedly repudiating the economic and all other implications of the so-called "Monroe doctrine for Asia."

### Getting to Work

As HEADWAY goes to press, the Conference has resolved itself into two Commissions. The Monetary and Financial Commission has already set up committees, one to deal with credit policy, price levels, limitation of currency fluctuations, exchange controls, problems of indebtedness and the resumption of lending; and another to consider the functions of central banks, monetary reserves and silver. The Economic Commission has drawn up a programme of work under four heads:

Commercial policy, including tariffs and the interpretation of most-favoured-nation treatment.

Obstructions other than tariffs to international trade.

The co-ordination of production and marketing (wheat, raw materials, cartels, etc.).

Public works.

The general impression at the close of the first week is considerably more favourable than at the opening of the Conference. But the fundamental issue, which the nations must face and determine before this meeting ends, is still in suspense. Will they co-operate in advancing prosperity on the basis of a world economy? Or will they go the way of isolation? The implications of the choice in terms of welfare are not really in dispute; economic nationalism means relative impoverishment.

But for many nations "antarchy" is feasible, and important sections of public opinion, distrustful of other peoples and afraid, may be prepared to pay the price. The urge for self-sufficiency which has sent Japan into Manchuria, which has inspired German chemists in their feverish search for substitutes for Germany's imports, which is threatening to compel Mr. Roosevelt to revolutionise that "American system" which to Mr. Hoover seemed perfect and eternal—that urge cannot be subdued by arguments of economic expediency.

J. BRUCE BULLOCK.



# War-Resistance in the Strategy of Peace

By Lord Allen of Hurtwood

*This article discusses Lord Allen's personal views, not as to whether pacifists ought to be war-resisters, but whether war-resistance can be a political method for preventing war and achieving world peace.*

LET me start by saying that I have been, and should again be, a war-resister. Then let me go on to express my certain belief that war-resisters will increase in numbers, and that this is all to the good.

The reason for that increase will be found not only in the new spiritual and intellectual awakening of the twentieth century, it will be due to the new state of law created by the Covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris. Individual citizens are now under an obligation to international as well as national law. You cannot, for instance, say that an individual Japanese war-resister is any longer acting unconstitutionally (as were British C.O.'s in 1916) when he refuses to be conscripted to fight in Manchuria in a war which has been constitutionally condemned by world authority. This is a new and important development.

## The Personal Element

None the less my submission is that personal war-resistance *cannot* be a political method. That would only be possible on the assumption that the resisters numbered so many hundreds of thousands that by the sheer weight of numbers they could directly influence a government contemplating war. Speaking from exceedingly intimate experience, this could only become possible as the result of a prolonged and vigorous campaign in peace time to recruit men who would refuse to fight.

Supposing, however, it were argued that you could thus enrol large numbers by a vigorous recruiting campaign, I should even then venture the opinion that the method of recruiting ought not to be used for such a purpose. Recruiting men by appeals to join in a war—for the purpose of killing other men—is spiritually evil. It is a monstrous and dangerous interference with the rights of the human spirit to try to persuade a man to pledge himself so that he *must* thereafter kill. So grave is the responsibility of settling a dispute by killing and being killed that a decision to take part in it must arise spontaneously from personal conviction. Similarly, it is an evil to carry on a campaign to recruit men *not* to kill when that decision will probably involve facing grave consequences which may even result in martyrdom.

This view means, and has always meant to me, that war-resistance must be the spontaneous expression of an individual sense of what seems personally right and wrong; it must emerge, without a recruiting stimulus, naturally from the deepest convictions of the human heart. If it is aroused in any other way it is unlikely that it will withstand a serious test. Failure is not only disastrous politically but involves a tragic humiliation for the individual.

## Educate Public Opinion

I am not arguing against some machinery for registering the names of those who spontaneously take this line. But the important point is that, having done so, we should then get on with our real task, which is to educate public opinion in favour of practical internationalism. This means the creation of a machinery for world government and world economic co-ordination.

Creating that machinery of world government is, in my opinion, the only means by which war will ever be brought to an end. You will no more stop war by individuals ceasing to take part in it than did Victorian Puritans stop horse-racing by trying to persuade individuals not to go to horse-races.

One of the dangers of exalting individual war-resistance into a political method is that advocates of the idea tend to consider it as an alternative to the League of Nations. They become defeatist in their attitude to the League. This has been made clear in recent controversy on the subject. The emotions that accompany war-resistance make other people, in their present state of intellectual growth, the victims of fear lest their country should be invaded and insufficient means of defence be available. The public may be wrong in taking that view, but there it is. Fear exists, and it is fear which has to be removed. It will not be removed by making thoughtless or only half-converted people still more afraid. Fear will only be removed by a propaganda which enables people to see that the creation of a machinery of security in the world will make fear unnecessary.

We did not stop citizens carrying swords to protect themselves within our country by telling them it was silly or wicked to do so. We stopped them by creating a national machinery of law and order, which enabled the individual to find security not in private force but in public force. As a result individual citizens are no longer afraid of each other. Exactly the same thing has now to be done for the world at large.

## Wars of the Future

One other argument is perhaps worth stating, though it is unimportant as compared with the major argument outlined above. War-resistance in any case cannot be a political method unless you visualise a conscription system demanding that you should fight. Whatever may be the technical methods of war during the next four or five years, it is almost certain, I think, that future wars (if any) will not be like the last war, a struggle of millions of pedestrians, but a war of machines. A few thousand aeroplanes, acting with appalling swiftness, will be the method by which modern nations will go to war. The number of men required for this purpose will be very small and conscription will gradually become unnecessary. In consequence war-resistance will have little to do with any such war.

I feel confident that we are very near the point of at last winning over the vast majority of the public to a realisation that in the small world, which has been created by modern science, no important function in civilisation can any longer be conducted successfully through the isolated sovereignty of separate States. This is true as much of trade and finance as it is of world security, law and order. If that is so, then we are now leaving an age of nationalist thinking and entering a new age of international thought and action.

We must do nothing which impedes our chance of getting public opinion to demand the creation of international institutions. Once these are created the habit of living peaceably with our neighbours will commence. Therefore let those of us, who feel in our hearts the wickedness of killing men, enrol ourselves on that basis, but then let us get on with the more important job of helping the various organisations whose task it is to win public opinion for internationalism.

# IN THE EXECUTIVE

AN account of the Montreux Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies appears elsewhere in this issue. The deep consideration which the Union's Executive Committee had given to the agenda paper and the problems arising out of it was justified, for the Congress paid a great deal of attention to the British point of view. More than that, in many of the Commissions it was the guidance received from the British delegation that enabled the Congress to reach definite conclusions and adopt a settled line of policy.

## Questions of International Policy

On June 8 the resolutions of the Montreux Conference on moral and material disarmament were presented by a deputation headed by Lord Cecil to Mr. Henderson and Sir Eric Drummond. The main disarmament resolution reaffirmed what is now known as the "Budapest Policy," and added a special section on the national regulation and international supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms. The main principle of this is that Governments should be directly responsible for the quantity of arms manufactured, stocked, sold, or imported, and that these should be all restricted by the direct and budgetary limitations fixed in the General Disarmament Treaty.

The Executive's policy on the various resolutions contained in the Agenda of the General Council of the Union at Edinburgh has been fixed. At its last meeting before the actual sessions of the Council the Executive decided to table emergency resolutions on bombing from the air, international supervision of national armaments, and the situation in Germany.

The texts of these resolutions are as follows:—

### (a) Bombing for Police Purposes.

The General Council, believing that any satisfactory Disarmament Treaty must include an unconditional provision for the abolition within a definite period of all military and naval air forces and the complete prohibition of bombing from the air,

Trusts that H.M. Government will now abandon the reservation at present contained in Article 34 of the Draft Convention concerning the retention of bombing aircraft for police purposes in outlying districts.

### (b) International Supervision.

The General Council considers it indispensable that, in order to increase public confidence in the efficacy of the Disarmament Treaty, the Permanent Disarmament Commission, which is to supervise the execution of the Treaty, should be charged with the duty of regular and untrammelled investigation in each country.

### (c) Situation in Germany.

The General Council, gravely concerned at the continuance of oppressive discrimination against German citizens on grounds of race, religion and opinion;

Believing that this discrimination is contrary to the principles of the League of Nations, is disturbing the good relations between peoples, and is therefore a matter of international concern;

Earnestly hopes that the German Government will before long give the world decisive evidence of their peaceful intentions, by restoring equal treatment before the law to all its citizens, and not least to those who have devoted their energies to the promotion of international peace.

## Conference on the I.L.O.

When considering the minutes of its Industrial Advisory Committee, the Executive noted with interest that Rotary Clubs in Colchester, Leeds and Bristol had taken up the question of the organisation of a Conference on the International Labour Organisation with the local representative of the Union.

The Headquarters of Rotary International have now asked the Union to prepare a memorandum giving details of the organisation of such conferences. In the light of the experience of such places as Nottingham and of the London Regional Federation, who, by the

way, are organising such an affair at the London School of Economics on July 8, it should be of real value when completed.

This is an activity which is not nearly developed enough. Few people know a great deal about the I.L.O., and on account of its wide "human interest" it deserves a bigger place on Union programmes than it has had hitherto.

## Branch Business

The Branches Committee, whose report has now been adopted by the Executive, recently gave its attention to what the individual member could do to help the Union. Accordingly a leaflet has been prepared, entitled: *What YOU can do for the Union and so for Peace*. Copies of this are available for distribution to anyone who can make good use of it.

# Film Notes

## Lamprooning the League

Ever since the release of "After the Ball," a film which purported to deal with life in Geneva and the environment of the League, the Union has received a steady stream of letters protesting against the picture's travesty of the League, it being about as representative of the truth as the average Hollywood production is representative of British home life.

A new film on somewhat similar lines is shortly to be released under the title of "The Diplomaniacs." It, too, will be productive of comment. Supporters of the League will resent the implied libel; others will eagerly welcome the film as an addition to the objections to the League which they have already been able laboriously to evolve.

In "The Diplomaniacs" Hollywood has taken advantage of the worldwide interest which attaches to the League and has utilised it as a peg on which to hang what Hollywood hopes will prove the scope for cheap laughs at the antics of two knockabout comedians. That no attempt has been made to deal with the League of Nations properly is evinced by the fact that the "plot" is woven round the despatch of the comedians to represent a *tribe of Red Indians* at the Geneva Peace Conference!

The scenes at the Geneva Assembly are staged in a room that is more like a cross between a small town hall and an auction sale-room than the real thing, Geneva being described as "the city where the nations of the world are fighting for peace." A typical sample of the "humour" is afforded by the hope expressed by one of the comedians, when reference is made to the lion lying with the lamb, that no scandal will result therefrom.

Strangely enough, the only bit of reality in the entire picture is the selection for the villains' roles of a gang of armament manufacturers who obstruct the peace-work throughout because they resent the probability that a successful Conference will ruin their chances of selling their new explosive bullets!

We suggest to our readers, however, that all right-thinking people should resist this tendency to ridicule cheaply what is the most important movement in the whole world to-day. The best way is to stay away in such large numbers that Hollywood's undeniable business acumen will quickly respond to the lack of box-office takings.

Those who take our advice in this regard will also have the satisfaction of knowing that their gesture is accompanied by an economy in regard to the money they might otherwise have spent in seeking admission to a very feeble entertainment.

C. C. T.



## TELLING THE WORLD

By  
C. H. Edwards  
and  
F. E. Pearson  
of  
The Northants Federal  
Council



One of the prize cars entered in the Northampton Hospital Parade by the Northants Federal Council

THE Union is often accused of not parading its wares and shouting loudly enough. Still, the Union has its chance by entering a tableau in the local hospital parade—and a tableau does three very useful things.

It displays the Union's message before vaster crowds than are ever seen at meetings.

It gives publicity to the local branch.

It gives people a job. Action begets interest; interest begets enthusiasm, and in turn enthusiasm begets activity.

In Northampton, therefore, we have entered a series of tableaux in the last two annual Hospital Parades.

From experience we have learnt that it is essential to make the tableaux instructive and thought-provoking, not a vague or general representation of Peace. It is useless to show a maiden in white with olive leaves and a dove, or children dressed in national costume representing the 57 nations in the League. That changes the outlook of not a single person nor would anyone be one wit wiser or saner about the League afterwards.

Everyone wants peace, and is all for it, but the bulk of the population still clings to the beliefs that you can't change human nature (for all Sir Norman Angell's lucid arguments!); that nations can still be economically or politically independent; that national patriotism is the widest loyalty; that the League, being merely idealism, will never work; that it costs a lot.

#### Some Bright Ideas

When those ideas are shattered, the Union's task will be largely done. Therefore, our tableaux were planned to demonstrate the truth about these. For example, on one lorry we staged a high wall representing Trade Barriers, dividing on one side people with trousers, boots, etc., but no coats, yet surrounded with nether garments; and on the other side a few people with coats, hats, etc., but no trousers, yet amply stocked with coats.

Another showed a figure representing the League on a central dais, from whom ran streamers to a tiny girl at each of the four corners of the lorry, representing emissaries of Peace, who each had their hands raised in the act of parting two combatants representing the

four pairs of countries between whom the League has stopped war. This won first prize and a silver cup.

On another lorry we had a push-ball to represent the cost of British armaments, with the British contribution to the League represented by something between the size of a golf and hockey ball, the push-ball measuring 6 ft. 6 ins.

Nor did we forget the Humanitarian work; Health; Opium; the I.L.O., and so forth.

#### Grasped in a Glance

The message has to be perfectly simple and obvious for people have about 15 seconds in which to comprehend the idea. In addition to having to be grasped in a flash, it must also be striking—there are tableaux in front and behind and all but the striking and original are promptly forgotten. Humour, which should never be omitted, helps to rivet attention.

We have tried in addition to drive home the points of our tableaux with a little skilful wording in the advertisement space of the programmes—opposite the page containing our entries.

It was only possible to stage all these tableaux (six last year and twelve this\*) by obtaining the co-operation of several other societies such as Y.M.C.A., Boys' Brigade, Christian Endeavour, etc., who were anxious to enter in the parade and were only too ready to make themselves responsible for the various suggestions we allotted to them. Apart from Hospital Parades, a special League of Nations Procession, consisting of a dozen or more tableaux, could parade the town, working its way round to a public park in which a speaker thus provided with an audience of worth-while dimensions, could explain the tableaux more fully and use them as a text, the 57 children in national costume being retained to brighten the display.

This admittedly means much work, but nothing worth while has ever been achieved without effort. The Union must cease to rely on meetings (many insufferably dull) and strike out in new and arresting ventures and reach the unthinking masses if we are to break down the obstacle of a doubting public opinion and win through to the glories of a new age.

\* A full memorandum, on this subject with description of each tableau can be obtained by sending a stamped addressed foolscap envelope to:—L.N.U., Barclay's Bank Chambers, Northampton.

## The Writer's World

No. 23

July, 1933

For New Writers

## Free Lessons for New Writers

An Interesting Offer to Readers

Readers who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school. Applications should be addressed to the Regent Institute (Dept. 219H), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8. The great demand for literary work at the present day is indicated by a professional author and journalist in the following interesting article:—

In these days it does not seem possible that there is interesting and remunerative work to be had for the asking. Yet in all seriousness I say it is so. There are editors in London who find it very difficult to get the right stuff to print.

Why is it that with the great demand there is for contributions the rejection slip is an all too common reward for effort? Because, just as a person who has an aptitude for music cannot play an instrument without learning the technique of the art, so a person cannot hope to write saleable MSS. until he or she is conversant with the essential knowledge that turns the amateur into an expert.

The history of the Regent Institute is a record of unbroken success, due primarily to the fact that the instructional staff, composed as it is of well-known authors and journalists, take such a kindly and sympathetic interest in each student. The Course is extremely fascinating and the exercises—practical ones designed to produce saleable MSS. at the outset—are adapted to meet each person's special need. As a mental tonic it is wonderful; as a means of increasing income it has amply proved its worth.

If you are one of those with the urge to write you cannot do better than communicate with the Principal explaining your case, and he will consider you, not necessarily as a prospective student, but as a potential writer. If you're not, he'll tell you so. There is no obligation in either case.

## "I Now Sell Everything I Write"

Thousands of Success Reports from Regent Students

### REMARKABLE RESULTS

FEW posttags are more interesting than that of the Regent Institute. Letters are being received almost every day from students in all parts of the world reporting their success in getting articles and stories accepted by leading newspapers and magazines.

Practically all these students had no experience of writing for publication before they enrolled for a course of literary training, yet after a few postal lessons under the guidance of the successful authors and journalists who comprise the instructional staff of the Institute they have been enabled to dispose of their work at good prices. Following are extracts from a few out of the thousands of success reports on file:—

"Two North Country papers are in the habit of taking all the work I can manage to produce for them. At present I can place everything I write."

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"My accepted MSS. now number 471."

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#### Swift Success

"Having finished what has been to me an enjoyable and extremely interesting Course, I take this opportunity of thanking you for your helpful criticism, and for the kind interest you have shown in my progress. I am pleased to be able to tell you that I have more than recouped myself during the Course. My second lesson attracted an editor's attention, and I had no difficulty in selling him my third and subsequent articles."

#### £40 Earned

"I have had further acceptances and the amount earned by me to date is £40"

Needless to say I am very pleased as I have only done seven lessons of the Journalism Course so far."

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"Since taking your Course I have had well over a hundred acceptances."

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Not only have students sold thousands of articles and stories to the Press and had many books published, but they have also won innumerable competitions, including a prize of £250. Some pupils have gained editorial appointments; one was made dramatic critic of a leading provincial daily newspaper while taking the Course.

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## READERS' VIEWS

### POLICE BOMBING

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Before any definite and irrevocable decision is made at Geneva, it is absolutely necessary that both sides of the question should be considered with the greatest care. What is to be gained and what lost by our Government's present attitude that bombing, for what are described as "police" purposes must be retained?

First the fact must be faced that any exception to total prohibition will destroy the principle, and Europe must be prepared for the worst that aerial bombardment can do to her. What sacrifices, then, should we have to make to ensure the safety of this island and the rest of Europe from the fate that may otherwise overtake it? Our Government has stated that aerial bombardment is essential for our responsibilities in keeping order in the wilder districts of our Empire, but so far have failed to prove that it is more than highly convenient.

Let us examine their case in detail. We are told that the prestige of aircraft is almost unlimited. Perfectly true. That it is far more economical. True. Several times as efficacious as the use of ground troops. True. And lastly that the bombing of villages is not, as many think, more inhumane than the use of ordinary military forces. To this, from personal experience, I also subscribe. It does appear, then, at first sight that we are asked to make no small sacrifice at the Disarmament Conference.

There remain, however, certain modifications and objections to bombing which have not, up to the present, been answered.

In the first place, a prohibition of bombing does not mean that we shall be debarred from air operations. There still remains the direct attack upon rebels by machine gun fire which is the only type of air warfare which could possibly deserve the description of "police" work. Bombing villages, however effective it may be in reducing the morale of the inhabitants of a particular area, cannot be fairly described as "police" work because it cannot pretend to separate the guilty from the innocent. One might as well suggest that certain disreputable areas in London should be obliterated because a high percentage of dangerous characters are believed to be concentrated in them.

Further, by bombing villages one tends to drive the inhabitants to join the rebels; the men must exist, and if you destroy their peaceful occupations they must live by the rifle!

Finally, the chief criticism against air operations in their present form is that they are too efficacious, too powerful and too convenient when used against people for whose civil life we are responsible and, as such, are a considerable temptation to revert to extreme militarism. Before aeroplanes were used, a political officer was loth to call in military assistance unless forced to do so because ground operations dislocated his normal administrative work for considerable periods, and incidentally took from him a great deal of his power and position. Every effort was made therefore to settle discontent by normal and peaceful means.

To-day this is changed. Air operations, besides being quick and successful, do not interfere to any extent with the life and work of the civil official in charge.

Taking the whole position, it must be admitted that the bombing of native villages, though sometimes convenient, has much to be said against it, and taking into consideration the fact that effective air operations can be undertaken without this particular weapon it can only be hoped that the gain to Europe of its total abolition will be considered well worth the moderate sacrifice entailed.

—Yours, etc.,  
 PHILIP S. MUMFORD.  
 Kelvedon,  
 June 6, 1933.

### PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I do not think that the difference in point of view between me and Mr. David Crawford is so great as he apparently supposes. The only point on which we

differ fundamentally seems to be as to the use of "Sanctions" at all.

Mr. Crawford seems to think that nothing can be done until law and order are established by moral suasion. My belief is that some form of "sanctions" will be needed to supply the place of the police within the State.

Meanwhile, my main contention remains untouched, viz., that "sanctions," if applied at all, must only be used for keeping the peace, that the right time to use them is when the peace is broken, and that they have nothing whatever to do with the merits of the case in dispute, which must be decided afterwards by any of the methods suggested by the Covenant.—Yours faithfully,  
 Buckhurst Hill  
 HENRY CAPPER.

### COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—There is one sentence in the League of Nations Union Year Book which is very disturbing, i.e., "The number of membership subscriptions actually paid during the year was 388,255, as against 406,868 in 1931." That is bad, and something really should be done about it. It isn't any good blaming anybody, and certainly not the secretaries, who are often whole-time workers and have no time for collecting subscriptions.

If some branches can collect their subscriptions, why cannot others, though I agree that it is certainly much more difficult in some places than it is elsewhere. It needs the assistance of volunteers, and to get those volunteers to collect subscriptions needs time, patience, tact and courtesy, and must be asked personally.

The best plan is to start with a few collectors and with their help gradually increase the number. Make it as easy for them as possible. Let them choose for themselves any names, addresses, roads or streets they will collect from. Some people will collect as many as eight a month, others a couple a month. Some will do it for a short time and then give up. Others will find it easier than they thought and undertake a few more. It must be organised in the way most convenient and easy for the collectors, not forgetting a few words of appreciation, encouragement and thanks from time to time.

Anyhow, whatever we do or however we do it, do let us make up our minds to collect more subscriptions during the coming year.—Yours, etc.,  
 St. Albans Branch.  
 J. D. ALLEN.

### THE TERRITORIAL REVIEW

The Royal Review of London's Territorial Defence Forces which was held in Hyde Park on Saturday, June 24, should serve a useful purpose by the definite way in which it displayed the utterly inadequate resistance at our disposal in the event of some nation deciding to attack London.

Apart from and in addition to all considerations of right or wrong, our economic position and our international obligations render unthinkable any tendency to attempt to increase our defences to an extent which might make them valid, even if we, as a nation, were in possession of precise knowledge of the attacking forces which might be brought against us.

The Royal Review should be recognised, therefore, not as a boast of our defences, but as an illustration of the fact that International Disarmament constitutes the one and only hope of achieving security.

The interests and aims of the League, the Union and the Services are closely interlocked, and that the policy for which they stand should be a united policy and generally acceptable to all is made amply clear in the Union pamphlet entitled "The League of Nations, the League of Nations Union, and the Services."

### NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

Appendix to the Final Agenda of the Edinburgh Meetings of the General Council. No. 0983. 3d.

This appendix contains the reports of the Sub-Committees on the Private Manufacture of Arms, Aerial Disarmament and a League Air Force, and Collective Defence Against Aggression. All of these are important subjects and the papers contained in this pamphlet deserve to be widely studied by all.

German-Polish Relations.—On application to the Head Office of the Union copies can be had of a Report on German-Polish Relations drawn up by a special committee. Dealing as it does with the Polish Corridor, it is extremely topical. Of special interest are the conclusions which the Committee has been able to draw as a result of a study of the complete facts of the case presented in the first part of the Report.

Forty League of Nations Unions. No. 0984. Free.

Another two-page leaflet designed to call attention to the existence of the stamps sold in aid of the funds of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

What You Can Do for the Union and So for Peace. No. 345. Free.

A two-page leaflet containing suggestions for what the individual member of the Union can do to help the cause.

### OFFICIAL LEAGUE AND I.L.O. PUBLICATIONS

#### MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE, 1933.

Draft Annotated Agenda, submitted by the Preparatory Commission of Experts. (Ser. L.o.N. P.1933.II.Spec.1). 40 pages. 1s. net.

Journal of the Conference. Subscription rate (for 30 numbers), 7s. 6d., post free. Single number, 3d. net.

Containing (a) Minutes of plenary meetings and of meetings of the main Commissions; (b) Summaries of discussions of important Sub-Committees; (c) Important proposals, declarations, etc.; (d) Any other useful information as regards hours of meetings, agenda, etc. The Journal is issued each morning. Copies will be delivered to subscribers at their private addresses, where possible, or sent by post.

Official Guide. About 40 pages. 1s. net.

The Monetary and Economic Conference (London, 1933). (Publication prepared by the Information Section.) 97 pages. 1s. net. An account of the preparatory work for the Conference and an outline of the previous activities of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations.

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1932-33. (7th Edition. Just out.) 292 pages, 7 inset maps. In wrappers, 7s. 6d. net; bound in cloth, 10s. net.

The "Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations" is the most complete and authoritative compilation of internationally comparable official statistics for all countries of the world.

In most cases these statistics have been brought up to the end of 1932 or the beginning of 1933 and have been reduced to a common denominator of measure or value, which adds greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

Review of World Trade, 1932. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1933.II.A.10). 64 pages. 2s. net.

This volume deals principally with the adverse effect of trade restrictions (increased tariffs, quotas, import prohibitions, clearing agreements, etc.) and currency depreciation upon international trade.

Report on the Reduction of Hours of Work. 5s.

This is the "blue-grey" report which formed the basis of the recent discussions at the International Labour Conference.

Constitution and Rules. (1933 Edition.) 1s. 3d.

The official French and English texts not only of the various relevant sections of the Treaty of Versailles but also of the Standing Orders of the Conference and of the Governing Body, together with a list of the members of the Organisation and of the Governing Body. A most useful document for those who wish to know the details of procedure and powers of the I.L.O.

The International Labour Organisation and the Protection of Children and Young Persons. 6d.

A pamphlet which shows the relations between the I.L.O. and the Child Welfare Section of the League proper and recounts the efforts made on those aspects of the subject which are of especial interest to the Organisation.

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The Bible is still the Book of Books, and you are asked to support the British and Foreign Bible Society in its work of spreading abroad the Word of God.

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 DAIRY MILK CHOCOLATE



## BOOK NOTICES

**Problems of the Nations.** By R. B. Mowat. (Arrow-smith. 3s. 6d.)

"Intelligent members of the public, wearied for ever of maintaining a rearguard action against the forces of ignorance, passion and prejudice," will be grateful to Professor Mowat for this book. In some chapters the author analyses the causes of present-day tendencies—Tariffism, Reparations and War Debts, Disarmament—and in other chapters he treats more particularly of Germany, Russia, Italy and the U.S.A. It is all done in a very sympathetic and properly proportioned manner.

There are many pithy phrases—too many to cull more than a fraction in a short notice like this; but here are a few that particularly struck the reviewer: "Like religious intolerance, tariffism is seldom discussed by its upholders; it is only asserted" (p. 29.) "Moloch" (in reference to the effect of the war on Protectionism) "consumes more rapidly than its victims can produce" (p. 34). Germany's long service army "is merely an instance of the absurd mistakes and misapprehensions of the future which General Staffs continually make" (p. 138). And a final challenge: "The League depends on the youth of the world, and these so far have not supported it as they should" (p. 166).

We could have wished that Professor Mowat had made more of the difficulties of narrow-mindedness, particularly in America, lest the not-too-well informed reader believe that they are less than they are in fact.

We hope the book will be widely read. Our duty is to push it into the hands of those who have "no time for all this internationalism and such-like rubbish."

**The Great Illusion, 1933.** By Sir Norman Angell. (William Heinemann. 6s.)

Both the author and the publishers are to be congratulated on their courage in re-issuing, at the appropriate time of the World Economic Conference, a book which made its first appearance twenty-five years ago.

To readers of HEADWAY, Sir Norman Angell's doctrines will appear plain common sense, his arguments being marshalled with a lucidity and ease of illustration which few writers can command. It will be interesting to see whether this new edition is greeted with the same storm of abuse and blind misunderstanding as was the case before the War.

Except for slight summarisation, the middle section of the present book appears in exactly the same form as the original version. There was no need to bring it up to date, or to alter any vital fact in it. Parts I. and III. consist of absolutely new material. Some seventy pages at the outset are devoted to tracing the relevance of the previous book to current problems.

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

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In "the verdict of the events," specially valuable comments are given on post war indemnities, the War as cause of the depression, and on the Manchurian issue.

**Peacemaking, 1919.** By Harold Nicolson. (London, Constable. 1933. 378 pp. 18s. net.)

This is quite the most entertaining and one of the most illuminating books about the Peace Conference which has yet appeared. It does not purport to furnish a complete record; in the main, indeed, it is not a record at all. As its second part, Mr. Nicolson appends his own diary, but his activities at the Conference, as a member of the Greek and Czecho-Slovak Commissions, were of comparatively minor importance, although sometimes he found himself unexpectedly responsible for momentous decisions. His chief aim, however, is to give a psychological study of the Conference, with its inconsequence, its confusion, its mixture of idealism and ill-temper, its conscientiousness and its hypocrisy, its hurry and its fatigue. Mr. Nicolson at his best is a brilliant writer, and in this book he is quite at the top of his form. The combination of excellent style and genuine insight, happily applied to a subject of absorbing interest, makes his book one to read with intense interest and to ponder over deeply. As a matter of minor criticism, the proofs might have been read more carefully; and as a larger point, a short book which can look forward to so considerable a circulation as this will almost certainly enjoy, ought to have been much cheaper. The publisher's price of 18s. is quite unjustified. C. A. M.

**The African Labourer.** By Major G. St. J. Orde Brown. (Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by the Oxford University Press. 17s. 6d.)

Major Orde Brown was Head of the Labour Department of Tanganyika. He has analysed in a masterly manner the various influences which have been brought to bear on the African worker in the past, and the results of their application in the present. By giving the pros and cons of, for instance, the effect of living conditions, e.g., "Changing the scanty dress that his father wore for cotton shirts and trousers with perhaps the thick overcoat of doubtful origin worn continuously, wet or dry, and proving an effectual source of chills and colds, while also spreading infection of all kinds," he enables the reader to form his own conclusions on problems the right solution of which, as Lord Lugard says in his preface: "Will have a profound effect on the future of those colonies in which large numbers of Africans are employed by Europeans."

**Germany Under the Treaty.** By W. H. Dawson. (London, Allen & Unwin. 1931. 421 pp. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Dawson is a very great authority on Germany, and everything which he writes on it deserves close attention and respect. In this volume he makes a close and detailed survey of Germany's present position under the Treaty of Versailles—in the main, that is, since reparations are treated as settled, of the territorial arrangements, including the colonies. The result is a formidable and well-documented indictment of the territorial clauses of the Treaty. It is, however, unfortunate that Mr. Dawson's sympathies are so strongly engaged on the side of Germany that his work loses the character of an impartial survey and only his patent sincerity prevents one from describing much of it as a one-sided presentation of the German case

which often degenerates into a mere attack on France and Poland. As a plea for Germany, it is interesting and valuable at a moment when the question of Treaty revision is so much to the forefront. When reading it, it is well to remember that it was written before Herr Hitler's advent to power. C. A. M.

**The Truth and Error of Communism.** By H. G. Wood, M.A. (Published by Student Christian Movement Press. 4s., or in paper cover 2s. 6d.)

In pleasing variation from the usual partisan spirit in which most books on this subject are conceived, Mr. Wood has presented each side of the case with perfect impartiality, relying entirely on sound logic. This book can be warmly recommended to students of international and internal economics, irrespective of the angle towards which they may be primarily inclined. The author develops his arguments by readable gradations from the purely moral standpoint at which he dissects Communism as a religion, through all the phases of Marxism, Class Struggles, Technology, and the present World Crisis to a constructive outline of the way in which all that is good in Communism could be allied to Christianity.

Mr. Wood hits out at the drawbacks of Capitalism as soundly as he scathingly faults of Communism. Whilst admitting, for example, that our present troubles "have been intensified by Hatry and Kreuger," he points out that the private ownership of capital and freedom of individual enterprise "could continue quite well without these follies, though these follies would not be possible without the fundamental institutions of capitalism."

Writing of the extreme Bolshevik policy of upheaval, he contends that "A consistent Marxist's one hope of revolution lies in a renewal of war, when he will be able to apply the slogan of Lenin and turn the international war into a civil war."

"We could do so much better," he writes on page 136, when developing the constructive policy at which the entire book is aimed. "The League of Nations, with all its faults and failings, stands for a new order. It is an attempt to get things done by consent, to promote all forms of active co-operation between nations, to secure the redress of wrongs by persuasion and negotiation. For Great Britain in the modern world there should be only one policy. We should put the League first. Geneva should mean more to us than Ottawa. *Everyone who, like Lord Beaverbrook, crabs the League, is doing the devil's work. No Christian should have any dubiety on this point.* It would be a simple but splendid demonstration of Christian loyalty to the new order if every professing Christian would join the League of Nations Union. . . . Since the War, if we English had been alive to the situation, we might have made Lord Robert Cecil perpetual Foreign Minister. What a stroke of genius such a selection would have been!"

**The Organisation of Peace** (in Basic English). (Maxwell Garnett, Kegan Paul, Psyche Miniatures General Series. 2s. 6d.)

Dr. Maxwell Garnett gave permission to the Orthological Institute at Cambridge to reproduce "Organising Peace" in Basic English. As Dr. Garnett says in a note at the beginning: "Basic seems to me to have, in a surprising degree, the qualities necessary for an international language. Of all the arguments in support of it, the greatest is its connection with English; and specially with the English of 300 years back, which is equally the property of Britain and America." Really, it is surprising how it is possible with a vocabulary of only 850 words successfully to translate, without losing anything, every point in the well-known pamphlet "Organising Peace" or "The Organisation of Peace" as Basic English has it.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**PROBLEMS OF PEACE** (7th Series) has been published by George Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

It contains the lectures delivered at the 1932 Geneva Institute of International Relations. All the lectures are connected with the general topic of the world crisis and the need for national and international economic planning and action.

**RENASCENT INDIA FROM RAM MOHAN ROY TO MOHANDAS GANDHI.** By H. C. E. Zacharias, Ph.D. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.)

**SLOVENE STUDIES IN THE ALPINE VALLEYS OF SLOVENIA.** Edited by L. Dudley Stamp, B.A., D.Sc. (Published by the Le Play Society.)

**EUROPE TO-DAY: THE DANGER POINTS.** By Raymond Hunter. (Overseas Publications, Ltd. 6d. net.)

**WILLOW PATTERN.** By Winifred Galbraith. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)

**NATIONAL SHOPKEEPING.** By A. Allan. (George C. Mackay, Ltd.)

## War, Sadism and Pacifism

by EDWARD GLOVER. 3s. 6d.

In this book the problem of War is approached from an entirely fresh angle as the author maintains that the issue is fundamentally a psychological one. The principles of War prevention are analysed in detail and a reasoned outline of research appended.

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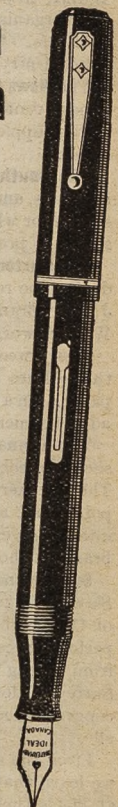
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## IMPORTANT NOTICE

A full account of the **EDINBURGH COUNCIL MEETINGS** and Resolutions will be included in the August issue of "Headway."

Readers are again reminded that this next issue will not reach them unless they have notified prior to the 18th instant their desire for "Headway" still to be sent to them. See page 148.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Annual Reports.

Since our last issue, annual reports have been received at Headquarters from Brigg, Headington, Claypole (Newark), Leeds and Wakefield District Council, Brislington (Bristol), Dorking, Bingley (Yorks.), Bradfield and Stanford Dingley (Berks.), Douglas (Lo.M.), Redditch, Crowthorne and Sandhurst, Woolwich, Camberley, Thetford, Loughton, Bristol District Council, West Cumberland District Council, St. John's Wood, Godstone, Brownhills, Withernsea and District, Ryde (Isle of Wight), Kirby Moorside (Yorks.), Hayle, Withington, Higham Ferrers, Burnham-on-Sea, Ft. Annes-on-Sea, Birkenhead West, Yeadon (Leeds), Cradley Heath, Abingdon, Whetstone, Bridgwater, East Cowes, Coventry, Lozells (Birmingham).

The **Chelsea** Branch in its Annual Report acknowledges with gratitude the generous grant from the Halley Stewart Trust, without which it would have been impossible to open the Peace Shop at 326, King's Road, Chelsea. All members of the Union are invited to pay it a visit. We understand that after nearly six months' working, it has more than justified its existence.

As a result of a letter of Churches, Co-operative Guilds and other organisations, offering to supply speakers on the different aspects of the League's work, members of the Sheffield Branch have been able to give a large number of addresses in the city and in outlying districts. In general, we feel that the more our branches can co-operate with existing organisations, the better.

The **Kenton** Youth Group have given their first dramatic performance at which they presented three sketches to a crowded audience and made several new members as well as a profit of nearly eight pounds which is being devoted to a Peace Week and a Carnival Display.

Several vigorous Junior Branches are mentioned in the **Ifford** Branch Report as existing in the area. An increasing number of local organisations have become Corporate Associates or Corporate Members. "We welcome the efforts of these allies: in the cause of Peace Unity will be Strength."

The **News Letter**, the National Labour Fortnightly, has commenced a new venture in issuing from time to time a four-page foreign affairs supplement, which comments on recent international developments.

The **South Nutfield** Branch regularly distributes literature to its members, and says: "It is only fuller knowledge of what the League stands for which will enable it to exercise the influence necessary to solve the problems now facing the world."

The **Burton-on-Trent** Branch attracted special notice in the Pageant during the recent Civic Festival Week. With the aid of two of the Junior Branches a tableau was produced showing the Human Welfare work of the League.

Every week the **St. Albans** Branch is paying for the insertion of thirty lines on the work of the League or the Union in the local paper. In a similar fashion, other branches might consider a regular advertisement in their own local paper.

The annual meeting of the **Jersey** Branch took the form of nine short speeches on "Why I Believe in the League of Nations." The speakers included a clergyman, a rotarian, a schoolboy, a policeman, a banker, and a representative of Toc H. It was an interesting evening, we are told, and aroused great interest. More branches should do this sort of thing.

**Surrey** and **Berkshire** co-operated in producing the Centenary Slavery Pageant at Bagshot Park, the home of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who is the Patron of the Surrey Federation. The performances were witnessed by an audience of over a thousand, from among whom several new members were obtained. Both the Surrey Federation and the Berkshire Federal Council are to be congratulated on the well-merited success which has attended their efforts.

From the annual report of the **Hoyleake** and **West Kirby** Branch, we learn that not only is there a very live Youth Group, but that at Mecls there is now a regular weekly meeting, with an average attendance of ten or a dozen, for study and discussion on current

international affairs. Successful drawing room meetings are another feature of the branch's activity.

The **London Regional Federation** is making special efforts to arrange open-air meetings, for "open-air work is the most direct way of getting at the man in the street!" An Open Air Speakers Group has been formed, and branches wishing to avail themselves of the help of the Group should apply to the offices of the Federation at 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

On July 8 the **London Regional Federation** is organising a Conference on the results of the 17th International Labour Conference which started at Geneva on June 8.

Under the auspices of the Teachers' Group of the **Manchester, Salford** and **District Joint Disarmament Council**, all teachers' organisations in the area were invited to send representatives in order to form a Teachers' Peace Society to obtain "peace, goodwill and right relationship between the people of our own nation and other countries."

### Welsh Notes

The annual conference of the Welsh Council is to be held at Aberystwyth on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, July 7, 8 and 9, and a fine gathering of branch representatives from all parts of the Principality is expected. On Friday, July 7, following meetings of the Executive, Education and Women's Committees, an Education Conference will be held over which Mr. Sydney Herbert, M.A., will preside, and which will be addressed by Mr. J. Lloyd Jones and the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A.

The authorities of Coleg Harlech, Merionethshire, have arranged for an International Relations Week from August 5 to August 12.

The Welsh Council pavilion will again take a prominent position on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Aberystwyth in July, and at the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, at Wrexham, in August.

## £10 for 10 days AT GENEVA

"I have always followed the work of the League with the keenest appreciation and interest."—**H.M. The King**, at the opening of the **World Monetary and Economic Conference**.

The League of Nations Union provides an opportunity for people in this country to visit Geneva to study the work of the League of Nations for themselves. Geneva has the additional attraction of being an ideal holiday centre for excursions along the lakes and into the mountains of Switzerland. During August, 1933, parties organised by the Union will attend:—

- JUNIOR SUMMER SCHOOL for the Upper Forms of Public and Secondary Schools.
- GENEVA INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.
- YOUTH CONFERENCE.
- CONFERENCE ON TEACHING OF WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

Fees range from £10 (Youths' Party) upwards, according to the length of stay in Geneva, the class of ticket and type of accommodation. Members may return at any date.

Full particulars may be obtained from the SECRETARY, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

## POINTS FROM BRANCH RESOLUTIONS

### Air Bombing

"THAT this District Council urges H.M. Government to waive their claim to the use of bombing aircraft for police purposes, believing that this course will help to bring about a successful Disarmament Convention."—*Bedfordshire District Council*.

Similar resolutions were passed by Huddersfield, Canterbury, Burford, Reading, Chiswick, Streatham, Brislington, Bristol and many other Branches.

### Teaching for Peace

"That this Conference, believing that the schoolmaster has an unrivalled opportunity to combat the perils of war, urges the National Executive to identify itself more closely and more prominently with the Peace Movement.

"It would also urge individual members who have at heart the cause of international peace to join and actively support organisations working to this end.

"Recognising the profound need of a world secure in peace, this Conference urges the Government to adhere more fully to the ideals embodied in the League of Nations, and impresses on all engaged in the profession of teaching the desirability of emphasising this aspect in their work with children."—*National Association of Schoolmasters (Easter, 1933)*.

### Legacies for the Union

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

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

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

### Membership

#### RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

\*NOTE.—Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year. A 5s. subscription contributes 1s. 3d. a year directly for national work, as against only 1½d. from a 3s. 6d. subscription.

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

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

Applications for membership should be made to a Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freecat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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

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

**International Camp, Whitsun.**—Is it a sign of the times that a number of the young Frenchmen who attended the Whitsun International Camp in Hampton Court Park left the camp-site at 5 a.m. on the Tuesday and were at their desks in Paris by 9 a.m. This camp, which was the first enterprise of the new International Federation of Camping Clubs, was well supported by the French, who have not always been known for their love of open-air pursuits. There were 48 foreign visitors in all, Holland, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, and Spain also being represented—the latter by four people with five tents! The large crowd of English campers, who helped to give them a happy holiday, were disappointed that economic conditions prevented the German and Austrian clubs from sending detachments, but a message from Germany hoped that a future camp might be arranged there. Part of the programme was the first annual congress of the Federation, at which the British Camping Club, who have taken a leading part since the inauguration in Holland last year, presented a draft constitution. It is good to know that a permanent life is assured to this new effort to increase international fellowship.

### Corrections

We regret that, owing to the fact that Mr. Stephen Heald's article on "Bessarabia," in June HEADWAY, came to hand only at the last minute before publication, three errors were permitted to pass, which we now hasten to correct.

The appeal for troops in January, 1918, was, of course, to the Rumanian Government—not to the Russian Government; and the correct date of the ratification of the annexation was December, 1919, not 1929 as printed. The other correction is that "Galata," as printed on the accompanying map, referred to the town of "Galatz."

In the list of books on Economics on page 120 of the June HEADWAY, by error the price of Professor J. H. Richardson's book, "Economic Disarmament" (1931), published by Messrs. Allen & Unwin, was given as 10s. 6d. Its price is actually 7s. 6d.

### Forthcoming Broadcasts

Most of the talks series are being shut down during July and August. At the same time, we learn that on **Thursdays during July** Mr. Vernon Bartlett is continuing his weekly series. On July 10, 11, 17 and 18 there are interchange talks between England and America on the Economic Conference.

### Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1932:—

Endcliffe Fellowship, High Wycombe, Sakenheath, Sheffield, Weymouth.  
1933:—

Aston Tirrold, Bembridge, Biddulph, Burnham-on-Crouch, Cobham, Cosham, Crowthorne, Eakring, Eynsford, Hambleton, Haslemere, Heath Hayes, Horley, Kimble, Lelant, Meopham, Merstham, Mortimer, Newport (Essex), Pateley, Pall, Porlock, Sedgley, Shalford, West Clandon, Woodbridge.

### The total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:—

January 1, 1919 .. .. .	3,841
January 1, 1920 .. .. .	10,000
January 1, 1921 .. .. .	60,000
January 1, 1922 .. .. .	150,031
January 1, 1923 .. .. .	230,456
January 1, 1924 .. .. .	333,455
January 1, 1925 .. .. .	432,478
January 1, 1926 .. .. .	512,310
January 1, 1927 .. .. .	587,224
January 1, 1928 .. .. .	665,022
January 1, 1929 .. .. .	744,984
January 1, 1930 .. .. .	822,903
January 1, 1931 .. .. .	889,500
January 1, 1932 .. .. .	951,400
January 1, 1933 .. .. .	994,121
June 25, 1933 .. .. .	1,005,271

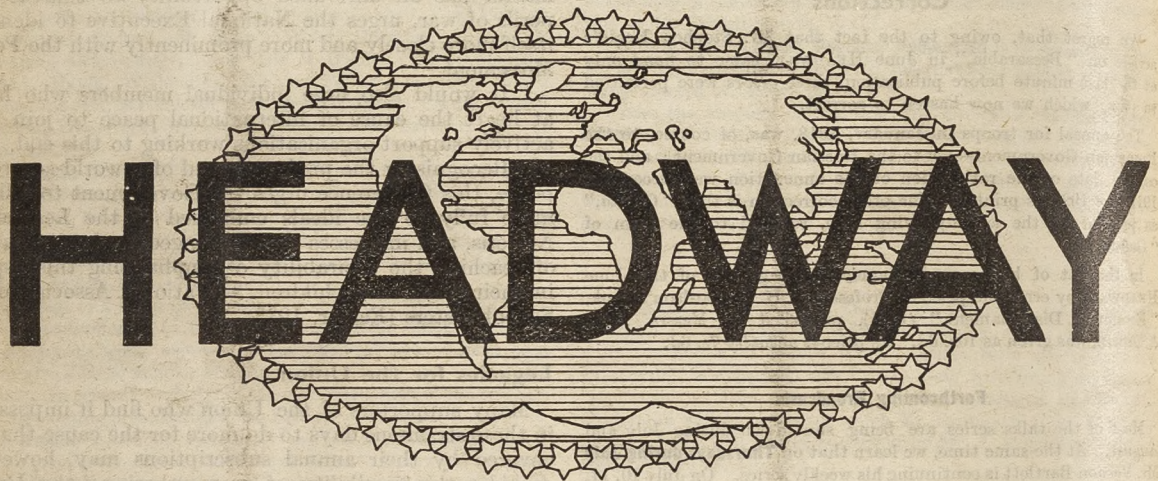
On June 25 there were 2,956 Branches, of which 128 have formed Youth Groups, 1,329 Junior Branches, 3,561 Corporate Members and 766 Corporate Associate and 129 Industrial Associated.



# A REMINDER!

In August

**YOU WILL NOT RECEIVE YOUR COPY**  
of



If, *before July 15th*, you have not completed and posted to 15 Grosvenor Crescent the stamped, addressed postcard which was enclosed at the beginning of June with Professor Gilbert Murray's letter to all registered (Not Foundation) members of the Union.

You were offered the choice between getting Headway monthly (as we should like you to do) or the Quarterly News in the Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter.

Remember that unless you know something about the League, which as a member of the Union you are pledged to support, you will not be able to correct mis-statements and give information about it.

*"HEADWAY is an excellent paper and deserves the support of all friends of peace. I hope that all who receive it not only read it now but will continue to do so in the future."*

May, 1933.

*Cecil*