

THE LONDON SCHOOL  
OF ECONOMICS  
STUDENTS COMMON ROOM

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ANGELL ANSWERS AMERY

500 WAR PLANES

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# HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

Vol. XVI. No. 8 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

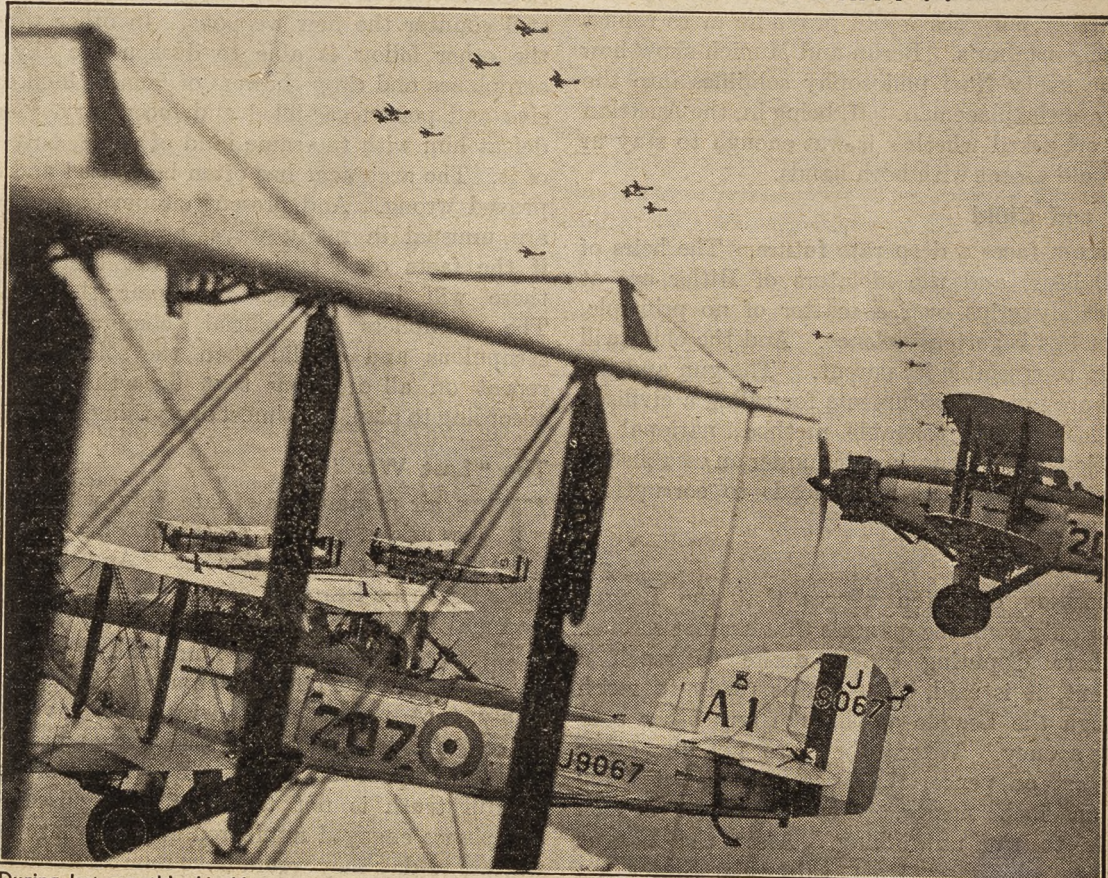
AUGUST, 1934

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## ARMAMENTS CANNOT AFFORD SECURITY !!



During last month's Air Manœuvres, several attacking Air Squadrons, one of which is depicted above, succeeded in reaching their objectives over London, recording their "bombing" of their appointed targets, and escaping before the defending forces were even aware of their approach

## NEWS AND COMMENT

**B**LOOD is the price of dictatorship. First, the people pay with many lives, then the Dictator with one. Sometimes it is never-sleeping suspicion and fear which kill the Dictators, for they are men to whom it is appointed many times to die. The murder by the Nazis of Dr. Dollfuss, the Dictator of Austria, is a crime of quite peculiar stupidity and cowardice. But it can have surprised no one. Least of all, perhaps, Dr. Dollfuss himself. Dr. Dollfuss was a man in whom there was much to like and not a little to admire. He was intensely human and invincibly brave. His good qualities, however, could not conceal the truth about all dictatorships, and especially his own. He was the least secure and significant of Dictators. It would be dishonest to pretend that he served a high national ideal or stood for a great public policy. His quarrel with his many embittered rivals of the Centre and Right was not where to steer the ship, but who should be on the bridge.

**Assent with Both Hands**

**T**HE fanatic dupes of Hitler, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to term them Hitler's emissaries as well as his imitators, who have now murdered the ruler of a German country, loudly proclaim their intention to unite under a common allegiance all Germans, particularly those in Germany and Austria. Once they were in power their further purposes would prove no more robust than their inspirer's. Berlin and Munich show how soon the misty Nazi philosophy solidifies into the tenacity of the placeman. If, being in, the Austrian Nazis were asked whether it was enough to stay in they would assent with both hands.

**Parent and Child**

**A**USTRIA faces a desperate future. The heirs of Dollfuss and the idolators of Hitler are at bloody grips over a matter of no principle. Violence has begotten violence. And the child will continue to resemble its parent. The gun and the gallows are not fit instruments for ruling a civilised nation. The only tolerable method, national or international, is by known rules under an established constitution. Personal whim leads to corruption, malice, and massacre.

**Gran Chaco**

**A**COMMON objection alleges that the League can only compose quarrels that are not serious. Where disputing States desire to reach a settlement, it is said, they are as ready to reach it through the League as through any other convenient agency. Where they are not for other reasons set on peace, the League does not bring peace an inch nearer. The argument sounds plausible to the unthinking. After the League success in obtaining from thirty-six States an embargo on the supply of arms to Bolivia and Paraguay for the war in the Gran Chaco, the surface

plausibility has worn extremely thin and can scarcely deceive any longer even the most unthinking. Here was a war which had been waged with pitiless desperation for many months in a quarrel of many years' persistence. The good offices of other countries had repeatedly failed to restore peace. The continuance of the struggle, however, depended upon a steady flow of instruments of massacre from abroad. And because the League exists, and through the League's action, that flow has been stopped. Great Britain, and especially Mr. Anthony Eden, to whose initiative in mid-May the present success is due, may rightly take pride in this humane achievement. But, fundamentally, the success belongs to the League. When Bolivia and Paraguay make peace, as they will do within the next few months, the League will have been the effectual peace-maker.

**The "Next War"**

**S**OLDIERS, a name which may fittingly be extended in present circumstances to cover sailors and airmen, are the most modest of men. Perhaps for that reason they are the most obstinate in their observance of the conventions of their trade. They are exceeded only by the compilers of official communiqués. At the moment, military opinion is insisting with increasing emphasis, though rather in deeds than in phrases, that the old methods can still counter the new weapons. In other words, if the other fellow is able to darken the sky with aeroplanes and drop showers of bombs, high explosive and poison gas-filled and incendiary, you can defeat him with the same kind of thing, only more of it. The argument has often been used and often proved wrong. And present circumstances, which are unusual in many ways, are unique in this: if the facts once again contradict the argument there will be no time to repair the mistake. The compilers of official communiqués, less scrupulous and candid than the soldiers, simply repeat on all occasions that everything is going according to plan. Or almost everything, very nearly.

**The "Last War"**

**T**HE air manoeuvres of late July, when London was raided in force, are an amusing illustration of these twin obstinacies. Amusing only if their lesson be learnt at once. Otherwise they will become in retrospect a hideous tragedy. The soldiers say Britain needs immensely strengthened air defences. The official communiqués try hard to imply that the existing defences did very well indeed, and will do better still when more money has been spent on them. But the glaring and painful truth is not thus easily disguised. The aeroplanes engaged numbered scores, where in real warfare to-day they would have numbered hundreds. A few years hence, an air attack on London may be a death stroke driven home by thousands.

Even of the scores, a high percentage reached their exact objectives, and almost all flew over the City or its inner suburbs. No means are so much as suggested which can prevent the laying waste of London in a single night, and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of its people. One super-bomber can devastate in half an hour a swarming square mile of town. This crude fact, which was perfectly known before, was demonstrated afresh by the manoeuvres. The crowds of London school children who hastened home agog with excitement over the "NEXT WAR" might still more ominously have chattered about the "LAST WAR."

**Union Deputation**

**O**N Thursday, July 19, the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland received a deputation from the League of Nations Union. Among the members of the deputation were Dr. C. W. Kimmins (Chairman of the Union's Education Committee); Mr. F. A. Hoare (Chairman of the Union's Curriculum Sub-Committee); Mr. A. E. Henshall (ex-President of the National Union of Teachers); Mr. W. J. Cudahy (ex-Vice-President of the Educational Institute of Scotland); the Rev. Gwilym Davies (Hon. Director of the Union's Advisory Education Committee for Wales); Mr. John Bell (High Master of St. Paul's and Vice-Chairman of the Union's Education Committee); and Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

The object of the deputation was to acquaint the Ministers with the latest developments in the Union's educational work and to make some specific requests, notably that the Government should approve the summoning of a League Conference on the teaching of World Citizenship; that the British delegation to the Disarmament Conference should support the inclusion of the clauses on Moral Disarmament in the Final Disarmament Convention, with an addition to the effect that "an explanation of the existing machinery for organising peace and preventing war should form part of the teaching in all the schools for boys and girls between twelve and eighteen"; and thirdly, that the Ministers should associate themselves with a proposal to hold a national conference in London in 1935 on the Teaching of International Relations in the Training Colleges and Schools.

**Cordial Attitude**

**B**OTH Lord Halifax and Sir Godfrey Collins showed themselves fully in sympathy with the Union's educational work. In particular, Lord Halifax, referring to the fact that, so far as the schools in this country were concerned, everything depended on the attitude of the Local Education Authorities, said that for that reason he had heard with great pleasure the testimony given to the close relationship which existed between these Authorities and the Union's Education Committee. With regard to the specific requests, he was

naturally somewhat cautious. His feeling about the proposed World Conference was that he would want to know more about it and its objects before giving a definite reply. On the question of the proposed addition to the Moral Disarmament Clauses, his first reaction was to feel a little doubtful about trying to get what might be ideally an improvement at the risk of reopening protracted discussions and of losing ground already gained. He promised, however, to transmit the proposal to Sir John Simon. As to the national conference in 1935 he said that, speaking as a private individual, and if his own engagements would permit, he would be only too glad to accept any invitation which might be extended to him in connection with that Conference.

The proceedings were conducted in a spirit of great cordiality; and whether the Union's specific requests are adopted or not, it is satisfactory to record a general strengthening of the good relationship which has existed now for many years and which, we hope, will continue to exist between the Union's Education Committee and the Board.

**A Chance to Speak**

**T**HE National Declaration on the League and Armaments is being taken up in all parts of the country with enthusiasm. And by all schools of thought and members of all parties. In its general character the popular response is now clear. Everywhere a profound conviction prevails that the world, and especially Britain and the Empire, must have peace; that lasting peace is possible if the right measures are taken to preserve it; that amongst those measures none is more practically helpful than the putting on open and immediate record of the will to peace of the British people. The five questions on the ballot form are stated with scrupulous impartiality. Their wording, their circulation, and their intended use are all free from any hint of partisanship. The societies, organisations, and parties who have expressed their sympathy and promised their assistance are playing the game. None has attempted to steal an advantage, outmanoeuvre a rival. They realise that the issue is far too grave for the snatching of a sectional advantage. They are content, in a time of crisis, to do Britain and the world a vital service and to leave the minor consequences to adjust themselves. Quiet men and women approving the purpose and the methods are a little puzzled by the feverish objections raised in some quarters. They do not feel that they are guilty of an impertinence when they declare their minds on problems in which their livelihoods and their lives are involved. Indeed, it is just the chance to speak up for themselves modestly, yet firmly, in terms which cannot be mistaken or misrepresented, that has captured their approval. Democracies dislike even a suspicion that events are driving them dumbly to disaster. They refuse to hold their tongues when a word may help.

# HEADWAY

AUGUST 1934

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## 500 WAR PLANES!!

BRITAIN'S new air policy is easily summarised. It is to increase the R.A.F. during the next five years by 41 squadrons, or nearly 500 war planes, at a total cost of some £20,000,000. The process of expansion, which has already begun, will be slow and systematic. The bills at the start will be small. Perhaps no more than £1,000,000 in 1934-35. But the commitments will accumulate. By 1939 the present annual Air Budget of £20,000,000 will have swollen to £30,000,000. And the country's military and naval air strength will be half as great again as it is to-day. The facts are simple. Their significance is obscure.

Advocates of disarmament, supporters of the League of Nations, friends of peace cannot contemplate the prospect without distress. Especially if they are Britons must the new policy make them unhappy. Hitherto, when the British contribution to the cause of disarmament has been criticised as ambiguous, half-hearted, lacking in timeliness and drive, they have been able to reply: "Our diplomacy, we admit, has often left much to be desired, but in practice we have disarmed on land, at sea, in the air." That disarmament may have taken chiefly the negative form of a hesitation to join in a rearmament race; nevertheless it has been in its measure genuine; it has demonstrated an honest preference for, even a sober belief in, League order, rather than 1914 anarchy. Now British thought and effort, and wealth are to be spent upon a new weapon of paralysing efficacy in attack and virtual helplessness in defence. Defenders of British credit, believers in British intentions, of whom there are many abroad as well as at home, can maintain their ground on one condition only. They must be given a chance to adjust their argument. A vigorous, purposeful British initiative must put new life into the Disarmament Conference. Britain must take the lead with definite proposals, openly proclaimed, and strongly pressed for the removal of the air menace.

Here is the heart of the problem. A few aeroplanes more or less are a small matter. Even 500 fliers and bombers of the latest types, with a speed of 200 miles an hour, able in one fatal swoop to devastate a dozen great cities, are a detail. What is supremely important is that Britain shall march with clear-sighted courage towards her master goal. She aims at the elimination of war. In the new world war is as futile as it is wicked. Its consequences cannot be other than disastrous. But the conditions of the new world, in which war is linked

with ruin and the collapse of the social system, impose the security of all as the only means to the security of each. Self defence is an anachronism, as absurdly out-of-date as isolation. No nation can cut itself off from its neighbours and live its own exclusive life unaffected by external affairs and untouched by world influences. Neither can any nation make itself safe by its own efforts against foreign attack.

The United States has joined the I.L.O.; Russia is about to join the League. Fascist Italy is the prime mover, or a participant, in a score of diplomatic combinations extending over Central and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Near East. Nazi Germany has been visibly shaken by the world's hostile reaction to the slaughter of June 30. Japan expostulates plaintively that the other Powers ought to leave her to interfere in China without interference. And during recent years all these nations have proclaimed in ecstatic tones the nationalist doctrine of a chosen people. They have learnt that a Great Wall of China can still be built. But to stay behind it is impossible. Nor, after trial, do they desire to persist in the attempt. Their later behaviour is an impressive commentary on their earlier words. Equally impressive is the count of powerfully-armed nations whose Ministers and Diplomats have hurried and scurried about the world in search of allies or associates whose military resources would reinforce their own. In the new world militarism is never strong enough.

No nation can live to itself. No nation can defend itself. The sole alternative to war is the collective system. If Britain's new air policy were a signal that she no longer expected, or perhaps desired, disarmament and security through the League, then it would call imperatively for the loudest, most resolute protest. It might even excuse despair, since such a loss of nerve could scarcely fail to preclude her Imperial eclipse. Happily Mr. Baldwin made clear both in his speech in the House of Commons and later that no such discreditable and foolish desertion need be feared. Far from having a harmful effect, a stronger British air force will lend weight to constructive British advice in the Disarmament Conference and facilitate her effectual partnership in any scheme of international control which may emerge from its negotiations. Or so the Cabinet is persuaded.

Britain's object is not changed. Mr. Baldwin was emphatic in his assurances. Though he did not quote the clause in the British Draft Convention of March, 1933, which says *the Permanent Disarmament Commission should devote itself to working out the best possible scheme providing for (a) the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, which must be dependent on the effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes*, he must have had those words in mind. They remain the authoritative statement of British purpose. The decision to build 41 new air squadrons throws upon Ministers an added obligation to elaborate that plan in full detail and place it openly before the world. If they produce by anticipation that desirable result they will have justified their hypothetical existence.

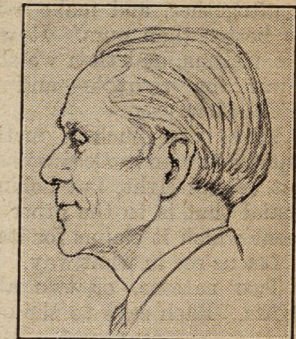
Britain cannot do more for aerial disarmament than to propose to the world to do away with all war planes; nor with 41 new air squadrons in prospect can she do less.

# THE CASE FOR SANITY

A Reply to Mr. Amery

By

Sir NORMAN ANGELL



Sir Norman Angell

HEADWAY for July presented the case against the League, as seen by Mr. L. S. Amery. It is wise for HEADWAY thus to print from time to time the views of opponents of the League, because, as John Stuart Mill once put it, "the man who knows only his own side of the case knows very little of that."

Let us take Mr. Amery's points in their most logical order. He says that one of the main causes of the failure of the League is that its authors over-simplified the problem of war, assuming that the conflicts out of which it arises can be adjusted "if people were brought together in an atmosphere of conciliation." Mr. Amery points out:

Wars arise, not because somebody wants to go to war. They arise from conflicts, sometimes of interest, but more often of ideals—ideals about religion, ideals of what shall be the constitutional form of the State, ideals about Nationalities, and you find over those issues a conflict of ideals for which both sides are prepared to sacrifice everything.

The implication is plain enough. Wars arise, not because there is lack of any desire for peace, but because there are "irrepressible conflicts of ideals," in the face of which political devices like the League are impotent. Mr. Amery adds:

As long as there are Powers that wish to change the *status quo* for the sake of their ideals, those Powers will use their armaments to bring about change.

But note the sentence following immediately after the one quoted above—following without so much even as a break into a new paragraph. Mr. Amery goes on:

It is when armaments are in the hands of the peace-loving that peace is preserved. After all, the overwhelming power of the British Navy during the last century was one of the greatest factors in preserving the peace of the world. But for that influence such a thing as the partitioning of Africa would have led to a series of disasters.

So that, after all, the irrepressible conflicts of ideals and interests can be repressed, the "inevitable" wars avoided, if you have the right instrument; the right instrument being, in Mr. Amery's view, an overwhelming British Navy. It makes all the difference, Mr. Amery tells us, whether armaments are in the hands of those whose purpose is peace (and presumably justice) or not.

So we come to this: These wars about interests and ideals can (often at least) be prevented. The question which really arises is whether, in view of certain developments of the modern world (the annihilation of space, the coming of the aeroplane as perhaps the main instrument of future war), the British Navy can of itself be (a) adequate and sufficient for the purpose, and (b) whether the nations of the world (e.g., America) will accept the sole verdict of Britain, without consultation with other nations concerned, as to what changes will be permitted and what not, which ideals may be realised, which forbidden.

Before coming to that, let us note very briefly certain points which arise from the first paragraph quoted above.

Men do come into conflict about their ideals—lose

their tempers about them, love at times to fight about them. Mr. Amery mentions religion. The wars between Protestants and Catholics were for generations the bitterest, most ferocious and most destructive of all. They very nearly engulfed European civilisation, as the wars of Nationalism threaten to do to-day. But there was nothing "inevitable" about the continuance of those religious wars, for they have ceased. Protestant armies no longer confront Catholic armies. The reason, broadly, is that men have changed their ideas as to the role which force and coercion should play in matters of religious dogma and conviction; our notions as to the proper relation of political authority to religion have been modified. The civil authority of a nation, which in the fifteenth century might have executed a heretic, would to-day execute the priest or priests who would presume to execute a heretic. This vast change, the coming of religious toleration, did not take place of itself without effort. It came as the result of efforts made by individual men to change our conceptions of what would make a just, orderly, workable and peaceful society. And vast changes were made in a very short time, even when means of communication were extremely rudimentary.

We in our generation, if we are to avoid miseries and devastations even worse than those of the religious wars, have to make corresponding changes in the function which we assign to military power—what kind of change I will indicate in a moment.

Mr. Amery mentions "ideals of what should be the constitutional form of a State" as one of the things about which men go to war. They do—mainly, of course, in civil war. In certain of the South American Republics political parties fight it out with bullet and bayonet almost as often as they do with ballots. As a youth I travelled a good deal in those countries, and again and again I have heard the same sort of views expressed about those inter-Party wars which Mr. Amery adopts about international war. It is natural that men should fight about their convictions and interests; there's a good deal to be said for it; it's not so very bad after all; better to be ruled by virile men of action who have captured their position with their strong right arms, than by the palaver of politicians. In other words, the militarist chaos continued because there was no real will to stop it, and no real understanding of the reasons which made military force in the hands of rival parties an infinite danger to society and, in the hands of constitutional government, an instrument of order.

Mr. Amery says that for dealing with conflict arising over desired changes of the *status quo*, the suitable instrument from the peace-preserving point of view is the British Navy, unfettered by League responsibilities, obligations, or limitations.

It was the British Navy which made possible the Treaty of Versailles. Without the support given by

British naval to French military power, it could never have been imposed. The Germans therefore say, "That is what we owe to the British Navy." They will try to tear up the Treaty—are in some respects already doing so. They may one day fight to destroy it altogether, and make a new Treaty. Theirs won't be better than ours. It will be worse. We may be the victims, and then we should have to fight another "war for right"—and so on till the end of civilisation.

Why *must* such a method result in disaster—in injustice—war? Because both sides are putting might, not behind right, but behind the denial of right; the denial that is to the other party of the right of judgment which it claims for itself.

Let us see in what way.

Two nations, or two alliances, differ as to their rights. Each says to the other:

The question is whether you are right or I am right. I insist on being the judge, and shall fight you if you don't accept my judgment.

You have here a situation in which force is an instrument in the hands of the rival disputants, each claiming to judge the case. There is only one way out of the dilemma—for neither to have the right of judging the other; for both to accept third party judgment

(which means equality of right for both) and for the whole community to pool its power to ensure that equality of right and equality of obligation. In other words, the solution is to transfer power from litigants to law.

The creation of such an understanding between nations need not create the "super-State" of which Mr. Amery speaks. Its principle is embodied in every one of the Treaties of Mutual Assistance now being drawn up; in every understanding of the Locarno type, in which power stands, not for each being judge in his own cause, but for the principle of arbitration. But in order that this principle of collective defence may work, there must be some institution of law and order, like the League.

The embodiment of the principle in international life is the more vital because the conditions which gave to British sea power some of the qualities of an over-riding authority in the world are rapidly passing and giving rise to "air power," in which the dominance of any one individual nation is made impossible by technical reasons.

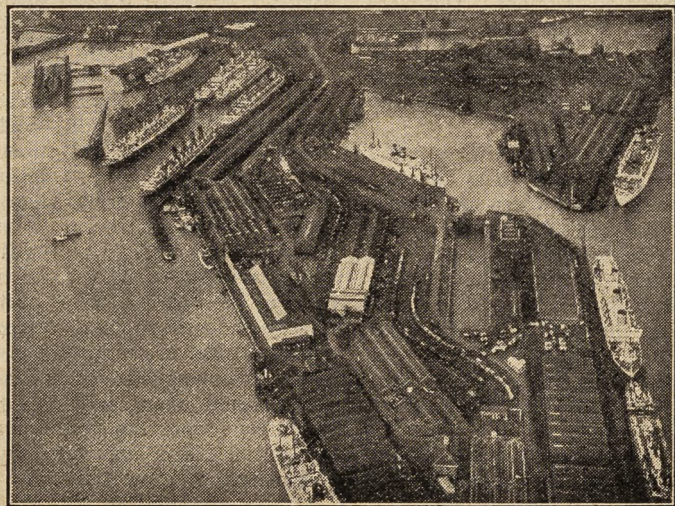
**Only by creating an organised society of the nations can we secure for ourselves effective national defence, justice, or peace.**

## GOODWILL IN BUSINESS

By HARTLEY WITHERS

IN most industrial and commercial balance-sheets you will see among the items on the assets side a mysterious entry—"goodwill"—against which a sum often running into many hundreds of thousands of pounds will be set as representing its value. Since this item has no tangible existence, the high priests of the book-keeping temple prefer that it should be eliminated as soon as possible by being written down out of profits; and in the balance-sheets of banking and insurance companies, which pride themselves on the strictness of their financial purity, it is always conspicuous by its absence. Nevertheless business men all recognise that in fact "goodwill" is the most precious asset that a company or firm can possess; because what it means is the connection, prestige, and selling power, without which the most cunningly devised and constructed goods and services cannot be disposed of.

Sound business instinct has thus long ago learnt that a friendly and favourable atmosphere is essential for the sale of commercial products, so much so that when any money-making concern changes hands, its goodwill is an asset for which hard cash, or some equivalent consideration, is invariably charged and readily paid; and it is, surely, more than high time that the nations should recognise the immense value of goodwill and decent behaviour as a stimulus to inter-



Too Quiet on this Front!

national trade, and as a means to a return to something like real prosperity. All those who are working for peace must see, and make it their task to persuade others to see, that it is not enough to prevent war, and that it at least is as important to turn the present travesty of peace into a genuine reality. At present, the business relations of the chief peoples of the world are, to a greater or less extent, dominated by the "economic nationalism" that is directly opposed to everything that is meant by goodwill. "Ourselves first, the Empire next, and the foreigner nowhere" is the doctrine accepted by a large part of the press and public, even in this country, which can fairly claim to be more internationally minded than most others, thanks to some generations of prosperity as a world trader. This doctrine may be patriotism, of a misguided and perverted kind; but it certainly is not good business. Its results, as applied all over the world with appropriate variations, may be seen in the miserable trickle of international trade has been reduced, and acute depression in our export industries, shipping and shipbuilding.

Can we see any hope for an improvement in the minds of the nations with regard to their business arrangements? There are, perhaps, faint indications of a more sensible spirit, based on the conviction, that is beginning to dawn on statesmen, that it is not possible to sell abroad, which

is believed to be a highly patriotic act, unless buying power is furnished to other peoples by the degradingly unpatriotic process of purchasing their products. Bilateral agreements, generally involving some system of "exchange clearing" have awkward results in warping the natural course of trade and introducing complications that make business difficult; but at least the number of them lately concluded shows a growing desire for co-operation, as more conducive to prosperity than hatred.

How necessary such an improvement in international temper is, has lately been shown by the bad atmosphere created by the deot discussions between Britain and her creditor, America, and her debtor, Germany. In both cases, the circumstances were difficult and the negotiations needed all the tact that could be mustered on both sides.

In both cases we had a strong case and made the most of it. But on both occasions there was a lamentable failure, on the part of public opinion here, to recognise that the other side also had a strong case, which was entitled to respectful treatment. The American taxpayer, watching the Gargantuan growth in his Government's deficit and debt, may well be excused if he cannot see why we, with a thumping Budget surplus and an unprecedented stock of gold, cannot follow our fine traditions and meet our obligations, or part of them. The German, whose power to export has been shattered by the depreciation first of the pound and then of the dollar, with the consequent advantage given in neutral markets to British and American manufacturers, and also by tariff barriers in this and other countries, may well ask whether the

sauce served out by the British debtor to the American goose was not also appropriate when put before the British gander by the German debtor. "How can we pay if you won't buy our goods?" is in each case a highly relevant question.

It is in this question of international debt payments that a timely exercise of goodwill might make an immense difference to the pace of world recovery—so all-important to Britain, once the great world trader. Owing to the fall in commodity prices the burden of debt has become intolerable to debtors and debtor countries. From an article in the *Economist* of July 7, it appears that sterling prices, according to its Index Number, showed an average of 89.7 at the end of June, as compared with 100 in 1913; while it need hardly be said that the bulk of the world's current debts have been incurred during the period of far higher prices that ruled from 1916 to 1928—in 1924 the Index Number was 159. When prices fall to this extent, debtors who can only meet their obligations by selling goods have every excuse for expecting lenient treatment. It has been agreed over and over again by statesmen and economists that a rise in prices is desirable; but co-operative international effort to that end has not been forthcoming. Unless the rise in prices can be achieved, a scaling down of debts, conducted in a spirit of concession and consideration, will have to be undertaken before any real revival in international trade can be expected. Fortunately, the League of Nations, as shown by the League's Loans Committee's second annual report, just issued, has shown how much success has already been secured by tactful handling of the creditor-debtor problem.

## NOTTINGHAM'S TRIAL BALLOT

By LEWIS RICHMOND

(Literary Editor of the "Nottingham Journal")

WHEN, on Saturday, July 7, we launched a ballot in our area on the Five Questions which the National Declaration Committee have drafted, I was conscious of a grave responsibility and determined to leave no stone unturned to secure a *thoroughly representative* return.

"Our area" includes the important industrial city of Nottingham, which, with its immediate environs, contains 80,000 or 90,000 houses and 300,000 inhabitants. The county, with parts of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, in which the *Nottingham Journal* circulates has a population of over half a million.

To attempt to secure anything like a complete canvass of this vast constituency was obviously beyond the resources we had immediately available, even with the most enthusiastic help of the large number of "confessed" supporters of the League of Nations Union. In the newspaper, together with its evening contemporary, it was, however, possible to print the questionnaire day after day for a fortnight, supported by letters and articles, panels, posters, and personal letters to people known to be keenly interested.

In this way nearly a million copies of the ballot form have been printed and distributed; and they must have been seen and read in at least a hundred thousand households. In addition, we printed 80,000 copies of the ballot form on separate sheets, and these were distributed as follows:—

24,000 to 184 churches, etc. These were preceded by a letter signed by Bishop Talbot, Vicar of St. Mary's,

the Mother Church of the city; and Dr. A. R. Henderson, the head of Paton College and formerly a President of the Free Church Council. On the ballot forms themselves appeared a printed appeal by the Bishop of Southwell. Pulpit references were made in many churches, both morning and evening, on Sunday, July 15.

20,000 forms were taken by the Nottingham Co-operative Society for distribution to members when they called at the offices and shops for their quarterly dividends. In some cases, copies of the ballot papers were sent to customers with their weekly groceries. A letter urging members to fill up the forms and return to their stores was printed on the form signed by the managing secretary, Mr. Ll. Feber. In several of the bigger shops ballot boxes loaned by the municipal authorities prominently labelled "Peace or War" Ballot were installed.

10,000 delivered by a *commercial agency* from house to house in West Bridgford, a residential suburb containing 5,000 good class houses. Over 60 volunteer collectors were enrolled and the Friary Congregational Schoolroom placed at their disposal as "headquarters." It was quickly discovered that many of the forms put through the letter boxes had either been lost, mislaid, or destroyed and a further 5,000 forms were placed at the disposal of the volunteer collectors.

2,000 for use at meetings in the Rushcliffe by-election. 1,000 for the Manning School, Nottingham—2 forms to take home being given to each child.

400 for distribution at Keyworth, a typical Notts village at which there is a strong branch of the L.N.U.

1,000 for distribution to Rotary clubs, etc., Mr. A. E. Raynor, President of Nottingham Rotary, writing a strongly-worded letter in support.

In addition, smaller parcels were despatched to firms willing to circulate the forms among their workpeople, and the General Post Office staff agreed to participate in the ballot.

During the fortnight in which the newspaper campaign was maintained efforts were made to bring in every section of the community, the Bishop of Southwell and Bishop Talbot for the Anglicans; Rev. Hartley Holloway and Rev. Gilbert Porteus, President and Secretary respectively of the Free Church Council for the Non-conformists; the Sheriff of Nottingham (Mr. E. Purser); the Deputy Lord Mayor (Mr. H. S. Whitby); and ex-Lord Mayor Pollard on behalf of the Civic authorities; Mrs. Vera Woodward, a prominent local speaker, and Miss Barbara Tirtton (University Women's secretary) for the women; Val Coleman, agent for the Notts Miners Association; Mr. Arthur Hayday (formerly M.P. for West Nottingham) for Labour; Dr. J. W. Whitaker (Newark Technical College); and Mr. L. Orange (Mansfield Technical College) for the teachers; Mr. J. P. Norman, President Notts Adult School Union; Mr. Douglas Davis, Toc H; and Mr. S. Simkin, National Youth Anti-War Movement for Youth; Mr. J. G. McMeeking, ex-President Nottingham Rotary and former Chairman of its International Committee; Mr.

T. S. Ratcliffe, prominent St. John Ambulance man the Mayor of Loughborough (Mr. J. S. Marr); Canon Briggs (Rector of Loughborough, formerly of Royal Navy); Ald. John Lewin, Notts County Council; and many others outside purely town circles.

It was decided, feeling this to be a people's question, not to press local Members of Parliament to participate, but in response to a formal invitation to send their views if they cared. Mr. Louis Gluckstein, M.P. for East Nottingham, and Mr. A. C. Caporn, M.P. for West Nottingham, contributed letters. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, as a Junior Member of the Government—he represents the Bassetlaw Division of Notts—wrote from 10, Downing Street expressing the hope that there would be a wide response. On behalf of the L.N.U., Mr. J. Harrop White, ex-Mayor of Mansfield, Chairman Notts Federal Council, and Mr. A. E. Eberlin, Chairman Nottingham Branch, sent letters for publication.

At the time of writing only a very small proportion of the ballot papers distributed have been returned. Those already to hand are overwhelmingly in favour of the policy set out.

Speaking purely as a newspaper man, I am convinced that the task of taking a national ballot is a colossal one. The organisers will need all the help and encouragement that can possibly be mobilised. "Fighting for Peace," to-day, despite its urgency, is a far more difficult task than campaigning for war.

## THE BOURNEMOUTH COUNCIL

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

**B**OURNEMOUTH, from June 26 to 29, was the scene of probably the busiest meeting ever held by the General Council of the League of Nations Union. It was in no holiday spirit that the delegates from all parts of the United Kingdom tackled the heavy agenda before them. The generous hospitality provided by their hosts served as a pleasant background to the solid work which they had come to do on behalf of the members. From the chair, Viscount Cecil inspired others with his genius for concentration. Yet so keen and prolonged were the earlier discussions that only an intensive effort at the final session enabled the delegates to depart "with the gratifying feeling that their duty had been done."

Great difficulties, in that atmosphere of determination, provided the Union with great opportunities. The disturbing international situation, which the Council had to face, stood out not only as a menace to the collective system embodied in the League of Nations, but also as the sternest challenge in the history of the Union. In defending itself against the unscrupulous attacks of its enemies at home, the most effective action that it could take would be a supreme effort to strengthen the League.

The Union, as Lord Cecil declared with emphasis, was stronger in every way than before the attacks began. But the display of hostility against it was bound to create doubt in the mind of the Government, while also producing some effect in foreign countries. A step must be taken which would make it quite clear that the people of this country were enthusiastically and determinedly in favour of peace and the League of Nations. With impressive earnestness, Lord Cecil then invited all branches of the Union to give their united support to the promotion of the National Declaration on the League and Armaments, the history of which he outlined. "If this country does give a

courageous lead," he concluded, "it will be followed by almost all countries of the world. We shall do better work for peace than we have done for many years."

Lord Cecil's appeal produced an immediate effect. It took the wind out of the sails of those delegates who had come primed with instructions to oppose the National Declaration—as one of their number publicly admitted. Another "convert" wished that all branches with strong feelings against the scheme could have heard the speech.

Opposition dwindled. A few voices urged that nothing should be done until no doubt remained that the Declaration would be effectively undertaken, or that a wiser plan would be to postpone it until next year. On the other hand, as Lady Layton pointed out, the situation was too urgent for waiting.

After the amendment favouring caution had been lost by a large majority, the Council enthusiastically approved the plan of a National Declaration.

At the public meeting, which that evening crowded the Town Hall to overflowing, Viscount Cecil dealt with the main points of the Declaration. Fervent applause greeted the statement: "I think the time has come for an appeal to the people."

That "the war which begins to threaten can be prevented" was urged by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, who spoke in the absence of Lord Lytton. Collective defence, he maintained, differed from war practically, politically and morally.

Mr. Noel Baker impressed the audience with his recital of the League's achievements. Coming on to the Disarmament Conference, he showed that there was now in existence an actual programme of disarmament and security, if only the nations would accept it.

A general conference, open to all members of the

Union, preceded the more formal Council discussions on the League and world affairs. Lord Cecil, Sir George Paish, Lady Layton, Lord Davies, Sir Arthur Haworth, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss K. D. Courtney, Lord Allen, Sir Thomas Urwick and Professor Murray were among those who took part in an interesting and sometimes provocative debate.

The "Declaration in Defence of Peace," brought by the Executive Committee into harmony with the Folkestone resolutions of the International Federation, calls for little comment. With nearly all its substance, the Council was heartily in agreement. The Union, it is clear, still stands for the all-round abolition of those weapons already prohibited to certain countries, and believes that sooner or later its opinion will triumph. Control of civil aviation caused some controversy.

The Council's last act was to state, in emphatic language, the serious view which it took of the declaration, made by the Secretary for Air in the House of Lords, on the Government's plans for increasing the country's present air forces.

## SECURITY FOR EUROPE

By The Secretary of the Union

**T**HE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, at its meeting on July 19, expressed its gratitude to Sir John Simon for his statements in the House of Commons on July 13 concerning the proposed Eastern pact of mutual guarantee and the consequent entry of Russia into the League.

Let us see what will be the result if this Eastern Pact of mutual guarantee is negotiated and followed by other regional security pacts. In any one of these regions the innermost ring of the collective system would consist of the parties to the local regional pact; their duty would be to use whatever means were necessary to restrain an aggressor indicated by the Council of the League. In support of this inner ring would be the other States Members of the League; an intermediate circle pledged to use diplomatic and economic pressure to restrain an aggressor, but not obliged to use force except in the doubly-unlikely event of the aggressor resorting to force and the combined forces of the other parties to the regional pact proving insufficient to stop the aggression. In the outermost circle would be the non-League Powers who might co-operate in collective action in any particular case, but whose pledged support for the collective system would be confined to consultation with the League and to non-interference with the action taken by the signatories of the regional pact or by other League States for the purpose of restraining the aggressor.

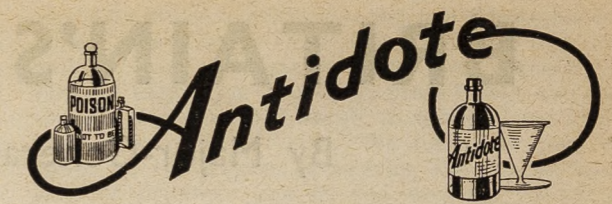
Great Britain need have no hesitation in declaring her willingness to co-operate wholeheartedly in such a scheme as this:

"I hold," said Sir Austen Chamberlain in the Guildhall on April 12, 1934, "that our safety is not in isolation, but in the recognition that the aggressor is the common enemy of mankind, and in the establishment of a system which makes it certain that against the aggressor there will be mobilised a force which is irresistible and which must deny to the aggressor the benefit he hoped to derive from his aggression."

Such a scheme of collective defence would make British territory and trade routes safe against attack; it would give France and other countries the security without which they dare not further disarm; and it would give Germany equality of status in armaments without any substantial measure of re-armament on her part.

So soon as the world knows for certain that the British people are now ready to join in such collective action as will prevent aggression from being attempted, or if attempted from succeeding, the real difficulty in the present world crisis will be overcome. We cannot have peace without responsibility.

J. C. M. G.



POISON :

"... Towns and villages and inhabitants must suffer from bombing when the aggressors are caught in transit. I fear that air action confined to the zones would be both ineffective and, possibly, cruel and unjust."—Letter in the *Times* of July 11, from Air Commodore J. A. CHAMIER, criticising GENERAL GROVES'S book on International Air Force.

ANTIDOTE :

"To-day the bombing aeroplane is merely the policeman that brings the offender to the seat of justice. Its principle is not to kill, but to make life so unpleasant that the tribesman is glad to submit, take his punishment, and become (at least temporarily) a good citizen."—The same gentleman, defending the retention of the right to bomb from the air for police purposes, in the *Oxford Mail* of August 17 last year.

POISON :

"A third party says: 'Let us trust to the League of Nations; they will pass some resolution which all good people will respect.' But what about the bad people?"—MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, in an article entitled "How I would Procure Peace" in the *Daily Mail*.

ANTIDOTE :

If the bad people could not be controlled by "all good people," how could Britain, in "Splendid Isolation," guarantee the peace of the world?

POISON :

"The League of Nations Union is fast becoming a mere stage army. Membership and subscriptions are falling off. While new members are becoming fewer each year, there are more and more resignations of old members. Most M.P.'s have long ceased to pay heed to the flood of correspondence from the Union and its branches," etc., etc.—*Daily Express* article attacking the Union.

ANTIDOTE :

Leaving aside the wilful distortions in the figures quoted in the article, and the difficulty of understanding how "a stage army" can "flood" Members of Parliament with correspondence, if the object of the article be to suggest that a small Union membership would prove that the League policy is a bad one, one might with equal logic contend that because over a million people buy the *Daily Express*, it must therefore be a credit to the highest ideals of journalism—which is absurd, as Euclid would say.

POISON :

"When I think of this mighty metropolis of London and its population of five or six millions, and how short a distance it is for the modern aeroplane from the Continent to this island, I feel bound to warn the British public of its danger of improvidence. We ought a year ago to have had a large vote of credit to double the Air Force, and a larger one as soon as possible to redouble it."—MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, speaking at Wanstead.

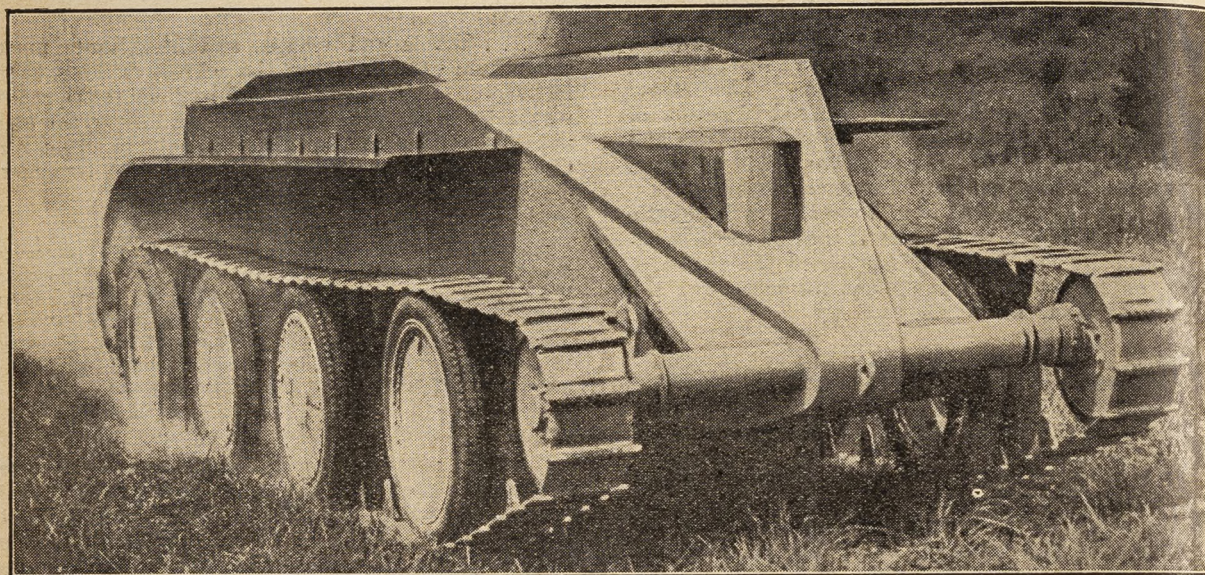
ANTIDOTE :

Viscount Castlerosse, in the *Sunday Express*, gives details of "a bulge with zipp fastener under all the Luft-Hansa aeroplanes" which is intended for luggage, but which "is equally effective for bombs, and that is why it is there!" If we double or redouble the Air Force, it would hardly save "this mighty metropolis of London, and its population," from the contents of those luggage carriers!

C. C. T.

# BRITAIN'S SECURITY

By Major-General J. F. C. FULLER



One of the surprises which even Germany's pre-war foresight did not envisage.

THE problem that, above all others, exercises to-day the thoughts of all normal British citizens is undoubtedly that of safeguarding our national security without precipitating increased competition in armaments. Sir Norman Angell's latest book, "The Menace to Our National Defence" (Hamilton, 3s. 6d.), is, therefore, a timely contribution to the discussion.

The object of this book is a pre-eminently rational one: it is not to abolish war or to create a world-wide police force to suppress its outbreak, but "to decide how defence may be best achieved." Yet unfortunately for the reader, the author would appear to have rushed it out at great speed; to have accepted evidence without much examination, and to have largely overlooked the supreme fact—that war is at heart a psychological and not a logical problem.

War is not the obverse of peace and, whilst on page 99 the author would seem to realise this, on the first page of Chapter I he states that, "if we really did put peace above everything else we should not maintain our Army and Navy." But what kind of peace? If he means passive submission to all physical force, however iniquitous, then I agree; yet if he means a state of creative freedom unrestricted by physical force, then I disagree; for so long as the present diseases of peace continue there will be wars, if only to deliver the nations from these diseases. As a writer has said: "War endures not because men are base, but because they are noble."

This does not mean that war is inevitable any more than that surgical operations are inevitable; but what it does mean is: that they are necessary so long as social and international diseases exist, and that when these are removed they will become unnecessary. If this is logical, then it follows that the true war problem is not one of restricting force but of eliminating discontent; it is a psychological and a sociological problem far more so than a military and a political one.

As a lover of creative freedom and an admirer of Sir Norman Angell's unflinching zeal in the cause of

peace, I would ask him to consider this view. In this book it is not considered, except very incidentally so. In place he demolishes the physical problem which logically demolishes itself; because force cannot solve a moral problem: as well solve love with a hammer as international fear by cannon-shot.

Force is nevertheless a fact which must be considered. But does he consider it from the right angle? He assumes that the experts must be right and that there is no answer to air attack except by retaliation. There may not be; yet throughout the course of history this is the assertion which has met every new weapon—the Macedonian Sarissa, Greek fire, the explosive shell against wooden ships, etc., etc.

Again, on the dicta of the experts, he assumes that paralysing air attacks can suddenly emerge from out the blue. They can in the peace-mind and the laboratory-mind of the mechanical expert; but in the war-mind, the mind governed by the chances of war, the probable, the possible and the unknown, I much doubt it. I have been through two wars, and I cannot remember a single plan which has run quite straight—most have failed and many utterly and ignominiously.

Two points he misses when examining this subject, and both are psychological. The first is, that retaliation, as outlined by the air experts, cannot establish peace, but only an armistice of undying hatred; and the second, in the words of a great philosopher, is: "... the nations of Europe have one thing which they have not had for centuries. And that is the dawning consciousness of a common predicament. They begin to know, in the ruins of their bloodiest rivalry, that the hour has come when, if they cannot live together they must go together to a worse downfall." This was the supreme and hidden psychological lesson of the World War, the bottomless precipice the war-mind is ultimately confronted with.

Is, then, this book not worth reading? Far from it, for it should be read by all students of war and of peace,

if only to whet their imaginations on. Read it; for the author enters the physical sphere of war like a Berserker, and with his keen sword of logic he demolishes one military idol after another. The absurdity of parity, of six inch guns in fogs and eight inch guns in clear weather, and such like scholastic hair-splittings, which are reminiscent of "how many angels can stand upon the point of a needle?" go down into the ridiculous. Naval power is dematerialised and the idea of an international, or super-national, police force on a world-wide scale is shown to be in existing circumstances a castle in the clouds. He sees, though he does not actually say so, that an acorn is better than an imaginary oak. That the mistake has been to plan the world for the oak before the acorn has sprouted. In other words: to talk of an international police force before even two nations have integrated, let alone the whole world, is absurd. Though he agrees that "A settlement which is just to-day may be unjust to-morrow," and vitiates this remark by stating: "But I would regard the verdict of even a bad court as to be preferred to the decision of the best war" (incidentally

the cause of the most devastating war Europe has ever known—the Thirty Years' War), he sees that integration must originate between two nations. He suggests that we, or some other great Power, and there are only seven, say righteously to another great Power, "peace be with us".... "We intend to pool our power for the purpose of securing third party settlement of disputes; join us, and we grant you all the privileges we claim."

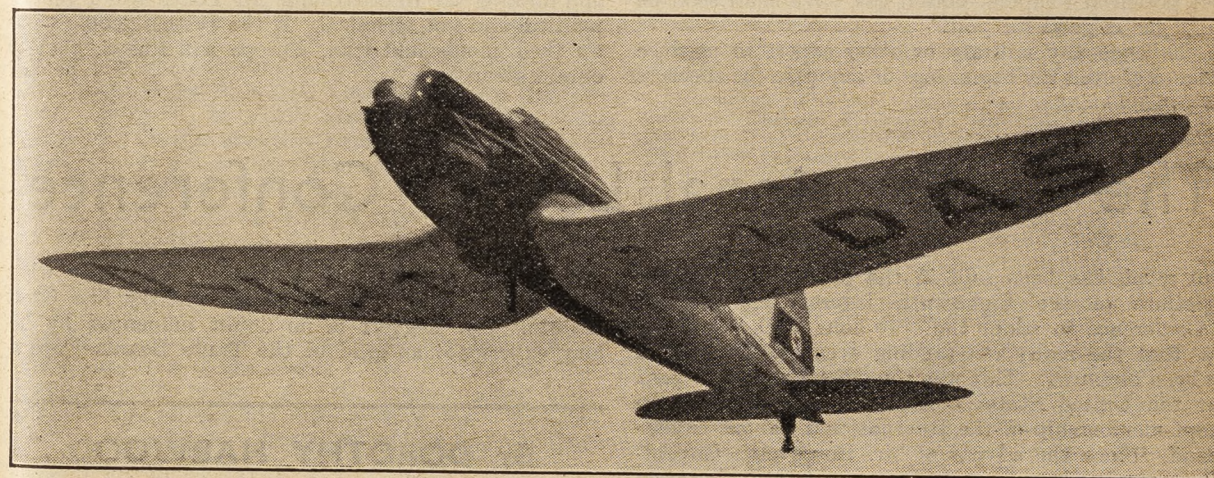
This, however difficult it may be, is common sense and something founded on earth. Yet if these two nations, imbued with this common sense, fail to examine the problem of peace and war (one problem and not two) psychologically, and between themselves fail to eliminate all causes of discontent, moral and economic as well as physical, their alliance will be impermanent.

The final fact is: that in this problem of peace and war we are faced by two opposite systems of world integration: the system of the British Empire based on creative freedom, and that of the Roman Empire based on suppressive force. The second failed; will the first succeed? Read this book.

# THE AIR MENACE

By PHILIP S. MUMFORD

Captain Mumford was attached to the R.F.C. and R.A.F. during the War from 1916-1918, and subsequently from 1927-1932 when he was an Intelligence Officer in Iraq.



A Luft Hansa air-liner, showing the luggage-carrying device referred to in "Antidote"

THE last action of the Bournemouth meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union was to condemn the Government's decision to increase the Air Force before the termination of the Disarmament Conference.

Two days previously, an appeal by Lord Allen of Hurtwood to internationalise civil aviation and create an international Air Police had been carried by a small majority, a decision which was later modified to one of examining the problem.

The fact stands out that the Imperialists of the old school know what they want and are asking for it with no uncertain voice, whilst the forces who still hope to make for peaceful settlements of international disputes are divided amongst themselves and uncertain of their own aims.

The results of such a position are obvious. An alarmed and disillusioned Europe is asking for security,

for the best form of security immediately available; and those who come forward with concrete schemes will be followed, whether those schemes are good or bad.

For fifteen years the League of Nations has been attempting to function by means of Conferences based upon the assumption of the good will and intelligence of the men, who by one means or another claim to represent the populations of Europe. At the end of this time we have come to a position where supporters of the principles underlying the League must admit, if not failure, something depressingly near to it.

There are two alternatives: return to the pre-war conception of international affairs and re-arm, or reconstruct and strengthen the League in the light of past failures.

What about the Time factor? For the first fifteen years of its existence the League has lived in a tempor-

arily favourable atmosphere, when war weariness of Europe prevented any possibility of immediate conflict. That time is over. The veterans of the Great War are now out of the firing line, and will be replaced by young men whose actual memories of that war, if any, are vague and often romantic.

These young men, owing to the economic situation, are mostly dissatisfied. Many are unemployed, others are working at jobs which in financial reward, interest, and prestige are lower than those they had hoped to fulfil. A little clever propaganda, and they would flock to the colours of their respective nations, partly from patriotism but mostly to escape from the dullness and hopelessness of their present existence. The decision between re-armament and introduction of international law admits no further delay.

This, then, is the position of Europe, which now holds in its hands destructive powers that would have sounded fantastic twenty years ago. The coming of air power has introduced one new principle and re-introduced one old one.

The new principle is the comparatively simple one of fighting in three dimensions instead of two as formerly, and yet upon this small point hangs the fate of Europe. The old balance between defence and attack has been utterly destroyed. An Air Force is all attack and, practically speaking, no defence—except retaliation.

I would stress this point because there is a tendency at the present time to minimise the fact. Those people whose only plan for safety is to "double and redouble" our air forces are attempting to soothe the fears of the public both as to the impotence in defence of this aggressive arm and the destructive properties of its most potential weapon—poison gas. We shall soon be told "gas is good for you."

I challenge any military or other expert to produce evidence of even the beginnings of any plan for effective

## The International Labour Conference

So much has been said in the public Press of the failure of the Eighteenth International Labour Conference to adopt the "40-hour week" convention that the really outstanding event of the session has been obscured. This was the official announcement that the United States of America was prepared to accept membership of the International Labour Organisation. Since the advent of Mr. Roosevelt's Government, there has been a much closer co-operation between the United States and the Office, but the overwhelming vote of both Houses of Congress, authorising the President to apply for membership, amply justified the Director's description of the Conference as "epoch-making in the history of labour and of peace." Unfortunately, the formal acceptance of the Conference's invitation did not arrive in time to elect the U.S.A. a member of the Governing Body, but it is understood that when the U.S.A. enters the I.L.O. one of the agricultural States will withdraw to make room; an employers' and probably a workers' representative will also give up their places.

To return to the question of the "40-hour week." There was much acrimonious discussion between the employers' and workers' representatives; the governments were divided, but many were in favour of the general principle. The strongest opposition came from Mr. Leggett, the British Government delegate. He insisted that practical results could only be achieved by a series of conventions, industry by industry.

defence. A hope, like Mr. Micawber's, that "something will turn up" to protect the public will hardly satisfy them.

Even more important is the re-introduction of the old principle of war against the civil population. For many hundreds of years we had rid ourselves of this scourge. War was fought between the fighting forces; the civil population, except for regrettable accidents and incidents, remained untouched. The new air arm not only menaces armies, navies, and other combatant activities; it directly attacks men and women and children; it will demolish libraries, museums, the accumulated knowledge and constructive effort of generations. It was the principle of fighting civilian populations and their work which destroyed all past civilisations.

Such is the problem we have to face, and there appears only one solution. Take this powerful air weapon out of the hands of National Forces and place it in the hands of an international body, to be put to constructive international uses. Of course, there are difficulties and disadvantages, but these difficulties are mainly political and not administrative. It must be admitted that such a solution gives great power to the League, and it may be misused on some occasions. But if we leave this power in the hands of fifty or sixty independent governments owning no law amongst themselves, it will be not only misused, but misused to the point of utter destruction over the whole of Europe. When will those who wish for peace and security against the old international anarchy join forces, and give a bold lead to the only constructive alternative?

The difficulties of Internationalising Civil Aviation and forming an International Air Police are, I repeat, political and not technical. If the British people make up their minds and lead, Europe will follow, glad to obtain security.

It is hard to resist his arguments, especially when applied to a highly industrialised country like Great Britain. Mr. Leggett is no doubt influenced by his long experience as head of the Trade Boards Department of the Ministry of Labour: The application of a minimum wage for industry as a whole, so strongly advocated by the trade unions after the war, is gradually being made effective by this very method of advancing industry by industry. But the members of the I.L.O. include many countries whose social legislation is of recent growth and is largely due to the international pressure exerted through the efforts of the I.L.O.

By DOROTHY HARWOOD

An illustration of this attitude was afforded in the discussions of the Committee on Article 408. This Committee examines reports from governments on action taken by them to carry out the conventions which they have ratified. Strictly speaking, ratification should not take place until the appropriate legislation has been passed, but the South American countries, which have recently ratified such a large number of conventions, explained that the only way in which they could get their Parliaments to enact the legisla-

tion was to ratify first. Moreover, there is ample evidence that the conventions are really enforced and do not remain a dead letter. When such a measure as the "40-hour week" is brought up for discussion, these countries are less likely to condemn it than a country like Great Britain, where laws represent the culmination, not the beginning, of a measure of social reform. So, although the Conference has been strongly criticised for "wasting time over an impracticable measure," it must be remembered that one of its most useful functions is the opportunity it affords for international discussion of social and economic questions. There was a time when attacks on the existence of the I.L.O. as such used to be very popular amongst the employers, and these have virtually disappeared.



## Languages by The Pelman Method

### A Foreign Language Learned in Half the Usual Time

THE problem of learning a Foreign Language in half the usual time has at last been solved. A new method has been devised which is enabling thousands of men and women to learn French, German, Italian and Spanish without any of the usual drudgery.

Even those who "couldn't get on with languages" at school can, by this method, learn any one of these four languages with the greatest ease.

There are no complicated rules to master. There is no dreary desert of grammar to be traversed. There are no vocabularies to be memorised mechanically. There are no prose passages to be translated from one language into another.

All these obstacles to the acquirement of a Foreign Language have been swept entirely away. The new method takes you to the language itself, and it does this from the very start. You learn from the fountain head. You learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. It is a direct method. English is not used at all. Yet the method is so simple that even a child can follow it, and so enjoyable that everyone who starts to learn a language in this way goes on until the language has been thoroughly mastered.

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

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

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

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

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

"The Pelman method has changed the study of languages from a drudgery to a delight."

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### An Important Record

The most solid piece of work accomplished by the Conference was the adoption of a Draft Convention on unemployment insurance and relief by 80 votes to 8. It aroused great interest and controversy, and the number of amendments submitted in committee, which easily exceeded 100, constituted a record for the Conference since its inception. The convention had necessarily to take into account that unemployment insurance and relief are, in the economy of many States, institutions of very recent date and still largely in the experimental stage. In the circumstances the convention was the best obtainable. Its standards are clearly lower than those accepted to-day in more advanced countries. On the other hand, a stronger convention would have stood little chance of widespread ratification or even adoption by the Conference. Its conclusion also proved that in certain cases the Office does not push the Conference towards conventions beyond the standard of the more advanced countries; a criticism which Mr. Leggett used with some force in the discussion on the "40-hour week."

Mr. Butler's report to the Conference gave rise to a long discussion, in which nearly all the delegates participated, on the economic situation. Although the general view was that this was more hopeful, yet little confidence was shown that any international action would be taken on a large enough scale to remedy that situation by radical means.

Mr. Butler was criticised for devoting too much of his report to economic rather than social questions, and for laying too much emphasis on "planning." Nevertheless, the employers were rather embarrassed in their criticisms of the report. The Director left few targets for them to aim at. Mr. Leggett made very handsome amends for his criticisms of the "40-hour week" in his tributes to the work of the Organisation as a whole. He said:

"We in Great Britain believe that this Organisation is the place in which we can find a solution. . . . We feel that, in association with the employers and workers of our country and of other countries, we shall be able to find such a solution as will produce in a few years complete contentment, complete satisfaction and complete confidence that our standard of life is not going to be destroyed."

Finally, the new Governing Body was elected for the next three years, on the enlarged basis of 16 Governments, 8 employers and 8 workers. The 8 Governments elected, in addition to the 8 permanent "States of chief industrial importance," were: Spain, China, Poland, Finland, Argentine, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, and Mexico.

### NOTICE

The National Declaration Ballot Paper is reproduced on our back page **FOR INFORMATION ONLY**, and is not intended for actual voting purposes.

## BOOK NOTICES

**Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India.** Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt. (Macmillan & Co. 21s.)

The writers of this History claim that they have written "objectively." It may be said at once that their claim is justified, for the work is well documented throughout, contains no purple patches of emotional writing, and nowhere allows the personalities of the missionary-educationist (Mr. Thompson) or the retired I.C.S. man (Mr. Garratt) to obtrude. Above all, it is neither a propagandist tract nor an administrative officer's guide book—the force of which remark will be appreciated by those who have studied other works of history, especially when the subject matter is India.

It is no contradiction to add that the book is a work of art; that is to say, that the authors have had a definite purpose before them, and, with that purpose in view, out of the great mass of material have selected what has helped to illustrate that purpose. Indeed, that is revealed in the very title. There are some who see in recent developments not merely the decline and fall of British Rule in India, but also the threatenings of a return to disorder and anarchy. Messrs. Thompson and Garratt are not prophets but historians, and in what has happened there they trace a thread of designs. Those who came as mere traders become compelled, unwittingly, almost unwillingly, to become rulers. That is the first great stage of the journey. But the finger moves on. British Rule is inevitably accompanied by the introduction of British idealism. The growth of Indian nationalism is therefore seen as a natural product of British Rule. Therefore what is happening to-day is, for good or evil, the fulfilment of British Rule. The use of expressions such as "abdication" are not only indications of emotional partisan prejudice, but to most appear untrue to the facts of the situation. At any rate, Messrs. Thompson and Garratt see through the tangle a proper and reasonable development—and most of us will prefer to adopt their point of view.

It is difficult to select out of many particular aspects of the Indian problem with which the authors deal any one of outstanding importance. Perhaps, however, it is right to mention that the gulf between Briton and Indian is rightly emphasised as one of the chief causes of present difficulty. Historically, this may have originated at the time of, and in consequence of, the Indian Mutiny. The authors seem to the present reviewer to ascribe too much of the ill-feeling to that nearly 80-year-old, and after all rather small, event. They point also, of course, to numerous other causes, e.g., the rise and rationalisation of bureaucracy, the advent of the English wife and daughter, the facilities of travel and communication between Britain and India. These surely have been the potent influences! But perhaps the deepest reason of all lies in racial psychology. India is the century-old home of "caste." The Anglo-Saxon is latently full of caste-feeling, and in the right atmosphere his innate character easily asserts itself. And so we get that unhappy phenomenon,

describable in the jargon of psycho-analysis, an extremely sensitive inferiority-complex on the side of the Indian, an unconscious and therefore all the more dangerous superiority-complex in the Briton. A.D.

**C. P. Scott, of "The Manchester Guardian,"** By J. L. Hammond. (Bell. 12s. 6d.)

Here is a book trebly welcome—for its subject, its manner, its importance. It tells a noble story with a noble absence of ornament. It conveys a timely message. In effect, it says: "Journalism is not the discreditable trade impatient idealists are apt to allege. Even in journalism brains and character count. Honesty reaps its reward."

Judged by any sane standard of powers and performance, Scott was a great man. For half a century he was Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*; for half that time he was chief proprietor as well. The circulation of the *Guardian* has never been large; its profits have never been rich; it is published in a provincial city. Yet it exercises an influence to which no "popular" daily can pretend. Its columns are read and its opinions studied with respect all over the world. Its status is unique. It is the acknowledged voice of Liberalism, a creed far wider than any party and deeper rooted than any programme. And its qualities and prestige because Scott made the paper his life and worked his life into the paper. Scott had the great man's flair for picking his helpers. Having picked them, he had the knack of inspiring them with his own devotion. There may have been happier offices. If money means happiness, there must have been.

But there never was a staff whose members were prouder to belong to it, or prouder of their chief. Scott was dignified, kindly, simple. It seemed never to have occurred to him that journalism could be deemed an unworthy calling. His example proclaimed that a man's best was not a shade too good for the craft and the paper. When he said: "Comment is free, but facts are sacred," he was not indulging in any flourish of self-flattery. He was summarising his life's practice. Scott had further the great man's gift of growth. In his youth, he was able, cautious, perhaps a little cold. He was definitely Whig. As the years passed he gained confidence and his heart and mind warmed to the pressing, common needs of humanity. He was prepared to take graver risks. He championed a bolder, more constructive handling of crucial problems at home and abroad. And with his wider sweep of vision and quicker response he acquired new skill as a writer. Life and colour flowed into his work. After sixty, his style was more vital and supple than it had ever been before. Deservedly with the increase in his powers came an increase in his authority in world affairs.

All these things Mr. J. L. Hammond sets down in the graphic yet sober fashion which has earned the gratitude of readers in a series of historical masterpieces. Mr. Hammond knows, none better, how to pose his hero against a background which explains, and how to relate the events of a life to the main currents of an age. How well Mr. Hammond understands Scott appears in the close agreement of his picture with the bright and

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affectionate portrait of Scott at work in the *Guardian* office drawn by Mr. W. P. Crozier, the present editor, who has thirty years of admiring memories to guide his lively pen.

**Six People in a Fog: Conversations on Disarmament.** Young Women's Christian Association. 2d. each (1s. 9d. a dozen).

The scene of this conversation is a railway carriage on a foggy day, and the six participants' talk turns on Disarmament. Here, in very simple language, are answered the sorts of questions that are actually asked about this all-important international subject by people who have not followed the discussions very closely. This little piece could very properly be used by Branches who wished to do something a little different.

**An Atlas of Current Affairs.** By J. F. Horrabin. (Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

This book of sketch maps, simplified and clearly annotated and intended for the intelligent newspaper reader, as well as for the student of current history, consists of a series of clearly-drawn maps illustrating key places and key problems in the world of to-day. Beside each map is a terse discussion of its significance in world politics.

To those interested in international affairs, this book, which goes easily into the pocket, is a useful *multum in parvo* of the geographical factors underlying the political problems of the world.

**Pacific Affairs.** March, 1934. Vol. VII. No. 1.

The quarterly publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Arnold Toynbee writes on The Next War—Europe or Asia; Owen Lattimore on Mongolia Enters World Affairs (both rather gloomy!). There are other articles or reports on Japanese Emigration to Brazil; China's Greatest Book (the *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*); A Historical Study of Capitalism in Japan; and a Study of Chinese Rural Population.

**Here and There.** Third series. By Stephen King-Hall. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 2s. 6d.)

All who have listened to Commander King-Hall's wireless talks to children will have marvelled at his skill in explaining international problems in such a simple way. Here are reprints of those between June and December last year. Being actual verbatim reprints they are somewhat dated. Such topicalities as "last Wednesday the Derby took place. . . ." could well stand editing.

#### Official League and I.L.O. Publications

**Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations, 1933—34.** (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. II.A.6). 299 pages. In wrappers, 10s.; bound in cloth, 12s. 6d. [Just Out.]

A collection of statistics relating to the population of the world and its financial and economic activities.

**Review of World Trade, 1933.** (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. II.A.12). 82 pages. 2s. 6d.

A presentation and analysis of world trade in 1933. This volume compares the trade of the world of continental groups and individual countries.

**Committee on Traffic in Women and Children: Abolition of Licensed Houses.** (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. IV.7). 96 pages. 3s.

This publication contains the facts which have induced the Traffic Committee to recommend the abolition of licensed houses.

**Abolition of Licensed Houses.** Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. (Ser. L.O.N.P., 1934, IV.7. About 3s.)

This publication contains the facts before the Traffic Committee, and is particularly intended to educate public opinion in favour of the abolition of licensed houses.

**Review of World Trade, 1933.** (Ser. L.O.N.P., 1934, II.A.12. About 2s.)

A presentation and analysis of world trade in 1933. This volume demonstrates that while the value of trade diminished again in 1933 the quantum increased, mainly owing to the larger exports of raw materials; exports of manufactured products were, however, also slightly higher than in 1932.

#### New Union Publications

No. 370. **The Commonwealth of Nations.** Sermon by Bishop of Winchester to Council meeting at Bournemouth, June 26, 1934. 1d.

No. 0291. **Youth Group Manual.** 4d.

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HEADWAY, August, 1934



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### A PLEA FOR THE PACIFISTS

SIR,—As a comparatively new member of the L.N.U., I am surprised at the large number of Union members who are so bitterly scornful and contemptuous of the Pacifists and their policy. Surely, when the Union is "flat out" for the establishing of world peace, it is inconsistent that such a proportion of its members should regard the Pacifist policy as they do. Is it not a fact that were this policy universally adopted war would automatically cease?

In a quite recent issue of HEADWAY, a clergyman of some apparent standing contributed an article in which he held the Pacifists up to open derision. He stated that he himself did not believe in war, but should it ever become necessary he would fight. And there are hundreds of thousands of other folk who argue in the same strain.

It is interesting to compare the statement of the Pacifist with that of the above-mentioned clergyman and his co-believers.

The Pacifist: "I do not believe in war, and I will not, therefore, take any part whatsoever in war or the preparation for it."

The Clergyman: "I do not believe in war, but if necessary I will fight."

Of the two, it is plainly obvious which is the more positive. The Pacifist's argument is straightforward and full of decision; there is no room for swerving aside, no chance of backsliding, no loophole of escape.

On the other hand, the argument put forward by the clergyman and others like him amounts to nothing more than a piece of pious hypocrisy. Their protests that the Pacifists are weaklings and cowards are as stupid as they are wrong. No man who adopts a policy in which he believes, and has the courage of his convictions, is a coward.

The Pacifists believe in Peace, they want Peace, and are working for it. The very fact that they refuse to be hoodwinked by the criminal machinations of the armament rings and the war mongers is in itself sufficient proof that they are not prepared to submit meekly to anything and everything that is thrust upon them.

"I DO NOT BELIEVE IN WAR, BUT IF NECESSARY I WILL FIGHT" is the stupid policy that enables the armament manufacturers to sell their wares and pile up colossal fortunes in blood money.

No! The Pacifist is not a coward, and even if he were it is far better to be a self-admitted coward than a canting hypocrite, or an individual who, though not believing in war, has nothing better to do with his ears than keep them cocked in readiness for the word "Necessary" to come bellowing through the blood-stained megaphone of the war mongers.

Harlesden.

SYDNEY H. ELLIS.

### MR. AMERY'S OVERSIGHT

SIR,—I have read the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery's so-called "Case Against the League" with surprise that an ex-Cabinet Minister, who, above all, should speak with some sense of authority and discretion, should expound such obvious nonsense as to say that, had the nations been equipped with 'planes and tanks as efficient as present-day ones, the Great War might not have lasted long, and the casualties would have been greatly decreased.

He made absolutely no mention of the advancement of chemical warfare in the air which, like the 'planes he mentioned, were unknown in the Great War, but utterly ignores the vilest menace that has ever confronted civilisation. 'Planes using secretly prepared poisonous gases could wipe out the entire population of London in a few minutes.

On these grounds alone a case in defence of the League can be centred.

The issues are too grave to ignore, the consequences too serious to be faced.

HENRY A. FISHER.

Shepherd's Bush.

### CORRESPONDENTS ANSWERED

SIR,—Baroness Von der Goltz can be quite sure that Germany would be treated with absolute equality if she returned to the League. An explicit declaration to this effect was made last December. It is much to be wished that she would return now, as an early withdrawal of her resignation from the League of Nations would do very much to stabilise the peace of the world. The nations must work in harmony if they are to prosper. As the first part of our fourfold affirmation says, "God is calling the nations of the world to learn to live as one family."

And I hope, too, with all my heart that no other nation or nations, disheartened by the discouragements which the League has of late received, will forsake the policy of the League, and revert to separate alliances, such as were in existence before the Great War. These things do not really make for safety, but only, sooner or later, for war. The only policy that will make the world safe for peace is the policy of the League, and if we are true to that we shall succeed. "Let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not."

And now to answer the objections contained in the other letters. Disarmament and security go together. It is a Christian principle to defend the wronged against the aggressor, and a well-thought-out scheme of pooled security, solemnly agreed to by all the nations, would render another Great War impossible. What was done by the League when Greece invaded Bulgaria, and when Yugo-Slavia invaded Albania, and when Corfu was bombarded, can be done at all times. And surely such prompt united action is better than idle acquiescence in war.

No one proposes making war on Japan, but we must be better prepared against other such contingencies. If the sanctions are sufficiently strong, I do not think any nation would attempt to violate its solemn covenant-responsibilities. In any case, there is no other way than this of effectually guaranteeing the peace of the world.

The canons of the Church prohibit an ecclesiastical from taking part in armed conflict, but not from advocating it when it is just. Compare, for example, the pulpit utterances of our clergy during the Great War.

Nearly all the bishops and a great many of the clergy are supporters of the League of Nations. In taking this line they are acting as Christian men. The League of Nations may not be perfect in all its organisation, but any defects of this kind are remediable. Its principle is unimpeachable.

J. R. PHILLIPS.

Guildford.

### THE ARCHBISHOP'S APPEAL

SIR,—Mr. Stanley Davies in his criticism of the Archbishop's appeal falls into the popular error of assuming that an extreme and very unlikely case is going to arise. In the first place, there are a dozen powerful weapons that can be used against a proved aggressor nation before actual force is resorted to, such as withdrawal of recognition, a limited boycott, etc.; but more important than these is the necessity of making the aggressor nation feel that the League has the final power there which could be applied as a last desperate necessity. Mr. Wickham Steed has recently warned us that the only way to keep Germany from external aggression is to make it clear to her by the forces arrayed against her that she has no possible chance of success if she starts a war. I know it is only the second best way, but in the present state of the world and the bellicose attitude of certain States we have no alternative but to employ it till a saner mood comes over the world. Further than this, as we were reminded very forcibly at the Birmingham National Peace Congress, the time to prevent a war is at least two or three years before it breaks out. If the peoples of the other nations, through their Governments, had placed an embargo on the supply of arms to Japan in 1929 she would not have entered on her career of aggression in 1931, and might still be a member of the League. It is futile to put all the blame on the League, when the people themselves and their Governments are mainly responsible.

CECIL H. S. WILLSON, M.A.

Weybridge.

### A THIRD WAY

SIR,—The letters of William Platt and G. E. Lee in your May number are related to each other. The latter asks why the attack on China by Japan was not followed by a refusal to accept Japanese imports. The former evidently assumes, not altogether unwarrantably, that such a refusal might lead to war and wholesale slaughter, and that "Clearly the only thing to do, if the Continental nations fight, is for us to stand aside." Is that the only alternative?

Wherein consists the essential weakness of the League of Nations in the treatment of Japan's provocative actions? It is derived from two main sources:

(1) The leading members of the League of Nations have been conquering nations, and possess vast territories as the result of conquests—some of the conquests as recent as the last Great War.

(2) Europe's restraining action on Japan is paralysed by the antagonism of France and Germany. If Japan said, "Let's fight for it," these two Powers might take different sides, and draw others with them.

No doubt it is difficult to remove these two obstacles to effective moral pressure, which is the most important element in economic or any other sanctions, but the difficulty is not insuperable if we acquire sufficient knowledge and good will, and can overcome our selfish lust of domination.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Milltembar.

### WHAT IS POWER?

SIR,—The comments of "A Captious Critic" in your May issue were not at all convincingly answered in the footnote. To say we must join in "military" action in order to prevent "war" seems a contradiction in terms. "Can Satan cast out Satan?"

The expression "a fourth-rate Power" surely lacks all significance until you insert some qualifying adjective. What sort of "Power"?

If we wish to be a Peace Power, of course we cannot at the same time be a Military Power—not even a fourth-rate one!

ELSIE H. SMITH.

Welwyn Garden City.

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## Labour & War

By BJARNE BRAATOY 8s. 6d.

Preface by H. J. Laski

"This stimulating book provides, first, a useful discussion of the present state of the international machinery for the prevention of war, and, secondly, a most realistic account of the international organisation of the Labour movement, industrial and political."

—Manchester Guardian.

## The New Internationalism

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Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

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146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

HERE AND THERE



The North of Scotland District Council organised a vast Women's Peace Demonstration, in which some 25 women's organisations co-operated, and which was attended by over 3,000 women, who marched in procession through the main streets of Aberdeen. Our photograph, which is reproduced by kind permission of the "Aberdeen Press and Journal," shows the Women Unionists' section of the gathering.

A tableau with which the **Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington** Branch recently took second prize in the hospital carnival was presented by girls from the Junior Branch at the Wallington County Secondary School, dressed in the costumes of various nations, on a lorry which had been lent for the occasion, and becomingly decorated by members of the executive committee of the adult branch.

We commend this idea to all branches, for it is valuable propaganda, especially if an appropriate slogan or label be displayed.

We regret that, probably to an excess stock of the letter "s," a tribute to the fact that the Branch at **Kington** in Herefordshire can boast that one in every three members of the population is a member of the Union was ascribed to another Branch. We have to thank the Secretary of Kington Branch for calling our attention to the misprint, and take this opportunity to express an earnest hope that we may soon be in a position to pay a similar tribute to his Branch—purposely!

The membership campaign recently carried out by the **Northampton** Branch collected 471 new members, bringing the total up to 2,991 after expunging lapsed members from the records.

The Secretary of the **Worthing** Branch has announced through the local Press that an anonymous supporter, who realises that many who would gladly join the Union are prevented by the difficulty of sparing even a shilling per year at the present juncture, has sent along a gift of 10s. with the request that ten poor people should be invited to regard their initial subscriptions as having been paid.

The **Andover** Branch has held a highly successful annual meeting, at which an enlivening address was delivered by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Winchester.

The erstwhile Woodley Methodist Church Branch has now been reconstituted as the **Bredbury and Woodley** Branch. The secretary reports that the new branch has started away with a membership increase of 85 per cent. above that of the old one.

The **Stainland and Sowood** Branch has formed a dramatic society of 20 young people who have already produced three Peace plays with great success. They are anxious to assist other branches in their vicinity, and Mr. Arnold Edwards, of 4, West View, Stainland, Halifax, invites inquiries from any brother-secretaries who would like to arrange for this dramatic society to give a show for them.

"The International Anthem," words and music by Florence Marion Hunter, can now be obtained from the Union Book Shop. Words and music, price one shilling; or words only, twopence. Both prices are subject to a reduction for quantities. This anthem, which is dedicated "to the Peoples of the World," is strongly recommended to our readers.

Messrs. Reynolds & Co., have just published a stirring Peace Monologue, with musical accompaniment, entitled "The Road to La Basse," written by Bernard Newman and composed by Harold Arphor. It is very effective and is especially suitable for Union meetings at which ex-Servicemen are present. Copies, price 2s. net, can be obtained from the Union Bookshop at Headquarters.

The Assembly

Our readers are reminded that there is still time to register for inclusion in the conducted party which will leave London on September 8 to be present at the **Assembly at Geneva**. Full particulars were given on page 139 of our July issue, and all inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary of the Union.

Overseas Notes

The Representative Council, the Executive Committee and the Permanent Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be holding their autumn meetings in Geneva on September 29 and 30. This will be the first occasion on which the Federation has met in Geneva since the headquarters were transferred there from Brussels.

Japan.

A ten-point programme for saving and strengthening the League of Nations and checking the world's drift towards another war is suggested by Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, former Finance Minister and Honorary President of the International Association of Japan. It appeared in a recent issue of the "Japan Advertiser" as "An Appeal to the Seriously Minded Statesmen of the World regarding Constructive Methods to Guarantee Peace." The ten points are:—

- 1.—So to revise the Covenant of the League as to remove objections from U.S.A. and to invite her to become a member.
- 2.—To carry out disarmament work.
- 3.—To recognise racial equality.
- 4.—To make clear principles for commercial freedom, by eliminating various obstacles.
- 5.—To induce Japan to withdraw her notice of withdrawal from the League before the expiration of two years from the time of the notice by satisfying her for her insistence that the League should recognise the statehood of Manchukuo.
- 6.—To check Germany from her withdrawal by satisfying her demand before the expiration of her term for the final withdrawal from the League.
- 7.—To let the League so revise its Covenant as to conform to what is rumoured to be the amendment offered by Premier Mussolini and to abolish the Article XVI of the Covenant.
- 8.—To make a provision in the Covenant to recognise the right of self-defence.
- 9.—To let the League create subsidiary machineries to deal with problems that may arise from the circumstances peculiar to the local or regional conditions, for instance, one for the Orient and the other for South and North America, by reforming its methods of direct control of all its affairs.
- 10.—To deny the admission to the League of any country which is internally divided or disorganised beyond the control of its central authority.

India.

The following report of the activities of the Karachi Branch of the Indian League of Nations, from January to May, 1934, has been received from the hon. secretary, Mr. Gurdial Mallik:—

"Since its inception the Karachi Branch of the Union has been addressing itself to publicity and propaganda through the Press, the platform, and the public schools. The result is that every high school student knows to-day something about the ideals and activities of the League of Nations in general, and the English newspaper readers are kept informed periodically about the matters of international interest. The Union also inaugurated a Goodwill Day campaign, which appears to be bearing fruit, because several provinces have participated in the celebration of the day. The Union further has published a number of pamphlets about Goodwill Day—'India and the League of Nations' and

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'A Society of Minds' (the latter giving an account of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation) and 'Disarmament.' Now and again lunches and teas are arranged, when short talks are given on some of the aspects of Internationalism."

U.S.A. Urged to "State the Terms."

The Executive of the Federal Council of Churches in the U.S.A., as part of its Peace Programme, has recommended to the Churches of the United States "That the United States should define the terms upon which it would be willing officially to relate itself to the League of Nations."

In May, the Presidents of more than 100 colleges in the U.S.A. urged "The early submission to the League of Nations of conditions under which the United States would be willing to take full membership in the League, and the offer of complete co-operation with the League while action upon these conditions is pending."

The poster presented to the League of Nations Union by the **Canterbury (New Zealand)** Advertising Club was the central feature of the stall in the vestibule of the Town Hall during the meeting of the Union's General Council at Bournemouth. The poster, which was the winning design in the Hamilton Peace Prize, 1933, and is entitled "Ye fight and war, yet ye have not," attracted a good deal of attention, and the Canterbury Advertising Club's action in presenting it to the Union was greatly appreciated.

Welsh Notes

The Welsh Council's Exhibition Stall on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Llandudno on July 25, 26 and 27, attracted a large number of visitors. A similar Exhibition Stall will be found in a prominent position on the grounds of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales at Neath during the week August 6-11.

The winners of the three 1934 Welsh Council Geneva Scholarships are proceeding to Geneva with the Union's Party for the Geneva Junior Summer School in August. The three Branch secretaries to whom the Welsh Council has awarded Geneva Exhibitions this year, and three students from the South Wales College of Domestic Arts have joined the Union's Party for the Geneva Institute of International Relations.

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1933:—  
Fernhurst, Keswick, Wadhurst, Wellington.

For 1934:—

Barcombe, Burpham, Baldock, Caldbeck, Debenham, Felbridge, Frant, Fraddon, Kirkby Lonsdale, Littlehampton, Lowdham, Midhurst, Olton, Parkstone, Ramsey, Silsden, Sudbury, Seaton, St. Ives (Cornwall), Shaftesbury, Small Heath, St. Neots, Sedlescombe, Woburn, Willington Quay.

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

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

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

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

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

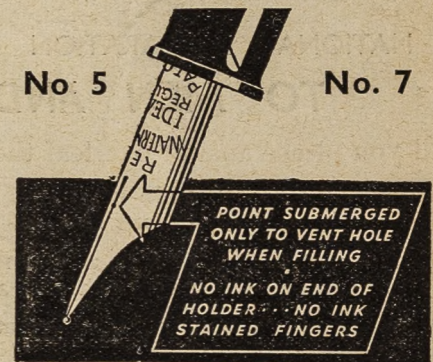
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# PEACE OR WAR?

## A National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments

NATIONAL DECLARATION COMMITTEE, 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1  
**TO MEN AND WOMEN OVER EIGHTEEN**

Will you please answer overleaf these five questions ?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1.—Should Great Britain remain a Member of the League of Nations ?</p> <p>2.—Are you in favour of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement ?</p> <p>3.—Are you in favour of the all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement ?</p> | <p>4.—Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited by international agreement ?</p> <p>5.—Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by<br/>                 (a) Economic and non-military measures ;<br/>                 (b) If necessary, military measures ?</p> |
|---|--|

These questions are put to you as a means of showing to our Government and to the world where Britain stands as to Peace and the Price of Peace.

We want your answers whether "Yes" or "No," with or without explanation or commentary.

A leaflet will be supplied in which you will find the guiding considerations which, in our view, should be kept in mind when answering the questions.

Kindly hand this Ballot Paper to a collector, who will call in a day or two.

### ★ BALLOT FORM

If you have already answered these questions do not fill in this form.



Address.....

No individual votes will be published—only totals.

Question 1.	Question 2.	Question 3.	Question 4.	Question 5.	SIGNATURES.
Should Great Britain remain a Member of the League of Nations ?	Are you in favour of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement ?	Are you in favour of the all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement ?	Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited by international agreement ?	Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by (a) economic and non-military measures ? (b) if necessary, military measures ?	All persons of 18 and over in your household are asked to fill in this form.

SPACE FOR COMMENTS. (If the space for comments is insufficient kindly attach further pages.)

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